OLD

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NEWSLETTER

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CORRIGENDA

The staff of the *Old English Newsletter* would like to issue the following corrections to previous issues:

In Volume 31 Number 2, the masthead should read Volume XXXI Number 2.

For Volume 33 Number 4, the cover should say SUMMER 2000.

Subscriptions: The rate for institutions is $20 US per volume, current and past volumes, except for volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one. The rate for individuals is $15 US per volume, current, future, and past volumes, but **in order to reduce administrative costs the editors ask individuals to pay for volumes 33-34 at one time at the discounted rate of $25.**

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 Baker and Berkhout respectively. Correspondence regarding business matters and subscriptions should be sent to the Publisher.

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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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

1997

Richard Abels — *United States Naval Academy*
John David Cormican — *Utica College*
Susan E. Deskis — *Northern Illinois University*
Nicole Guenther Discenza — *University of South Florida*
Janet Schrunk Ericksen — *University of Minnesota, Morris*
R. D. Fulk — *Indiana University*
Timothy Graham — *Western Michigan University*
J. R. Hall — *University of Mississippi*
David F. Johnson — *Florida State University*
Theodore H. Leinbaugh — *University of North Carolina*
Bruce O'Brien — *Mary Washington College*
Paul G. Remley — *University of Washington*
Mary P. Richards — *University of Delaware*
Kathleen D. Turner — *Oklahoma Panhandle State University*

edited by
Peter S. Baker
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Contents

Over the past year the present editor has, more than ever, had occasion to appreciate the skill and energy with which his predecessor, Joseph B. Trahern, managed the growing enterprise that is YWOES. Answering my suspicion that no one but Joe could do this job really well, YWOES has fallen embarrassingly behind schedule, and the editor of OEN has, with my advice, asked R. D. Fulk, already well known to readers of *OEN* as the reviewer for section 3.a., "Literature: General and Miscellaneous," to join me as co-editor beginning next year. In our division of labor, I will continue to edit and produce YWOES, while Rob will work with the contributors to get the publication back on schedule. We hope that YWOES 1998 will be ready for press just weeks after YWOES 1997.

Readers should take note of several personnel changes. Roy M. Liuzza, having covered *Beowulf* studies for eight years, has decided to take a well-deserved rest from his labors, and Susan E. Deskis has moved over from "Individual Poems" to take his place. Nicole Guenther Discenza of the University of South Florida has taken Sue's place. Last year's "History" team has been joined by Bruce O'Brien of Mary Washington College; together they have brought that troubled section very nearly up to date.

I regret the necessity of going to press this year without section 3.d., "Prose," and section 8, "Archaeology and Numismatics." "Prose" for 1997 will appear with YWOES 1998; we will do what we can to get "Archaeology and Numismatics" back on track as soon as possible.

The contributors to YWOES are named on the title page, and the authorship of individual sections is indicated by initials at the end of each section. Authors work from the *OEN* bibliography of the previous spring, marking with an asterisk items not included in that bibliography and occasionally adding items from the previous year's list of "Works not seen." Dissertations, redactions, summaries, and popular works are occasionally omitted, and their absence in no way consitutes negative judgment. Comments and suggestions, as well as review copies of articles and books, may be sent either to Professor Peter S. Baker, Department of English, 219 Bryan Hall, P.O. Box 400121, Charlottesville, VA 22904-4121, or to Professor R. D. Fulk, Department of English, 442 Ballantine Hall, 1020 E. Kirkwood Ave., Bloomington, IN 47405-7103.

1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

a. History of Anglo-Saxon Studies

Enthusiasm for the history of Anglo-Saxon studies is well attested this year by four essay collections and more than forty essays, covered below and under subsequent headings.

The nine essays in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity* (Gainesville: Univ. Press of Florida), edited by Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles, are prefaced by a discussion of the term "Anglo-Saxonism," which appears to be a mid-nineteenth century construction though its more recent role seems to begin in the early eighties, with Reginald Horsman's *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* and Hugh A. MacDougall's *Racial Myth in English History* (Allan J. Frantzen and John D. Niles, "Introduction: Anglo-Saxonism and Medievalism," 1–14). Both books are briefly summarized, as are other relevant studies, which outline positions from which the essays in this collection respond to or move from. Those essays, which the editors conveniently preview, are divided into two sections: Medieval and Renaissance, Nineteenth- and Early Twentieth Century Anglo-Saxonism; the two essays not covered here are included in subsequent sections, and the volume offers as well four fascinating nineteenth-century images. Frantzen and Niles point out that the collection should be of interest both to specialists and to anyone interested in cultural history.

In "Bede and Bawdy Bale: Gregory the Great, Angels, and the 'Angli'" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 17–39), the first essay in the collection, Allan J. Frantzen explores Anglo-Saxon perceptions of their own identity and subsequent manipulations of that identity. The "originary moment" of Anglo-Saxonism, Frantzen argues, is in the *Angli*/angels story of Gregory the Great in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. After a brief comparison of Bede's version of the tale to that in the anonymous *Life* of Gregory from Whitby, Frantzen explores Bede's use of the term *Angli* and the historical implications of the tale. He argues that, contrary to Bede's sense of sequence, the mission to England probably yielded the story, and he stresses that the boys, the *Angli*, are clearly salable merchandise, part of a depiction of captivity that, with Bede's story of Imma, reflects its figurative conception as sin; freedom results from "true belief." From the status of the boys as Bede presents it, Frantzen turns to John Bale's account of the story in *The Actes of Englysh Votaryes*, a sixteenth-century religious-nationalist history. Bale, as he works to promote the English Reformation, makes plain that "Gregory has sexual designs" on the boys (26). Bale's sexualized reading of the story works in the opposite direction of Bede's, not celebrating conversion and racial identity, but condemning Roman Catholic corruption and domination.

Suzanne C. Hagedorn's study of "Received Wisdom: the Reception History of Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral*

Care" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 86–107) begins with the observation that Alfred's critical assessment of decayed learning has long formed a base text for introductory study of Old English. Hagedorn reviews the manuscript history and the evidence of knowledge of the Preface in Old and Middle English texts, then turns to a more extended discussion of its role for Matthew Parker and his circle, where it was used to support Anglican policy as well as to fuel John Caius' arguments that Cambridge was the older English university—Oxford could not have been in existence when Alfred complains so about the lack of learning in England. Hagedorn moves from Parker's edition to the printings and editions by Vulcanius, Camden, Walker, Junius, Spelman, and Hearne, tracing the rise of Alfred's reputation. In 1722 appeared Francis Wise's "*attempt* at a critical edition" of the Preface, then, at the turn of the eighteenth to the nineteenth century Sharon Turner's nationalistic translation of it. This set the stage for the on-going inclusion of the text in Old English handbooks and readers. Alfred's Preface becomes part of "religious controversies, … political propaganda, … encyclopedic scholarship, … and nationalist and racialist ideas" before its more seemingly objective scholarly contexts (101); Hagedorn points out that each stage, including the present, tends to work from the last, rather than starting anew, rather than revisiting the manuscript.

Out of the political upheavals of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Scandinavia emerged nationalism—and a desire for a national literary history. Robert E. Bjork, in "Nineteenth-Century Scandinavia and the Birth of Anglo-Saxon Studies" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 111–32) traces the "cultural geography" of nationalist scholarship on Anglo-Saxon literature in Scandinavia. Starting from titles such as Thorkelin's "Danish Poem in the Anglo-Saxon Dialect" (a subtitle) and his reference to *Beowulf* as a *drápa*—"Om Bjovulfs Drape" or "Concerning the [implied Old Norse or Northern European] Heroic Poem of Beowulf," Bjork reaches backwards to a 1751 "Sampling of Danish Words and Expressions Clarified by the Anglo-Saxon Language" and forwards to a late nineteenth-century "more modest kind of nationalism" that assesses the Nordic background and characteristics of *Beowulf*. Among the most interesting pieces Bjork addresses is Rasmus Rask's prefatory epistle to *A Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Tongue*, which couches study of Anglo-Saxon in terms of recovering Danish identity. In advocating increased awareness of the Scandinavian role in Anglo-Saxon studies, Bjork concludes with a review of Ludvig Schrøder's obscure scholarship on *Beowulf*, which offers a reading that "is a big step toward Tolkien and a great advance over Grundtvig," as well as an attempt to use *Beowulf* as a Danish "nationalistic reader" (125).

The rise of Anglo-Saxon studies in the United States is J. R. Hall's subject in "Mid-Nineteenth-Century American Anglo-Saxonism: the Question of Language" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 133–56). Although Jefferson had established the study of Old English at the University of Virginia, the language still had limited academic presence by the middle of the nineteenth century, when Charles Anderson and John Seely Hart offered two very different views of American Anglo-Saxonism, that is, of "the later English-speaking tradition as well as the Anglo-Saxons, their language, and their entire culture" (134). Anderson, an Ohio lawyer, vigorously opposed the racial dimensions of this idea, and he targeted the language as well, ridiculing various claims that English should return to a more Germanic lexicon and asserting that none of his contemporaries "could read or speak a single line or sentence of that jargon" (138)—certainly Anderson knew no Old English. Four years after Anderson's public argument, Hart, an educator who had taught himself Old English and who advocated teaching it to others, vigorously praised Anglo-Saxon. Like Anderson, Hart includes both well-founded arguments and weak ones, notably the assertion that English remains heavily Anglo-Saxon—and that new borrowings should cease—and that it is "in the main the same [language] that was spoken by Hengist and Horsa" (143). While Anderson and Hart may never have read each other's work, Hall notes that their arguments would surely have gained from the exchange.

Study of Anglo-Saxon in the American South after the Civil War had less to do with interest in English history than with a need to reassert identity after defeat, argues Gregory A. vanHoosier-Carey in "Byrhtnoth in Dixie: the Emergence of Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Postbellum South" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 157–72). Starting with Jefferson's vision of Old English as a carrier of Anglo-Saxon culture, the antebellum South regionalized and refined a rationale for studying the language, tending to see an affinity between themselves and the feudal Normans. The post-war conditions severed that connection, and scholars such as Maximilian Schele de Vere, also at the University of Virginia, reread the Normans as Northerners, the Anglo-Saxons as Southerners, and the conquest as a struggle between democracy and tyranny; Schele de Vere "conflates human resistance with linguistic resistance" (161). Such views were widespread after the war, fed by a desire for a distinct educational program and by the accommodations the model provided, for it allowed varying attitudes towards region, government, and language—including the assessment of African-American speech as something primitive that should not taint the Anglo-Saxon history of English. VanHoosier-Carey cites a range of examples to conclude that Anglo-Saxon studies offered the South "a comprehensible narrative that both legitimized Southern defeat and promised eventual Southern victory" (170).

The abundance of Edwardian juvenile fiction dealing with things Anglo-Saxon is the subject of Velma Bourgeois Richmond's "Historical Novels to Teach Anglo-Saxonism" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 173–201). This interest in medieval subject matter Richmond ties to the Victorian glorification of Alfred, to imperialism, to interest in national, racial, and masculine

identity—all of which are mirrored in historical literature for children in both Britain and the United States. The focus of the essay is on two areas: Alfred-centered fiction—tales of heroism and resistance to invaders—and novels by Charles W. Whistler, "perhaps the most singularly devoted writer of Anglo-Saxon stories for children" (176–77). Whistler's numerous stories, often set in East Anglia, are fast-paced narratives, filled with details of the medieval world and with allusions to its literature; he draws on "the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, on sagas, early epics, and romances," and titles the results, to name but a few, *A Thane of Wessex: Being the Story of the Great Viking Raid of 845* and *Dragon Osmund: A Story of Athelstan and Brunanburh*, which Richmond more extensively discusses (and which also has a sequel). While the effect of all this medievalism on Edwardian children is, as Richmond notes, hard to define, she suggests that attitudes in World War I may well have been fueled by such literature, and she argues for rescuing analysis of historical fiction from relative neglect.

The collection concludes (but for the index) with John D. Niles' essay on "Appropriations: a Concept of Culture" (*Anglo-Saxonism*, 202–28). Niles proposes a "stone's-eye-view" of history—suggesting how a stone might view events from 75 A.D. to 1947—to argue that "culture is chiefly produced through a complex series of purposeful appropriations [by an individual or a group] either of the past or of someone's property (whether material, linguistic, or intellectual in nature)" (205). This historically-based definition Niles explains in some detail, in part through the examples of a stone in Cardiff Castle, affected by each successive vision of the place, and of the history in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, perception of which ranges from the Anglo-Saxon acceptance of English Christianity as the heroic result of missionaries to the Early Modern Protestant sense that Bede was wrong, for he left out Joseph of Arimathea's role. What Niles encourages, through a sequence of four "exhibits," is the study of the *idea* of Anglo-Saxon England in its various manifestations and appropriations—although he claims that this approach will be ill-received by various scholars. Niles suggests five "principles of appropriation" that might help guide such research, and he explores their potential applicability in areas such as translation and iconography.

Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal edited eighteen essays on *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists* (Stud. in Med. Culture 40. Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan Univ.), including the four reviewed below; others are covered under the appropriate headings elsewhere in YWOES. The book's essays are grouped under the headings of "Historiography," Present State and Future Directions: Art and Archaeology," "Literary Approaches," and "Manuscript Studies."

Fred C. Robinson reviews the current status of Anglo-Saxon studies, in scholarship and teaching, in his "Introduc-tion: Transmitting What Is Preserved. How Are We Doing?" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, 1–10). In scholarship, Robinson points to the large-scale, collaborative projects underway, such as *Fontes*, *SASLC*, and the variorum *Beowulf* underway in Japan, as well as to Gneuss's handlist and various monograph series, and he quickly surveys Anglo-Saxon studies around the world. He then appraises the present as a "golden age of Anglo-Saxon studies," a claim that, in light of widespread worries about the status of the field in higher education, may leave readers "wondering whether Fred Robinson is not a contemporary version of Pollyanna in Hell" (4). Yet the worries, Robinson points out, center on teaching, not on research. To encourage a student audience for the field, he advocates the use of technology and the continuing emphasis on text. This blend of old and new also characterizes Robinson's position on scholarship. He praises work, such as Frantzen's and Lerer's, that may alert contemporary theorists outside Anglo-Saxon studies to issues that have long been part of the field, yet he asserts that texts and artifacts do, and must, occupy a central position in Medieval Studies. Robinson concludes that "the source projects, like the ongoing effort to question our intellectual motives and biases as we interpret the past, are part of that philological ideal of reading a past culture on its own terms, of defining ourselves against the otherness" of the past, and that scholarship framed in such terms should serve Anglo-Saxon studies well (10).

In "Henry Adams and the Anglo-Saxons" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, 13–36), Robin Fleming begins with the striking statistic that for each of the (only) eight Anglo-Saxon historians in the U.S. today there are about 110 Anglo-Saxonists in literature and language. Anglo-Saxon history has not always had such a poor showing in the U.S.; in the 1870s, Fleming points out, it was booming, and it yielded the first three Ph.D.'s in history in the country. The students were all educated by Henry Adams, whose career and the influences on it Fleming reviews—perhaps most remarkable is that Adams was hired as an assistant professor of medieval history at Harvard when he was completely without any scholarly distinction and without much interest in gaining it. Adams' utilitarian views of history were centered on politics, and he seems to have spent more time on the *North American Review* than on Anglo-Saxon studies; he viewed the doctorate as the culmination of a kind of elite finishing school for gentlemen, and thus the field of study it centered on was quite unimportant. Adams, rather than being a firm foundation for the field, remained more a part-time enthusiast in it, and the views Adams and his students put forth were picked up and manipulated by social theorists, by advocates of racial superiority, a movement from which, Fleming implies, the field has never recovered.

The stronger foundations of literature and language study in the United States are reviewed by J. R. Hall, in "Nineteenth-Century America and the Study of the Anglo-

Saxon Language: an Introduction" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, 37–71), in which Hall identifies and surveys four groups of promoters of the field. Anglo-Saxon was an intense interest for those who taught themselves the language, a large group that includes Thomas Jefferson, Noah Webster, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Walt Whitman, as well as George Marsh—with a library of more than one hundred Anglo-Saxon-related books in a full collection of some twelve thousand volumes—and William Medlicott—with an even larger library and larger Anglo-Saxon holdings; many in this group published in the field. Hall moves from his survey of self-taught Americans to Europeans, often German-educated, who advanced the study of Anglo-Saxon in the States. This less well-known set of names includes the first three Anglo-Saxonists at the University of Virginia (one of whom was intensely dislikable) and an Englishman who stealthily read Bede while he was supposed to be working at various bookstores. The third group Hall identifies were Americans introduced to the language in Germany rather than at home, including Francis James Child, who taught Old English at Harvard (it was required for all second-year students), Albert S. Cook, and Francis A. Blackburn. Hall's final group consists of Americans who advanced their U.S.-acquired knowledge of Anglo-Saxon in Germany, a substantial group of scholars and teachers among whom are James M. Garnett, whose translations were popular, Francis B. Gummere, and James W. Bright. The appendix of "Anglo-Saxon Doctoral Dissertations Written in Nineteenth-Century America" attests to work completed in the States, and Hall's concluding example attests to the labor that some who did not have German training put forth. Francis Andrew March taught Anglo-Saxon at Lafayette College; he also taught "Latin, Greek, French, German, botany, law, political economy, political science, and philosophy, as well as English and Germanic philology" (52), yet he produced two significant books, an introduction to Anglo-Saxon and a remarkable comparative grammar.

Klaeber falls into Hall's second group, and Helen Damico's account of Klaeber's career, the next essay in the collection, adds depth to the familiar, stern image of him that looks out from the opening of pages of his *Beowulf*. The title of the biographical article, "'My Professor of Anglo-Saxon Was Frederick Klaeber': Minnesota and Beyond" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*, 73–98, ill.), comes from one of Damico's sources, which include recollections by a former student and by a colleague, a notebook belonging to a young woman who took, in her freshman year, Klaeber's Old English course, a yearbook cartoon and poem, and many letters. The article focuses on the years after 1893, when Klaeber, fresh from receiving his Ph.D. at the University of Berlin (his thesis was on Chaucer) began teaching at the University of Minnesota; as he rose through the academic ranks, he worked at bringing German intellectual rigor and philological study to the American university. According

to some of his students, Klaeber was a passionate teacher, one whose regular attire of a tail-coat may have reflected the seriousness with which he treated learning. Damico's account of Klaeber runs from the anecdotal—he began Ph.D. preliminaries, no matter what the candidate's field, with the request, "Will the candidate now pray in Gothic?" (76)—to the political: in 1917, Klaeber was among several on the campus to be charged with disloyalty, and eventually found innocent, by the Minnesota Commission of Public Safety. After retiring from the University of Minnesota, Klaeber returned to Germany and to the University of Berlin, but because of his edition of *Beowulf*, produced at Minnesota, he remains a force for American students.

The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages in the English-Speaking World, edited by Marie-Françoise Alamichel and Derek Brewer (Cambridge), offers eleven papers from a 1994 conference held at the Centre d'Etudes Médiévales Anglaises of the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne. Topics range from the Arthurian influences in the festivities and written account of the marriage of Henry VII's son Arthur to Katharine of Aragon in 1501 to the wealth of 20th century medievalistic literature and film; the collection includes three essays particularly relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies, those by Kees Dekker, Eric G. Stanley, and Laura Kendrick.

Among the scholarly friends of Franciscus Junius was the lawyer Jan van Vliet, whose work Kees Dekker uses to argue for a significant distinction between seventeenth-century Old English scholarship in England, which focused on editing, and in the Netherlands, where the focus fell on lexicography and etymology. Dekker's essay, "Jan van Vliet (1620–1666) and the Study of Old English in the Low Countries" (*The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages*, 27–42), provides both an overview of the rise of interest in Old English in the Netherlands and an account of van Vliet's work. This included labors such as copying excerpts and creating word-lists from a manuscript of the *Ormulum*, the language of which van Vliet, like Junius, did not describe as Middle English; instead, van Vliet assessed the manuscript in terms of vocabulary rather than, as later scholars did, in terms of structure. Dekker argues that while van Vliet himself had little direct impact on subsequent Old English studies, the sum of Dutch seventeenth-century interest in Old English helped to situate it as a Germanic language with continental cognates and contexts.

E. G. Stanley, in "The Early Middle Ages = The Dark Ages = The Heroic Age of England and in English" (*The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages*, 43–77), tracks a history of naming. With twenty-one short sections, each centered on a representative quotation, Stanley outlines the shifts, drawing from a rich array of references by writers such as Milton, Locke, Goldsmith, Hume, Godwin, Hesiod, Ker, Chambers, and Chadwick. After an initial exploration of the use and background of the designation "middle" for the period, Stanley turns to favorable and unfavorable assessments of the Early

Middle Ages in England and in relation to it, assessments based on perceptions of religion and learning, of enlightenment, of history, and of literature; these include claims such as Milton's that the age was one in which "all learning [was] banished. . . . nothing was heard in the schools but the insipid doctrines of utterly stupid monks" (56). Stanley's conclusion, somewhat discursively reached, is that "dark thoughts" of whatever kind cannot render post-Roman, pre-Norman England a Dark Age, nor a Golden or Heroic Age.

Laura Kendrick concludes, in "The American Middle Ages: Eighteenth-Century Saxonist Myth-Making" (*The Middle Ages after the Middle Ages*, 121–36), "not only that Americans developed their own peculiar understandings of the European Middle Ages, but that they imaginatively transplanted the Middle Ages to the American continent" (122). Jefferson's desire to construct the United States as a corrected descent from Saxon ideals—in contrast to the corrupted descent in England—rests on myth-making that stretches back at least as far as Matthew Parker in England and that includes Tacitus' criticisms of Rome. Kendrick cites multiple examples of eighteenth century Saxon glorification, including texts with which Jefferson was familiar: a Huguenot historian outlines the democratic structure of Anglo-Saxon England, complete with federal government; an anonymous essayist "equate[s] common law—in its pristine, Saxon version—with natural law, that is, with reasoned principles concerning the 'rights of man'" (131); "Demophilus" asserts the need for the new U.S. government to renew "the old Saxon form of government," which he calls "the best model" (132). Kendrick explores the parallels made between the native Britons and the Native Americans, between the Saxons and the settlers; she focuses on Jefferson, but also provides an overview of how the Saxons were presented in his century.

Despite its rather clichéd title, "Introduction: Rewriting Sir Robert Cotton" (1–39), Kevin Sharpe's introduction to *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and His Legacy*, edited by C. J. Wright (London: British Library), carefully details an array of questions regarding Cotton. Sharpe explains, for instance, the deficiencies in and complexities of current assessments of what constituted Cotton's manuscript collection in Cotton's lifetime and afterwards—an area, Sharpe argues, in need of far more work. Other topics Sharpe addresses include Cotton's collections of books as well as of other material artifacts and how these and the manuscript collection were treated and reacted to by Cotton, his circle, and those who followed. The introduction assesses overall, in eleven sections, the status of research regarding Cotton, his collections, his scholarship, and, variously constructed, his milieu.

David Howarth, in "Sir Robert Cotton and the Commemoration of Famous Men" (40–67), explores the effects of Cotton's monumental interests, which included Roman funerary inscriptions and sculpture. Howarth situates this aspect of Cotton's antiquarianism in the family estate, Coning-

ton Castle, and the local church, where Cotton had erected wall monuments dedicated to various ancestors, including members of Scottish royalty, and where a monument to Cotton himself was erected by his son. The Conington monuments are described (and illustrated) and their political function explored; Howarth suggests that the monuments' designs were influenced by Cotton's acquaintance with Roman funerary sculpture. The result of the study is to give Cotton "a distinguished if modest place in developing the repertoire of Jacobean sculptors" (40).

One of those who utilized Cotton's library was Arthur Agarde, Deputy Chamberlain of the Exchequer, an antiquary, and an early expert on the Domesday Book. Elizabeth M. Hallam, in "Arthur Agarde and Domesday Book" (253–61), chronicles Agarde's careful research on the Domesday Book and the early use made of it. His familiarity with the Domesday Book stemmed from years of regular contact with it in the Exchequer's office, and Agarde went from there to collecting Domesday-related material and to creating an annotated glossary for the Domesday Book (the manuscript of that glossary, now in the Bodleian Library, was unattributed until Hallam identified it in 1985). Agarde's work, says Hallam, "passed into the mainstream of Domesday studies" (259). *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector* includes five other essays of especial relevance to Anglo-Saxon studies, each reviewed under the appropriate heading below.

J. D. Alsop's note on "William Lambarde's Place of Birth" (*N&Q* 44: 469) confirms that Lambarde was born in October of 1536 in the parish of St. Nicholas Acon, London, where his father had lived for about six years. The original wills for Lambarde's father and stepmother, as well as the probate copies of them, Alsop points out, are in the Prerogative Court of Canterbury.

In 1568, William Lambarde published a woodcut map of Anglo-Saxon England, divided into the seven kingdoms. Walter Goffart ("The First Venture into 'Medieval Geography'" Lambarde's Map of the Saxon Heptarchy (1568)" (*Alfred the Wise*, Ed. Roberts, Nelson, and Godden, 53–60) characterizes the map as seminal; "Lambarde," says Goffart, "can be justly called the first mapmaker—in the modern European tradition—to recreate a scene from medieval history" (54). Goffart traces both the origins of Lambarde's division of Anglo-Saxon England (as well as what may be the first use of the term "heptarchy") and the influences of Lambarde's map on subsequent maps of early England.

Bernhard Klein, in "Constructing the Space of the Nation: Geography, Maps, and the Discovery of Britain in the Early Modern Period" (*Jnl for the Stud. of Brit. Culture* 4: 11–29), explores the ways in which maps and descriptive texts attempted to construct "the political and social space" of England. In maps such as Laurence Nowell's *General Description of England and Ireland* (1564/5), Christopher Saxton's *Anglia* (1579)—a piece of "intentional propaganda on the part of the Tudor monarchy" (18)—and John Speed's *Theatre of*

the Empire of Great Britain (1611), Klein reads not just the geographical description, but the accompanying and interrelated figures and symbols, title cartouches and other ornaments, portraits of mapmakers and the monarch. Early Modern maps included information well beyond the geographical, such things as whether or not the inhabitants of a place were "wittie and of quick conceite" (21), for maps sought to frame "the essence of Britain" (22). Non-visual mapping, in texts such as John Leland's influential but unfinished chorographical description of Britain, attempted the same goal, as did William Harrison's *Historicall Description of the Islande of Britayne* (1557) and William Camden's *Britannia* (1586); Klein describes and discusses all three. Both the verbal and the visual texts and their variations indicate that "the geography of Britain still served more as a discursive than a physical terrain in which to conduct the search for its precise political and cultural meaning" (27) and that a definitive national sense of place had not emerged in Early Modern England.

"The Beginnings of Printing in Anglo-Saxon, 1560–1630" (*Papers of the Bibliographical Soc. of Amer.* 91: 192–244, ill.) is Richard W. Clement's detailed history of Anglo-Saxon type. Clement provides an account of the processes of actually making the type and editing manuscripts; he identifies variations in the typeface among books of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth century and explores who used the type and the various reasons for doing so—as in, for example, Asser's Latin life of Alfred, where the typeface seems to have provided historical authority. The article begins with a summation of the type's origins in the political and religious movements of the sixteenth century, though Clement believes that the basic impetus for its creation was aesthetic; he points to Matthew Parker's desire to convey, in print, the impressive and distinct appearance of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The movements of sets of type are traced from hand to hand, book to book, from Matthew Parker to Sir Henry Spelman; by the end of the first quarter of the sixteenth century, Anglo-Saxon type had developed from a specialized tool in the purview of a select few to no fewer than six different fonts relatively easily and widely accessible, which were used to promote, with Spelman leading the way, both Anglo-Saxon texts and antiquarian scholarship.

Erick Kelemen ("A Reexamination of the Date of *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*, One of the First Books Printed in Anglo-Saxon Types," *ANQ* 10.4: 3–10) argues that the publication date of 1566 conventionally assigned to *A Testimonie of Antiquitie* may be inaccurate. Beginning by tracing the footsteps of Eleanor N. Adams—and showing how influential her 1917 study has been in establishing the *Testimonie*'s date—Kelemen re-evaluates the publication evidence. While ultimately he cannot offer a precise dating, Kelemen nevertheless shows that there is, at the moment, little reason to place the *Testimonie* more precisely than between October 1566 and August 1568, although it is likely to have appeared before the end of 1567.

The Seventeenth-Century Restoration: Sir William Dugdale & His Circle, by Marion E. Roberts and Everett U. Crosby (Charlottesville: Univ. of Virginia Library, 1993), is presented as seventeenth-century book, complete with heavy, textured paper and appropriate page layouts and illustrations. The brief book is the catalogue for a 1993 University of Virginia exhibition of early printed books associated with the scholar-antiquarian William Dugdale. It begins with an overview of Dugdale and his work, followed by useful descriptions of and historical contexts for items in the exhibition, which are given with their full (and lengthy) titles as well as printing information. These included a second edition (1682) of Dugdale's *Monasticon Anglicanum*, which contained "hundreds of transcriptions of charters, deeds, confirmations and donations to English monasteries, as well as biographical and historical matter, down to the Dissolution" (12), and the first volume of his *Baronage of England*; among other books of particular interest were Francis Godwin's *Catalogue of Bishops*, and a volume of George Hickes' *Thesaurus*.

The Romantic period in England was less devoid of interest in medieval studies than N. F. S. Grundtvig claimed it to be when he asserted that he was the first modern consulter of the *Exeter Book*. In "The Circle of John Gage (1786–1842), Director of the Society of Antiquaries, and the Bibliography of Medievalism" (*Antiquaries, Book Collectors and the Circles of Learning*, Ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris, Winchester, Hants, and New Castle, DE, 1996, 71–82), T. A. Birwell argues not only for the high quality of John Gage's work in the period, but for its affinities with modern cultural-anthropological scholarship of the Middle Ages. As Director of the Society of Antiquaries, Gage led the attempt to publish editions with facing-page Modern English translations of Caedmonian poetry and the *Exeter Book*; Gage himself published numerous articles, including an illustrated study of *The Benedictional of St. Aethelwold*, an article that Birwell describes as significantly more streamlined and less subjective than much of eighteenth century medieval scholarship. In his leadership of the Antiquaries' Society, as an editor, and in his own scholarship, Gage, argues Birwell, sought to be objective and precise, and his approach foreshadows modern scholarship.

Andrew Phillips offers an admiring study of the nineteenth-century "Dorset Poet" William Barnes in *The Rebirth of England and English: the Vision of William Barnes* (Hockwold-cum-Norton, Norf.: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1996). Barnes wrote not only dialect poetry, for which he is best known, but also on philology and antiquarianism. He published, in 1854, *A Philological Grammar*, written in "Barnes' own invented 'Saxon' English, which avoided words of Latin or French origin" (19). Two more books using this Saxon English followed. Phillips' goal is to explore Barnes' intellect; a biographical chapter is followed by chapters discussing Barnes' perceptions of religion, nature, art, marriage, society, economics, and politics. The second section of the book

focuses on Barnes' study of English, and includes a list of more than 1300 of the words Barnes made up as well as those he preferred over borrowings, yielding a nineteenth-century source of "obsolescent and dialect words" of Saxon origin (130).

On the occasion of *JEGP*'s hundredth year, Roberta Frank describes and celebrates "The Unbearable Lightness of Being a Philologist" (*JEGP* 96: 486–513). Frank points to the persistence of philological study, despite laments as early as L'Isle's that it was weakening and despite complaints such as Bacon's that it ought to go. The first to use the title "philologist" was, according to Frank, the Alexandrian librarian Eratosthenes of Cyrene (c. 275–194 BCE), and philology was praised even in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century China. Historical references to the reputation of philology are followed by exploration of the term's definitions, which includes the advice to job-seekers that it is still dangerous to describe yourself as a philologist. Yet to illustrate the capacities of philological pursuits, Frank turns to Old English and Old Norse alliteration, its uses and effects, to the difficulty of defining words, and to kennings (with a substantial discussion of the Old Norse "wind of the giantess" kenning); she stresses the detail-work of the philologist, and the potential it has for opening windows of knowledge. The essay, rich with figurative language of its own, concludes with a quick contemplation of the future of philology, about which Frank is hopeful, for she argues that philology continues, gracefully, to help find new things in old texts.

The standing of Old English studies at Leiden University is given elegiac form, in Old English, by Wim van der Wurff ("Old English at Leiden," *OEN* 31.1: 11). The thirty-six line poem both laments the past and celebrates those still teaching Old English at the university.

b. Computing

After closing down ANSAXNET temporarily in 1997, William Schipper re-opened it with a manifesto designed to improve the usefulness of the discussion list to those in various areas of Anglo-Saxon studies. The manifesto is printed in "ANSAXNET Revival" (*OEN* 30.3: 10); it asks, among other things, that postings be kept to under 200 lines, that each person not post more than three or four times a day, and that postings always be kept civil.

The ENGLISC discussion list undertook the translation into Old English of "The Four Questions" of the Seder Ceremony as part of an educational project to translate the questions into more than 130 languages; the end product will be a book, accompanied by an audio-tape and, eventually, a website. Sarah Higley recounts the problems in making the translation, ranging from deciding how to translate "question" to reconceptualizing the Modern English version of the Hebrew ritual. The result is printed in "The Four Questions: the ENGLISC List in Action" (*OEN* 30.3: 14–17).

Melissa J. Bernstein's "An Introduction to the Internet for Anglo-Saxonists, Part 2: Scholarly and Pedagogical Highlights" (*OEN* 31.1: 22–27) covers both teaching tools, such as Cathy Ball's contextualizing of OE and Peter Baker's OE grammatical exercises, and assorted research material, including online editions, bibliographies, and other relevant web sites. Bernstein's reviews are valuable—concise and informative—for anyone trying to keep up with or to become acquainted with what of use to Anglo-Saxonists can be found online; in an effort to keep up herself, Bernstein requests that makers of new websites of relevance to Anglo-Saxonists send notice to her.

c. Bayeux Tapestry

Richard Gameson describes *The Study of the Bayeux Tapestry* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell) as "a collection of 'classic' literature on the Bayeux Tapestry" much of which is "out-of-print, and difficult to obtain. ... The function of [this book] is to make available a number of key articles within a single volume of convenient size" (vii). All the essays (twelve) save one, by Gameson, have appeared elsewhere previously, although three have here been translated from French into English for the first time: H. Prentout's "Essai d'identification des personnages inconnus de la Tapisserie de Bayeux," S. Bertrand's "Etude sur la Tapisserie de Bayeux," and R. Lepelly's "Contribution à l'étude des inscriptions de la Tapisserie de Bayeux." The collection is accompanied by abundant illustrations and a detailed index.

Gameson's essay on "The Origins, Art, and Message of the Bayeux Tapestry" concludes the collection and provides a summative discussion of the Tapestry, as well as a review of some of the scholarship on it. Gameson approaches the Tapestry in terms of what it can tell us, particularly if approached, as much as possible, from the perspective of a hypothetical eleventh century viewer; he points out that significant things it cannot tell us—"who made it, for what purpose, and where and how it was displayed"—would "have been common knowledge to virtually everyone who saw it in the late eleventh century" (157). Six topics, each with detailed, point by point development, structure Gameson's discussion: origin (English and/or Norman), sacred and secular, inscriptions, pictorial narrative, historicity, and meaning and message. He argues that the Tapestry "projects this ... awesome message: that the Normans now hold England because God in his infinite wisdom and just judgement gave it to them" and that the Tapestry "was designed to answer the question, 'Why was the Norman Conquest successful?'" (211).

In "John Collingwood Bruce and the Bayeux Tapestry" (*Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser., 25: 109–13), John H. Farrant explains the nineteenth-century Reverend Bruce's role in increasing popular knowledge of the Bayeux Tapestry. Bruce, in the early 1850s, orchestrated production of a full-size, pen-and-ink with watercolor facsimile of the Bayeux Tapestry.

The facsimile, now housed in the Library of the Society of Antiquaries in Newcastle upon Tyne, travelled with Bruce as he delivered lectures on the Tapestry and, subsequently, without him, both as an aid to other lecturers and as an attraction in itself. Farrant points out that both Bruce and another who used the facsimile as a lecture aid, Mark Antony Lower, argued the then unusual position that Norman Conquest was a positive event in English history.

d. Essay Collections

To Explain the Present: Studies in the Changing English Language in Honour of Matti Rissanen (Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 52. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique) is a compact volume of twenty-nine essays, edited by Terttu Nevalainen and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka. The essays are divided into two sections, from OE to EMnE and from EMnE to the present; the twelve dealing directly with Old English are covered under the appropriate sections below.

John Hines has edited thirteen papers from the symposium on the Anglo-Saxons at the second conference on Studies in Historical Archaeoethnology organized by the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, San Marino, 1994. The symposia goal was to emphasize the intercultural and interdisciplinary study of European societies, in this case of Anglo-Saxon England, from the Migration Period to roughly the eighth century. All but three of the essays in the collection, *The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: an Ethnographic Perspective* (Woodbridge: Boydell) are reviewed elsewhere in YWOES; each is accompanied by transcription of discussion that followed the paper and by bibliography.

Jane Hawkes, in an attempt to discern how Anglo-Saxons from the sixth to eighth centuries viewed life and death, explores the symbolism of animals and interlace on decorated artifacts ("Symbolic Lives: the Visual Evidence," *The Anglo-Saxons*, 311–44). After explaining the role of art in the Christian culture of early Anglo-Saxon England and the difficulties in reading it as well as in understanding just what constituted pagan symbolic motifs, Hawkes turns to discussion of animal examples, such as the birds that appear on Sutton Hoo artifacts and elsewhere. She argues that the predatory bird-motif and the serpent-motif were "adopted and adapted" from pagan to Christian contexts: "the potential significances" of these animal symbols "appear to have ensured [their] continued use, with changing symbolic values, in the transitional culture of the sixth- to eighth-century" (323, 326). Yet not every pagan animal symbol appears to have survived; notably the boar and the stag are absent from Christian symbolism, even though at times these old symbols appear alongside new, Christian symbols. Hawkes argues that the popularity of plain interlace, after Christianization begins, arose from a "desire to present 'hidden' symbols" (332), a sensibility underscored by the popularity of riddles and riddling (a topic further pursued in the

transcribed discussion after the paper).

Early Anglo-Saxon religion is taken up again by John Hines in "Religion: the Limits of Knowledge" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, 375–410). Hines addresses the "known and knowable in early Anglo-Saxon history," beginning with the question of just what the term "religion" means, in both general and period-specific terms, then turning to practices and behavior. Drawing on the works of Bede as well as on archaeological evidence, Hines suggests the possibility of pagan ritual influenced by reaction to Christianity, but he cautions, too, that variation of Christian practice could exist within the bounds of the religion. Regarding Christian behavior, he argues that despite Church collectivism, individualism was encouraged by the moral and spiritual responsibilities of Christianity. Hines then turns to the subject of religious sites—including a section on place-names—and the idea of spiritual landscape. Hines' final topic is art, material and textual, including such topics as the religious significance of bracteates and, briefly, the place of writing. His conclusions are "that Christianity makes the final phases of the traditional Germanic religion in England knowable in a reasonably substantial way" because "the introduction of Christianity was accompanied by a late 'pagan' florescence, and that there was both an extensive "functional continuity" between the two religions even as there were "profound changes" (396).

"Current Issues and Future Directions in the Study of the Early Anglo-Saxon Period" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, 411–50) are summarized by Giorgio Ausenda, drawing from the symposium's concluding discussion. The lengthy overview, divided into fourteen sections of "problems" or "untouched topics," is designed to "serve as a guideline for future research" (411).

Attesting to the lively status of medieval English studies in Spain are the thirty-eight papers edited by Margarita Giménez Bon and Vickie Olsen for *SELIM 1996: Proceedings of the 9th International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature* (Zaragoza: Pórtico). The papers include those by the conference's plenary speakers, and all those dealing with Old English are reviewed in subsequent YWOES sections.

e. Varia

The extensive entry on Ambrose for the *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* project has been published separately as Ambrose in Anglo-Saxon England, with Pseudo-Ambrose and Ambrosiaster, OEN Subsidia 25 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute and Rawlinson Center, Western Michigan Univ.). Dabney Anderson Bankert, Jessica Wegmann, and Charles D. Wright first provide an overview of the life, career, and influence of the church father. The core of the entry is a text by text summation of evidence for knowledge of Ambrose' works in Anglo-Saxon England, which are divided into four categories: exegetical, moral and ascetic, dogmatic, and miscellaneous. Each text for which connection to Anglo-Saxon

England has been established begins with the SASLC headnote listing the identified evidence, then moves to a brief description of the work and discussion or explanation of the evidence, accompanied by bibliographic references. The eighty-six page entry reflects some remarkable labor, particularly as no modern catalogue of the manuscripts of the works of Ambrose, such as that for Augustine and Jerome, exists. The entry ultimately suggests that Ambrose was significant for Anglo-Latin but far less so for vernacular authors, and that his status in Anglo-Saxon England was below that of Augustine, Jerome, and Gregory.

The fourth volume in the series L'Atelier du Mediéviste is Leo Carruthers' *L'Anglais médiéval* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1996). The handbook consists of three sections, the first of which is an introduction to both the period and research in it. A quick overview of political history is followed by a review of the history of medieval studies in England; a section on language follows, covering orthography (starting with runic) and grammar, morphology, and lexicon. Perhaps most useful of all is the annotated bibliography, in subject groupings, at the end of the first section. The selected texts that make up the next two sections are divided into early (700–1100) and medieval (1100–1500), then subdivided into "History and Society" and "Literature," and then grouped by type. The Anglo-Saxon texts are varied and interesting, including standards such as Alfred's preface to the Pastoral Care, Chronicle and *Ecclesiastical History* pieces, and Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi*, but also an excerpt of laws and of Byrhtferth's Manual; the literary texts include "The Ruin," "The Wanderer," "The Battle of Maldon," and some of *Beowulf*, as well as pieces from Apollonius of Tyre and the *Consolation of Philosophy*. Excellent full-page photographs of manuscript pages are scattered throughout the readings, and each selection is accompanied by commentary, discussion of language, and notes.

The latest introduction to Old English from Stephen Pollington and Anglo-Saxon Books, *First Steps in Old English* (Hockwold-cum-Norton, Norf.: Anglo-Saxon Books), is more of a textbook than previous ventures, although still intended largely for students working on their own and for students with no previous knowledge of the history of English or its linguistic structure. It proceeds somewhat like Bright's textbook, although with explanations of grammatical terminology added and with delineations of historical linguistics removed; each chapter includes an introduction to some aspects of the grammar and then a translation exercise—Pollington asks for translation into OE as well as from it. The grammar summary that concludes the exercise section of the book is useful, although its layout of OE nouns is potentially confusing on the importance of case functions. The second part of the book consists of four translation texts, excerpts from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Chronicle*, Cockayne's edition of the *Leechdoms*, the laws of Ine. Each of these texts is accompanied by notes that word by word, for the entire text, explain the grammar and provide translation. An answer key

and a glossary finish out the book.

In the summer of 1997, Timothy C. Graham and Paul E. Szarmach ran a remarkable NEH Seminar at the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge on "Old English in Its Manuscript Context" ("1997 NEH Summer Seminar at the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College, Cambridge." *OEN* 31.1: 20–21). Participants had both guided and independent access to the Anglo-Saxon manuscript riches of the Parker Library, where daily meetings of the seminar were held; the seminar included visiting a session at the Leeds Medieval Congress, a meeting inside the manuscript stacks and in the digitization lab at the old British Library, with presentations from Michelle Brown and Andrew Prescott, lectures by Joyce Hill and Andy Orchard, a workshop led by manuscript conservators at Corpus Christi, Nicholas Hadgraft and Mel Jefferson, and assorted social events involving other scholars working in Cambridge—all in addition to the impressive regular meetings led by Szarmach and Graham. As a participant, I can only hope that the opportunity arises for a repeat.

C. Cessford finds "an interpolated verse from Cumbria" as well as references to northern British warriors in the late sixth-early seventh century Gododdin poem, composed in south-east Scotland and consisting "mainly of a series of eulogies to dead warriors" (218); Cessford earlier argued against conventional assumptions about reference to Anglo-Saxons in the poem (see YWOES 95), and his discussion here builds upon that argument. In "Northern England and the Gododdin Poem" (*Northern Hist.* 33: 218–22), Cessford identifies an interpolated lullaby known as Dinogad's Smock, which includes reference to a river Derwent, probably that in Cumbria. He suggests a revised translation that implies alliance rather than animosity between the Gododdin kingdom and that of Rheged, "probably located around Carlisle" (220), and he argues that references to other kingdoms in England support the idea that this is not a poem about a battle against Anglo-Saxons.

Christopher Grocock ("'Squaring the Circle': Bede Meets the Tourists," *Med. Life* 4 (1996): 8–10) explains well both the site and the goals of the Bede's World museum, arguing that "Bede deserves to be celebrated not only academically but also on a wider public stage, and Jarrow is the ideal place for this celebration" (9).

In the spring of 1997, another new museum was dedicated, this time to honor the Canterbury abbey founded by St. Augustine in 598. The site itself offers remnants of the Anglo-Saxon and later church buildings; the English Heritage museum nearby features history of site and some writing materials from the Anglo-Saxon scriptorium. Alex Barker ("Anglo-Saxon Attitudes," *Hist. Today* (May): 29–30) provides a description of the museum, along with a brief history of Augustine's role in English history, and an account of the celebrations that accompanied its opening.

In memoria publications appeared this year for Olof Arngart, Lynne Mary Grundy, Tamotsu Matsunami, Tauno F.

Mustanoja, John Collins Pope, and Hideo Yamaguchi.

<div style="text-align: right">J.S.E.</div>

Works not seen

Hiltunen, Risto. "Medieval English Studies in Finland and Japan." *MESN* 37: 3–5.

Jackson, Peter. "*Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, 1993–97: Prospecting and Retrospecting." *MESN* 37: 31–37.

McAllister, Barbara. "The Jarrow Lectures." *MESN* 37: 29–30.

Mursell, Gordon, comp. *The Wisdom of the Anglo-Saxons*. Oxford: Lion. 48 pp. ill.

Perrello, Tony. "Anglo-Saxon Elements of the Gloucester Sub-Plot in *King Lear*." *ELN* 35.1: 10–16.

Turville-Petre, Thorlac. "Medieval English Studies at the University of Nottingham." *MESN* 36: 15–17.

Zeeman, Kenneth L. "Grappling with Grendel, or What We Did When the Censors Came." *Eng. Jnl* 86.2: 46–49.

2. Language

a. Lexicon and Glosses

C. P. Biggam's *Blue in Old English: an Interdisciplinary Semantic Study* (Costerus n.s. 110. Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi) presents a revised version of her dissertation. The work is a reasonably comprehensive study of terms designating various aspects of the color BLUE in OE as well as an introduction to the field of color semantics. The OE words covered are *blǽwen, glǽsen, Hǽwen Waeden* and *Haewen + blaewen, graeg, grene, sweart,* and *wann*. Each term is examined for its scope, meaning, and whether or not it meets the criteria of a basic color term (BCT). Biggam suggests that the evolutionary sequence for BCT's proposed by Berlin *et al.* does not work for OE. Further, it appears that OE did not have a BCT for BLUE. Biggam specifically rejects *hǽwan* as a BCT even though it is the most likely candidate.

A. Breeze's three works support his argument that there are probably more Celtic words in OE than previously believed. "A Celtic Etymology for Hiberno English *callow* "river meadow" (*Eigse* 30, 158–60) explains that *callow* meaning 'low-lying' or 'river meadow' has no connection with *callow* meaning 'inexperienced'. The latter is clearly Germanic in origin cognate with Dut. *kaal* and Ger. *kahl* from OE *calu*. The former meaning is probably from Ir. *caladh*. Breeze's "A Celtic Etymology for Old English *deor* "brave" (*Alfred the Wise*. Ed. Roberts, Nelson, and Godden. Pp. 1–4) focuses on *deor* which occurs 13 times in OE and generally means 'brave'. No clear Germanic cognates exist for *deor*. However, Welsh *dewr* has been around for a long time and is accepted as Celtic in origin. Thus we might derive OE *deor* as a loan from Brettonic where Old Breton contains *deur*. The loan probably occurred after the middle of the sixth century. Lastly, "Old English *wann* 'dark; pallid': Welsh *gwann* 'weak; sad, gloomy'" (*ANQ* 10.4, 10–13) argues that OE *wann* was borrowed from Middle Welsh through Brittonic. Breeze discusses the various meanings of *wann* and contends that his proposed path of transmission explains the why OE poets often used the word in conjunction with 'flame'. Welsh *gwann* has the meanings of 'sad, gloomy' and 'faint or pale'. Such a derivation also makes the Celtic element in such works as *Beowulf, The Wanderer,* and *The Dream of the Rood*" clear.

Jessica Cooke's "Problems of Method in Early English Lexicography: the Case of the Harley Glossary" (*NM* 98) suggests that the Harley Glossary is more than a glossary and less than a dictionary. One of the problems with early English lexicography is that lexicographers, classicists, medievalists, and historians need to agree on definitions of "glossary," "vocabulary" and "dictionary." The Harley Glossary, longer than any other Anglo-Saxon lexicon, contains not only OE terms for Lat., but also etymological labels, something not usually recognized until Cawdrey's 1604 work. Cooke describes the Harley Glossary as transitional between word lists and a generalized dictionary due to its regularization of lemma, abc-order, headings, and longer entries.

A. Fischer's "The Hatton MS of West Saxon Gospels: the Preservation and Transmission of Old English" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture*. Ed. Szarmach and Rosenthanl. pp. 353–67) contends that the Royal and Hatton Manuscripts, produced a century after the Norman Conquest, were "vernacular bibles." Fischer investigates lexical modernizations and misunderstandings of the original texts as well as variations between the two manuscripts. This study of textual transmission might help investigators in three areas: post Anglo-Saxon copying practices, lexical change in OE to ME transmission, and dating more accurately both Royal and Hatton.

R. Frank, in "Old English *orc* 'cup, goblet': a Latin Loanword with Attitude" (*Alfred the Wise*. Ed. Roberts, Nelson, and Godden, pp. 15–24) delves into the meanings and history of 'orc'. It first appears in a Germanic language in *Heliand*. All other occurrences are from OE, but there are only 11: 3 in poetry, 3 in prose, and 5 in glossaries and glosses.

D. H. Green, "From Germania to Europe: the Evidence of Language and History" (*MLR* 92 xxix–xxviii) attempts to show how linguists and historians can and must work together when discussing historical aspects of language. In attempting to look at the intersections between Germanic society and Rome and Christianity, he discusses the relationships of Go. *reiki*, OHG *richi*; OHG *win*, Go. *wein*; and WGer **kirika* to their Gr. and Lat. counterparts. Other than a few brief mentions of the OE terms, the work does not contain much on OE, but that is not the point of this presidential address. He discusses social structure with the first pair, ar-

chaeological findings with the second, and the absence of the more common Lat. *ecclesia* and Gr. *ekklēsía* with the third word.

L. Grundy's "*Ece*: 'eternal' in Ælfric" (*Alfred the Wise*. Ed. Roberts, Nelson, and Godden, pp. 61–64) argues that *ece drihten* is not commonly used in homilies in reference to God. Use of the string in poetry is more common while in prose the co-occurrence seems to be simple collocation. Ælfric uses *ece* to connect the divine and human natures of Christ. *Ece drihten*, which occurs only twice Ælfric, emphasizes the eternal nature of the trinity. *Ece* occurs 1,143 times without reference to God, but to some aspect of eternity. Most of these uses occur in prose works. The use of *ece* with reference to eternal torment is not found in poetry.

A. diP. Healey's "Dictionary of Old English" (*Dictionaries of Medieval Germanic Languages*. Ed. K. H. van Dalen-Oskam et al. Turnhout pp. 55–62) explains some of the basic information about the *DOE*. In "Words, Story, History: the Mapping of Meaning and Toronto's *Dictionary of Old English*" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 55–62) Healey presents a brief essay about the inception of the *Dictionary of Old English* and the expanding role of computers and technology. Specifically she discusses concordances, corpora, and computers. The *DOE* connects the *MED* and *OED* since the *OED* did not cover any OE word extinct by 1150. 'EALD' is used as an example of this sort of connection as it is the third most frequent adjective in OE. It has three basic meanings: 1 senior body, 2 continuity with the past, and 3 the past. Healey answers the question "how old is old" by looking into these various connotations. J. Holland's "Dictionary of Old English: Progress Report" (*OEN* 31.1, 12–15) discusses writing and editing, computer operations, and fund raising. One can now search the DOE corpus on the web. Fascicles F and G are being drafted and F is 3/4 finished. Work on H will begin as soon as F is completed. Funding is still a problem. A list of grants and contributors is given.

C. Kay and I. Wotherspoon's "Historical Thesaurus of English" (*Dictionaries of Medieval Germanic Languages*. Ed. K. H. van Dalen-Oskam et al. Turnhout pp. 42–54) explains the basics of the HTE. Sections cover the type, corpus, area, history, and construction, and give an example of an entry.

P. Kitson's "Old English Bird-Names (1)" (*ES* 78, 481–505) begins his listing and study of kinds of birds local and migratory found in Anglo-Saxon England. Using modern bird books for identification, he tries to recover as many names of birds as possible and determine to which particular species they applied. Bird names are likely to change due to a lack of knowledge of species and dialect variation. He uses various pieces of literature, several glossaries, and even placenames as his data base to locate these names.

S. Kleinman, "Iron-Clad Evidence in Early Medieval Dialectology: Old English *īsern*, isen and *īren*" (*NM* 98, 371–90) subtly argues for the use of statistical/distributional criteria in determining dialectal forms. He demonstrates this for OE using the various forms for 'iron' in OE *īsern, īsen*, and *īren*. The results of his study indicate that there seems to have been a dialectal distribution for the various forms with *īsern* being normal in the North and *īsen* normal in the South, while *īren* was Anglian in origin. *īsern* rather than *īren* seems to have been chiefly poetic. He also mentions that the forms are most likely of Celtic origin rather than Romance.

A. Liberman's "Etymological Studies VII. A Small Animal Farm" (*General Ling*. 35 (1997 for 1995), 97–130) discusses three pairs of words related to animals and how the members of each pair might be related to one another. Specifically, he discusses *cob–cub, rabbit–robin*, and *feldfare–heifer*. For each pair he reviews previous proposals about etymologies and dismisses some, in particular those which claim the etymology is uncertain. He concludes that the etymologies for cob and cub are fairly clear and are related to one another. Liberman's "Ten Scandinavian and North English Etymologies." (*Alvíssmál* 6 (1996), 63–98, and 7, 101–04) discusses OIce. *Edda, Loki Laufey Viðarr, litr*, and *kofa(r)n*; (O)Ice. *glenna glima*; OIce./OE *þulr/þyle*; and N Engl *taistrel, pawky*. He finds a precise etymology difficult to determine for most of them. In each instance, Liberman presents a review of previously proposed etymologies. For OE *þyle*, he rejects the idea that Unferth as *þyle* was some sort of magical donor. Clearly the *þyle* held a special position in society. While finding the exact etymology difficult to determine, Liberman proposes that it is possibly *þuliz. The obscurity of this word's etymology, according to Liberman, may be due to its having been a slang term.

I. Spiegel Fandiño's "Language Contact and Language Change: the Danes in England" (*Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 8 (1995), 139–53) examines Scandinavian words in Middle English in order to determine the degree to which these items fully integrated themselves into English. The ME terms considered of Scandinavian origin and beginning with the grapheme <a, b, or c> serve as the data. Fandiño considers the period from 1100 to 1540 and divides this time into twenty-year segments. Although the great majority of the loans appeared between 1321 and 1460, Fandiño uses 1180 as the beginning of the influx. Most of these came either from texts identified as being North, southeast Midland or "common core" dialects. Fandiño uses R. E. Lewis's classification of ME dialects and identifies most of the loans as coming from the North, Southeast Midland, or "common core" areas. Words from the semantic field of physical action comprise over 16% of the loans, the largest of the 35 semantic fields used by Fandiño. The semantic fields containing more than 3% of the loans are "references to people or social rank," law and social relations, nature and geographical features, household, physical action, state of mind, mental action, and abstractions. Works with didactic content contain the most words of Scandinavian origin (1607 and 30.34%). Romances and registers form the next largest group (30.79%

together), while poetic works and tales and legends form the next largest grouping at 15.1%. Fandiño concludes that a quantitative approach is enlightening and that the Scandinavian loans penetrated into English due to a close relationship betwen the Scandinavians and the English.

S. Nevanlinna's "Lexical Variation in the Old English Gospel Manuscripts and a Note on Continuation" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 135–48) lists lexical substitution and variation in the London B.L. royal I. A. xiv (Ker no. 245) for the twelfth century and Oxford Bodl. Library Hatton 38 (Ker no. 325) from the Cp, the basic MS used by Liuzza. She excludes prepositions from this listing. She divides the words studied into ten categories which classify all of the new words and variations and then presents a list for each category. Hatton contains more lexical substitutions. Most of the new words are of common Germanic orignin. Most variants are also of Germanic origin.

M. Ogura's "The Variability of OE *faran* and *feran*" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 149–62) says *feran* was petrified in the preterite form. Ogura presents seven tables showing the *faren/feran* forms as used in different manuscripts and poems.

M. B. Parkes' "*Rædan, areccan, smeagan*: How the Anglo-Saxons Read" (*ASE* 26, 1–22) discusses the various processes in learning to read and interpret. Parkes compares the OE terms associated with reading to the Lat. terms. Thus, the process designated by OE *raedan* equated to Lat *lectio* (the act of reading), *areccan* to *enarratio* (the act of examining features of texts and interpreting texts), and *smeagan* to *iudicium* (the acts of exercising judgement of the quality and value of the texts). Each section discusses how the Anglo-Saxons might have gone about the processes associated with the term.

Edgar Polomé, "A Few Notes on the Indo-European Religious Vocabulary" (*Germanic Studies*. Ed. Goblirsch *et al.* pp. 331–36) discusses possible etymologies and meanings of various words in Germanic languages for religous ritual. Each section focuses on a specific rite or ritual word whose etymology is unclear. OE *tiber, fifer*; Goth. *hunsl*; ON *seiðr*; and Goth. *blotan*. Examples from other languages are included in each section. In all cases Polomé concludes that the terms being discussed could have been passed down from a pre-Germanic substrate population.

J. Roberts and C. Kay's "A Thesaurus of Old English" (*Dictionaries of Medieval Germanic Languages*. Ed. K. H. van Dalen-Oskam *et al.* Turnhout, pp.31–40) reviews the basic facts of the construction of the TOE: corpus, period, and area. Then they present an extended example of how one might find OE *mus* in either Vol I or II and how to read the entries. This is followed by a brief history of the project itself and the hardware and software used to compile the TOE. Roberts and Sylvester, in the same volume, present a similar but more condensed explanation of the TME. Their example is for ME COURAGE.

T. Venneman's "German *Eisvogel*, Greek *halkyón*, English

alder. A study in Old European Etymology" (*Interdisciplinary Jnl. for Germanic Ling. and Semiotic Analysis* 1 (1996), 113–45) reviews the various terms for 'kingfisher' in Ger., OHG, and OE. It is clear that "ice-eagle" does not work for the bird which has nothing to do with ice and is only a bit larger than a sparrow. Venneman proposes that that is a folk etymology. He also rejects the proposal that the term probably arose from Gmc. **isarna-* 'iron' as in OHG *isarnfogal* or *isanfogal*. Both of these proposals, Vennemann notes, assume that both elements of the name are originally Gmc. Venneman suggests that the word was borrowed into Gmc. from Vasconic, i.e. *is+arano*. He contends that Gr. *Halkyon* is also derived from a widespread Vasconic substratum, **al+kuwons'* 'water-owl'. Likewise, Eng. *alder* can be shown to be derived from Vasconic **al + atse-* 'water-tree'. His general conclusion is that the languages of central Europe were Vasconic until the sixth millenium and speakers of Atlantic languages inhabited the Atlantic fringe of the area between the sixth and third millenia. Thus, we should find more IE words derived from Vasconic than previously suspected.

b. Syntax, phonology, other aspects

C. Allen's "The Development of an 'Impersonal' Verb in Middle English: The Case of *behoove*" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics* pp. 1–21) investigates how semantics and syntax of "behoove" change in ME. 'Behoove' is an impersonal verb, OE *behofian* 'to need'. The experiencer is in the nominative case. The theme is in the genitive or occasionally the accusative. A dative experiencer for behoove was common in twelfth-century MSS. Allen excludes the twelfth century from OE. The theme appears in the nominative when the experiencer is not expressed. EME *bihoven* occurs with non nominative experiencers. Its meaning has become that of 'moral obligation' and necessity is not really involved. *Bihofian* did occur with sentential complements but it was rare. Sentential complements increased and the occurrence with 2 NPS decreased. In the thirteenth century texts there are no examples containing nominative experiencers with behoove. Allen's "The Origins of the 'Group Genitive' in English" (*Trans. of the Philol. Soc.* 95, 111–31) discusses the various manifestations of the genitive in English but focuses on the group genitive and the inflectional system in Middle English. The group genitive is not the result of the reanalysis of the separated genitive as proposed by Janda (1980). Rather they developed when the inflectional genitive became a clitic. Group genitives are not found in OE. By the end of the fourteenth century, *-e(s)* had become generalized to all genders and declensions of the genitive. At this point, group genitives begin to appear. This made it possible for speakers to reanalyze it as a clitic. This reanalysis was in progress until the early seventeenth century.

J. Anderson's "On Variability in Old English Syntax, and Some Consequences Thereof" (*Trans. of the Philol. Soc.* 95,

9–40) investigates system variability in OE. The first main section demonstrates that OE main clauses can be subject-based (least common), prime-based, or ambivalent (most common). The second main section addresses tensed subordinate clauses. Building on the first section, Anderson explains how SVX order in these clauses reflects the extension of syntactic principalhood, specifically. subjecthood. Principal selection does not operate in a system which contains syntactic auxiliaries. Like other V2 languages, OE lacks syntactic auxiliaries, although OE does contain verbal periphrases.

M. D. Arnold, in "Double Object Constructions and Indirect Object Passives: Problems Posed by History" (*Proceedings of the Fifteenth West Coast Conference on Formal Linguistics*, Ed. Brian Agbayani and Sze-Wing Tang. Stanford, CA, pp. 1–15) argues that explanatory proposals for syntactic phenomena should also account for diachronic facts. He uses double object constructions (DOC) and indirect object passives (IOP) to support his contention as he argues against Larson's 1988 to DOCs and accounts for the occurrence and decline of *to*DOCs, something the passivization approach cannot do. DOCs emerged in ME as an incorporation mechanism. With this approach, the late innovation of IOPs is also explainable.

C. Barrack's "Pgmc. *-VC;iV: a Response to Murray" (*Interdisciplinary Jnl for Germanic Ling. and Semiotic Analysis* 2 , 117–78) points out what he sees as the ad hoc nature of the Murray (1993) and Murray and Venneman (1983) proposals for syllable structure and word division in PGmc. He expressly rejects each of their points and focuses strongly on their recourse to resyllabification to account for residual problems. Barrack claims that the word division evidence from OE and Goth. and Open Syllable Lengthening in OIce. and Faroese support Sievers' original reconstruction of *-V$CiV- for PGmc.

T. Bredehoft's "First-Person Inscriptions and Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England" *ASSAH* 9 (1996) 103–10 discusses speaking-object inscriptions and their place in textual-community literacy. At least 24 of these objects with inscriptions in either Lat. or OE survive. Many of these are owner's inscriptions and nearly all the ones discussed are in the Latin alphabet rather than the runic alphabet, indicating more familiarity with Latin letters than runic characters. More OE owner inscriptions suggest more familiarity with OE than Latin. Moreover, the OE inscriptions appear on the higher status (precious metal) items. The owners knew what the inscriptions said regardless of whether or not they could read. Maker's formulae form the other large set of inscriptions. These inscriptions and the anglicization of Latin formulae such as *N me fecit* support the idea that literacy among artisans may have been higher than previously suspected.

F. Colman elucidates, in "More Meetings of Philology and Limguistics–with a Little Help from Their Friends: on a Recently Discovered Anglo-Saxon Coin" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 25–33), the

interdependence of various academic traditions and historical linguistics in deciphering runes. An inscription on an Anglo-Saxon penny serves as the primary example. The obverse of the coin contains a king's name that is clearly identifiable based on our knowledge of kings and naming. However, the inscription on the reverse should be the name of the moneyer, but identifying the name is more complex. Although the etymology and form <RED> in the second half of the name is clear, the first part of the name, <TIÆL> cannot be found in any OE name or word. Colman compares two possibilities for this CEOL and TIL and concludes that TIL is the more likely based on both phonology and onomastics. Colman contends that the ÆL is understandable as either a dipthongal reflex of a short monopthong or a transposition where *æ* represents an unstressed vowel.

R. d'Alquen in "Non-Reduplication in Northwest Germanic: the Problem That Won't Go Away" (*Germanic Studies*. Ed. Goblirsch *et al.* pp. 69–91) proposes that some of the problems around non-reduplication in class VII verbs in the Northwest Germanic languages can be resolved by acknowledging a process of (e) infixing. This proposal is elegant and explains the *r*-preterites, the archaic syncopated reduplications, and troublesome OE exceptions of previous proposals.

O. Fischer's "On the Status of Grammaticalisation and the Diachronic Dimension in Explanation" (*Trans. of the Philol. Soc.* 95, 149–87) notes that diachronic linguists working within a generative framework often ignore the process of grammaticalization because it is diachronic rather than synchronic. Using the case of the grammaticalization of *have to* in English, Fischer attempts to include grammaticalization within an explanatory model of language change. The semantic processes involved in grammaticalization are clearly diachronic, but the syntactic ones can be viewed as synchronic and thus eligible for inclusion in an explanatory model of language change.

J. M. Fontana's "On the Integration of Second Position Phenomena" (*Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*. Ed. Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent. Cambridge, pp. 207–49) reviews three proposals (Cardinaletti & Roberts 1991, Rivero 1997, and Fontana 1993) concerning accounts of second position clitics (2P clitics) and the verb second constraint (V2). He reviews and compares these works with respect to their methodology, theory, and data. Fontana presents his own synthesis of these works. He concludes that some languages can exhibit both the V2 and 2P structures. Allowing for the coexistent structures allows for more descriptive and explanatory adequacy.

P. Gasiorowwski, "Words in -ate and the History of English Stress" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics*. Ed. Fisiak and Winter pp. 157–80), investigates stress assignment in the -*ate* words of English. The study begins with modern English and works backward to the fourteenth century. Gasiorowski utilizes the framework of metrical phonology in his analysis and argues that it allows a more coherent perspec-

tive for stress assignment in English than other approaches. For the -*ate* words, it is not the rules assigning stress that vary, but the metrical status of that particular suffix. The more general conclusion of this work is that the English Stress Rule has been virtually the same since ME. He explains the stress shifts in -*ate* words by the left-headed metrical structure of the word tree. This rule did not arise directly from OE but was indigenous. It resulted from contact with French. The OE rules were replaced by a rule allowing only initial syllables of root morphemes and some affixes to carry stress.

R. Hiltunen, in "An Aspect of 'ESP' in a Historical Perspective: the Case of Anglo-Saxon Law" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 51–62), looks at syntactic complexity in Anglo-Saxon legal texts. Specifically Hiltunen investigates the development of three aspects of legal English and their developments and existence in OE: a) directiveness as the major speech act, b) clarity, common denominator of ... and 3) text organization as the main constraint on the level of discourse. Directiveness is often expressed in simple sentences in the imperative mood. Clarity begins to be lost when modifications are inserted three deep. In Anglo-Saxon legal language, qualifications are most commonly listed after the main clauses in a numbered order. More anaphora exists in Anglo-Saxon legal language than in modern English. The speech-based background of legal language with more qualifications means more complexity and requires more careful planning before committing things to writing. The increasing complexity means more interplay between syntactic and pragmatic factors.

S. Howe's *The Personal Pronouns in the Germanic Languages* (Studia Linguistica Germanica 43. Berlin and New York: de Gruyter, 1996) is a published version of his dissertation and contains chapters on Pan-Germanic, Gothic, English, Frisian, Dutch, Afrikaans, Langobardic, German, Yiddish, Scandinavian, Swedish, Danish, Norwegian, Continental Scan, Faroese, Icelandic, as well as the standard introduction, morphology, changes, and general conclusions. The larger organizing purposes are to analyze the morphology of personal pronouns in the Germanic languages and present a theory of change for the personal pronouns. Howe divides the changes in pronouns into three change types: /A/ and /B/ which deal with the loss of distinctions, /?C/ changes involving distinction or redistinction, and /D/ analogical change. Howe demonstrates that changes outside of the pronoun system are important for changes inside of the pronoun system, especially those dealing with category/property distinctions.

A. Hulk and A. van Kemenade's "Negation as a Reflex of Clause Structure" (*Negation and Polarity: Syntax and Semantics*. Ed. Danielle Forget *et al*. Current Issues in Ling. Theory 155. Amsterdam and Philadelphia pp. 183–207) considers evidence from OE and OF negation patterns. Positions of negation are true reflexes of clause structures. Sentential negation, a minority pattern, is of particular importance in reaching a

conclusion about V movement and clause structure. In OE sentences with single subjects and single negation, when the subject is a pronoun it occurs to the left of *na* and when it is a noun it occurs to the right of *na*. This pattern continues into modern English with the minor variation that noun subjects may occur on either side of the negative in some instances.

D. Kastovsky's "Morphological Classification in English Historical Linguistics: the Interplay of Diachrony, Synchrony and Morphological Theory" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka. pp. 63–75) discusses the morphological classifications and paradigm names and reviews the criteria for inflectional class membership. In PGmc, the morphological categories were overt and therefore predictable. The names of the categories were clearly connected to the form of the lexical item. The category names were carried over by OE scholars in describing OE morphological categories. Kastovsky contends that probably by pre-OE, category membership had become non predictable from the form of the item, a status he refers to as covert. From IE to Gmc. the pattern was 1) base(root) + theme (stem formation) + case/number (=inflection). By OE this has become binary: stem + inflection.

A. van Kemenade's "V2 and Embedded Topicalizaton in Old and Middle English" (*Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*. Ed. van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent. Cambridge, pp. 326–52) investigates the position of the finite verb in OE and eME as well as the nature of the specifier position of IP. Van Kemenade adduces evidence from various texts in various periods of English to support his point. He concludes that the specifier position of IP should not be accorded topic status and that V movement is asymmetric. Although the evidence for CV2 increases and is clearer in eME than in OE, van Kemenade concludes that OE was a CV2 language because of the asymmetry of verb movement and restricted embedded topicalization. V2 declines from the middle of the fourteenth century, and English became an I-oriented language rather than a C-oriented one.

M. Kilpiö, "Participial Adjectives with Anaphoric Reference of the Type the *said*, the (a)forementioned from Old to Early Modern English: the Evidence of the Helsinki Corpus" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 77–100) searches out the Helsinki Corpus (HC) for "the said" and "the (a)forementioned" from OE to EME. Only 55 occurrences of OE lexical items meet Kilpiö's two criteria: anaphoric and function as a "participial adjectives in the pre or post modifier position or as noun heads." In ME this frequency rises to 1316 and in EmodE it drops slightly back to 967. In OE all of the terms occur as premodifiers. Variation in this pattern begins in ME. The fact that the terms begin as premodifiers, move to occupying both positions and then return to being premodifiers signals syntactic lexicalization. In EmodE the participial adjective becomes increasingly associated with legal language.

H. Kim's "Subcategorization Inheritance in Old English

P-V Compounds." (*Jnl of Ling.* 33, 39–66) examines the relationship between the notion of "head" and the valence of P-V compounds in OE. Kim argues that the valence of the P can undergo argument attraction and that subcategorization can percolate to the mother from a non-head as well as a head. Kim uses an Argument attraction framework within a Head driven Phrase Structure Grammar (HPSG) to account for these phenomena in a clear fashion. The study uses data from sixteen OE works in both poetry and prose.

S. Kim's "On Nonlocal Compensatory Lengthening" (*Theoretical Ling.* 23, 1–19) contends that compensatory lengthening in OE and in part in ME can be described without resorting to metathesis. Although Kim focuses on nonlocal compensatory lengthening, the article does include commentary on local compensatory lengthening.

P. Kiparsky, in "The Rise of Positional Licensing" (*Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change.* Ed Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent. Cambridge, pp. 460–94), pulls together various works on the topic and provides a critical analysis of each approach. His aim is to unify the approaches and include inflectional morphology, and connect the changes in I to the internal reorganization of the VP. OE, Kiparsky concludes, had I as a syntactic category, although its presence was not obligatory. After discussing the changes in structure, he concludes that all of them were the result of a single syntactic shift. He analyzes these changes using a theory of case and argument licensing to link morphology, syntactic structure, and semantic form. It is clear that the loss of inflections is connected to the rise of rigid positional constraints.

P. Kitson's "When Did Middle English Begin? Later than You Think!" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics.* Ed. Fisiak and Winter, pp. 221–69) presents his reasons for agreeing with Sweet that ME began around 1200. The twelfth century was a transitional period, termed by Sweet "transition Old English."

W. F. Koopman's "Another Look at Clitics in Old English" (*Trans. of the Philol. Soc. 95*, 73–93) investigates how one might recognize clitics, an analysis proposed for personal pronoun subjects and objects, pronominal objects of prepositions, and even adverbs. He discusses Kayne's eight criteria for clitics and their applicability to OE data. Only criteria one and eight occur in a majority of possibly clitic environments in OE. Although the clitic analysis provides certain advantages of elegance, it clearly doesn't hold true in every possible case claimed for OE. OE personal pronouns are most like clitics and adverbs the least like them.

Frederik Kortlandt, "How Old Is the English Glottal Stop?" (*Germanic Studies.* Ed. Goblirsch *et al.* pp. 175–179), agrees with Liberman's position that the OE glottal is very old and has by modern English lost its position as a phoneme. He disagrees with the accentological theory of this loss of distinctiveness. Kortlandt argues that the OE glottal derives from the PGmc. preglottalized stops. Unexpected geminations support this position. The antiquity of the glottal stop

in English is further supported by glottalization in Danish, Latvian, Lithuanian, Armenian, and Sindhi. The best evidence for the theory that the unaspirated voiced stops of the PIE were actually glottalized is from English.

A. Kroch and A. Taylor's "Verb Movement in Old and Middle English: Dialect Variation and Language Contact" (*Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change.* Ed. Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent. Cambridge, pp. 297–325) proposes modifications to Pintzuk's 1991 and 1993 analyses of IP-V2 in OE to bring it more in line with other analyses of modern Germanic languages and accounts for 1) that OE cannot freely subordinate clauses with non-subject topics and V2 order, 2) the special clitic rule proposed by Pintzuk is unjustified theoretically. They account for these problems by changing the landing site of the topic. If the tensed verb in a V2 sentence moves to I^0, the topic moves to Spec, CP. This proposal allows the tensed verb to move in a fashion consistent with IP-V2 languages while the topic move is consistent with CP-V2 languages. The second half of the article addresses variations of V2 in northern and southern dialects in ME. The differences between the northern and southern dialects examined cannot be attributed to the clitic status of pronouns. They attribute the difference to contact with Scandinavian in the North. The reduction of inflections triggered the change in the north to a CP-V2 syntax.

M. Krygier's *The Disintegration of the English Strong Verb System* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1994 viii, 271 pp) argues that the majority of the strong to weak shifting occurred in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries and supports this contention, along with those of causes with chi-square tests. Krygier's investigation covers English from 700 A.D. to 1500 A.D. and examines 367 strong verbs from OE, 271 from the twelfth century, 253 from the thirteenth, 230 from the fourteenth, and 208 from the fifteenth. Krygier examines several possible contributors to the shift from strong to weak verbs: phonological changes, the number of vowel-alternates, the loss of the ablaut system, and the existence of parallel weak verbs, the influence of Norman French, and the loss of inflectional markings. Where possible he supports his conclusions as to the significance of these factors using a chi-square test. Of these, he concludes that the third, fifth, and sixth were the most influential.

R. Lass's *Historical Linguistics and Language Change* (Cambridge Stud. in Ling. 81 Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press) concerns theory in historical linguistics. Lass argues for historical linguists to take a more ontological approach to their work rather than a functionalist or hermeneutic one. He covers most aspects of language change at the phonological and morphological levels focusing particularly on the ideas of relatedness of languages, linguistic time, reconstruction, and novelty. The work should appeal to scholars in the general area of theory and historical linguistics as well as those scholars interested in specific aspects of linguistic change. Moving from the general to the specific, R. Lass's "Why *house* Is an

Old English Masculine A-Stem." (*To Explain the Present.* Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 101–09) presents a specific example of the problems of assigning gender and inflectional classes to OE nouns. He addresses the problem of multi gendered nouns in OE. Some masculines and neuters are indistinguishable from one another. Five problems in OE gender classification have been noted: a) nouns of indeterminate gender b) nouns attested as both masculine and neuter c) nouns attested as both masculine and feminine, d) nouns attested as both neuter and feminine e) nouns attested in all three genders. Given the problems with assigning gender, the best conclusion is that *hus* was mostly neuter a-stem, but could at any point have also been masculine, as could wife and leaf.

A. Lutz, in "Sound Change, Word Formation and the Lexicon: the History of the English Prefix Verbs" (*ES* 78, 258–90), argues that the influence of Norman French was not as strong with respect to the decline of prefixation in word formation as previously assumed. Instead, the contact with Romance prefixing practices helped to preserve prefixing as a process. Some Germanic prefixes were lost before the Norman conquest; some survived and continue to survive into Modern English. Lutz proposes a phonological and phonotactic explanation for this loss and uses a number of OE prefixes as examples. In short, the decline in prefixing was due to the "progressive reduction of pretonic syllables and … to the phonotactic structure of the individual prefixes" (283).

C. B. McCully's "Stress, Survival and Change: Old to Middle English" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics.* Ed. Fisiak and Winter, pp. 283–300) searches for a non-linear diachronic explanation of the stress shifts between OE and ME. In a brief review, he presents the strengths and weaknesses of three theories of stress in OE, a phonological one, a morphological one, and a morpho-phonological one and how they help to account for the shift in stress which occurred in ME. After finding problems with the first two theories, he chooses Hutton's morpho-phonological theory as the best one for OE stress. Hutton's theory synthesizes the first two in its acceptance of quantity sensitive non-initial stress in OE and primary root stress in ME as well as accounting for the right-strength, right-edge extrametricality found in ME. McCully acknowledges that the article, concerned with theory, contains little data.

R. Millar's "Some Patterns in the Non Historical Demonstrative Usage of the *Peterborough Chronicle* Annals 1070–1121" (*N&Q* 44, 161–64) discusses the use of non-historical demonstratives and concludes that *þe* was used by the Peterborough Scribe when describing items of local importance. It was not a "lapse" as described by Clark, but an innovative use of the *þe* form which may indicate that the scribe was from Peterborough.

B. Mitchell's "The Sign ꝛ in the Annal for 871 in the Parker Chronicle, MS Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173" (*Alfred the Wise.* Ed. Roberts, Nelson, and Bodden, pp.

127–33) discusses the introduction of 37 of the annal's 43 clauses by this sign. Mitchell divides these 37 into 13 patterns and then eliminates one instance of pattern 13 to leave 36 clauses introduced by ꝛ. His goal is to determine if ꝛ is being used in its traditional meaning as a continuation or in a mistaken meaning as clause initiator. He compares the ꝛ clauses from the annal for 871 with those found in the annals for 865 to 878. He finds 19 examples of potentially suspect ꝛ's. He finds that there is no way of deciding if the ꝛ is a miscopied *positura*. These clauses in the annals, he concludes, may suggest that the annals came from verbal recollection of participants or observers. Mitchell's "Unexpressed Principal Clauses in Old English?" (*To Explain the Present.* Ed. Nevalinen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 125–34) clarifies those sentences in OE where modern readers might perceive an unexpressed principal clause. Mitchell contends that OE speakers/writers would see nothing 'omitted' or unusual in such sentences. Mitchell considers the types of phrases in which one might find unexpressed principal clauses: *þæt*-clauses, *hu*-clauses, nexus questions introduced by *hwæþer*, x-questions, answers to *hwy*-questions, exclamations, wishes, and conditional clauses. Each of these environments is discussed with reference to the appropriate sections of Mitchell 1985.

W. F. H. Nicolaisen, in "Periodization in the History of English" (*General Ling.* 35 (1997 for 1995), 157–76) reviews various works which divide English into time periods. Dates alone seem very arbitrary and divisions are almost always made along linguistic considerations, usually phonological or morphological. Nicolaisen suggests that cultural periods might be used in addition to linguistic considerations. In most cases "period making" changes can't be demonstrated to support specific dates. The work is meant to be general and so contains little on OE other than some examples.

H. F. Nielsen's "Developments in Frisian Runology: a Discussion of Düwel & Tempel's Runic Corpus From 1970" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 45 (1996), 123–30), as the subtitle notes, discusses Düwel and Tempel's article and the varying criteria for classifying inscriptions as "Frisian." Ultimately he focusses on Düwel and Tempel's use of -u as a linguistic feature of Frisian. He concludes, based on the fact that -u could be a reflex of inflections other than Gmc. n/asm. a-stem *az/*an, that -u, although widely relied upon, is not a definitive enough diagnostic feature to classify an inscription as Frisian.

M. Ogura's "On the Beginning and Development of the begin to Construction" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics.* Ed. Fisiak and Winter, pp. 403–28) searches for signs of transition between the prefixed forms such as *onginnan* and the non-prefixed ME form *ginnen*. She rejects the conventional explanation that *begin to* arose when *onginnan* was replaced by *beginnan*. Looking at all of the verbs with this form, Ogura uses copious examples and frequency tables for OE and ME words in this group to conclude that the OE *-ginnan* vebs denoted ingressiveness and formed periphrases

with Inf or to-Inf. In late ME *did* superseded *gan* and *con* in periphrastic constructions, but *began* retained its ingressive use. Ogura's "Three Features of Old English Verbs of Motion" (*ES* 78, 316–29) discusses the semantic conflict bewteen the *gan* group and the *faran* group, reflexive or pleonastic use of coreferential pronouns and the shift from prefix verb order to verb participle order. All three features are related. The first indicates a shift to simpler forms of verbs, the second occurred as a compensatory or transitional expression and the third shows an increase in simple verb plus prepositional phrases.

R. I. Page, in "On the Baffling Nature of Frisian Runes" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 45 (1996), 131–50), investigates the question of why runes were used and how the Frisian runes might or might not be similar to the English ones. Use of runes on coins serves as the starting point. The communicative use of the Frisian runes is more hidden. Personal names, object names, and futharks are not uncommon in Runic inscriptions. The small number of confirmed Frisian materials hinders answering the questions of communicative purpose. The English runes seem to have had a clear practice where the Frisian do not. Further, one must also consider different spelling traditions for the English and Frisian runes. Specifically, Page discusses the practice of omitting a nasal before a homoorganic consonant, something found in the English runes and attributable to Latin Roman usages, but where it occurs in Frisian inscriptions, it appears to be influenced by the Norse. Given the large number of forms and apparently futharks, we must be skeptical of the systematic nature of the Frisian inscriptions. He ends with the same question he begins with: can we safely conclude that there ever was a Frisian runic tradition?

David Parsons, "The Origins and Chronology of the 'Anglo-Frisian' Additional Runes" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Bermanistik* 45 (1996), 151–70), after presenting five possible chronologies for runic reforms, investigates in detail the one he labels C: 1. **ansuz>*as* without stem disturbance, 2. Fronting adds pressure and a and a are created, 3. **as>os*, creating two o-runes before i-mutation shifts one to o. He concludes that a and maybe o were Anglo-Saxon, not Anglo-Frisian. He also concludes that the idea that the changes were not immediate is too strong to stand by the simulataneous creation of a and o, but does maintain the general chronology.

B. Phillips' "The Peterborough Chronicle Diphthongs" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics*. Ed. Fisiak and Winter, pp. 429–38) examines the regularity of spelling of diphthongs in *Peterborough Chronicle* and *Ormulum*. The earlier *Peterborough Chronicle* spelling of diphthongs seems chronologically consistent with the spellings in *Orm*. This suggests a regularity in spelling and an incorporation of his native dialect into the spelling by the scribe and indicates that preconsonantal diphthongization in OE had progressed further than hitherto noted. Phillips uses the specifics of the article

to argue for more emphasis on detecting the difference between dialect mixture in texts and a spelling or sound change in progress.

G. G. Pocheptsov's "Quasi-Impersonal Verbs in Old and Middle English" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics*. Ed. Fisiak and Winter pp. 469–88) looks at the problem of defining transition in syntax using the quasi-impersonal verbs as his data. He lists some of the quasi-impersonal verbs in six semantic groups, quasi-impersonals denoting or expressing: physical feelings, emotional feelings, uncontrollable actions, appropriateness, the idea of fate, and modality. Collateral constructions and complements are given for each semantic group. Attempts to account for the loss of quasi-impersonals on purely syntactic grounds such as restructuring of constructions do not give enough weight to consideration collateral constructions. Still, the restructuring of syntax was important since some of the quasi-impersonals were lost because they did not fit the new patterns.

A. Renouf's "Tools for the Diachronic Study of Historical Corpora" (*To Explain the Present*. Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 185–99) discusses AVIATOR, a program designed to deal with texts diachronically. The system is tested on the Helsinki Corpus and utilizes four filters: Filter 1 for new records, Filter 2 which records new uses of words from the output of Filter 3 with works with meanings, and Filter 4 which accumulates the Filter 1 records. Some adaptations will be required for work with OE and ME texts in the HC, specifically, the texts need to be dated and ordered and variant spellings must be accounted for, as must inflections.

Ian Roberts' "Directionality and Word Order Change the History of English" (*Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change*. Ed. Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent. Cambridge, pp. 397–426) attempts to connect word order changes in OE and ME with loss of case inflections. Roberts begins with the idea that OE was head initial rather than head final. He notes that some of the same problems arise whether one takes a head final or head initial approach to OE. Roberts presents evidence in favor of dispensing with three rightward movement rules necessary if we consider OE a head final language: V-raising, V-projection raising, and extraposition. The loss of OV orders was caused by the loss of a strong N-feature on Agr_o which is related to the loss of morphological case on DP's. Roberts concludes that using the head initial position, one can show that word order changes are a typical kind of change connected to a morphological trigger. Roberts' "Remarks on the Old English C-System and the Diachrony of V2" (*Language Change and Generative Grammar*. Ed. Ellen Brandner and Gisella Ferraresi. Opladen, 1996 pp. 154–67) reviews Roberts and Roussou's 1996 approach to Germanic V2 and provides a reformulation of it to apply to OE. Roberts refines R&R's to German to allow for a split-C analysis based on clitic-placement and its interactions with V2. Using evidence from Gothic, he concludes by showing how V2 in OE might have developed and that "full V2" was the innovation

rather than "residual V2."

S. Miret, A. Koliadis, and W. U. Dressler's "Connectionism vs. Rules in Diachronic Morphology" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 18, 149–82) discusses the work of Hare and Elman (1992, 1993) in detail and focuses on strengths and weaknesses of their experiments using computers to reproduce and predict changes in the phonology and morphology of OE verbs. Frequency of type and productivity of pattern are important in the networks. The networks have a high degree of success, but cannot handle the notion of "default." Miret *et al.* propose a Natural Morphology approach rather than the constructivist/connectionist approach of Hare and Elman (1992, 1993). They propose four criteria for graduating and measuring productivity and including the concept of naturalness. Using these, they conclude that class II weak verbs are the most productive in OE.

A. Seppänen and G. Bergh, "Subject Extraction in English: Some Problems of Interpretation" (*Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 30 (1996), 45–67), presents the main findings on Subject Extraction in English from their more inclusive forthcoming study. Much of the article is devoted to modern English, but the overall thrust is toward the history of Subject Extraction through time. For OE, subject extraction could result in a that + gap but that structure was usually avoided by using a zero + gap or a resumptive pronoun in the position of the extracted subject. They conclude that null subjects were severely limited even in OE and became more and more limited so as to be eliminated by early Modern English. A general rule of obligatory subjects and gradual elimination of exceptions explains this process. They formulate the rule as "a finite clause must have an overt subject" (64).

A. Steponavicius's "Middle (and Old) English Prerequisites for the Great Vowel Shift" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics*. Ed. Fisiak and Winter, pp. 561–72) approaches the GVS as a restructuring of the free vowels which were long monophthongs. The vocalization of the dorsal fricatives and the sonorant /w/, the GVS, and the vocalization of /r/, in that order, resulted in the subsystem of free vowels. Most of this restructuring of the long vowels occurred, according to Steponavicius, in the fourteenth century, although the process continued in some form until around the seventeenth.

I. Taavitsainen and P. Pahta's "The Corpus of Old English Medical Writing: Linguistic Variation and Prescriptive Collocations in Scholastic Style" (*To Explain the Present.* Ed. Nevalainen and Kahlas-Tarkka, pp. 209–25) discusses the corpus of Early English Medical Writing containing works from 1375–1700 and its relationship to the Helsinki Corpus and the Corpus of Early English Correspondence and the approach used to construct that corpus. There is little on OE. Still, it is interesting from the perspective of the development of the scientific style of writing. The change in style seems to coincide with the birth of the "new science." Modern scientific writing contains a high type/token ratio, nominalization, and grammatical metaphors and reduction of the role of verbs

to express relationships between nominal phrases. They use prescriptive phrases such as "it is to + V" which occur mainly in medical texts and focus on the verbs *wit* and *know* with *wit* being the most common.

E. van Gelderen's "Inflection and Movement in Old English" (*German: Syntactic Problems-Problematic Syntax.* Ed Werner Abraham and van Gelderen. Tübingen, pp. 71–82) contends that the data do not support the relationship between rich verbal inflection and Verb-second movement. Rather in OE, movement to C sometimes results in reduced inflection. Moreover, verbal agreement does not activate the functional categories of Agr and T in OE. Examples are drawn from *Beowulf,* the *Junius Manuscript,* and the *Exeter Book.*

A. R. Warner's "Extending the Paradigm: an Interpretation of the Historical Development of Auxiliary Sequences in English" (*ES* 78, 162–89) discusses the passive progressive in English. Although absent in OE and uncommon in ME, it becomes more frequent until the eighteenth century after which it begins declining. The section on OE discusses verbal groups found with *beon/wesan* in OE. The OE data is drawn from Visser. Warner concludes that even though functional factors are important, formal factors are what led to the extension of the English auxiliary sequences.

In "The Structure of Parametric Change, and V-Movement in the History of English" (*Parameters of Morphosyntactic Change.* Ed Ans van Kemenade and Nigel Vincent. Cambridge, pp. 380–93), A. Warner reviews the proposals of van Kemenade and Kroch and Taylor discussed elsewhere in this section. Warner's work forms the discussion of the works which precede it in the book. He focuses on the interrelationships between changes and the parts of aa change as presented in the articles he discusses.

A. R. Wedel's "Verbal Prefixation and the 'Complexive' Aspect in Germanic" (*NM* 98, 321–32) examines the aspectual system in Germanic using examples from Grk. Goth. Ger, Russ, and Old Slavonic. Specifically, Wedel focuses on the verbal prefixes and their relationship to action expressed as a complete event or the complexive aspect. In Germanic -*ge* was used to mark aspect. After a review of previous work in the area and additional elucidation of examples in Goth. OE, and OHG as well as NHG and ModE, Wedel concludes that the Germanic aspectual system, in its expression as verbal prefixation, is similar to that of the Slavic languages. He attributes the relatively undeveloped aspectual system to the OE and Ger. scribes introducing compound tenses to render the Latin ones missing in Germanic, thus causing the loss of aspectual differentiation.   K.D.T.

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3. Literature

a. General and Miscellaneous

Critical Introductions and Overviews

Derek Pearsall's "Language and Literature" is Chapter 8 in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England*, ed. Nigel Saul (Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1997), pp. 245–76. Two paragraphs of attention to the language are followed by a summary of conservative views on the literature, beginning with *Beowulf*, said to be a product of Bede's Northumbria. The remainder comprises a few descriptive paragraphs on "Religious Poetry," "King Alfred and the Monastic Revival," and "Late Old English Prose," before turning to post-Conquest literature. Philip Tilling's chapter "The Literature of Pre-Renaissance England" in Richard Bradford's *Introducing Literary Studies* (London: Prentice Hall, 1996), pp. 61–77, devotes six pages to the Old English period, offering conservative views mostly on verse (*Beowulf* and some lyrics), with two summary paragraphs on Alfredian prose and the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan.

In *Images of Faith in English Literature 700–1500: An Introduction* (London: Longman, 1997), Dee Dyas offers "a guide to the Christian world-view" of the Middle Ages, aiming "to make the process as painless as possible" (p. viii). The book does not aim to be a literary survey of the period (although for the most part it does resemble that genre) but focuses on texts of particular interest and relates them to their cultural and historical contexts. Thus the first chapter recounts the progress of the Conversion and then seeks "to disentangle pagan and Christian elements in *Beowulf*" (p. 20), finding that the hero must have seemed lacking in the eyes of the Christian poet. Chapter 2 discusses the role of the *peregrinus* in the early Church, especially as a Celtic legacy, and

focuses particularly on Dorothy Whitelock's interpretation of *The Seafarer* in terms of pilgrimage. The remainder of the chapter is devoted to an examination of images of decay and transience in verse. Chapter 3 begins with an introduction to the major figures of the early Anglo-Saxon Church and then deals with three poetic types in turn: scriptural verse should be interpreted typologically and in a liturgical context, since this was how the Anglo-Saxons understood it; verse saints' lives, with their heroic trappings, are expressive of the closeness that the Anglo-Saxons felt to these heroes of the faith; and *The Dream of the Rood* and *Elene* exemplify popular spirituality in the form of devotion to the cross. The last chapter that deals with Old English surveys Alfredian prose (with special emphasis on explaining why Alfred chose the texts he did for translation) before turning to a brief account of the Benedictine Reform and the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the late battle poems *Judith*, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and *The Battle of Maldon*.

Reading Old English Texts, ed. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), comprises a set of essays on various aspects of Old English literary studies. They have diverse aims, ranging in nature from brief surveys of particular critical approaches to musings about the aims and present status of Old English literary studies to argumentative exemplifications of some favored hermeneutic methods. Providing bibliographic guidance in regard to current modes of analysis is not the aim of most of the chapters, since the citation of scholarship is selective; but the book is rounded out by a set of brief "Suggestions for Further Reading" (pp. 216–22). The focus is not simply on current interpretive practices, since most of the chapters outline a historical context in which to view current critical trends. I suppose that is inevitable, especially since the theme that recurs most often in the book and dominates so much of its variety of critical procedures is that validating current textual practices is largely a matter of repudiating the critical past. O'Brien O'Keeffe's introduction (pp. 1–19) establishes this pattern, focusing on situating the present moment in the context of the last century and a half of critical practices. For O'Brien O'Keeffe, the central issue in this historical context is how to deal with the claims of philology—and not just any sort of philology, but particularly the "positivist" sort (in the original sense of the word connoting claims to scientific objectivity, not as the abusive and essentially meaningless epithet it's become in some recent attacks on philology). Thus it is scholars of the 1870s (Gabriel Monod, Friedrich Nietzsche, Henry Sweet) who occupy center stage in the historical contextualization of Old English criticism, rather than D. W. Robertson, Jr., Morton W. Bloomfield, and Stanley B. Greenfield: though patristic exegesis and formalism are said to have ceased to be of critical value, strikingly enough it is the critical fashions of a hundred years earlier that have the greatest claim to our attention. All of this is enlightening and deeply un-

settling. Worse, I suspect it's an accurate assessment. The ideologies underlying Robertsonian "historical criticism" and New Criticism seem so thoroughly discredited that they offer no very great challenge to current thinking. Only philology persists as an ideology worthy of attack because it can never be vanquished—some form of philology must always underlie our understanding of Old English texts. This is a debate that we may grow tired of but which can never be settled. For that reason one would think that it is not the historical backgrounds of philology, after all, that are most worthy of serious critique, but philology as it is currently practiced: Henry Sweet's appeal to scientific objectivity, after all, holds no more sway now than the critical modes of the 1960s, and as O'Brien O'Keeffe points out (taking her cue from Daniel Donoghue's chapter, below), "current practitioners of philology consciously distance themselves from the claims of positivism, erecting, testing, and modifying their hypotheses with clear understanding of the subjectivity involved" (p. 11). This is bound to continue to be a very productive realm of debate if it engages philology as it is currently practiced, and so this does after all seem just the right focus for the introduction to this volume.

Michael Lapidge's contribution to the book, "The Comparative Approach" (pp. 20–38), amounts to a brief history of Old English literary criticism, placing comparative approaches in the context of larger hermeneutic trends. Thus the Teutonism of nineteenth-century German scholarship gives way to the English belletrism of W. P. Ker, which in turn is replaced by the cultural relativism of Henry and Nora Chadwick, especially in their *Growth of Literature*. The rise of the New Criticism (or "practical criticism," as it is known in England), with its frankly ahistorical aims, provoked a crisis enforcing a more precise distinction between two types of comparatism, source studies and the identification of analogues. Lapidge's survey is confined to the latter area, comprising "three fields which are especially suitable for comparative analysis: literary movements and trends; motifs, types and themes; and genres and forms" (p. 27). The first of these is of limited relevance, though perhaps a "hermeneutic style" can be discerned in tenth-century compositions; the second continues to inspire a considerable volume of studies each year (as the pages of *YWOES* attest); but the third has produced the most significant results, as Lapidge illustrates in four genres, gnomic, enigmatic, epic, and lyric verse, in regard to which he identifies major comparative studies. Lapidge sees prospects for the continued high productivity of comparative approaches.

"Source Study," which is D. G. Scragg's contribution to the book (pp. 39–58), is confined to written sources, the remainder being treated under the heading of orality. The real value of source study, Scragg points out, is in the areas of textual criticism, arguments about authorship and style, and intellectual history, by which he means "tracing the dissemination of European thought, showing the distinctive contri-

bution to it of Anglo-Saxon authors, and determining the education and reading available to the Anglo-Saxons" (p. 42). The poem *Judith* illustrates the stylistic principle, since the poet's departures from the account of the Book of Judith have a particularly Anglo-Saxon flavor, emphasizing the martial aspects of the story and the cravenness of Holofernes as a failed commander. Our knowledge of Ælfric's sources is particularly rich, and along with what we now know about his use of Paul the Deacon's homiliary and some version of the Cotton-Corpus legendary, it reveals a great deal about Ælfric as a scholar and reader. As an example of the relevance of source study to matters of authorship Scragg points out that comparison with their sources in the St. Père homiliary has made it possible to ascribe four anonymous homilies to a single author. And in regard to intellectual history, the changes effected in the Alfredian translations of Bede's and Orosius' histories reveal the preoccupations of the tenth century, as opposed to the eighth and the sixth, respectively, and tell us something about the translators' reading, intentions, and expected audience. Poetry presents its own set of problems, since it demands particular kinds of adaptation of sources, and the blend of influences that verse exemplifies may be just as complicated as in prose. The best preparation for source study is an intimate knowledge of the Bible in both the Vulgate and Old Latin versions, along with wide reading in patristic literature. Scragg devotes the remainder of the chapter to detailing the resources available to source sholarship, including editions of the patrology, electronic databases, Helmut Gneuss's projected *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, and the *SASLC* and *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* projects.

Daniel Donoghue, whose chapter in *Reading Old English Texts* is aptly titled "Language Matters" (pp. 59–78), takes as his point of departure the divide between philology and linguistics that has received so much attention in recent years from those in both camps. He points out that at least in Old English studies the distinction was somewhat blunted in publications of the 1990s, and that a degree of reconciliation may have been promoted by more concerted attempts of scholarship to address the needs of linguists as well as philologists, by the development of better data-gathering tools, and by the institutional hardships that both groups currently face. He examines the critiques of philology launched in 1990 in special issues of *Speculum* and *Comparative Literature Studies* and finds that the sorts of *renovatio* they call for in fact already characterize much of the philological work of the past twenty years, a point he illustrates by reference to Christine Fell's 1984 article "A *friwif locbore* Revisited" in that "it is ambitiously interdisciplinary, it explores the cultural assumptions that shape critical interpretation, and it is aware of the limitations of its claims" (p. 66). Other demands for change in philological methods have been satisfied in various ways: for example, an article on parataxis and hypotaxis by Donoghue and Bruce Mitchell highlights and undermines ethnocentric assumptions by questioning the validity of "auxiliary" as a

grammatical category of Old English, and Matti Rissanen's study of indefinite pronouns shows the possibility for the sociolinguistic analysis of even such a circumscribed and problematic corpus as the remains of Old English. Though recent critiques of philology have deplored its links to logical positivism, current philological studies, particularly in the area of metrics, have made it clear how wrong it is to associate contemporary philological methods with positivism, since they are explicit in their hypotheticism and their allegiance to probabilism. In continuance of this plea for a move away from a pretense of objectivity and toward a recognition and even a celebration of the messy contingencies of philological study, Donoghue devotes the remainder of the chapter to a discussion of Kuhn's first law, the *Satzpartikelgesetz*. To the uninitiated the term "law" suggests positivism of the baldest sort, yet philologists understand the term to refer to a hypothesized trend rather than an invariant rule. Still, some recent studies have criticized the law for its unwieldy conflation of syntax and meter, which produces a certain circularity of argumentation. To the contrary, Donoghue argues, it is precisely the mixture of analytic levels that marks the phenomenon described by the law as the proper province of philology. To counter the argument that the law is simply unnecessary, describing a phenomenon that results naturally from the very structure of the language, he examines only those relevant clauses in *Beowulf* whose structure or position is not syntactically constrained to produce effects like those of Kuhn's first law, or which do not in some other way cloud the issue (a small subset of the total number of clauses), and he finds that once all the possible interfering factors are eliminated, there still remains a distributional regularity: verses beginning with *Satzpartikeln* still appear at the beginning of the verse clause even when they might do otherwise. Kuhn's first law thus seems to describe a phenomenon that is not a simple consequence of the exigencies of normal syntax or meter, and so it is a necessary postulate. The same conclusion can be reached less circuitously by actively seeking out instances in which certain particles might as well have appeared later in the clause, and yet in such instances they do not. The grouping of *Satzpartikeln* at the beginning of the clause, Donoghue suggests, may have had an oral function comparable to the literate strategy of punctuation, showing where clauses begin. This is not to say that Kuhn's formulation of the law does not need revision; but a recognition of the interrelations of meter and syntax in respect to this phenomenon illustrates why philology and linguistics are best regarded as interdependent.

In his contribution to this book, "Historicist Approaches" (pp. 79–100), Nicholas Howe reminds us that every approach to Old English texts must be historicist to some degree. Historicism as it is currently practiced in North America demands an awareness of subjectivity and the contingencies of the historiographic moment, even if for some the end result of such an awareness is a conviction that the past is unknowable. On the other hand Europeans, Howe claims, are less

likely to assume the centrality of the present moment in reconstructions of the past. He clearly favors the former view, and in its spirit he speculates whether his book on migration and mythmaking was not colored by his own migration from New York to Oklahoma. To illustrate the dangers of historicism unbridled by an awareness of the constructedness of the past Howe examines Ritchie Girvan's *Beowulf and the Seventh Century* and Bernard Huppé's *Doctrine and Poetry: Augustine's Influence on Old English Poetry*. The former, he argues, is circular in its reasoning, reconstructing a seventh-century milieu largely on the basis of the evidence of the poem and then dating the poem on that basis to the seventh century. Yet Howe goes further to question the very assumption that "we can derive an accurately datable sense of historical context for the poem from sources that are independent of the poem and thus sufficiently reliable or objective to allow us in turn to draw on them to date and place the poem" (p. 84). Huppé's book also distorts historical contexts, though in a different, Procrustean manner, by constructing a single patristic master narrative that essentially turns all Old English texts into a single text. J. R. R. Tolkien's essay "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" did historicists a service by provoking some self-consciousness about methods like Girvan's and encouraging the study of such matters as historical self-awareness in Old English texts themselves and the agency of texts in the construction of culture. Probably many will have scruples about the apparent essentialism of the claim that historicism is "an aspect of the national poetic character" of England from *Beowulf* to Auden (p. 87), but doubtless Howe is right that it is through philology that Anglo-Saxon culture can be read in a historicist mode. This becomes, however, an argument about textual display when Howe turns to the example of Ælfric's *Colloquy*, since he finds that editions that privilege the Old English words rather than the Latin that they gloss are a falsification of the work's context. Howe believes that putting the Old English in its proper place in an edition would lend support to his hypothesis that Ælfric's purpose was to highlight the dreariness of laborers' existence and thereby to lead his students to embrace the clerical privilege to which the process of learning Latin was the key. Howe also argues that we should read the shorter works contained in the Beowulf Manuscript in the context of *Beowulf*, rather than the reverse, since they tell us something about the Anglo-Saxon sense of place, making them comparable to accounts of extraterrestrials in present-day popular culture. Finally, he offers an extended reading of a white supremacist book catalogue he received by post that presented Old English texts as part of Aryan history, and he suggests that opposition to such racist appropriation of Anglo-Saxon studies validates historicism as an enterprise.

"Oral Tradition" (pp. 101–123), Andy Orchard's contribution to the volume, begins with a consideration of aural effects in King Alfred's epistolary preface to his translation of the *Pastoral Care*, for the purpose of demonstrating that the distinction between the oral and the literate is ever contestable. He traces a history of approaches to the formulism of verse, beginning with Gregor Sarrazin's comparisons of Beowulfian and Cynewulfian diction, but moving quickly to F. P. Magoun, Jr.'s seminal article, from which he reproduces the evidence for the formulaic quality of *Beowulf* 4–11. To this he counterposes similar evidence for *Christ II* 440–49a, which turns out to be equally formulaic in Magoun's terms, though Cynewulf was clearly literate. Magoun's claim for a connection between formulicity and orality is thus falsifiable, but even his notion of what a formula is has been abandoned in subsequent work, which generally recognizes some constructions other than exact repetitions as formulaic in nature. Orchard cites an article of his own on Wulfstan in evidence of the claim that even some prose is now recognized as formulaic, and he draws an extended comparison between Wulfstan's aural effects and those of Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. He characterizes such a comparison as part and parcel of the transition in orality studies from a preoccupation with the formula (an element of production) to a focus on the "vocality" of texts (an element of reception). The remainder of the chapter is devoted to an examination of Exeter Riddles 36, 79, and 30, as well as King Alfred's metrical preface to his translation of the *Pastoral Care*, in all of which Orchard perceives evidence of both oral and scribal alteration in the course of transmission.

In the same volume, "The Recovery of Texts" (pp. 124–45), by Paul Szarmach, begins with a consideration of the editing of verse, to which the problems associated with recension are largely irrelevant in Old English studies, given the preservation of most poems in unique copies. He takes John C. Pope's edition of *The Seafarer* in his *Seven Old English Poems* as representing a "common and standard" empirical approach to the editing of verse. Recension is on the other hand relevant to Old English prose, as a discussion of the relations of Vercelli homily xx and variant texts in two manuscripts in the Parker Library makes clear. The material conditions of book production may have literary significance, too, as when the headings in the Vercelli Book indicate that the manuscript is a compilation of booklets, and thus that its version of homily xx (and especially its unique variants) seems to be governed by a purpose different from that which governs the version in the other, more programmatic manuscripts. Ultimately Szarmach declines to take an explicit side in the ongoing debate about the emendation of Old English texts, though he does conclude that instability is in the very nature of texts (a point with which I am bound to agree, since I have argued it elsewhere: see *YWOES 1996*, p. 26, and *1997*, p. ___). In illustration of how editorial decisions affect the interpretation of texts he points to three examples: Malcolm Godden's reduction of the forty-five homilies, in manuscript, of Ælfric's second series of Catholic Homilies to forty, with the new genre of composite homilies that his melding of texts creates; the editing of *Beowulf* 1931b in

such a way as to produce the name *Modþryth(o)* (not exactly, I should say, creating a character but giving her a name); and the retention of feminine endings in the first two lines of *The Wife's Lament*. Szarmach's views are somewhat more conservative in his discussion of "the material text," where he is concerned not so much with weighing the details of editorial decisions as with the very notion of imposing "print-culture conventions on a text [like *Beowulf*] that shows oral origins" (p. 138). But he returns to a more centrist position in his discussion of electronic editions: he finds that such an undertaking as Kevin S. Kiernan's Electronic *Beowulf* is materially a real advance on photographic facsimiles, and yet the opportunity for the juxtaposition of alternate texts and the multiplication of undigested secondary materials in electronic editions poses a genuine danger, continually deferring judgments of all sorts to the reader rather than furnishing the kinds of guidance that editors can and should provide. Yet he believes this problem is not insurmountable, and he offers as examples of well-balanced electronic texts those projected by the "Old English Online Editions" project, of which he is an administrator. Still, he ends ominously with the remark, "If the computer is the wave of the future, then the user/reader will have his/her day, and democracy, not expertise, will rule" (p. 143).

Clare A. Lees, in her contribution to *Reading Old English Texts*, titled "At a Crossroads: Old English and Feminist Criticism" (pp. 146–69), characterizes the first phase of feminist criticism in Old English (as exemplified in books by Jane Chance and Christine Fell, and by Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen's *New Readings on Women in Old English Literature*) as attempting to write the history of famous women in a fashion that analogized and thereby only validated masculinist history. More enlightened work (as exemplified by her own 1990 article "Gender and Power: Feminism and Old English Studies," co-authored with Helen T. Bennett and Gillian R. Overing) examines instead "the kinds of prominence of exceptional aristocratic women, the nature of their agency, and their (occasional self-) representation" (p. 150). More to the point, it challenges the premises of normative paradigms of scholarship and relates feminist issues to the full range of Old English studies. Feminism came late to Old English studies and developed in stages, but it has the potential to return much to mainstream feminism by challenging its often presentist assumptions. The history of feminist criticism in Old English studies, naturally, lies mostly in the future, and more than recounting what has been accomplished Lees outlines directions for study. One major direction she proposes is the study of women's scholarship in Old English from the eighteenth century to the twentieth-oddly, I think, since this would seem to reenact the recuperative strategy she finds fault with in the first phase of feminist scholarship. Another is the project of revaluing women's work in the Old English period itself: women have been marginalized because the privileging of certain forms of cultural production, par-

ticularly those associated with the scriptorium, is a gendered process. Approaches centered on representation and performativity in the construction of gender offer the possibility of altering normative views of the body, the site in which the value of women's work is primarily inscribed. The study of the construction of masculinity is of vital concern to feminism, and the constructedness of the heroic world of epic poetry is highlighted by its idealization of male homosocial bonds. Women's voices in poetry, by comparison, as in *The Wife's Lament*, have to be "accommodated within, or abjected from, the conventions of the male" (p. 157). Rather, the contribution of feminist criticism in Old English to current debates about the origins of Western subjectivity would seem to be its imperviousness to this discourse, marking some of its historical limits by revealing the alterity of the Anglo-Saxon period. Finally Lees offers a feminist reading of Cynewulf's *Elene*, finding that Elene is deprived of agency, which is instead invested in Constantine, Judas, and the cross itself. The paradox of Elene's status is highlighted by the heroic genre in which she is situated, a paradox that is best explained by Thomas Hill's analysis of Elene as an allegorical figuration of the Church.

"Post-Structuralist Theories: The Subject and the Text" (pp. 170–91) is Carol Braun Pasternack's contribution to the volume, and it is designed primarily as a concise explanation of some of the (mainly French) hermeneutic trends that have come to dominate North American and, to a lesser extent, English literary analysis. It begins with a brief consideration of structuralism, letting some basic concepts of Saussure (the ubiquitous signifier and signified) and Lévi-Strauss (the raw and the cooked) exemplify structuralism's preoccupation with the dialectical construction of meaning. There follows a series of snapshots of trends associated with particular post-structuralists (and I've indicated below in parentheses the work in Old English studies with which Pasternack associates the trend): the textual basis for human perception in Derridean deconstruction (John P. Hermann's *Allegories of War*); authorship as a function of dialogic intertextuality in the work of Barthes and Kristeva (Pasternack's own recent work); Lacanian psychoanalysis and its influence on French feminists (various Old English feminist studies); and the Foucauldian stratified archaeology of knowledge (works by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, Allen J. Frantzen, and Martin Irvine) in conjunction with Frederic Jameson's theory of the political unconscious. Finally Pasternack offers a brief analysis of *Beowulf* informed by deconstructive strategies of reading against the grain. The poem aligns heroic society with the ideals of Christianity (by opposing it to Grendel and Cain) and with a world of orality. Yet certain contradictions point to discontinuities in this equation: the Danes' worship of idols reveals their essential identity with Grendel; the opposition of protagonist and antagonist is collapsed in the use of the terms *aglæca* and *wrecca*; and the use of *forscrifen* (106, based on Latin *proscribere*) and the intrusion of biblical narra-

tive into Hrothgar's perusal of the sword hilt (1677–86) contaminate the orality on which the heroic world of the poem depends.

The final chapter is Peter S. Baker's "Old English and Computing: A Guided Tour" (pp. 192–215). Baker starts with a brief mention of the *Dictionary of Old English*, and then he lingers over two of its products, the microfiche concordances and the Old English Corpus, in connection with the latter of which he demonstrates the capabilities and limitations of PAT, the program used at the University of Virginia to access the corpus. The main virtues of ANSAXNET (the next topic) are that it allows contributors to try out on other Anglo-Saxonists ideas they would not venture to formulate in more formal settings, and that it keeps Anglo-Saxonists in touch with non-academics and casual readers. Hypertext applications come next, with a general description of the nature and textual advantages of hypertextual links and a brief list of the major hypertext applications in Old English. The similarity of the World-Wide Web's structure to hypertext applications leads into a discussion of the major Web resources for Anglo-Saxonists, including the Labyrinth and the access it provides to tools for both research and pedagogy, and especially such textual sources as the Oxford Text Archive and SEENET. The *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* project is one of several very large databases currently under construction, and Baker provides a list of these. Digitized images of manuscripts are cheaper and of higher quality than the paper facsimiles that are currently being produced, and so doubtless this is the form that facsimiles will take in the future; yet the only large-scale project of this sort at the moment is the Electronic *Beowulf*. Finally, although the potential of the computer is insufficiently realized even in as computerized a field as Old English, already it is possible to see how electronic resources change the structure of the research we are capable of doing, as Baker illustrates with the example of a grammatical/lexical problem he researched using the Old English Corpus.

Language and Poetic Form

In "The Credibility of Pseudo-Alfred: Prosodic Insights in Post-Conquest Mongrel Meter," *MP* 94.4 (1997), 427–54, Donka Minkova gives a thorough examination to the poetic form of the twelfth-century *Proverbs of Alfred*. A brief survey of prior work on the *Proverbs* leads to the conclusions that it is fruitless to seek metrical continuity with classical Old English alliterative verse and that because many verses are indeterminately alliterative or rhyming, there is no value in statistical counts of verse types. She finds that N. F. Blake's claim for the role of the early Middle English transition from synthetic to analytic syntactic structures in the changes that affected the verse form is mistaken, as are Carolyn Van Dyke Friedlander's claims about the distribution of stresses and the syntactic coherence of the verse. One feature that distinguishes the

meter of early Middle English from Old English verse is its tendency toward isochrony, with avoidance of clashing stress; another is the irrelevance of resolution to this verse form (despite earlier claims to the contrary). A particularly important change is the shift of stress from the prefix *un-* to the word root, since this indicates a typological shift in the direction of word-based (as opposed to root- and stem-based) morphology, and of the later bundle of English prosodic regularities known as the Romance Stress Rule, as well as of patterns of stress assignment conducive to open syllable lengthening and the attrition of unstressed syllables. A fundamental difference of alliterative patterns is that Sievers' Rule of Precedence does not apply; and in regard to phrasal stress, there is clear evidence for the hypothesis that the Nuclear Stress Rule of Modern English applies in the *Proverbs*, while the evidence in regard to Old English is inconclusive. All in all, then, the meter of the *Proverbs* would seem to bear close affinities to the prosodic features of early Middle English.

Michael McKie's article "The Origins and Early Development of Rhyme in English Verse," *MLR* 92 (1997), 817–31, devotes only minor attention to Old English, amounting to not much more than two paragraphs. The poems mentioned are *Cædmon's Hymn* (in which he finds one rhyme), *Christ II*, *The Riming Poem*, *Judith*, and *The Death of Alfred*. He examines arguments for the origins of rhyme in areas remote from England (especially China) and concludes that Old English rhyming such as that found in the *Riming Poem* is less likely due to Irish models than to the influence of Anglo-Latin poems such as those by Aldhelm.

In "Genres, Texts and Corpora in the Study of Medieval English," in *Anglistentag 1995 Greifswald: Proceedings*, ed. Jürgen Klein and Dirk Vanderbeke (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1996), pp. 229–42, Matti Rissanen considers the importance of and obstacles to assigning genres to texts in electronic corpora, and he urges that such classifications be based on non-linguistic criteria. He gives a brief description of the Helsinki Corpus of English Texts and its genre classifications: texts generally fall into one of four categories ("death, myth, love and law," to put it succinctly), but the Corpus actually uses seventeen categories for Old English texts, of which six have a marked diachronic stability and prototypicality: statutory texts, secular instruction, religious instruction, expository writing, non-imaginative narration, and imaginative narration. He exemplifies the results of generic studies of the Corpus. A study of pronouns, for example, reveals that first person pronouns are common in Old English but not Middle English legal texts, in accordance with the way legislation was associated in Anglo-Saxon times with the person of the king; conversely, first and second person pronouns are less common in Old English medical texts than in Middle English scientific treatises, revealing the latter's greater scientific bias and tendency to discuss. Wills and testaments are valuable for the historical study of topographic vocabulary, and philosophical texts grow in sophistication over time.

Finally, Rissanen traces the growing evidence for colloquial speech over the span of the Corpus.

The Composition of Old English Poetry, by H. Momma, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 20 (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997) is a revision of her 1992 University of Toronto doctoral thesis, and it represents yet another contribution to the burgeoning literature on Kuhn's laws. Momma begins with a consideration of Angus McIntosh's spectrum of compositional types, from the most poetic to the most prosaic, with "debased" verse and Ælfrician and Wulfstanian prose occupying the middle positions. She would like to distinguish poetry and prose absolutely, and to that end the central question she poses is how to go about doing that. In Chapter 2 she considers in turn meter, style, and syntax as bases for such a procedure, and finds that only the last of these offers any promise. As a result she sets out to devise syntactic criteria for distinguishing prose and verse, criteria that will be independent of metrical and stylistic considerations. Naturally this leads to a consideration of Kuhn's laws. Chapter 3 presents Kuhn's classification of words as stressed and unstressed, *Satzpartikeln* and *Satzteilpartikeln*, proclitics and enclitics, and then Momma schematizes with diagrams one by one the way Kuhn's adherents and critics have presented his classification, her point being that no one has represented Kuhn's views accurately. The main reason for scholars' interpreting rather than simply recapitulating Kuhn's views seems to be that his division of *Satzpartikeln* into proclitics and enclitics makes no sense, and so Momma in her own word classification adopts Kuhn's views but discards this distinction. The fourth chapter offers a closer look at Kuhn's laws, surveying what they claim about poetic syntax and what sorts of constructions they mark as exceptions. The result is that Momma accepts Kuhn's first law, the *Satzpartikelgesetz*, and, like so many others who have studied Kuhn's laws, she rejects the second, the *Satzspitzengesetz*, to which there are too many exceptions. However, she revises Kuhn's first law in such a way as to produce a version that, she believes, renders it independent of metrical considerations: "Detached unstressed elements may occur in only one position in each clause; namely, in the first half-line of the clause, either before the first stressed element (in other words, in the clause-initial position) ... or between the first and the second stressed element" (pp. 94–95). The following three chapters, then, present the data and gauge the accuracy of Momma's analysis as applied to the entire contents of the ASPR editions. In regard to *Satzteilpartikeln* (attached unstressed elements) she finds that although their position in the clause is unrestricted, their order in respect to one another is fixed. In regard to detached elements, she finds that they have unmarked positions defined by her revision of Kuhn's first law, and when detached elements are stressed in such positions they bear "emphatic" stress. As a result of these findings she believes she has identified purely syntactic criteria for distinguishing prose and poetry, independent of metrical considerations, though she re-

serves for a future study the proof that her rules do not also describe the syntax of prose. There is, unfortunately, no index of verses discussed, and this makes the data chapters sometimes difficult to navigate as a guide to the syntax of poetry. I have reviewed the book in *PQ* 77 (1999), 239–42, where I concluded that it contains intriguing insights but that the central aim of drawing an objective distinction between prose and poetry is a fundamentally flawed one that relies upon an unusual conception of the way language works.

An-Nah Moon's 1996 New York University doctoral dissertation, "Aspects of Old English Prosody: An Optimally-Theoretic Analysis" (*DAI* 57A [1997], 3475), offers an approach to Old English prosody based on Optimality Theory (hence the *DAI* title would appear to be a misprint), offering a universal set of constraints on prosodic well-formedness motivated independently by the requirements of stress and syllabification. This approach "expresses a relationship between purely prosodic phenomena such as syllable structure and stress and prosodically-related segmental phenomena such as OE High Vowel Deletion and gemination."

[In "Rhetoric, Form and Linguistic Structure in Early Germanic Verse: Toward a Synthesis" (*Interdisciplinary Jnl for Germanic Ling. and Semiotic Analysis* 1 [1996], 63–88), R. D. Fulk examines the relationship between features of poetic style and linguistic structure and poetic form. Noting the marked contrasts between West and North Germanic verse in such areas as use of variation, poetic compounds and rhetorical contrast, and syntactial complexity generally, Fulk rejects the notion that "Scandinavian aesthetics were simply different" from those of the Anglo-Saxons and the Old Saxons. Rather, he looks for the explanation of these stylistic differences to such linguistic features as the loss of pretonic syllables in North Germanic and features of poetic structure such as the contrast between the stichic form of West Germanic verse and the strophic form of the North Germanic. This article deserves to be widely read, as it marks a creative and promising departure from our classic studies of poetic style.

P.S.B.]

See also Daniel Donoghue's contribution to *Reading Old English Texts* (above, p. 25).

Textual Criticism and Source Studies

See the contributions of D. G. Scragg and Paul Szarmach to *Reading Old English Texts* (above, pp. 24, 26).

Orality, Literacy, and Formulaic Theory

Ursula Schaefer aims to correct two fallacious notions about Anglo-Saxon literacy, one having to do with the cultural impact of the rise of literacy, the other with the function of writtten texts, in "*Ceteris Imparibus*: Orality/Literacy and the Establishment of Anglo-Saxon Literate Culture," in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of*

Anglo-Saxonists, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo: Western Michigan University, 1997), pp. 287–311. Literacy did not merely serve the purposes of the new religion but was essentially a prerequisite to it, since the faith was transmitted through writing. The rise of literacy in Anglo-Saxon England differs from the rise in modern colonized cultures in that, Schaefer argues, literacy was not forced upon the Anglo-Saxons, the body of literate people was not a closed caste, and literacy was promoted in the vernacular as well as in the language of learning. Early medieval literacy also differed in that books did not represent a way to free the mind from the dull task of memorization: Schaefer cites various sources (including Cynewulf, *Exodus*, *Andreas*, Asser, and Ælfric Bata) in support of the argument that memorization was regarded as the proper approach to the study of books. Strategies of reading were different, as well, since Anglo-Saxons would not have looked to the immediate "linguistic" context of words or sentences to determine their meaning, as evidenced by their treatment of quotations.

In the same volume, Rosemary Huisman points out one way in which Old English verse challenges the presuppositions of literary deconstruction, in "Subjectivity/Orality: How Relevant Are Modern Literary Theories to the Study of Old English Poetry? What Light Can the Study of Old English Poetry Cast on Modern Literary Theory?" (pp. 313–31). Using *Exodus* as her example, she argues that the "speaking subject" (i.e. the subject from whose point of view the narration is presented) is diffusely positioned, offering a wandering and communal subjectivity, and thus Old English verse resists the decentering strategies that Derrida and others have developed in response to the univocal subjects of more recent literature. This decentered subjectivity is a consequence of residual orality, which, as Huisman argues on the basis of passages from wisdom poetry, encourages the sort of dialogic epistemology that the speaking subject of Old English poetry presents. Finally Huisman offers a summary account of the speaking subject in a wide variety of verse texts.

In "Old English Poetry: 'Out of the People's Warm Mouth'?" *N&Q* 44 (1997), 6–21, E. G. Stanley begins by recounting the nature of the layout of Old English verse on the manuscript page and the debates of the early nineteenth century about how verse should be printed. He then demonstrates, with copious quotations, the awareness of scholars of that period, and especially Wilhelm and Jacob Grimm, of the nature of Serbian oral performance and its possible relevance to our understanding of Old English verse. The argument is in a sense periodic: the point of all this (as well as the relationship between manuscript display and Serbian performance) is held in abeyance until the end, when Stanley launches a brief but vehement attack on Francis Peabody Magoun, Jr., in particular, and on studies of Old English orality and literacy in general. He doubts Magoun was aware of the Grimms' and their contemporaries' attention to Serbian song, and he asserts that what Magoun had to say about orality and the

layout of verse in manuscript "pulled the wool over the eyes of aspirants who probably knew even less about the subject than he, but were dependent on him for doctorates and job-references" (p. 20). Larry D. Benson's article "The Literary Character of Anglo-Saxon Formulaic Poetry" he thinks should have put an end to oral-formulaic theory. The basis for Stanley's contempt for orality studies seems to be the assumption that most present-day scholars in this field concur with Magoun's assessment that scribes wrote poetry much as they wrote prose because they had no sense of poetic form. It is not my impression, I should say, that this view of Magoun's has any currency.

See also Andy Orchard's contribution to *Reading Old English Texts* (above, p. 26).

Intertextuality and Culture Studies

In *Heathen Gods in Old English Literature*, Cambridge Studies in Old English Literature 22 (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1997), Richard North argues that Woden did not achieve a place of pre-eminence in English belief until the seventh century (Chap. 1). Instead there prevailed an agrarian theology centering on Ing- (Anglian Ingui), a human hypostasis of the Nerthus mentioned (and mistakenly made female) by Tacitus, intimately connected with the seasons and crop production. *Contra* Audrey Meaney and others, there was no early West Germanic priesthood; rather, sacral kingship served the needs of animist farming communities. In Chap. 2 North surveys the onomastic evidence for worship of Ingui—in Tacitus' *Ingvaeones*, in *Beowulf*'s reference to the Danes as "friends of Ing-," and in the son of Njǫrðr, Ingvi-Freyr (or rather Ingvi-freyr, interpreted as 'the lord Ingvi', not Ingvi-Freyr 'King Freyr' or 'Freyr as Ingvi'). There was a fertility cult devoted to this Ingui, an Anglian analogue of Dionysus, and the appearance of his name in some versions of the pedigree of the kings of Bernicia may be taken as evidence that originally he was regarded as the progenitor of the Anglian dynasties, as he was of the Swedish Ynglingar. Next, in Chap. 3, North detects late references to Ingui and his cult in various literary texts: in the *Rune Poem*, in the scattered use of the words *ylfe* and *ælfsiden*, in Alcuin's familiar reference to *Hinieldus*, and in compounds in *incge-* in *Exodus* and *Beowulf*, which portray pagans as devotees of Ingui. This includes an extended analysis of the Finnsburh fragment and episode along the lines he proposed in an earlier article, regarding the "Half-Danes" as mercenaries in the employ of Finn. Chap. 4 attempts to explain the placement of Woden at the head of royal genealogies by assembling evidence for his role as "father of the slain" for kings occupying an indigenous Anglian Valhǫll. His cult was an off-shoot of the cult of Mercury in Roman Gaul, and his magic, remembered in the *Nine Herbs Charm* and the *Maxims* of the Exeter Book, derived in part from the Vanir, the evidence for whose cult war with Woden is to be found in *Vǫluspá*. The aim of Chap. 5 is to deal with the prob-

lems surrounding the appearance of Woden in royal genealogies. Bede's reference to him as the ancestor of Æthelberht of Kent, without any apparent qualms about promoting a pagan deity, can be explained as typologically motivated, since at one point Bede compares Æthelfrith of Bernicia (a descendant of Woden, according to the Anglian collection of royal genealogies) to Saul; hence Woden is implicitly compared to Saul's ancestor Jacob. Later genealogists may have associated him similarly with Abraham. Óðinn's ancestral function in *Háleygjatal* may then be attributed to West Saxon influence. Contrary to the opinion of Jan de Vries, the Norse name *Baldr* is not based ultimately on *Beldaeg* in the Anglian collection but on the personification of an epithet of Ingvi-freyr. In Chap. 6, *gaut-* (*Gapt* in Jordanes) is said to be an epithet for the Gothic avatar of Anglian Ingui. Hence also, then, the suffix *-geot* in the Anglian collection. In Norse, Baldr, Gautr, and Freyr all descend from aspects of Nerthus (reflected as Ingui, Ing, and *-geot* in Old English). The *-geot* suffix leads to personification of a Geat in England for the purpose of connecting Anglo-Saxon royal houses with the Italian Goths and Lombards; and when Æthelwulf of Wessex added Geat to his genealogy to arrange a match with Judith, a great granddaughter of Charlemagne, this provoked the composition of *Deor* as a satire directed to Æthelwulf. Chap. 7 examines *Beowulf* to discover words and motifs that derive from heathen times. North attempts to show that certain aspects of the poem's mythography (e.g. Scyld) are not native inheritances but are borrowed from Scandinavian sources. Earlier copies of *Beowulf* then served in turn as sources for material added to the genealogies of Æthelwulf and Alfred. The genealogical appropriation of Beaw, Sceldwea, and Sceaf from these earlier copies of *Beowulf* is the result of their having been included in the prologue for the purpose of exonerating Danish pagan belief by illustrating its agrarian origins. Chap. 8 is devoted to the marriage of Ingui. North studies the words *geafon, þunor, wuldor, geunnan,* and *frige,* which are related to Old Icelandic *Gefjun, Þórr, Ullr, Iðunn,* and *Frigg,* all members of Ingui's family. He derives these from words denoting the natural powers of sea, sky, and earth, words from which both the proper names and common nouns developed. At the heart of this family of natural elements is the seasonal marriage of Nerthus (Ingui) and Terra Mater that North perceives in Tacitus' account of pagan worship among the Anglii, a marrriage that renews the natural elements. Ingui's death is the topic of Chap. 9. North reconstructs an Anglian myth about the sacrifice of Ingui each fall on a world-tree analogous to Yggdrasill. *The Dream of the Rood* alludes to this myth, presenting Christ's passion in mythical terms familiar to Anglians in England. Finally, Chap. 10 concerns the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons. Bede obscures certain aspects of the story of the conversion of Edwin; particularly, to Edwin's mind Coifi, Paulinus, and Woden were all the same, and it is this identification that made it possible for Woden to replace Ingui (probably at Aidan's instigation) at the head of the genealogy of the Deiran royal pedigree. Edwin's error was enabled by the very nature of the conversion, since Æthelberht, Edwin, and others most likely saw little difference between their pagan beliefs and the new faith. To establish this point North draws contrasts between the conversion of England and of Scandinavia.

Pauline E. Head's *Representation and Design: Tracing a Hermeneutics of Old English Poetry* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1997) is a revision of a University of Toronto doctoral thesis. The approach is identified as a reader-centered one that draws heavily upon and responds to the hermeneutics of Gadamer in order to develop a "reading of Anglo-Saxon reading" that draws on mutually supportive analyses of literature and art. Head thus explicitly questions the distinction between representation and design, between content and form. Chapter 1 explores perspective (cf. Huisman above), beginning with a demonstration of how the viewer's place constantly shifts in the illustrations of the Junius Manuscript. Analogously, the reader must locate a position from which to relate to the speaker in the three works explored in this chapter, *The Wanderer,* the Exeter Book Riddles, and *The Dream of the Rood.* Chapter 2 draws a similar analogy between pictorial frames in a variety of manuscript illuminations and framing devices in *The Dream of the Rood, Daniel,* and *Beowulf,* "framing" this analogy with a very literal reading of Gadamer's idea of interpretive horizons and Derrida's of deconstructive frames as spatial ways of approaching texts. For example, *The Dream of the Rood* is structured "so that the dreamer's speech to the reader frames that of the cross to the dreamer, and events portrayed as occurring in the present (the dreamer's act of speaking) frame those that occurred in the past" (p. 67). The Derridean uses of frames suggest the question whether Old English frames of both types are purely formal, and the analogy to pictorial frames suggests the question of what in narrative is central and what peripheral. Chapter 3 concerns the presence of the past in Old English poetry, primarily in respect to the oral traditions that the poetry expresses in the form of the reenactment of storytelling and the nonlinearity of their compositional technique. The latter feature in particular is predicated on notions of temporal cyclicality that demanded recollection and awareness of the past, and interruption, repetition, and delay are as much features of Anglo-Saxon manuscript decoration as of poetic narrative. The chief images of storyteling discussed are in *Beowulf,* Bede's account of Cædmon, and the "Reed Pen" riddle.

Ruth Wehlau, in *"The Riddle of Creation": Metaphor Structures in Old English Poetry,* Studies in the Humanities, Literature-Politics-Society 24 (New York: Peter Lang, 1997) offers a revision of another University of Toronto doctoral dissertation, this one from 1993. The book deals with two "metaphor structures" or systems of "images organized around a root metaphor" (p. 3), as they are described by George Lakoff and Mark Johnson in their influential *Metaphors We Live By.* The unifying theme in Wehlau's choice of metaphor

structures is the Creation, in both the active and the static senses of the word, as regarded from a peculiarly Anglo-Saxon point of view. Thus the first chapter, which concerns architectural metaphors, begins with a survey of images of God as architect, first in scripture and the Latin patrology, then in manuscript illumination and Old English texts such as *Cædmon's Hymn* and Ælfric's life of St. Thomas. Satan, by contrast, is the anti-creator, forced to measure hell in *Christ and Satan.* Joining as a builder's activity is analogized metaphorically as poetic craft, as seen most clearly in *The Order of the World.* The image of fastness derived from architecture plays a prominent role in depictions of the souls of the faithful, which are portrayed as fortresses, as in *Juliana* (in which the architectural imagery of the Latin source is multiplied remarkably in the Old English) and in *The Wanderer.* Metaphors of enclosure are the topic of the second chapter, with special emphasis on the use of the body as a symbol. The parts of the body chiefly referred to in Old English are the head, the back, and the breast or interior, on the last of which the metaphors of enclosure center, tied up as they are with the concepts of holding and embracing. In poems about the Creation, such as *Meters of Boethius* 11 and *The Panther,* the cosmos is presented as a series of embraces, and in both manuscript illumination and verse (*Christ and Satan,* Riddle 40, etc.) God is shown embracing the cosmos. In *Andreas* and *Beowulf,* on the other hand, the contrast of interior and exterior emphasizes the consuming threat of the embrace, so that for instance while Andrew is continually in danger of being eaten, it is the Mermedonians who are ultimately swallowed by a flood, in support of a theme of the preservation of the faithful from the danger of being consumed. In *Beowulf,* on the other hand, fire is the predominant threat, and unlike the dangers of *Andreas,* it is not controlled directly by divine power. The chaos that fire represents is mirrored by the elements in *The Storm* (Riddles 1–3), emphasizing God's supreme power. As metaphor is a kind of word-play, the third chapter turns to ludic types of literature, including *Maxims I* and *II, Solomon and Saturn,* and the *Physiologus*; but the primary focus is on the riddles, in which Wehlau finds extensive imagery of binding that ties them to the metaphor structure of enclosure. They are full of images of torment and warfare that are comic and playful because they only appear to be applied to humans, in a strategy that resembles mock epic and is often sexual. Warfare is confused with sex, warriors with slaves, and weapons with genitalia, and so it may be said that the themes of the first two chapters are inverted in the riddles. In the conclusion Wehlau characterizes the imagery she has studied as mingling literate and oral traditions, affording a notion of the self based on multiple sources. She uses a consideration of Henri Lefebvre's posited varieties of space to explore the anthropomorphic representation of Heorot as a metaphorical body of the community, and of space in general in Old English verse as absolute, based on the binarism of interior and exterior.

In "The Seasons of the Year in Old English," *ASE* 26 (1997), 231–63, Earl R. Anderson offers insights on how the Anglo-Saxons analyzed the year alternately into either four seasons (*lencten, sumor, hærfest,* and *winter*) by *interpretatio romana,* or just two, winter and summer, a practice inherited from early Germanic culture. Appealing to the structuralist concept of the opposition between "central" and "peripheral" concepts, Anderson argues that the latter, more original system was more deeply ingrained in the normal cultural transactions of the day than the former. Both systems of analysis are used in Old English verse, the learned, latinate one being found in *The Menologium, Maxims II, The Phoenix,* and Cynewulf's *Elene,* the Germanic one in *Beowulf* and *The Seafarer.* After a structural/etymological survey of the names of the seasons he turns to an examination of these poems, and the most salient of his conclusions is that allegorical and mythological interpretations of *Beowulf* and *The Seafarer* have perpetuated obscurities best accounted for by the assumption of a two-season year: Beowulf literally rather than metaphorically visits Denmark in winter, and the lyric cuckoo as "sumeres weard" does not imply a change of season from spring to summer (as argued by Stanley Greenfield and Janet Bately), since the poet of *The Seafarer* does not distinguish spring from summer. This is a learned and informative article, and its departures from orthodoxy are few, as when *missere* is said literally to mean 'half-year' (the cognate acquired that meaning in Old Icelandic, but the literal sense seems to be 'change of season'), and when Anderson champions Udo Strutynski's rather improbable claim that the four days of the week containing the names of pagan gods evidence a pre-Christian four-day week. (The usual assumption is that these are calques on the Roman planetary system of weekdays: *dies Martis* = *Tiwes dæg, dies Mercurii* = *Wodnes dæg* etc.)

Hugh Magennis, in "Food, Drink and Feast in Old English Poetry," *SELIM 1996: Proceedings of the 9th International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature,* ed. Margarita Giménez Bon and Vickie Olsen ([San Sebastián]: SELIM, 1997), pp. 154–73, assembles far-flung references to drinking and eating in Old English verse, though he furnishes examples from Anglo-Latin prose as well. Drinking is generally a communal activity: in verse, references to lone drinkers are found only in Riddles 12 and 63. Mention of food is so scarce that one might suppose Old English feasts were only drinking parties; but there is substantial, if often indirect (and non-poetic), evidence to the contrary. Yet even in Old English prose, references to food are few, especially in comparison to the treatment of food in later medieval texts, except in reference to hunger and famine. Food is very likely absent from verse because in the poetic tradition food had no symbolic significance.

Karin Olsen, in "Animated Ships in Old Engish and Old Norse Poetry," *Animals and the Symbolic in Mediaeval Art and Literature,* ed. L. A. J. R. Houwen (Groningen: Egbert Forsten), pp. 53–66, finds that ships are depicted as being like

beasts traversing land in both Old Icelandic and Old English verse, but less commonly in the latter (she locates twenty-one kennings), and less innovatively. A comparison of *Guthlac B* 1325–36 and *Christ II* 850–66 reveals that the *sundheng-estas* of the latter are less animated, perhaps because Cynewulf attempts to be faithful to his source. In *Andreas* 438–449b, on the other hand, the effect of animation is achieved without recourse to *mearh-* or *hengest-* compounds. Animation in Old English involves only horses, and so the Old English beasts are less aggressive than their Scandinavian counterparts, which may be wolves or other animals of prey. The greater virtuosity of the Scandinavian treatment, she speculates, may be attributable to the lesser confidence of Anglo-Saxons on the sea or to the effects of Christianity.

The Capture of the Five Boroughs, The Coronation of Edgar, and *The Death of Edgar* are the poems studied in Janet Thormann's chapter "The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* Poems and the Making of the English Nation," in *Anglo-Saxonism and the Construction of Social Identity*, ed. Allen J. Frantzen and John D. Niles (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1997), pp. 60–85. Thormann's central claim is that these poems "assert the existence of an English nation even as they take part in the process of constructing that nation as legitimate power. The ideological effect of the poems is to produce West-Saxon domination as synonymous with England and to confirm West-Saxon power as traditional authority" (p. 64). Her analysis of the poems thus seeks to show "that, first, they imitate the diction of oral poetry; second, they draw upon the formulas and themes of Christian narrative and elegy, appropriating the conventions of religious poetry for secular purposes; and, finally, they offer a symbolic guarantee of providential design that gives meaning to human and natural events. In so doing, the poems produce the idea of a national history that legitimizes West-Saxon power as national authority" (pp. 65–66).

The dissertations published yearly on Old English continue to outnumber the positions to be filled at North American colleges and universities, and nearly all of them seem to be concentrated in the area of intertextuality and culture studies. Dabney Anderson Bankert's 1996 Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign doctoral dissertation, "The Poetics of Religious Conversion in Medieval English Literature" (*DAI* 57a [1997], 4733), deals mainly with Old English material. She studies the examples of Paul, Augustine, and Constantine to determine how models of conversion from antiquity shaped medieval authors' understanding of conversion, and how in turn medieval treatments of conversion transformed those models. The Old English texts examined are the story of Oswald's victory over the Briton Cædwalla, the prose and poetic acts of St. Andrew, and the works of Ælfric.

P. Cavill's 1996 Univ. of Nottingham doctoral thesis, "Maxims in Old English Poetry" (*Index to Theses* 46 [1997], 1896–97), distinguishes maxims from proverbs in that they do not have the latter's fixed form. Cavill's conclusions are "that the maxims in *Beowulf* 183b-88 are integral to the poem, that

maxims in *The Battle of Maldon* show how the poet manipulated the social functions of the form for his own purposes, that there is virtually no paganism in Old English maxims, and that the *Maxims* poems outline and illustrate an Anglo-Saxon world view."

Alan Patrick Church's 1996 Univ. of Washington doctoral dissertation, "Scribal Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England" (*DAI* 57A [1997], 5142), argues that Anglo-Saxon scribes were aware of and adapted to their own use a complete rhetorical system transmitted through the institutionalization of the progymnasmata. Elements of progymnasmatic exercises may be discerned in Beowulf's dealings with Unferth as well as in Bede's account of Cædmon and his *Death Song*, in the Latin and Old English poems on Judgment Day, in the two *Soul and Body* poems, and in *The Phoenix*.

The chapters of Jerome Patrick Denno's 1996 University of Pennsylvania doctoral dissertation, "Inspiration and the Poetic Imagination in Anglo-Saxon Poetry" (*DAI* 57A [1997], 3011), are designed to deal serially with issues proceeding from Bede's account of Cædmon's inspiration. Denno studies a variety of poems, "collectively discovering something of an oppressively stratified consciousness obsessed with the insight that separation is the price of consciousness, and that poetic imagination is the sole means to a reunion that is ephemeral at best."

Keith John Glaeske's 1997 Catholic University of America doctoral dissertation, "The Image of Eve in Anglo-Saxon, Middle English, and Old Irish Literature" (*DAI* 58A [1997], 1272–3), devotes one chapter to Old English literature, examining the Old English Heptateuch, the poetic *Genesis, Christ and Satan*, the *Old English Martyrology*, and Blickling homily VII. Glaeske finds that "Eve assumes Mary's intercessory role, due to her strong identification with Mary from patristic exegesis." Elaine Marie Glanz's 1996 Lehigh Univ. dissertation, "The Odors of Sanctity and of Evil in Old English Prose and Poetry" (*DAI* 57A [1997], 3928), examines the context and physical environment of aromas in a wide array of Old English prose and verse, as well as in the patrology, and finds significance in such imagery. Odors distinguish different sorts of saints (martyrs, confessors, virgins), and they emphasize Christ's "preexistence with the Father, his suffering and death, his teachings, and the resurrected life he shares with his followers."

Raymond Edward Gleason's 1997 Northwestern Univ. dissertation, "Runes, Riddles and Language in Anglo-Saxon Literature" (*DAI* 58A [1997], 1273), identifies the *Rune Poem* and Cynewulf's runic signatures, along with Latin works of Aldhelm, Eusebius, Tatwine, and Boniface, as "epistemological *aenigmata*," which are "short, poetic texts which emulate the rhetoric of the common riddle, but which have as their ultimate referent Christian moral teaching." Their purpose is contemplative, promoting "personal union with God in this life and beatitude in the next." Like Gunhild Zimmermann's *Four Old English Poetic Manuscripts* (see *YWOES*

1995, p. 24),

Janice Grossman's 1996 University of California at Santa Barbara dissertation, "War Gender, and Religion in Tenth-Century England: Struggles for Identity in Anglo-Saxon Texts" (*DAI* 57A [1997], 4379), argues that the contents of the four poetic codices are concerned with the issues of the time at which the books were copied, which she identifies as the Benedictine Reform and the renewed Viking invasions. The dissertation focuses on *Beowulf, Judith,* and *Juliana,* which "investigate the precise nature—and even the viability—of distinctions between pagan and Christian, Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon, femininity and masculinity, passive and active forms of heroism. ... Each struggles to stabilize English Christian gendered identity, and each does so by means of a similar rhetorical strategy, temporarily suspending categorical distinctions between man and monster or between man and woman in order to demonstrate the intolerability or infeasibility of such suspensions and thereby both insisting on and naturalizing dialectical oppositions between groups conceptualized as self and other."

David I. Currie Herbison's 1996 Queen's Univ., Belfast doctoral thesis, "The Legacy of Christian Epic: A Study of Old English Biblical and Hagiographical Poetry" (*DAI* 58C [1997], 788) examines biblical narratives (the *Genesis* poems, *Daniel, Judith*) and poetic hagiographies (*Juliana, Elene,* the Guthlac poems, *Andreas*) and finds that the reception of these poems has been and continues to be influenced by the idea of Christian epic. As a result, "a focus exclusively on the heroic dimension obscures some of the subtlety and complexity of the poems: the language of temptation, the manipulation of absolute and relative point of view; the use of female hero to challenge traditional concepts of leadership."

Timothy J. Lundgren's 1996 Ohio State Univ. doctoral dissertation, "Hereward and Outlawry in Fenland Culture: A Study of Local Narrative and Tradition in Medieval England" (*DAI* 57A [1997], 4362), recreates the cultural context for outlaw-hero narratives by tracing outlawry and related terms through Anglo-Saxon documents. Lundgren then studies the eleventh-century *Gesta Herewardi,* the earliest cycle of outlaw narrative in England, to shed light on the process of transmuting popular legend into institutional history in fenland monasteries.

Thomas Foster Tipton's 1997 Northwestern University doctoral dissertation, "Inventing the Cross: A Study of Medieval English *Inventio Crucis* Legends" (*DAI* 58A [1997], 1274) examines Old and Middle English treatments of the legend of the finding of the True Cross, and the Old English texts considered are *Elene* and some homilies, one by Ælfric. The texts share rhetorical, figural, and generic strategies, all of them operating within the paradigm of the *translatio imperii* (of which the Jews in *Elene* are a lapsed example), and they all highlight the cross's reality and its powers of salvation.

See also the contributions of Michael Lapidge, Nicholas Howe, and Carol Braun Pasternack to *Reading Old English*

Texts (above, pp. 24, 25, 27).

Sex and Gender Studies

Clare A. Lees' "Engendering Religious Desire: Sex, Knowledge, and Christian Identity in Anglo-Saxon England," *Jnl. of Med. and Early Modern Studies* 27 (1997), 17–45, is a survey of "representations of the body and their relation to sexuality and eroticism in Anglo-Saxon vernacular literary culture" (19), focusing primarily on the poetic *Genesis,* Alfred's translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies, Christ I,* the female saints' lives, and *Apollonius of Tyre.* In *Genesis* the body is metaphoricalized as soon as it is introduced, and so we are invited to see not the body per se but interpretations of it. This sort of sublimation, which is even clearer in Alfred's simile of the desire for wisdom and the attraction of naked flesh, as well as in the erotic gaze focused on Mary in *Christ I,* demonstrates how Anglo-Saxon texts use sensuality in the service of divine worship, figuring sacred desire in profane. Similarly, the bodies of female saints are highlighted because desire is gendered feminine, and so conquest of the body through torture is a kind of transcendence for women. *Apollonius,* Lees argues, is about lawful marriage, and this explains its odd manuscript context, sandwiched as it is between Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* and a list of English saints. Anglo-Saxon texts, in sum, are ambivalent about sexuality, insisting on both its materiality and its spiritual significance.

See also Lees' contribution to *Reading Old English Texts* (above, p. 27). R.D.F.

Works not seen:

Rodrigues, Louis J. *An Anglo-Saxon Verse Miscellany.* Felinfach: Llanerch, 1997.

b. Individual Poems

Cædmon's Hymn

"It seems that the authenticity of Cædmon's Hymn has been unquestioned since it was established in Zupitza's (1878) answer to Wülker (1876)" (217): so G. R. Isaac, who, in "The Date and Origin of *Cædmon's Hymn* (*NM* 98, 217–28), contends that the OE text of the hymn is a translation from Bede's Latin, not an original poem by Cædmon. Isaac overlooks Kevin S. Kiernan's pursuit of the same argument in "Reading Cædmon's 'Hymn' with Someone Else's Glosses" (*Representations* 32 [1990], 157–74; reviewed in *OEN* 25.2 [1992], 36). Like Kiernan, Isaac compares the Latin and OE texts to show that "the structural and lexical differences ... are reducible to the conditions of Old English grammar, diction and poetics, suggesting that the Latin is the original text, the Old English the translation" (223). Perhaps. But the opposite argument is at least equally plausible: that the differences between the Latin and OE texts can be explained by Bede's claim that he gives the "sensus, non autem ordo

ipse verborum, quae dormiens ille canebat." Further, Isaac makes casual assumptions about Christian poetic formulas, asserting, for example, that Bede's "*auctorem regni caelestis* is translated as *hefaenricaes uard* as the latter was a familiar formula" (223). In fact we do not know that the formula was familiar when the hymn was copied into two eighth-century Northumbrian manuscripts, our earliest records of the text. If we credit Bede's account, Cædmon apparently minted the formula in his sleep. To sleep, perchance to dream—ay, there's the rub. Isaac does not credit Bede's account:

> The Cædmon story as given by Bede has all the elements of an ecclesiastical origin legend, the origin of vernacular Christian poetry. ... There is thus no need to suppose that the author of such a piece was really ignorant of traditional poetics, any more than there is any need to suppose that the unschooled cowherd first sang at the inspiration of an angel that appeared to him in his sleep. (226)

It would be pointless to point out that Bede nowhere says that an angel inspired Cædmon. If one's worldview precludes God's acting in history as Bede reports—if medieval marvels are modern myths—then little matters of detail matter little.

Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel

[In *Old English Biblical Verse: Studies in 'Genesis,' 'Exodus' and 'Daniel'* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 16; Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press., 1996), Paul G. Remley investigates the Old Testament poems of Junius 11, a collection with "no known literary–historical context before *c.* 1000" (2). In the introduction to his ambitious study, Remley surveys the poetic and biblical backgrounds of these poems and outlines his methodology. The latter is succinctly summarized on p. 11:

> Each of the chapters endeavours to provide the following: (1) Exhaustive consideration of the passages of each poem that appear to reflect the influence of specific verses of the Old Testament, with special attention accorded both to incidental details and to entire narrative sequences that may be associated with identifiable biblical models; (2) detailed consideration of the nature and composition of the hypothetically inferrable biblical exemplars standing behind the text of each poem; and (3) discussion of representative specimens of surviving early medieval biblical texts that may serve profitably to exemplify the handling of Old Testament sources.

Remley delivers on all counts. The ensuing four chapters take up the poems in relation to a specific theme: "The biblical sources of *Genesis A* and *B*," "*Exodus* and the liturgy of baptism," "*Daniel* and Greek scriptural tradition," and finally "The renditions of *Oratio Azariae* and *Canticum trium puerorum* in *Daniel*." Taken together, these chapters constitute a study that strives "to identify interpretative difficulties

in the texts of Genesis, Exodus and Daniel and to establish the Junius poets' varying responses to these textual cruces as precisely as possible" (435). In some cases Remley is able to draw firm conclusions regarding the sources used by the poets, some of which he here assembles for the first time. "[T]he bulk of the verse of *Genesis A* and the relatively brief and in some respects atypical treatment of the Song of the Three in *Daniel*, provide our strongest evidence for the knowledge and use of written copies of Latin texts by Old English biblical poets" (439). Continuous biblical exemplars lie behind the other texts as well, though Remley acknowledges the difficulty of defining them (440). It is impossible to do justice here to a study so thorough and apparently exhaustive. Suffice it to say that anyone interested in the biblical backgrounds of the Old Testament poems of Junius 11 cannot afford to ignore this book.   D. F. J.]

Genesis A and Genesis B

Colette Stévanovitch's *La 'Genèse' du manuscrit Junius XI de la Bodléienne: Edition, Traduction et Commentaire*, Publications de l'Association des Médiévistes Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur, hors série 1 (Paris, 1992) is a two-volume edition of *Genesis A* and *B*, the first integrated edition of the poems since George Philip Krapp's in 1931 (ASPR 1). The introduction consists of five parts. In the first, "Le manuscrit," Stévanovitch considers the contents and organization of the manuscript, the illustrations (of which she reproduces more than a dozen), and the section numbers. In the second part, "Paléographie," she treats scribal abbreviations, the spacing between morphemes, metrical points, capitalization, and accents. In part three, "Le poème," she discusses the interpolation of *Genesis B* into *Genesis A*, authorship, dialect, date, and sources. In the fourth part, "La poésie vieil-anglaise," she takes up heroic verse, Cædmon, religious verse, patristic influence, attitude towards Scripture, meter, alliteration, variation, paranomasia, echoes, envelope patterns, and themes. Finally, in part five, "Introduction à l'édition," she explains her principles of emendation and punctuation (including reference to Kuhn's Laws). Stévanovitch's edited text looks rather like A. N. Doane's in *'Genesis A': A New Edition* (1978): she employs modern punctuation but capitalizes only where the scribe does. (At line 1483a, however, she gives capital eth where the manuscript has capital thorn.) Also like Doane, she puts emendations in italics, and her editorial philosophy is decidedly conservative. Unlike Doane, Stévanovitch uses modern verse paragraphing and retains scribal accents. Her translation, facing the OE text, is about as literal as modern French permits and is evidently intended to eliminate need for a glossary. Volume two provides a commentary on *Genesis A* of more than two hundred pages, a commentary on *Genesis B* of ninety pages, and a comprehensive bibliography of almost forty pages. In the commentaries Stévanovitch

discusses rhythm, structure, style, and parallels with Latin literature, proceeding through the poems scene by scene, theme by theme. (Much of the material on envelope patterns she later published elsewhere; for a review see *OEN* 31.2 [1998], 37.) There are a few small errors of presentation. (E.g., in volume 1, note 185 lacks a number at page bottom; in volume 2, 775, Jesse Laurence Greene is deprived of his given names; in both volumes MS Junius 11, despite the Bodleian catalogue, is cited as Junius XI.) The edition contains a dozen notable features, among them meticulous discussion of the illustrations and accents in Junius 11 and the argument that the *Judith* poet knew *Genesis A*. But what is most notable about Stévanovitch's work is its wide scope and sheer weight. E. G. Stanley once observed that a beginning student who painstakingly ploughs through Klaeber's *Beowulf* is no longer a beginning student on reaching the end. So too with Stévanovitch's almost eight-hundred page *Genèse*. In the forward André Crépin, Président de l'Association des Médiévistes Anglicistes de l'Enseignement Supérieur, says that the edition (Stévanovitch's doctoral thesis) shows "la vigueur de sa pensée, et de la santé, en France, des études d'anglais médiéval." No one reading the work will be inclined to disagree.

Genesis A

Larry N. McKill's "Patterns of the Fall: Adam and Eve in the Old English *Genesis A*" (*Florilegium* 14 [1995–96], 25–41) is a pleasingly atavistic study showing how thematic diction informs poetic design.

> The poet structures his entire poem by greatly heightening the contrast only implied in his biblical source between those who praise God and remain loyal, and those who turn from him in disobedience. Not part of the Scriptural Genesis but common to patristic commentary, the account of the Creation and Fall of the Angels is central to understanding the structure of *Genesis A*, for the response of the angels loyal to their Creator serves as a model of proper behaviour by which the lives of men on "middle-earth" may be judged. (26)

McKill does not demonstrate that *Genesis A* as a whole is patterned by thematic diction—"space precludes a detailed analysis of the entire poem" (27)—but makes good his claim for the major scenes he examines: the heavenly harmony before Lucifer's rebellion, Lucifer's rebellion, the punishment of the evil angels, the creation of the material world, and the punishment of Adam and Eve.

Dorothy Haines, in "Vacancies in Heaven: the Doctrine of Replacement and *Genesis A*" (*N&Q* 44, 150–54), focuses on lines 86b–102, in which the poet says that God decided to fill the celestial thrones left vacant after the expulsion of the evil angels with a new race, mankind. Haines finds the germ of the idea in Augustine and Gregory, neither of whom, however, mentions men's inheriting the vacant thrones. She

locates the best analogues in the eleventh Blickling Homily, in Ælfric, and in Wulfstan.

> Certainly, the poet's rendering of the doctrine reveals not patristic, but distinctly Anglo-Saxon origins. The kinship of the *Genesis A* account to those in the vernacular homilies, particularly Ælfric's and Blickling XI, is most clearly discernible in its creation narrative setting and in its portrayal of the vacancies as fair dwellings or thrones in the celestial homeland which await their new inhabitants. (154)

Since, as Haines notes, *Genesis B* 364b–68a contains a similar idea (although not in the direct context of creation), I wonder if the Saxons learned it from Anglo-Saxon missionaries or if the idea was more widely spread in Western Europe than the surviving evidence suggests.

Genesis B

"*Genesis B* is unignorably laden with words" (612), declares Susanna B. Minz. So is Minz's essay, "Words Devilish and Divine: Eve as Speaker in *Genesis B*" (*Neophilologus* 81, 609–23), with its litany of fashionable phrases by which contemporary crit-speak belabors the language: "deeply masculinist Christian hierarchy," "static, deeply gendered interpretations," "a desire to re-evaluate (and transvaluate) the intensely hierarchized binaries," "autonomous female subjectivity," "deliberate foregrounding of the indeterminacy of linguistic signification," "articulation of a desire," "linguistic impenetrability." But ignore the unignorable welter of words. Minz's game is well worth the candle. First, she offers a valuable overview of scholarship on Eve during the past few decades. Second, she stresses a passage that I cannot recall anyone's discussing before and that I have more than once read but not once read well: lines 686b–94a, in which the poet says that the devil bedevils *him* (687a, 688a) when Eve is trying to persuade Adam to eat. "*Him*," says Minz,

> means 'him' but also 'them,' and the unresolvable doubleness underscores the sense that Adam *and* Eve are here being affected by the tempter, that the devil's influence is continuous, that Adam's decision to eat the apple stems from something more than that *þam gehate getruwode / þe him þæt wif wordum sægde* ('[he] trusted the promise … which the woman said to him with words' [706–07]). (615)

(Minz's brackets and ellipsis; I do not understand the ellipsis.) Third, Minz effectively contrasts Adam's self-centered attempt to exculpate himself with the laconic dignity with which Eve accepts her guilt.

Judith

Mark Griffith's *Judith* (Exeter: University of Exeter Press) is the first full-scale edition of the poem in more than a century and the first new edition in more than a quarter of a century. In the introduction Griffith discusses the manuscript, the Junius transcript, editorial history, language (spelling, phonology, vocabulary, dialect), prosody (alliteration, meter, metrical grammar, enjambment), date, source, style and structure, and *Judith* in light of OE poetic and Christian traditions. The commentary to the text is rich and wide ranging, and the bibliography comprehensive. The first of three appendices concerns alliteration and rhyme; the second gives a complete (Bliss-based) scansion of *Judith*, with three tables; and the third supplies the complete text of the Vulgate Judith, with the material the poet uses distinguished from the material he omits, and a selective text of the Old Latin Judith. The glossary, in which poetic words are specified, is exhaustive. Griffith shows a near mastery of earlier scholarship and a bold reluctance to draw conclusions beyond the evidence. Consider this statement on dating: "The question of the poem's date of composition is inseparable from that of its dialect: if it is WS, it is likely to be late (i.e. late ninth or tenth century); if it is Anglian, it may be earlier, but it is impossible to say how much earlier" (44). That leaves us pretty much where we were before, but better to float in ambiguous air than to root in the ground of error. With the same daring caution Griffith speculates that about a hundred lines are gone from the beginning of the poem (4), far more than the few lines some scholars have thought but far fewer than the hundreds others have posited. I notice only one outright error of fact—in *Genesis B* it is not Satan who dons the *hæleðhelm* (444a) but a subordinate demon (78–79)—yet I do have preferences: I wish Griffith had marked long vowels in the text as well as in the glossary, had indicated emendations in the text as well as at page bottom, and had given solid space between hemistichs in the text instead of that tiny bit of squint-eyed emptiness he uses to indicate the caesura. I niggle. The new edition of *Judith* is worthy of its namesake.

In "*Judith* and the Rhetoric of Heroism in Anglo-Saxon England" (*ES* 78, 401–06), Christopher Fee observes that "In contrast to the Vulgate heroine, the Old English Judith acts more in the capacity of a noble figurehead whose audacious behavior shames and inspires her warriors into similar feats of courage, than in the capacity of a war-chief whose daring plan offers a slim chance of survival" (401). Fee considers earlier attempts to explain the poet's departure from his biblical source—the poet wrote in the tradition of "shared" heroism; he wanted to allegorize the story; he sought to inspire the Anglo-Saxons in their struggle against the Danes—but accepts none as compelling. Instead, Fee finds the explanation in "the limitations imposed by gender in Anglo-Saxon society" (405). Although Fee admits that women held positions of power in Anglo-Saxon England, he argues that fe-

male leadership made males uneasy. "I would suggest that the Old English *Judith* was altered to conform with specific cultural ideals and expectations. ...The poet 'diminished' Judith's role, it is true; he did so with a violence that both resonates with and recalls that with which Judith 'diminished' the Assyrian army" (406). To say that the poet altered his source with "violence" comparable to that with which Judith altered the stature of Holofernes is itself to wield the rhetoric of violence. Mayhap a millennium hence scholars will speculate that Fee adopted such language to conform with specific cultural ideals and expectations of the contemporary critical world.

Peter J. Lucas's "Franciscus Junius and the Versification of Judith. *Francisci Junii in Memoriam*: 1591–1991" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal, Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, 369–404) shimmers with pleasing *pietas*. Lucas's main aim is to determine Junius's accuracy in marking off half-verses in his transcription of *Judith*. Junius's usual method is to employ metrical points (used to mark off half-verses alone) or semicolons (used at once to mark off half-verses and sentence divisions). There are 696 half-verses in the poem. Lucas finds that Junius used a total of 444 points and semicolons to divide them, of which 423 of his markers, or 95 percent, are accurate. According to Lucas, Junius also used another method to mark off half-verses: "extended spaces." ("This practice," found most clearly in Bodleian Hatton 20 and, sporadically, in CCCC 41 and CCCC 326, "is not common, and indeed it seems to have been missed by modern scholars. Junius' acuity in noticing it is all the more remarkable" [402].) When extended spaces are counted as half-verse markers, Junius's attempt at metrical division rises to 96 percent of the 696 half-verses in *Judith*, with an accuracy rate of 90 percent. Lucas further finds that what gave Junius the most trouble are hypermetric verses and (so-called) light verses. "Nevertheless, his success rate in indicating verse divisions in hypermetric verses and light verses was 85 percent in both cases (115 out of 135 hypermetric verses, and 139 out of 164 light verses), so the difficulty he experienced was relatively infrequent" (385). Lucas concludes, with thundering understatement, that "Junius' efforts at versification deserve to be complimented" (387). Although he directs most of his attention to Junius's metrical marking, Lucas also says much on the meter of *Judith* itself. In the essay proper he discusses pointing in the manuscript and certain problem lines in the poem; in three appendices he summarizes the scansion of *Judith* (using Bliss's system), gives a complete scansion of the poem by line (so also Griffith above), and discusses particular aspects of meter. As always the case with Lucas, the scholarship is immensely learned. I would happily trade the three appendices, however, for the reproduction of a folio from Junius's transcript of *Judith* so that I could see for myself the extended spaces Lucas counts as metrical markers.

Paris Psalter

M. J. Toswell thus begins "The Relationship of the Metrical Psalter to the Old English Glossed Psalters" (*ES* 78, 297–315): "The most obvious possible connection of the Old English metrical psalter to vernacular literature is that with the psalter glosses. Again and again, the main words of this text, those which translate the Latin, tend to correspond with the interlinear glossing of the psalms in the body of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts collectively known as the glossed psalters." Toswell's opening led me to suppose that she would offer evidence that the glossed psalters did in fact influence the *Paris Psalter* poet. A hasty assumption. After reviewing the scholarship devoted to the fifteen psalters with OE glosses and discussing the difficulty of determining whether they influenced the *Paris Psalter* poet, Toswell approaches the subject in two ways. First, she compares the glosses of Psalm 99 (100 in the Vulgate) with the poet's rendering. Her conclusion is that "The glossed psalters may have been used for consultation by the translator, but a surviving word-for-word glossed psalter does not appear directly to underlie the metrical psalms" (305). Second, taking up half a dozen lemmata (e.g., *gressus/ingressus, lauare, dissipo*), Toswell compares the glossing of the words in the Cambridge Psalter, representing the A-type tradition, and in the Salisbury Psalter, representing the D-type tradition, with the *Paris Psalter* poet's translation of the words, finding that his approach to the Latin text is somewhat closer to the A-type tradition. Overall, however, she concludes that the glossed psalters "serve as analogues to the metrical psalter, pointing to the widespread tradition of vernacular consideration of the psalms in Anglo-Saxon England" (315). Analogues to the poem rather than sources for the poet.

Charms

In "Liturgical Influences on the Anglo-Saxon Charms against Cattle Theft" (*N&Q* 44, 450–52), Heather Barkley aims to show that references to Bethlehem and Herod in three cattle-theft charms have analogues in the liturgy for Advent and the Epiphany. In the charms the speaker wishes the location of the stolen property to be as famous as Bethlehem and the thief to be as reviled as Herod; in the antiphonary of the Divine Office, Bethlehem is mentioned as a famous city and Herod is named as someone asked for the location of the newborn king. Barkley sees the references to Bethlehem and Herod in the Divine Office as analogous to the charms since "Epiphany" means "to make manifest" and the speaker of the charms wants the whereabouts of the goods revealed. As Barkley herself notes, however, the antiphons in question derive from Matt. 2:1–6 and Micah 5:2–5, which also carry the theme of manifestation. If it is a question of sources, it seems more likely to me that the references in the charms to Bethlehem and Herod come from Scripture or from readings for Mass during the Christmas season than from the less ac-

cessible Divine Office. In any case Barkley offers a new way of interpreting the reference to Herod: "... just as Herod could not keep knowledge of the location of Christ hidden from the enquiries of the Magi, the thief will not be able to keep the location of the cattle a secret from the enquiries of the owner" (452).

T. V. Toporova, in "Indoevropeiskie paralleli drevnegermanskikh zagovorov," *Voprosy Iazykoznaniia* (no. 2, 142–49), investigates parallels among charms in selected Indo-European languages, including OE (ASPR 6, nos. 1–4, 9, 11, 12). First, she discusses the similarity of purpose in many charms: for example, the return of stolen cattle or protection from snakes, diseases, thunderstorms, and criminals. Second, she points out shared elements between Old Germanic and West Slavic charms—including reference to meeting places, smiths, loud noises, the sun and moon, and opening and closing doors—finding that the semantic, structural, and conceptual parallels argue for common origins. Finally, she investigates West Indo-European word-roots used in charms in various languages to specify the semantic similarities. (My thanks to Dr. Lola Kaufova, of Pyatigorsk State Linguistic University, for translating the Russian.)

In "Old English 'Cattle-Theft Charms': Manuscript Contexts and Social Uses" (*Anglia* 115, 139–64), Stephanie Hollis maintains that "the three 'cattle-theft charms' added to CCCC 41 (Storms 12, 13 and 15) are the outgrowth of a pastoral ministry which endeavoured to accommodate the laity's customary reliance on magical aids by the creation and adaptation of secular rituals" (139). Her first major point is that the three charms belong to different textual types: Storms 15 (= ASPR 6, no. 9), a protection charm, belongs to type A; Storms 13 (= ASPR 6, no. 10), a recovery charm, to type B; and Storms 12, a charm for the apprehension of the thief, to type C. Of special note is Hollis's clarification of Storms 12. She points out that the scribe of CCCC 41 separated the first part of the charm from its conclusion by inadvertently interpolating stanzas from a hymn to St. Patrick, an error apparently occasioned by the reversal of a leaf in the scribe's exemplar; when the stanzas are set aside and the lines immediately following them are joined to the earlier part of the charm, the coherence of the charm is restored. Hollis finds that the three charms differ not only in textual type but in degree of Christian adaptation and in performance, ranging "from recitation, through liturgical gesture to sympathetic magic" (151). Further, the charms occur in a manuscript context of rituals intended to serve the laity in ways "not adequately provided for in the liturgy of the church" (154). In a later part of the essay Hollis explains the presence of another cattle-theft charm, Storms 11 (a redaction of Storms 12), in two post-conquest manuscripts, the Textus Roffensis and CCCC 383, as evidently "a formal declaration that a robbery had occurred (the equivalent, in contemporary terms, to notifying the police, and perhaps no more effective)" (159). What is perhaps true of Storms 11 and our contemporary police is certainly not

true of Hollis's article, which effectively captures its subject.

Leilani C. Cook's aim in her dissertation, "How Charms Work: A Pragmatic Approach to Old, Middle, and Modern English Charms" (University of Florida, 1995), is "a descriptive analysis of the linguistic elements which serve to empower charms in the mind of their users" (17). In the first chapter (1–25) she discusses the nature of charms, defined as "formulaic utterances which translate a specific magical intent into reality through prescribed articulation and physical performance strategies" (18). In chapter two (26–64) Cook concentrates on the components of thought, word, and deed in OE binding and banishing charms. In the first of three binding charms, *Against a Wen* (ASPR 6, no. 12), she treats "semantic resonance" (wordplay and associational meanings); in the two other charms, *For Delayed Birth* (ASPR 6, no. 6), and a prose piece, *Field Ceremonies*, she considers symbols and performative elements. She also takes up a banishing charm, *For a Swarm of Bees* (ASPR 6, no. 8), in which she discusses incantatory sounds, and "The Lay of the Last Survivor" in *Beowulf*—also regarded as a banishing charm—in which she explores the spellbinding power of language. In chapter three (65–94), devoted to Middle English, Cook discusses four banishing charms, the last being John's nightspell in *The Miller's Tale*, and three binding charms, including Mak's nightspell from *The Second Shepherd's Play*. In the fourth chapter (95–139) she surveys binding and banishing charms from late nineteenth century practitioners to contemporary Wiccans. In her "Conclusion" (140–48), Cook notes similarities of charms ancient and modern, discusses the limitations of her research, and outlines directions for further scholarship. Two things strike me about the study. First, in general, older texts claim more weight and art than their modern, especially contemporary, counterparts. Second, some of the texts she considers charms aren't. Both points can be exemplified from an inscription Cook "transcribed off" the shirt of a fourteen-year-old at the Orlando airport (97–98):

> I'm not scared.
> I'm not afraid.
> I'm tough.
> I'm an animal
> And I'll eat you
> If I have to.
> NO FEAR

This is neither a charm nor charming. The adults who let the lad gad about in public boasting the inscription should be subjected from sunup to sundown to conversation with Wiccans, whose doctrines (described on 132–36) would be risible were they not so repulsive.   J.R.H.

Seafarer

Michael Alexander's "Ezra Pound as Translator" (*Translation and Literature* 6: 23–30) relates Pound's translations to his original poetry. Alexander distinguishes two kinds of translations. Copies followed the form and language of the source text closely, and Pound generally wrote them early, when he was translating from languages he knew well. His limited acquaintance with Chinese led to remakes, beginning with *Cathay*. In remakes Pound found his own style rather than trying to imitate his source's style. His *Seafarer* is both a copy and a remake: while Pound used the style of the Old English poem, even adopting its rhythms and vocabulary for his *Cantos*, he rewrote it to make the speaker represent the exile of the artist. He played with words rather than structure, as when he reversed Gregory the Great's Angli/angeli pun by translating 'angels' as 'English.' Similar linguistic play enters *The Cantos*, where Pound does not distinguish between original poetry and translation, or even between English and other languages. The calques he used for *The Seafarer* led to the citation of foreign words and lines in his own poetry.

Seafarer and Exodus

Dee Dyas treats the *Seafarer* in its Old English context in "Land and Sea in the Pilgrim Life: The *Seafarer* and the Old English *Exodus*" (*English Language Notes* 35: 1–9). In the *Seafarer*, Dyas argues, the land and sea together figure the world: land is associated with death and sea with spiritual life. Dyas suggests a parallel in *Exodus*, which calls the Egyptians *landmenn* and the Israelites *seamen*. The Egyptians remain in a worldly home without hope of an eternal one, but the Israelites, as exiles, make a journey with a spiritual destination. The *Seafarer* describes land-dwellers as living decadently in worldly cities while sea-dwellers live in exile. Scripture has several references to voluntary exile, and Dyas also notes the contrast between earthly and heavenly cities in John Chrysostom, Augustine, Caesarius of Arles, and Gregory the Great. Dyas concludes that both *Seafarer* and *Exodus* translate the Christian pilgrim into a seafarer who abandons earthly comfort for the security of God.

Physiologus

Michelle C. Hoek also argues for Anglo-Saxon adaptation of Christian matter in "Anglo-Saxon Innovation and the Use of the Senses in the Old English *Physiologus* Poems" (*Studia Neophilologica* 69:1–10). Citing both manuscript and structural evidence, she conceives of the three as a complete unit: only one folio seems to be missing, and the three poems form the triptychs beast, fish, bird; and land, sea, air. Because *Partridge* is fragmentary, Hoek concentrates on *Panther* and *Whale*, whose depictions of those animals she views as peculiarly Anglo-Saxon. The unfamiliar panther is represented in purely mythical terms and praised for behaviors which are actually unnatural; the well-known whale is described more realistically but reviled for acting naturally. Christianity comforted Anglo-Saxons by replacing the incomprehensibility of an indifferent nature with the understandable if frighteningly

malevolent figure of the evil whale. Hoek also compares the "watery death" (3) of *Whale* with *Exodus* and *Andreas*, and she suggests that the poet names the whale because the act of naming provides a sense of control over the creature. The poet does not name the panther to avoid detracting from its identification with Christ. Moreover, the description of the panther as *anstapan* (line 15) sets the poem in the same tradition as *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. This terminology of exile suggests a new reading of the *hapax legomenon* "sundorgecynd" (line 30): the panther was 'separated from its kind' as Christ was sundered from heaven to become man.

According to Hoek, an Augustinian view of the senses informs the poem. Augustine concluded that senses were good when they brought people to God, bad when they drew people to the material world. The senses perceive the divine beauty of the panther but see the whale as either ugly, reflecting its evil, or dangerously attractive. The panther's beauty contrasts with the whale's scabby hide. Yet the panther's pleasant smell adds to its glory while the whale's similarly appealing scent lures prey. Eating (taste) links the panther to Christ: after supper, it sleeps three days before rising. The whale is simply gluttonous, a devouring hell-mouth. Finally, the panther is associated with hearing but not touch (the most worldly sense): the panther's voice attracts men (who also have voices) and reminds readers of Christ, the Word. By contrast, the silent whale lulls sailors into thinking they are safe on an island. When sailors touch the whale, and it feels their fires on its back, it dives, killing them. Hoek concludes that the details of the poems show the Anglo-Saxon poet to be an innovator who adapted Christian works to his own culture.

Deor

Frederick M. Biggs reads *Deor* less as a Christian text than as a narrator threatening his lord in "Deor's Threatened 'Blame Poem'" (*Studies in Philology* 94, 297–320). The Indo-European genre of praise and blame poetry gave rise to Irish and Norse examples which the *Deor*-poet could have known, such as *Cormac's Glossary* and *Egil's Saga*; all three poems share an interest in the economic relationship between patron and poet. Anglo-Saxon evidence for the genre may include *Widsith* (according to John Niles) and *Cædmon's Hymn* (a praise poem for God). Irish, Norse, and Anglo-Saxon analogues all demonstrate a second characteristic of the genre: emphasis on names. *Deor* names only a people, not a lord, to imply a threat: if the lord does not restore the poet's former position, the poet will name him in a blame poem.

Biggs argues against reading the poem as Christian consolation. He reads the refrain's *mæg* not as simple future but as possibility, for improvement is not assured. Further, the *dryhten* of line 32 may not be God; even if God is meant, the stanza may express concern about God's arbitrary actions. Moreover, the tone of the poem is neither consolatory nor Christian, as evidenced by the tales of Weland and Eormen-

ric. Biggs reads Geat as a variation on Orpheus. In an Icelandic parallel Geat dies, implying danger to the hero, but in a Norwegian version he succeeds, asserting the power of poetry. Either reading supports a threat to write a blame poem. The Theodoric stanza can be read positively so that the poem offers the lord a possibility of success and good reputation. Though *Deor* could derive from an actual dispute between a poet and patron, the poem is more likely a reflection on the possibilities of the blame genre. Perhaps it was composed late in the Old English period, when Scandinavians sang praise and blame poetry in England. The poet may have known the skaldic *drápa*, a praise poem with a refrain; *Egil's Saga* gives two *drápur* composed in England. Biggs concludes by noting that the poem's allusive narratives retain their beauty and mystery whether *Deor* is read as consolation or threat. Though the mystery might derive from our distance from the poem and our inability to place it in context, Biggs prefers to think of *Deor* as a late reflection on poetry itself, one which crosses boundaries between Germanic and Latin traditions.

Juliana, Elene, and The Phoenix

Andrew Breeze uses analogues to illuminate an unusual term in "*Æpplede Gold* in *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *The Phoenix*" (*Notes and Queries* 44: 452–3). The word *æpplede* appears only three times in Old English, and translations have ranged from "embossed" and "round" to "dappled"; some have specifically rejected the sense of "apple" or "sphere" in the absence of archaeological evidence for gold balls. Breeze cites Welsh and Irish sources which refer clearly to gold balls or apples as evidence for knowledge of such objects. While these things have not been found by Celtic archaeology either, as Breeze notes, little Anglo-Saxon gold in any form has been found; poetry need not necessarily represent common or even real items. Breeze thus returns to Bosworth's translation of *æpplede* as gold in the form of apples or balls.

Husband's Message

Edward Bridle's "*Ecgtheow's Message*? A Possible Link between *The Husband's Message* and *Beowulf*" (*Parergon* 15, 1–19) proposes a new context for *The Husband's Message*. *HM* concerns a man and woman who had a close bond but are separated; he prospers in exile and sends a message for her to join him. Beowulf's father Ecgtheow faced a similar situation (*Bwf* 371–89 and 456–72): he married Hrethel's daughter but fled a feud. Hrothgar's gift of treasure ended the feud after Ecgtheow had lived with him for some time. Bridle argues for a common plot: a warrior connected to a noblewoman by marriage or betrothal must flee, but he thrives overseas and brings the woman to him. No names are given in *HM*, but the wife must sail *suð heonan*. Bridle points out that the *Orosius* describes the Danes as living roughly south of the Geats.

Because, as Bridle notes, similarities between different stories occur when poets share a common archetype, he com-

pares a number of other Germanic exile tales to *Husband's Message* and *Beowulf*. He finds that exile itself is the only common thread. Several figures are exiled because of feud and leave women behind, but he attributes the recurring general theme to the historical reality of exile. Bridle argues that the variations are more significant: *The Wanderer* shows a man who has lost his lord; *Widsith* presents Wudga and Hama as successful outlaws; Hildebrand finds a new lord; Wulf is separated from a woman but not exiled. Bridle concludes that only a general archetype of exile was available, and each poem has its own distinct plot. Ecgtheow and *The Husband's Message* share significant details without variations because they are the same story.

Wanderer

Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso sketches out a tripartite approach to *The Wanderer* using Literary Anthropology in "Anthropology and Old English: Linguistic, Symbolic and Conceptual Bases of *The Wanderer*," (*SELIM 1996: Proceedings of the 9th International Conference of the Spanish Society for Medieval English Language and Literature*, ed. Margarita Giménez Bon and Vickie Olsen). He demonstrates linguistic analysis by analyzing word frequencies in *The Wanderer*. The proportion of total words in the text to non-repeated words is 1.7, indicating a rich vocabulary with conscious repetition of a small group of nouns and adjectives. The vast majority of the words have one or two syllables, producing a deliberate rhythm. Semantic fields include one vocabulary about the lost environment of the lord and another, larger vocabulary concerning the narrator's current state of loss, while analysis of the grammatical categories shows a strong use of nouns and verbs with fewer adjectives, conveying a sense of the speaker's intellect and objectivity. Bueno Alonso finds many of the words are linked to different kinds of realism: physical, individual, psychological, and kinesic. He further writes that balance between words referring to past, present, and future give the poem an internal focus, while concepts of time and space dominate, allowing the text to give both diachronic and synchronic perspectives: the narrator tells how he reached his current condition and what that condition is. Bueno Alonso concludes by describing some ways in which his approach would work at higher levels. At a symbolic level, the poem is highly psychological and builds communication with the audience based on shared culture; it also treats the relationship of individual and environment. Finally, at the conceptual level concepts such as *wyrd* and free will, and the condition of the world and relationships in it, must be treated.

Margrét Gunnarsdóttir Champion offers another interdisciplinary reading of the *Wanderer* in "From Plaint to Praise: Language as Cure in 'The Wanderer'" (*Studia Neophilologica* 69: 187–202). Invoking Freud and Lacan's understandings of the Oedipal crisis and regressions into it that grief can cause, she reads *The Wanderer* as the speaker's

working through loss and his recognition of the split self. Like *The Seafarer*, *The Wanderer* sometimes invokes conventional language of consolation; like *The Wife's Lament*, the poem sometimes escapes into fantasy. Yet these other poems ultimately abandon the subject's position in language, *The Seafarer* by retreating from the personal into clichés, *The Wife's Lament* by retreating from the social world into personal fantasy. *The Wanderer* tries both approaches in its first two sections but reaches beyond these failed escapes into a Lacanian resolution.

At the start, the narrator is torn between socially accepted silence and a fantasy desire to speak, an apparent rebellion against society which is in actuality a narcissistic attack on the self. The speaker moves beyond narcissism when he recognizes his lack of identity with himself—the exile all humanity shares. He then names his desire, like a successful analysand, but goes beyond the mere naming to the performance of self-alienation in the constructed persona of the artist. The second section of the poem gives a series of tropes connecting death and language, ending in a valuation of *balanced* speech—instead of lapsing into silence or making a narcissistic equation of utterance with enunciation, the speaker negotiates the gap between private pain and public expression. Champion notes that heroic and Christian values are in tension in the poem, but rather than declaring one set the winner, she emphasizes the psychological and cultural work of the poem. The speaker receives *ar* (grace or mercy) not as a piece of doctrine but as a recovery; he has constructed consolatory tropes that operate effectively in his new awareness of the dual nature of speech as private emotion and public truth.

Guthlac B

Low Soon Ai studies "Mental Cultivation in *Guthlac B*" (*Neophilologus* 81: 625–36) with particular attention to the vocabulary of the mind. She classifies the poem as elegiac rather than hagiographical because of its keen psychological interest. The poet's concentration on internal mental states is apparent in the frequent use of words such as *hyge, sefa, heorte, hreþer*, and *mod* which, as Low notes, apply only in life (*sawl* and *gæst* survive and lack psychological qualities). The meanings of these terms overlap heavily; while glossators may favor certain words of the *mod* cluster for particular Latin terms, their distinctions are not rigid, and the need for alliteration may determine a poet's choice. "Mod," unlike the modern "mind," includes both reason and emotion, and it resides in the heart. In *Guthlac B* the poet depicts opposed mental states: the saint disciplines his mind to restrain emotion in favor of reason and can meet death with eagerness, while his servant lacks self-restraint so much that he begs his master for comfort even as his master is dying and mourns excessively while Guthlac goes to everlasting joy. The poem does not criticize the servant's weakness but instead highlights Guthlac's extraordinary mental praxis through the contrast between the two

men. Low concludes that hagiography and elegy do not conflict in *Guthlac B* but combine to give psychological depth unusual in saints' lives as the poet draws upon both Anglo-Saxon awareness of the fragility of the world and happiness and Christian hope in the next world.

Soul and Body

In "The Old English *Soul and Body I* and *Soul and Body II*: Ending the Rivalry," (*In Geardagum* 18, 1997: 39–58) Michael Matto studies scholarship on the two poems and suggests respecting both as "individual poetic expressions" (49). Both poems feature a damned soul addressing its body, but there are many lexical and syntactic variations between them. Moreover, *Soul and Body I* (in the Vercelli manuscript), contains the "Blessed Soul's" 40-line address to its body, lines not found in *II* (in the Exeter manuscript). Most scholars assume, Matto writes, that only the original author's words deserve study—an assumption with two different effects. Critics choose one version as better representing the author's intention and dismiss the other in a kind of "sibling rivalry." Editors often conflate the two into a single text, a practice which obscures two real texts in favor of the lost ur-poem. Matto argues that while we cannot know the original text or author, we can know poems that medieval compilers and readers knew.

Matto concludes his argument by reading I.42–51 and II.39–48, lines dense in variants, to demonstrate how each poem contains its own meanings. I (Vercelli) emphasizes the inevitability of sin as the result of the fall, the body's sin as one of omission, and the need for self-mastery; II (Exeter) presents a more accusatory soul which blames the body for actively causing damnation. These differences affect how we read lines with few variants like 5–9, which can be read as emphasizing either distant judgment or eternal punishment. Matto argues that the best reading of these lines depends on the version of the poem, with emphasis on distant judgment being more appropriate to I (which has a less accusatory tone and lines from the Blessed Soul) and the emphasis on punishment to II. He concludes that literary critics have recently focused increasingly upon reception, and rightly so, but editors' judgments have not kept pace. He suggests that scholars read and edit the two poems as two distinct products—and producers—of Anglo-Saxon culture.

Solomon and Saturn

Solomon and Saturn came in for particular attention this year, garnering three items. In "*Solomon and Saturn* 44a: *Dæs Deofles Dream*" (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 98: 391–6), Peter Dendle defends a manuscript reading which has caused some confusion. The older text of *Solomon and Saturn I*, the mid- to late-tenth century CCCC 422, describes the *Pater Noster* as torturing the devil by burning him with heated blood, "ðæs deofles dream" ("the devil's joy," 44). Uncertain how this blood is the devil's joy, most editors emend "dream" to "dreor" ("blood"). The eleventh-century fragment in CCCC 41 offers little help, for its reading here, "dry" ("sorcery" or "sorcerer"), seems nonsensical. Dendle argues that "dream" is correct and stands in apposition to "blod" (line 41). Confusion arises from readings Dendle rejects: taking the heated blood to be the devil's own or taking *heated* blood as the devil's joy. Rather, Dendle writes, blood in general is the devil's joy. Patristic writers mentioning devils craving sacrificial blood include Justin Martyr, Athenagoras, and Origen in Greek, and Tertullian, Minucius Felix, and Porphyry in Latin. While most of these texts were not known to Anglo-Saxons, Dendle argues that they may have informed the poem's sources. Furthermore, Dendle observes that Anglo-Saxons texts presented devils as provoking and enjoying bloodshed, and that blood is the devil's joy in this wider sense in *Andreas, Juliana,* and *Descent into Hell.* In closing, Dendle notes that retaining the reading "dream" preserves a neat irony: the devil suffers by getting the blood he desires.

Mary Wallis's "Patterns of Wisdom in the Old English *Solomon and Saturn II*" (Dissertation, University of Ottawa, 1991) examines *Solomon and Saturn II* within the tradition of Anglo-Saxon wisdom poetry, a tradition which drew on both Christian and Germanic roots. Her introductory chapter notes that the study aims to correct readings which see the poem as an argument between a Christian and a doomed pagan; Saturn's role is that of a sinner seeking truth with whom the audience can identify.

Her second chapter studies the wisdom tradition in Anglo-Saxon England, which included Christian and Germanic traditions. Christian thought viewed wisdom as transcendent and inhering in God though reflected in creation; Germanic thought viewed wisdom as immanent in nature itself. A dualistic split offered both perspectives a resolution to the problem of evil: *wyrd* causes suffering and arbitrariness, but wisdom dwells apart. Yet Germanic thought sought wisdom in the past, and its heroes aimed for renown that would set them beside their forebears, while the Christian tradition might seek wisdom in history but focused more on final judgment. Anglo-Saxon wisdom texts also emphasized the moral aspect of wisdom: observation and discernment lead one to will good acts. The Latin tradition contributed the dialogue form as a mode of reaching wisdom.

Chapter 3 shows *Sol II* embracing both traditions. The poem begins as a Germanic flyting with an emphasis on wisdom. Many of Saturn's riddles and questions focus on earthly failure and decay; Solomon shifts the focus to apocalypse and judgment and adds a moral dimension. Saturn is particularly troubled by the apparent lack of control one has over one's destiny, but Solomon's responses indicate that one's fate is bound up with one's moral choices. *Wyrd* is cruel because the fall of the angels caused natural evils, and while people are not responsible for natural evils, they may choose to seek wisdom and God and so reduce the effects of *wyrd* upon them.

Chapter 4 examines the characters and the two opposed sets of expectations the poem raises. At first, the poem seems poised to follow W. T. H. Jackson's hero-king type: a challenger enters and bests a weak court. Yet Solomon is a type of Christ, and his court is not weak. In fact, Wallis argues, *Sol II* undermines the values of the hero-king story. Saturn's origins and itinerary associate him with fallenness and depravity, especially Babylon and the Tower of Babel. Solomon, by contrast, reigns in the Holy City. Saturn's itinerary shifts from Old Testament to New Testament places, enacting a path from sin to truth and the possibility of salvation. The *Vasa Mortis* and *Weallende Wulf* episodes show the weakness of Saturn and his people: Solomon bound a demon which the Philistines in their ignorance still fear will harm them, while Wulf, for all his glory, succeeded only in loosing evil creatures upon the world. Solomon offers a positive model of kingship as a just ruler in a peace secured by his father's prowess, while Saturn's people, the Chaldeans, have a tradition of rulers who defy God and wage endless, pointless wars.

In Chapter 5 Wallis explores how wisdom develops in the debate. As the itinerary gives Saturn's path before the debate, so the dialogue traces his path from sin and despair to understanding and healing laughter. The dialogue resembles those of Boethius and Augustine: Solomon teaches and heals Saturn, his pupil and patient, by taking him through a cure leading from *acedia* through *tristia* and *ira*. At the same time, Solomon guides Saturn out of the self-referential language of riddles into a language which points to a higher wisdom: the two move into question-and-answer and finally Solomon's solo exposition. As healing progresses, Saturn becomes less combative and ultimately listens silently to Solomon's final speech. Solomon declares that the good easily choose a good lord, and Saturn himself accepts Solomon's authority. The final story tells of the mind choosing between a good and a bad spirit. He who chooses the bad spirit reverses the progress that Saturn makes in the poem, becoming a wandering mind troubled by the world. The good spirit champions the love of God as Solomon has just done. At the end, Saturn remains in contemplation broken only by his joyful laugh. The audience participates in the process with Saturn by learning the same lessons and facing similar moral choices.

Wallis concludes that the power of *Sol II* lies in its vivid images and its focus upon states of mind as it shows the self learning to understand its own experience. Solomon figures Christ but never becomes fully transcendent in the poem. Instead, he works through language and ultimately liberates language and the mind to rise above the fallen world. The closing laughter signals a new openness as the poem itself shows openness to both Germanic tradition and the Latin dialogue form.

Patrick P. O'Neill's "On the Date, Provenance and Relationship of the 'Solomon and Saturn' Dialogues" (*Anglo-Saxon England* 26: 139–68) addresses all three texts. Menner emphasized differences among the three and argued that *Sol*

II came first and supplied characters for *Sol I*, which then supplied models for the Prose. O'Neill argues for the significance of similarities among the texts. Both poems share unusual metrical choices: they avoid verbal-auxiliary half-lines, and while stressed auxiliaries usually mark dependent clauses, both dialogues divide them equally between independent and dependent clauses. Both also use many prosaic words and share some rare words and phrases.

Characterization connects the texts as well. While Solomon was an obvious choice for an interlocutor, Marcolfus was his usual opponent. Saturn is consistently characterized as a prodigious reader of books concerned with ancient history and geography. In similarly phrased lines, he promises in each poem to return home satisfied if Solomon answers his questions. He does not hate Christians (as Marcolfus does) and is not a cannibal or infanticide (like the god Saturn) but a man who has already learned much about Christianity and burns to know more. Unusual details about Saturn's people, the Chaldeans, connect both poems to specific Scriptural passages and commentaries, including Ez I.3, Hab I.6–7, Gen XI, Dan V, Jerome's commentaries on those books, and Lactantius's *Institutiones diuinae*. O'Neill concludes that both poems came from a single school which studied ancient history and geography through patristic commentary.

O'Neill finds Menner's evidence for Mercian derivation weak and argues for an Alfredian origin. Only a handful of Anglian words appear in the texts, and their West Saxon equivalents also appear, while many more words show the same early West Saxon spellings as Alfred's *Pastoral Care*. Moreover, dialogue was an important Alfredian genre, and Mod's gratitude for having lost the debate in Alfred's *Soliloquies* is echoed by Saturn at the end of *Sol II*. The *Solomon* dialogues and original passages in Alfred's *Boethius* also share a keen interest in the elements and in the Tower of Babel story. O'Neill adds that Alfred's account of Babel derives not only from Gen X–XI but from Jerome's commentary on Daniel— a source for the *Solomon* dialogues.

Finally, O'Neill notes the unusual use of *cantic* and *organ*, words for liturgical canticles, for the *Pater noster*. The *Pater noster* was not a canticle in the contemporary Roman practice which Anglo-Saxons followed. Yet ninth-century Gallican psalters included "new" canticles, the *Pater noster* among them. The only evidence for a Carolingian-based liturgical reform in England between the time the new canticles were introduced and the date of the earlier manuscript (mid-tenth century) comes in Alfred's reign. Alfred's appeal to Fulco, archbishop of Rheims, was met by Fulco's dispatch of Grimbald to assist with liturgical reform. Asser records Grimbald's greatness as cantor and liturgist. The English use of the Durham Collectar and two Gallican psalters containing the *Pater noster* also supports the idea of an Alfredian reform. Alfred's devotion to the hours finds praise in Asser, and his interest in the Psalms is attested by his own translation of the first fifty—a translation based mainly on the Roman psalter

but containing over 140 Gallican readings.

O'Neill concludes that the Solomon and Saturn dialogues of CCCC 422 originated from one school, though they may have had different authors. Understood in light of the sources O'Neill cites, Saturn appears less exotic and more a traditional figure of ancient learning. O'Neill closes by suggesting that the dialogues may have had a place in Alfred's educational program. An appendix argues briefly for taking the *micel boc* and *treahteras* of *Sol I* 1–12 as Scripture (or the Gospels) and commentaries upon it.   N.G.D.

Battle of Finnsburh

In "The Characteristic Moment as a Motif in *The Finnsburg Fragment* and *Deor*" (*English Studies in Canada* 23, 249–61), Robin Waugh identifies two moments in these poems that illustrate their participation in the competitive, accretive, and consuming culture of oral poetry. In oral poetry, Waugh says, "Poets and heroes vie for the most ancient events and genealogies in a contest for priority" (250). Having first defined the motif, Waugh illustrates how "Beowulf's praise poem ... tries to be a surpassing performance" (251) and then introduces the "characteristic moments" catalogued in Hnæf's speech at 636b–38 of the *Finnsburg Fragment*. Hnæf here performs the two tasks Waugh maintains are essential for the "characteristic moment": he both evokes the past and rejects that tradition by calling attention to his own moment. "These heroes may refer to the past in order to connect with a heroic tradition, but they also call up history in order to show how they will transcend it" (253). In *Deor*, Waugh sees the poet "lopping off" his stories of woe with his refrain, and in so doing, belittling the events they describe by subjecting them to the "inevitable passage of time" (254). In this way the poet resembles Hnæf in that the preparation for his own moment is preceded by a "removal" of the others. "He discards all of the past in order to paint a characteristic moment for himself" (255). The rest of the article is devoted to an explanation of why Waugh would not classify this motif as a "theme." Taken to task is the notion that type-scenes and themes, if they exist, can constitute the "underlying structure" which lend oral compositions their orality. Waugh's conclusion: "The 'hero on the beach' is only a version of the characteristic moment" (258).

Battle of Maldon

Thomas D. Hill examines the relevance of the twelfth-century Latin chronicle to the Old English poem in "The *Liber Eliensis* 'Historical Selections' and the Old English *Battle of Maldon*" (*JEGP* 96, 1–12). Hill notes the absence of literary discussions of the chronicle, in particular the section he entitles "Historical Selections," and compares this to the mountain of critical work pertaining to the poem. The disparity is not without justification. The chronicle account is less than reliable as history, and Hill concedes the minimal aesthetic qualities of the "Historical Selections." And yet, there is much to be learned by a comparison of the two, quite disparate accounts of this famous battle. What are we to make of the chronicle's identification of Byrhtnoth as "Northanimbrorum dux"? And the chronicle claims that Byrhtnoth fought the Danes for fourteen days, at the end of which he was beheaded in battle. Moreover, according to the *Liber Eliensis* the battle of Maldon was in fact two separate battles. Hill discusses these instances and more of how the chronicle "mixes historical fact with error and propagandistic exaggeration" (3). He does this with characteristic caution and incisiveness, in each case providing a plausible explanation for the distortion in the chronicler's account. In the poem Byrhtnoth gives up too much ground to the Vikings "for his ofermode"; in the Latin chronicle his choice is motivated by "nimia ... animositate." It is here that a comparison of the texts seems most compelling, and Hill, having established the parallels between the two, considers how they are related. The chronicler, he concludes, rather than drawing on the poem for common details, must have independently availed himself of stock oral "saga" material surrounding the Battle of Maldon (9).

In her stylistic analysis "The Order of Words and Patterns of Opposition in the *Battle of Maldon*." (*Neophilologus* 81, 117–28) Helen Phillips highlights the phenomenon of "mimetic word ordering," i.e. "word ordering which enacts aspects of the physical events it describes" (117). After first illustrating the concept with examples from *Maxims II*, *Maldon* and *Wanderer* (117–20), Phillips discusses the dual patterns she detects in the *Battle of Maldon*, the first strongly spatial and physical, of "opposition and reciprocity," the second of "firmness, resistance and control." These subtle patterns, she argues, are every bit as important in the narrative as more obvious, recurrent themes of "loyalty or the relationship of words and deeds" (117). Phillips identifies lexical sets in the poet's diction that express the motifs of firmness, standing one's ground, and meeting opposition. She contrasts this with the way the *Judith* poet creates a sense of rapid action throughout that poem. The *Maldon* poet did not, she posits, have the option of presenting a panoramic view of the battle, but instead chose to focus on smaller scale conflicts in which reciprocity of action or speech features prominently. A small part of the poet's triumph is in his use of passive constructions to describe the Vikings' actions, a stylistic move that helps turn "English death into a matter of English attitude and choice," to give just one example (125). Phillips' very close reading of the thematically driven lexical patterns she identifies here constitutes an insightful contribution to our understanding of *The Battle of Maldon*.

In "'Danish Men's Words Are Worse than Murder': Viking Guile and *The Battle of Maldon*." (*JEGP* 96, 13–25), Phillip Pulsiano investigates cultural assumptions underlying one of the pivotal lines in the poem : "ongunnon

lytegian þa laðe gastas" ("Then the hateful visitors began to use guile" [l. 85]). Dissatisfied with earlier explanations of the nature of this guile or cunning as essentially irrelevant, Pulsiano contends that it is of the utmost importance to discover the precise nature, if possible, of "what remains unsaid in the poem with regard to" this line (15). "[W]e *are* required to know more if we are to comprehend how it happened that Byrhtnoth, who is described in the *Liber Eliensis* as a "valiant leader" possessing "marvellous wisdom," could act so rashly and unpremeditatedly in risking the lives of his men in certain defeat when at every stage prior to this point he held the clear advantage" (15). Pulsiano posits that the very word *lytegian* might well have triggered in the minds of the poet's audience an association with a popular conception of the Danes "as manipulators of language, as seductive liars, able to deceive their enemies through guileful speech." In what follows, he seeks to chart popular conceptions of the Vikings in the Anglo-Saxon period, an endeavor fraught with difficulty, given the nature of the evidence. Swedish, Danish, and German texts from mostly later periods (twelfth through the fourteenth centuries) are brought to bear in order to establish a widespread conception of the Danes as characteristically guileful. "What is wanting in this discussion of Danish guile is, of course, evidence from the Anglo-Saxon corpus" (22). Yet he does offer the entry for 1086 in the Laud MS of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as good evidence for the existence of the stereotype. Taken together, the evidence offered here does point in the direction of a long-established perception that the Danes possessed a particular brand of cunning: the ability to manipulate through words in order to gain advantage. This has interesting ramifications for our assessment of Byrtnoth's fatal "mistake." Pulsiano concludes that in fact he had no choice but to succumb to "the powerful sway of Danish guile" (25); knowing this deepens the tragedy of his decision just as it heightens its heroism.

Dream of the Rood

It used to be that one would find plentiful copies of the Old English texts published by Methuen and Manchester University Press in the best used book stores in university towns, both in the U.S. and Europe. As a graduate student I was thus able to build my own modest library of Old English texts at very reasonable prices. But with so many universities having abandoned the Old English requirement, fewer and fewer of these inexpensive editions, especially the Methuen texts, show up on the shelves. The University of Exeter Press has picked up a great many of these texts and reprinted them in their Exeter Medieval English Texts and Studies series, a fact for which all those interested in Old English language and literature should be grateful. A "new" addition to their series is Michael Swanton's (ed.) *The Dream of the Rood* (Exeter: Univ. of Exeter Press, 1996). This is a revised reprint of the 1987 printing (for a review of the 1987 reprint, see *OEN*

22.1 (1988), 62–63). Professor Swanton's preface to the 1996 reprint informs us: "The high cost of resetting unfortunately precludes the accommodation of valuable points made to me in person and in the continually growing body of critical literature. However, a further call for reprinting has enabled me to make minor corrections and to supplement the bibliography." While this reviewer has not traced all of these minor corrections, the bibliographical additions are certainly full and a welcome addition to a book we may all be glad is back in print.

John F. Deane's translation of *The Dream of the Rood* appears in a volume of his poetry (*Christ, with Urban Fox.* Dublin and Fredonia, NY, 1997: 17–22) as "a version of the 7th/8th century Anglo-Saxon poem, often attributed to Cynewulf" (17). The translation is serviceable and fairly faithful to the original, though it bears noting that Deane does not reveal which edition he based it on. Deane recasts the 156 lines of the poem into forty-four stanzas of three lines each. He further delineates the Dreamer's narrative envelope visually, as well as the Rood's speech, which he divides into three sections (Christ's Passion, His Burial, and the Cross's explanation of his own transformation from object of torture to one of worship). It is always interesting to see how modern poets render the characteristic Anglo-Saxon poetic exhortation, "Hwæt!" In Deane's rendition this becomes: "Pause with me for while …".

In "The Feminized Cross of *The Dream of the Rood*" (*PQ* 76, 1–18) Mary Dockray-Miller seeks to define the masculinity of Christ in that poem. She discovers in the poet's construction of Christ's gendered role a binary opposition man/woman and masculine/feminine, with the cross itself cast in the role of the feminized victim. One ostensible goal of the article, in the end left unfulfilled, is to demonstrate the "fragility of patriarchal Christianity" (3). While admittedly Dockray-Miller is attempting here to open up the text to new and different ways of reading (the mountain of criticism published since 1970 having only nuanced or refined the views of Margaret Schlauch, Rosemary Woolf, and Michael Swanton), the argument seems to break down at the level of philology. Dockray-Miller's interpretation of some key verbs supposedly demonstrates that the cross is feminized, and that the Dreamer and the reader are participants in a voyeuristic endeavor and derive pleasure from "looking and listening to its erotically charged narrative" (14). The notion that the cross is feminized is more debatable than Dockray-Miller wants to admit. She accepts as feminine the cross's passivity, but fails to account for its own statement at line 37b–38: Ealle ic mihte / feondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stod"—by most definitions I am aware of an expression of aggressively masculine potential. Dockray-Miller's arguments for explicitly sexual connotations for the verbs *ongyrede, gestigan, ymbclypte* and *bifode* remain unconvincing as well. As with all of these reviews the discerning reader of OEN will wish to follow the dictum, "Trust, but verify," but I offer one example here. In order to

conclude that the verb *bifian* is sexually charged in the poem, Dockray-Miller relies on the one occurrence in the Old English corpus where she claims it possesses an overtly sexual connotation. In *Genesis* it is used of the ladies who tremble at the prospect of falling into the embrace of the northern kings, who have defeated Lot. While it seems clear that what they fear is rape, it does not follow that other instances of the verb *bifian* must necessarily be sexually charged. But a possibility soon turns into an irrefutable certainty, and the verb *bifian* now appears to have been chosen "for its competing connotations of orthodox belief and of sexuality" (13): "The parallel with the situation of the cross in *Dream* shows a common context for both usages and suggests an unwillingness on the part of the cross as well of the Sodomite women. The feminized cross of *Dream* finds itself in a situation strikingly similar to that of the Sodomite women as they face rape" (11). I find the resemblance less than striking.

In "Voices of Stone: the Multifaceted Speech of *The Dream of the Rood* and the Ruthwell Cross" (*Assays* 9 (1996), 57–77), Pauline Head discusses the unsettling aspect of Old English poems that employ first-person perspective and construct multifaceted identities. She examines the *Dream of the Rood*, the Chalice Riddle, and the Ruthwell Cross, among others, to establish the importance of the shifting spatial perspective in the reading of Old English poetry. "The problem of comprehending first-person speech in Old English poetry can be theorized by considering the implications of perspective; in other words, the reader's project can be described spatially. She or he must attempt to find a position in relation to the enigmatic speaker in order to identify, and identify with, the character and make the world of the text comprehensible" (57). She speculates on the experience of the Anglo-Saxon "reader" of the Ruthwell Cross (its current renovated state itself constituting a reconstructed 'reading') and juxtaposes this with the way in which the poem stabilizes identity and establishes perspective through its voice. "The manuscript poem and the sculpture each foreground different aspects of Anglo-Saxon textual structure; taken together they reflect more about Anglo-Saxon modes of interpretation than either would in isolation" (70).

The Dream of the Rood and The Seafarer

Graham Holderness' "The Sign of the Cross: Culture and Belief in *The Dream of the Rood*" (*Lit. & Theol.* 11, 347–75) offers new translations of *The Dream of the Rood* and *The Seafarer*, prefaced by an introduction that examines their cultural and theological context. The latter focuses mainly on the first poem, though the same synthesis of Christian theology with pagan Germanic perceptions and emotions is evident in *The Seafarer*. While early critics assumed "that the epic strain in the poem belongs to the language of its composition, and that its heroic values are those of its own Anglo-Saxon social context" (355), Holderness makes a convincing

case for a link between this poem and the Roman heroic and triumphalist Christianity born out of Constantine's conversion. Why the poet abandons the story of the Passion where he does, and how we are to interpret the Cross constitute his chief concerns. He does not accept the idea that where the Passion narrative breaks off corresponds to Christ's physical death before his Resurrection, read by some as a gap intended to make the reader meditate on a world without God. Nor does he accept the notion that the Cross as a living embodiment and a speaking sign of the Christian mystery constitutes a delicate synthesis of antithetical Chistological philosophies into a "perfect balance" of harmoniously resolved theological disputation (360–61). Rather he argues, equally convincingly, that "The veneration of the Cross as an independent image solves the problem the poem sets itself, by abstracting from the Christian narrative a concrete symbol of its central truths, an object that remains with us after the divinity it shared has returned to its proper home. The sign of the Cross can be considered, in other words, as more real than what it signifies; or in semiotic parlance, the signified is circumscribed by the signifier. (361). So rather than reconciling existing theological oppositions, the poet supersedes them "by boldly denying the historical veracity of the Resurrection, and erecting in its place an image, the Sign of the Cross" (361). As fine a cultural and historical introduction to the poem as this reader has ever encountered. Holderness' translation is based on the edition by Dickins and Ross.

In her provocative study, "Adam or Christ? A Pronominal Pun in *The Dream of the Rood*" (*RES* 48, 433–47) Susan Irvine argues that the pronoun in line 101a may refer to Adam, as well as Christ. She first reviews the syntax of the line, and concludes that the pronominal reference may be deliberately ambiguous. She bolsters her claim with a thorough review of the typological evidence, examining the ancient tradition that the Cross should have originated physically from the tree of the knowledge of good and evil. While the poet does not follow this tradition explicitly, Irvine does show how he draws our attention to it, the pronominal pun being one more instance among several. Her reading seems syntactically and typologically sound, and, as she argues, it may have wider implications for our understanding of the poem as a whole. "At the moment when the poet, with the Cross as narrator, explicitly presents Christ's death on the Cross, he links that death through word-play with the fall of Adam which Christ's own death redeems" (444). Irvine asserts that the demonstrated interest of the poet in this typological link may help us interpret one of the poem's toughest cruxes, the phrase *eamra ærgewin* of line 19a. Read this way, the "ancient struggle of wretched ones" becomes "Adam's unsuccessful struggle against the devil's wiles, as a result of which he and mankind have suffered greatly" (446).

Gregory E. Jordon examines the cognitive content of emotions in "Traces of Emotion in "The Dream of the Rood" (Diss. Univ. of South Florida. *DAI* 57A , 4754).

Drawing on cognitive psychology, archeology, and historical criticism of the poem, Jordon applies an analytical approach to emotion as evidenced in the poem: "We cannot know what was in the mind and heart of the author(s) or sources of *The Dream* who have died and left no other known traces, but we can make informed best guesses and hypotheses and form reasonable inferences that may be helpful in appreciating the origin and impact of the composition of *The Dream* as a historical event" (49). After an introductory chapter that deals with the poem's reception history and historical context of its genre within Anglo-Saxon culture, Jordon embarks on a close reading of the poem spanning six chapters, each of which is organized according to the traditional divisions in the poem's structure. Jordan's ultimate aim is to "build a partial, best-guess model" (147) of emotionality in the poem and its various reconstructed contexts.

Riddles

Thomas Klein offers no new solution to Riddle 33 in this article, as that has never been in doubt ("The Old English Translation of Aldhelm's Riddle *Lorica*." *RES* 48, 345–49). Instead, Klein demonstrates how the Anglo-Saxon poet took up a pun in Latin and ran with it in his Old English translation. Referred to as a "'uestis' uulgi sermone uocabor" in Aldhelm's poem, Klein argues that *uulgi sermone* refers to the English vernacular, with 'uestis' equivalent to OE *gewæd(e)* (346), a term usually meaning, of course, coat or garment, but also employed to designate a coat of mail. What follows is a close reading of the poem for the ways in which the poet/translator has imbued his object with a mind and self-awareness, and for how certain difficult passages in fact invoke the context in which the garment would be used. A pun in the penultimate line of the riddle demonstrates further how the poet transformed a poem about a "dumb thing given a rhetorical voice" into a more lively and suggestive work: "In the manner of other riddles, the riddle dares us to find the solution, calling the reader *searoponcum gleaw*, 'clever with cunning thoughts'. As a separate word, *searo* has several competing senses. It may designate either a 'device' or the intellectual power that created such a device. But more specifically, *searo* can mean 'armour'—so the pun reads. 'clever with thoughts of armour'.
                                                                    D.F.J.

Works not seen

Halácsy, Katalin. "Formulaic Composition *vs.* Creative Talent in Two Anglo-Saxon Poems." HUSSE Papers 1995. Ed. György Novák. Szeged, 1995, pp. 87–96.

c. *Beowulf*

It somehow seems appropriate that, as I take over this space from my far abler predecessor, a book appears that is designed to review the history of *Beowulf* scholarship in just about every area. A look back is often helpful before looking forward, and *A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. by Robert E. Bjork and John D. Niles (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press, 1997) provides just such a retrospective. This remarkable collaboration among a multitude of scholars can only be called a "handbook" in the generic sense (physically, it's quite an armload) but handy is exactly what it is. Each chapter of the book addresses a different aspect of *Beowulf* scholarship (e.g., text, meter, sources, theme, gender roles, and so on) and each will be reviewed separately, but here I will offer a general overview of the project. Each chapter of the *Handbook* has the same structure: a brief summary, a "chronology of the most important books and articles on the topic it treats" (Preface), a review of scholarly approaches to the topic, and an outlook for future research. It is a tribute to the skills of the editors that none of the contributions deviates from this structure (though some from its spirit) and that all of the chapters are roughly equal in length (about 25 pages). To avoid redundancy (Thorkelin and Tolkein turn up in nearly every essay), all of the chapters are keyed to the same Works Cited section, which weighs in at a substantial fifty-three pages. The Index is also impressive. *A Beowulf Handbook* will be most useful for graduate students who need to become familiar with the trajectory of scholarship on some aspect(s) of *Beowulf*, though all users should be warned that some of the synopses of earlier work can be a little skewed and the *Handbook* does not replace the need to consult the original books and articles. John D. Niles's Introduction (pp. 1–12) serves as a little handbook within the *Handbook* as he offers a brief history of the *Beowulf* manuscript and its text, a survey of some critical milestones, and some speculation and prediction regarding future directions of *Beowulf* studies.

Text

Of the four articles under this heading, two look backwards, one is more or less grounded in the present, and one looks to the future of the way in which we will receive the text of *Beowulf*. In "Textual Criticism" (*A Beowulf Handbook*, ed. Bjork and Niles, pp. 35–53), R. D. Fulk offers a history of the treatment of the text, outlining a shift from liberal to conservative editing practices and some reasons for that shift. The first modern editors of the poem, beginning with Thorkelin, were simply shooting for (and missing) an accurate transcription of it. As Fulk points out, a fairly accurate edition of *Beowulf* could not appear until it was attempted by someone with better knowledge of the OE language: specifically, John Kemble in 1833. By the middle of the nineteenth century, the confidence of editors had grown and they began to emend more freely on the basis of grammar, alliteration, sense, or meter. Of these, meter remains the most controversial ground for emendation, so Fulk gives it several pages of justification. The twentieth century saw the rise of English scholarship, which was less philological than the German and

led to a more conservative approach to editing. Fulk perceives, and does not approve of, an attitude of extreme conservatism (textual fundamentalism?) in the present day and presents examples of textual loci that clearly result from scribal error and should, as he thinks, be emended.

In his 1996 Gollancz Lecture to the British Academy ("*Beowulf* in the Twentieth Century," *PBA* [1997], 45–62) Fred C. Robinson concerns himself with one historical treatment of the text of *Beowulf*: Klaeber's. Klaeber-bashing has become a moderately popular sport, and Robinson goes at it with a vengeance. He points out problems with Klaeber's punctuation, indentation, lexicography, treatment of manuscript evidence, and commentary. Robinson is quite right in his observation that the great influence of Klaeber's edition has sometimes retarded scholarship (for example, by preventing the widespread acceptance of better readings), and he concludes with a resounding call for a new edition of *Beowulf* to replace Klaeber's. Robinson's own edition of the poem (with Bruce Mitchell) appeared two years after this lecture was given.

Mathematics and palaeography are not often found in company, but Gregory F. Rose combines them in an interesting and provocative fashion ("Four Minims and a Quandry," *Peritia* [1997], 171–87). In line 1382a of *Beowulf* one finds the form *wundmi*, which is not an acceptable OE word. Suggested emendations have included *wundini*, *wundun*, and *wundnu* but each has its problems. Rose complains about the use of philological solutions to what he perceives as a palaeographic problem, so he produces "a probability analysis of the errors presupposed by each proposed emendation" (p. 173). Rose makes a presupposition of his own here, as the only type of scribal error he considers is ductus error (the misforming of letters). By that criterion, *wundini* would reflect the fewest errors (only one: a faux top ligature) and, not surprisingly, turns out to be the statistically most probable form. Metrical and (historical) grammatical objections to *wundini* have been made, but Rose offers reasoned counterarguments to them, thus mixing some philology with his statistical palaeography. Being incompetent in statistics beyond basic percentages, I prevailed upon my Favorite Statistician to review the mathematical aspects of the article. He concluded that the statistical tests were well chosen, but he had some questions about Rose's sampling of quires and about how well he controlled for experimentwise (his word) error.

The newest way of presenting the text of *Beowulf* is, of course, the Electronic *Beowulf*, the history and advantages of which are described by Andrew Prescott ("The Electronic Beowulf," *Lit. and Ling. Computing* 12 [1997], 185–95). After a brief history of the *Beowulf* manuscript, of early editions, and of the applications of evolving technologies (color photography, UV light), Prescott recounts the history of the Electronic Beowulf project, from its initial conception to its funding, staffing, and technical infrastructure. He describes each feature of the edition (facsimile, transcripts, collations,

glossary, etc.) along with the technical and logistical problems of creating them. He concludes with a recital of the advantages to digitization: easier access, better preservation, and the restoration of lost readings.

Meter

Next to the date of *Beowulf*, its metrical system is probably the most difficult subject on which to find a scholarly consensus. Perhaps wisely, Robert P. Stockwell and Donka Minkova do not try to locate such a consensus for their chapter on "Prosody" in *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. Bjork and Niles, pp. 55–83). They summarize some of the main lines of research on the topic, then present their own conception of the metrics of the poem. Stockwell and Minkova describe the basic difference between the metrical systems worked out by Sievers and Heusler and explain that the system they will outline in the rest of the chapter is based on Sievers with certain innovations. That system is too full and complex to summarize here (this is not a chapter to which you would send an undergraduate looking for an explanation of alliteration and halflines), so I can only list the topics they cover: the stress rules of OE, the falling prominence contour, resolution and syllable weight, notation systems, foot types, constraints, principles of accomodation, and verse types (Sievers'). The authors do give attention to variations from their preferred system, providing brief accounts of the work of Cable, Bliss, Kendall, and Russom.

Also in 1997, Stockwell and Minkova survey and weigh the evidence regarding the presence, absence, and suspension of resolution in OE phonology and metrics: "Old English Metrics and the Phonology of Resolution," in *Germanic Studies in Honor of Anatoly Liberman*, North-Western European Lang. Evolution 31–32 (Odense, 1997), pp. 389–406. They address several commonly held opinions about resolution (what they call "the establishment position"—who knew there was a metricist establishment?), pointing out counterevidence to some hypotheses and inconsistencies in others. As they claim, the assumption of resolution often leads to a scansion "no better than a non-resolved alternative" (p. 390). Stockwell and Minkova present a lengthy argument against Russom's explanation for the prevalence of the suspension of resolution at the end of a verse (what they call "Russom's Strength Principle") and consider Jun Terasawa's GAP evidence the best support for resolution: certain compound words appear in prose but not in poetry because there is a constraint against resolution on both elements in a compound. They conclude that in OE verse, "resolution was still (barely) alive" (p. 403).

We move away from prosody and phonology to prosody and grammar with an article by Michael Getty: "Was Finite Verb Placement in Germanic Prosodically Conditioned? Evidence from *Beowulf* and *Heliand*," *JEGP* 96 (1997), 155–81. Getty describes how Hans Kuhn extended the work of Jakob

Wackernagel to formulate his own laws regarding the placement of particles in Germanic alliterative verse. Using *Beowulf*, Getty intends to show that these laws are flawed, and that a distinction needs to be made between finite verbs with purely grammatical functions (unstressed) and those with true lexical content ("consistently and underlyingly stressed" p. 158). He illustrates three possible metrical positions for finite verbs: unstressed in a dip, alliterating, and displaced (at the end of a metrical line). He finds that alliterating finite verbs are overwhelmingly grammatical; this finding violates several principles of Kuhn's Law of Sentence Introductions. Getty claims that the tendency in OE to retain verb-final order accounts for the high incidence of displaced finite verbs in *Beowulf*, which is thus not a function of prosody. Getty's argument is made more difficult by some sort of typographical gremlin that has morphed almost every quoted line of OE into gibberish like "cvþe hf duguðe þfaw." Keep your Klaeber handy.

Dating

The history of efforts to date *Beowulf* received a great deal of attention in 1997, with predictable pessimism prevailing. The first review of the problem is offered by Gunhild Müller-Zimmermann: "Beowulf: zur Datierungs- und Interpretationsproblematik," in *Medieval Insular Lit. between the Oral and the Written II: Continuity of Transmission*, ed. by Hildegard L. C. Tristram, ScriptOralia 97 (Tübingen, 1997), pp. 29–64. Müller-Zimmermann provides an overview of the different dating methods that have been used from the eighteenth century to the present. She divides the approaches into three general areas: philological and textual, theological, and historical. Further divisions are made within each of these categories; for example, linguistic approaches are separated from codicological ones, and the attempts based on historical context are arranged by century (seventh through eleventh). She discusses the advantages and limitations of each methodology, as well as the broader question of why or whether we need a firm date for *Beowulf* at all.

In the same volume, Hildegard L. C. Tristram covers similar ground, though more tendentiously ("What's the Point of Dating 'Beowulf'? pp. 65–80). She surveys the range of dates and milieux that have been suggested for the poem's composition, then categorizes and lists the various methodologies of dating, concluding that none of those methods have yielded "convincing results" (p. 72). Tristram takes this collective uncertainty as an invitation to present her own speculation about *Beowulf*, setting the poem's genesis in the time of Cnut. The really unnerving part of Tristram's article comes when she attempts to interpret earlier studies of dating in terms of social psychology. For example, Dorothy Whitelock situated the poem in Offa's Mercia (which was neither too Germanic nor too Danish) because "She was obviously influenced in her scholarly judgement by the polotical views on

ethnic antagonism then current in Europe" (p. 76). Or, recent datings of the poem to the time of Cnut may reflect an American view that England and Denmark are both "over there somewhere" and there's not much to choose between them. As scholars, we know that we need to examine our biases, but it certainly is harsh to see them suggested in cold print.

Whether by choice or by the luck of the draw, Robert E. Bjork and Anita Obermeier were privileged to address, for *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. Bjork and Niles, 1997), all of the truly unanswerable questions about *Beowulf*: "when was the poem composed, where, by whom, for whom?" (p. 17; "Date, Provenance, Author, Audiences," pp. 13–34). In keeping with the spirit of the *Handbook*, they are thorough in their review of scholarship on these topics, though their comprehensiveness means that each study is typically afforded only one or two sentences, which makes for a dizzying read. Although they find a late date for the poem least supportable, Bjork and Obermeier mostly remain agnostic or skeptical in this chapter: cultural studies "remain inconclusive" (p. 22), historical allegories "remain primarily conjectural" (p. 23), genealogies "prove mercurial" (p. 25), and linguistic evidence is sparse and inconclusive. The section on the authorship of the poem concentrates on speculations about whether the poet was a cleric or a layman, and whether the poem's origin was written or oral. The brief section on the original audience of the poem covers the most inconclusive conjectures of all.

Only one new article this year actually attempts to set a date for *Beowulf*: Gregory F. Rose, "A Look Back at Kevin S. Kiernan's *Beowulf and the Beowulf Manuscript*. The Kiernan Theory Revisited: *Beowulf* at the Court of Cnut?" *Envoi* 6 (1997), 135–45. [Note to any journal editors who may be reading: Will you please start cracking down on people regarding the length of their titles?] Rose enthusiastically accepts most of Kiernan's conclusions about the *Beowulf* manuscript, but finds "problems ... with Kiernan's claim that palaeographic and historical evidence point to the poem's creation in the reign of Cnut" (p. 136). On the palaeographic side, Rose rejects Kiernan's comparison of the *Beowulf* square minuscule to that found as late as the 1030s. In examining historical background, Rose concludes that *Beowulf*'s "celebration of things Scandinavian" (p. 140) "seems fundamentally alien to the ideology of [Cnut's] regime" (p. 141) because, he argues, Cnut tried to present his reign as "more English than the English" (p. 140). Rose offers his own hypothesis about the history of *Beowulf*: "that the two exemplars which underlie the extant manuscript were composed between the 920s and the beginning of the 11th century, possibly copied more than once thereafter, and finally copied ... by both scribes toward the beginning of the second decade of the 11th century" (p. 142).

Finally, 1997 saw a reprint of *The Dating of Beowulf*, ed. by Colin Chase, Toronto OE Ser. 6 (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1997). This reprint of the 1981 edition adds an af-

terword by Nicholas Howe (pp. 213–20), who does not attempt to survey the debate raised in the aftermath of the first edition, but discusses more general issues bearing on attempts to date the poem.

Sources and Analogues

Three of the chapters of *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. Bjork and Niles, 1997) address the sources and analogues of *Beowulf* in some way; of these three, the most comprehensive is that by Theodore M. Andersson, "Sources and Analogues," pp. 125–48. Having divided his subject into five areas—Scandinavian, classical, Irish, ecclesiastical, OE—Andersson is less concerned with describing the analogues themselves than with tracing their scholarly reception. Thus, his section on *Grettis saga* concludes that "there is not much doubt of some connection" (p. 131) while "*Hrólfs saga kraka* has vanished from the docket" (p. 132). In clear, elegant prose, Andersson offers a judicious history that should be especially useful for students who might think that all suggested analogues carry the same weight. Andersson favors the Scandinavian analogues, but the Irish ones are given a fair hearing, albeit with the acknowledgement that they haven't caught on very well. On classical influences he writes: "At some point, the idea of Homeric influence succumbed to the inherent unliklihood that Homer was known in Anglo-Saxon England" (p. 138), although "The question of Virgilian influence on *Beowulf* is more complex and more difficult to resolve" (p. 139). The section on Scriptural and Patristic Echoes is half the length of the two preceding, which pretty well indicates the influence Andersson ascribes to them. After surveying possible connections between *Beowulf* and other OE texts (he finds them "nebulous," p. 146), Andersson concludes with a few pages of suggestions for future research; these concentrate on the Scandinavian arena.

Also in the *Handbook*, Catherine M. Hills takes on a slightly more limited topic: "Beowulf and Archaeology," pp. 291–310. Hills begins by describing general approaches to the connection, categorizing them as "direct comparison between actual ancient artifacts and descriptions in the poem" (p. 293) or attempts "to use *Beowulf* and archaeology to write history" (p. 294). The bulk of Hills's chapter is devoted to an account of what archaeology can tell us about certain features of life mentioned in *Beowulf*: funeral rites, halls, arms and armor, treasure, even monsters. Her exposition is clear throughout and she is appropriately cautious about applying archaeological evidence to the problem of dating the poem.

Oddly enough, considering that he is one of the editors of the volume, John D. Niles's chapter in *A Beowulf Handbook* is one of the least useful of the lot ("Myth and History," pp. 213–32). Niles surveys some scholarship on the relevance of myth to *Beowulf*—he samples nature mythology, Scandinavian mythology, Celtic motifs, etc.—but his attitude throughout is one of outright skepticism regarding the value of those connections. His dismissive tone continues as he addresses historical background: he doubts that modern perceptions and categories of history can apply to a work like *Beowulf* and he just does not approve of mining the poem for historical information or of reading history into the poem. Niles concludes the chapter with an argument for his own conception of the poem as an example of "mythistory."

If T. M. Andersson (see above) has proclaimed that the Homeric Question regarding *Beowulf* has "succumbed," there is still at least one scholar who is willing to rescusitate it: Bruce Louden, "A Narrative Technique in *Beowulf* and Homeric Epic," *Oral Tradition* 11 (1996), 346–62. In this focused and well-argued paper, Louden compares *Beowulf* and the Homeric epics with respect to their use of a specific syntactical construction: "and now x would have happened, had not y intervened" (p. 346). In the *Odyssey*, this construction, which threatens and then cancels the premature death of the hero, is used to heighten dramatic emphasis, to change the direction of the plot, and/or to convey an editorial comment about a character. Louden finds the construction used to similar effect three times in *Beowulf* (lines 1054–58, 1550–54, and 1655–58). He remains cautious about explaining the similarity between the Greek and OE texts, suggesting that it could arise from "indirect influence of Homeric epic patterns on *Beowulf*, or of an earlier tradition on both the Greek and Old English traditions" (p. 358).

In his dissertation ("The Figure of Scyld Scefing," diss. Univ. of Georgia, *DAI* 58A [1997], 2200), Alexander Martin Bruce collects all of the references to Scyld and Scef that he can find, subjects each to a focused analysis, and explores the roles they played in the various cultural settings in which they are found.

Criticism

The majority of the chapters in *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. Bjork and Niles, 1997) survey some aspect of the critical history of the poem. Not being inspired with any better idea, I will cover these ten chapters in the order in which they appear in the book. First is Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Diction, Variation, the Formula," pp. 85–104. O'Keeffe organizes the scholarship on diction along two main axes: "author based, by which I mean their paramount interest lies in demonstrating the ability of poets either to manipulate traditional materials or to invent their own, or ... audience based, that is, driven by a desire to examine the affective component in the lanuage of *Beowulf*" (p. 90). Variation is explained and illustrated by a detailed analysis of lines 1448–54, although O'Keeffe does give brief mention of some studies on variation as relative to psychology, oral style, and dating. She clearly sets out Magoun's application of oral-formulaic theory to *Beowulf*, recounting the controversy it engendered and the ways in which the theory has been tweaked and employed in recent years.

In taking on the topics of "Rhetoric and Style" (pp. 105–

24), Ursula Schaefer divides her subject matter into four categories. Areas covered under Basic Stylistic Features include lexical repetitiveness, syntactic disjunction, *apo koinou*, and litotes. Specific Features of "Epic Style" are nominalization, parallelism, enumeration, and parataxis. The subtitle Classical Rhetoric is self-explanatory, and the chapter concludes with an overview of Rhetorical-Structural Patterns (envelope, interlace, and ring). In this chapter, Schaefer discusses a relatively small number of secondary works, but she gives a good idea of the outlines of the field and of some of its high points.

Thomas A. Shippey's subject of "Structure and Unity" (pp. 149–74) is similar to Schaefer's, but more specific. He adopts a chronological approach, which gives the chapter a clear narrative flow. Shippey does not slight earlier criticism: he treats *Liedertheorie* in detail, and his account of early, negative assessments of the structure of *Beowulf* illustrates a stark contrast between the nineteenth-century willingness to criticize (in the general sense of the word) and our own, more deferential criticism. The center of the chapter, of course, focuses on Tolkien's British Academy lecture; Shippey offers Leyerle's work on interlace and tragedy as another turning point in the critical history of the poem. Shippey concludes that there now exists no strong consensus on the structure of *Beowulf*, but he does review some recent studies that he calls "interesting ventures" (p. 170).

It falls to Edward B. Irving, Jr. to wrestle with the contentious topic of "Christian and Pagan Elements" (pp. 175–92). Irving begins by carefully describing the types of paganism to be found in *Beowulf*: actual pagan practices (like ship burials); "fossil paganism" (178; like boars on helmets); and general pagan ethics and morality. He traces the history of the religious controversy surrounding the poem, concluding with the consensus view that the ethos of the poem is "mixed" or "blended" (p. 186). In the last few pages of the chapter, Irving briefly examines some "hot spots" for the location of Christianity *versus* paganism in the poem: Hrothgar's sermon, the phrase *ofer ealde riht* (2330a), and, of course, *soðfæstra dom* (2820b).

A subject that engendered nearly as much debate in its day is the question of how to treat the "Digressions and Episodes" of *Beowulf*; it is handled here by Robert E. Bjork (pp. 193–212). Delving back into scholarship that is no longer familiar, Bjork provides a synopsis of nineteenth-century Scandinavian interpretations of the digressions, then points out that their Aristotelian point of view was ignored and abandoned in the wake of *Liedertheorie*. He covers some studies of the totality of the digressions (e.g., Bonjour, Bloomfield) before treating three of them in detail: Scyld Scefing, Unferth, and the Lay of the Last Survivor. In this section, Bjork lays out the problems of identifying characters, determining thematic functions, and describing structure. The chapter closes with an elegant affirmation of the aesthetic value of the digressions and episodes.

In a chapter with significant aesthetic value itself, Alvin

A. Lee surveys interpretations of "Symbolism and Allegory" in *Beowulf* (pp. 233–54). In his Summary, Lee acknowledges that *Beowulf* is not an allegory *per se*, but that "it is strongly thematic and ... it shows allegorical tendencies" (p. 233). Lee divides the chapter into three sections; in the first—Poem and Concept—he provides a lucid history of allegorizing readings of *Beowulf*. The second section—Poem and History—covers links between the poem and both Anglo-Saxon and sacred history. In Poem and Consciousness, Lee reviews psychological allegoresis of the poem. Throughout this chapter, Lee presents the scholarship of others as generously as possible, though he is not averse to offering counter-arguments to it. This approach is especially praiseworthy from someone who confesses "a long-held bias against allegoresis as such" (p. 254).

John M. Hill explores the "Social Milieu" of *Beowulf* (pp. 255–69), covering such topics as gift giving, boasting, revenge, and peaceweaving. He laments the atomization of most studies on these topics, preferring to look at social institutions in *Beowulf* as parts of "an integrated social world dramatized by the poet" (p. 259). Throughout the chapter, Hill contends that an ethnological understanding of the whole social world in *Beowulf* nullifies any negative connotations of institutions like drinking, feuding, and boasting. In his last five pages, Hill departs from a summary of scholarship and presents his own interpretation of *Beowulf*'s social world, focusing on the intersecting functions of gift or marriage exchanges and feuds.

While John Hill departs somewhat from the typical, recitative content of a chapter in *A Beowulf Handbook*, George Clark abandons it nearly completely ("The Hero and the Theme," pp. 271–90). References to prior scholarship are sparse and scattered in this chapter; what we get is George Clark's own version of the poem's hero and theme.

The two remaining critical histories in *A Beowulf Handbook* treat topics that were not considered important (or did not exist) until the twentieth century, which I'm sure provided some bibliographic relief to the authors. Alexandra hennessey Olsen surveys the study of "Gender Roles" (pp. 311–24), describing the shift in critical thinking from viewing the female characters as passive to reading them as occupying important social roles. Olson addresses several of these roles in turn: hostess, peaceweaver, ritual mourner, goader, and counselor. She goes on to consider scholarship on individual female characters in *Beowulf*, then concludes with a treatment of some studies of women's status in the poem and in Anglo-Saxon society more generally, giving special attention to the utility of speech act theory.

Theory is the topic of Seth Lerer's chapter: "Beowulf and Contemporary Critical Theory" (pp. 325–39). Lerer doesn't provide much of a review of theoretical approaches to the poem, as he is more interested in exploring the institutionalized rhetoric of the history of Anglo-Saxon studies. For example, he sees the Theory Wars as structured around a rhetoric of salvation: both positivists and theorists claim to

be "saving" the poem—the former from disfiguration and the latter from the dustbin. Lerer concludes by examining the importance that the hilt recovered from the mere has taken on for contemporary theorists.

At long last we move (for the time being) from *A Beowulf Handbook* to a different volume, significantly slimmer, but more wide-ranging: Stephen S. Evans, *The Heroic Poetry of Dark-Age Britain: an Introduction to Its Dating, Composition, and Use as a Historical Source* (Lanham, MD; NY, and London, 1997). Evans directs this book towards students, and thus tends to summarize previous scholarship rather than present new theories of his own. Nevertheless, several of his critical biases are clear: he favors an early date for *Beowulf*, he supports an oral-formulaic origin for both Welsh poetry and *Beowulf*, and he assumes that the early-medieval cultures of both Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Britain were similar, being based on a *comitatus* structure. Evans focuses on *Beowulf*, the *Gododdin*, and the poems of Taliesin, reviewing the functions of court poets, the oral-formulaicism of the texts, their dates, and their uses as historical sources (for material culture, though not for strict chronology). You could send a student to this book if you agree with its basic assumptions; those who don't, would rather not.

On a more specific topic, Dennis Cronan takes a close look at the sword hilt recovered from the mere by Beowulf: "The Origin of Ancient Strife in *Beowulf*," in *Germanic Studies in Honor of Anatoly Liberman*, ed. Kurt Gustav Goblirsch et al., North-Western European Lang. Evolution 31–32 (Odense, 1997), pp. 57–68. Cronan maintains that "the inscription includes only two elements: the 'origin of ancient strife,' which was Cain's fratricide, and the name of the first owner of the sword. The lines about the destruction of the giants by the flood are simply a parenthesis which interrupts the account of the inscription" (p. 57). Cronan's lucid argument is based sometimes on narrative logic (the sword belonged to the Grendelkin, who were descended from Cain) and sometimes on philology (in line 1689, *syðþan* does not mean 'when' or 'after', but is an adverb meaning 'afterwards'.

Beowulf's death has sometimes been seen as futile and vainglorious, but Paul Beekman Taylor offers a different point of view in "The Dragon's Treasure in *Beowulf*," *NM* 98 (1997), 229–40. It is very difficult to summarize his central argument—in part because it is difficult to locate his central argument—but it seems to go something like this: The treasure guarded by the dragon in *Beowulf* is a bad thing in and of itself (buried treasure helps no one) and it also symbolizes some persistent evil infesting Geatland. By his self-sacrifice in killing the dragon and recovering the treasure, Beowulf releases the hoard (and horde) from its curse. The treasure isn't actually used to any productive purpose by the Geats, but at least now it could be. This argument is sometimes supported, sometimes obscured by a number of peripheral observations.

Janet Thormann begins her Lacanian approach to *Beowulf* by arguing that the most important element of the poem

is its violence ("*Beowulf* and the Enjoyment of Violence," *Lit. and Psych.* 43 [1997], 65–76). Peaceful reciprocity (like gift giving or loyalty) does occur, but when it inevitably breaks down, the reciprocity of revenge takes over. "The enjoyment of revenge is thereby imbricated as the support of the law" (p. 70). Thormann rejects Earl's argument that Christianity introduced a superego that could repress and redirect aggression, preferring a Lacanian interpretation where enjoyment (*jouissance*) is possible because the law sets limits that one can enjoy transgressing.

In another theory-based essay, Ruth Waterhouse puts *Beowulf* in some interesting, if dangerous, company: "*Beowulf* as Palimpsest," in *Monster Theory: Reading Culture*, ed. by Jeffrey Jerome Cohen (Minneapolis and London, 1996), pp. 26–39. Much of the paper discusses Dracula, Frankenstein's monster, and Mr. Hyde, concentrating on issues of deformity and the Self-Other relationship. Grendel clearly represents the Other, but the Self he opposes is broader than for the more modern monsters: he threatens not just an individual, but the very fabric of society. Grendel's mother has no modern parallel.

The next several items under review all treat the Christian background of *Beowulf*. First is Paul Battles's translation of Fr. Klaeber, *The Christian Elements in 'Beowulf'*, OEN Subsidia 24 (Kalamazoo, 1996). As Battles points out, "critics still disagree over the nature and significance of Christian elements in the poem" (p. v), so Klaeber's essays, published in 1911 and 1912, are still pertinent. Battles does not attempt to revise Klaeber's argument, so he updates references only to primary texts. He also provides a table of contents, a bibliography, and a list of abbreviations. His translating task was not an easy one, because much of Klaeber's "essay" is made up of lists and brief comparisons of passages. No translator could make such a format *readable*, but Battles's version is at least clear; he has performed a real service to Anglophone scholars.

Christopher M. Cain sees the poet of *Beowulf* as a Christian who presents and interprets his pagan characters "according to the tradition of biblical exegesis of the Old Testament" (p. 228): "*Beowulf*, the Old Testament, and the *Regula Fidei*," *Renascence* 49 (1997), 227–40. The specific exegetical tradition Cain has in mind is Augustinian, that which advocates a figural interpretation when a literal one would be immoral or incorrect. This hermeneutic allowed the poet to shape his characters in an Old Testament mold in order to show "the prefiguration of the Christian world in his native heritage" (p. 228). Hrothgar is thus patriarchal, and God is portrayed as a ruler and judge. Beowulf, with his boasting and his love of glory, is more problematic.

In unfortunately turgid prose, Judith N. Garde looks at "Christian and Folkloric Tradition in *Beowulf*: Death and the Dragon Episode," *Lit. & Theol.* 11 (1997), 325–46. Her main point is that *Beowulf* combines two major elements: a folktale structure and the demonstration of divine omnipotence. Beowulf's role as hero gains religious status because

Grendel is clearly established as an enemy to God. References to God are strategically placed to show His omnipotence, and folkloric themes are recast "to encompass the Christian eschatological imperative, where the death of the mythic hero and king of the Geats recalls the fate of every man" (p. 333). Garde also analyzes Hrothgar's sermon.

In her dissertation, JoAnne S. Knowles sees the *Beowulf* poet as responding to a problem: the impact of Christian literacy on traditional oral poetry and culture ("The Impact of Christianity and Literacy in Early Anglo-Saxon England: Oral Resistance in *Beowulf*," diss. Washington State Univ., *DAI* 57A [1997], 3012). She reads the poem as advocating a strong cultural conservatism in religion, politics, and poetics.

Robin Waugh presents the clash between orality and literacy less as a matter of religion, and more as a matter of power politics in "Literacy, Royal Power, and King-Poet Relations in Old English and Old Norse Compositions," *Comparative Literature* 49 (1997), 289–315. In this well researched and very readable article, Waugh explains the way in which increasing literacy concentrates power in the hands of the king, removing it from the poet and people. This shift has three stages. In the first, orality, the memories and voices of the poet and people are very important. The second stage, object literacy, "is an understanding that inscription on an object embodies information that otherwise exists only within memory and may be conveyed only through speech" (p. 293). This understanding increases the king's power, which is why Hrothgar is the one who gets to "read" the inscription on the hilt. Under content (or full) literacy, "the king takes over the laws and the social system, with the sanction of the church" (p. 309). Most of Waugh's examples are from the sagas, though *Beowulf* has a significant presence here; there is much more to this article than I have room to summarize.

Norse materials are also compared to *Beowulf* by Joseph Carroll in "The Prose *Edda*, the *Heimskringla*, and *Beowulf*: Mythical, Legendary, and Historical Dialogues," *In Geardagum* 18 (1997), 15–38. Using the mythographical works of Snorri Sturluson, Carroll uses axes of time and space to illustrate relationships among the mythical, the historical, the mundane, and the marvelous. His basic point is that the farther one projects the imagination into time or space, the less realistic or historical the picture becomes. The worlds of history, legend, and myth also intersect in *Beowulf*, as the hero and his adversaries possess a "mythic otherness" (p. 25) despite being associated with historical figures like Hygelac. Carroll goes on to provide a very interesting analysis and interpretation of the mythic elements of Beowulf's battles.

The next two articles treat stylistic aspects of *Beowulf*. The first is by Jan Čermák, "*Hie dygel lond warigeað*: Spatial Imagery in Five *Beowulf* Compounds," *Linguistica Pragensia* 1996, no. 1, pp. 24–34. The compounds discussed are *medostigge, feorhlastas, deaðwic, sæwealle*, and *yðlafe*. Most are found to introduce elements of abstraction or spirituality into the poem's descriptions, thus helping to thematize visual ele-

ments.

Peter Richardson takes on a different class of words in "Point of View and Identification in *Beowulf*," *Neoph.* 81 (1997), 289–98. He argues that the poet uses deictic motion verbs (e.g., *cuman*) and verbs of perception in order to encourage the audience to identify with the thanes in the poem. For example, when Hrothgar presents Beowulf with gifts, "many *saw*" the sword brought in (p. 293). The most strongly induced identification is with Wiglaf, and it is here that Richardson's argument is most successful because his examples are clustered rather than scattered throughout the poem.

The final three articles covered in this section are word studies. David Gould argues against "Euphemistic Renderings of the Word *druncen*," *N&Q* 44 (1997), 443–50. The word appears five times in *Beowulf*, but is rarely translated with its modern, pejorative cognate except where it refers to Unferth. Gould offers grammatical arguments against translating *beore druncne* (line 480) as 'having drunk beer' or as some kind of ablative absolute or perfect passive participle. For Gould, *druncen* means 'drunk' and should be translated that way.

We are told that when Grendel entered Hrothgar's hall, Beowulf *wið earm gesæt* (749b). Kenneth Hodges attempts to explain this motion in "Beowulf's Shoulder Pin and *wið earm gesæt*," *ELN* 34 (1997), 4–10. As Hodges considers, then rejects the possibility of several different wrestling moves, the paper reads somewhat like the play-by-play of a gruesome game of Twister, complete with broken elbows, groin-grabbing, and a lot of rolling around. Hodges finally settles on the Aikido pin called *nikkyo*, which I won't try to describe.

We conclude this section with Fred C. Robinson, "Sigemund's *Fæhðe ond Fyrena: Beowulf* 879a," in *To Explain the Present: Studies in the Changing English Language in Honour of Matti Rissanen*, ed. by Terttu Nevalainen and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 52 (Helsinki, 1997), pp. 201–08. Robinson argues (*contra* M. S. Griffith) that *fyrena* and *aglæca* do not have negative connotations when applied to Sigemund. He finds examples in OE and Old Saxon of the use of *fyren* as a morally neutral intensifier and combs the DOE evidence to discover that *aglæca* simply means 'attacker'. So, Beowulf is morally superior to Sigemund, but only because he possesses certain Christian virtues, not because Sigemund is being denigrated in any way.

Editions and Translations

No completely new editions of *Beowulf* appeared in 1997. As mentioned earlier (p. 48), Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson published a new edition of *Beowulf* in 1998; in '97, they whetted our appetites with "A Preview of *Beowulf*: An Edition with Relevant Shorter Texts," *MESN* 36 (1997), pp. 19–22. Here they offer their aims for the work along with a

preview of their table of contents.

George Jack's *'Beowulf': A Student Edition* first appeared in 1994 to widespread interest in light of the difficulties and problems inherent in using Klaeber's edition in the classroom. Jack published a corrected reprint (Oxford and NY) in 1997, which seems to incorporate only a few changes according to my spot-checking. In a note to his Preface, Jack states that he has changed his readings of the text at lines 1372 and 3169, and has made some revisions to his glosses and commentary.

I'm not sure why I'm reviewing a review, but it was in the Bibliography, so I will. In "Unrecoverable Magic," *TLS* 20, June 1997, p. 20, Andy Orchard reviews Trevor Eaton's recording of *Beowulf*. Orchard applauds the tracked format of the two-CD set, but finds Eaton's reading overly rapid and lacking modulation: Hrothgar's sermon "has all the accumulated weight and wisdom of a racing commentary."

Michael Swanton has very minimally revised his 1978 edition and prose translation of the poem: *Beowulf*, rvsd ed. (Manchester and NY, 1997). He has incorporated some corrections to the text and added five items to his very brief bibliography. The Introduction reads as somewhat dated, as Swanton strongly advocates an early date for the poem without acknowledging more recent arguments for a later provenance.

"Translations, Versions, Illustrations" of *Beowulf* are enlighteningly surveyed by Marijane Osborn in *A Beowulf Handbook* (ed. Bjork and Niles, 1997), pp. 341–72. Osborn discusses the earliest translations (Thorkelin through Kemble), foreign translations (mostly German, but covering everything from French to Japanese), and some recent and available English translations (she offers her informed opinion about the value of these). She includes an eye-opening section on non-traditional presentations of the poem, which include symphonies, operas, novels, comic books—just about any medium you could think of. The chapter concludes with thirteen well-chosen and compelling plates reproduced from various illustrated *Beowulf*s; all of the plates are discussed in the text.

Many people like to teach *Beowulf* and *Judith* together in order to raise issues of gender, religion, and so on; Richard M. Trask's translation appears designed for just this purpose (*Beowulf and Judith: Two Heroes* [Lanham, MD; NY, and Oxford, 1997]). After a brief Introduction detailing his principles of translation and an even briefer Preface covering some of the thematics of the poems, Trask presents the works themselves. There are no notes or apparatus. The OE texts (conflated from Klaeber, the ASPR, and Timmer's *Judith*) are interlineated with a poetic, modern English translation. Despite the bolder type of the translation, my eye kept being drawn to the OE, though this is likely to be less of a problem for students. Trask's translation sports a four-beat line with caesura, adherence to basic OE alliterative patterns, and the ornamentation of metaphorical compounds. Here are

lines 27–34 (p. 19):

> When Scyld departed   to the appointed fate,
> he left strong-souled   into the Lord's keeping;
> they carried him then   to the current of ocean,
> his sweet companions,   as he himself had bidden
> while he wielded words,   ward of the Scyldings,
> beloved folk-friend   who long had ruled.
> The ringnecked hulk   in the harbor stood
> frostdecked and eager,   ferryboat of princes

Literalists could argue with some of Trask's choices; for example, "to the appointed fate" loses the sense of time inherent in *gescæpbwile*, and "hulk" makes it sound as if Scyld's ship is rotting away beneath him. On the other hand, achieving alliteration by rendering *isig* as "frostdecked" is quite successful. The translation mostly follows the OE halfline by halfline, except when the syntax of the OE makes that impossible. It seems to me that typesetting the lines with a caesura highlights meter just a little too much, but this translation is otherwise quite readable, especially if you like your *Beowulf* to retain a slight air of antiquity about it.

Celts must have been feeling especially gloomy in 1997, as they produced not one, but two new translations of the Lament of the Last Survivor. One, by Seamus Heaney, appeared in *TLS* 14 Nov. 1997, p. 13, and the other, by Peter Reading, in *Poetry Wales* 32.3 (1997), p. 9. Reading's translation adheres fairly closely to the general metrical principles of the original in its rhythm and alliteration. In order to accomplish this, he is compelled to use nouns like "kists" and "tumulus," but his syntax remains admirably unconvoluted. The result is a sad, stately piece. Heaney also published his translation of "The Funeral of Beowulf" in this year (*TLS* 19 Sept. 1997, p. 4); these segments are, of course, included in his subsequently appearing translation of the entire poem, which will be reviewed here in due course.   S.E.D.

Works not seen

Aguirre, Manuel, "The Phasal Structure of *Beowulf*," *SELIM 1996*, ed. by Margarita Giménez Bon and Vickie Olsen (Zaragoza, 1997), pp. 8–16.

Betancourt, Antonio Luis, tr., *Beowulf, Prince of Geatland* (Colorado Springs, 1997).

Princi Braccini, Giovanna, "Termini e scenari della giustizia in antichi testi poetici germanici *(Muspilli, Georgslied, Beowulf)*," *La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (decoli IX–XI)*, Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto mediovo 44 (Spoleto, 1997), pp. 1105–95.

Tolley, Clive, "*Beowulf*'s Scyld Scefing Episode: Some Norse and Finnish Analogues," *Arv* 52 (1996), 7–48.

d. Prose

[This section will be printed in next year's issue, together with "Prose" for 1998.]

4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

a. Early Anglo-Latin (excepting Bede)

New light has been thrown on some of the most obscure years in the history of Anglo-Latin letters—the seven-decade period spanning the mission of Augustine of Canterbury (from 595/7) and the arrival of Theodore of Tarsus and Canterbury in 669—in two 1997 publications by Yitzhak Hen ("The Liturgy of St Willibrord," *ASE* 26 (1997), 41–62, and *The Sacramentary of Echternach (Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, ms. lat. 9433)*, ed. Hen, Henry Bradshaw Soc. 110 [Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1997 for 1995]). Hen's recent work is frequently concerned with the liturgical texts that will have been known to the Anglo-Saxon missionary Willibrord (658–739) at the point of his departure from Northumbria to join an English community at Rath Melsigi in Ireland (shortly after 678), texts which may well have resembled the those he would subsequently import to the Continent on his mission to convert the Frisians (from 690). Hen assumes, reasonably, that such *liturgica* may have included pre-Theodorian texts, insofar as "it was only in the last quarter of [the seventh] century that the ecclesiastical organization of Anglo-Saxon England was becoming stable."

Assessing likely candidates for liturgical use in England from 597 down to *c.* 669, Hen makes the following points: (1) Latin liturgical texts—most plausibly Frankish texts (incipient Irish conversion efforts notwithstanding)—were almost certainly in use in England even before 597, insofar as Bertha, Frankish consort of Æthelberht, king of Kent, had already established a chapel on royal land by the time of the Augustine's arrival. (2) It is likely that Augustine "brought with him [from Rome] some small liturgical booklets" similar to those preserved in the codex—not a sacramentary proper but rather a collection of discrete *libelli missarum*—now accessible as Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare, LXXXV (80) (Italian center [i.e., at ?Verona], s. vii in. or s. vii 1 [i.e., *c.* 600–*c.* 625]; additions of s. vii), commonly, if inaccurately known as the Leonine Sacramentary (see E. A. Lowe, *Codices Latini Antiquiores*, 11 vols. with suppl. [1934–72; 2nd ed. of vol. 2 only]—henceforth cited as *CLA*—at IV, 32 [no. 514] and 40, with suppl., 53). (3) It is not certain that Augustine would have had an opportunity to obtain any full-length mass-book for importation to England, as his "mission took place at the very period in which the first Roman mass-books were being evolved." (4) Whatever apparatus for celebrating the mass Augustine may have brought with him to England, this will not have included a representative of the so-called Gregorian Sacramentary, as Ecgberht of York would claim in the central years of the eighth century (*Dialogus ecclesiasticae institutionis* xvi: "... ut noster didascalus beatus Gregorius, in suo antiphonario et missali libro, per pedagogum nostrum beatum Augustinum transmisit"). Imprecise nomenclature notwith-

standing, no such liturgical resource would be assembled integrally during the lifetime of Gregory I. Nevertheless, although all surviving witnesses to the Gregorian Sacramentary go back to an exemplar sent to Charlemagne by Pope Hadrian I in 784/5, some work on an ancestor of this exemplar had been carried out plausibly as early as 625–38 by Pope Honorius I. It is thus possible that some form of ur-*Gregorianum* had been imported to Anglo-Saxon England before the arrival of Theodore.

(5) As another possible reflex or congener of mass-texts in use in England before the later seventh-century florescence of the Canterbury school, Hen cites a witness to the older form of "Gelasian" Sacramentary—containing features distinct from those observed in the so-called "eighth-century Gelasians"—preserved in the present Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter BAV], Reg. lat. 316 + Paris, Bibliothèque nationale [hereafter BN], lat. 7193, fols. 41–56 (Frankish center [i.e., ?Chelles], s. viii med.; *CLA* I, 31 [no. 105], and 43, with suppl., 45), a western European manuscript that evidently bears reliable witness to certain seventh-century Roman practices (see further below). (6) Augustine of Canterbury passed through Gaul on his way to England, subsequently returning to Arles to be consecrated as a bishop, and so "it is not improbable that Augustine was equipped by his Merovingian hosts with some Gallican *libelli missarum*, if not an entire sacramentary, which he later brought with him to England." The well-known advice sent to the nascent English church by Gregory I in his so-called *Libellus responsionum* (see *OEN* 31.2 [1998], 72–3), moreover, explicitly authorized Augustine to oversee the use of Gaulish (or otherwise non-Roman) customs in Anglo-Saxon England. (7) Finally, the post-Augustinian and pre-Theodorian dissemination of Irish customs among English communities by Finán, Colmán, and other ecclesiastics is almost certain. In this connection, Hen cites a study by J. Henning, "Studies in the Liturgy of the Early Irish Church," *Irish Ecclesiastical Record*, 5th ser., 75 (1951), 318–33, and Jane Stevenson's introduction to the 1987 reprint of Frederick Edward Warren's *The Liturgy and Ritual of the Celtic Church* (1881).

Surveying all of this evidence, Hen concludes that Willibrord most plausibly brought a representative of the earlier, seventh-century form of "Gelasian" sacramentary with him on his mission to Frisia. (See comments under item 5, above.) This is the type of sacramentary that Hen, developing a hypothesis of Christopher Hohler, believes to have been in regular use throughout Anglo-Saxon England before the arrival of Theodore. (Hen points out that Baumstark's now-discredited theory that Boniface took an "eighth-century Gelasian" with him to the Continent is no less implausible in the case of Willibrord.) The extant witness to the

"old Gelasian" (BAV Reg. lat. 316 + BN lat. 7193, fols. 41–56) "was evidently compiled from *libelli missarum* used in seventh-century Rome, but it also has some distinctive Gallican characteristics, and it is significantly different from the liturgical compositions known to us from [early medieval] Italy." Hen suspects that it was Augustine himself who imported a predecessor of the mass-book known to Willibrord, which he assigns to what he terms Phase I in the development of the "old Gelasian" sacramentary.

Between the time of the Augustinian mission and the arrival of Theodore, a number of modifications were made to this sacramentary, which introduced the following characteristically Anglo-Saxon (or common insular) features: (1) a three-part division separating texts for the temporal, the sanctoral, and votive masses—only attested among continental monuments in the "old Gelasian" witness (BAV Reg. lat. 316 + BN lat. 7193, fols. 41–56), in a sacramentary now in Stockholm, and in the Sacramentary of Echternach (see below); (2) the introduction of certain private masses of insular origin into the sacramentary, a development paralleled in some non-"Gelasian" Merovingian sacramentaries as well as some eighth-century continental prayerbooks, recently discussed by Patrick Sims-Williams (see *OEN* 25.2 [1992], 61–2, at 62) and others; (3) the inclusion of a group of Capuan saints infrequently commemorated in Gaulish centers; and (4) the incorporation of a mass for the Sunday after Pentecost (edited here by Hen) found elsewhere only in the Winchcombe Sacramentary, a monument seen by its recent editor as opening a window on early Anglo-Saxon practices (see *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 89–91), and in other, later Anglo-Saxon productions.

Hen concludes that this revised, characteristically Anglo-Saxon form of mass-book, which he assigns to Phase II in the development of the "old Gelasian" sacramentary, had been exported from England to the Continent more than twenty years before the commencement of Willibrord's mission. This earlier exportation most plausibly occurred over the decade preceding Theodore's arrival at Canterbury, with the departure of "Agilbert, a Frank who, after being expelled from the see of Winchester (*c.* 660), became the bishop of Paris sometime between 664 and 668."

The article by Hen summarized above is best viewed as a companion-piece to his cited 1997 Henry Bradshaw Society edition of Paris, BN, lat. 9433 (Echternach, s. ix ex. [i.e., 895 × 898]; additions of s. xi–xii; "Sacramentary of Echternach"). Preceded by a martyrology, seven *orationes ante altare*, and a litany of saints, the sacramentary proper embodies "a huge collection of liturgical material taken from various sacramentaries" in which "the prayers ... were chosen carefully, and arranged with discernible logic" (thereby contrasting with some more or less contemporaneous products of "compiling mania"). Hen sees three main exemplars as having been consulted directly over the course of the compilation of the sacramentary: "a copy of the *Hadrianum*, a copy of an eighth-

century Gelasian sacramentary, and unexpectedly, a version of the Old Gelasian," the last plausibly comprising the very text imported by Willibrord to the Continent. Hen continues, "[t]he most obvious feature which points to the use of an Old Gelasian sacramentary ... is the division into three books— one for the temporal cycle, one for the sanctoral cycle, and one for votive masses and various masses for different occasions. Such a division appears only in the Old Gelasian Sacramentary [BAV Reg. lat. 316 + BN lat. 7193, fols. 41–56], and in Stockholm, Kunglinga Biblioteket, A. 136 [?Saint-Amand (Bischoff), s. ix 2 (i.e., *c.* 870–80); provenance Sens; "Sacramentary of Sens"; Klaus Gamber, *Codices Liturgici Latini Antiquiores*, 2nd ed., 1 vol. in 2 [1968], p. 356 (no. 763), with Gamber, *Supplementum*, ed. B. Baroffio, *et al.* (1988), p. 86]." Moreover, Hen stresses, all later monuments exhibiting a similar treatment of the sanctoral are of Anglo-Saxon origin or (in one case) provenance.

Hen claims to present a diplomatic edition of the text in BN lat. 9433, even if his normalized capitalization, expansions of suspended forms, and other features might mark the edition as "semi-diplomatic." Given the extensive consultation of parallel texts that clearly went into the making of the tables in Hen's appendix (see below), the near-total absence of commentary on egregious or even suspect textual variants (except where these have been flagged by a medieval correcting hand) is somewhat disconcerting. Nonetheless, Hen's 560-page edition on the whole represents a superlative addition to the Henry Bradshaw Society's monograph series, an edition which includes fully forty-five pages of tables collating liturgical forms in the sacramentary with those in more than a dozen other monuments, as well as four pages of black-and-white plates, and whose publication was assisted by a subvention from the Scouloudi Foundation in association with the Institute of Historical Research (London).

Building on Andy Orchard's demonstration that Aldhelm's Latin verse can be viewed as a "direct product of an oral tradition" (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 77–85), Gernot Wieland addresses the oral sources and sensibilities of another early Anglo-Latin monument, the *Vita S. Guthlaci* internally ascribed to one Felix ("*Aures lectoris*: Orality and Literacy in Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 7 [1997], 168–77). The outer *termini* for the writing of the work are *c.* 716 (allowing for the emergence of reports of miracles which were said to follow Guthlac's death in 714) and 749 (the year which saw the death of the work's dedicatee, the East Anglian king Ælfwald). Felix seems to have drawn exclusively on oral reportage for the narrative content of the *vita*, in contrast to Aldhelm, who, with only two minor exceptions (the *Carmen rhythmicum* and *Carmen ecclesiasticum* iii) drew exclusively on Latin (or Greek-derived) sources. Felix's striking use of the phrase *aures lectoris* ("the ears of the reader"), Wieland suggests, may reflect the early medieval preference for reading aloud (whether privately or in public), or, perhaps (following Balogh), a sense of the petrifaction of speech in written

language experienced by the newly literate. The hagiographer invites his audience to augment the legacy of Guthlac orally, acknowledging the dynamic of oral tradition and perhaps anticipating the production of verse such as that ascribed to *Guthlac A* in the Exeter Book. Intriguingly, Wieland sets out a number of phrases indicating that Felix expected his hagiographical work to be employed regularly in public readings of saints' lives, more than fifty years before this practice would be codified in the Roman *ordines* (see *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 96).

In his treatment of Guthlac, Felix maintains that his subject rejected *vanae vulgi fabulae* and other common secular diversions despite the fact that the future saint had heard and perhaps memorized *pristinorum heroum facta*— presumably oral legends of Germanic heroes. Only after he has undertaken his monastic profession does Guthlac memorize the full course of Latin psalms, canticles, hymns, and prayers. Once he has made his removal to Crowland, however, the hermit Guthlac recites these texts exclusively from memory; he is never shown reading or writing at Crowland. Felix, however, for all of his advertence to oral sources, reveals himself at the level of diction to be a well-read Latinist. Wieland notes verbal parallels with Vergil's *Aeneid* and *Georgics*, the Bible, Jerome's *Vita S. Pauli*, the *Vita S. Antonii* of Athanasius (in the Latin translation made by Evagrius of Antioch), the *Vita S. Martini* of Sulpicius Severus, the anonymous Hiberno-Latin *Vita et miracula S. Fursei*, Aldhelm's *De metris*, and perhaps Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*.

In the course of surveying the Anglo-Saxon circulation of texts in the tradition of the apocryphal *Acta Iohannis* (cf. Maurice Geerard, *Clavis Apocryphorum Novi Testamenti*, issued as an unnumbered volume in the series Corpus Christianorum [1992; hereafter *CANT*], pp. 127–34 [nos. 215–24]), Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., suggests that Theodore or an associate may have imported one or more such Johannine texts—in Latin or Greek—to Canterbury by the later seventh century ("The Reception of the Acts of John in Anglo-Saxon England," in *The Apocryphal Acts of John*, ed. Jan N. Bremmer, Stud. on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 1 [Kampen: Pharos, 1995], pp. 183–96). What is certain is that Aldhelm recapitulates some apocryphal legends of John at *De virginitate* xxiii and *Carmen de virginitate* 460–78, narrating the evangelist's miraculous restoration of crushed gems, resuscitation of three corpses, and survival of a poisoning attempt. No single source for these accounts has yet come to light, but Bremmer discusses a number of important congeners:

(1) Details of Aldhelm's accounts bear comparison with passages in a sixth-century Gaulish Latin compilation known as the *Historiae apostolicae* (or *Virtutes apostolorum*) of pseudo-Abdias (*CANT*, pp. 158–9 [no. 256], and Hermann Josef Frede, *Kirchenschriftsteller*, 4th ed., Vetus Latina 1.1 [1995; hereafter Frede[4]], pp. 90–1 [item ABD], supplemented by Roger Gryson, *Aktualisierungsheft 1999*, Vetus Latina 1.1C, p. 23), which include a selection of apocryphal Johannine material (*CANT*, p. 132 [no. 219]; Frede[4], p. 91 [item ABD 5]; and *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Latina*, 1 vol. in 2 [1898–9; hereafter *BHL*], pp. 638–9 [nos. 4316–19], with *Novum Supplementum*, ed. Henryk Fros (1986), p. 477 [nos. 4316 and 4319d]) going back to a Greek compilation circulating in the fourth century (cf. *CANT*, p. 127 [no. 215.1]; Frede[4], *ibid.*; and François Halkin, *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca*, 3rd ed., 3 vols. [1957], II, 23–4 [nos. 900–9], with Halkin, *Auctarium* [1969], p. 103 [no. 902]). The Anglo-Saxon circulation of the *Historiae apostolicae* has recently been analyzed by Charles D. Wright in the *SASLC* Trial Version (*Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version*, ed. Frederick M. Biggs *et al.* [1990], pp. 50–1).

On balance, however, Bremmer is inclined to doubt the direct influence of the *Historiae apostolicae* on Aldhelm's account of John the Evangelist, a possibility not even admitted to Wright's provisional *SASLC* entry. Bremmer stresses, however, that a witness to the pseudo-Abdias *Historiae* with early Anglo-Saxon connections has been preserved in an apocryphal dossier whose contents may yet be analyzed fully for *SASLC*, the present Würzburg, Universitätsbibliothek, M. p. th. f. 78 (English center on Continent [i.e., ?Würzburg area], s. viii 2; *CLA* IX, 52 [no. 1425] and 69).

(2) Several Aldhelmian passages correspond to incidents recounted in the so-called *Passio Iohannis* of pseudo-Mellitus (*CANT*, p. 133 [no. 220]; Frede[4], pp. 182–3 [item AP Jo]; *BHL*, p. 639 [no. 4320], with *Novum Supplementum*, pp. 477–8 [no. 4320d]), an apocryphon whose Anglo-Saxon circulation also has been treated recently by Wright (as cited, p. 57).

(3) Additional details may have reached Aldhelm by way of Isidore, *De ortu et obitu patrum* lxxii.

The opinion of James E. Cross (credited here by Bremmer) that the pseudo-Abdias or pseudo-Mellitus apocrypha specifically (or both) were known to—and condemned by—Bede (*Retractatio in Actus apostolorum* i.48–85 [with commentary on Acts I.3: "passiones apostolorum ... a plurimis deputantur apocryfae," etc.] and viii.13–14 [with commentary on Acts VIII.1]) has been challenged by Wright (as cited, p. 57: "[Bede's] exact comments ... appear to be too general to support this claim"). In any event, the texts known to Aldhelm (and perhaps Bede) seem not to have survived the ninth-century decline in English learning on native soil. In the wake of the tenth-century Benedictine reforms, Latin texts in the pseudo-Mellitus tradition found their way into an eleventh-century collection of homilies going back to a ninth-century Carolingian collection (also containing a homily grounded in the pseudo-Abdias tradition) and, eventually, into the eleventh-century Worcester manuscript (now dismembered) preserving a wide range of hagiographical materials and witnessing an earlier compilation known imprecisely as the Cotton–Corpus legendary. (On these witnesses, see further Wright's provisional *SASLC* notices, as cited, and *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 94, and 31.2 [1998], 96.) An appendix

to Bremmer's article includes a nine-page translation of Ælfric's homily for 27 December, *The Assumption of St. John the Apostle* (DOE ÆCHom I, 4 = A. Cameron, "A List of Old English Texts" [in *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Roberta Frank and Cameron (1973); hereafter "List"], p. 46 [item B.1.1.5]), but there is no translation of the account of John in Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* and there is no mention whatsoever of the variant account in the *Carmen de virginitate*.

Apparently without recourse to the full-length exposition of Theodore's teaching now available in *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School*, ed. Bernhard Bischoff and M. Lapidge (1994; see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 72–6), Patricia Bethel and Margaret J. Pullan address a grecism (*charadrion*) occurring in a comment on Leviticus XI.19, which J. D. Pheifer has seen as a reference to a lark of the family Alaudidae ("Theodore's Lark," *ELN* 34.3 [1997], 1–4). The Theodorian locus, now treated by Bischoff and Lapidge in the cited edition (pp. 364–5, 484, and 535–6) on the basis of its appearance in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup. (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 73), is excerpted here from a batch of glosses preserved in a tiny personal handbook, now Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 913 (English center in Germany, s. viii 2; *CLA* VII, 39 [no. 976] and 59–60, with suppl., 60). The authors cite an edition of the Sankt Gallen batch printed in *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, ed. Elias von Steinmeyer and E. Sievers, 5 vols. (1879–1922), IV, 459–6 (no. 221), here at 460.60–3. (This edition of the Anglo-Latin witness is mentioned nowhere by Bischoff and Lapidge, who advert to more recent scholarship available in Georg Baesecke's *Der Vocabularius Sti. Galli* [1933].) Bethel and Pullan suggest that the wording of the comment in question reflects the expertise of an authority who was familiar with "migratory bird behavior in the near Eastern and Aegean flyways" as well as avian habitats in southern England.

A recent collection of essays on the Hiberno-Latin writings of Columba of Bangor (and, later, of Luxeuil and Bobbio; *ob.* 615)—known as Columbanus since the appearance of the *Vita S. Columbani* of Jonas of Bobbio (*c.* 642)—includes some noteworthy comments on early Anglo-Latin subjects (*Columbanus: Studies on the Latin Writings*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Stud. in Celtic Hist. 17 [Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1997]). Neil Wright ("Columbanus's *Epistulae*," pp. 29–92) reviews the evidence for the Hiberno-Latin background of Aldhelm's use of the term *dodrans* (properly "three quarters") in the sense "wave" or "flood tide," an erroneous usage criticized by Bede. Clare Stancliffe ("The Thirteen Sermons attributed to Columbanus and the Question of Their Authorship," pp. 93–202) contributes to the debate about another supposed reflection of Hiberno-Latin influence on Aldhelm, his inclusion of fifteen words alliterating on the letter P at the start of his *Epistola* V, for which Winterbottom has drawn a parallel in continental practice (citing the Latin of Rufinus). Stancliffe adduces further

continental precedent in a phrase exhibiting six words alliterating on the same letter in *Sermo* LVIII.v of Caesarius of Arles, as well as five more instances in Gaulish Latin texts involving as many as three alliterations on P, while granting in the case of Aldhelm that "the extreme use he makes of it may point rather in the direction of Ireland." Michael Lapidge ("Epilogue: Did Columbanus Compose Metrical Verse?," pp. 274–85) provides a useful summary of Bede's knowledge of quantitative verse (including works by "Aldhelm, Ambrose, Arator, Cyprianus Gallus, Venantius Fortunatus, Iuuencus, Paulinus of Nola, Prosper of Aquitaine, Prudentius, Caelius Sedulius, Vergil, and possibly Alcimus Avitus, Dracontius, Lucan and Ovid"). Lapidge also offers a possible explanation for the extraordinary success in the area of quantitative composition achieved by early Anglo-Latin poets: "[T]hey had frequent contact with native speakers of Latin. Aldhelm … would have heard Theodore and Hadrian speaking Latin … and Aldhelm himself travelled at least once to Rome. Bede would have heard the Latin pronunciation of John, the archcantor of St Peter's in Rome, who spent some years at Wearmouth-Jarrow; and … Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith … both spent long periods of residence in Rome and may have mastered the correct pronunciation of spoken Latin." In an earlier, brief essay ("The *Oratio S. Columbani*," pp. 271–3), Lapidge, assessing evidence for the authenticity of a brief prayer ascribed to Columba, notes the presence of a text of the *oratio* among the liturgical *Officia per ferias* attributed uncertainly to Alcuin.

1997 also saw the appearance of an unfootnoted, general-interest study treating the establishment of the insular churches and subsequent Celtic and Anglo-Saxon missionary activities, a study which has the virtue of placing these developments in the larger setting of conversion efforts occurring throughout Europe during the period 400–800 (Douglas Dales, *Light to the Isles: Missionary Theology in Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Britain* [Cambridge: Lutterworth Press, 1997]). Viewing the achievements of St. Martin, St. Patrick, and others as harbingers of the Augustinian mission, only in later chapters does the work turn to the careers of Theodore, Cuthbert, Wilfrid, Bede, Willibrord, and Boniface. It is clear, however, from the skeletal set of endnotes (mainly comprising pointers to primary sources cited in English translation), and from a more extensive bibliography, that this is a well-informed study which might be consulted profitably by an audience of nonspecialists.

The first of two substantial 1996 studies published by David R. Howlett in the journal *Peritia*—see further below, p. 71—is almost entirely concerned with Celtic Latin monuments ("Seven Studies in Seventh-Century Texts," *Peritia* 10 [1996], 1–70). Connections with the Anglo-Latin tradition arise in the course of some comments by Howlett on three mainly octosyllabic prayers from the Book of Cerne, whose authorship by Theodore of Canterbury (or a member of his circle) has recently been hypothesized by Michael

Lapidge (see *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 73–4). Howlett champions an Hiberno-Latin origin for the prayers, citing the relative brevity of their end-stopped lines, their avoidance of classical diphthong *æ*, and their failure to deploy trochaic octosyllables with the regularity of Theodore's signed verse.

b. Bede

George H. Brown's Jarrow Lecture for 1996 addresses Bede's position in the early Anglo-Saxon pedagogical tradition (*Bede the Educator* [Jarrow: Jarrow Lectures, 1997]). A fundamental problem in assessing Bede's career as an educator is that, apart from some stray comments in *Historia abbatum* and elsewhere, "we do not know how [Bede] was taught, what texts he used as a boy, and what were the educational philosophy and programme in his community." Bede mentions only one of his own teachers by name, Trumberht, who directed at least some of his early biblical study (*Historia ecclesiastica* [hereafter *HE*] IV.iii). Better known are the achievements of Bede's own eminent pupils: Ecgberht, bishop and later archbishop of York, and a probable teacher of Alcuin (see the notice of another study by Brown below, p. 61); and Hwætberht and Cuthbert, successive abbots of Wearmouth-Jarrow. The pedagogical technique employed by Bede stressed reading and memorization of texts as prerequisites to the spiritual development of students. Although Bede did respond to questions on scriptural matters in his writings, he does not seem to have employed any structured "question-and-answer" technique in his own teaching, whether the characteristically Irish form of interrogatory series or the dialogical format later cultivated by Carolingian scholars. Above all, the approach observed most pervasively in Bede's pedagogy is that of monastic *ruminatio*, Brown finds, here citing P. J. West, "Rumination in Bede's Account of Caedmon," *Monastic Stud.* 12 (1976), 217–26 (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1976, in *OEN* 10.2 [1977], 37; not treated in *YWOES*), and other useful references.

Specific types of source-material promulgated by Bede are discussed by Brown under the rubrics of scripture, church authors, and (in distant last place) later Roman works on philosophy, rhetoric, and dialectic. Drawing on recent work by Richard Marsden, Brown acknowledges that biblical resources available to Bede may have included a complete (or predominantly) Old Latin canon of the Old and New Testaments in a witness to the *vetusta translatio* imported in 679/80 by Ceolfrith. In his biblical exegesis, Bede treats the more frequently discussed books (Genesis and Luke, among others) as well as some relatively neglected texts and topics (the Tabernacle and the Temple; books of the minor prophets; the Catholic Epistles; and so on). Brown offers valuable remarks on some diachronic complexities that may serve to reflect career-long concerns in Bede's teaching, notably some thematic links running through his *Commentarius in Ezram and Neemiam*, his commentaries *De tabernaculo* and *De templo*, several homilies treating the topics of the Tabernacle and

Temple (e.g., *Homiliae* II.1 and II.24–5), and discussions of biblical loci illustrating tangentially related themes. Brown criticizes deficiencies in the *apparatus fontium* of some recent editions of Bede's biblical exegesis, noting their failure to record many debts to the Chrysostom tradition (wholly overlooked in M. L. W. Laistner's list ["The Library of the Venerable Bede," in *Bede*, ed. Alexander Hamilton Thompson (1935), pp. 237–66]) as well as loci reflecting the influence of Augustine's *De civitate Dei*. (In the latter connection, Brown cites Jonathan Black, "*De civitate Dei* and the Commentaries of Gregory the Great, Isidore, Bede, and Hrabanus Maurus on the Book of Samuel," *Augustinian Stud.* 15 [1984], 114–27 [new to *OEN*], and J. N. Hillgarth, "L'influence de la 'Cité de Dieu' de saint Augustin au haut Moyen Âge," *Sacris erudiri* 28 [1985], 5–34 [also new to *OEN*].)

Brown takes pointed issue with Roger Ray's hypothesis that Bede was influenced more strongly by neo-Platonic philosophy and by Ciceronian rhetoric than earlier scholars were inclined to admit. Suggesting that the firm stand taken by Bede against pagan dialectic, rhetoric, and kindred disciplines may reflect the influence of Caesarius of Arles—an alumnus of Lérins, residence of Benedict Biscop over a two-year sojourn—Brown is prepared to deny that Bede made any firsthand use of Cicero's writings. An exception to the pattern may be seen in the one literary practice where "Bede does plunder the pagans" regularly—his borrowing from the poetry of Vergil, which is placed beyond reasonable question by the content of Bede's *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica* but also impinges on passages in his prose works. Evidence discussed here by Brown includes a Vergilian echo with a connection to Jerome found in Bede's *Commentarius in epistolas septem catholicas* (in the course of commentary on II Peter I.21) and again, Brown has discovered, at *Commentarius in primam partem Samuhelis* III.xix.1862. This print version of Brown's engaging lecture also may point the way to one possible explanation for the apparent disjunction in Bede's approaches to pagan literary traditions. Bede presumably had studied Vergil deeply in the course of his own early education and, perhaps, had received limited exposure to other antique and Late Latin authorities around that time as well. Later reservations about certain aspects of the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon curriculum might then have induced Bede to adhere to his own explicitly stated historiographical principle—silence is always preferable to prevarication (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 95)—in laconic passages mentioning Trumberht and other aspects of his early years.

Thomas O'Loughlin points out that Bede treats the matter of Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* twice, once in his own work known by the same name (*c.* ?702/3) and again at *HE* V.xv-xvii—even if Bede used his own *De locis sanctis* for the composition of *HE*, without any further direct consultation of Adomnán's work ("Adomnán and Arculf: the Case of an Expert Witness," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 7 [1997], 127–46). In his biographical treatment of Adomnán's shadowy interlocu-

tor Arculf, *episcopus gente Gallus* ("a bishop who was Gaulish by descent")—Adomnán's phrasing would admit a bishopric in almost any part of seventh-century Christendom—Bede's prose includes more detail than his Hiberno-Latin source, stating (reasonably, perhaps) that Arculf found himself in the British Isles after a shipwreck, and that the voyager had in fact held the rank of *Galliarum episcopus* ("bishop of [i.e., among] the Gauls").

Having obtained access to Adomnán's work by consulting an authorial presentation copy owned by Aldfrith, king of Northumbrians, Bede characterizes Adomnán—the earliest known Hiberno-Latin exponent of the early medieval *res, tempus, locus, persona* scheme of introductory questions—primarily as a scriptural exegete (*vir bonus, et sapiens, et scientia scripturarum nobilissime instructus* [*HE* V.xv]), validating O'Loughlin's view of the Hiberno-Latin source as something much more than a mechanical transcription of an early medieval travel narrative. The work fulfills Augustine's stated need for a Palestinian handbook as an aid to exegesis, and also serves as a key to some early medieval Latin *enigmata*. (O'Loughlin's article includes valuable bibliography on early, biblically informed *enigmata* outside of the Symphosius–Aldhelm–Tatwine–Eusebius–Boniface continuum.) Though strictly speaking beyond the purview of this column, O'Loughlin's article also embodies a full discussion of the origin and transmission of Adomnán's work (see further *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 83–4), whose inferior latinity, he feels, renders its acceptance by Bede all the more surprising. A second 1997 publication on Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* calls Arculf's very existence into question, arguing that apparent literary connections between miracle-stories in the work and in early medieval hagiographical narratives tend to undermine the verisimilitude of Adomnán's account (Nathalie Delierneux, "Arculfe, *sanctus episcopus gente Gallus*: une existence historique discutable," *Revue belge de philologie et d'histoire* 75 (1997), 911–41). Brief comments in this study address points of divergence between Irish and Anglo-Saxon monasticism; the Canterbury school; and aspects of the contemporary setting of Adomnán's work (including the political fortunes of Aldfrith as well as Celtic–Anglo-Saxon contacts arising as a result of the English capture of Irish prisoners).

An expansive, thirty-seven-page study by Carole E. Newlands offers a notably politicized reading of all of the extant hagiography of Cuthbert appearing before the completion of Bede's *HE*—the anonymous prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* and Bede's hexametric *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica* as well as Bede's own prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* ("Bede and Images of Saint Cuthbert," *Traditio* 52 [1997], 73–109). Noting that Anglo-Saxon kings (among other devotees) continued to make gifts centuries after Cuthbert's death directly to the person of the saint, Newlands stresses the "imperialist" aspect of the saint's cult as it bolstered Athelstan's attempts to consolidate a unified British nation. The community at Durham similarly invoked the name of the saint in defending their northern in-

terests against the Scots. Bede's reduction of the quantity of Northumbrian local detail that had been included in the earlier, anonymous prose *vita* encouraged the production of southern English copies of both the Bedan prose and metrical lives.

Bede's aims here were even more expansive insofar as he hoped to promote the personage of Cuthbert to international stature, establishing a figure comparable to Rome's Peter or Paul, Asia's John, Africa's Cyprian, Italy's Benedict, and Gaul's Martin. The choice of Cuthbert for this role—largely effected by the "impresario" Eadfrith, bishop of Lindisfarne (sitting 698–721), who commissioned both the anonymous and Bedan prose lives—arose partly by default. The only other conspicuous candidate, Wilfrid, might well have proved to be too controversial of a choice. Cuthbert, however, also had the "transnational" virtues of having been trained in the Celtic manner of devotions and of having accepted Roman practices after his conversion. Corroborating conclusions published in the same year by John C. Eby (see notice following immediately below), Newlands sees Bede's prose *vita* as "developmental in structure"—each episode represents a step in Cuthbert's progression to sanctity—and in this respect quite distinct from the more "static" hagiographical narratives treating Martin, Anthony, and Benedict. Newlands's main thesis is that it was Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, and not his metrical work or the earlier, anonymous *vita*, which properly launched Cuthbert's cult. Her article, however, is also notable for its extensive citation of the hexameters of Bede's still-untranslated *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*, which (Newlands shows) includes a unique sequence of lines celebrating Aidan's saintly and prophetic efficacy and which depicts Cuthbert as a *vates* comparable to his Old Testament predecessors, among other points of variance.

An article by John C. Eby appearing in the same year as Newlands's study also offers an extremely close reading of Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, here concentrating on the "framing" sequences of chs. iii–vi and xxxiv–xxxvi as well as other aspects of the work's structure ("Bringing the *vita* to Life: Bede's Symbolic Structure of the *Life of St. Cuthbert*," *Amer. Benedictine Rev.* 48 [1997], 316–38). Many of Eby's observations involve foreshadowing techniques. For example, when the "youthful layperson" Cuthbert witnesses the miraculous rescue of some monks on rafts who have been blown out to sea near the Tyne estuary (ch. iii), Bede's additions may be seen to prefigure Cuthbert's own future monastic profession. Here and in some other cases, Eby's structural observations bear on instances of water-imagery and boundary-crossing, or on liminality generally. Cuthbert's final miracle, an "inadvertent water-wine miracle," which also takes place in a monastic setting near the river Tyne (ch. xxxiv), "serves as an adumbration of the celestial banquet at which Cuthbert will soon feast." Eby's comments on Bede's originality are frequently supported by reference to the earlier, anonymous prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*. Further reference to Bede's own *Vita S. Cuth-*

berti metrica, which Newlands has considered so profitably (see previous notice)—founded on the anonymous prose life but earlier than the Bedan prose *vita*—would have bolstered a number of these points.

In his 1996 address to the North American Patristics Society, Joseph F. Kelly stresses Bede's vital role in the reception and transmission of early ecclesiastical writings, notably through the formulation and promotion of his well-known quartet of eminent doctors of the church (Ambrose, Jerome, Augustine, and Gregory I), his own application of the Augustinian doctrine of endless study, and other means ("On the Brink: Bede," *Jnl of Early Christian Stud.* 5 [1997], 85–103). Gregory's fortunes in particular were affected positively by Bede's efforts, insofar as his reputation in Rome had been eclipsed in the short term by achievements of other popes with more conspicuous political ties to the ecclesiastical hierarchy—no other monk would be elected to the papacy for fully four centuries after Gregory's death in 604. General comments by Kelly address Bede's views on charity and heresy; the topics of *humilitas, auctoritas*, and the *ecclesia primitiva*; Bede's cultivation of the disciplines of biblical exegesis, natural science, and, more narrowly, numerology, nomenclature (e.g., in his distinction between *Angli* and *Saxones*), and handwriting (perhaps personally encouraging the alterations in the form of minuscule script which were made for the copying of his works). Kelly also cites neglected passages attesting to Bede's own diligence in the performance of the Divine Office ("Bede believed that angels visited monasteries during the canonical hours, and he never missed the Divine Office for fear that they would wonder where he was" [citing Alcuin, *Epistola* CCLXXXIV])—perhaps influencing his decision to produce works that could be broken up easily into monastic *lectiones*—and Bede's own status as one who had received instruction in the area of vernacular poetry ("erat doctus in nostris carminibus": Cuthbert, abbot of Wearmouth-Jarrow, *Epistola de obitu Baedae*, line 23 [insular version; continental version at line 26]).

The ideal of a complete English-language library of Bede's writings comes ever closer to actualization, most recently with the publication of two new translations of the exegete's biblical commentaries by Four Courts Press (*Bede: on Tobit and on the Canticle of Habbakkuk*, tr. Seán Connolly [Dublin, 1997]). Seán Connolly's translations of the *Commentarius in Tobiam* and *Commentarius in Habacuc* are accompanied by a valuable summary (in the Translator's Preface) of "textual errors (some of them ... typographical rather than attributable to the individual editors) which have not been noted in the corrigenda [in CCSL 119B]"; a detailed running commentary on the pages of the translation itself; and, further augmenting the apparatus of the CCSL editions, full indices of biblical quotations and allusions (the latter distinguished by the use of asterisks) as well as patristic sources. The work also includes an excellent *index raisonné*, allowing readers to search out topics, themes, and personages

treated in the exegesis. A general introduction by Diarmuid Scully, not credited on the title page, stresses Bede's praise for ancient "Jewish pastoral care ... [especially in the] instruction of the unlearned and use of translation in spreading the word of God." Reflecting the frequent concern for dietary restrictions of the Old Law seen in early Anglo-Saxon sources, Bede's comments on the devotional life of contemporary Jews are less celebratory: "Among the Jews who reject Christ, says Bede, there are no clean animals left in 'the stalls of heavenly scriptures'," an observation which Scully connects with Jerome's words to the effect that "Jews of the present age who reject Christ ... meditate upon God's word and ruminate upon it and turn it over in their heart but ... they are unclean in this respect that they do not separate letter from spirit or shadow from reality and bear the burdens of the law." Clearly, now that Bede's text is available to a wider audience, it may well be adduced more frequently in discussions of ostensible Anglo-Saxon anti-Semitism in *Elene* and other Old English verse.

Building on a point included in his 1986 UCLA Ph.D. dissertation, "The Celtic Background to the Story of Cædmon and His Hymn" (see *OEN* 21.2 [1988], 52; not treated in *YWOES*), Colin A. Ireland points to parallels with Bede's account of Cædmon (*HE* IV.xxii[xxiv]) in the career of the Irish poet Colmán mac Lénéni (*ob.* 606), who claims in some extant verse to have relied on nocturnal inspiration in composing a most pleasing (or, in Colmán's *litotes*, "not unworthy") poem after a "beautiful and sweet-dreamed sleep" ("An Irish Precursor of Cædmon," *N&Q* n.s. 44 [1997], 2–4). Ireland's note embodies a useful bibliographic summary of studies treating the Cædmon narrative and its analogues. Finally, characterizing itself as an edition and not as a monograph or a translation *per se*, a recent work on Bede in fact offers little more than a selection of English-language translations from *HE* (*Bede: Celtic and Roman Christianity in Britain*, tr. Robert Van de Weyer [Berkhamsted, Herts.: Arthur James, 1997]). The work is perhaps envisaged as a complement to radio and television broadcasts produced by its compiler, who ventures that "[t]o offer a reordered and abridged edition of Bede's historical works may seem like a criticism. In truth it is a tribute. There are very few history books written even one or two centuries ago that can still command our attention."

c. Alcuin

The striking conclusion of a 1997 essay by George H. Brown is that the single most important ramification of Bede's pedagogical efforts in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period may well be the career of his Northumbrian compatriot Alcuin ("The Preservation and Transmission of Northumbrian Culture on the Continent: Alcuin's Debt To Bede," in *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and J. T. Rosenthal, Stud.

in Med. Culture 40 [Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Institute, 1997], pp. 159–75). Brown's discussion builds on the following chain of connections: According to the anonymous testimony of *Vita Alcuini* ii, Ecgberht, bishop and then first consecrated English archbishop of York (from *c.* 732), had studied under Bede and, arguably, went on to become one of the pre-eminent teachers in the York school. Issues of tutelage notwithstanding, Ecgberht's prestige in Bede's political orbit is beyond question. He was a cousin of King Ceolwulf, dedicatee of Bede's *HE*, and Ecgberht's brother Eadberht became king of the Northumbrians after Ceolwulf's resignation in 737. A "powerful and candid letter" from Bede to the archbishop championing Northumbrian church reform, the *Epistola ad Ecgberhtum* (Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 70–6 [no. 152], at 73), Brown suggests, "demonstrates the strength of the student-pupil relationship." Alcuin's mentor Ælberht (*ob.* 779/80), who succeeded Ecgberht as archbishop of York in 766/7, "apparently received his education at York under [Ecgberht]." (A passage in Alcuin's long poem on York, *Versus de sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae*, at lines 1415–74, is not entirely clear on this point.) In any event, Brown is prepared to challenge Peter Godman's view that Alcuin's praise of Ælberht should be taken to suggest that his contributions to the York school eclipsed those of Ecgberht. Such praise "should not detract from [Ecgberht's] role as founder of the school any more than Bede's extensive details about Ceolfrith in *Historia abbatum* should be interpreted as a slighting of Benedict Biscop." (Neither scholar addresses the evidence for the transmission of knowledge from the Canterbury school to York at an even earlier stage; see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 109–10.)

The direct line going back to Bede's pedagogy, Brown suspects, may account for Alcuin's access to a high-quality, M-type text of *HE* for the composition of his York poem and, perhaps, the presence in Charlemagne's library of the Moore Bede itself—now Cambridge, University Library, Kk. 5. 16 (Northumbrian center in England or ?continental Europe [Lowe], s. viii 1 [i.e., *c.* 737]; provenance in [?northern] Francia by s. ix; *CLA* II², 7 [no. 139], with 46, and suppl., 45). Brown's cogent discussion summarizes key developments that serve to illuminate the background of Charlemagne's decision to install the insular scholar Alcuin as chief architect of his plan to renew continental education: (1) the missionary and reform work undertaken by Willibrord (supported by Charlemagne's great-grandfather, Pippin II), Boniface (who undertook to reform the entire Frankish church), Aluberht (consecrated as archbishop of Utrecht by Ælberht at York after studying under both Ecgberht and Ælberht), and (shortly after Alcuin's arrival in the 780s) the Northumbrian emissary Willehad; (2) the dispatch of Burchard, Anglo-Saxon bishop of Würzburg, to Pope Zacharias by Pippin III; and (3) early praise for Charlemagne's campaigns expressed by the shadowy letterwriter Cathwulf (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 102). Brown stresses the fact that Alcuin did not replace Angilram of Metz in Charlemagne's circle;

the latter remained "head chaplain, succeeding Fulrad." To the contrary, Alcuin joined an established group of *litterati* at court, including Peter of Pisa and others, and soon came to serve as Charlemagne's sometime amanuensis. (Brown's comments here make it clear that the admission to the Alcuinian canon of Charlemagne's *Admonitio generalis* [or *Capitulare Aquisgranense*]—a template for educational reform at points calling to mind Bede's curriculum at Wearmouth-Jarrow— is now complete, as do recent entries ascribing the work to Alcuin in an unnumbered volume of CCCM, *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi, Auctores Galliae, 735–987* [hereafter *CSLMA*], II: *Alcuinus*, ed. Marie-Hélène Jullien and F. Perelman, 1 vol. in 2 [1999], pp. 10–12 [no. 4], and in an article by Leslie Lockett in the second fascicle of the yet more recent *C.A.L.M.A.—Compendium Auctorum Latinorum Medii Aevi (500–1500)*, ed. Michael Lapidge *et al.* [2000– ; hereafter *CALMA*], at I, 145–53 [item ALC 1], at 145.)

Adumbrating his forthcoming *SASLC* entry on Bede, Brown reviews Alcuin's knowledge and use of the following Bedan works: *HE*; the *Homiliae*; the prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* and *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*; *De orthographia*; *De arte metrica*; *De schematibus et tropis*; *De temporibus*; *De temporum ratione*; and several biblical commentaries. In particular, the promulgation of Bede's computistical instruction is reflected in poems written by some of Alcuin's own pupils: "Anni domini notantur in praesenti linea," "Annus solis continetur quattuor temporibus," and "Ex novenis atque denis volo annis canere" (*Initia Carminum Latinorum saeculo Undecimo Antiquiorum*, ed. Dieter Schaller and E. Könsgen [1977]— hereafter cited as *ICL*—pp. 39 [no. 814], 41 [no. 853], and 217 [no. 4747]), which in turn came to circulate with Bede's works. Finally, as examples of some general differences between the pedagogical approaches adopted by Bede and Alcuin, Brown notes the following: Alcuin's expansion of the curriculum to include the study of dialectic, rhetoric, and philosophy (including works of Cicero and Boethius; the fourth-century *Ars rhetorica* of C. Julius Victor; and the Aristotelian *Categoriae decem*); Alcuin's tendency to cite (or "lift") sources without acknowledgment; and, strikingly, a fervent love for his Northumbrian homeland that Alcuin expressed in terms even more forceful than Bede's own regional patriotism had occasioned.

A substantial, forty-three-page study by Michael S. Driscoll examines Alcuin's role in the dissemination of books associated with early medieval penitential practices, which fall into three main categories: *libri paenitentiales* proper; *specula*, or spiritual mirrors; and *precum libelli*, or prayerbooks ("Penance in Transition: Popular Piety and Practice," in *Medieval Liturgy: a Book of Essays*, ed. Lizette Larson-Miller, Garland Med. Casebooks 18 [New York: Garland, 1997], pp. 121–63). Codices of the final category, prayerbooks, often have been overlooked by scholars of medieval penance even though prayer (along with fasting and almsgiving) is frequently assigned as a tariff in atonement for sins. The tra-

ditional recitation of psalms and canticles by penitents—and, later, the penitential recitation of prayers (sometimes termed *confessiones*), collects, and litanies—led collectively to the inclusion of heterogeneous selections of texts in small booklets known as *libelli precum*. Driscoll includes detailed comments on four prayerbooks edited by Wilmart which "are described by Alcuin himself in cover letters … or indicate Alcuinian influences attributed to the scriptorium of Tours." The contents of these books include a *confessio peccatum* (incipit: "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae") for Charlemagne "attributed to the pen of Alcuin," containing an anatomical list in Celtic style (following *pied-à-cap* order), where the confessor acknowledges that "… genua mea ad fornicationem potius quam ad orationem libenter flexi" ("… my knees bend more freely in fornication than in prayer"). Driscoll suggests that such miscellaneous collections are better termed *libri manuales* insofar as they are constructed regularly as "pocket books easily transportable for quick reference." They appear most often to have been "intended for daily use in the prayer life of any lay person" and are sometimes bound up with manuscripts of the psalter, in these respects anticipating later medieval books of hours.

Driscoll maintains that "popular" lay spirituality during this early period "would be limited to the practices of a certain group of lay persons, those educated in the monastic schools," while denying (in some especially cogent comments) that there can be any absolute "distinction between monastic and popular liturgy" before the year 817, when "monastic liturgy [was] fixed in conformity with the Benedictine *cursus*." Nevertheless, connections with the Divine Office emerge in "the orations which follow each of the seven psalms of penance, the *pater* and the *capitula* which were borrowed from Roman *collect*[*ae*], … the inclusion of litanies and hymns … [and the] overall structure: invitatory prayer or introductory invocation, psalmody, and a concluding prayer." Driscoll further discusses Alcuin's *Liber de virtutibus et vitiis* (see *OEN* 31.2 [1998], 83–4) as a spiritual *speculum* as well as penitential matter in Alcuin's *Epistolae* CXXXI (provided here with a six-page translation) and CXXXVIII. The former letter was composed for Alcuin's disciples at Tours but was sent also to his correspondent Arno, archbishop of Salzburg, and was intended ultimately for wide distribution and public reading; the latter *epistola* is addressed to the monks of Septimania, whom Alcuin admonishes to undertake penitential confession at regular intervals.

1997 saw the appearance of a new edition of the first redaction of Alcuin's *De orthographia* (*Alcuino. De orthographia*, ed. Sandra Bruni, Millennio medievale 2 [= testi 2] [Florence: Società internazionale per lo studio del medioevo latino, 1997]). For the first time, Bruni presents an edition of Alcuin's pedagogical handbook that is supplied on the main pages of the text with an *apparatus fontium* and a full treatment of textual variants. Moreover, Bruni's introduction includes a detailed study of the transmission of the work,

which circulated in two redactions. Bruni identifies nine main manuscripts of redaction *a* (descending from her archetype X), all of which are supplied here with substantial, discursive descriptions, as well as two additional secondary witnesses to redaction *a* and twelve more manuscripts witnessing redaction *b* (descended from Bruni's archetype Y), the latter accompanied only by thumbnail descriptions. It is abundantly clear that Bruni's edition will supersede the 1952 edition of Aldo Marsili, which was itself one of the better twentieth-century treatments of Anglo-Latin source-material. Even with the appearance of Bruni's edition, Marsili's provision of a unique, double-column table, running to nearly seventy pages, which sets out continuous (full-sentence) extracts from many of Alcuin's sources beside parallel passages from his treatise, insures that this earlier work will still be of use to specialists. (Bruni's apparatus mainly provides only brief references to individual loci.) Moreover, as the following notice of Biggs's study will show, some further refinement of Bruni's *apparatus fontium* is now possible with the availability of lemmatized full-text resources from CETEDOC, MGH, and others, on CD-ROM and now DVD-ROM.

A recent study by Frederick M. Biggs evaluates a range of valid and spurious citations of Augustine by name, which occur in writings by Bede, Boniface, and—perhaps most notably—Alcuin ("Unidentified Citations of Augustine in Anglo-Latin Writers," *N&Q*, n.s. 44 [1997], 154–60). Two named citations of Augustine occurring in Alcuin's *De orthographia*, both appearing under the treatment of the letter Q, Biggs confirms (elaborating on the scholarship of Marsili), were derived at second hand through the pedagogue's borrowing of an Augustinian phrase from Bede's earlier treatise *De orthographia*, in the treatment of the same letter. The sources are Augustine's *Sermo* CLXX and a hitherto unknown sermon by Augustine discovered recently by Dolbeau, now Augustinian *Sermo* CCCLIIA (Frede[4], pp. 221–45 and 247–50, at 243 [item AU s 352A] and 248 [item AU s Dol 14]; these Bedan loci do not appear in treatments of the sermon's fortunes by Dolbeau and Frede). Biggs's documentation of the influence of the latter, newly discovered sermon supplements the apparatus of Bruni's 1997 edition of Alcuin's *De orthographia*, treated above. Two other apparent Augustinian citations in Alcuin's writings similarly fail to document the circulation of Augustine's authentic works. The previously unidentified source of a passage in *Contra heresim Felicis* xiii, Biggs shows, is the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo* CXLVIII of Petrus Chrysologus, also ascribed falsely to Ambrose and Severianus of Gabala (Frede[4] pp. 677–9, at 678 [item PET-C s 148], and John J. Machielsen, *Clavis Patristica Pseudepigraphorum Medii Aevi*, 2 vols. in 4, issued as unnumbered volumes of CCSL [1990–4; hereafter *CPPMA*], I, 69 [no. 153] and 499 [no. 2116]); and an allusion to Augustine in Alcuin's *Epistola* CLXXV seems to introduce little more than an echo of *Confessiones* III.ii, perhaps under the influence of Isidore's *Etymologiae* XVIII.xlviii–l. Alcuin's compendious

knowledge of genuine Augustinian works, however, may be suggested by an apparent paraphrase at *Adversus Felicem* I.xii of Augustine's *Sermo* LI (almost certainly under the influence of *De consensu evangelistarum* II.i), and by his use of Augustine's *Sermo* CLXXXVI.i at *Adversus Felicem* VI.ix-x. (Biggs cites an authoritative, if out of the way, edition of *Sermo* LI: P. Verbraken, "Le sermon LI de saint Augustin sur les généalogies du Christ selon Matthieu et selon Luc," *RB* 91 [1981], 20–45.) Biggs's study also clarifies the use of certain writings of Augustine by Bede and Boniface. Specifically, Biggs—refining existing analyses by Laistner, Ogilvy, and Hurst—verifies authentic Augustinian borrowings in a range of Bedan exegetical works: *Commentarius in epistolas septem catholicas*, under commentary on II Peter III.6; *Commentarius in Cantica canticorum*, prol., 473–90; and three passages in the *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*, at II.xiv.173D–174A, II.xiv.175C, and III.xx.191D. These five loci depend in turn on Augustine's *Enarrationes in Psalmos* II.xiii, *Enchiridion* xxiii.93, *De sancta virginitate* xxvii, and *De civitate Dei* XX.ix and XX.viii (respectively). In composing the cited commentaries, Bede clearly had access to a wide range of Augustinian sources—including *De civitate Dei*, whose verifiable influence on *HE* was found to be surprisingly restricted in a recent study by J. F. Kelly (abstracted at *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 73). Finally, a named reference to Augustine in Boniface's *Epistola* CIV, Biggs shows, actually adverts to the pseudo-Augustinian *Sermo* XXIX of Caesarius of Arles (see Frede[4], pp. 337–47, at 339 [item CAE s 29], and *CPPMA*, I, 156–7 [no. 892], with I, 111 [no. 766]).

d.   The Alfredian Renewal

Barbara L. Raw sees an indication of the substance of Latin prayers known to King Alfred in the contents of four late eighth- or early ninth-century manuscripts, all of which were assembled for private use; exhibit Celtic as well as Roman connections; and display thematically informed arrangements of devotional material centering on Christological concerns ("Alfredian Piety: the Book of Nunnaminster," in *Alfred the Wise: Studies in honour of Janet Bately on the occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jane Roberts and J. L. Nelson, assisted by M. Godden [Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1997], pp. 145–53). These are the Book of Cerne (see *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 73); London, British Library [hereafter BL], Royal 2. A. xx (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 88); BL Harley 2965 (s. viii/ix; provenance in Wessex [i.e., at the Nunnaminster, Winchester?] by s. ix in.; additions of s. ix and s. x 1; "Book of Nunnaminster"; *CLA* II², 23 [no. 199], and 50, with suppl., 47]); and BL Harley 7653 (*olim* Additional 5004) (s. viii/ix; glossing of s. x; *CLA* II², 25 [no. 204], and 50, with suppl., 47). The so-called Book of Nunnaminster has definite Alfredian connections in that it preserves a notation giving information about property granted by Alfred's queen, Ealhswith, to the community of women at St. Mary's Abbey, Winchester (the "Nunnaminster"). This book in turn reveals numerous thematic links to prayers in the Book of Cerne and in the Royal volume, set out in full by Raw in an appendix—along with references to texts in the Durham collectar (see *OEN* 27.2 [1994], 66–7, and 30.2 [1997], 88–9) and in several Carolingian prayerbooks. Whereas Sims-Williams and Morrish have previously exhibited about a half-dozen such parallels, Raw here enumerates no fewer than twenty-five. The details of their relationships, however, are complex, insofar as passages in two or three distinct prayers in, say, the collection associated with Ealhswith may correspond to parts of a single item in the Royal prayerbook. Specific comments by Raw address the prayer *Adoro te* (also cited in *Regularis concordia*), containing imagery from the Creation–Fall–Flood–Red Sea sequence in Genesis and Exodus; and the prayer *De tenebris*, which recalls the *Dream of the Rood* and other Old English verse in its allusions to circling eagles, God's banquet-hall, and the encroachment of shadows at the moment of the Crucifixion.

e.   The Tenth-Century Reform and Beyond

Alicia Corrêa has issued an exhaustive study of the fairly restricted, later Anglo-Saxon cult of Austraberta, an abbess of Pavilly in Normandy whose *dies natalis* ("heavenly birthday," or death-date) fell in 704 ("St Austraberta of Pavilly in the Anglo-Saxon Liturgy," *AB* 115 [1997], 77–112). Including, *inter alia*, a substantial treatment of Austraberta's legacy on the Continent, Corrêa approaches her subject systematically, considering the full range of sources bearing on the dissemination of the saint's cult: liturgical calendars; litanies of saints; breviaries and collectars; antiphons, tropes, sequences, hymns, and other musical compositions; and sections of missals and sacramentaries given over to celebration of the sanctoral. As Corrêa explains in a valuable excursus, the evidence provided by these sources should not be weighted equally, insofar as the progressive accumulation of saints' names in calendars may obviate the conclusion (in the absence of other evidence) that a particular saint was venerated actively at the center which produced an extant calendar including the saint's name. The presence of a saint in a litany at least proves that his or her name was recited aloud at such a center. The production of original musical compositions in honor of a saint may indicate a more prominent cult. The presence of texts memorializing a saint among a group of episcopal blessings, however, "represents one of the most important expressions of liturgical devotion in that [an episcopal blessing] was traditionally reserved for the more important feast-days and was recited only by the presiding bishop." Such saintly invocations in episcopal blessings, Corrêa adds, should be distinguished from commemorations of saints in liturgical prayers known as prefaces, which are textually independent but "of nearly equal importance"—as treated in *Corpus Praefationum*, ed. Edmond Moeller, 3 vols. in 5, CCSL 161, 161A–161D

(1980–1)—and they should be distinguished further from significant, but somewhat less important, "blessings recited by priests ('priestly blessings'), . . . which do not technically form part of the mass-set." In these connections Corrêa cites a "useful (if outdated)" study by Adolf Franz, *Die kirchlichen Benediktionen im Mittelalter*, 2 vols. (1909), and a recent work by Eric Palazzo, *Histoire des livres liturgiques* (1993).

The prominence of the cult of Austraberta in at least one Anglo-Saxon center is suggested by the appearance of a liturgically telling episcopal blessing for the saint (*Corpus Benedictionum Pontificalium*, ed. Edmond Moeller, 2 vols. in 4, CCSL 162, 162A–162C [1971–9], I, 64–5 [no. 148]) in two eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon benedictionals: BL Harley 2892 (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xi med. [Corrêa] or s. xi 1 [Gneuss]; "Canterbury Benedictional"), which "presents the purest example of the Christ Church liturgy among extant benedictionals," and Paris BN lat. 987, part 2 [i.e., fols. 85–111] (Christ Church, Canterbury, or ?Old Minster, Winchester, s. xi med. [i.e., *post* 1023: Corrêa] or s. xi 1 [Gneuss]; "Ramsey Benedictional"), which "embodies a liturgy in which elements from Winchester and Christ Church have been synthesized, perhaps not elegantly, but synthesized nonetheless" and thus may have been "compiled [at Canterbury] during the tenancy of an archbishop whose previous charge was the bishopric of Winchester."

Corrêa concludes that it is hard to judge the longevity of the Canterbury cult of Austraberta on the basis of surviving witnesses. As an illustration of Anglo-Saxon devotional practice, a twelfth-century account in Eadmer's *De reliquiis S. Audoeni* (Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 104–5 [no. 247], at 104; *BHL*, p. 122 [no. 758], with *Novum Supplementum*, p. 100) records the preservation in Canterbury of Austraberta's head, at the altar of the Virgin, but no date is provided for the deposit of the relic. It is doubtful, however, that the Canterbury cult extends continuously back to the early tenth century, which saw the inclusion of forms of verses celebrating Austraberta in an Anglo-Latin composition in hexameter verse, the (probably paraliturgical) martyrological text known by the name of its first editor as the "metrical calendar (*recte* martyrology) of Hampson" (composed 902 × *c.* 910), details of whose content are corroborated by four witnesses (including the Junius psalter: see below), and which has been edited most recently by Patrick McGurk ("The 'Metrical Calendar of Hampson': a New Edition," *AB* 104 [1986], 79–125). The allusion to the saint here is most plausibly viewed as a reflex of the continental commemoration of five saints (including Austraberta), constituting an integral "Pas-de-Calais" group, in texts "derivative of the Thérouanne diocese," a group which was wholly excluded from the set of borrowings taken over from the hexameters of "Hampson" into the calendar of the so-called Junius psalter—Oxford, Bodleian Library [hereafter OB], Junius 27 (*SC* 5139) (?Winchester [Ker and Gneuss] or ?Canterbury [Dumville], s. x in. [Gneuss] or s. x 1 [Ker]; additions of s. xii). There is in fact a calendar entry for Austra-

berta in the Junius psalter, but this seems to have been derived independently from "one of the [psalter's] source-calendars . . . from the Saint-Bertin/Saint-Omer area." Appearances of Austraberta's name in three other calendars either appear to be similarly derivative or are of uncertain date. It is thus probable that the early tenth-century circulation of Austraberta's name in England marked by the compilation of the metrical martyrology in "Hampson" failed to support an enduring cult. The veneration of Austraberta at Canterbury reflected by the inscription of an episcopal blessing for the saint in BL Harley 2892 and in Paris BN lat. 987, part 2, and, perhaps, reflected by Eadmer's description of Austraberta's head as a Canterbury relic, would thus represent a subsequent development: the reintroduction of the saint's cult to England in the later tenth century or in the early eleventh.

In a wide-ranging exploration of problems relating to the shadowy career of the colloquy-author Ælfric Bata, David W. Porter addresses a group of anonymous Anglo-Latin dialogical texts known as *De raris fabulis retractata*, or, more fully, *Colloquia e Libro de raris fabulis retractata*—hereafter cited in this notice as the *Colloquia retractata* ("Anglo-Saxon Colloquies: Ælfric, Ælfric Bata, and *De raris fabulis retractata*," *Neophilologus* 81 [1997], 467–80). Porter's study also offers valuable insights into the contents of two important manuscripts preserving Latin dialogical texts, OB Bodley 572 (*SC* 2026), fols. 1–50 (centers in Cornwall and Wales, s. x; provenance by s. xi/xii [or s. x in.?] at St. Augustine's, Canterbury; additions of s. xi 1, xi med., and xi/xii) and Oxford, St. John's College 154 (s. x in.; provenance at Durham by s. xii/xiii; additions of s. xi 2), the latter distinguished as the only manuscript to present the three main pedagogical works of Bata's mentor Ælfric of Eynsham as an integral group (the *Grammar*, *Glossary*, and *Colloquia*). The *Colloquia retractata*, largely comprising excerpted and reworked versions of passages drawn from the anonymous Celtic Latin (most plausibly Cambro-Latin) colloquies known as *De raris fabulis* (Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, p. 31 [no. 85]), possibly of ninth-century date, are preserved uniquely in Bodley 572 at fols. 41v–47r. The *Colloquia retractata* often have been neglected, largely as a result of the circumstances that they are "derivative, anonymous, and completely without vernacular glossing" in the unique copy in St. John's College 154. The texts in question mainly serve to illuminate aspects of the daily monastic routine, though three dialogues treat secular themes variously involving cattle, horses, and "good beer."

There is some possibility that the *Colloquia retractata* embody Bata's own revisions of passages drawn from the Celtic Latin colloquies *De raris fabulis*. In any event, taking issue with an opinion expressed recently by Patrizia Lendinara, Porter demonstrates that Bata drew directly on the *Colloquia retractata* in the course of preparing passages now appearing in some other dialogical texts preserved in St. John's College 154 (for which his authorship is not controversial), thus making

no independent use of the ultimate source of the passages in question—the colloquies *De raris fabulis* proper. (These other colloquies in the St. John's College witness, on the whole, are fully ten times as long as the *Colloquia retractata*.) In an argument against Bata's authorship of the *Colloquia retractata*, it might thus be maintained that Bata, unlike the architect of the *Colloquia retractata*, evidently had no direct knowledge of *De raris fabulis*. But it is also possible that the *Colloquia retractata* are indeed Bata's work, and that Bata simply no longer had access to—or did not choose to consult—the colloquies *De raris fabulis* when he prepared other dialogical texts (notably the glossed texts now preserved in St. John's College 154). (Compare Bede's exclusive consultation of his own work *De locis sanctis* for his later treatments of Adomnán and Arculf in *HE*, documented above, p. 59, in the notice of O'Loughlin's study.) Both works (*De raris fabulis* and the *Colloquia retractata*), Porter suspects, would have been dismissed out of hand by Ælfric of Eynsham if he came across them, as their casual references to inebriation, among other secular content, surely would have proved objectionable to the abbot.

In the adaptation of material drawn from the *Colloquia retractata*, the technique observed most often in Bata's verifiable colloquies resembles the handling of revisions seen in his expansive treatment of Ælfric's *Colloquia* (see *OEN* 31.2 [1998], 90). There are apparent instances of phrases that have been altered in the course of their having been called up from memory, but there are also traces of "chirographic methods" that evidently bear witness to direct consultation of written texts. Moreover, there are other, lexical indications that the redactor of the *Colloquia retractata* was a pupil of Ælfric of Eynsham, most notably in the distribution of vocabulary items found also in the Ælfrician *Grammar* and *Glossary*. *Inter alia*, Porter notes that the fact that Bata's cognomen has been corrected from the spelling *beata* in St. John's College 154 proves that the copy in question is not his autograph. Nevertheless, the copy may well have been produced at a scriptorium situated in Bata's own community, where such an error presumably *would* have been corrected. Porter recently has detected further links with Bata's scriptorium in the London–Antwerp witness to his works, as discussed in last year's column (*OEN* 31.2 [1998], 94–5). The scriptorium in question, Porter concludes, may well have been on the grounds of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The only independently authoritative post-Conquest mention of Bata, occurring in the *Vita et miracula S. Dunstani* of Osbern of Canterbury (at ch. x of the *miracula*), clearly indicates that the colloquy-author was active in the Canterbury area—though not necessarily resident at Christ Church (as has been inferred from Osbern's phrase *ecclesia Dei*). (A subsequent mention of Bata in hagiography on Dunstan by Eadmer of Canterbury is wholly dependent on Osbern's account.) Evidence internal to the dialogues themselves, Porter stresses, suggests that their author was active in "a community headed by an abbot"—

perhaps pointing specifically toward St. Augustine's. Moreover, Porter notes, the unique witness to the text of the Celtic Latin colloquia *De raris fabulis*, OB Bodley 572, was shown by Ker to have been at St. Augustine's "shortly after the copying of the Oxford manuscript [St. John's College 154]," that is, in the early years of the eleventh century.

1997 also saw the publication of a work which in many respects represents the culmination of the recent, intensive course of work carried out on the canon of Bata's writings by Porter and his collaborator Scott J. Gwara: *Anglo-Saxon Conversations: the "Colloquies" of Ælfric Bata*, ed. Gwara, tr. Porter (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell and Brewer, 1997). The two main works edited here are Bata's *Colloquia* (from St. John's College 154, 160v–198r) and *Colloquia difficiliora* (from St. John's College 154, 198r–204r). Both items were edited recently by Gwara for the Toronto Medieval Latin Texts series (see *OEN* 31.2 [1998], 89–90), along with two additional items (the *Colloquia retractata* [see above] and a recherché colloquy produced at some time prior to Bata's florescence, edited by Gwara, following Stevenson, under the title *Colloquium hispericum*). The introduction to the current work includes a useful summary of named references to the enigmatic Bata: inscriptions and colophons in St. John's College 154; the cited passage in Osbern's *Vita et miracula S. Dunstani* (and its reflex in Eadmer's prose); an inscription of Bata's name (of uncertain date) in BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii, fols. 2–173 (*OEN* 30.2 [1997], 92–3), "on the original first page [i.e., the present 117r], perhaps as owner of the codex or as collector of the texts"; and "in two entries of a thirteenth-century catalog of manuscripts from Canterbury . . . , the first entry 'almost certainly' [citing Ker] refer[r]ing to the Cotton manuscript . . . , the second to a manuscript apparently lost." The introduction also includes new material and revised treatments of subjects discussed in a series of articles which have received separate notice in *YWOES*, most notably "Bata as a Language Teacher" (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 114–15); "Versions of Ælfric's *Colloquy*" (*OEN* 31.2 [1998], 90); and "Manuscripts and Texts" and "Connections of the Oxford and Antwerp/London Manuscripts" (*OEN* 31.2 [1998], 94–5; and above).

Gwara and Porter generously provide an apparatus comprising the first full English-language translations of these dialogical texts; textual notes; a comprehensive edition of Old English and Latin glosses (on the same pages as the main text); and a more general set of discursive notes and source-citations. In addition to Porter's translations, the present work benefits greatly from the last-mentioned apparatus of literary- and source-historical notes, also by Porter (though drawing extensively on notes in Gwara's Toronto edition). Porter shrewdly offers a nearly exhaustive treatment of connections between Bata's colloquies and three works which he may well have owned personally (to judge by the inscription in BL Cotton Tiberius A. iii, noted above): Benedict, *Regula*; the *Memoriale qualiter* attributed to Benedict of Aniane; and

the *Regularis concordia*. Porter also profitably mines the *Regula canonicorum* of Chrodegang of Metz for his apparatus of notes, as well as the fascinating *Monasterialia indicia*, which describe "the monastic sign language. Only here are details of ordinary life revealed as clearly as in Bata's *Colloquies*: requests for seat covers, for rulers, for permission to go to the toilet, and so forth."

The arrangement adopted here, however, may give some readers pause. The general notes stand beneath the translation, but are keyed to a set of superscript footnote numbers appearing only on the opposite page, among the phraseology of the Latin text, thereby forcing users of the English translation to reckon at least in passing with the Latin verbiage. The apparatus of Old English and Latin glosses is keyed to a repeating series of superscript, seven-point alphabetic characters (a–z) cycling through the Latin text. The textual notes are signaled by various configurations of single and double asterisks, obeli, and double daggers, also embedded (at full size) in the main text. Some of this complexity might have been avoided if the Latin text had been supplied with line-numbers, which also would have facilitated precise citation of words and passages in the text by scholars consulting the edition. Moreover, given the comprehensive title of this work ("... the *"Colloquies" of Ælfric Bata*"), along with Porter's recent studies illuminating Bata's role in the production of the received texts of the *Colloquies* of Ælfric of Eynsham as well as Bata's possible authorship of the *Colloquia retractata*, it is disappointing to find that no editions of these texts are supplied here, even in appendices. In sum, it is frustrating to note that despite the intensive work carried out on this nexus of dialogical texts in recent years, including the appearance of two editions, no single publication has yet managed wholly to supersede Stevenson's 1929 *Early Scholastic Colloquies*, which included several dialogue-texts not yet supplied with editions reflecting the current state of research: (1) the Anglo-Latin *Colloquia* of Ælfric of Eynsham, as revised by Ælfric Bata, and their controversial Old English gloss; (2) the Celtic Latin colloquy *De raris fabulis* (see above), which circulated in Anglo-Saxon England and influenced several of the texts edited by Gwara and Porter (whether at first or second hand); (3) a dialogical extract from the *Bella Parisiacae urbis* of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, equipped with a continuous interlinear gloss, edited by Stevenson from two witnesses (including St. John's College 154, 221v–222r; *DOE* Abbo 1–2 = Cameron, "List," p. 224 [items C.1.1–2]). A companion volume to the present publication might go a long way toward putting this situation to right.

Contributing to recent advances in the study of acrostic poetry and other form-based verse that began in the 1990s with the appearance of Ulrich Ernst's well-illustrated, 950-page study *"Carmen figuratum": Geschichte des Figurengedichts von den antiken Ursprüngen bis zum Ausgang des Mittelalters* (1991), Michael Lapidge and Peter S. Baker offer a new edition and translation of a computistical poem (with accom-

panying perpetual calendar and two brief explanatory prose tracts) by Abbo of Fleury ("More Acrostic Verse by Abbo of Fleury," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 7 [1997], 1–27). The article supplements a 1992 article by Scott J. Gwara, "Three Acrostic Poems by Abbo of Fleury," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 2 (1992), 203–35 (new to *OEN*). The verse in question, "Ardua connexae libat sacraria formae" (*ICL*, p. 49 [no. 1006]) is certainly by Abbo, forming an integral part of his 978 *Liber de computo*. Moreover, Lapidge and Baker edit and translate three additional acrostic poems, all either composed by Abbo or, perhaps more plausibly, by one or more members of his circle: "O decus et cui vernat honor, Sigefride, teneto" (not in *ICL*), "In patris natique sui sed flaminis almi" (*ICL*, p. 354 [no. 7896]), and "Terminat Higinus volumen doctus moderans" (not in *ICL*). They also call attention to an "important computistical poem certainly by Abbo ... not in acrostic form, ... [which] certainly deserves attention, not least for the Greek vocabulary and astronomical lore which it contains" (incipit "Quid subiecta ferat cognosces pagina, lector"; *ICL*, p. 602 [no. 13555]). The verifiably Abbonian *carmina* are now treated collectively in an entry by Michael Lapidge, *CALMA* I (see p. 62 above), 7–8 (item ABBO 1), at 7 (no. 3).

f.   The Later Eleventh Century

Rhona Beare adduces some Anglo-Saxon sources in a brace of notes on traditions surrounding the goose barnacle, a curious arthropod often observed on floating logs whose crustaceous form seems to exhibit "tail-feathers, a goose-like body enclosed in a shell, a long goose-like neck, but no head: the head presumably has not yet emerged from the log" ("Earl Godwin's Son as a Barnacle Goose," *N&Q* n.s. 44 [1997], 4–6, and "Gerald of Wales on the Barnacle Goose," *N&Q* n.s. 44 [1997], 459–62). Medieval superstition held that a supposedly predatory sea-bird, the barnacle goose (*Branta bernicla* and similar), reproduced in a larval fashion in that it "started life as a goose-barnacle attached to a floating log," its wombless origin thus rendering it suitable in some accounts for consumption on Friday and other fast days. Aspects of this tradition inform the whole of one Exeter Book riddle: "... Hæfde feorh cwico / þa ic of fæðmum cwom / brimes ond beames ..." (*Rid* 10: "I had a living spirit when I emerged from the embraces of sea and log," etc.). Beare now argues that a crux in some neglected Anglo-Latin verse produced around the time of the Conquest, flagged by its most recent editor, Frank Barlow (*The Life of King Edward*, 2nd ed. [1992]), makes sense if we see a figuration of Earl Godwin's son Swegn as a goose barnacle (or barnacle goose) in the passage's "animal from a lifeless dam" (*animal de non animata matre*) known for "mouthing the parent trunk" (*faciens truncum parentem*)—that is, the predatory Swegn who was held to have "abducted an abbess and murdered his cousin." Neither the poem in question ("Felix prole pia dux stirpe beatus avita") nor any of the other verse in the *Vita Ædwardi regis et*

confessoris, an anonymous prosimetrum, is treated in *ICL*; see further Sharpe, *Handlist*, pp. 116–17 (*sub* no. 300).

As a tribute to James E. Cross, Beverly Mayne Kienzle offers an edition of the *Homilia de assumptione Mariae*, an Anglo-Latin homily on Luke (Sharpe, *Handlist*, p. 447 [no. 1242]) written by Ralph d'Escures, bishop of Rochester and later archbishop of Canterbury (*ob.* 1122), a text whose composition should probably be dated to the period 1088 × 1107 ("Exegesis on Luke 10:38 around 1100: Worcester MS F.94, ff. 1r–2r," *Med. Sermon Stud.* 40 [1997], 22–8). The Latin text (most easily accessible heretofore at PL 158.644–9 as pseudo-Anselmian *Homilia* IX, and at PL 95.1505–8 [no. 48] as an accretion to the *Homiliae* of Paulus Diaconus, there without its prologue) provides the basis of a late Old English translation ("In festis sancte Marie": *DOE* LS 22 = Cameron, "List," pp. 103–4 [item B.3.3.22]). Kienzle thus views these Latin and Old English texts as parts of a process through which verbal communication (in English) led to the production of an (initially oral) composition, which subsequently was recast and committed to writing (in Latin), and then, in turn, passed back into the vernacular as a written text. (The wording of the homily itself, Kienzle shows, refers to aspects of this process.) Moreover, Ralph's work exhibits a "conjunction of genres" (homiletic, epistolary, and exegesis) in supporting its determinedly Mariological emphasis, employing the striking topos—discussed here at some length—of the walled fortress (*castellum*; see Luke X.38) as a type of the womb of the Virgin. The homily concludes with an item in verse (incipit "Virgo parens hac luce deumque virumque creavit"), a composition elsewhere ascribed to Andreas Orator (*ICL*, p. 769 [no. 17345]), but whose origin and relationship to the Marian homiletic under discussion are not addressed here by Kienzle.

David R. Howlett offers a new edition of a fragmentary, mainly Latin-to-Latin glossary, now comprising lemmata in the alphabetical range of A–F and exhibiting thirteen *interpretamenta* in Old English as well as two in Anglo-Norman French ("A Polyglot Glossary of the Twelfth Century," in *"De mot en mot": Aspects of Medieval Linguistics—Essays in honour of William Rothwell*, ed. Stewart Gregory and D. A. Trotter [Cardiff: Univ. of Wales Press, 1997], pp. 81–91). The glossary is preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Norfolk Rolls 81 (Holme St. Benets, s. xii; Neil R. Ker, *A Catalogue of Manuscripts* [1957], p. 426 [no. 347]; *DOE* CollGl 27 = Cameron, "List," p. 251 [item D.27]; not in *SC*). Wholly superseding a 1983 study by James L. Rosier, mainly treating the Old English (see *OEN* 18.1 [1984], 52), Howlett documents connections with earlier Anglo-Latin traditions by setting out parallel loci in the Leiden, Corpus, and Harley glossaries, and he provides a valuable list of *additamenta* to published volumes of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources* (1975– ; hereafter *DMLBS*). In an appendix, Howlett includes further reflections on a lexical crux in the poem *Altercatio magistri et discipuli* that has received notice

twice recently in these pages (*OEN* 29.2 [1996], 115, and 30.2 [1997], 97).

Mainly addressing sources that witness the twelfth-century cult of Æthelthryth, and thus lie beyond the scope of this column, a recent discussion by Monica Otter has as its point of departure the tradition, originating with Bede (*HE* xvii[xix]), that the saint's sister, Seaxburh, discovered Æthelthryth's body to be incorrupt when translating her remains ("The Temptation of St. Æthelthryth," *Exemplaria* 9 [1997], 139–63). Otter relates this turn of events to an account of the reintegration of the decapitated body of St. Edmund (also a virgin) promulgated by Abbo of Fleury in the later tenth century (*Passio S. Eadmundi* xiv), and to several passages (written down 1131 × 1174) in *Liber Eliensis* I.xli, I.xlix, and II.cxliv–cxlv, which record the blinding and untimely deaths of a Viking who punched a hole in Æthelthryth's sarcophagus, as well as the deaths of a hapless ecclesiastic and his companions who presumed (perhaps in the tenth century) to gaze on the saint's remains and to poke at her clothing with a "cleft stick." Otter reads the hole-punching and stick-poking episodes as two in a "series of attempted symbolic rapes of a dead female saint." Citing John Bugge's *Virginitas: An Essay in the History of a Medieval Ideal* (1975), and a range of more recent studies, Otter's article examines many of the problems raised by the "presence of a female body in male surroundings," even when the body in question consists of the relics of a female saint.

Charles Thomas has published a discussion of an inscription on a six-foot granite cross of Cornish provenance which, on the basis of extensive analysis by Thomas with an eye toward numerological patterns and so-called biblical style, may be held to have been "commissioned and erected by an English thegn" late in the tenth century or early in the eleventh ("Christian Latin Inscriptions from Cornwall in Biblical Style," *Jnl of the R. Institution of Cornwall*, n.s. 2, 2.4 [1997], 42–66). Readers of this column will appreciate Thomas's detailed accounts of the inscriptions on this cross and on another Cornish monument of much earlier date (fifth or sixth century), which may serve to supplement descriptions in Elisabeth Okasha's *Corpus of Early Christian Inscribed Stones of South-West Britain* (1993), at pp. 116–21 (no. 16) and 195–9 (no. 37).

g. Comprehensive Works

In a welcome addition to the Longman Linguistics Library— *Grammar and Grammarians in the Early Middle Ages* (London: Longman, 1997)—Vivien Law has assembled a monograph which, despite its comprehensive title, offers far more than a general survey of pre-Scholastic *grammatica*. Rather, in the course of reproducing and updating a selection of the advanced studies she has issued over the past quarter century, Law provides a wealth of state-of-the-question judgments relating to the identification, dating, localization,

and source-analysis of early medieval grammatical texts. In a pleasant turn of events for Anglo-Latinists, Law's study-examples frequently address pre-Conquest English monuments in a succinct and yet very readable manner. For example, in a methodological discussion in the section "Notes on the Dating and Attribution of Anonymous Latin Grammars of the Early Middle Ages" (originally issued as a 1982 *Peritia* article), Law illustrates the complexity of her subject by reference to some Old English glosses accompanying four witnesses to the *Ars grammatica* of Tatwine, which seem to reflect the consultation of "a lost glossary or collection of *glossae collectae* related to the surviving Latin–Old English glossaries of the eighth century (Épinal, Erfurt, Corpus)" with uneven results, some of the *interpretamenta* standing conspicuously above inappropriate *lemmata*. In the same section, the secondhand reproduction of source-material is also shown to engender special problems in textual editing, as in the unfortunate case of the apparatus of sources in an edition of Boniface's *Ars grammatica* by Bengt Löfstedt (who has himself been a vocal critic of the apparatus in some of Hurst's CCSL editions), which "overlooked two of Boniface's sources, Sergius (pseudo-Cassiodorus) and Aldhelm, and listed their sources instead—Servius, Pompeius, Terentianus Maurus, Cassiodorus (*De orthographia*), Velius Longus, Marius Victorinus." None of these authorities, Law demonstrates, was consulted by Boniface directly.

Two other sections in *Grammar and Grammarians* contain extensive discussion of early Anglo-Latin works: "Linguistics in the Earlier Middle Ages: the Insular and Carolingian Grammarians" and "The Study of Latin Grammar in Eighth-Century Southumbria" (respectively going back to a 1985 study in *TAPS* and a 1983 *ASE* article). The latter essay contains Law's most detailed discussion of the content and sources of Aldhelm's *De metris* and *De pedum regulis* as well as the cited *artes* of Tatwine ("almost certainly the Tatwine who, Bede tells us, worked at the Mercian monastery of Breedon-on-the-Hill ... [and] died at an advanced age, in 734") and Boniface (whose grammar was "written in southern England in the early years of the eighth century [*ante* 716] and transmitted to the Continent without any assistance from the Irish, so far as we can tell"). Law's treatments of Boniface here and in two later sections of the work (spanning pp. 169–99) stress the unique importance of the preface to the Bonifatian *Ars grammatica*, the so-called *Praefatio ad Sigibertum* (also circulating independently), as a rare example of an early medieval grammarian making an explicit statement about his "working methods and assumptions ... his principles and intentions." Law also offers detailed comments on a neglected work attributed plausibly if not definitively to Boniface, *De caesuris et metris* (also known as *Ars metrica* or *Caesurae versuum*; CCSL 133B, pp. 109–13), including a range of comments on metrical subjects, "a short history of poetic composition, and some miscellaneous definitions ... consist[ing] largely of excerpts from Isidore's *Et-*

ymologiae." The first-mentioned study ("Linguistics in the Earlier Middle Ages ...") commences its discussion of insular and Carolingian subjects with Law's important conclusion that what she terms the "Insular elementary grammar" ("a succinct, systematic exposition of Latin grammar in which morphology takes first place") emerged "during the seventh century, and, so far as we can tell at the moment, in England." (It appears that even as this collection went to press questions surrounding the localization of the crucial *Ars Ambianensis* remained unresolved: "[w]hile origin in the British Isles in the eighth century is likely, the *Ars Ambianensis* cannot be assigned a certain date and provenance"—Law, *The Insular Latin Grammarians* [1982].) Finally, in her discussion of seventh- and early eighth-century English authors, Law codifies once again her considered opinion on the controversial "Priscian-question," mainly revolving around the circulation of Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* in early Celtic centers: "This text is to my knowledge used by only two pre-Carolingian grammarians from the British Isles, Virgilius Maro Grammaticus and Aldhelm. Its well-attested popularity among the Continental Irish seems to be a Carolingian phenomenon." Law adds that "Phocas's *Ars de nomine et uerbo* is equally sparsely attested, being used indisputably only by the Anglo-Saxons Aldhelm and Boniface."

With its consideration of Carolingian topics, the earlier of the two essays under discussion ("Linguistics in the Earlier Middle Ages: the Insular and Carolingian Grammarians") actually includes the bulk of Law's comments on later eighth- and early ninth-century Anglo-Latin subjects such as Alcuin's grammar-teaching. Alcuin's achievements are central to Law's attempts to resolve the Priscian-question: "It might seem paradoxical to see an Insular teacher behind a movement which was so out of keeping with the preoccupation of his fellow-countrymen; but the evidence so far seems to point to Alcuin as the man responsible for introducing the *Institutiones* into the Carolingian school curriculum." In keeping with her earlier scholarship, Law addresses Alcuin's most influential grammatical work under the title *Dialogus Franconis et Saxonis de octo partibus orationis*, limiting its content to the text printed at PL 101.854–902 while excluding the matter immediately preceding it in Migne's collection (at PL 101.849–54), best viewed as an essentially separate *Dialogus de vera philosophia* (see *OEN* 29.2 [1996], 103–4 [with 101]). Law thus avoids creating the unhistorical impression (perpetuated by the configuration of texts in PL and other sources) that Alcuin issued a unified *Ars grammatica*. Law's efforts in this regard have been only partly successful in influencing the form of the most recent repertory entries treating Alcuin. Sharpe's *Handlist* (pp. 36–46 [no. 87], at 41) cites Alcuin's grammatical dialogues under the title preferred by Law (*Dialogus Franconis et Saxonis* ...), but adds the tag "also titled *Disputatio de uera philosophia*" and cites the full span of columns in PL (101.849–902). *CSLMA* and *CALMA* (see p. 62 above) both retain the title *Ars grammatica* (at *CSLMA*

II, 21–3 [no. 9], and *CALMA* I, 145–53 [item ALC 1], at 145–6 [no. 5]), though the *CALMA* entry by Leslie Lockett includes the correct span of columns (PL 101.849–54) and offers the alternate title *Dialogus Saxonis et Franconis*. (The matter of the Alcuinian tract *Dialogus de vera philosophia* [PL 101.849–54] has also now been treated correctly at *CSLMA* II, 162–3 [no. 40], and in *CALMA* I, as cited, at p. 149 [no. 30].) Law also discusses a neglected grammatical compilation by Alcuin, a "collection of extracts from [Priscian's] *Institutiones grammaticae*, mostly on syntactic problems," which "was far less widely read than his grammar." (Law does not include an entry for this item in her book's final compendium of primary sources, even though normally "[u]nprinted texts cited in recent secondary literature have been included" in this list.) This mainly inedited Alcuinian production has been treated most recently in *CALMA* I, as cited, at 150 (no. 36), under the normative title *Excerptiones super Priscianum maiorem*; and at *CSLMA* II, 365–7 (no. 47); and by Sharpe, *Handlist*, as cited, pp. 44–5. In the event, Law finds, "the Insular elementary grammars themselves went out of use in the first half of the ninth century," largely as a result of the efforts of Alcuin and his contemporaries.

Law's *Grammar and Grammarians* also includes a long study (originally published in a 1987 collection edited by Anders Ahlqvist [*Les premières grammaires des vernaculaires européens*]) addressing Ælfric's vernacular *Grammar* (and *Glossary*; treated here under the normative title *Excerptiones de arte grammatica anglice*), which demonstrates that Ælfric's text, "often hailed as a radically innovatory work, ... is perfectly consistent with the direction of linguistic work in pre-Conquest England." Here and elsewhere, Law calls attention to significant but neglected Latin grammatical texts that may deserve to be classed as Anglo-Latin productions, including the anonymously promulgated *Excerptiones de Prisciano* (extant in three eleventh-century manuscripts) which provided the starting-point for Ælfric's Old English grammar and perhaps should be attributed to the later tenth-century Winchester school; the late Anglo-Saxon parsing grammar known as *Beatus quid est*, recently edited by Martha Bayless (see *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 70); and three inedited texts, known as *Animae quae pars*, *Iustus quae pars*, and *Terra quae pars*, all preserved in English manuscripts but not yet localized reliably. One final aspect of Law's book, especially striking from the perspective of Anglo-Latin studies, may be noted in passing: the relative scarcity of references to the Bedan canon. The short explanation may be that Bede's pedagogical works *De orthographia* and *De arte metrica*, in the main, stress spelling- and verse-related issues to the exclusion of basic grammatical instruction.

In an English-language notice of her 1994 Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität dissertation, supervised by Helmut Gneuss, Gabriele Knappe summarizes her views on the marked decline in traditions of purely rhetorical *ars bene dicendi* after the Late Latin period. Unambiguous reflexes with Anglo-Saxon associations, Knappe finds, arise only in connection with the activities of the Mediterranean emigrants Theodore and Hadrian and in the continental pedagogy of Alcuin ("Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England" [="Traditions of Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England"] Ph.D. diss., Ludwig-Maximilians-Universität (Munich); *DAI* 57A [1996–7], 3929). Situated midway between these developments, the career of Ælberht of York may present an ambiguous case. Knappe finds that it is more profitable to address the rhetorical aspects of Anglo-Saxon grammar teaching, specifically by tracing the fortunes of the *Expositio psalmorum* of Cassiodorus over the course of the compilation of the Leiden Glossary and, subsequently, the production of grammatical writings by Bede, Abbo, Byrhtferth, and Ælfric. Paying considerable attention to roles played by *elocutio*, *inventio*, *dispositio*, and other concerns in the composition of Old English poetry and prose, Knappe concludes that "[i]t is the 'rhetorical aspect of grammar teaching' (together with the principle of oral verse-making and the possible use of basic rhetorical exercises in Priscian's *Praeexercitamina*) which ... [account] for the rhetorical qualities of Old English (and Anglo-Latin) literature." The German-language text of Knappe's dissertation (under the title cited above) has now given rise to a volume in the series Anglistische Forschungen (vol. 236 [Heidelberg: Winter, 1996]; pp. xv, 573).

The 1997 publication of the fifth fascicle of the *DMLBS* marked the completion of the work's first bound volume, covering the alphabetic range of A–L (in 1668 pages): *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, V: *I–J–K–L*, ed. David R. Howlett, assisted by J. Blundell, *et al.* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press for the British Academy, 1997). The fascicle also includes five pages of supplementary bibliography, which—disappointingly and somewhat alarmingly—have not been integrated with the main treatment of abbreviations in the binding materials supplied with the volume. Additional prefatory materials include an important discussion of the scope and principles of the project, going back to R. E. Latham's comments in the first fascicle, and a note on some recent developments affecting the management of the undertaking, including the deaths of founding editor Latham and Assistant Editor P. R. Staniforth around the start of the last decade; the departure of Richard Sharpe around the same time; and the collective resignation in 1995 of the nine-member British Academy Committee directing the project "so that a new and younger body under the chairmanship of Professor J. N. Adams, F.B.A., could take the project forward into a new century."

Drawing on his continuing survey of materials for *DMLBS*, David R. Howlett examines more than two dozen insular Latin hebraisms that are "not borrowed from Hebrew into Greek or Classical or Late Latin ... [and] are not found discussed by ancient grammarians nor recorded in glossaries nor explained by the christian Fathers" ("Israelite

Learning in Insular Latin," *Peritia* 11 [1997], 117–52). The evidence cumulatively might suggest that "more than one or two [insular scholars] were linguistically competent" in Hebrew and, perhaps, that "a converted Jew arrived in Ireland" *c.* 590–640 who "spoke a non-Massoretic dialect of Hebrew or even Aramaic." Specifically Anglo-Latin connections arise in Howlett's discussion of reflexes of diction in the Celtic Latin poem *Rubisca*, occurring in the Harley Glossary, and in a 928 charter of Athelstan; a Hebrew (or Aramaic) term in the *Altercatio magistri et discipuli*; the hebraism *mazaroth* ("zodiacal cycle"), as employed in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*; Hebrew influence on an acrostic poem in the Book of Cerne, apparently identifying its author as one Aedelualdus *episcopus* (incipit "Aeterna Deo ... "; *ICL*, p. 19 [no. 412]; not found in *CALMA* (see p. 62 above) or as a discrete entry in Sharpe, *Handlist* [but cf. pp. 31–2, no. 66]); and onomastic problems relating to the *Colloquia* conventionally ascribed to Ælfric Bata, the second element of whose name Howlett would derive from a Hebrew verb meaning "to talk idly," which perhaps is also reflected in the term *bat(t)at*, found in the Leiden, Épinal, Erfurt, and Corpus glossaries.

Several additional articles by Howlett, concerned in the main with Celtic Latin topics, have raised a number of points that will be of interest to Anglo-Latinists. These include an expansive survey of insular Latin prose rhythms by Howlett, with special emphasis on the interaction of clausular rhythms and cursus rhythms in cases where "the principal requirement is that every phrase of a passage in question exhibit one of a fixed number of rhythmic forms, sometimes confirmed ... by disposition in recognisable patterns, sometimes coincident with rhymes" (Howlett, "Insular Latin Writers' Rhythms," *Peritia* 11 [1997], 53–116). On the basis of the frequent complexity of these interactions, Howlett questions some aspects of the statistical approach proposed in 1975 by Tore Janson to "measure observed frequency of rhythmic forms against expected frequency." He suggests further that the sensitivity to rhythmic patterns evident among the wide selection of passages set out and analyzed here might cast doubt on the conclusion that authors "who manifestly understood quantity in prose did not understand it also in verse." Although the bulk of the sources addressed here are Cambro-Latin and Hiberno-Latin compositions, Howlett does address the following Anglo-Latin texts: a 679 charter (Peter H. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters* [1968; hereafter cited as "S"], p. 72 [no. 8]) of Hlothhere surviving in a seventh-century copy, exhibiting "acceptable" but not flawless rhythms; a letter sent by Theodore of Canterbury to Æthelred, king of the Mercians, as well as the prologue of the *Laterculus Malalianus* plausibly attributed to Theodore (see *OEN* 30.2 [1997], 65–7), both revealing "consistent" rhythms and perhaps belying Jane Stevenson's conclusion that errors in received witnesses should be taken to show that the archbishop was "indifferent to correct [Latin] usage"; Aldhelm's letter to Heahfrith and verse by Aldhelm's sometime Irish correspondent Cellán of Péronne—verse perhaps (Howlett acknowledges) commissioned by Cellán and not authored by him directly; a 686 charter of King Eadric (S, pp. 72–3 [no. 9]), displaying the "earliest example yet known of Anglo-Latin rhyming prose"; Wilfrid's petition to Rome (as reproduced in Stephen of Ripon's *Vita S. Wilfridi* li), all of whose phraseology displays "correct cursus rhythm" and thus may attest to the emergence of early Anglo-Latin quantitative composition outside the Canterbury school; a selection of items from the Book of Cerne (see also above, p. 58), including prayers by the eighth-century anchorite Alchfrith, where Howlett detects an interweaving of clausular and cursus rhythms, as well as the acrostic verse signed by Aedelualdus (see above), possibly to be identified as Æthelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne (sitting 721–40)—viewed here as a non-hexametric composition by Howlett, against Meyer and others; and Bede's preface to *HE*, illustrating the regular use of cursus rhythms and avoidance of clausular rhythms that Howlett sees as hallmarks of Bedan stylistics. Some further Anglo-Latin evidence is brought to bear in an edition of the Hiberno-Latin poem *Rubisca*, whose composition Howlett would date to a period following Alcuin's florescence, on the basis of the poem's use of an unusual double adonic form possibly influenced by Alcuin's *Carmen* liv, but preceding the promulgation of a 928 charter of Athelstan (S, p. 168 [no. 400]) with an apparent lexical debt to the poem, or, at any rate, preceding the compilation of the Harley Glossary (*c.* 978) (Howlett, "*Rubisca*: an Edition, Translation, and Commentary," *Peritia* 10 [1996], 71–90). P.G.R.

5. Manuscripts, Illumination, Charters

The publication of the long-awaited *English Benedictine Libraries: the Shorter Catalogues*, ed. Richard Sharpe, James P. Carley, R. M. Thomson, and A. G. Watson, Corpus of British Medieval Catalogues 4 (London: British Library, with the British Academy, 1996) is a boon to scholars who often have had to rely upon antiquated editions, if any were available, for access to these important resources. With the exceptions of catalogues from Canterbury cathedral priory, St. Augustine's abbey, Durham cathedral priory, Dover, and Peterborough, this volume contains all other catalogues and booklists, annotated generously, from Benedictine houses. Taken together, the catalogues document the growth of these libraries, their comparative size, and essential components. They contain interesting information about accession of volumes as well as the movement, and even the loss of books. Each entry begins with a brief history of the foundation and

of its library. Thereafter comes a brief description of the catalogue or booklist, followed by an itemization of the entries with reference to editions of the texts and to the manuscript if it survives. With its extensive bibliographic references and indexes (Incipits and Second Folios; Manuscripts; Authors; Anonymous Works; and General, including donors), this book provides a comprehensive guide to most of the documented medieval Benedictine collections in England.

Back to the Manuscripts, ed. Shuji Sato, Occasional Papers 1 (Tokyo: Centre for Medieval English Studies, Univ. of Tokyo) is a collection of four papers from a symposium held at the Eighth Congress of the Japan Society for Medieval English Studies at Aoyama Gakuin University in Tokyo on 5–6 December 1992. R. I. Page contributes "Back to the Manuscripts: Some Thoughts on Old English Texts," pp. 1–27, in which he challenges criticisms about the excessive focus on the manuscript in editions of Old English verse made in Michael Lapidge's T. Northcote Toller Memorial Lecture of 1990. From Page's point of view, illustrated by examples from the *Metrical preface to the Pastoral Care*, the *Metrical epilogue* to the same work (both editions in *ASPR*), Janet Bately's edition of the A (Parker) text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, E. G. Stanley's edition of *The judgement of the damned*, and various published glosses, there is too little non-verbal information provided from the manuscripts. As Page notes, Old English texts in manuscript have four types of guides to understanding: letters, pointing/punctuation, spaces, and lay-out, including line division. Only the first of these is faithfully rendered in printed editions. The others are more difficult to reproduce and often omitted. Page argues, however, that the editor who has worked closely with the manuscript should present her/his precise observations to help the reader draw conclusions about the meaning of its features.

Continuing on, Timothy Graham's contribution to *Back to the Manuscripts* is "The Beginning of Old English Studies: Evidence from the Manuscripts of Matthew Parker," pp. 29–50. In this study, Graham reminds us that sixteenth-century students of Old English worked directly with the manuscripts and left behind much evidence of their interest in the form of glosses and other types of annotations, contents lists, adjustments to the contents of manuscripts, and transcripts of the material they found. Although he focuses on the Parker Library at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, Graham begins by reviewing the work of scholars prior to Parker's appointment as Archbishop of Canterbury in 1559. Robert Talbot, for one, made transcriptions of several texts including Ælfric's preface to the Old English translation of the Book of Genesis, reflecting an interest in Biblical translations, and charters, owing to a concern with early forms of place names. Talbot's contemporary, Robert Recorde, was motivated by an interest in history to transcribe materials into chronicles, such as those of Matthew Paris and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In the 1560's and 70's, Parker's household became a center for

Anglo-Saxon studies. His Latin secretary, John Joscelyn, was the principal scholar of Old English. Under Parker's aegis, the first printed editions of Old English texts were published beginning in 1566. Graham shows both the polemical and the antiquarian aspects of Parker's (and his circle's) interest in Anglo-Saxon studies. For example, selections from Ælfric chosen for publication with translation argued against the physical transformation of the Eucharist. Parker was equally anxious, however, to preserve the English heritage. He and his associates made notes in manuscripts attempting to establish their historical context. They pursued the study of English place names by underlining and annotating texts. And they used bilingual manuscripts as aids to learning Old English. With the help of Parker's son John (1548–1619), Joscelyn produced a two-volume, alphabetically organized Old English dictionary complete with source citations. Graham analyzes Joscelyn's working methods based upon the variety of annotations remaining in the manuscripts he used. Parker did not intervene in his manuscripts to the extent that Sir Robert Cotton did, but Graham shows how he added contents-lists, tidied up manuscripts by means of erasures, removed leaves, re-combined texts, and added transcriptions to supply missing materials. This is a careful and highly instructive essay of great importance to those who study Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

Two studies by Japanese scholars round out the volume. In "The Decline of the S. Noun O. V. Element Order: the Evidence from Punctuation in Some Transition-Period Manuscripts of Ælfric and Wulfstan" (pp. 51–68), Tadao Kubouchi examines the four extant copies of Ælfric's First Old English Pastoral Letter. There he finds evidence to document the change from S. Noun O. V. to S. V. O. in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to Kubouchi, the evidence provided by punctuation and syntax shows that "the S. O. V. order had for some speakers become so restricted in use that a scribe, afraid that confusion might arise there, might find it necessary to mark the pause after the pre-verbal noun object," p. 61. Shuji Sato revisits CCCC 173 in "Back to the Manuscripts: Some Problems in the Physical Descriptions of the *Parker Chronicle*" (pp. 69–104). There Sato reviews systematically the most thorough descriptions of the manuscript and concludes that they are inaccurate. He further argues that the 1941 facsimile (ed. Flowers and Smith), while helpful, is not a sufficient basis for making judgments about the state of the manuscript. Examining earlier studies based upon the facsimile, Sato provides examples of inaccurate descriptions of letter forms, inks, erasures and the like to show what even careful scholars can miss. Then he refers to the manuscript to expand these points. He proceeds to discuss problems in descriptions of the pricking, ruling, hair/flesh arrangements, and the make-up of the quires. After reviewing published interpretations of the first four quires and showing where they do not fit all of the physical evidence, Sato demonstrates that the pricking and ruling are not nearly as

systematic as they have been portrayed. He argues that previous measurements of the pages and written space are inaccurate as well, including the arrangement of hair/flesh, for which Sato proposes a radical revision. He concludes with a series of figures showing his interpretations of the pricking in quires 1–4 and alternate arrangements of quires 1–6. Sato's provocative work deserves attention from those who work on CCCC 173 or other complex manuscripts.

Continuing with the topic of antiquarian collectors of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, we have six essays from C. J. Wright's *Sir Robert Cotton as Collector: Essays on an Early Stuart Courtier and his Legacy*, described in its entirety in section 1. Proceeding in order of their appearance in the book, we begin with E. C. Teviotdale, "Some Classified Catalogues in the Cottonian Library" (pp. 194–207). Here the author analyzes a group of catalogues copied during the ownership of Sir John Cotton (1621–1702), the eldest grandson of Sir Robert. These include six paper codices whose seventeenth-century owners can be traced, a fragment of a similar paper codex, and a large parchment document that may be connected with the donation of the collection to the nation at the turn of the century. Teviotdale describes both the similarities among the catalogues (they all descend from the same or closely related exemplars) and their distinctive features. She shows how two lost versions of the classified list must lie behind the surviving copies, and that their exemplar likely was unbound to facilitate speedy reproduction. Finally, on the basis of a variety of evidence, Teviotdale suggests plausibly that William Dugdale (1605–86) may have been responsible for the compilation of the catalogue in the 1660's and 70's, copies of which were then made for scholars and clergymen who used the collection.

In "The Royal Library as a Source for Sir Robert Cotton's Collection: a Preliminary List of Acquisitions" (pp. 208–29), James P. Carley exercises his formidable detective skills on ten manuscripts, or parts of manuscripts, known to have been at Westminster Palace in 1542 and to have migrated to Cotton's collection in the early seventeenth century. Only one of the items refers to manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period. These are Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, ff. 18–40 (the Old English prose translation of Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci* and the related homily) and Bodley Laud Misc. 509 (the Old English Hexateuch), once joined in a single codex. Their situation epitomizes the kind of dismemberment and recombination of manuscripts we have come to associate with Cotton. In the present case, of course, he separated the Guthlac material and combined it with a copy of pseudo-Nennius's *Historia Brittonum* to form one volume that remained in his library. He later loaned the second portion, the Hexateuch, to Archbishop William Laud, and obviously did not retrieve it.

Janet Backhouse's contribution, "Sir Robert Cotton's Record of a Royal Bookshelf" (pp. 230–37), presents a brief, unnoticed list of books from one of the royal apartments in Whitehall. This list appears on a flyleaf at the end of Cotton

Vespasian B.iv, in the hand of Cotton himself. Of the seven items, four can be linked with specific manuscripts surviving today. Two are in the Royal collection, while two others, the oldest in the group, are major thirteenth-century illuminated books never before associated with the English royal library: the Abingdon Apocalypse (BL Add. 42555) and an Old Testament volume of the *Bible moralisée* (possibly Paris, BN lat. 11560). Backhouse argues that, as a frequent visitor to the palace during the early years of James I's reign, Cotton must have spotted the books and made a list for his own purposes.

Sir Robert Cotton also played a major role in the preservation of materials documenting the Norman Conquest. In "Camden, Cotton and the Chronicles of the Norman Conquest in England" (pp. 238–52), Elisabeth M. C. van Houts shows that between 1602 and Cotton's death in 1631, he and William Camden worked together to publish an extensive array of chronicles, both major and minor, most edited from Cotton manuscripts. They also cooperated with French editors of these materials, sharing transcripts and manuscripts. These early editions were important to historians but equally valuable to us today as records of manuscripts, and even texts, that are now lost. It is interesting that one of the texts included in the Anglo-Norman editions was the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*. In addition to narrative sources, Cotton also collected cartularies that are of special value because in many cases the original Anglo-Saxon documents have disappeared. His cartularies of Ramsey Abbey, Ely Cathedral, Abingdon, and Worcester, for example, were used by scholars even though they were not published during Cotton's lifetime.

Colin G. C. Tite's essay, "'Lost or Stolen or Strayed': a Survey of Manuscripts Formerly in the Cotton Library" (pp. 262–306), addresses some items of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists. Among volumes Cotton donated to the Bodleian Library in 1602–3 was Bodley 343, the twelfth-century collection of sermons in Old English and Latin. The loan of the Old English Hexateuch to Archbishop Laud ended, as we know, with Laud 509 housed in the Bodleian as well. At the end of the 1620's, Cotton lent three choice manuscripts to Thomas Howard, earl of Arundel: the Lovel Lectionary, now Harley 7026; the book now known as the Utrecht Psalter; and the Cotton Genesis, Otho B.vi. All three items strayed thereby from Cotton's ownership, the latter bought back some fifty years later by Sir John Cotton. Tite provides extensive evidence for the trade in manuscripts during the seventeenth century in which Sir Robert was a major player.

The final essay to be covered from the collection is, to this reader's mind, the most excruciating. In "'Their Present Miserable State of Cremation': the Restoration of the Cotton Library" (pp. 391–454), Andrew Prescott recounts in detail the extent of the damage sustained to manuscripts during and after the fire at Ashburnham House, and the faltering efforts made thereafter to conserve the remnants. Although

then, as now, observers characterized the losses as catastrophic, Prescott points out that only thirteen manuscripts were completely destroyed, mostly from the Otho press. One problem for scholars today, however, is that the emergency work undertaken immediately after the fire resulted in confusion among the manuscripts that were taken apart and rebound. Records of the repairs are scanty, but it is apparent that many of the methods were primitive by today's standards. In the 1830s, more than a century after the fire, Sir Frederic Madden was appointed Keeper of Manuscripts at the British Museum and soon thereafter prepared a report classifying the damaged manuscripts and detailing the restoration work that still needed to be done. The Trustees balked at the cost, so the work proceeded slowly over the ensuing decades. Then in 1865 came a second disaster, a fire at the bindery that damaged or destroyed some of the restored Cotton manuscripts and others as well. Despite the problems, Madden kept careful records of the restoration process that can be consulted today in the British Library, many as entries in Planta's catalogue. Prescott provides numerous examples of Madden's achievements, such as providing the paper frames for damaged manuscripts including *Beowulf* that preserved their edges from further deterioration. With this study, Madden's leading role in the rescue of numerous important manuscripts becomes clear.

Three essays drawn from the collection in *Books and Collectors 1200–1700: Essays Presented to Andrew Watson*, ed. James P. Carley and Colin G. C. Tite (London: British Library), are directly relevant to Anglo-Saxonists. In "Robert Talbot's 'Old Saxonice Bede': Cambridge University Library, MS Kk.3.18 and the 'Alphabetum Norwagicum' of British Library, Cotton MSS, Domitian A.IX," (pp. 295–316), Timothy Graham shows that Talbot annotated the CUL copy of the Old English Bede, produced at Worcester Cathedral Priory in the second half of the eleventh century, and that he probably owned this volume. On fol. 11 of MS Domitian A.IX is Talbot's note indicating that he in fact possessed an "old saxonice bede" with a runic alphabet on the last leaf. Although the CUL MS bears no evidence of this, a strip of vellum with just such an alphabet, seemingly annotated by Talbot, survives on fol. 10 of MS Domitian A.IX. Graham's detective work solves at least part of the mysteries associated with Talbot's note and shows Talbot to have been a pioneer in the study of runes as well as of the Old English language. Colin Tite contributes "Sir Thomas Tempest and an Anglo-Saxon Gospel Book: a Cottonian Paper in the Harleian Library" (pp. 429–39). After surveying a number of ways Cottonian papers could have been acquired by the Harley library, including sale by officials of the Cotton library, Tite focuses on a list of eight books Cotton hoped to acquire, gathered into a collection of papers now known as Harley MS 6849. The list is part of a note, or a draft copy, to an intermediary requesting a gift from Sir Thomas Tempest, who seems to have been from the branch of the family located in

County Durham. At the top of the list is an item described as 'Quatuor Evangelia Saxonica Charactere et Saxonica Interpretatione in Foll' that Tite connects tentatively with the Macregol Gospels. The remaining items refer to later volumes, several of which Tite identifies with surviving books. Apparently Sir Robert was not successful in his request, but Tite observes that he obviously had intimate knowledge of the Tempest family collection despite its location far from his normal acquaintance in London and Huntingdonshire. Lastly, Malcolm Parkes's essay, "Archaizing Hands in English Manuscripts" (pp. 101–41 with copious reproductions), reviews the purposes for which later scribes imitated early hands (supply leaves, fake inscriptions, forgeries, elegance of appearance) and analyzes the anachronistic and parachronistic features that inevitably slip in to such work. Antiquarians such as Matthew Parker fostered this type of copying to improve defective manuscripts in their collections, especially as a means of retaining the Old English characters of the original. Humfrey Wanley, however, was the master of facsimile script because he was able to recreate the spacing and proportions of a hand as well as the duct.

Four essays from yet another important collection, *Of the Making of Books: Medieval Manuscripts, Their Scribes and Readers: Essays presented to M. B. Parkes*, ed. P. R. Robinson and Rivkah Zim (Aldershot, Hants: Scolar; Brookfield, VT: Ashgate), fall within the purview of this section. Helmut Gneuss contributes "Origin and Provenance of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: the Case of Cotton Tiberius A.III," pp. 13–48. Beginning with the assumptions (which he defends) that the MS was copied and assembled around the middle of the eleventh century, Gneuss reviews the relevant types of evidence to strengthen the case for the origin and provenance of this miscellaneous collection at Christ Church, Canterbury. Although Gneuss in fact does build the case, a valuable part of this essay lies in his unwillingness to explain away contradictory or puzzling aspects of the record as found, for example, in two entries in Eastry's catalogue and references to Ælfric Bata on fol. 117. On the other hand, a reference to Eadwi Basan, the style of syntactical glosses, iconographic influences, certain textual affiliations, Kentish dialectal features, and above all, evidence for the usage of Christ Church in the hymns, two prayers and an antiphon, a litany, and the inclusion of the *Examinatio episcopi* point toward "an archbishop's church in England where a monastic community existed, and this, in the eleventh century and later on, could only be Christ Church, Canterbury."

In "A Twelfth-Century *Scriptrix* from Nunnaminster," pp. 73–93, P. R. Robinson examines what may be the earliest (twelfth century) and perhaps the only English manuscript signed by a nun. This is a copy of Smaragdus' *Diadema monachorum* preserved in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 451, the only surviving version of this popular text to have come from a female house in England or on the continent. Robinson describes the volume and notes that the *scriptrix*

carried out the rubrication and decoration herself. The size and layout of the volume suggest that it was suitable for public reading. Significantly, this book demonstrates that the gender of medieval copyists cannot be determined from their handwriting or any other aspect of production. Although direct evidence is now lacking, Robinson surmises that nuns must have copied manuscripts to serve their liturgical and spiritual needs, and the circumstantial evidence provided by Boniface's letters, writing materials found on the sites of former nunneries, and so forth supports this view. Furthermore, additions to books known to have been owned by females show that women could write. On the continent there certainly was a tradition of women copying manuscripts, the best known of these scriptoria flourishing at Chelles, near Paris. So the Nunnaminster *scriptrix* was not alone, despite the paucity of books surviving from female houses.

A topic that this reader, and perhaps many colleagues, has never considered before is addressed by Peter J. Lucas in "A Testimonye of Verye Ancient Tyme? Some Manuscript Models for the Parkerian Anglo-Saxon Type-Designs," pp. 147–88. Here Lucas explores "the dependence of the designs for the first Anglo-Saxon types on manuscript models" as reflected in early printed books beginning in 1566 with the work of John Day. In the sixteenth century, many transcripts were made of Anglo-Saxon texts, but under the aegis of Matthew Parker, there was encouragement to imitate the original script. One type design was made during Parker's lifetime, and it was used in *A Testimonie of Antiquitie*. Lucas reviews the correspondence among Day, Parker, and others, along with what we know of the technical process of cutting type during this period. Among the manuscripts known to have been consulted in the process of assembling the *Testimonie*, Lucas concludes that Junius 121 probably was the direct source for the type designers and that John Jocelyn was an important contributor to the process.

Lastly, Teresa Webber examines the changing character of English book collections in "The Patristic Content of English Book Collections in the Eleventh Century: Towards a Continental Perspective," pp. 191–205. Whereas the availability of patristic texts in England just prior to the Conquest was limited primarily to works promoting the tenth-century monastic reforms, thorough collections of patristic authors were scarce as well in continental houses during this period. A revival of interest in a broader array of texts in the twelfth century provided copies to English collections not only from Norman communities but also from Flanders and elsewhere. In fact, scribal activity at houses in the Low Countries provided an important source for the diffusion of texts to England and the continent. Although much work remains to be done on this topic, Webber develops an important corrective to the notion that Normandy was the main source of post-Conquest books in English libraries.

Five essays from *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meet-*

ing *of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal, Studies in Medieval Culture 40 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University) come within the purview of this section of YWOES. In "'Writ in Ancient Character and of No Further Use': Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in American Collections," pp. 99–138, William P. Stoneman surveys the most important acquisitions in the twentieth century and then provides a chronologically arranged checklist for each item emphasizing its peregrinations and the related bibliography. Herbert R. Broderick makes the case for the transmission of iconographic motifs from Early Christian Rome through Anglo-Saxon art to the High Middle Ages in "The Influence of Anglo-Saxon Genesis Iconography on Later English Medieval Manuscript Art," pp. 211–39. In particular, Broderick links a de Bello Bible initial, the Lothian Bible frontispiece, and the Creation diagram of the Queen Mary Psalter to specific Anglo-Saxon images from the tenth and eleventh centuries. Related to Broderick's thesis, Robert Deshman's essay, "Anglo-Saxon Art: So What's New?" pp. 243–69, argues that the creativity of this art is best understood within the context of its antecedent iconographical tradition, though historical and intellectual influences are obviously also important to a full appreciation of its significance. Jonathan Wilcox contributes "Variant Texts of an Old English Homily: Vercelli X and Stylistic Readers," pp. 335–51, which examines the types of changes made to one particular homily in its various surviving versions. Wilcox finds that whereas substantive revisions are minimal, stylistic ones predominate, showing intent either to expand or abbreviate the text. Further study of such changes could help us better understand the Anglo-Saxon aesthetic of prose. Lastly, Joyce Hill's essay, "The Preservation and Transmission of Ælfric's Saints' Lives: Reader-Reception and Reader-Response in the Early Middle Ages," pp. 405–30, compares the transmission patterns of the hagiographical items from the *Catholic Homilies* with those from the *Lives of Saints* and demonstrates that the former, intended for a secular audience more interested in popular saints, enjoyed the wider distribution in a variety of collections. On the other hand, the cycle in the *Lives of Saints*, intended as it was for a monastic audience, tended to remain intact, showing that Ælfric had correctly judged his material and, despite his hopes to control its dissemination, the reception it would receive.

The year 1997 saw the appearance of Mildred Budny's two volume opus, *Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge: an Illustrated Catalogue* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications). The fruit of extensive research on Corpus manuscripts containing illustration or decoration made in the British Isles before *c.* 1100, the catalogue covers fifty-six manuscripts or fragments, most of which belonged to Matthew Parker. The entries cover the physical description, history of the MS, contents, decoration, subsequent

events such as re-binding or sequestering during war, and bibliography. Because Budny had privileged access to these manuscripts during the course of her research, she is able to provide new and thorough physical descriptions. Those, together with her analyses of the early modern histories of the books, provide valuable fresh information to scholars of every field of Anglo-Saxon studies. For art historians, she offers detailed descriptions of the art in each manuscript, a valuable addition, for example, to our understanding of collections such as those in CCCC 162, where the cycle of homilies has been the primary focus of study. Furthermore, her study of the art leads to new insights about sources and influences, such as the connections she makes between illustrations in the Bayeux Tapestry and CCCC 286. The accompanying volume of plates (photography by Budny), captures many of the images described in the catalogue. In general, Budny is cautious about attributions of origin and date. For example, whereas most scholars today, following Bishop, have accepted Winchester as the origin of CCCC 201 based upon the hand of some additions, Budny understandably reserves judgment. Scholars whose primary interests are in the texts will still need to rely on Ker's *Catalogue* for references to printed editions. Although Budny provides information about the beginning and ending of texts, and sometimes a bit of descriptive material, the format is not as handy or as thorough as Ker's. Nor is that her purpose. Rather, Budny offers a wealth of information that extends our knowledge of these manuscripts beyond earlier published descriptions, makes new connections, and gives a more comprehensive view of Anglo-Saxon culture than normally is conveyed in manuscript catalogues.

Perhaps the most visually spectacular volume to appear in this review is *The Utrecht Psalter: Picturing the Psalms of David*, edited by Koert van der Horst, William Noel, and Wilhelmina C. M. Wüstefeld (Tuurdijk: HES; London: Harvey Miller, 1996). Published in conjunction with an exhibition at the Museum Catharijnconvent in Utrecht in the fall of 1996, this lavishly illustrated volume offers not only a new, thorough description of the manuscript, but also provides analyses of its historical and artistic context and of its influence at Christ Church, Canterbury. The essays are followed by catalogue descriptions of the related volumes in the exhibition. The book opens with Rosamond McKitterick's chapter, "The Historical Context: Carolingian Wealth, Faith and Culture." I cite the title because it reflects McKitterick's emphasis on the investment in learning, art, book production, and religious foundations that characterized Carolingian rule and provided the genesis, now obscure in its details, of the Utrecht Psalter. The longest and most vital chapter, by van der Hoerst, provides a new physical description of the Psalter and of twelve leaves of Gospel fragments bound up with it probably by Sir Robert Cotton; traces the evidence of the book's travels from the time of its completion at Hautvillers in the second quarter of the ninth century until its arrival at the University Library in Utrecht in 1716 (including a stint

under the ownership of Cotton); and verifies its status as a *Gallicanum* intended for secular use. Van der Hoerst offers an extended analysis of the drawings in terms of the production process, the division of hands, the literal illustrations rooted in the early Christian, exegetical tradition of Antioch, typological scenes, and correspondences (as well as contrasts) with related manuscripts. Although his commentary reflects previous scholarship, van der Hoerst offers some educated speculations about the motivation behind the creation of the Utrecht Psalter: its large size accommodating a wealth of detailed illustration might suggest it as an aid to study or even memorization of the Psalms; it might have been intended for Louis the Pious or his second wife Judith; the drawings may have been intended for completion with painting. Even in its incomplete state, however, van der Hoerst calls the Utrecht Psalter "the most important link between classical antiquity and the Middle Ages in the sphere of book illumination."

Continuing on, Kathleen Corrigan offers a chapter on "Early Medieval Psalter Illustration in Byzantium and the West" in which she traces trends in the handling of prefatory miniatures, decoration and division of the psalters, the tradition of fully illustrated psalters, and the relationship of illustration to text, setting the context for these elements in the Utrecht Psalter. Florentine Mütherich covers "Caroline Manuscript Illumination in Rheims" revealed in psalters, Gospel books and Bibles produced there in the ninth century as artists developed a distinctive style from a Late Antique heritage. Finally, William Noel elucidates the ways in which the Utrecht Psalter influenced artistic productions at Canterbury and beyond during the twelfth century. In this subtle and learned discussion, Noel shows how the artists of the three surviving psalters most closely associated with Utrecht—namely, the Harley, Eadwine, and Paris psalters—drew upon it for different reasons associated with the type of book they were commissioned to produce. To develop his thesis, Noel takes the example of illustrations to Psalm 2, sets these beside each other, and interprets the particular approach of each artist. He sees the illustrations of Utrecht serving as a kind of platform from which these artists began their work, resulting in products that, on first appearance, look quite distinct. The book concludes with a catalog of 38 items from the exhibition. These include the Utrecht Psalter, two psalters from the East (the Kludov Psalter and Paris Psalter, gr. 20) illustrating the Byzantine tradition of marginal illustration; other important productions from the school of Rheims including the Ebbo Gospels; related artifacts in ivory and crystal associated with Charles the Bald; and an extensive array of books from Canterbury, including the three psalters mentioned above, and from other foundations indicating the extent of the influence of the imagery in the Utrecht Psalter. This is truly a comprehensive volume that offers not only a new appreciation of the Utrecht Psalter but a sense of important questions to be pursued in future studies.

Barbara C. Raw has written another interesting book

that draws upon the art and literature of the Anglo-Saxon period in *Trinity and Incarnation in Anglo-Saxon Art and Thought*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 21 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press). Focusing on images of the Trinity, preferred even in gospel books to depictions of events in the life of Christ, Raw shows how these timeless representations functioned to help the observer "to know God rather than merely to know about him." Raw reminds us that both Ælfric and Wulfstan stressed the importance of understanding the Trinity and Incarnation for faith and salvation. Following St. John's Gospel, Bede and Ælfric in particular emphasized that the purpose of the Incarnation was to allow humans to see God, and thus they portrayed the visual and the divine as light in their writings. Signs and images were understood to force the observer to reflect upon the relationship between the symbol and what it symbolized, the image of Christ thereby leading to reflection upon the Trinity. Pictures of Gospel events could serve this function especially as they showed the unity of Old and New Testaments, "reminding those studying them of God's revelation of himself through his interventions in history." Yet through symbols used in portraits of Christ, such as a crown or jeweled diadem on an enthroned figure, he is revealed as the Godhead. The same is true in representations of the Virgin and Child where the dove of the Holy Spirit appears over Mary's head at the Incarnation. As she draws upon contemporary sermons, devotional poetry, prayers, and imagery, Raw demonstrates the centrality of the Trinity to the redemption of man and his sharing in the divine life as understood in the Anglo-Saxon period.

Three items deal with representations of hell in Anglo-Saxon England. In *The Iconography of the Mouth of Hell: Eighth-Century Britain to the Fifteenth Century* (Selinsgrove, PA: Susquehanna University Press; Cranbury, NJ, and London: Associated University Presses, 1995), Gary D. Schmidt argues that the portrayal of the entrance to hell as a mouth emerged at the time of the Benedictine Reform in England and may have been influenced by Scandinavian imagery. The four principal depictions of the hell mouth in manuscript illustrations are as an open pit, a roaring lion, a dragon, and Leviathan. All are connected to scripture and show physical distress, such as the torments of fire, equated with spiritual damnation. Schmidt's study is useful for categorizing and explaining these types of images as they developed during the Anglo-Saxon period. By contrast, Ian Palmer surveys visions of hell in literature as well as art in "Hell and the Anglo-Saxons," *Medieval Life* 1 (1995), 10–13. Palmer traces the elements of gloom, intense heat and cold, and the presence of serpents as they appear in the various representations and shows how Ælfric combines them in a passage from the First Series of the *Catholic Homilies* written near the turn of the millennium.

Colette Stévanovitch makes an interesting contribution to the discussion in "La Représentation de l'enfer et du ciel dans les illustrations de manuscrits anglo-saxons," in *Enfer et paradis: l'au-delà dans l'art et la littérature en Europe*, ed. Xavier Kawa-Topor (Conques, 1995), pp. 177–93. Despite its title, the article is mainly about the differing depictions of hell between the single illustration in BL MS Stowe 944 (the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster) and the three representations in Bodley MS Junius 11. Whereas the illustrations of heaven in both manuscripts are fairly traditional in their reliance upon architectural features, especially some indication of an enclosure, the treatments of hell in Junius 11 are a far cry from the straightforward rendition of the imprisoning door, key, and hell mouth receiving the damned in Stowe 944. What appear at first to be hellish replications of the hexagonal crenellated wall enclosing heaven in one illustration in Junius 11, turn out to be misconstrued interiors of a hell mouth bordered by teeth. The problem is that the renditions of hell are so far removed from the original that they make little sense until we compare what the first artist in the MS (p. 16) did with them. There he actually makes the hell mouth part of the enclosure, though he omits the teeth while leaving the crenellations (evolved teeth) in the remainder of the wall. Stévanovich concludes that the illustrations here are considerably removed from their source but they also reveal one artist's attempts to understand his model and revise it accordingly.

Several essays on the early decorated Insular gospel books have appeared in 1997 or thereabouts. Carol Neuman de Vegvar's essay, "The Echternach Lion: a Leap of Faith," in *The Insular Tradition*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Robert T. Farrell, and Michael Ryan (Albany: SUNY Press), pp. 167–88 explores the meaning of "the dynamic opposition of energies of figure and frame" in this celebrated Evangelist symbol at the opening of Mark in the Echternach Gospels. Drawing upon the Insular liturgy and exegetical sources either written in the Insular context or known to have been widely available there, the author argues that the lion should be read as a reference to Christ in Mark, and its leap transgressing the frame as an image of the Incarnation, embodying "both divinity outside time and flesh bound by time." Building upon his previous work on the Book of Durrow, Martin Werner explores the meaning of the "animal page" on fol. 192v, the carpet page introducing the Gospel of St. John, in "The Book of Durrow and the question of programme," *ASE* 26: 23–39. Noting the trinitarian symbolism of its patterning, Werner relates this to the full expression of the doctrine within the Gospel of John. Furthermore, he shows that the similarity between the Durrow central circular device and the St. John nimbus design in the Book of Kells suggests "that the Durrow design was probably meant to stand for the Anastasis of the Holy Sepulchre." With reference to John 19:41, the circled Greek cross within the center "may signify the tomb-omphalos-cross of Christ in the garden of Paradise of Genesis." Werner further explores possible numerological associations of the Durrow design and possible allusions to the plan of the Holy Sepulchre in Adomnán's *De locis sanctis*. He concludes by acknowl-

edging that whereas the full significance of this carpet page remains a puzzle, the decoration clearly links to the Easter theme of the cross-carpet and four Evangelist symbols page that open the Book of Durrow and associates this book more closely than previously thought with the Book of Kells.

Werner also published a lengthy review article in 1997 entitled "Three Works on the Book of Kells," *Peritia* 11: 250–326. There he discusses the sections of commentary preceding a new facsimile edition of the manuscript, ed. Peter Fox, *The Book of Kells: MS 58, Trinity College Library Dublin* (Faksimile Verlag Luzern, 1990); a collection of essays, ed. Felicity O'Mahony, *The Book of Kells: proceedings of a conference at Trinity College Dublin, 6–9 September 1992* (Aldershot, 1994); and Bernard Meehan's book, *The Book of Kells: an illustrated introduction to the manuscript in Trinity College Dublin* (London, 1994). Following his analyses of the arguments presented by each of the many authors involved in these productions, Werner identifies the three key issues of primary concern: "the models upon which the imagery of Kells depends, the date and origin of the book, and the possibility of new interpretation of picture pages and symbolic reference in the smaller details of decoration." Regarding the first of these issues, Werner notes that owing to the distinguished work of scholars such as Patrick McGurk and Jonathan Alexander, the relationship of the Book of Durrow to Kells, both in text and decoration, is far more important than previously understood. On the second issue, whereas most scholars now accept Iona as the place of origin, there continues a lack of consensus about date, c. 750 or c. 800. After weighing all of the arguments, Werner leans toward the later date largely because the evidence for the earlier one is somewhat slight and ambiguous. He further shows how the studies of the relationship between iconography and liturgy hold promise for new interpretations of the decoration of Kells. Those interested in any aspect of the Book of Kells will be well repaid by a close reading of Werner's article in conjunction with the items he reviews. And as if to underline his final point about liturgical connections, we have Carol Farr's article on "Liturgical Influences on the Decoration of the Book of Kells," from *Studies in Insular Art and Archaeology*, ed. Karkov and Farrell, pp. 127–41. Here the author draws attention to decorated incipits in the Book of Kells and their connection to gospel pericopes for lections in a non-Roman liturgical system, with particular emphasis on Lenten and Passion pericopes. Dating from the sixth through the ninth century, these non-Roman systems, together with exegeses of the texts and their associated liturgical feasts, seem to have influenced depictions such as that of the Temptation of Christ in Kells. They may also have helped a deacon to interpret scripture appropriately to his audience for the liturgical occasion in question. This is an essay that cries out for expansion particularly in reference to how this system came to be adopted on Iona and whether related productions exhibit similar influences.

In a brief essay that contributes some new information about the post-medieval history of the *Codex Aureus* ("The Busy Ups and Downs of an Anglo-Saxon *Codex Aureus* in the Spain of the Habsburgs," *SELIM* 1996, pp. 42–48), Xavier Campos Vilanova traces what is known about this book since the time of its Anglo-Saxon notations in the tenth century. Now Stockholm, Royal Library MS A. 135, the book has been attributed to Canterbury in the eighth century and seems to have remained there for an indefinite period. Following Ker, Campos Vilanova notes that the book was acquired in the sixteenth century by Jerónimo de Zurita, whom he identifies as a member of Habsburg court. Among other posts he held, Zurita was commissioned in 1567 by King Philip II to bring order to the royal archives. Apparently Zurita also became a book collector who extended his collection with acquisitions from ecclesiastical centers, giving rise to speculation that there could be other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the uncatalogued libraries of Spain. As to who sold the *Codex Aureus* to Johan Gabriel Sparwenfeldt, acting on behalf of the Swedish Royal Library, in Madrid in 1690, Campos Vilanova argues that it was not the son of the Count-Duke of Olivares (1587–1645), as Ker states, but his son-in-law or, more probably, his son-in-law's son by his second marriage. The confusion seems to have arisen over the passing of the title "Marquis of Elicha" through the family.

Moving from gospels to psalters, Robert Deshman has left us with an intriguing piece entitled "The Galba Psalter: Pictures, Texts and Context in an Early Medieval Prayerbook," *ASE* 26: 109–38. This early ninth-century Carolingian book, BL Cotton Galba A. xviii, formerly known as the Athelstan Psalter, reached England by the early tenth century when it acquired prefatory materials including a metrical calendar illuminated with zodiac signs, KL monograms and single figures, and five full-page pictures. Comprising the latter group are two miniatures of Christ and the saints and three New Testament pictures (one of which is now missing) marking the threefold division of the Psalms. On the basis of a variety of paleographical and codicological evidence, Deshman believes that these additions were made at Winchester soon after the death of Alfred and that, in fact, they offer insight into the character and influence of his program of cultural renewal. Deshman's analysis of the three scenes from Christ's early life indicates that they are an adaptation of an older Insular scheme of symbolic psalter illustration. The two Judgment images, however, seem to derive from an Insular gospel book tradition, resulting in a merger of two separate typological strands within the Galba psalter additions. Further, the depiction of Christ with the alpha and omega, the architectural imagery, and the choirs of saints relate to the psalter devotions that allowed the book's user to participate in the universal hymnody to God. In short, "both the non-narrative and narrative images in the Psalter were designed to illustrate and facilitate these devotions to the omnipresent Christ." Deshman goes on to link the symbolic and typo-

logical themes in the iconography to the ninth-century *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalms*, "the type of Irish text, possibly the text, that Alfred used for his Old English translation of the psalms" left unfinished at his death. Indeed, Irish influence at the court may account for many of the features of this remarkable production that conveys so much of Alfred's conception of the psalter and its function.

In "The Late Anglo-Saxon Psalter: Ancestor of the Book of Hours?" (*Florilegium* 14 (1995–96), 1–24), M. J. Toswell develops the hypothesis that certain late eleventh-century psalters from Anglo-Saxon England foreshadow the collections of devotional materials that came to be known as Books of Hours. Toswell examines three manuscripts in detail, two small in size (Rouen, Bib. mun. MS A. 44 and Oxford, Bodl. Laud lat. 81), and the third tall and slender (the Paris Psalter, BN lat. 8824), and finds a number of shared features suggesting their suitability for private devotions. In particular she focuses on layout, legibility, portability, and the type and arrangement of accompanying texts. As opposed to the medium-sized psalters that could be heavily glossed and annotated, these books do not seem intended for teaching or learning. Their emphasis is more on the litany and private prayers following the psalms. Although the Paris Psalter is considerably larger than the two books to which it is compared, Toswell observes that its format would make reading by more than one person at a time very difficult. This feature, together with its contents, suggests that the Paris Psalter, too, was intended for individual consultation.

In a note about a puzzling addition to a psalter ("A Middle English Gloss in the *Lambeth Psalter*," *ANQ* 10.1: 2–9), the late Phillip Pulsiano describes a leaf written c. 1600 to supply a lacuna in the eleventh-century Old English glossed psalter. Although the copyist made a fair imitation of the Latin lettering in the original, his gloss seems to have been drawn from a Middle English source decked out in Old English characters and further enhanced by the inclusion of Greek letters and idiosyncratic flourishes. Pulsiano edits the text and gloss and, thankfully, transliterates the latter.

Another masterful essay by Robert Deshman addresses images in psalters and other liturgical books. In "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images," *Art Bulletin* 79: 518–46, Deshman focuses upon an eleventh-century development in Anglo-Saxon iconography, Christ portrayed at the moment he vanishes into heaven, his upper body hidden by clouds, leaving only his feet or legs visible. Whereas Meyer Schapiro was the first to analyze this imagery, his argument that it reflected a new realism, based upon its presentation of the Ascension from the viewpoint of the Apostles below, calls for re-examination. Drawing upon numerous examples of the image and of the interpretation of the Ascension in contemporary Anglo-Saxon works and their patristic forebears, Deshman shows that the disappearing Christ is ultimately a contemplative interpretation of his dual nature. In these images Christ ascends unaided as witness to his pure incarnation. The cloud of humanity that hid his divinity while on earth also blocks the Apostles' view of the highest zone of heaven where Christ went to sit with his Father. Therefore, to even glimpse the realm of heaven, one must see beyond the corporeal. Images can aid in the acquisition of spiritual understanding but, as Deshman says, the disappearing Christ also emphasizes, contra Schapiro, how empiricism can block faith.

In a similar vein, Benjamin Withers reminds us not to rest content with overly specific interpretations of Anglo-Saxon iconography in "Interaction of Word and Image in Anglo-Saxon Art II: Scrolls and Codex in the Frontispiece to the *Regularis Concordia*," *OEN* 31.1: 36–40. Traditionally viewed as a depiction of King Eadgar flanked by St. Æthelwold and St. Dunstan, this image has been interpreted by Deshman as conveying the ideals of monastic reform, the joint rule of *regnum* and *sacerdotum*. Withers questions whether such specific identification is warranted or even useful by noting that these figures resemble others in manuscripts of similar date, and directs our attention instead to the use of scrolls in the picture. Used to convey the spoken word, these scrolls complement the written word on the opposite page and carry with them "connotations of revelation, transmission, and succession in time." One scroll separates the formal portraits in the top half of the image from the viewer, while another pushes the monk in the bottom half toward the viewer and so transmits the text and its actions.

Gernot Wieland has published two more pieces on Prudentius manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period. In "The Prudentius Manuscript CCCC 223," *Manuscripta* 38 (1994), 211–27, Wieland offers a new, full description of this neglected collection of the complete works that contains, among additional items of interest, numerous Old English glosses. He provides details of the collation, measurement and layout, hands, neumes, punctuation, glosses, decoration, and concludes that the manuscript dates from the second half of the ninth century and probably comes from St. Bertin. Evidence from the list of Frankish kings copied into the collection supports these conclusions. It came to England during the first half of the tenth century when it was glossed and several short ecclesiastical texts were added. Wieland identifies all of the texts in CCCC 223 and edits those that have not been published before. Then, in another essay building upon his previous work, Wieland tackles the subject of the relationships among the illustrations in certain of the Prudentius manuscripts. This essay, "The Origin and Development of the Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* Illustrations," *ASE* 26: 169–86, involves a comparison of the three illustrated versions with each other as well as with the unillustrated copies, of which CCCC 223 is one. Through this painstaking process, Wieland discovers that the illustrations traveled separately from the text; that they traveled as outlines to be completed by the artist who worked on a specific manuscript; and that the chapter-headings in CCCC 223 give evidence of the

captions to illustrations where these were included. Wieland continues to argue that the illustrated versions of the *Psychomachia* were intended as classbooks, specifically that their language (Latin), glossing, and even illustrations supported this purpose.

In a continuation of his work on the glosses to Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate*, Scott Gwara edits and discusses another group in "Further Old English Scratched Glosses and Merographs from Corpus Christi College MS 326," *ES* 78: 201–36. This is one of a group of three late tenth-century copies from Canterbury, all of which are heavily annotated with Old English glosses in ink, and two of which (including CCCC 326) also contain hundreds of dry-point glosses also in Old English. In 389 entries, Gwara publishes glosses from CCCC 326 and shows their affinity with those in other manuscripts of the *Pdv*, especially the glosses in Brussels, Bibliothèque Royale MS 1650 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Digby 146. Gwara suggests that CCCC 326 may be a classbook used to study Aldhelm's treatise with notes taken in dry-point by readers as they went along.

Further on the subject of glossing, Jessica Cooke presents the preliminary results of an ambitious new project in "Worcester Books and Scholars, and the Making of the Harley Glossary (British Library MS. Harley 3376)," *Anglia* 115: 441–68. Cooke describes this intriguing Latin-Old English glossary, of which the entries for A-F appear in the Harley manuscript and two untrimmed leaves from the section I survive separately. All these give evidence that this was a work in progress where the compiler drew from other Anglo-Saxon glossaries for about half of the entries and continued with a continental exemplar. He supplemented these sources, it seems, from a glossed text of Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the works of Aldhelm, Virgil's *Aeneid*, and others. Working alphabetically, he combined glosses with the same lemma to form composite entries and went much further than his predecessors towards making a real dictionary. Cooke traces the principles of his work and argues that his selections from texts show that he had access to a major library, that he edited his materials, and that his sources provide new evidence about the availability and study of authors such as Fulgentius in late Anglo-Saxon England. From paleographic and other evidence Cooke believes that the glossator worked at Worcester about the year 1000. Her projected edition of the full glossary and accompanying identification of sources will be a welcome contribution to scholarship of the period.

William Schipper revisits the subject of glosses by the Tremulous Hand in "The Worcester Tremulous Scribe and the Ælfric Manuscripts," *Jnl of Eng. Ling.* 25: 183–201. First, and most interestingly, he challenges the assumption that the scribe who entered the glosses was an old man. Schipper observes that, given an output of at least 100,000 glosses, the scribe would have had to begun his work by middle age. Schipper also argues that the scribe's hand was one for personal annotation and that variations in it should not necessarily be read as changes of glossator. From there he urges that both Latin and Old English glosses be studied in relationship to the texts glossed. To this end he offers the results of a preliminary analysis of five Ælfrician homilies, many of which are glossed more than once, in manuscripts annotated by the Tremulous Hand. Among his findings is that there is considerably less duplication in the glossing than one would expect. Schipper concludes by offering suggestions for further research into the work of this scribe, whose interest in Old English texts can tell us a great deal about the study of manuscripts in the thirteenth century.

In a brief note, "The Origin and Date of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 163," *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 11.1 (1996), 89–91, Michael Gullick proposes that this copy of the Romano-German Pontifical was produced at Worcester in the last quarter of the eleventh century. He adduces evidence of parchment features, script, and a decorative motif on large initials in support of the ascription, but in light of textual evidence linking it to nuns, Gullick remain unsure of its provenance. Just what use nuns would have made of a pontifical remains unclear to this reader. Two essays offer readings of material heretofore unavailable. In "Readings from the *Beowulf* Manuscript, ff. 94r-98r (The *St. Christopher* Folios)," *Manuscripta* 39 (1995), 26–29, Joseph McGowan offers new readings from the folio edges of this fragmentary text made available through the use of ultraviolet light. Scott Gwara transcribes four eleventh-century leaves previously unnoticed in "Newly Identified Eleventh-Century Fragments in a Bagford Album, Now London, British Library, MS Harley 5977," *Manuscripta* 38 (1994), 228–36. Gwara provides a physical description of the leaves, identifies the source (sacramentary, Gospel book, Bede's *De arte metrica*, and Isidore's *Etymologiae*), and presents each text collated against the standard edition.

The late J. E. Cross and Thomas N. Hall shed light on an under-appreciated collection of works in "Fragments of Alanus of Farfa's Roman Homiliary and Abridgments of Saints' Lives by Goscelin in London, British Library, Harley 652," in *Bright is the Ring of Words: Festschrift für Horst Weinstock zum 65 Geburtstag*, ed. Clausdirk Pollner, et al., Abhandlungen zur Sprache und Literatur 85 (Bonn, 1996), pp. 49–61. This is an augmented version of Paul the Deacon's homiliary from St. Augustine's, Canterbury, late eleventh or early twelfth century. Their focus is upon the six abridged versions of saints' lives by Goscelin divided into lections and copied at the end of the collection, which they describe, and four single folios bound into the collection at the beginning. Upon inspection, these opening leaves appear to represent the earliest extracts from Alanus of Farfa's Homiliary known to have circulated in England. Cross and Andrew Hamer offer "Ælfric's Letters and the *Excerptiones Ecgberhti*," in *Alfred the Wise*, ed. Roberts, Nelson, and Godden, pp. 5–13. In this piece the authors attempt to demonstrate that Ælfric was one source of *dicta* in both recensions of the *Excerptiones*

rather than the other way round. They mine Ælfric's Latin letters 2, 2a, and 3 (from Fehr's edition) and show that a number of his canonical statements are quoted almost *verbatim* in the *Excerptiones*. Significantly, Ælfric's differ from other extracts in the collection by omitting a reference to the source authority—a patristic author, a council or a synod, for example—because, according to Cross and Hamer, his word would have been accepted as sufficient within the context in which he wrote.

Cyril Hart offers another fresh interpretation of materials that had seemed relatively straightforward in "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle at Ramsey," pp. 65–88 in *Alfred the Wise*. Observing that Ramsey was the only English house giving evidence of chronicle activity at the turn of the tenth century, Hart argues that the annotations to Bede's *Chronica Majora* closing the text of Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*, as copied into the Ramsey Computus (Oxford, St. John's College 17), indicate a new phase in Byrhtferth's chronicle studies there. Further to this point, the Easter Tables contain a series of Latin annals that seem to come from at least three sources. For the period 538–729 it appears that the compilers of these annals drew on a source used independently by the compilers of version A of the ASC, this source having drawn in turn upon a Latin northern chronicle and a set of southern annals. Byrhtferth's *Northumbrian Chronicle* (second recension) seems to be the source of annals from 733–872. And the third section, from 900–1016, comes from a text very close to version D of the ASC. Finally, Hart posits that Byrhtferth used the precursor to ASC A both for his *Northumbrian Chronicle* and his work on the annals in the *Chronica Majora*, and that this same source was used for the first section of the Ramsey annals. He also suggests that, until the time of Alfred, the chronicles may all have been compiled in Latin, each from a variety of sources, against the assumption of their descent in complete texts.

Simon Keynes draws upon entries in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and in Asser's life of Alfred, among other roughly contemporary evidence, to puzzle out two sets of names discussed in his contribution to *Alfred the Wise*, "Anglo-Saxon Entries in the 'Liber Vitae' of Brescia," pp. 99–119. As he shows, a community of royal nuns at S. Salvatore in Brescia seems to have provided a refuge for English pilgrims who had crossed the Alps on their way to Rome. The first set of Anglo-Saxon names appears to have been recorded in that foundation's 'Liber Vitae' in the 850s. These include Æthelred and Alfred (twice), then King Æthelwulf, Abbot Marcward, Aldo, and Umbert. The second set of names, from the third quarter of the ninth century, is somewhat fuller, and includes Burgred, king of the Mercians (852–74) and his West Saxon queen Æthelswith, both of whom died in Italy. Keynes hypothesizes that Alfred stopped there twice, once alone in 853 (but possibly with his brother Æthelred), and once with his father Æthelwulf (855–56). These journeys are confirmed in other sources. Burgred and his queen seem to have stopped in Brescia with a group of companions. Despite questions about the particulars of these references, they shed light on the path to Rome taken by men and women from Anglo-Saxon England in the second half of the ninth century and they suggest a means by which certain continental books may have been transported to England during this period.

In another contribution to *Alfred the Wise*, pp. 237–75, Patrick Wormald reexamines the role played by Laurence Nowell in preparing legal materials for publication in the *Archaionomia* in "The Lambarde Problem: Eighty Years On." The issue is basically twofold: what are the characteristics of the versions of the Anglo-Saxon laws that Lambarde printed, and what do these imply about the sources and editorial process behind them? Through an examination of Nowell's transcripts and Lambarde's own copies of his compendium, together with the author's nifty detective work, Wormald builds a case for the dominant role played by Nowell in transcribing a base text and improving it with readings from other manuscripts he knew (not including the *Textus Roffensis*). Nowell felt free to edit even his base text and, moreover, he translated material from the twelfth-century *Quadripartitus* into Old English when it suited his purpose. Lambarde went over the proto-editions prepared for him, made some changes of his own, and sent them to the printer. Because the versions in the *Archaionomia* did not resemble those in the manuscripts Liebermann consulted, he posited one or more lost versions of the laws used in that edition. In the course of showing that such a conjecture is unnecessary to account for the idiosyncrasies of Lambarde/Nowell, Wormald finds traces of a missing text in Nowell's work on Æthelstan's and Alfred's laws. In so doing, he partially vindicates Liebermann and concludes that variants from the *Archaionomia* should be restored to the textual apparatus of the laws.

Timothy Graham considers the work of another early editor of Old English in "Abraham Wheelock's Use of CCCC MS 41 (Old English Bede) and the Borrowing of Manuscripts from the Library of Corpus Christi College," *Cambridge Bibliographical Society Newsletter*, Summer 1997, pp. 10–16. Graham reviews Wheelock's annotations in CCCC 41, showing that he compared it to the base source for his Old English text of the *Ecclesiastical History*, CUL MS Kk.3.18, as well as to his third source in BL MS Cotton Otho B. xi. An ownership inscription in Wheelock's hand on p. 1 gives evidence that he was actually allowed to borrow CCCC 41 for the purpose of making his collation of texts at Cambridge University Library. This is confirmed by records of several loans to him during the period 1643–46. Wheelock's borrowing of books violated Parker's provisions for the collection but apparently was justified by his status as University Librarian and Lecturer in Anglo-Saxon. Despite conjectures to the contrary, there is no evidence that Corpus manuscripts were allowed to travel further afield during this period.

To conclude, we have three studies addressing larger topics of scholarship for the Anglo-Saxon period. That said, Michele Camillo Ferrari's monograph, *Sancti Willibrordi venerantes memoriam: Echternacher Schreiber und Schriftsteller von den Angelsachsen bis Johann Bertels. Ein Überblick* (Luxembourg: Cludem, 1994), does not offer much about Echternach's Insular connections other than its veneration of Willibrord. After outlining briefly the state of learning and book production there in the eighth through tenth centuries, Ferrari focuses upon the career of Abbot Thiofrid who was appointed in 1081, received investiture in Rome in 1083, and died in 1110. Among other works he composed prose (c. 1103) and metrical (1104–5) lives of St. Willibrord based upon Alcuin. Manuscripts copied at Echternach in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries show continuing celebration of Willibrord through liturgical references, verses, and so forth. Ferrari also provides an edition of Thiofrid's works.

Julia Crick revisits Julian Brown's analysis of Type B minuscule in "The Case for a West Saxon Minuscule," *ASE* 26: 63–79. Based upon the identification of at least six, and possibly eight, hands from the second quarter of the ninth century, two of which are localisable owing to their appearance in charters, Crick argues for a school in Wessex, encompassing both book and charter hands, and flourishing some 100 years after the script Brown and others identified with Boniface. Finally, for this review, M. J. Toswell offers in "St Martial and the Dating of Late Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *Scriptorium* 51: 3–14, a reconsideration of Francis Wormald's conclusion that the ranking of St. Martial as an apostle is evidence for dating after 1029. In so doing, Toswell expands the list of manuscripts in which he appears, noting that most of these with the designation "apostle" are from the eleventh century, though not necessarily after 1029. Exactly how the celebration of St. Martial traveled to England and then flourished there remains a matter for conjecture. Toswell cites the possible role of Abbo of Fleury, who may have connected with Martial's advocate Adémar of Chabannes, and related millenarian concerns in England as on the continent. King Cnut and his wife Emma may also have contributed to the endorsement of Martial as a means to promote ties with Aquitaine. Altogether, the reasons behind St. Martial's promotion as apostle in English calendars and litanies remain murky, but no longer does it appear wise to use his presence as a criterion for dating.

M.P.R.

6. History and Culture

[Note: This report includes items from the 1996 bibliography that were not covered in last year's report. For all items not published in 1997 the date of publication is provided.]

a. General and Miscellaneous

Janet L. Nelson provides a broad yet focused overview of the history of the Anglo-Saxon period in her chapter "Anglo-Saxon England, c. 500–1066" in *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England*, ed. Nigel Saul (Oxford and New York), pp. 25–60. Nelson begins with historiographical comments to explain her narrative's place in surveys of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. She attempts to avoid the prevalent twentieth-century trends of either seeing Anglo-Saxon England as the timeless world envisioned by literary scholars or producing the state-building chronicle favored by historians proper. Instead, she presents what she calls an "episodic and impressionistic" history of the Anglo-Saxon period that finds, through her acquiescence to the volume's aim to study identity, both distinctiveness and indistinctiveness in pre-Conquest English society. The account is divided into seven parts: settlement, Christianization, the Church in the world, new claims and new connections, the Age of the Vikings, the making of a kingdom, and conquests. Nelson's "story" (as she calls it) is graceful, insightful, and fresh. She conjures images of clarity. On the limitations to our evidence of the settlement period, she writes: "Archaeologists' evidence comes in the form of slices of time. Archaeologists disagree quite as much as historians do about assembling the slices into a story" (p. 28). The story moves—consciously and purposefully—from image to image: from eighth-century Barking nuns perhaps holding their veils in place with gold thread, women of rank resisting loss of all marks of distinction, to the Ruthwell Cross and young Wilfrid's cure at the foot of such a monument; from King Offa's imported Rhineland quern-stones to the possibly Alfredian sword of the evangelists. The illustrations (as appropriate for an "illustrated history") are frequent, often familiar, but, given that this book is aimed at the general reader, quite rightly included.

Does Nelson find her elusive English identity? The Franks Casket's blending of pre-Christian and Christian imagery, from both the Mediterranean and the northern world, she says "is distinctively Anglo-Saxon" (p. 39). In other words it is what it is and nothing else. Is this a tautology? From the eighth century up to Alfred, identity does not make much of an appearance. Nelson reads it (correctly) out of the Viking Age as well, where pagans face Christians, the *here* the *fyrd*. Her tenth century sees kings of Wessex conquering the Midlands, East Anglia, and the North, and affirming images of regional identity at the same time nobles with regional affinities grew established and powerful. The divisions remained: "under pressure, the kingdom tended to fall apart again into its component parts" (p. 57), with old borders reactivated. Cnut's conquest did not, she says, "make [England] more unified" (p. 57). Ethnic distinctions are unimportant; the Continent

a significant factor (most seen with Emma, who may be too odd to prove a rule). The Bayeux Tapestry, which provides "the most memorable, and best known, images of the entire Anglo-Saxon period," and which was probably embroidered by English women, "was a characteristic product of Anglo-Saxon culture." English identity is left undefined, pointed to but not articulated. The important identity in England, Nelson claims, was not "English" but aristocratic, Latin, and Christian.

It is surprising that during the heyday of the 1980s' recession, when northerners in England pointed to the disparity growing between North and South, some could actually doubt the existence of a North-South divide, and others, while acknowledging it, might mistake its origins as a post-Industrial Revolution phenomenon. Helen M. Jewell's *The North-South Divide: The Origins of Northern Consciousness in England* (Manchester, 1994) sets that record straight for the general audience. It is not written for medievalists of any ilk, who know the depth of that divide through many measures: wealth, language, politics, law, saints, foreign influences, etc. Nevertheless, even we can benefit from being reminded of the ancient geological origin of the divide—highland and lowland zones in current parlance—and its manifestations in the Celtic, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon periods. Of particular interest is Jewell's consideration of where that divide actually was thought to be (ch. 1). The Humber, after all, is only a riverine child, whose parents spread out through Yorkshire and the north like veins in a maple leaf. The Trent appears to have been an important marker, as were, alternatively, the Mersey and the Ribble from the west. But it was not simply geography that created the divide; northern consciousness begins with the political history of the Northumbrian kingdoms of Deira and Bernicia. It does not extend into the lands of the Scots and Picts nor into Wales, all of which are technically northern and highland. The Scandinavian settlement overlapped this North and then a bit, but contributed to northern separateness with its language and labels. The Scandinavians also appeared in southern memory as a people who had become one with the Northumbrian English. These things intensified northern distinctiveness and fit well with the history of northern independence from Southumbrian or Scottish control. Thirteenth- and fourteenth-century governmental divisions shifted the Trent boundary this way and that, generally encroaching on the North, but often showed royal government accepting this divide as real.

With the border set, Jewell examines, in succession (and only as related to Anglo-Saxon England), "The Beginnings of Northern Consciousness" (ch. 2) where the awareness by Bede, Alcuin, Alfred, and others of the divide is laid out and analyzed; "The Economic Distinctiveness of the North" (ch. 4), where she resists Roffe's cautionary note about Domesday Book Yorkshire's incoherence and claims that Domesday Book betrays a pastoral North devastated by William I's harrying of 1069–70 (animals being easier to replace than crops);

and "Social Distinctiveness" (ch. 5), where discontinuities in tenure weakened loyalties and England's Norman-age lords and infrequent royal visits left those who survived to go native. In "Two Provinces and Other Religious Differences" (ch. 6), the realization of a northern province reaffirmed a North-South divide (though at Ribble, not Mersey), which is to be expected since Gregory I left the dividing line between provinces unspecified. This division is also marked by the complete destruction of monasticism north of the Trent by the Vikings, so that in 1066, the only house in the North was at Burton, while the thirty-five Benedictine monasteries of southern England possessed one sixth of the landed wealth of the kingdom. In chapter 7, "The Literary and Linguistic Evidence," Jewell moves from perceptions of observers, consciously distinguishing North and South, to unselfconscious evidence—an objective test of perceptions: literature and language. While there is little to say yea or nay with on the side of literature before 1066, there is much interesting evidence from language. Jewell, however, is here at her sketchiest, taking a few odds and ends—and not always very secure pieces at that—and cobbling them together to get to Middle English dialects. In her conclusion, Jewell reiterates that much of the content of the stereotypical character of northern people can be traced back to the twelfth century, the same period southerners developed their stereotypes of the Irish (e.g., Gerald of Wales's hack work).

Readers of the *Old English Newsletter* may recall the appearance in the early 1990s of *Medieval World*, a colorful magazine intended for medievalists and for more general readers that featured brief, informative articles by recognized scholars. The magazine foundered after a year or two, but in 1995 it was revived under a new title, *Medieval Life*. The *OEN* bibliography for 1997 lists eight articles on Anglo-Saxon historical subjects from the first seven issues of *Medieval Life*, spanning the years 1995–97.

The first issue featured Richard M. P. Lowry's article, "The Consumption and Symbolism of Alcohol in Anglo-Saxon England" (pp. 7–9), in which Lowry focuses on "those differences in consumption [of alcohol] which were due to social status rather than on those due to age and gender." Drawing on evidence found in *Beowulf, The Wanderer*, and in various laws and ecclesiastical canons dating from the sixth century onwards, as well as on archaeological finds, Lowry proposes that the alcoholic drinks known to the Anglo-Saxons were ranked according to a recognized hierarchy. During the pagan period, mead was the drink of highest status, superior to beer or ale. Wine appears to have come to England with Christianity; for the early Anglo-Saxon period, there is a high concentration of vessels associated with wine-drinking in the Kentish area, which suggests to Lowry that Kent, after severing ties with its pagan past, began to emulate Christian Frankish society and to import wine and wine-drinking vessels from Francia. Wine was adopted as the beverage of prestige. As for the ale houses that are mentioned in legal

and ecclesiastical sources, Lowry concludes that these were not prototypes of the modern pub in which ale was bought for cash; rather, it would appear that it was the custom for a portion of a village's grain surplus to be assigned to a person of recognized ability who would make a brew for specific socializing occasions such as a festival or a communal gathering. Lowry completes his article with an appendix listing types of alcoholic drink mentioned in Anglo-Saxon literature; it is, however, to the detriment of this appendix that he does not provide any source references for the different drinks listed.

James Graham-Campbell's "On Anglo-Saxon Drinks" (*Medieval Life* 2 [1995]: 32–33) responds to certain of Lowry's observations. Graham-Campbell proposes that the eight small burrwood cups found at Sutton Hoo were used for the consumption of *beor* (Lowry had suggested they were for mead). Graham-Campbell emphasizes that *beor* should not be translated as "beer"; as Christine Fell demonstrated in a 1975 article, *beor* was a honey-sweetened, fermented fruit juice, a drink of the highest status in Anglo-Saxon England. Graham-Campbell also notes that Anglo-Saxon wine-drinking and viticulture were more widespread than Lowry indicates in his article: it is clear from Bede that vines were grown in certain parts of Britain as far back as the seventh century, while vineyards at Panborough and Watchet are mentioned in two tenth-century charters.

1995 was the millennium of the arrival of the relics of St. Cuthbert in Durham and the establishment of a church there. In "995: The Foundation of Durham" (*Medieval Life* 2 [1995]: 12–15), David Rollason retells the well-known story of the Viking attacks on Lindisfarne and the ninth- and tenth-century wanderings of the Cuthbertine community. In 995 the Vikings threatened Chester-le-Street, home to Cuthbert's relics since 883, so the community took temporary refuge at Ripon. According to Symeon of Durham, writing in the early twelfth century, when the community tried to return to Chester-le-Street later in the year, they were in the vicinity of Durham when the cart on which they were carrying the saint's relics could be carried no further but remained immovable. Symeon says that they took this as a sign that the saint wished them to settle there. Rollason notes hagiographical analogues to this account of the saint's body miraculously becoming too heavy to move and suggests that the real reasons for the community's decision to settle in Durham should be sought elsewhere. In the late ninth century, the Lindisfarne community had been granted extensive lands between the Rivers Tyne and Wear, and this produced a general reorientation of their interests southward from their original home. More particularly, the community and its bishop, Ealdhun, were closely allied with Uhtred, earl of Northumbria, who is said to have assisted them in making the site at Durham habitable. Durham enjoys much better natural fortifications than Chester-le-Street, and Rollason suggests that Uhtred "wished to move the church with which he was so closely allied" to Durham "so that he could more

easily protect it" (p. 13). It seems, moreover, that there may already have been a church in the area, at Elvet just across the River Wear: a bishop of Whithorn may have been consecrated there in 762. Durham's excellent natural defenses and the presence nearby of an important early church would seem to have been the leading factors governing the decision of St. Cuthbert's community to settle there in 995.

The technology of Anglo-Saxon viticulture is the subject of David Hill's "Anglo-Saxon Mechanics: A Winepress" (*Medieval Life* 6 [1997]: 7–10). Hill considers the well-known illustration of a winepress on fol. 17r of the illustrated Old English Hexateuch (London, British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv). The press includes a tall central screw; the amorphous object toward the base of the screw, evidently not fully understood by the artist, Hill interprets as a large nut. The type of winepress depicted is known to have been first developed at the end of the late Antique period (fifth/sixth century). C. R. Dodwell, in his contribution to the 1974 facsimile of Cotton Claudius B. iv, suggested that the illustrations in the manuscript were original creations of the artist, not based upon an exemplar. Accepting Dodwell's observation, Hill concludes that the Anglo-Saxons could indeed have had the technological expertise to construct a winepress of the type shown in the Hexateuch manuscript.

Two of the *Medieval Life* articles consider the sport of falconry in Anglo-Saxon England. David Hill, in "The Crane and the Gyrfalcon in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Medieval Life* 3 [1995]: 32 and 24), discusses the possibility that the illustration for October to be found in the calendar of the Tiberius Miscellany (London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. v) was not derived from a foreign model—as some scholars have assumed—but reflects Anglo-Saxon reality. The illustration shows a man on horseback holding a bird of prey on his right wrist, close to a pond where ducks, a goose, and another large bird are to be seen. Hill interprets the second large bird as a crane and notes that the presence of cranes in England is attested in a letter of King Æthelberht II of Kent to the missionary St. Boniface written some time between 748 and 754. The bird held by the horseman, Hill suggests, is a gyrfalcon, the only falcon strong enough to bring down a crane. While gyrfalcons were not native to England, they are known to have been imported from the Continent for sport, as is shown by the same letter of King Æthelberht. Chris Huff's article on "Falconers, Fowlers and Nobles: The Sport of Falconry in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Medieval Life* 7 [1997]: 7–9) draws upon the evidence of charters, correspondence, Ælfric's *Colloquy*, and the poem *The Fates of Men* to show that members of three different levels involved themselves with falcons and hawks in Anglo-Saxon England. The fowler (*fugelere*) was an individual of low status who made his living by catching birds for the table. While his principal resource was the net, he also used birds of prey for his work. He seems to have caught and trained his birds of prey annually, releasing them in the spring in order to avoid the expense of feeding them at the

time of the molt, when their hunting ability was reduced and their need to be fed consequently increased. The falconer occupied a higher social level. His role was to train falcons for the use of kings and nobles. Such professional falconers are attested from the ninth century, being mentioned in Asser's *Life* of King Alfred. *The Fates of Men* includes a description of a falconer training his bird that demonstrates that the method, which involved the gradual subduing of the will of the falcon to that of its trainer, was essentially the same as in modern falconry. That those whom the falconer served took keen pleasure in the sport of falconry is evident from references in the *Life of Edward the Confessor* and elsewhere, while the two appearances of a hawk in the Bayeux Tapestry—first on Harold's wrist as he journeys to Bosham and then held by Duke William—suggest that the bird could have served as a diplomatic gift.

Stanley Rubin, who in 1992 completed a University of Manchester M.Phil. thesis (listed in the *OEN* bibliography for 1997) entitled "A Study of the Medical References in the Anglo-Saxon Law Codes," contributed two articles to *Medieval Life* on the subject of Anglo-Saxon medicine. In "The Anglo-Saxon Physician" (*Medieval Life* 3 [1995]: 6–11), he considers what the leechbooks and other sources reveal about the way medicine was practiced. Anglo-Saxon physicians were fortunate to have manuals available in the vernacular. These manuals, however, drew upon earlier Greek and Roman works, and several of the prescriptions listed could not have been dispensed in practice, as some of the ingredients would not have been available in England. It would appear that the Anglo-Saxon physician was expected to practice both medicine and surgery. The leechbooks describe quite elaborate surgical procedures; some of these, however, may never have been practiced in England but may simply have been copied from earlier texts. Nonetheless, that the Anglo-Saxon physician was competent to perform some kind of surgery is shown by the existence of Old English terms for surgical instruments, including *sniddisen, ædreseax, blodseax,* and *læce-seax.* Brief allusions in the leechbooks indicate that there was at least some form of training for Anglo-Saxon physicians. Most physicians, except for those few retained in the service of noble families, traveled from village to village offering their services and receiving a payment—*læce-feoh*—in return. Rubin's survey of the methods of treating different illnesses leads him to conclude that "There was an almost complete lack of recognition that any treatment or dosage should vary with the progress of a patient and clinical examination seems not to have taken place, but merely the use of countless alternative prescriptions" (pp. 10–11).

Rubin's second article, "Medical Attention in Anglo-Saxon Law: A Statute Sequence Reconsidered" (*Medieval Life* 6 [1997]: 3–6), discusses clauses 61–63 of the Laws of King Æthelberht I of Kent (d. 616). The two sections of clause 61 stipulate that if a man is wounded in the belly, compensation of twelve shillings must be paid; this rises to twenty shillings if the belly is pierced through. Clause 62 states that if a man receives medical treatment, thirty shillings shall be paid in compensation. Previous interpretations have treated this as a general stipulation, not specifically related to clause 61. Rubin argues that the two clauses must be regarded in sequence: clause 62 lays down the level of compensation that must be paid if the type of injury mentioned in clause 61 should require the attentions of a physician. He believes that the sequence is continued in clause 63, which lays down that thirty shillings must be paid "gif man cearwund sie" (in Rubin's interpretation, "if a man is bedridden"). "It is therefore … suggested that a more reasoned and sound reading of these laws is provided if they are considered together as successive and complementary clauses in clinical sequence. … Above all, when these provisions are viewed as describing a clinical and legal sequence of events, a systematic, intelligible and more rational statement of the consequences of abdominal trauma is achieved" (p. 5). The existence of this sequence, he adds, has been obscured by the modern editorial habit of dividing the Laws of Æthelberht into numbered clauses. In the Textus Roffensis, the only manuscript in which the code survives, the laws are presented as continuous text. Modern clause division "may tend to obscure the possibility that some legislation was intended to provide recompense for a perceived *sequence* of successive and related incidents rather than quite separate, generalized declarations of intent" (p. 6).

A pair of articles published in 1995 and 1996 had little specific relevance to Anglo-Saxon England but threw light on aspects of the Germanic roots of Anglo-Saxon culture and on a Scandinavian saint whose earliest liturgical commemoration happens to occur in an Anglo-Saxon manuscript. Gad Rausing presses etymology into the service of history in his interesting essay, "The Days of the Week and Dark Age Politics," *Fornvännen* 90 (1995): 229–39. Rausing analyzes the derivations of the names of the days of the week in the languages of Dark Age Europe in order to identify the cultural sources which influenced them. He concludes that the *Germani* of the North borrowed the concept of the seven-day week and the names of the week from pre-Christian Rome, simply replacing the names of Roman gods with their own. In the Migration Period, however, Rausing argues, the political division of Europe was reflected in the names of the days of the week. Thus, Franks adopted Latin names, while the *Bajuvari* and *Alamanni* adopted Gothic names, themselves borrowed from the Greek.

Asko Timomen's article, "Saint Olaf's 'Cruelty': Violence by the Scandinavian King Interpreted over the Centuries" (*Journal of Medieval History* 22 [1996]: 285–96), offers a historiographical analysis of changing views of this early-eleventh-century Norwegian king's forcible conversion of his people and other violent episodes of his career (which of course included his service in the army of King Æthelred *unræd*). Writers of Olaf's own world viewed his actions as justified, even praiseworthy, under both Christian and sec-

ular viewpoints; Catholic writers depicted him in laudatory terms as having engaged in just war. In 1738, however, Johannes Tolpo, writing at Turku in then Sweden (now Finland), offered a new and critical interpretation of St. Olaf's actions as cruel and unjustifiable, when viewed in light of the newly-fashionable theory of natural law. The revisionist history offered by Tolpo and his contemporaries, Timomen argues, owed more to their own times than to that of Saint Olaf—a cautionary reminder for us all.

b. From Sub-Roman Britain to the Ninth Century

P. S. Barnwell's article "*Hlafæta, ceorl, hid* and *scir*: Celtic, Roman or Germanic?" (*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 9 [1996]: 53–61) follows K. R. Dark's *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity, 300–800* (Leicester, 1994; see *OEN* 31/2: 161–62) in seeing vestiges of Roman institutions underlying the basic social and territorial categories of early Anglo-Saxon England. Using Roman African and Gallic evidence as a counterpoint for the sparse Anglo-Saxon evidence, this learned though highly speculative piece makes a vigorous argument for continuity between Roman and Anglo-Saxon England. Noting that a 120-acre hide seems far too large a unit for a single ordinary freeman to have exploited, Barnwell begins by reconsidering the status of the *ceorl* and the meaning of his *familia*, which leads him to rethink the status of the *ceorl*'s dependent, the *hlafæta*. Barnwell finds it highly significant that *hlafæta* and *bucellarius* mean nearly the same thing, "loaf/biscuit eater." He also claims support for his identification from the *bucellarius*'s dual dependency on lord (the high-ranking military officials and private landowners who employed them) and emperor, and on the attachment of the *bucellarius* to the estate of his lord. He sees these features of the institution of *bucellarius* as helping to explain the "semi-free" status of the *hlafæta* and Bede's definition of the hide as the unit of land appropriate to the household of a *ceorl*. The argument here is circular, since the only reason to believe that the *hlafæta* had a dual relationship with his lord, the *ceorl* (who now emerges as the English equivalent of the *faramannus*, the leaders of military households in the Lombard and Burgundian kingdoms), and the king is because of the equivalence Barnwell posits between *bucellarius* and *hlafæta*. This, in turn, leads Barnwell to see a correlation between the land given to the leaders of *farae* by king and *dux* and the hides held by *ceorlas*, transforming the *ceorl* into a *cassatus*, and making him liable for the public dues, *gafol/tributum* and *feorm*, assessed on land. With his land he supported his *familia*, including his *hlafætan*. In other words, the *ceorl* received what elsewhere in the late empire was referred to as a *centuria*. Because the "standard" *centuria* consisted of 200 *iugera*, 124.7 acres, the "normal" holding of a *ceorl* became fixed at 120 acres. (Barnwell concedes that there is no evidence for centuriation in Roman Britain, but argues, nonetheless, "even if Britain never saw any

formal centuriation, it would still be possible for a direct relationship between the *centuria* and the hide to exist" [p. 55].) Barnwell finds significant similarities between the large imperial estates in Africa, where individual estates were grouped into *regiones*, several of which combined to form a *provincia*, and post-Roman estate organization in Britain, in which the territory subject to each ruler was divided into a number of shires (*regiones* in Latin). He similarly draws an analogy between the *caput* of a federative estate and the late Roman *civitas*, though behind both lie elements of Celtic survival. In short, "what may have happened in the post-Roman period is that the native rulers adopted similar organisational methods to those they had learnt from the Roman administration" (p. 57). The hide and shire, on this argument, "represent an amalgam of pre-Roman and Roman institutions, formed in the new circumstances of the post-Roman period" (p. 58). This is a plausible conclusion, but also a highly speculative one. Barnwell's argument carries the reader along from observed similarity to observed similarity, but ultimately it rests largely upon his observation that the terms *bucellarius* and *hlafæta* mean essentially the same thing and the assumption that 120 acres is too much land for a "normal freeman." This is a rather flimsy foundation for the grand thesis that Barnwell proposes.

I. N. Wood's "The Early Medieval North" (*Northern History* 33: 273–77) is a review essay covering four books on early English history published within a three-year period by N. J. Higham: *The Origins of Cheshire* (Manchester, 1993; see *OEN* 29/2: 159–60), *The Kingdom of Northumbria* (Dover, 1993; see *OEN* 29/2: 160–61), *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (Manchester, 1994; see *OEN* 30/2: 146), and *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Manchester, 1995; see *OEN* 31/2: 157). While acknowledging that Higham's books have provided "a series of radical new readings of early medieval Britain" (p. 273)—in particular by valuably emphasizing the British element in English history—Wood is severely critical of aspects of Higham's approach and presentation. He notes several errors of fact (for example, in *The English Conquest*, Higham's unjustifiably early dating of the British appeal to Aetius "shows a staggering lack of knowledge of Continental evidence" [p. 275]) and deplores a tendency toward excessive speculation that he finds running through all four books. He is similarly harsh about Higham's linguistic abilities, pointing to clear errors in his translations of Latin source materials and his interpretations of elements in Germanic personal names. He sums up by describing the four books as "over-hasty products ... irrecoverably marred by poor reading of the sources, gaps in the author's knowledge, an apparently shaky linguistic command, and sloppy proof-reading" (p. 276).

One of the most controversial sources for early British history is the *Historia Brittonum*. The authorship of this work is the subject of P. J. C. Field's "Nennius and His History" (*Studia Celtica* 30 [1997 for 1996]: 159–65). As

is well known, in the manuscripts of the so-called Nennian recension of the text, a prologue proclaims the *Historia* to be the work of one Nennius/Ninnius, a disciple of Elvodugus. However, the earliest surviving copy of this prologue, in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 139, dates only from the 1160s, and David Dumville argued in three articles published in the 1970s and 1980s that there is evidence within the prologue to indicate that it was concocted in the third quarter of the eleventh century in an attempt to foist the authorship of the *Historia* onto a distinguished figure who had lived more than two hundred years earlier, the Nennius or Nemnivus who in 817 had composed the ingenious Welsh alphabet found in "St. Dunstan's Classbook" (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Auct. F.4.32). Field challenges Dumville's interpretation of the evidence and argues that there is no reason to impugn the authenticity of the prologue. The confusions over the correct form of Nennius's name he sees as the result of the fact that in Old Welsh, *i* and *e* are both possible renderings of the sound [ə]; and of scribal error about the number of minims in the middle portion of the name. He notes that the contents of the *Historia* suggest that it was put together in Gwynedd, and this would fit with Nennius's having been the disciple of Elvodugus, for the latter is presumably the individual of that name who was archbishop of Gwynedd and died in 809. The Nennian prologue to the *Historia Brittonum* is absent from the earliest known version of the text, the so-called Harleian recension (of which the earliest witness is to be dated ca. 1100), and this has caused some to doubt the authenticity of the prologue. Field suggests, however, that the prologue may have been deliberately omitted from this version because its content—it includes criticism of the quality of British scholarship and some self-denigrating comments by Nennius—may have made it unacceptable to those who transmitted this recension.

Patrick Sims-Williams, "The Death of Urien," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 32 (1996): 25–56, reviews the accounts of the death of the Welsh hero Urien Reghed, addressing some basic questions: Who killed him? Why was he decapitated and by whom? Are the Urien *englynion* related to the Llywarch Hen cycle? In brief, Urien was slain according to tradition by a jealous ally, Morgan, and his head was cut off by his cousin Llywarch Hen, who repents of his treachery as he travels with the head to bring it to Morgan. Sims-Williams also carefully reconsiders the date of Urien's death and the date of composition of the Welsh poems, or *englynion*, about that event. Most important for the historian is Sims-Williams's persuasive explanation of the meaning these stories held for their late-ninth-century and medieval Welsh audiences. "Whether or not the Welsh poems about Urien's death contain any historical treasures," Sims-Williams writes (and he doubts that they do), "they are of real value in showing how the loss of British sovereignty in Northumbria was interpreted in early medieval Wales" (p. 25). The Urien story as reconstructed by the author is to be "linked typologically

with that of Vortimer as yet one more variation on the theme of foreign *gormes* and British betrayal" (p. 37). Sims-Williams quotes Lovecy to make the point. This is the story of "the way Britain was lost by the Cymry rather than being won by the English." As such, it was an object lesson and "the *Sitz in Leben* in which it would have been told and retold was no doubt the intermittent attempts to unite the Cymry against the Anglo-Saxons as a common foe so as to repeat the success of Badon" (p. 35).

Harald Kleinschmidt seeks to enlarge and refine our understanding of the fifth-century Germanic colonization of England in "Schwaben im frühmittelalterlichen England: Betrachtungen und Überlegungen zur Problematik des Stammesbegriffs" (*Alemannisches Jahrbuch* 1993/94: 9–32). Bede's enumeration of the invaders as comprising just three groups—Angles, Saxons, and Jutes—has obscured what was in reality a more complex situation, and was in part influenced by the political circumstances of the eighth century and by contemporary perceptions of what constituted a *gens*. Kleinschmidt's primary focus is on the *Eiderschwaben*, that is, the *Suabi* who inhabited the region around the Eider, the river at the south of the Jutland peninsula. They were a group who on the Continent had been allied with, but nonetheless were independent of, the *Angli*. Kleinschmidt sees clear evidence that representatives of these *Suabi* reached England, and for a time maintained their own independent traditions, in the place names Swaffham, Swavesey, *Swæfes heale*, and *Swæferdes wylles heafod* as well as in the occurrence of eight personal names with the first element *Swæf*. He also highlights the importance of the Old English poem *Widsith* for the light it can throw upon the different Germanic groups that migrated to England. The poem, which narrates the minstrel Widsith's travels among certain kings and peoples of the Germanic world, speaks of an alliance between the *Suabi* and the *Angli* to defeat Widsith's own people, the *Myrgingi*, and refers also to the *Badani* and the *Haelsungi*. In Kleinschmidt's opinion, the mention of these various tribes in an Old English poem means that traditions of all of them must have been transmitted to England. He finds confirmation of this in place names and in the witness lists of charters dating from the seventh and early eighth centuries. For example, an indication that the Myrgings came to England can be found in the place names Matching and Messing in Essex, Meeching in Sussex, and Mackney in Berkshire, all of these being derived from Macco/Mæcca, the Continental leader of the Myrgings. On Kleinschmidt's analysis, in the early fifth century, after the Myrgings had been defeated by the allied *Angli* and *Suabi* in the battle on the Eider described in *Widsith*, some of them came to seek their fortune as mercenaries in England, specifically in the region of Sussex; at the end of the fifth century their leader was Ælle who gave his name to Alfriston in Sussex. Another group of the Myrgings came to Essex, where Mucking is believed to have been settled in the early fifth century. Kleinschmidt's arguments, if in some cases

self-avowedly speculative, are nonetheless persuasive, and he offers some important insights into the complexities of the Germanic migration to England and its reflection in independent tribal traditions traceable until at least the early eighth century.

Of even broader sweep is Kleinschmidt's polemical and provocative article, "Beyond Conventionality: Recent Work on the Germanic Migration to the British Isles," published in *Studi Medievali* 36 (1995): 975–1010. Deliberately controversial, Kleinschmidt here offers an extensive and insightful, if sometimes idiosyncratic, summation of recent analyses of a wide range of primary sources, archaeological research, and onomastic evidence. These, he argues, undermine conventional Romantic and Whig notions of an insular and unique England and a heroic military invasion during the Migration Age. Instead, Kleinschmidt urges, we should think of Migration Age England as an integral part of a sort of proto-European Union. Dismissing Bede's famous tripartite classification of the migrating tribes of the *Adventus Saxonum*, Kleinschmidt argues that "increasingly intensified research in written sources has added to the degree of uncertainty in our knowledge of these sources. However, this uncertainty is more reassuring and productive than previous veneration of the written word, because it has sparked critical investigation and methodical attempts to interrelate what one can glean from written sources with the findings of archaeologists" (p. 981). Prime features of the reinterpretation that Kleinschmidt advocates are a redefinition of the migrating groups as "agglomerations made up from small bands that had been forged into 'migration avalanches' whose success depended upon its success in the 'seizing of land'" (p. 979); a recognition that migration occurred to the Continent from Britain as well as in the opposite direction; and a recommendation that the period of migration to and from the British Isles must be extended to a time frame between the late fourth or early fifth and the seventh centuries. In reviewing controversies over archaeological and place-name evidence for migration and settlement, Kleinschmidt criticizes the researches of some of the old and new icons of the field, including J. N. L. Myres, Edward Thurlow Leeds, Chris Arnold, Richard Hodges, and Eilert Ekwall; he champions (against the withering criticisms of Margaret Gelling) Walter Piroth's theory that some English place names can be used to reconstruct Migration Age local communities on the Continent and trace their migrations to the British Isles. Kleinschmidt's own reading of the evidence leads him to challenge the idea that the migration was a series of "invasions." Rather, Kleinschmidt argues that "the majority of the settling Germanic immigrants can hardly have been raiding robber bands, but might be imagined as groups initially seeking cohabitation with the then dominant Romano-British population" (p. 996). Place-name evidence, he contends, supports the idea that settlement took place through gradual penetration rather than sudden, massive invasions. In this reconstruction, Roman rule and sub-Roman rule "petered out gradually," and administrative activities were accordingly transferred from centralized to local authorities, and then to the immigrant settlers. Kleinschmidt stresses the local diversity during the settlement period and the heterogeneity of "Germanic" ethnic settlements. Even if one is not swept away by his sweeping conclusions, the liveliness of Kleinschmidt's attacks on everyone from the Venerable Bede to the 1992 British Museum's exhibit on the "Making of England" makes thought-provoking reading. My own sense is that for the most part, Kleinschmidt's reconstruction of the Migration Age settlement makes better sense than that proposed by the previous generation of scholars.

A third article by Kleinschmidt, "Stirps regia und Adel im frühen Wessex: Studien zu Personennamen in der Epistolographie, Historiographie und Urkundenüberlieferung" (*Historisches Jahrbuch* 117: 1–37), seeks to resolve the significant disparities between the pictures of early West Saxon history offered by written sources on the one hand and by archaeological and place-name evidence on the other. These disparities have long been recognized. The historical sources principal among them being the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle describe an initial conquest of land on the southern English coast by the West Saxon leaders Cerdic and Cynric, followed by an inexorable push inland through Hampshire, Wiltshire, and Somerset. The archaeological evidence, by contrast, suggests that in reality the West Saxons first settled in the upper Thames valley and spread from there. Kleinscmidt concludes that scholars should put their trust in the archaeological evidence. He shows how the account found in the written sources is a construct that idealizes and mythologizes the West Saxon past and that was formulated during the ninth century in connection with efforts to legitimate and aggrandize the West Saxon ruling house. Kleinschmidt makes some sharp observations on the West Saxon genealogies found in MS A of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and on the genealogy of the *Geuissae* found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 183; he is able to show that the latter genealogy has been influenced by the genealogy of the rulers of Bernicia. This is a detailed and densely argued article that will repay close study.

The Anglo-Saxons from the Migration Period to the Eighth Century: An Ethnographic Perspective, edited by John Hines (Woodbridge), comprises thirteen papers delivered in 1994 at the Second Conference on Historical Archaeoethnology held under the auspices of the Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress, San Marino. Each paper in the volume is complemented by a full record of the discussion that followed it at the conference. Four papers are of interest to historians. Ian Wood's "Before and After the Migration to England" (pp. 41–64) focuses on three themes: the societies from which the migrants came, the societies that they developed in England, and the ethnogeneses that the Anglo-Saxons constructed to explain their origins. The social background from which the migrants to England came was, he suggests, much more complex than is indicated by Bede's

well-known story of Angles, Saxons, and Jutes in Book I, ch. 15 of the *Historia ecclesiastica*. Early inhumation evidence for the South of England implies that the peoples who settled south of the Thames were not culturally, let alone biologically, pure groups; and some of the best Continental parallels to the evidence are to be found in Frankish, Alemannic, and Thuringian regions, a circumstance that suggests that these regions may have supplied significant numbers of migrants. By contrast, the great cremation cemeteries of East Anglia and East Yorkshire appear to tell a different story, one of greater cultural uniformity. In regard to the character of the societies developed in early Anglo-Saxon England, Wood stresses the importance of continuing Continental contacts. In particular, he believes that the interest of the Merovingians in their new transmarine neighbors had a significant impact on the early Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, that the Frankish court provided a powerful model for Kent and East Anglia, and that Frankish law may have influenced early Anglo-Saxon law. For his third theme, he analyzes the narrative accounts in Bede, the *Historia Brittonum*, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, as well as the genealogies to be found in the Chronicle. He regards these sources as constructs developed to reveal each Anglo-Saxon kingdom as being the creation of an identifiable group of invaders; constructs that mask the complexity of the early migration process. "By the late seventh and early eighth centuries ... the Anglo-Saxons had recreated the past, seeing the origins of their insular kingdoms in terms of a simplified pattern of migration and conquest—one which, by 731, emphasized Angles, Saxons and Jutes, and which would come later to settle on the single name of 'English'. Like all rewritings of history it was a rewriting which ignored the true complexity of the formation of a people—neglecting the diversity of Continental origins, the influence of indigenous peoples and the continuing influence of the outside world" (pp. 50–51).

Thomas Charles-Edwards, in his paper "Anglo-Saxon Kinship Revisited" (pp. 171–210), undertakes to reconsider and redefine some of the issues raised by Henry Loyn in his classic 1974 essay, "Kinship in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Anglo-Saxon England* 3: 197–209). In particular, Charles-Edwards emphasizes that the way kinship operated varied with the status of those concerned. For example, whereas members of the lower orders were bound most closely to their paternal kin, kings might fear such agnatic kinsmen as potential rivals for their power, and might instead favor those who became their kin through marriage or through the spiritual kinship bestowed by the godfather–godson relationship, as neither of these forms of kinship would necessarily generate rights of inheritance; such kinship was therefore an ideal means of building an alliance. "[A]t the top of society natural agnatic kinsmen made unnatural allies while constructed kin made natural allies" (p. 179). The story of St. Guthlac illustrates both the tensions that could arise within a ruling kindred and the possible alliances that might be established: a member of a branch

of the Iclingas that threatened the branch that was dominant at the time, Guthlac made a bid for the Mercian kingship in the years 688–97 and later supported his kinsman Æthelbald when he was exiled during the reign of Ceolred. Charles-Edwards also considers the importance of feud within early Anglo-Saxon society. Feud has sometimes been discussed as if it were principally a matter of private vendettas among kindred, an institution that kings struggled to control; but in reality kings were themselves the greatest feuders, above all because there was no clear distinction between feud and war. Thus Bede's account of the Battle of the Trent between the Northumbrians and the Mercians in 679 reveals the classic pattern of a feud, with King Ecgfrith seeking to avenge the death of his brother Ælfwine and agreeing to the payment of wergild. Charles-Edwards completes his paper by examining how kinship issues impacted upon the development of the practice of granting land by charter ("bookland"). He notes that the flexibility implicit in allowing a testator freedom to apportion his estate within the kindred as he wished enabled a nobleman to plan the succession of his estate in such a way as to ensure that at least one son retained his wealth and power. This system "had the advantage of primogeniture, but it still allowed provision to be made for other kinsmen and allies" (p. 197).

Patrizia Lendinara's paper, "The Kentish Laws" (pp. 211–43), analyzes the three seventh-century Kentish law codes—those of Æthelberht I, of Hlothhere and Eadric, and of Wihtred—all of which survive in a single manuscript, the twelfth-century Textus Roffensis (Rochester Cathedral Library, A.3.5). The codes are the earliest witnesses to a legal system in Anglo-Saxon England and are the first Germanic laws to have been written in the vernacular (the Continental Germanic codes having been written in Latin). Lendinara's outline of the content of the codes emphasizes the prominence of feud and wergild in them and notes how they reflect the evolution of Kentish society, so that, for example, trade is a more developed theme and the machinery of justice more complicated in the second and third codes than in that of Æthelberht; and whereas kinship appears as a powerful factor in the codes of Æthelberht and Hlothhere, the growing power of the king resulted in the duality of kingship vs. kinship in the laws of Wihtred. The three prefaces to the codes, two of which are, in Lendinara's opinion, later additions, are rather similar in layout and style; she suggests that they might all stem from the hand of the same re-worker of the laws. Her most important observations focus on the language in which the codes are written. They have been regarded as the first works written in Old English and as documents of the Kentish dialect. However, the language in which they exist in their twelfth-century manuscript is in fact late West Saxon. Further, Lendinara's lexical analysis indicates that behind this late West Saxon version lies one in an Anglian dialect. The laws may first have been written down, she suggests, in Anglian; or may perhaps have been translated into Anglian from

an original version in Latin. She believes that the laws were modeled on Latin compilations brought to England by, or at least known to, St. Augustine and his companions. In the discussion following her paper, David Dumville, stimulated by Lendinara's comments on the Anglian substratum in the laws, proposes that they may first have existed in oral form and may have been written down only after the Mercian conquest of Kent because of a wish on the part of Kent's Anglian conquerors to familiarize themselves with Kentish laws. Ian Wood, noting the similarity between Æthelberht's laws and the original Langobardic codes, suggests that both may have drawn on a recension of Frankish law of ca. 600 which has not survived.

David N. Dumville's paper, "The Terminology of Overkingship in Early Anglo-Saxon England" (pp. 345–73), notes that the general tendency among historians has been to examine the issue of overkingship from the standpoint of the overking, an approach exemplified by Sir Frank Stenton's classic 1918 paper on "The Supremacy of the Mercian Kings." Dumville's own contention is that "We shall discover a great deal … if we learn to look up and (especially) to look around, rather than simply continue to look down from the overking's lofty heights" (p. 346). He examines the phenomenon of co-kingship and concludes that it seems to have been more cohesive than one might have expected. One factor favoring the cohesion of the whole unit, he suggests, was the rule that appears to have operated in kingdoms enjoying multiple kingships whereby a grant of land in hereditary tenure by one king required a co-ruler's assent: we have examples from Kent, from Sussex, and from the kingdom of the Hwicce. It was perhaps no more than an extension of this that overkings came to exercise a comparable right of veto over a dependent ruler's grants; but eventually this led to the making of direct grants of land by an overking within a subject kingdom without reference to the local ruler—as the Mercians did first among the Hwicce, then in Kent in the late eighth century. Dumville's paper includes an examination of Bede's terminology for overkingship—he favored the term *imperium*—as well as a discussion of Bede's enumeration of the seven kings who had held *imperium* over all Southumbria, and of the list of *bretwaldas* in annal 827 of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Dumville concludes that Anglo-Saxon overkingship "is a more complex and diverse phenomenon than has often been admitted" (pp. 360–61) and suggests that the best points of comparison are to be found in early medieval Ireland.

J. R. Maddicott's article on "Plague in Seventh-Century England" (*Past & Present* 156: 7–54) reviews the evidence for severe outbreaks of plague in England in the periods 664–ca. 666 and ca. 684–687. Despite the lack of positive evidence for the black rat in seventh-century England, Maddicott argues that the *pestilentia* described by Bede was in fact bubonic plague. This conclusion is based in part on "a prima facie" case—what was certainly bubonic plague had been endemic on the Continent for some 220 years—and in part on the epi-

demic's advent in 664, at a time and place characteristic of the arrival of bubonic plague. But by far the strongest evidence for this identification is Bede's descriptions of the illnesses of St. Cuthbert and Abbess Æthelthryth, in which swellings on the thigh of the former and under the jaw of the latter are emphasized. Because the plague struck Lindisfarne at Christmas, Maddicott speculates that it spread to the North in its more terrifying pneumonic form. Maddicott argues that the plague had a devastating impact on the virgin English population, not only within the tightly packed monasteries but on the rural population as well. The evidence for the latter, however, is highly circumstantial. Maddicott attempts to bolster the few literary references with archaeological evidence for the shrinkage of some settlements and the abandonment of others between ca. 650 and ca. 750. While plague is certainly a possible cause, there are other equally likely explanations for these abandoned sites and changing building styles. Nor do the chronologies of plague and abandonment fit as nicely as Maddicott's argument requires. His conclusion is modest: "the effects of plague on the countryside remain certain but unquantifiable" (p. 44).

As cataclysmic as the plague's initial impact had been countrywide, it had little long-term effect upon the English population, which "made an unimpeded and rapid recovery" after 687. Indeed, after 687 there are no further references in the sources to anything resembling an epidemic in England until the ninth century. This was no "Black Death," but a "brief and temporary intermission in an upward [demographic] trend" (p. 54). Though smaller monasteries were abandoned, larger houses survived and even prospered (a necessary conclusion given the well attested flowering of Northumbrian monasticism in the late seventh century). If Maddicott's analysis is correct, the plague, as terrifying as it was to those who lived through it, had little historical significance, other than for its impact on monastic settlement patterns. Maddicott is properly cautious in his arguments and conclusions, but, even so, one might come away not fully convinced that Bede's *pestilentia* was necessarily bubonic or that it had as dramatic an impact on the population of the countryside as Maddicott posits.

In "St. Cuthbert's and St. Neot's Help in War: Visions and Exhortations," *Haskins Society Journal* 6 (1997 for 1995): 39–62, John R. E. Bliese identifies and discusses eleven sources in which St. Cuthbert and St. Neot are depicted as exhorting King Alfred and King Guthred before battle. Perhaps because, as Bliese explains, "the relationships among these texts are very complicated" (p. 39), his article devotes much to untangling the web of sources. Having done so, Bliese concludes that the sources fall into two groups, a Cuthbert group, the ultimate source of which is the *Historia de sancto Cuthberto*, and a Neot group that may be traced back to the first Latin life of Neot (*Vita* I), though there is less scholarly consensus about this. The two groups of texts represent very different narrative traditions, each telling a different story

for a different reason. The stories in which St. Cuthbert appears to King Alfred, Bliese argues, following here the lead of Ted Johnson-South, "probably originated as propaganda connecting the West Saxon monarchy to the saint's community" (p. 51). The Neot group, however, are so critical of Alfred, prior to his transforming vision of the saint, that they cannot be plausibly so described. "It is difficult to imagine an original purpose for the Neot/Alfred 'story' beyond the exaltation of the saint, showing him as a powerful corrector of a famous king" (p. 51). Bliese then analyzes the speeches in detail, concluding that "we do not have a stock oration attributed indifferently to two speakers," but, rather, the two groups of speeches "are integral parts of their respective 'stories'" (p. 58), with the Neot speeches emphasizing Alfred's current problems as punishment for his previous sinful life and the Cuthbert speeches focusing on Alfred's sympathy and charity for the pilgrim. Bliese argues against Luisella Simpson's suggestion that the author of the *Historia* created the Cuthbert/Alfred episode and modelled it on Bede's story of Edwin, showing persuasively that Bede's narrative has very little in common with the Alfred vision. Rather, Bliese suggests that the author of the *Historia* wanted his readers to recall the Biblical "stories" of Peter and Samuel and David. Bliese ends with a tantalizing suggestion: "These speeches attributed to saints are also important evidence for the larger study of the medieval concept of divine aid in war" (p. 61). One can only hope that he will satisfy the expectations roused by this suggestion and by his other articles on battlefield orations in a future full-length study.

c.   The Anglo-Saxon Church

Richard Gameson's *Saint Augustine of Canterbury* (Canterbury) is a slim, colorful booklet produced to accompany the photographic exhibition at Canterbury Cathedral that marked the 1400th anniversary of the mission of St. Augustine to convert the Anglo-Saxons. The booklet succeeds admirably in its aim of presenting "an accessible, rounded view of St. Augustine, his context, and his significance" (p. 1). In each of the three sections on "Gregory the Great," "St Augustine of Canterbury," and "The Conversion of England," Gameson provides two or three pages of introduction outlining and discussing the historical context, then offers a catalogue of the items of which there were photographic reproductions in the exhibition. These items range from the fifth-century Canterbury silver hoard to the Franks Casket and from the "St. Augustine Gospels" (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 286) to the illustration of the east end of the abbey church of St. Augustine's in Thomas of Elmham's fifteenth-century history of the abbey (Cambridge, Trinity Hall 1). Most of the items are illustrated by a color photograph in the booklet; with the single exception of a blurred reproduction of a page of the St. Petersburg Bede (p. 4), the plates are of excellent quality.

Ian Wood's 1995 Jarrow lecture, *The Most Holy Abbot*

Ceolfrid (Jarrow, 1996), sets out to examine three main issues: the somewhat confusing evidence for the foundation of Jarrow, the resulting implications for our understanding of the early importance of Benedict Biscop's foundations within the Northumbrian kingdom, and the puzzling question of why Bede rewrote, and reshaped, the anonymous *Vita Ceolfridi* in his *Historia abbatum*. On the first issue, Wood notes that the dedication stones in the church at Jarrow commemorate Ceolfrid, not Benedict Biscop, as the founder of the church. Bede, by contrast, attributes the foundation to Benedict acting on the orders of King Ecgfrith; at this point in the *Historia abbatum* he does not mention Ceolfrid. On Wood's analysis, the most accurate account of the circumstances of the foundation is provided by the *Vita Ceolfridi*, according to which, although Ecgfrith initially donated the land for Jarrow to Biscop, Ceolfrid was the one actually chosen to carry out the work of establishing the new monastery. Wood stresses the importance of King Ecgfrith's role in the foundation of both Wearmouth and Jarrow, a role that has been too easily overlooked. It would be appropriate to see the two monasteries as royal foundations, comparable to such foundations on the Continent. The lands that Ecgfrith granted to Wearmouth and Jarrow were substantial, as lavish as the royal endowments of Lindisfarne and Ripon and far outstripping the endowment of the double monastery of *Streanæshalch* ("usually, although not necessarily correctly identified as Whitby" [p. 4]). Wearmouth-Jarrow would appear to have enjoyed especially strong royal connections: Biscop had been a royal *minister* before he opted for the religious life; his cousin Eosterwini, whom he appointed coadjutor abbot of Wearmouth, had also been a *minister*; and Ceolfrid's father was a member of the royal *comitatus*. As for Bede's apparent downgrading of Ceolfrid's role in the foundation of Jarrow, Wood links this to the ecclesiastical politics of the time and to the wish to portray Wearmouth-Jarrow as more orthodox and more solidly Benedictine than Wilfrid's foundations. Bede's rewriting of the anonymous life of St. Cuthbert can be seen in the same context. "Put succinctly the traditions of Lindisfarne and Wearmouth-Jarrow, as set out in the anonymous Lives of Cuthbert and Ceolfrid, had to be rewritten because of the criticism of those traditions implied by Stephanus's *Life of Wilfrid*. The result was Bede's prose *Life of Cuthbert*, his *Historia Abbatum* and his *Ecclesiastical History*" (p. 8). In the early eighth century, there seems to have been some embarrassment at Wearmouth-Jarrow over the way that Benedict Biscop had appointed co-abbots, an arrangement that appears to have attracted some criticism. Bede tried to "tidy up" and legitimate the early history of Wearmouth-Jarrow by demonstrating that Benedict's foreign travels made the appointment of co-abbots necessary, and by citing as parallels St. Peter's joint appointment of Linus and Anacletus at Rome and St. Benedict of Nursia's appointment of twelve abbots to take his place. Wood places Bede's underplaying of Ceolfrid's role in the foundation of Jarrow within the context of his attempt to

simplify the somewhat complex early history of Wearmouth-Jarrow for the sake of his audience. Wood also resuscitates the possibility, previously raised but rejected by scholars, that Bede may himself have been the author of the *Vita Ceolfridi* and that the account of Ceolfrid in the *Historia abbatum* may be Bede's revision of his own work. Wood's lecture incorporates a brief survey of manuscript production at Wearmouth-Jarrow during Ceolfrid's abbacy; his comments on the Codex Amiatinus include the interesting observation that the Codex's erroneous ascription of the division of Scripture in the *Vetus Latina* to Pope Hilary rather than to Hilary of Poitiers was a deliberate attempt to emphasize the importance of Rome by presenting the Bible as a papally organized text.

Simon Coates's "The Role of Bishops in the Early Anglo-Saxon Church: A Reassessment" (*History* 81 [1996]: 177–96) argues that the importance of the early Anglo-Saxon episcopate has been neglected by historians because of an uncritical reliance upon the writings of Bede and of the tenth-century monastic reformers. Their vision of a monastic golden age in ecclesiastical life in pre-Viking England underlies the interpretations both of twelfth-century Benedictine historians such as William of Malmesbury and Gervase of Canterbury and of modern historians. By failing to understand the literary strategies of our sources, modern historians, Coates asserts, have perpetuated a fundamentally misleading interpretation of the early English Church. This tendency has been further exacerbated by the recent historiographical tendency, represented by John Blair and Sarah Foot, to emphasize the role of monasticism in the development of pastoral organization in England. Coates proposes to restore the centrality of the role of bishops in "securing and consolidating the Christianization of early England" (p. 179).

Coates's "straw man" is flimsier than most. He cites no historians for his view that bishops have been unfairly ignored. Indeed, Sir Frank Stenton in his magisterial *Anglo-Saxon England* (1943, 1947, 1971) made Archbishop Theodore a central figure in his depiction of the development of the early English Church, as has more recently Nicholas Brooks, *The Early History of the Church of Canterbury* (1984). Readers familiar with C. R. E. Cubitt's *Anglo-Saxon Church Councils, 650–850* (1995), cited briefly by Coates, Simon Keynes on the Councils of Clofesho (1994), and H. Vollrath-Reichelt's *Die Synoden Englands bis 1066* (1985) would hardly be likely to underestimate the role bishops played in the Christianization of the English peoples. (Coates's discussion of the role of bishops in penitentials and councils is oddly cursory.) Fortunately, however, the value of the article does not lie in its stated thesis. Coates devotes most of his attention to unpacking the literary strategies of Bede, the anonymous *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, and Stephanus's *Vita Wilfridi*. Coates posits that a fundamentally different conception of theology separates the representations of bishops by the former two and by Stephen. Bede, according to Coates, "defined a view of episcopal au-

thority which was related to the bishop's ability to combine the ascetic life of solitude, renunciation of the values of the world, and the study of the Scriptures with the active life of preaching and ministering to his flock" (p. 181). Bede's and the anonymous *Vita sancti Cuthberti*'s depictions of bishops drew upon the Irish tradition of white and green martyrdom, that is the martyrdom that comes from moral struggle reflected in separation from men, toils, and fasting. Stephen in his *Vita Wilfridi*, on the other hand, adopted an entirely different conception of episcopal merit derived from contemporary Merovingian hagiography. Coates's article is most valuable in its discussion of the *Vita Wilfridi*, one of the most important texts for the early English Church. He is persuasive in his argument that Stephanus consciously shaped Wilfrid's life according to a model in which sanctity was acquired through the endurance of, and triumph over, Christlike suffering at the hands of secular and ecclesiastical authorities. He successfully draws parallels between Stephanus's portrayal of Wilfrid's trials and Jonas's *Vita Columbani*. Of course, St. Columbanus was an abbot and not a bishop, and Coates is less convincing in his assertion that Stephanus was influenced by works that actually depict the trials and suffering of Merovingian bishops, such as the *Acta Aunemundi*, the *Passio Praefecti*, and the *Passiones Leudegarii*. Nor is it completely clear what his interesting analyses of models of episcopal sanctity (which he sees in terms of "diversity of early Anglo-Saxon episcopal authority") have to do with his stated purpose of restoring bishops to a central place in the story of the Christianization of early England.

Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings (Collegeville, 1996), edited by Miriam Schmitt and Linda Kulzer, is a collection of seventeen essays, all by modern Benedictine women, outlining the lives of outstanding female religious figures from the sixth to the seventeenth century. Each essay, in addition to providing a brief biography of its subject, also offers a summary of her influence over the centuries and an indication of her contemporary significance. Five chapters concern early Anglo-Saxon saints. These chapters hold more for the general reader than the specialist, as they contain little in the way of new research, their authors being content for the most part to repeat information that can be found in other sources. Two of the chapters, on Hilda and Frideswide, will be considered here; three chapters on Anglo-Saxon female missionaries to Germany are discussed below (see under "England and the Continent").

Nancy Bauer's "Abbess Hilda of Whitby: All Britain Was Lit by Her Splendor" (pp. 13–31) notes that, apart from Etheldreda of Ely (ca. 630–679), Hilda (614–80) is the only female religious to receive extended treatment in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* (although Bede mentions some twenty nuns altogether). As well as providing details of Hilda's life and of her involvement in the Synod of Whitby of 664, Bauer undertakes an extended comparison between Hilda and Etheldreda. Historically, Etheldreda has been the more popular of

the two, in large part because of the respect accorded her by the Church for having maintained her virginity throughout the twelve years of her marriage to King Ecgfrith of Northumbria. In recent years, however, Hilda has come more to the fore, gaining respect for her intellectual gifts and for the strength of character she displayed as abbess of the double monastery of Whitby. As Bauer writes (p. 14): "That Hilda is more popular now than in previous centuries says as much about us as it does about Hilda. That Etheldreda was more popular in previous centuries says as much about our predecessors as it does about Etheldreda. That Etheldreda and Hilda have not sustained equal popularity through all the centuries says something about the kind of information available about both of them." The problem, she concludes, is that "there has not been enough information on Hilda while there has been too much of the wrong kind of information on Etheldreda" (p. 14).

St. Frideswide (ca. 680–727) was less fortunate than Hilda, as Bede makes no mention of her, nor is there any other contemporary record of her life. As Rosemary Rader points out in "St. Frideswide: Monastic Founder of Oxford" (pp. 33–47), historians are dependent on the brief account of Frideswide in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta pontificum*, on an anonymous *Vita* written ca. 1110–20, and on the *Vita* written ca. 1140–70 by Robert of Cricklade, prior of St. Frideswide's in Oxford. The two *Vitae* were published, with accompanying English translations, by John Blair in "Saint Frideswide Reconsidered," *Oxoniensia* 52 (1987): 71–127 (see *OEN* 23/1: 87). Rader provides a translation of the relevant passage of William of Malmesbury and summarizes the account of the saint's life presented in the two *Vitae*. She fills out her essay with an assessment of the status of women in Anglo-Saxon society and with brief outlines of the history of St. Frideswide's priory and of the movements of the saint's relics, now said to be in Christ Church Cathedral, Oxford, where a stained glass cycle by Burne-Jones commemorates Frideswide's life.

It is the early Scottish rather than the Anglo-Saxon Church that is the focus of David N. Dumville's Whithorn lecture, *The Churches of North Britain in the First Viking-Age* (Whithorn). The Whithorn Lecture is delivered annually on the Saturday closest to St. Ninian's Day (16 September), and it is appropriate that Dumville chose as his theme the impact of the Vikings on the region in which Whithorn itself lies: he considers the effects of the Viking raids and settlement on ecclesiastical life in Galloway and other parts of Scotland. From the rather scanty evidence available, he concludes that the immediate impact of ninth-century Viking activity was to produce a considerable thinning out of ecclesiastical settlements in the area; the tendency for two abbacies to be held by a single individual—seen by some scholars as a pluralistic abuse—he believes to have been, in part, a response to the crisis. There is little in the lecture that specifically concerns Anglo-Saxon England, although Dumville does comment on

the enforced wanderings of the Lindisfarne clergy and accepts the story of their temporary sojourn at Whithorn late in the ninth century (pp. 24–25); he also briefly considers the impact of the re-emergence of the kingdom of Strathclyde on the ecclesiastical politics of northern England (p. 32).

Advancing now to the later Anglo-Saxon period: Catherine Cubitt's review article, "The Tenth-Century Benedictine Reform in England" (*Early Medieval Europe* 6: 77–94), examines the three collections of essays published between 1988 and 1996 to commemorate the millennia of the deaths of Sts. Æthelwold, Dunstan, and Oswald, the architects of the English Benedictine Reform movement. The three books are: *Bishop Æthelwold: His Career and Influence*, ed. Barbara Yorke (Woodbridge, 1988; see *OEN* 23/1: 87–9); *St. Dunstan: His Life, Times and Influence*, ed. Nigel Ramsay, Margaret Sparks, and Tim Tatton-Brown (Woodbridge, 1992); and *St Oswald of Worcester: Life and Influence*, ed. Nicholas Brooks and Catherine Cubitt (London, 1996; see *OEN* 31/2: 123–25). The unusual circumstance that Cubitt here reviews a book of which she herself is a co-editor is explained by the fact that she was commissioned to write the article before Nicholas Brooks invited her to work with him in bringing the book on Oswald to completion. Cubitt praises the amount of new research embodied in the three books and notes that her aim in this article is not so much to offer a critique as to provide a synthesis of this new research, "to highlight the significant conclusions of the three volumes and to emphasise their emergent themes" (p. 77). She notes the concern of all three books to focus on the nature and context of the primary evidence. The tenth-century Reform was the subject of significant mythologizing later in the Middle Ages, and the dating and provenance of the contemporary sources in many cases remained obscure; the contributors to these volumes, however, successfully strip away the accretions of later tradition at Canterbury, Winchester, and Worcester, and–especially in the case of Michael Lapidge, who has an essay in each volume—present radically new assessments of the *Vitae* of the three saints and of the intellectual milieu that gave rise to them. The careful sifting of the evidence, moreover, foregrounds the remarkable extent of the differences between the protagonists: Æthelwold emerges as by far the greatest zealot for reform, in contrast to Oswald and Dunstan who did not seek to eject the secular clergy from their cathedrals of Worcester and Canterbury; the three also differed significantly from one another in their attitudes to saints' cults, as the essays by Alan Thacker (one in each volume) make clear. All three were, nevertheless, powerful actors in both the religious and the political sphere, and a major theme running through the volumes is the attempt to set the reformers in their social and political context as religious aristocrats able to influence the royal court and to impact upon both secular and ecclesiastical aspects of the governance of the kingdom. In this respect their work echoed that of major Continental reformers of the ninth and tenth centuries, and several con-

tributions in the three volumes enhance our understanding of the nature of the links between England and the Continent. John Nightingale's essay on "Oswald, Fleury and Continental Reform," for example, emphasizes that diplomatic activity during the reign of Athelstan was responsible in part for creating a web of political and religious links with the Continent that could be drawn upon during the Reform period; the essays by Patrick Wormald on "Æthelwold and His Continental Counterparts," by David Rollason on "The Concept of Sanctity in the Early Lives of St Dunstan," and by Donald Bullough on "St Oswald: Monk, Bishop and Archbishop" highlight the parallels between the three English churchmen and great Frankish and Lotharingian reformers like Benedict of Aniane and Gerald of Brogne, as well as finding an instructive model for Anglo-Saxon Church—Crown relations in the Ottonian Church, where powerful bishops were closely allied with the emperors. While issues such as these are strongly represented, Cubitt laments that the ideology of the Reform is somewhat neglected in all three volumes, despite the late Robert Deshman's success in highlighting ideological issues in a series of penetrating articles on art historical aspects of the Reform. The manuscript art associated with the reformers and their churches is, nonetheless, the subject of detailed study in the three volumes, notably in contributions by Mildred Budny, Richard Gameson, and Jane Rosenthal. Indeed, as Cubitt points out, the books are notably successful in bringing together well-rounded, multi-disciplinary teams of contributors with varied insights into the political, social, literary, and artistic aspects of the Reform. Yet this variety of approach, she concludes, carries with it a concomitant danger of a tendency toward specialization that can lead to a fragmented view of the period. The need now is for "an interdisciplinary approach which integrates the different sources into a more complete understanding of the complexity of the Reform. The essays in these volumes should encourage its students to see it in the round" (p. 87).

Mary Frances Smith's Boston College dissertation, "Episcopal Landholding, Lordship and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*Dissertation Abstracts International* 58A: 2344), is a fresh look at the role and power of the episcopacy in England from the late tenth century to 1066, correcting a lacuna in a scholarly literature biased toward studies of monks and nuns. The study has four central issues which its six chapters (and five appendices and seventeen subappendices) address: (1) "how and why the history of the English episcopate was re-written, particularly in the twelfth century"; (2) "the role of Anglo-Saxon bishops in the political, social and cultural unification of England"; (3) how bishops interpreted society "in fully Christian terms"; and (4) "how broadly based episcopal power was by the mid-eleventh century" (pp. 6–7). On all of these Smith has interesting and important things to say. She attempts (with success) to overcome the inclination of historians to divide the medieval world between sacred and secular, and sifts all the evidence to rethink the

topic from new perspectives. She is able by doing all this to link the fortunes and conceptual development of Anglo-Saxon kingship to the episcopate and understand the bishops' role in framing the unity of the kingdom as well as the role and position of the king. Here kings paid a price for their new "quasi-sacerdotal status"—"the concomitant rise in the influence and prestige of the episcopate" (p. 107). These new and improved *episcopi* are in their world, but not in any flat materialist sense. They adopt, adapt, and reflect the blended values of their religion as well as of their society. This is most clearly seen in Smith's analysis of the two functions bishops possessed: *servitium regis* and pastoral care. Bishops acting as royal servants were not discouraged, but neither did they cross the line to be courtiers when it would have impaired their pastoral work (chapters 3 and 4). Chapter 4 in particular offers a broad view of the spiritual functioning of the episcopate through investigation of the widest range of sources. The most thoroughly argued part of the thesis comes, however, in the final two chapters, where Smith's Domesday evidence is sorted and displayed (backed up by charts constituting all but the first appendix). Smith finds that "the bulk of Anglo-Saxon episcopal wealth was acquired in the first several centuries of the Anglo-Saxon period, and that it was primarily the result of royal benefaction" (p. 202). But bishops in the later period, after royal grants dried up, acquired wealth the new-fashioned way—they earned it through the practice of lordship. The thesis is a good one, and the book will be eagerly anticipated.

Archiepiscopal burial practices in England's two metropolitan cities from the conversion period to the end of the Middle Ages are the subject of Susanne Schäfer's *Die Tradition der mittelalterlichen Bischofssepulturen in Canterbury und York* (Frankfurt am Main, 1996). The book is one of a series of recent works by European scholars on the subject of episcopal and papal burial sites and their significance. These works include Jean-Charles Picard's *Le Souvenir des évêques: sépultures, listes épiscopales et culte des évêques en Italie du Nord des origines au Xe siècle* (Rome, 1988) and Michael Borgolte's *Petrusnachfolge und Kaiserimitation: Die Grablegen der Päpste, ihre Genese und Traditionsbildung* (Göttingen, 1989). These studies show how a prelate's choice of a burial site could be a reflection of the extent of his historical consciousness, and how the historical and liturgical commemoration of bishops was often a means for a social group to express its self-consciousness and self-confidence. Schäfer's book on Canterbury and York originated as her Freiburg doctoral dissertation. Canterbury and York are in fact the only two English sees for which there survives sufficiently precise information to allow of a study of episcopal burial sites. Two chapters cover the Anglo-Saxon period and highlight the notable differences in episcopal commemoration that emerged at Canterbury and York from the earliest times.

At Canterbury the first archbishop, Augustine, was influenced by Roman practice when he built the abbey of St.

Peter and St. Paul (later, of course, to be renamed as St. Augustine's) outside the city walls with the deliberate intention that it would serve as a burial place for archbishops and royalty. Archbishops of Canterbury continued to be buried there, in the *porticus* dedicated to Pope Gregory, until there was no more room for them. Theodore (d. 690) was buried in the nave of the abbey church, as his successors Berhtwald, Tatwine, and Nothelm may also have been. The importance that the monastic community continued to attach to the presence of these archiepiscopal graves in their midst is demonstrated by the inclusion in the twelfth-century Martyrology of St. Augustine's of a special commemorative mention of all the archbishops buried there (by contrast, those not buried at St. Augustine's merited only a brief mention). Archbishop Cuthbert (d. 760) initiated a new tradition. Wishing to be buried within the city walls and in close proximity to the cathedral that he had served, he built a baptistry dedicated to St. John adjacent to the east end of Christ Church; the baptistry then served as the burial place for archbishops until the tenth century. With Archbishops Oda (d. 958) and Dunstan (d. 988) there came another change. By their own choice they were buried in the cathedral itself, thereby inaugurating a custom that was to continue for the rest of the medieval period. At the end of the thirteenth century, Prior Henry Eastry bent the truth somewhat when, in order to dissuade Archbishop John Peckham (d. 1292) from choosing to be buried in the Franciscan community at London (to which he had formerly belonged), he told him that all his predecessors had been buried at Christ Church as far back as memory could go. The value that the Christ Church community placed on having its archbishops buried in their midst is reflected in the fact that in Christ Church's fifteenth-century Martyrology, there is no mention of the early archbishops who were buried at St. Augustine's.

York never had a burial tradition to rival that of Canterbury, in no small measure as a result of the political instability of the North in the early Anglo-Saxon period and the early fragility of Christianity there. Paulinus, the first bishop of York, was eventually forced to flee the North; he subsequently became bishop of Rochester and was buried there. Several of his successors—notably Wilfrid and John of Beverley—preferred to be buried in the monastic communities to which they had at some point belonged rather than in York Minster. Egbert (d. 766) was apparently the first archbishop of York to be buried in the minster, and for the rest of the Anglo-Saxon period, the archbishops were buried in York only intermittently. During the tenth century Canterbury further asserted the predominance of its burial traditions by rescuing Wilfrid's relics from neglect at Ripon and providing them with an honorable resting place in Christ Church.

Schäfer completes her study with two useful resources: a bare list of the archbishops of Canterbury and York and their burial places; and a fuller catalogue in which there is an entry for each archbishop that notes and discusses the historical sources that cover the circumstances of his appointment to office and his burial. Given that her book covers a period of almost one thousand years, it is not surprising that in her coverage of the Anglo-Saxon period there are occasional lapses, as when on p. 54 King Edward the Confessor is twice referred to as King "Edgar." Despite this, the book is a stimulating and useful survey that successfully contrasts the different traditions of commemorating the archbishop in England's two metropolitan provinces.

d. England and the Continent

Frustrating though our limited sources can be, they have been zealously mined, not only by Anglo-Saxonists, but by scholars of early Continental history. Paul S. Barnwell, for example, remarks in his article, "War and Peace: Historiography and Seventh-Century Embassies" (*Early Medieval Europe* 6: 127–39) that English sources, particularly Bede, represent an exception to a general paucity of evidence for embassies in Francia and Byzantine contact with the West. Barnwell summarizes and evaluates the limited evidence for embassies in the seventh-century West on a broad scale, discussing Merovingian, Lombardic, English, and Byzantine diplomatic efforts. He argues that the apparent lack of evidence for seventh-century Francia does not indicate any diminution of diplomatic efforts from the better-attested sixth century, but is largely attributable to changes in the concerns, forms, and styles of the main sources. Fredegar's *Chronicle* is briefer and less detailed than Gregory of Tours's, while Paul the Deacon focuses on the internal politics of the Lombard kingdom rather than its external affairs. Seventh-century Byzantine sources scarcely ever refer to the West, but this had more to do with the fear of writers such as Theophylact Simocatta of reflecting poorly on the Emperor Maurice, whose main Western objective, to dislodge the Lombards from Italy, was a failure. Despite the silence of our sources, "by reading between the lines of the narratives," Barnwell suggests, "it may be possible to establish that diplomatic contact was sustained, and to gain an impression of its scale, if not its exact nature" (pp. 134–35). Barnwell argues that part of the reason for the reticence of the sources is that the type of diplomacy had changed. Due to the unification of the Frankish kingdom, the establishment of agreed-upon frontiers separating the various Western "barbarian" kingdoms, and Byzantium's abandonment of any serious attempt to reestablish the empire in the West, the seventh century was more peaceful than the sixth. The type of contacts that kings had with one another were now more peaceful and routine, involving such matters as announcements of royal accessions and negotiations of trading relations, and hence less "worthy" of notice in a chronicle. The sending and receiving of embassies were so important and well established functions of kingship, Barnwell suggests, that the description in the *Annales Mettenses priores* of the numerous legations that paid suit to Pippin II

after his defeat of Radbod of the Frisians ought to be read as the chronicler's attempt to establish Pippin's regality. Barnwell concludes that Frankish contact with foreign rulers continued in the seventh century and "may even have been relatively commonplace" (p. 139). Barnwell may well be right about this. His argument is certainly plausible, but, given the nature of the evidence, it is hardly certain.

Cordula Nolte makes use of Anglo-Saxon sources to supplement and inform her summary and initial comparison of the roles of male and female royalty in conversions to Catholic Christianity, "Gender and Conversion in the Merovingian Era," which appeared in *Varieties of Religious Conversion in the Middle Ages*, ed. James Muldoon (Gainesville), pp. 81–99. Nolte modestly describes her article as "primarily a survey of numerous and varied references to the appearance of men and women in the texts discussing conversion from the fifth century to the eighth" (p. 95). Her goal is to frame a number of key questions about what the early medieval sources reveal about women, specifically royal women, as "objects" of missionary work, Christianization, and conversion, and whether women were converted in the same manner as men. Her focus is on the Merovingian sources, notably the *Life* of Liudger and Gregory of Tours's *History*, but she also touches on Bede's portrayals of the marriages of Æthelberht of Kent and Edwin of Northumbria. She finds that the sources are less interested in detailing the conversion of royal women than of their husbands and brothers. They rarely, for instance, mention the baptism of queens and princesses, though these events can sometimes be deduced from the narratives. The Merovingian sources tend to portray royal husbands and wives and brothers and sisters as accepting Christianity together "in accordance with the collective character of early medieval conversion" (p. 88). When royals married, the wife, it is suggested by the sources, was expected to give up her own religious traditions and accept the religion or denomination of her husband. Under specific political circumstances, however, the wife's family could negotiate her retention of her religion. This seems to have been the case in the marriages of Æthelberht of Kent and Edwin of Northumbria. Separated from her home and kin and subject to easy divorce, a woman could be put under great pressure to give up her ancestral religious practices. Explicit references to women converting their husbands are rare in the sources, though, again, the two English examples are relevant. In both cases popes wrote to Bertha and Æthelburh urging them to preach the Word of God to their husbands and admonish them to adopt the faith. This in itself was conceived of as a privilege granted to these women, who were barred from teaching because of their sex. Unlike males, women could only convert others through the means of language. This reflects the reality that a woman could not use "more massive and pressurizing nonverbal means" to change a husband's religious attitude and practice without endangering herself. Unsurprisingly, Nolte does not sufficiently answer her series of ambitious questions in this brief article

(which still reads very much like a conference presentation), but her piece is a good beginning.

Lutz E. von Padberg offers a comprehensive survey of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity in *Mission und Christianisierung: Formen und Folgen bei Angelsachsen und Franken im 7. und 8. Jahrhundert* (Stuttgart, 1995). Originating as von Padberg's *Habilitationsschrift* submitted to the University of Paderborn in 1993, the book has undergone some revision and expansion for publication. It covers the period from St. Augustine's conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to the death of St. Boniface in 754, and considers the structures and methods of missionary activity adopted in England itself and used by Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent. Von Padberg seeks to draw upon the fruit of the researches of such scholars as Arnold Angenendt, Raymund Kottje, Otto Gerhard Oexle, and Knut Schäferdiek and to offer a synthesis with certain thematic foci. He exploits three types of primary material, which he ranks in order of authenticity: (1) legal sources, synodal acts, capitularies, and letters written by or to the missionary protagonists, as well as archaeological evidence that attests to the continuation or cessation of pagan practices; (2) *Vitae* written soon after the death of their subjects by individuals who had first-hand knowledge of those subjects; (3) hagiographical sources that were written many generations after the events they record and of which the content has been radically affected by the historical context of the period in which they were written. Von Padberg stresses the importance of the ethnic links between the Anglo-Saxon missionaries and those they sought to convert, links that he believes have been undervalued in previous studies. In the late seventh century, Egbert drew up a list of peoples ethnically related to the Anglo-Saxons whom he wished to convert; while he never succeeded in undertaking a mission himself, the peoples he listed were indeed among those toward whom Wihtberht, Willibrord, the two Hewalds, and Swithberht addressed their attention. Among the other themes that von Padberg isolates as characterizing Anglo-Saxon missionary activity are: the consistent orientation of the missionaries toward Rome; the important role played by kinship relations among the missionaries; and the eschatological content of missionary preaching, which drew on a tradition extending back to Pope Gregory the Great. This is a comprehensive, reflective study that offers several striking insights and that will repay careful perusal.

1989–90 was the "year of Willibrord," commemorating the 1300th anniversary of the Anglo-Saxon missionary's arrival in the Low Countries and the 1250th anniversary of his death. While these commemorations prompted numerous publications examining Willibrord's life and influence, no study considered the role played by the saint in medieval Frisian texts. Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., seeks to set this right in "Willibrord through Anglo-Saxon and Frisian Eyes: From History to Myth," in *Friesische Studien I*, ed. Volkert F. Faltings, Alastair G. H. Walker, and Ommo Wilts (Odense, 1992), pp. 1–28. The Frisian texts in question date from the

period 1200–1500 and include legal texts such as the *Seventeen Privileges*, the *Historia Frisiae* that exists in both Latin and Frisian, and the vernacular *Thet Freske Riim*. The image of Willibrord in these sources is quite different from that presented by Anglo-Saxon authors, and Bremmer undertakes to explain this transformation. The basic details of Willibrord's activity in the Low Countries are provided by chapters 10 and 11 of Book V of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, written while Willibrord was still alive; and by Alcuin's *Vita sancti Willibrordi*, written ca. 790, some fifty years after his death. These texts tell of how Willibrord first landed in a part of Nearer Frisia that had recently come under the control of the Frankish King Pippin, and how his attempts to evangelize deep into Frisian territory brought him up against Redbad, the last independent king of the Frisians, who, while treating Willibrord with some benevolence, was unbending in his resistance to Christianity; it was only long after Willibrord's death that Frisia was forcibly subjugated and converted to Christianity by Charlemagne. These historical facts were transformed into aetiological fiction in the later medieval Frisian texts, which distorted the details of Willibrord's career in incorporating them into a Frisian myth of origin: according to this, Willibrord succeeded in both converting the descendants of Friso (a commander in Alexander the Great's army) and persuading them to transfer their allegiance to Charlemagne; they expelled Redbad, who is described as a vassal of the "Northern king," and from then on owed no allegiance to anyone but the emperor. In reality, of course, Charlemagne was contemporary with neither Willibrord nor Redbad, and the latter was no vassal. In *Thet Freske Riim*, Willibrord even becomes the leader of an army of thirty thousand Frisians who overcome the Saxons, in gratitude for which Charlemagne grants the Frisians their independence. Because of their historical inaccuracies, the Frisian sources have often been dismissed as worthless. Bremmer argues that it is more worthwhile to analyze them as cultural artifacts, as expressions of a particular mentality. In the later Middle Ages, as one Frisian territory after another was annexed by neighboring counts, the Frisians sought to preserve their cultural identity by literary means. "As their political significance diminished, their perception of the past increasingly acquired wider dimensions" (p. 17); and Willibrord assumed the role of a folk hero.

Three chapters in *Medieval Women Monastics: Wisdom's Wellsprings* (Collegeville, 1996; cf. above, under "The Anglo-Saxon Church") tell the stories of four Anglo-Saxon nuns who became involved, either directly or indirectly, with the eighth-century mission to Germany: Walburga, Leoba, and (in one chapter) Tetta and Thecla. While Leoba is the subject of a hagiographical account commemorating her, the *Vita Leobae abbatissae Biscofesheimensis* by Rudolf of Fulda (a pupil of Hrabanus Maurus), information about the other three is scarce, being scattered in the correspondence of St. Boniface, in Hygeburg's *Vitae* of Sts. Willibald and Wynnebald (Walburga's brothers), and in an account of Walburga's miracles

written about a hundred years after her death by the priest Wolfhard. It would perhaps have been more logical to consider all four female saints within a single chapter; this would have avoided much repetition of information between the three chapters and the need to fill them out with partly extraneous information about the religious culture of the Anglo-Saxons and the status of women in Anglo-Saxon England as a whole.

Emmanuel Luckman's *"St. Walburga: Medieval Nun, Free Woman" (pp. 63–78) describes how Walburga (ca. 710–799) entered the abbey school of Wimborne after her father had decided to accompany her brothers Willibald and Wynnebald on pilgrimage to the Holy Land. Rather surprisingly, Luckman identifies the father as King Richard [*sic*] of Wessex: the father is not named in Hygeburg's account, and modern scholarship has affirmed no more than that Walburga came of noble stock. Luckman accompanies her account of Walburga's activities in Germany with a sketch of the pagan Germanic culture that she would have encountered there.

The best of these three chapters is Catherine Wybourne's "Leoba: A Study in Humanity and Holiness" (pp. 81–96). Wybourne outlines the life of Leoba (ca. 700–ca. 780) by drawing upon the *Vita* by Rudolf of Fulda while recognizing the need to use this source critically. Rudolf was writing in the wake of the Carolingian Benedictine Reform, a circumstance that has colored his account. For example, his description of Wimborne, which stresses the degree of the nuns' enclosure there, appears to reflect Carolingian expectations of what a nunnery should be like; Wybourne believes that there would have been much more freedom of movement in eighth-century Wimborne than Rudolf allows for. Wybourne emphasizes the importance for the Anglo-Saxon mission of the friendship and spirit of collaboration between Leoba and Boniface (who requested the monks of Fulda to ensure that her bones were laid next to his after their deaths).

Deborah Harmeling's chapter, "Tetta, 'Noble in Conduct' and Thecla, 'Shining Like a Light in a Dark Place'" (pp. 99–114), considers the lives of the abbess who presided at Wimborne in the period when it contributed so richly to the missionary effort, and of one of her charges who became the first abbess of Kitzingen. Little is known of Tetta (d. ca. 760) beyond two anecdotes narrated in Rudolf's biography of Leoba. While Wimborne clearly flourished under her, Harmeling's statement (p. 102) that the house numbered five hundred nuns is surely an error, and conflicts directly with the total of fifty nuns mentioned by Wybourne (p. 85) and drawn from Rudolf. Harmeling's brief account of Thecla (d. ca. 790) notes that she was one of four nuns who transmitted the information about Leoba on which Rudolf based his *Vita*. That Thecla founded the monastery of Kitzingen is recorded in the *Passio Bonifacii* written in the first half of the eleventh century. Harmeling completes her chapter with sections on such general topics as the status of Anglo-Saxon monastic women, the importance of kinship in Anglo-Saxon society

and in the Boniface mission (several of the missionaries were related to one another), and the double monastery system.

As Julie Ann Smith notes in "The Earliest Queen-Making Rites" (*Church History* 66: 18–35), the first documented queen-making for which the protocols survive is that for Judith, the daughter of Charles the Bald who was married to King Æthelwulf of Wessex in 856. While the marriage has been recognized as a central feature of the alliance formed between the two kings, the actual content of the queen-making ritual undergone by Judith has not been analyzed. Insofar as there has been discussion of the ceremony, it has been treated as a fertility rite, an interpretation that, Smith demonstrates, is much too narrow. It was Hincmar, archbishop of Rheims, who devised the *ordo* for Judith's queen-making. In doing so, he drew upon pre-existing royal blessing formulas of non-Frankish provenance; in particular, as Janet L. Nelson showed, he adapted portions of the Anglo-Saxon "Leofric" type of king-making rite, so called because its earliest surviving manuscript witness is the Leofric Missal of ca. 900, although the rite originated much earlier. Hincmar "could have delved into any of the West Frankish formularies to produce his new *ordo*; instead he consulted an Anglo-Saxon formulary to form the basis for Judith's consecration, no doubt in order to underscore her new position as queen of the West Saxons" (pp. 24–5). The Judith *ordo* has two main parts: the nuptial blessings, which include five prayers of which only the last concerns fertility; and the royal consecration. According to the *Annals of Saint-Bertin*, which describe Judith's queen-making, Æthelwulf distinguished his new wife with the title of queen only after Hincmar had blessed her and placed the diadem on her head. This marked a significant development in the ideology and theology of medieval queenship. Until this time, the prevailing view had been that the king's wife became queen by virtue of her royal marriage; she required neither secular nor ecclesiastical sanction for her queenship. Æthelwulf's conferring of Judith's title indicated that the authority to create a queen was now vested in the king. Smith completes her study by demonstrating how this notion of the king as queen-maker was reinforced ten years later when Charles again asked Hincmar to devise a queen-making rite, this time for his wife Ermentrude whom he had married many years beforehand, in 842, and who was now to have the extra prestige of unction conferred upon her. Although there are differences between the *ordines* formulated for Judith and for Ermentrude, they both demonstrate the development of more clearly defined perceptions of queenship and of the process by which a woman became a queen.

Janet L. Nelson focuses on three pivotal episodes in "The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century Reconsidered" (*The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal [Kalamazoo], pp. 141–58). She stresses the importance of incorporating a Roman perspective into any consider-

ation of relations between the Franks and the Anglo-Saxons during this period: "Anglo-Frankish contacts were pulled into a transalpine ellipse—and they can scarcely be understood unless we too feel the pull of Rome" (p. 141). In the course of her paper she revises opinions that she expressed in two earlier articles, "The Problem of King Alfred's Anointing" (*Journal of Ecclesiastical History* 18 [1967]: 145–63) and "'A King across the Sea': Alfred in Continental Perspective" (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 36 [1986]: 45–68). She first considers how the policies of King Æthelwulf of Wessex (839–58) were affected by his awareness of Charles the Bald and his predecessors. Carolingian rulers had since the late eighth century been in the habit of having their sons crowned by the pope at Rome, and had frequently assigned their sons to rule particular territories during their own lifetimes. Nelson believes that Æthelwulf followed this model when sending his son Alfred to Rome in 853: "Æthelwulf wanted his youngest son to succeed to a share in his composite realm, and in 853 he seemed in position to secure that. While Leo did not (strictly speaking) make Alfred a king, he set the seal of throne-worthiness on him: Alfred was now a prospective, a potential heir" (p. 145). Æthelwulf himself visited Rome (with Alfred accompanying him) in 855–56. His eldest son, Æthelbald, took advantage of his absence to lead a revolt, and this produced a change in Æthelwulf's policy: he sought to bolster his position by aligning himself with Charles the Bald's ambitions and marrying Charles's daughter Judith. In the second part of her article, Nelson detects Anglo-Saxon influence on Charles the Bald's stipulation, in the Edict of Pîtres (864), that those in his realm who were unable to perform military service must participate in fortifying the *civitates* of his realm: Charles was surely inspired by West Saxon provisions, from the late 850s, for the building and fortification of *burhs*. The West Saxon developments may themselves have owed much to Roman example. Just one year before Alfred's Roman journey of 853, Pope Leo IV had completed the fortification of Rome, in which teams from all the estates and towns of the duchy of Rome had participated. Nelson's third point of focus is the letter that Fulk, archbishop of Rheims, wrote in the late 880s in response to Alfred's request that Fulk send him a scholar who would help to restore the learning and morale of the Church in his kingdom. She detects a Roman dimension to Fulk's conception of his own primatial position in Rheims, and a sense of mission that led Fulk to believe that he could be the patron of efforts to re-evangelize England.

Fulk's letter to Alfred is the subject of more detailed study in Nelson's essay "'... *sicut olim gens Francorum ... nunc gens Anglorum*': Fulk's Letter to Alfred Revisited" (*Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Jane Roberts and Janet L. Nelson with Malcolm Godden [Cambridge], pp. 135–44). The letter survives only in the eleventh-century Grimbald Gospels (London, British Library, Additional 34890). It pur-

ports to have been written at the time that Fulk despatched the Frankish scholar Grimbald of Saint-Bertin to England. Its authenticity has sometimes been questioned by British scholars—most recently by Alfred P. Smyth in his *King Alfred the Great* (Oxford, 1995), pp. 257–59—while the letter has been almost completely ignored by Continental scholars who have discussed Fulk's correspondence. Nelson herself, in her 1986 article "'A King across the Sea': Alfred in Continental Perspective," leaned toward the view that the letter was a Winchester fabrication. Now, however, she makes a persuasive case for regarding it as genuine. A principal reason for doubting the authenticity of the letter has been that there is no mention of it in Flodoard's *Historia Remensis ecclesiae*, the source that preserves, in the form of excerpts and analyses, nearly all the rest of Fulk's surviving correspondence. Nelson now argues that the explanation for Flodoard's failure to mention Fulk's letter to Alfred is that Flodoard was selective and did not seek to record all of Fulk's correspondence. This was certainly Flodoard's practice with regard to Fulk's predecessor Hincmar: of 572 letters known to have been sent by Hincmar, Flodoard preserves the record of only some 450, and it is notable that he fails to record several letters to kings. Flodoard does provide a summary of another letter (written ca. 890) from Fulk to Alfred. The apparently familiarity of the tone of this letter suggests the likelihood that there had indeed been earlier correspondence between Fulk and Alfred, while a similarity of thematic content between this letter and that in the Grimbald Gospels helps to confirm that the latter is genuine. Nelson concludes that "In its setting within Fulk's letter-collection" the letter concerning Grimbald "does not seem to me out of place. On the contrary: the letter's substance has the hallmarks of late ninth-century Rheims origin, and it should therefore be accepted as genuine" (p. 143). She then repeats a suggestion first made in her 1993 essay "The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex" (in *Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. A. Duggan, pp. 125–68, at pp. 155–6) that Alfred may perhaps have planned to shift the metropolitan see to the newly refortified city of London and to appoint Grimbald to the see.

Both the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the *Life of King Alfred* mention the total eclipse of the sun that was visible in parts of southern England early in the afternoon of 29 October 878. Alfred P. Smyth calls on evidence afforded by other medieval sources and by modern astronomy to evaluate the two English accounts in his contribution to the Bately Festschrift, "The Solar Eclipse of Wednesday 29 October 878: Ninth-Century Historical Records and the Findings of Modern Astronomy" (pp. 187–210). The notice of the event in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (under the year 879) is brief and imprecise, not even identifying the day and month when the eclipse occurred. In Smyth's view this indicates that the annal was written down only after a significant amount of time had elapsed and the exact details of the eclipse had been forgotten. By contrast, the Chronicle records the appearance

of a comet in 891 in much greater detail. Yet even in this case there is some vagueness about the exact time of year at which the comet was seen, and Smyth concludes that the Chronicle's notice of both events fits with the view that this portion of the Chronicle was not compiled until 896 or soon after. The passage referring to the eclipse of 878 in the *Life of King Alfred* attributed to Asser repeats the information provided by the Chronicle annal and adds that the eclipse was visible "between Nones and Vespers, but nearer to Nones." In fact, the eclipse would have been seen in England significantly earlier in the afternoon than this. Evidence furnished by the *Annals of Fulda* and by modern astronomical calculations shows that at the time indicated, the eclipse would have been visible in the region of Fulda. W. H. Stevenson, the editor of the *Life of King Alfred*, concluded that the author of the *Life* must have been present on the Continent, not far from Fulda, when he observed the eclipse. Smyth, by contrast, suggests that this passage of the *Life* was compiled at a later date from written sources—the Chronicle and a Fulda-type set of annals—and therefore offers additional evidence for his view, expounded at length in his 1995 book, *King Alfred the Great*, that the *Life of King Alfred* is a later fabrication and not genuinely the work of Asser: "... the account of this eclipse in the *Life* of King Alfred may be yet another manifestation of the derivative nature of a compilation, which in this instance is shown by historical astronomy as well as by genuine contemporary historical records to be something other than a contemporary biography" (p. 209).

Wolfgang Georgi considers the political calculations that may have led to the marriage of King Athelstan's sister Eadgyth to the young Otto I in 929 in "Bischof Keonwald von Worcester und die Heirat Ottos I. mit Edgitha im Jahre 929" (*Historisches Jahrbuch* 115 [1995]: 1–40). On the Anglo-Saxon side, Georgi sets the marriage firmly in the context of the "Heiratspolitik" initiated by Alfred and Edward the Elder, who sought to bolster the influence of the house of Wessex by marrying their daughters to noble or royal Continental husbands. Otto's father Henry I, for his part, appreciated that the marriage would strengthen the position of the Liudolfingians vis-à-vis West Francia, Lotharingia, and Burgundy. The man charged with escorting Eadgyth (and Athelstan's other sister Edgiva, who married a Burgundian noble) to the Continent was Bishop Cenwald of Worcester. Georgi provides a brief sketch of Cenwald's career, based largely on his charter attestations which indicate that he must have been one of the churchmen closest to Athelstan. After the wedding of Otto and Eadgyth had taken place at Quedlinburg, Cenwald visited several German monasteries before returning to England. He had the names of Athelstan and the leading English nobles entered in the confraternity book of St. Gallen, which he visited on 16 October, the feast day of the community's patron saint. The St. Gallen confraternity book also includes a list of members of the Liudolfingian royal family, as does that of Reichenau. Georgi believes that while at

Quedlinburg, Cenwald was given the list—which may specifically have been a list of those family members who were present at the wedding—and was commissioned to have it entered in the monastic confraternity books. The Reichenau list, but not the St. Gallen one, gives Otto the title of *rex*. Georgi considers, but ends by dismissing, the possibility that Henry I raised his son to the rank of *rex* on the occasion of his wedding.

Daniel Rees reflects on the question of the identity of the Anglo-Saxon named Gregory who was the third abbot of Einsiedeln in "Abt Gregor von Einsiedeln. Ein Bindeglied zwischen der Schweiz und England," *Studien und Mitteilungen zur Geschichte des Benediktinerordens* 107 (1996): 13–27. According to Otloh of St. Emmeram in his *Vita sancti Wolfkangi episcopi*, Gregory abandoned his Anglo-Saxon homeland and his wife in order to take up the monastic life on the Continent. Other Continental sources note that he arrived on the Continent in 949, went first to Rome before joining the community at Einsiedeln, became abbot there in 964, and died in 996; they also describe him as the brother of Eadgyth, King Athelstan's sister and the bride of Otto I. Historians have never succeeded in confirming that Gregory was of royal blood. Rees proposes that "Gregory" was not his baptismal name but the name he took on becoming a monk. He thinks it unlikely that Gregory could have been a brother of Athelstan and Eadgyth. Otloh says that Gregory was still a youth when he traveled to Europe in 949. It is therefore unlikely that he was a son of Edward the Elder (the father of Athelstan and Eadgyth), who died in 925. One Continental source calls him the son of King "Edelmund" of England, a possible error for "Edmund"; but Gregory could not have been the son of King Edmund I (Athelstan's half-brother), as the latter was born in 921 and would have been no more than a child at the time Gregory was born. Rees concludes that, although Gregory may not have been of royal blood, he must have come from the highest social rank; this would help to explain why, as abbot, he appears to have been able to move easily within the German imperial circle. Rees suggests that the many contacts opened up between England and the Continent during Athelstan's reign, and the poor state of monasticism before the Benedictine Reform of the third quarter of the tenth century, were the main factors that stimulated Gregory to abandon his homeland. Einsiedeln, the Swiss monastery of which he became abbot, was one of the Lotharingian houses reformed as a result of influence streaming from Gorze. Several aspects of Lotharingian liturgical practice are reflected in the *Regularis Concordia*; Stenton believed that Æthelwold, when drawing up the *Regularis Concordia*, must have known the customs of the Lotharingian houses, in particular those of Einsiedeln. This raises the possibility (left open by Rees) that Gregory may have transmitted back to his homeland some of the practices of his adopted monastic home and thereby contributed to the English Reform movement.

Abbo of Fleury famously spent two years (985–87) at Ramsey Abbey before returning to France to become abbot of Fleury and ultimately to be murdered at La Réole in 1004. Jean Dufour wishes to explain the pattern of the wide dissemination of the death notice that was sent out after Abbo's assassination. In his "'Pio Abbone orbati sumus': l'annonce du décès d'Abbon, abbé de Fleury (1004)," *L'Ecrit dans la société médiévale: divers aspects de sa pratique du XIe au XVe siècle*, ed. Caroline Bourlet and Annie Dufour (Paris, 1991), pp. 25–38, Dufour offers a brief description of the surviving records relating to Abbo's life, writings, and assassination, and concludes that what the list of recipients of his obituary reflects is specifically Abbo's place as a supporter and patron of monasticism—meaning regular life of all sorts, including that of canons—rather than any indiscriminate collection of important people in the Church. Abbo and Fleury had created a wide network of former students and current scholars who attest to Fleury's significance in late tenth-century France.

Michael Hare's "Kings, Crowns and Festivals: The Origins of Gloucester as a Royal Ceremonial Centre," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 115: 41–78, tries to set the crown-wearing of English kings in a new context. Building on much work on Carolingian and Ottonian crown-wearing ceremonies as well as on links between Germany and England in the tenth and eleventh centuries as revealed by architecture, art, books, and so on, Hare argues that "crown-wearing existed in Anglo-Saxon England long before the Norman Conquest, certainly by the tenth century and possibly by the late eighth" (p. 44). He extends this to argue that during the reign of Edward the Confessor the ceremony was refashioned under German influence transmitted through Bishop Ealdred of Worcester. Hare admits that there is a dearth of evidence as well as the contrary testimony of William of Malmesbury (who labels it a post-Conquest habit), but nevertheless constructs a pretty good case for the practice of ceremonial crown-wearing in the two centuries before 1100. One strength of Hare's argument is that he is unwilling to stop with the warm fuzzies of "cross-channel influences" or "impact of the Rhineland" that we often use as a crutch, but instead not only identifies the "key personality" in the reintroduction of German ceremonial practices as Bishop Ealdred of Worcester (1046–62), but also claims (persuasively) that "in all likelihood Ealdred's rebuilding of Gloucester Abbey in 1058 was closely linked to this development" (p. 50). The circumstantial evidence is presented to show that "Ealdred began work at Gloucester soon after his German visit of 1054 with the specific object of adapting the building to serve as a setting for the performance of the laudes regiae in the context of the crown-wearing ceremony" (p. 52). The weight of the evidence, which Hare finds "considerable" (p. 52), appears to me of lesser density and mass, and so this attractive theory must remain just that. Why did the first two Norman kings wear their crowns in Gloucester? Hare puts it all on Ealdred and the ancient Mercian tradition of Glouces-

ter as a royal center, neither of which gave it enough fuel to get far past 1100. After the start of Henry I's reign, the use of Gloucester appears to have been dropped from royal itineraries. I would add that the first Norman kings would be much more likely to have continued to use it because Edward the Confessor used it—exceptionally among pre-Conquest kings. As the Normans claimed to be Edward's heir, they would simply imitate his behavior, including his itinerary. But after all, as time went by, Gloucester, the English equivalent of Tulsa, was too far away to draw these new kings once they were over the hump of legitimacy and had political concerns in other directions (the Continent, the North). This piece is copiously annotated and clearly argued and pulls together a good deal of disparate evidence.

In *Women's Monasticism and Medieval Society: Nunneries in France and England, 890–1215* (Ithaca), Bruce L. Venarde attempts to redraw the old picture of women's regular life in the tenth through twelfth centuries to show that, contrary to established views that see women excluded from the advances of the Reform movement of the period (in fact in decline), the situation was quite different. Venarde's women are the beneficiaries of a growth in the number of nunneries from the late eleventh to the first half of the twelfth century (1080s-1160s). These nunneries were not, however, just another manifestation of the expanding piety and participation in religion characteristic of the Reform period—in other words produced for much the same reason as men's establishments. Rather, they are products of changing "familial and marital situations, economic expansion, and the decentralization of power" (p. xiii). The heart and soul of the book is chapter 4, "Social and Economic Contexts in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," which elegantly lays out how changing patterns of aristocratic marriage, "economic and managerial contributions ... of the lesser aristocracy in the endowment and management of new nunneries" (91), and the political chaos of the time all helped create this surge. This is not a book about women's spirituality, nor about daily life in a nunnery, but a semi-statistical, semi-anecdotal argument about the growth and decline of such establishments in England and France. Here there is some imbalance in coverage. The pre-twelfth-century parts of the book are mostly a Continental show—not surprising given the limited evidence for women's regular life in England before the 1080s—but Venarde does integrate what is known about England into the European trends with a provocative and clearly argued thesis.

e. Late Anglo-Saxon England

Although Pauline Stafford uses the metaphor of putting flesh on the skeletons of her joint subjects, *Queen Emma and Queen Edith: Queenship and Women's Power in Eleventh-Century England* (Oxford and Malden, MA), she is really doing something a good deal more complicated: how do you understand a queen's life when the sources are so weak? Her answer is to join together two queens similarly situated—relatives in fact—and tell their stories "three times in three different ways" (p. viii). The first round consists of three pages of the bare facts (pp. 3–5); the second (Part I) presents the stories told about these queens by contemporary or near contemporary writers; the third (Part III) is Stafford's own "reconstructed and interpreted late twentieth-century narrative" (p. viii). All is fixed here in a moment of time, with no pretensions to do other than what one's own epoch allows. Part II of Stafford's book covers the concept of queenship in the tenth and eleventh centuries by analyzing its manifestations: image, duties, institutions, and power. Some biographies work best with such background woven into the narrative of the subject; here, however, Stafford, silently acknowledging that Part II, which is much broader than her biographical subjects, is longer than Parts I and III combined (the actual "biographies"), sets it apart. Readers interested only in Stafford's "take" on Emma and Edith can turn to Part III. Or, if instead of Stafford's reconstruction, a reader wants an analysis of the Encomiast's perspective, Part I awaits. Such a use of the book eliminates the repetition found throughout. However, I would recommend against it. The richness of the book arises from Stafford's very sensible decision to situate these lives with adjoining contextual analysis, but not to bury them in it, as often happens with biographies of medieval people poorly served (according to modern standards) by contemporary sources. Insights throughout are refreshing on matters small and great. For example, the issue of Emma's language(s) is dealt with imaginatively and carefully: Emma was likely a Danish (not a Romance) speaker and found the English of Æthelred's court foreign (and unintelligible). On a great matter, Emma's role in the 1016–1017 transition, her association with London, her marriage to Cnut, are all of special importance and are linked and explained with the use of everything from the location of Emma's dower estates to the skaldic verse likely recited before Cnut. Edith is likewise well served. This is a very rich book that will significantly shape our vision of the eleventh century.

Ian W. Walker's *Harold: The Last Anglo-Saxon King* (Stroud) devotes attention to a deserving subject: Harold II, king of England for just over nine months, but also a powerful English magnate under the Confessor and for long a symbol of the lost destiny of the Anglo-Saxon kingdom. Walker's vision is partly derived from the force of the latter: he wishes "to restore to King Harold that which he deserves: a rightful place among the eleventh-century kings of England" (p. xxix). I never knew historical figures—so distant from us, and for whom we cannot vote—deserved anything other than the truth. Walker starts with family and then traces Harold's successive crises or interrelations with Edward the Confessor, William of Normandy, his brother Tosti, and Harald of Norway, offering vivid description and sometimes insightful analysis. The book bears the signs of having been written for a general audience. Liberties are taken with sources and in the

narrative as well. "Harold," we are told, "had been considering the Norman duke's ambitions for a year," when suddenly the North rose against his brother Tosti. Walker does not buy the explanation that Tosti was seen in the North as a West Saxon earl in an Anglo-Danish earldom because Tosti's mother was a Dane and he must therefore have been "raised speaking both languages and steeped in both traditions" (p. 102). If only the sources were so forthcoming and rich. But the work is more than just a popular history; the pages are speckled with the primary sources evaluated, accepted, qualified, or dismissed, and this shows Walker to be fully engaged with the evidence and some of the very good scholarship already available on Harold's reign. Given the genre, this is good work.

N. J. Higham's *The Death of Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud) is not meant to be a scholarly book, but does attempt to advance some original ideas. Even given such a target audience, it is no comfort to recognize that it will warm the heart of anyone wanting to be reborn intellectually and emotionally in the age of Sir Walter Scott. This is political history in the style of the nineteenth century-is this what the public still demands? Higham's introduction identifies the book's heroes and points out the elements of tragedy in the Anglo-Saxon kingdom's last century. History becomes a stage and the people who lived and died then are forced to take on leading roles as heroes. Edward is a hero, facing a changing political landscape where old rules no longer could guide him through the thicket of succession, and not particularly pious (except in a conventional way). He is a man of the hunt (especially in his later years) rather than just "the Confessor." Harold too, "quintessentially English in the 1060s" (p. xvi), was a leader to be reckoned with. And so on. Higham fights against the anachronism of his theme—the deep background to the English defeat at Hastings and the subsequent rupture in their history—but often in vain. In places the book bristles with tendentious claims, but that is not all of it. Elsewhere Higham offers a narrative filled with interesting speculation, albeit not often distinguished by the author from his more sober descriptions (e.g., p. 166). Higham applies brakes to his imagination in places, for example on the issue of the reality of 1066 as dividing two separate epochs and on the identity of the English. The plates and maps are wonderful, though not always clearly tied to the accompanying text.

Frederick C. Suppe collects and analyzes evidence scattered in a number of sources in his 1997 *Haskins Society Journal* article, "Who Was Rhys Sais? Some Comments on Anglo-Welsh Relations before 1066" (pp. 63–73). Suppe chose the obscure Rhys Sais for study because, as Suppe explains, "he is by far the earliest example I have found of a Welshman named Sais" (p. 64), the Welsh word for "Englishman." Suppe shows that Rhys Sais ap Ednyfed ap Llywarch Gam ap Lluddica ap Tedur Trefor, who died in 1070, played the role of go-between in negotiations in 1057 between the Welsh ruler Gruffudd ap Llywelyn and Earl Leofric's son Ælfgar that produced an alliance which, according

to K. L. Maund, was a crucial element in the maintenance of Gruffudd's power. Suppe persuasively supports this identification on the basis of Welsh onomastic terminology, evidence based upon chronology and geography, and evidence derived from Welsh genealogy. Following Melville Richards and A. D. Carr, Suppe concludes that the epithet "Sais" did not connote only Welshmen whose mothers or wives were English, but also those who interacted with the English, whether as involuntary hostages or as intermediaries. He argues that the epithet was bestowed upon Rhys by his contemporaries and not invented after his death, and was indicative of his well-known activities as a go-between. Suppe teases sufficient evidence from the scattered references in the Welsh chronicles and Domesday Book (where Rhys is listed as holding the small manor of Erbistock in Chester) to conclude that Rhys Sais was an Anglo-Welsh intermediary who began a family tradition of diplomatic service which persisted for nearly two centuries.

f. Anglo-Saxon Law

John Frederick Winkler's rather breathless survey of "Roman Law in Anglo-Saxon England," *Legal History* 13 (1992): 101–27, has as its strength its comprehensiveness-covering all aspects of Roman law or Latin legal language in England from the *Adventus Saxonum* to the twelfth century. The research into Continental scholarship on the issue is particularly impressive and anachronism rarely appears. The primary evidence on the subject is collected, sorted, and labeled. The problems with the paper stem from too great a willingness to read the law literally, without taking into account nuance or questions of authority. The author cites, for example, the works by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill and Patrick Wormald, but neither addresses the issues they raise about the status or role of written law, nor dismisses them.

David A. Thomas's "A Bibliographic Overview of Early English Legal History," *Law Library Journal* 81 (1989): 639–47, summarizes the historical background to law in Britain from the Celts to the Norman Conquest and beyond, a background that appeared at length in a series of law review articles he published between 1984 and 1986. The article is in no way "bibliographic," if comprehensiveness and currency are the aim, nor is its series of generalizations at all a trustworthy guide to legal or historical developments in Anglo-Saxon England.

The law code of King Ine of Wessex (688–726) is the only Anglo-Saxon legislative document to devote some of its clauses to provisions for native Britons. Those provisions are described and discussed by Louis M. Alexander in "The Legal Status of the Native Britons in Late Seventh-Century Wessex as Reflected by the Law Code of Ine," *Haskins Society Journal* 7 (1997 for 1995): 31–38. Nine laws in the code specifically apply to Britons living within the borders of Ine's kingdom. The clauses concerning Britons who were freemen

grant them clear legal status but set their wergelds at a rate significantly below those of Ine's Saxon subjects; similarly, the oath of a Briton was worth less than that of a Saxon. Clauses 74–74.2 provide rules applicable to the eventuality of a British slave killing a Saxon and allow the possibility of an owner buying back the life of his slave by a payment to the kin and the lord of the slain man; Alexander suggests that this provision may have been rooted in a native British custom. Archaeological and place-name evidence indicates that there was a substantial British population in seventh-century Wessex, and it may have been the strength of their numbers that compelled Ine to grant the Britons some level of status. At the same time, Alexander suggests that there may have been economic reasons to encourage Ine to recognize British landholdings and keep as much acreage under cultivation as possible. In his view, Ine's legal provisions for the Britons struck a skillful balance between providing them with a secure legal status and ensuring that his own people occupied the superior ranks.

In "Fault in the Law: The Influence of the Penitentials on the Anglo-Saxon Legal System," *The Catholic Lawyer* 31 (1987): 264–76, Erika Nagy Lert summarizes some points in Holdsworth, Pollock and Maitland, and Plucknett, combines them with some observations of Francis Oakley's 1923 study of penitentials in Anglo-Saxon England, and reaches the conclusion that absolute liability (where there are no issues other than the consequence of the act) and liability based on fault (where there are issues other than consequences) co-existed by 1000 in English law, a result of the influence of the fault-sensitive penitential tradition of the "Catholic Church" on the absolutist position of Germanic law. The thesis either states the obvious, or depends on parataxis for its power of persuasion. Besides a cursory use of A. J. Frantzen's work on penitentials, the author shows no awareness of all the important work done on English law since Plucknett, nor on the crucial issue of the authorship of many of the laws and penitential records by the same people (i.e., Wulfstan).

Stanley Rubin, in "The *bot*, or Composition in Anglo-Saxon Law: A Reassessment," *Journal of Legal History* 17 (1996): 144–54, argues against the hitherto prevailing view that *bot*, like wergeld, was tied to status, and thus constituted an amount of compensation for injuries that differed between ceorls, thegns, and ealdormen. He, however, claims that in cases "uniquely, where *personal injury* was involved, there is no evidence in the law codes that variation of compensation values was granted to reflect personal status" (p. 146). The cause of such an error in past interpretation by everyone from Henry Adams to J. E. A. Jolliffe is, he claims, that they all misread *Leges Henrici Primi* c. 76.1, and then based their interpretation of Anglo-Saxon practice on that misreading. The post-Conquest *Leges Henrici Primi* (ca. 1114–18, strangely characterized by Rubin as "orderly and logical" [p. 147]) says "si homo occidatur sicut natus erit persoluatur" ("If a man shall be killed, as he was born so shall he be paid

for," which is virtually how the author of the *Leges* earlier translated in his *Quadripartitus* the Old English text *Wergeld* 2, which likely dates from 939–46). Rubin points out that Holdsworth and others have used this chapter to justify a floating level of *bot*, and do not recognize that c. 76.1 is limited to cases of killing, where wergeld, not *bot*, is the payment. The exception that proves the rule on status-less *bot* is the clergy, who do get slightly more compensation for personal injuries. Not all is persuasive, not least Rubin's translation of Old English texts (e.g., II Cn 49), or his trust that the mention of something in the laws (e.g., *badbrecan* in II Cn 6) "indicates that such offences were not infrequently encountered" (p. 149). Nevertheless, his study is valuable for focusing attention on our suppositions about the meaning of Old English legal jargon.

Patrick Wormald, in "Giving God and King Their Due: Conflict and Its Regulation in the Early English State" (*La giustizia nell'alto medioevo (secoli IX–XI)*, 2 vols., Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo 44 [Spoleto], 1:549–83), argues for the efficacy of royal justice in tenth- and eleventh-century England, basing his conclusion not so much on royal law as on his observation (illustrated with cases) of "the working of judicial machinery, very much as law-codes dictated" (p. 569). He focuses attention in particular on the case of Wynflæd and Leofwine from ca. 990 (P. Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1454), finding in it that "the conduct of the case agrees closely with the prescriptions of Cnut's code, which is thirty years later than our case, but very largely based on legislation by Edgar of about thirty years before it" (p. 569). He addresses A. Kennedy's contrary conclusion from his 1995 *Anglo-Saxon England* article, "Law and Litigation in the *Libellus Æthelwoldi episcopi*," by suggesting reasons for the *Libellus*'s limitations and Ely's particular circumstances vis-à-vis the king at the time of its suits. English justice, then, operated in the context of the early English state. Lest his Continental audience think him guilty of any English bias, Wormald uses "examples of activity which make ["state" justice] look as oppressive, corrupt, even inefficient, in the 990s as in the 1290s (or 1990s)" (p. 579). In Wormald's view, the decisive period of England's divergence from the course of post-Carolingian law on the Continent was the tenth century, and not the twelfth as usually asserted. The implications for Anglo-Saxon justice, the continuity of law and its administration over the Conquest, and the origins of the common law, are great and worthy of attention.

"Women's Rights in Early England" by Christine G. Clark (*Brigham Young University Law Review* 1995: 207–36) is a summarizing pastiche of the views of S. Dietrich, F. M. Stenton, C. Fell, H. R. Loyn, and A. M. Lucas, occasionally punctuated by a primary source, and reaches a predictable picture of Anglo-Saxon England as a feminist Eden flattened by the Norman misogynist juggernaut. Some observations undermine the author's authority (e.g., Anglo-Saxon Scandinavians) and her handling of sources is flat or flawed

(the "treaty" of Edward and Guthrum, forged by Wulfstan, is treated as an authentic code). Documents are taken at face value as statements of norms. There is no context presented for women's "rights," marriage, child-bearing, in the late antique and early medieval world and its Church. Readers are better served by almost any other piece on the subject.

The experience, perception, and legal and ecclesiastical treatment of widowhood are the focus of Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr.'s essay "Widows in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Between Poverty and the Pyre: Moments in the History of Widowhood*, ed. Jan Bremmer and Lourens van den Bosch (London and New York, 1995), pp. 58–88. Bremmer avails himself of the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* to draw together a large body of evidence which he organizes around the themes of "Widows and Legislation," "The Royal Widow," "Widows of Lower Rank," "The Widow-Witch," "Changing Perspectives: The Church's View of Widows," "Commiseration with Widows," and "The Chaste and Pious Widow." He notes that while Old English had two terms, *widuwe* and *laf*, to denote a woman whose husband had died, there was no term to denote the male equivalent, the widower: a fact that "reveals that the woman as the one who had lost a partner was the marked person in society, whereas the widower was in a less vulnerable position and freer to choose a new partner" (pp. 58–9). Royal widows often succeeded in maintaining themselves in a position of influence—in the case of Queen Sexburh (the wife of King Cenwalh of Wessex) and Æthelflæd, Lady of the Mercians (d. 918), by assuming rulership following their husbands' deaths, but more frequently by wielding influence within the court as dowagers. Widows of lesser status sometimes had difficulty in keeping control of estates bequeathed to them and had to argue their case vigorously, as is shown by the evidence of surviving wills and charters. That certain widows were associated with witchcraft is clear from a reference to sympathetic magic on the part of a widow in a charter involving Bishop Æthelwold and from two early Anglo-Norman cases recorded in the *Gesta Herewardi* and in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum*. Bremmer's survey of the Church's view of widows and of the ideal of the pious widow draws on Pope Gregory's replies to St. Augustine's queries, on penitential material, and on the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan; he concludes that the homiletic view that the widow ought to remain chaste and not remarry corresponded only in part with Anglo-Saxon reality. The essay assembles an impressive range of material while leaving scope for subsequent scholars to explore individual issues in greater depth.

Valerie A. Sanchez's "Towards a History of ADR: The Dispute Processing Continuum in Anglo-Saxon England and Today," *Ohio State Journal on Dispute Resolution* 11 (1996): 1–39, is a bizarre piece. The author determines to consider Anglo-Saxon dispute resolution in light of a modern American movement to facilitate ADR—"Alternative methods of Dispute Resolution"—focusing her attention on "settlement outcomes" and "dispute resolution processes" over judgement. She claims that her article "reaches numerous conclusions that revise past perceptions of Anglo-Saxon dispute processing" (38). After reading the article, I can only wonder whose past perceptions—perhaps Stubbs's or Holdsworth's? The work is bristling with the best of Victorian and Edwardian scholarship (see, e.g., p. 17, n. 60). Although Sanchez appears to have read the very important and recent (and copious) work by scholars like Patrick Wormald, she has misunderstood their work and ends up repeating their conclusions in new guise as if her own revelation. And the revelation is crystal clear. Some very good minds have failed to find the *process* in dispute resolution—but Sanchez can put it on a chart (p. 10)! The gist of the piece is her claim that we can find the roots of modern dispute resolution in the Anglo-Saxon past and thus can learn about how this has been done (and can be done now). Lamenting that "few historians of English law have researched or written about historical aspects of dispute processing," and that "no legal historian has, heretofore, subjected the charter evidence to a processual analysis," she nevertheless forges ahead and finds that "useful 'lessons' can be drawn from the effective ways that the Anglo-Saxons coped with conflict." This is essentially like wandering around Manhattan today and claiming the island is still virgin pasture, all the while advising a skeptical audience that the property may one day be very valuable. The article is a vast sea of anachronism, all emanating from the legal profession's fixation with the paternity (and authority) of its contemporary practices and from its faith that law exists outside its culture, an abstract thing that can be handled with perfect confidence by people with legal training. Alas! It may be that those English people who encouraged the resolution of disputes out of court were an enlightened bunch we would do well to appreciate, but the qualities of Anglo-Saxon justice that I see make Texas's and Illinois's capital prosecutions and convictions look sound, fair, even divine. This Anglo-Saxon world after all was one that believed that at the end of the world, in a great maelstrom of divine punishment (a result of judgement, for one does not do ADR with God), likely they and most of their family members and friends would be cast into the pit of everlasting torment for sins that were admittedly beyond their control, like Ellerbee in Stanley Elkin's *The Living End*, cast down because he honored his adoptive parents and not (as the fifth commandment required) his birth parents, whom he had never met. Bad as our own legal system is, woe to us when we look to medieval justice for advice.

g.   The Norman Conquest and Beyond

A collection of J. C. Holt's brilliant and influential articles on England from the Conquest to Magna Carta has appeared thanks to Hambledon Press (*Colonial England, 1066–1216* [London]). The articles include his work on Domes-

day Book, knight service, politics and property, the treaty of Westminster of 1153, and Magna Carta, as well as his four presidential addresses to the Royal Historical Society, entitled "Feudal Society and the Family in Early Medieval England." There is much here in these reprinted pieces for the Anglo-Saxonist that would repay a close reading—and rereading—especially on the settlement after 1066. One essay is new and gives its name to the volume. It is a conference piece, but for all that is impressively rich in implication. Holt, considering England as a colonial society after 1066, chooses "almost at random" three topics that illuminate what a "colonial society" was under the Normans: building, language, and law. First, Holt offers wisdom on the perspectives and actions of colonizers and the colonized. While the English may have thought life would go on in much the same fashion, not thinking this latest conquest much of a surprise, they were, he argues, very wrong. Holt traces the lack of resistance by the English to their expectation that life under a Norman king would not be that different than under a native ruler. Instead of continuity, however, they experienced a sickening tenurial revolution, which "took hold like a parasite within a host" (p. 5). What the English could see were the visible signs of Norman lordship: castles and new cathedrals. The building campaign that followed 1066 was in no way inevitable. The "castle was an instrument of domination" by the new rulers, and it became a site for continued display of power. But while such buildings (castles, cathedrals, and palaces) were visually arresting to the English, it was their economic and social consequences that (given their rate of collapse) were more lasting. Holt suggests, *inter alia*, that the very scope and longevity of Norman building probably explains where peasants got their cash to pay rents instead of labor service (pp. 11–12). Holt next turns to language, basing his account on the work of M. T. Clanchy, W. Rothwell, and Ian Short. The story here is amended in a few places from the usual tale of diglossia and language dominance. For instance, Holt thinks the effects of intermarriage have been exaggerated by historians, seeing the upward pull of a high-status French overcoming the romantic vision of mothers instructing their children in the *ealde tunge*. English would still be in the air, but more often (in mixed noble homes) in the servants' rooms than in the great hall or its bedchambers. But instead of a great divide between languages, Holt is driven by the overwhelming evidence of *communication* to posit "a frontier zone in which words, phrases, constructions even, of the different languages intermingled" (p. 17). Finally turning to law, Holt finds, much as in language, an intermingling of the old and the English with the recently arrived and Continental, but focuses attention on how the combination created something quite insular and quite new: the common law. He illustrates continuity with a wonderful description of how local procedures persisted and gave identity to local communities—in this case the preference into the early modern period for beheading criminals in the town of Halifax in the manor of Wakefield. The preference is in

fact a survival of Anglo-Saxon *infangentheof*, "the right to execute a thief caught in the act," which also allowed victims to recover their stolen goods (usually forfeited with the felon's own property). What clinches the case for "Halifax law" being an Anglo-Saxon survival is the coincidence of Halifax parish with the very ancient borders of *Sourebyscir*, where, Holt says, long before, when the area was settled by its Saxons, the custom came to be.

Simon Keynes considers a figure whose career bridged the Conquest period in a long article (with an appendix of all relevant records) on "Giso, Bishop of Wells (1061–88)," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 203–71. Keynes does not take the stance of one crying out against the unjust neglect of his subject. Instead, he focuses attention on "a minor player in a major league" because Giso's experiences, having held office from the reign of Edward the Confessor to that of William II, "reveal what different effects the events of 1066 had upon those who lived through them" (p. 203). Keynes treats, in order, "the Lotharingian Connection" that helps explain Giso's presence, as a native of Saint-Trond, in England in the mid-eleventh century, then the remarkable but unfortunately (according to Keynes) forged *Autobiography of Bishop Giso*, followed by considerations of Giso under three kings: Edward the Confessor, Harold, and William I. Keynes devotes short sections to two issues—the *Terra Gisonis* in Domesday Book and the "Sacramentary of Bishop Giso" (London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xviii)—before offering a general conclusion. What do we learn from Giso's life? Often somewhat less than the extant documents claim to tell us. For the account of Giso's career under Edward, Keynes offers a documentary commentary on the writs, charters, and attestations with which Giso marked his diplomatic territory (assisted tentatively by a supposed true core of the *Autobiography*). Keynes, while doubting the authenticity of the final form of the *Autobiography*, reverses the flow with respect to charters, rehabilitating Edward the Confessor's general confirmation of 1065 of the lands of Wells which has always borne the label of forgery. The charter, if authentic, suggests many things about Giso's estates and relationship to the king, not the least of which is his special relationship to Queen Edith. Giso's relationship with King Harold is only recorded in a single writ, but it is, as Keynes points out, "the sole surviving document, from any archive, issued in the name of King Harold" (pp. 239–40). Like most general writs, it reveals little. After 1066, Giso "had little difficulty in coming to terms with William the Conqueror" (p. 241). What Keynes finds in Wells is a "remarkable view of a changing, or perhaps unchanging, world under Norman rule" (p. 241). Here Giso continued to draft his documents just as before, to associate with local magnates (many of whom were English) just as before, survive the 1070 purge, attend the king, and seek favor—just as before. Perhaps it was Wells's location, perhaps Giso's links to Lady Edith, that mitigated the catastrophe of the Conquest in Somerset. This is a very rich piece.

Richard Abels prefers his conquests chaotic. In "Sheriffs, Lord-Seeking and the Norman Settlement of the South-East Midlands," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 19–50, he identifies one of the chief culprits in creating chaos in English tenure after 1066—the Norman sheriffs—and also the mechanisms by which these agents of the king became their tenurial Gogs and Magogs. First, the Normans subsumed Anglo-Saxon commendation, wherein a man could go to whatever lord he wished, with Continental Norman commendation, which offered no such choice. Second, by the very nature of their office, which offered them great power in their shires, sheriffs attracted or seized English tenants who either sought them out as lords or had little choice in the matter once their land had been given to or seized by the sheriff. The sheriffs after the Conquest were not different in species from their pre-Conquest counterparts; rather, they did much the same kind of things, "but in a radically different social and legal climate" (p. 22). This new climate made them "enterprisers" who victimized monasteries, "lordless lesser thegns and, especially, the royal sokemen with whom they dealt so often in their official capacity" (p. 22). In this world, "even if a[n English] landowner scraped past the Scylla of forfeiture, he was liable to be sucked under by the Charybdis of extortion or illegal encroachment by powerful and greedy neighbors" (p. 26). Who were the bad boys? The usual villains appear: Ralph Taillebois, Picot of Cambridge, Ilbert of Hertford, and Ansculf of Buckinghamshire, but also a host of other sheriffs and royal officials, some of whom were English (e.g., Osgeat [p. 29]). Given the lordseeking that English sokemen and others were accustomed to practice, and given the power of the sheriff as the man on the spot with great powers in the hundred courts (in which they could put men on juries to their own advantage), and given the special relationship sheriffs had with royal sokemen ("he was royal authority incarnate to the sokemen" [p. 39]), it is no wonder that sheriffs grew their business, so to speak, and ended up not as the middling new men they started as, but as powerful magnates controlling much land and many men in their own right. Abels argues his case with copious evidence (and maps) from the third circuit of the Domesday inquisitors and is persuasive and lively. He concludes with a warning against being seduced by all the legal rigmarole in Domesday Book. New sheriffs used old powers in new circumstances to ensconce themselves as barons. The English, when they could, continued to seek new lords. But this continuity is spelled with lower-case *c*. Instead of real continuity of custom, the world of lesser tenants was turned upside down, often by sheriffs who were wolves, not shepherds. Pre-Conquest commendation which was freely given and taken back was transformed "into an irrevocable tenurial relationship" (p. 40). Abels concludes that "by using the procedures and forms of Anglo-Saxon law to pursue aggressively the lands and authority over men they claimed by right of their English antecessors the Normans erected a new tenurial world upon the foundations of the old" (p. 40).

In "Patronage Engendered: How Goscelin Allayed the Concerns of Nuns' Discriminatory Publics," *Women, the Book and the Godly*, ed. Lesley Smith and Jane H. M. Taylor (Woodbridge, 1995), pp. 123–35, Georges Whalen attempts to argue that nunneries, at a disadvantage after the Conquest because cut off from the ecclesiastical power structure (which went Norman) and its English royal patrons (who landed on skid row), used hagiography as a strategy to seek protection, whether from bishops or archbishops. The article's best moments are when the author identifies Goscelin's discrimination between oral and written sources and his apparent need to justify trusting women as witnesses (concerns evident in the prologues to his *Vitae*) and when he relates these issues to the history of the particular nunnery in question. However, the essay as a whole is not very clearly argued or explained. Evidence cited does not always support claims, and judgement on issues of evidence or analysis is often worrisome (e.g., choosing to use without explanation David Knowles's 1940 figures for monastic wealth rather than Knowles's own 1971 revision: both editions are cited in the footnote, but the 1940 figures are used in the text).

George Garnett, in "Conquered England, 1066–1215," *The Oxford Illustrated History of Medieval England*, ed. Nigel Saul (Oxford and New York), 61–101, takes a very different tack than does Janet L. Nelson in her chapter in the same book (see above, p. 82). Instead of covering his territory with images broadly arrayed, Garnett narrows his focus to king and barons—politics—and sets out to "decrypt" the Norman version of their conquest and settlement and to demonstrate this version's "influence on the nature of the new regime" (p. 62). The heart of the Norman version was William I's (and his historians') claim that he was the legitimate heir to Edward the Confessor. Garnett compares English and Norman accounts of the succession and argues that while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was more or less contemporary with events and not driven by any need to justify Harold or William, the Norman accounts are "legal briefs" that are teleologically driven (p. 64). The Norman claim made no sense in a kingdom where designation of heirs was unlikely and transfer of kingdoms to someone outside the royal kin by bequest unevidenced. William I was never, and could never be, an *ætheling*. Norman historians (William of Jumièges in particular) merely transposed the ducal designation ceremony onto their portrayals of the English court (e.g., during William's supposed visit of 1051). This does not make Harold legitimate, however; instead, England had two (or three) illegitimate claimants in 1066, and only one legitimate one, the fourteen-year-old Edgar the Ætheling. Thus is the Norman claim revealed for what it was—a fraud.

The rest of Garnett's chapter is divided between five sections and charts the effects of this Norman version of events in later Anglo-Norman and Angevin political history. The analysis throughout is subtle but clearly explained, sensitive to perceptual differences revealed by language and act. From

the Norman claim to legitimacy came Domesday Book. From the inquest behind Domesday Book came a transformation of English social order (via misunderstandings). The break of 1066 was, in Garnett's view, "catastrophic" (p. 73). The picture of the post-Conquest decades into Henry I's reign is unusual and provocative. Here Norman lords used interregna "to put right the wrong"; Henry I's barons perhaps mocked the king's promise to restore the *laga Edwardi*; Anglo-Norman England was not so much well ordered as well repressed; the collapse of royal government during the civil war was just what most barons prayed for; freed from Exchequer collections, these barons founded monasteries "on an unprecedented scale"; the Anarchy's castles may have had slits too narrow to fire an arrow through; barons refused outright victory to either Stephen or Henry because the last thing they wanted was a return to the bad old days of Henry I's dictatorship. Alas for the barons, the treaty of Westminster may have resolved the interregnum, but it did nothing to resolve their underlying complaints about royal government, which explains the baronial revolt under the Angevins and much of the content of Magna Carta. There are interesting insights here for Anglo-Saxonists who like to venture deep into the twelfth century and beyond.

Judith A. Green's monumental *The Aristocracy of Norman England* (Cambridge) provides a synthetic description of people she terms not "nobles" or "barons" but the "aristocracy" from the Norman conquest to 1166—F. M. Stenton's first century. For Green, the term "aristocracy" reflects "the particular combination of birth, wealth, and power found in England after 1066," a definition she bases on the importation of Continental practices (and contemporary research) as well as on the survival of Anglo-Saxon social ranks. This aristocratic order lasted until the second half of the twelfth century, when lordship, identity, power, all changed and created a new social order. The book is divided into four parts. The first, "Conquest and Settlement," concerns the two decades after 1066, and a bit beyond, the tenurial revolution (sped on and completed by the fact that the pre-Conquest kingdom had been very integrated), the exceptional lordships of the North, and the ebb and flow of aristocrats after Domesday Book. Part II, "Wealth and Power," covers the usual suspects: lordships and their exploitation (ch. 5), a baron's castle may be his home (ch. 6), and lordship itself—that personal and political relationship between barons, their men, and their land which we used to have a word for (ch. 7). Part III examines the relationship of the aristocrats to their king: the intersections are on military matters and taxes (ch. 8) and the king's court (ch. 9). Part IV is the social and spiritual "appendix": "kinship, marriage, and family" (ch. 10), women in the aristocracy and their choices (ch. 11), and the baronial role as founders and benefactors (ch. 12). All this is followed not so much by a reiterative conclusion (though the themes are summarized and related on pp. 438–40) as by a thoughtful consideration of the issue of identity—social and political. Anglo-Saxonists

will find the conclusion, then, of particular interest. While Green's work is mostly descriptive of the post-Conquest period, they will also find useful her discussion of the conquest and settlement, castles and homes, and the relationship of barons to king in chapter 8.

In "The Memory of 1066 in Written and Oral Records," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 167–79, Elisabeth van Houts claims that the reason the Anglo-Saxons did not write much about the personal tragedies of Hastings was because the memories were simply too painful, the events too traumatic. Thus they produced no list of the heroic dead, no Maldon-like "þa Harold bræd bill of sceðe, brad und brunecg, and on þa scipman sloh." Some of the memories, however, were preserved for generations and show up in twelfth-century sources and ought, she argues, to be given more credence than is customary. Among several sources considered, one, according to the author, which attempted to use oral witnesses to cope "with the trauma by romanticizing heroic behaviour and honourable surrender, through the medium of epic narrative," was the *Gesta Herewardi*. This is not a source found often in footnotes in historical scholarship. Van Houts thinks the dismissal of the *Gesta* is a loss and sets about trying to rehabilitate it as a preserver of oral witness. She is not very convincing in establishing its credentials. The author of the *Gesta*, writing between 1109 and 1131, says he consulted two of Hereward's companions at Ely. In Van Houts's view, because veterans of 1066 could and did live into the twelfth century, "I have absolutely no doubt that Richard of Ely consulted these elderly witnesses" (p. 173). Further, she claims that the awkward linking together of oral witnesses to later events in the *Gesta* accounts for its internal problems and errors: "The linking is clumsy, but I take that to be a sign of authenticity, for no forger would have produced something so full of 'contradictions'" (p. 173). Maybe a bad forger would have, or one with no access to real records, or one only interested in spinning a good yarn. Other sources, oral and written, are ranged in support of the overall survival of memory and its road to written records later. Van Houts weaves a tapestry of Anglo-Norman historians in touch with the common people's past, with (in the article's most arresting image) English hostages trading tales with their Norman wardens (some of whom knew Norman historians), and historians of all tongues seeking out records in other tongues.

The end result? Local, specific, and personal stories of the Conquest survived in memory into the reign of Henry II, and while some Anglo-Norman historians penned their analyses of the defeat as national sin punished by God, the people who had witnessed "sin" and its punishment (and so knew better) preserved memories of "military defeat and resistance" (p. 179). Van Houts blames the historical amnesia concerning personal loss on the scope of the Conquest's destructiveness, but accepts alternatives alongside this explanation. In Normandy, different circumstances produced different kinds of works, but "oral tradition kept alive the memories of fighters

lower down the social scale" from the kings and magnates of the written chronicles and poems. Wace caught these memories just in time and grafted them to the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* in his *Roman de Rou.* This is all very interesting, but it seems to me, given the weak credentials of, e.g., the stories in the *Gesta Herewardi,* to be an awful lot built upon negative evidence.

Taking swipes at Victorian positivists and contemporary analysts, John S. Moore in "'Quot homines?' The Population of Domesday England," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 307–34, tries to estimate the size of England's population as revealed by Domesday Book. Moore steers a middle course between blanket acceptance of Domesday Book's numbers and deep skepticism of its accuracy and comprehensiveness. Domesday Book's flaws mean that it only provides "a minimum count even of heads of households" (p. 312). But Moore rejects any call to abandon Domesday information as a source to answer population questions. To answer these, he tells us, we must resolve three issues: How accurate are Domesday Book's actual figures? What sections of the population are missing from Domesday Book? And, what is the factor needed to convert heads of households into a total population? Moore finds the data impressively accurate in many places (though not infallible), identifies missing segments of the population (e.g., castle garrisons and baronial households), and offers 4.75 as the appropriate multiplier for estimating total population. "Quot homines?" Moore argues that "the 'normal' peacetime population of Anglo-Norman England can hardly have been less than 1.88 millions," against S. Harvey's 2 million and H. E. Hallam's 2.5 million.

h. Editions and Textual Studies

The period covered by this review saw a handful of new editions of texts relating to Anglo-Saxon history as well as a few studies of individual texts or groups of texts.

John Blair, in "Saint Cuthman, Steyning and Bosham" (*Sussex Archaeological Collections* 135: 173–92) examines the *Vita* of the late seventh- or early eighth-century St. Cuthman for the light that it throws on the origins of South Saxon Christianity and on the foundation of Steyning (Sussex), which by the eleventh century had developed into a significant small town that was home to a mint. The *Vita* survives in no manuscript earlier than the fourteenth century, and in Blair's estimation, the text as we have it was probably compiled or reworked in the later eleventh century, perhaps in connection with efforts made in the 1080s by the abbey of Fécamp, the Norman proprietor of the church of Steyning, to defend its parochial rights against encroachment. Nevertheless, the *Vita* appears to preserve material from a much earlier age. In it, the miracles associated with Cuthman involve power over the elements and punish those who have criticized or mocked Cuthman; this is reminiscent of early Irish hagiography, and Blair posits that there must have been an early

version of the *Vita* that was influenced by traditions emanating from the Irish monastery at Bosham (close to Cuthman's birthplace of Chidham), mentioned by Bede as existing already in the 680s. Cuthman's principal achievement was his founding of the church of St. Andrew at Steyning—a church that he built in timber and that may have resembled Norwegian stave churches. Local historian T. P. Hudson suggested in 1980 that Cuthman founded his church at an existing settlement, but Blair feels it more likely that the church came first and then stimulated settlement growth: "... it is arguable that important monastic sites were the main foci for proto-urban growth in the dispersed settlement landscape of Anglo-Saxon England. The Cuthman legend, taken in conjunction with other evidence, suggests that Steyning was such a place" (p. 183). Blair completes the article with a full edition of the Latin text of the *Vita.*

Carl Watkins's study of "The Cult of Earl Waltheof at Crowland," *Hagiographica* 3 (1996): 95–111, finds in the literary remains of Waltheof's twelfth- and early-thirteenth-century cult evidence not for the cult as an outlet for simmering national or ethnic resentment, but instead, for the needs of the Fenland abbey of Crowland, and its response to its own local crises. By dating the miracles that accompany the *Vita* of Waltheof to the first half of the twelfth century (on good evidence but not admittedly absolute proof), Watkins can trace the evolution of the cult through the early work of Orderic Vitalis, William of Malmesbury, the miracles, and ultimately the *Vita* itself. The picture he draws from all this is of a "depoliticized saint, memories of his political career having been occluded by time, and the abbots of Crowland being neither able nor desiring, to foster subversion" (p. 111). Instead those abbots, like their peers, manipulated his cult to further the interests of their abbey. But Watkins is no reductionist. On the contrary, he sees the material side of the promotion of cult and abbey intertwined with the spiritual goals of monks and local people.

In the twelfth century a number of monastic houses compiled books or chronicles detailing not so much the national doings of the kings as the local but more important acts of their friends, enemies, and neighbors and their relationship to the house. Usually these chronicles read like serial claims and litigation. One of the most important but also one of the most poorly edited is the *Cronicon Monasterii de Abingdon* (*CMA*). John Hudson has undertaken a new edition and writes here, in "The Abbey of Abingdon, Its *Chronicle* and the Norman Conquest" (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 181–202), about some of his preliminary findings on date, authorship, organization, and so on, providing valuable charts to show correspondence between the printed edition and the two extant manuscripts. Hudson distinguishes *CMA* from its mates at Ramsey, Glastonbury, Battle, and Peterborough based on form and content, and classes it instead (albeit with hesitation) with the *Liber Eliensis.* In this article, Hudson does not cover all of the *CMA*'s contents, but illustrates general tendencies and

overall value by analyzing what the *CMA* says about the Conquest. Like Ely's book, the *CMA* has much to tell us about late Anglo-Saxon England and the *Adventus Normannorum*. Checked against additional charters, archaeological evidence, and Domesday Book, the *CMA*, Hudson claims, was relatively accurate and reflected in its ambivalence toward the new kings Abingdon's own relationship to them. Among the many points Hudson addresses, in one of his more significant comments, he undermines the authority of a short text embedded in *CMA* referred to as "Abbot Adelelm's List of Knights," calling it "an untrustworthy amalgam" (p. 194), and so of little value for studying the "introduction" of knight service after the Conquest. For legal historians, he describes the kinds of disputes Abingdon had after 1066 and suggests that the *CMA* shows royal justice not to have been particularly present in the reigns of the first two Williams. An edition is on the way, though no completion date is given.

Thorney Abbey has not been well served by editors. Now, however, Cyril Hart has brought out *The Thorney Annals, 963–1412 A. D.: An Edition and Translation* (Lewiston, Queenston, and Lampeter) in facing-page text and translation with principally prosopographical notes. This constitutes a revision of an edition and translation he previously published in *Peterborough's Past: The Journal of the Peterborough Museum Society* 1 (1982–83): 15–34. The *Annals* themselves are entered on a set of Easter tables, a section severed from its manuscript by Sir Robert Cotton in the early seventeenth century. It is now London, British Library, Cotton Nero C. vii, fols. 80–84. Hart's account of the manuscript's history is at times opaque, but is not intended as the last word on Thorney's *Annals*. The entries to the *Annals* up to the twelfth century are, unsurprisingly, jejune, with deaths and accessions marking time most often. Abbot Gunter, who may have initiated the keeping of the *Annals*, gets more space, and occasional additions bespeak attitude: (1088) "In this year died King William known as 'The Bastard'" (p. 13); (addendum to the notice about the London council of 1102) "And concerning priests, it was ruled that they may not have wives" (p. 15). One is left wondering whether the scribe who wrote this was crying or smirking.

In "Christ Church Canterbury's Anglo-Norman Cartulary," *Anglo-Norman Political Culture and the Twelfth-Century Renaissance*, ed. C. Warren Hollister (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY), pp. 83–155, Robin Fleming argues that Christ Church, Canterbury, created a cartulary between ca. 1073 and 1083, "a full generation before the Worcester cartulary, and half a century before the Textus [Roffensis]" (p. 84). The early cartulary was itself lost but was hidden (and preserved) within later cartularies. It has been ignored by Anglo-Saxonists because 118 of Christ Church's charters survive on single sheets as originals, and by Anglo-Normanists because it has few post-Conquest documents. The cartulary is important, however, to historians studying "the politics of land-holding" during the reign of William I, and who want to see

"how the monks of Christ Church were using and transforming their ancient records in the generation after 1066"—in essence, the "obsessions and anxieties of the community" (p. 86). Fleming concludes that Christ Church's "desire to create new and more organized sets of administrative documents which is one of the hallmarks of the twelfth-century political culture was guided by some strange and surprising impulses, driven as much by liturgy and religious observance as the desire to produce coherent and utilitarian collections of legal documentation" (p. 86).

There are three medieval copies of the cartulary: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 189 (ca. 1150), Christ Church's register P (early thirteenth-century), and London, Lambeth Palace Library 1212 (late thirteenth-century). The earliest, Fleming finds, is the least accurate when compared to the surviving originals, and shows the most editing by its medieval compilers and scribes (Fleming assumes the scribe of the Corpus Christi manuscript is the editor, which may or may not be the case). Fleming eschews a stemma that multiplies witnesses to account for differences between the texts, but perhaps this sensible tactic heaps too much on the careless and inattentive copyist of MS C. She admits that we will never know the pedigree definitively and she also prints as an alternative Nicholas Brooks's more complicated stemma.

What makes this cartulary so interesting is Fleming's portrait of a cartulary compiler who "significantly altered the texts" of his sources. Such an editorial impulse after 1066 was not uncommon. The compiler stripped the charters down (omitting a good deal, including invocations and witness lists) and put the dating clause first, creating "not only a cartulary, but an annal and a book of benefactors" (p. 94). The compiler substituted the monks as recipients of grants predating regular monastic life at Christ Church, and turned the archbishop explicitly into the metropolitan or primate in two dozen charters-again, a later worry (p. 95).

Why were these alterations made and what do they say about the date of the cartulary? It appears that after 1066, *læn-land*—land leased to tenants—was not seen by the conquering lords as a secure holding of the lessor, but as they now held the lessee, so they held his land. Under such circumstances, *lænland* might well be lost. Thus the cartulary was drawn up "to underscore the fact that all of [Christ Church's] ancient endowments [including those now leased out] had been booked" (p. 96). As to the exact date, Fleming argues that references to "bookland" put the cartulary in the 1070s or early 1080s. After Domesday Book, "such blanket interpolations were unnecessary" because Christ Church's holdings were then confirmed (except for a very few estates).

There is much of interest in this cartulary, but perhaps the most intriguing is Fleming's conclusion that "the critical factor determining which charters were enrolled in the cartulary and which were left aside was Christ Church's commemorative liturgy" (p. 103). She finds that the cartulary's charters recorded grants almost exclusively from people on

Christ Church's obituary lists and martyrology. Those who had given but were no longer commemorated did not make the cut (alas poor King Cuthred!). There are, in fact, only three people of the tenth and eleventh centuries named in the obituaries who have no charters in the cartulary, and two are William I and his wife, Mathilda (d. 1083, which gives the *terminus ante quem*). Such a liturgical link is less bizarre when one remembers that much of the archiving and organizing of records going on in post-Conquest England linked those records to Bibles—as manuscripts to be bound with or objects on which to swear oaths about possession. "Thus," Fleming writes, "the roots of one of the most pragmatic and hard-headed aspects of Anglo-Norman political culture—the rationalization of legal documents—was inspired, in important ways, by the irrational" (p. 107).

The cartulary is edited here with a critical apparatus and Fleming has used type style to reveal affiliations between the manuscript witnesses. The edition is followed by a concordance of the three manuscripts and a list of their Sawyer number, calendar number, or other standard reference.

In his lively essay, "The Robin Hood Ballads and the English Outlaw Tradition," *Southern Folklore* 53 (1996): 225–47, Tim Lundgren invokes Anglo-Saxon sources to shed light on the history of folklore. Lundgren suggests that the legends of the outlaw hero of medieval northern England, of which the Robin Hood ballads are the best-known example, had their roots "in the tenth- and eleventh-century accounts of outlaws preserved in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*" (p. 225). Lundgren detects a narrative pattern in the stories of Anglo-Saxon outlaws such as Earl Ælfgar of East Anglia and Earl Godwin of Wessex "in which a man's presumably unjust outlawry is followed by exile and the gathering of troops by the outlaw, which leads to armed rebellion against the king, and finally to restoration of the outlaw's rights and possessions" (p. 231). While this reviewer confesses to some difficulty in seeing the outlawed Earl Godwin and his sons as precursors to Robin Hood, Lundgren's article offers an intriguingly new perspective on the origins and evolution of the Robin Hood stories. My main reservation is that Lundgren assumes but does not demonstrate the necessary lines of transmission. I am more willing to believe, however, that the Robin Hood tales owed as much if not more to pre-existing English outlaw-narratives such as the *Gesta Herewardi*, with their main theme of dispossession and repossession, than to French models.

i. **Local and Regional Studies**

A number of local history studies were published in the period of our review, ranging from painstaking analyses of individual sites to efforts to draw conclusions of regional, or even national, significance.

P. N. Wood's deceptively modestly titled article, "On the Little British Kingdom of Craven," which appeared in *Northern History* 32 (1996): 1–20, offers the reader not only a comprehensive synthesis of all available evidence relating to Craven, an upland area in the West Riding, but a carefully worked-out argument and comparison with contemporary Wales to support the conclusion that Craven was a post-Roman British kingdom in the Pennines, which became part of Northumbria in the mid-seventh century.

Leslie Alcock attempts to pin down the location of a site of considerable intrinsic interest both to the seventh-century and to contemporary historians of early northern British history in his "The Site of the Battle of Dunnichen," *Scottish Historical Review* 75 (1996): 130–42. Alcock presents a masterly analysis of the scattered Irish/Scottish, Northumbrian, and British references to the battle in late-seventh- to early-ninth-century sources, in particular the works of Bede and "Eddius" Stephanus, enriched by his considerable knowledge of the area's topography. What makes this article especially interesting is the author's insightful discussion of the tactical and strategic aims of the combatants, Ecgfrith and Bridei. Alcock's necessarily tentative conclusion that the battle occurred to the north of Dunnichen Hill, rather than beside the putative lake, *Nechtansmere*, to the south of the Hill, is as satisfying a solution to the question as the state of our sources is likely to permit.

Christopher D. Morris's 1993 O'Donnell Lecture exemplifies the closer integration of archaeological research with historical analysis. Morris's topic was "Birsay: An Orcadian Centre of Political and Ecclesiastical Power: A Retrospective View on Work in the 1970s and 1980s." This lecture, which was published in *Studia Celtica* 29 (1996 for 1995): 1–29, is an appreciation and analysis of the wealth of recent archaeology of the Pictish period in the Orkneys and Shetland Islands, including Morris's own Birsay Bay Project. Through consideration of settlement types, structural forms, and surviving artefacts such as gravestones and metalworking moulds, Morris builds a convincing picture of the importance of the Birsay area on Orkney during the Pictish period, describing it, and the Northern Isles of which it was a part, as integral parts of a larger Pictish cultural and political orbit, which, Morris suggests, included some areas previously thought as fundamentally "Celtic."

Peter Warner's *The Origins of Suffolk* (Manchester, 1996) is a volume in a series which, as its general editor Nicholas Higham explains, aims at exploring the origins of each English shire, beginning with archaeological evidence for settlement hierarchies and territories in late prehistory and the Roman period, and then exploring the Anglo-Saxon period in detail. Peter Warner, a Senior Lecturer and Dean of Homerton College, Cambridge, is a good choice for the Suffolk volume, as his extensive publications on the archaeology and landscape of early Suffolk attest. Warner's passion for local and landscape history is clear throughout the book. He sees the county as reflecting "our origins as a community; out of it came our local administrative boundaries, our judicial system,

our system of taxation and to a certain extent our system of social order" (p. 213). He concludes his book with almost an evangelical plea to his readers to "disseminate what knowledge they may have gained and to be a voice that cares about our shared past" (p. 215), so that we will be able better to know what is worth preserving for our common heritage. In the early chapters, Warner brings the Suffolk landscape and its early settlement admirably to life. His chapters on Roman and Anglian Suffolk reveal how the human landscape of this region was gradually shaped. "What we see now," he writes about the bewildering complicated network of East Anglian coaxial long lanes and Roman roads, "is a tangled network of lines, appearing layer upon layer in a vast palimpsest of landscape history" (p. 49). He offers a clear and readable synthesis of recent archaeological research. For the general reader, his review of the evidence for the famous Sutton Hoo ship-burial (pp. 70–93) will undoubtedly attract the most interest. He accepts (perhaps too readily) that the ship-burial from Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo is a memorial to the *bretwalda* Rædwald, the East Anglian king who died in 625 and who according to Bede enjoyed *imperium* south of the Humber, and reviews the evidence for a Swedish origin for the Wuffinga dynasty and the connection posited by S. Newton between Sutton Hoo and the poem *Beowulf.* He is noncommital on both, though he points out that trade and geography might more nearly account for the Swedish influence, and is content to say of *Beowulf* that both the poem and the ship-burial "articulate the same message about the mystique of lordship in an idealised world of valour and conspicuous wealth" (p. 77). Warner's summary of Martin Carver's and R. Bruce-Mitford's excavations at Sutton Hoo is clear, and his explanation of the possible symbolism for kingship of the artefacts found there is fascinating and persuasive. Warner is also good on the development of the pre-Viking Age Church in Suffolk. He is far less satisfactory on Viking Age Suffolk and Suffolk as part of the Danelaw. In fact, his book leaps from the early Anglo-Saxon period to the late, culminating in a survey of the Domesday Book evidence for the administration, social structure, and settlement history of Suffolk in 1066. Those interested in the ninth and tenth centuries will find little material here. The book is also to be faulted in its uneasy blend of political narrative and archaeology. Rather than integrating the two, Warner often presents them as parallel developments. The problem, in part, can be traced to the very nature of the series. Suffolk did not become a defined "shire" until rather late in the Anglo-Saxon period, and the reason for studying it in isolation owes more to the arrangement of Domesday Book than the history of the region. Nonetheless, this is a valuable synthesis of archaeological research filled with interesting insights. I am not sure that it will produce the "more caring society" which will cherish the monuments of the past that Warner hopes to inspire, but it will certainly interest students of Suffolk and East Anglia.

In his "Early Anglo-Saxon Territorial Organisation in Buckinghamshire and Its Neighbours" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 36 [1994]: 129–43), Keith Bailey attempts to reconstruct the boundaries of the territories of tribal groups listed in the seventh-century Tribal Hidage. His study employs documentary evidence and topographical analysis to the benefit of both. He does so, moreover, with a larger purpose: "To see if a coherent picture of late seventh-century political arrangements can be discerned." Inspired by Alan Everitt's analysis of Kentish territorial and ecclesiastical organization and following Cyril Hart's interpretation of the Tribal Hidage, Bailey posits that seventh-century Buckinghamshire comprised a number of territories consisting of "primary units," equivalent to one or more later hundreds. He suggests a possible hierarchy of seventh-century administrative units, consisting of three or possibly four tiers, and then attempts to apply that analysis to the region comprising Domesday Buckinghamshire. Bailey's analysis leads him to conclude that these units of assessment were calculated in multiples or fractions of 300 hides. The uniformity of the suggested assessment system points to its having been "developed *de novo* by the Mercians after 650 as their sphere of influence spread dramatically beyond their original territory in the West Midlands" (p. 141). A number of assumptions underlie Bailey's analysis, most notably that the Tribal Hidage is a seventh-century Mercian tribute list (which I believe to be the case) and that *bretwaldas* were the royal overlords who exacted tribute from subordinate rulers (less persuasive in light of the researches of Patrick Wormald). Nonetheless, Bailey's synthesis of documentary and topographical analysis has succeeded in offering some intriguing suggestions in a matter in which it sometimes seems that nothing original can still be said.

In "The Minster *Aet Sture* in Husmere and the Northern Boundary of the Hwicce" (*Transactions of the Worcestershire Archaeological Society*, 3rd ser., 15 [1996]: 73–91), P. W. King seeks to identify definitively the precise location of the portion of land beside the River Stour that was granted to ealdorman Cyneberht by King Æthelbald of Mercia in 736. Æthelbald stipulated that the land was to be used for the foundation of a minster; Cyneberht's son later gave the land *æt Sture* to St. Peter's, Worcester, and the grant was confirmed by King Offa in 781. Although the precise identity and location of the land have been matters of dispute, King offers persuasive evidence that the minster was at Kidderminster, probably on the site of the parish church there; he defines the probable extent of the land. He then goes on to discuss the likely whereabouts, during the Anglo-Saxon period, of the northern boundary of the *Hwicce.* Noting that the *Hwicce* were surrounded by provinces bearing names ending in *-sæte*, and that each of these provinces was centered on a Roman town, he makes the illuminating suggestion that these *-sæte* provinces may well have been coterminous with former Roman *pagi.* He believes that the northern boundary of the *Hwicce* was further north in Anglo-Saxon times than

that of the thirteenth-century Worcester diocese. The distribution of hillforts along what King believes to have been the boundary of the *Hwicce* suggests that this was also the boundary of the *Dobunni* in Iron Age times. "This correlation between the distribution of Iron Age and Roman sites and a medieval boundary, if real, must imply some degree of organisational or administrative continuity between Roman *civitates* and early Saxon kingdoms" (p. 85). The Anglo-Saxon conquest of the area, King suggests, probably took the form of a few brief campaigns resulting in the replacement of a British aristocracy by an Anglo-Saxon one, with pre-existing boundaries being retained, and possibly even some institutions of the preceding sub-Roman kingdoms being taken over. King's findings are thus in line with those of K. R. Dark in his *Civitas to Kingdom: British Political Continuity 300–800* (Leicester, 1994; see *OEN* 31/2: 161–2); there are also parallels with some of James Campbell's observations in his 1994 British Academy Raleigh Lecture on "The Late Anglo-Saxon State: A Maximum View" (see *OEN* 31/2: 175–6).

An important theme that runs throughout many of the recent articles on local history is the essential continuity of estate and territorial boundaries from early England to the Middle Ages. Mary Hesse's "The Anglo-Saxon Bounds of Littlebury," in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 83 (1995): 129–39, demonstrates the merits of combining careful textual analysis and actual perambulation of the grounds described in the charters. Her study affirms substantial continuity between the 1008 bounds and the present parish boundary. In "The Boundaries of Two Anglo-Saxon Charters Relating to Land at Corscombe: A Commentary on the Paper by Grundy," J. A. Barnard quite literally retraces well-trodden ground. His study, which appeared in the *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 116 (1994): 1–9, records the efforts of members of the West Dorset Local History Society to retrace in the field the boundaries of two charters, representing respectively grants of thirteen and sixteen hides of land at Corscombe to Sherborne Abbey. They found that G. B. Grundy's pioneering works on the topography of Anglo-Saxon Dorset, which had been compiled "almost exclusively from documents and maps in his study," require correction in some respects. Of general interest is the finding that, by their reckoning, the area of a hide in these charters was roughly 250 acres, rather than the 40-acre Dorset hide proposed by J. Tait or the 120-acre Dorset hide favored by J. H. Round and F. Maitland. Barnard's article serves as a cautionary reminder that, even in the seemingly sedentary world of historical study, there is sometimes no substitute for actually tramping the ground. Such local studies make an important contribution to historical scholarship by testing, quite literally in the field, the theories suggested by other scholars.

David A. Hinton's "Some Anglo-Saxon Charters and Estates in South-East Dorset," also published in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Historical Society* 116 (1994): 11–20, synthesizes in a single article the conduct of painstaking local history and the use of the results of such research to shed light on broader questions. Hinton uses charter, Domesday, and other evidence to attempt to define the boundaries of some manors and estates in Purbeck which once comprised the anomalous ecclesiastical parish of Corfe, Dorset. Uncertainties abound and Hinton is forced to conclude that "no great confidence can be placed on any reconstruction of Domesday manor boundaries, so that a late Saxon property map [for this area] cannot be reconstructed" (p. 19). His analysis, however, yields intriguing intimations of continuity, from Roman and late Saxon farms through the establishment of a "mother church" at Corfe, as well as a subsequent process of fragmentation, which was halted by the Norman Conquest.

Anne Horsfall collects and measures "Domesday Woodland in Dorset" in *Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society* 118 (1997 for 1996): 1–6, and provides a convenient list for those with a special interest. More interesting to a broader audience is her tentative identification of seven Domesday woods still in existence and her clear portrait of what forests and woods may have been like in the late eleventh century.

John Garnons Williams's "A Map of Domesday Bedfordshire" (*The Bedfordshire Magazine* 25 [1995]: 65–7) is an idiosyncratic attempt to map that shire in 1086, using the style of the Bayeux Tapestry for decoration. Williams does not take into account the knotty problems of hundred and parish boundaries, and detached portions of the shire. For those one should consult the maps prepared for Alecto's facsimile edition of Domesday Book. This is a labor of love by an amateur cartographer.

Ann Hagen walks a lay audience very briefly through the context behind "Aethelgifu's Will," *Bedfordshire Magazine* 25 (Winter 1995): 102–5, to bring alive a small piece of Bedfordshire near the year 1000—thankfully without millennium paranoia. The target audience is local and the piece essentially descriptive.

Nick Higham's "Territorial Organization in Pre-Conquest Cheshire" was a paper presented at an international conference on *The Middle Ages in the North-West* sponsored jointly by the Centres of Medieval Studies of the Universities of Liverpool and Toronto and published in the conference proceedings (1995), pp. 1–14. Higham's article exemplifies the benefits of the emerging cross-disciplinary studies which attempt to fully integrate archaeological findings into the mainstream of historical research. It offers an intriguing summary of the broader conclusions drawn by Higham from his effort, over a number of years, to place the results of the archaeological excavations in Tatton Park in a broader territorial context. From his study of Cheshire's *parochiae*, Higham generalizes that the shire's characteristic pre-Conquest parishes were organized by a "core and periphery," with cleared land and settlements at the core and wood-

land and wetlands at the periphery, and marked, where possible, by natural or man-made boundaries. As he concludes, "These are very clearly resource-conscious units and can only be understood by invoking parish-wide economic systems involving integrated land-use across the whole, and the partial segregation of specific types of land-use ... in specific parts of the territory" (p. 5). Higham sees in these parishes the vestiges of earlier secular territorial units or estates. Cheshire's hundreds, according to Higham, probably consisted of two such parishes, one with a minster church under secular patronage and the other under episcopal patronage. "This pattern," Higham contends, "is too commonplace to be accidental" (p. 7). Higham, as he has been wont to do in his recent work, pushes his evidence perhaps too far. His conclusion that the Domesday organization of Cheshire retained the imprint of territorial organization in the Roman period is highly speculative. While marked by his characteristic broad speculation and tendency toward hypothesis, Higham's article nonetheless is well worth reading and thinking about.

Standing against the emphasis on continuity is Dawn M. Hadley's "Multiple Estates and the Origins of the Manorial Structure of the Northern Danelaw," *Journal of Historical Geography* 22 (1996), 3–15. In a number of important articles, Hadley has argued that the Danelaw's peculiar organization in the eleventh century reflects complex developments within that region during the period of Viking settlement and not simply the persistence and preservation of pre-Viking institutions. Here her "straw man" is R. H. C. Davis's theory that the sokes of the northern Danelaw preserve early "multiple estates" (that is, economic and administrative units consisting of a number of geographically distant outliers owing tribute and renders to a royal center) that predate the Viking invasions. She rejects the underlying assumption that there was a time when the landscape was uniformly divided into neatly segmented territories. Hadley acknowledges that "some sokes were of great antiquity, and the origin of others can be sought in the context of the fragmentation of other larger sokes; some sokes were seemingly the product of a more recent amalgamation of lands" (pp. 5–6). New sokes, she suggests, were created as administrative units to collect renders and tribute from "an increasingly anomalous social group," the sokemen. Some of the great sokes were created by royal *fiat* to offer inducement to leading figures of the region to support the West Saxon dynasty's rule over the northern Danelaw. Others, notably the monastic lands acquired by Bishop Æthelwold, were the result of the initiatives of nobles. In short, Hadley rejects a static picture of territorial organization. She notes that even "the continuity of estate members may mask changes in agrarian organization" (p. 10), and that there is good reason to question whether the large sokes of Domesday Book had originated from integrated administrative and economic units, as the "multiple estate" model suggests. Hadley's Danelaw was the product of a very active land market spawned by Scandinavian invasion and settlement that disrupted prevailing patterns of lordship.

Cyril Hart's "Land Tenure in Cambridgeshire on the Eve of the Norman Conquest," *Proceedings of the Cambridgeshire Antiquarian Society* 84 (1996), 59–90, goes even further than Hadley in arguing that the establishment of the Danelaw in the late ninth century significantly altered pre-existing tenurial and societal organization. Hart's article has a dual purpose: to establish the Danish origin of the sokemen of Cambridgeshire, and to complement the tables he assembled in his 1974 monograph *The Hidation of Cambridgeshire* for the shire's hundreds, vills, geld, and tenants in 1086 by creating similar tables for 1066. Hart's attempt to prove the Scandinavian origin of sokeland and sokemen will hardly convince advocates of continuity. He does little more than repeat Stenton's and Dodwell's observations about the density of sokeland and free peasants in the Five Boroughs and East Anglia. He contents himself with noting that R. H. C. Davis proposed a pre-Viking origin for these free peasants, and that a critique of that influential paper "will have to be attempted at some time in the not too distant future" (p. 63). Hart offers the suggestion that disparity between the numbers of sokemen in Huntingdonshire and Cambridgeshire is to be attributed to the latter's timely submission to Edward the Confessor, which allowed the Danes in that shire to keep their lands. This is, of course, possible, but Hart's familiarity with Domesday Book and the vagaries of its methods for recording information in different circuits ought to have warned him against placing too much weight upon the appearance or non-appearance of sokemen in the two counties. Hart also acknowledges some continuity with the pre-Viking past. Citing G. R. J. Jones's work on multiple estates, Hart posits that "the contribution of the Danes was to impose the characteristics of sokeland tenure on multiple estates which they took over at the time of their settlement of the Danelaw" (p. 63). That sokeland was a Danish innovation is asserted but not adequately demonstrated. Indeed, Hart's discussion compares unfavorably with Dawn Hadley's far more nuanced discussion of tenurial developments in the Danelaw. Where these two agree, however, is in seeing changes in tenurial organization occurring throughout the tenth and eleventh centuries. Hart makes the persuasive suggestion that the process of reduction in the number of Cambridgeshire sokemen began long before the Norman Conquest, citing as one example the activities of Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester in building up the endowment of his monastic foundation at Ely in the 970s.

Hart's second goal is accomplished in superb fashion. The hundredal tables (pp. 73–90) that Hart carefully constructed from Domesday Book, the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis*, and the *Inquisitio Eliensis*, will prove of use to subsequent Domesday scholars of the East Midlands, as will the tables and maps he created to show the distribution of sokemen and sokes in pre-Domesday Cambridgeshire. Perhaps his most impressive work in this article is on establishing the contours of a few sokes. Noting that "the existence of a sokeman im-

plies the existence of a soke . . . , but [that] we have no idea to which soke the individual sokeman belonged" (p. 63), Hart attempts to remedy this by reconstructing and mapping the handful of sokes whose administrative centers can be identified (map 2; tables 3–6). Among the findings that emerge from this exercise is that the shire's *liberi homines* enjoyed, on the average, larger tenures and higher status than the tenants designated as *sochmanni* (sokemen). He speculates that, while the holdings of the latter were not yet manorial, they "represent a type of holding intermediate between that of a manor and true sokeland; they may in fact have formed a major route through which in the course of time full-blown manorialisation evolved in both the Outer and the Eastern Danelaw" (p. 69). Sokemen, on the other hand, are represented for the most part in groups who farmed individual estates cooperatively T. R. E., sharing the geld liability among them. This "collective farming" by sokemen of parcels of sokeland, Hart contends, was "an integral feature of such tenures from the outset" (p. 69). Hence, one must regard individual sokemen farming on their own as the product of the breakdown of what had once been a uniform system of group farming imposed at the time of the Danish settlement.

Ann Williams, in "The Spoliation of Worcester," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 19: 383–408, sets the events of Hemming's cartulary in chronological order to see what happened to Worcester between Æthelred's reign and the time when the cartulary was composed (ca. 1095). Worcester's losses (and gains) throughout are set against what can be known of the broader political and military history of western England. Williams finds that lands were lost because of war between the English and the Danes, but also, frequently, because of geld. In one instance, when Worcester in 1018 could not pay the tax, some Danes paid the bill and took the land. The cheek of those Vikings! All of the named perpetrators were high-ranking shire officials—earls, sheriffs, and their men. These men did not let up between the Danish settlement and 1066, when the main culprits according to Hemming were Leofric, earl of Mercia, and his followers. Williams finds that in the aftermath of the Norman Conquest, "there are very few indications of what we might call smash and grab," offering an interesting case to compare to R. Abels's in the same volume (see above, p. 106) and P. Dalton's study of the predatory Normans in the North. The lands lost after the Conquest were *lænland*, either through seizures or through attrition, as the newly arrived and endowed *francigeni* often ignored existing lease arrangements in lands they received from an antecessor and treated such leased property as if it were theirs outright. One surprising *spoliator* was Abbot Æthelwig of Evesham, a man to whom many in the region commended themselves only to find themselves, in Hemming's words, "circumvented . . . by his slyness and defrauded . . . of their lands" (p. 393). But most post-Conquest *spoliatores* "are royal comital officers" (p. 399). Williams reminds us, though, that piercing as Hemming's and Worcester's plea is, it is only

one side to the story: "if we had the accounts of the other earls and sheriffs, the boot might well be upon the other foot, with the bishops of Worcester as the villains of the piece" (p. 399). She points out that not only does Domesday Book reveal alternative accounts, but also so do "the faces absent from Hemming's rogues' gallery." The rogues, then, are not so much those who stole, but those who did their stealing by a set of rules Worcester did not acknowledge.

Keith Bailey's "Buckinghamshire Slavery in 1086," *Records of Buckinghamshire* 37 (1997 for 1995): 67–78, analyzes the slave population of this shire in 1086, and finds that Buckinghamshire had a higher proportion of slaves, 16.6 percent of its total population, than any other south-eastern shire. Nonetheless, Bailey also concludes that slavery had declined since 1066. Through careful statistical analysis Bailey demonstrates also that there is a positive correlation between the slave population on estates and the number of demesne plough teams, though he also finds that there are pronounced geographical variations, and between slavery and Domesday estates designated as "manors." His geographical survey of slavery in the shire demolishes John Chevenix Trench's thesis that slavery in Domesday Buckinghamshire was most prevalent in the Chilterns, an area preserving recognizably British elements in its place names, and, hence, that the shire's slaves were largely of Celtic descent.

Richard Britnell, in "Boroughs, Markets and Trade in Northern England, 1000–1216" (*Progress and Problems in Medieval England: Essays in Honour of Edward Miller*, ed. Richard Britnell and John Hatcher [Cambridge, 1996], 46–67), marks the Norman Conquest as the great divide in the commercial history of the North (Yorkshire to Bamburgh), finding before 1066 no real northern urbanization outside of York, little evidence of commercial networks, but with some established though *ad hoc* markets catering to local needs. In the twelfth century, the North grew in several important respects, though Britnell first chronicles the effects and only on the penultimate page announces the cause: increased agricultural output. This increase made creating boroughs and establishing greater commercial links with the rest of England as well as overseas sensible and attractive. And much of what drove this economic rise was local demand. Anglo-Saxonists will find in this essay a description of some regional transformations of the English North in the time of, and partially due to policies of, the Normans.

Finally, a small group of studies published in the period covered by this review related specifically to the ecclesiastical dimension of local history.

David Parsons, in "Early Churches in Herefordshire: Documentary and Structural Evidence" (*Medieval Art, Architecture and Archaeology at Hereford*, ed. David Whitehead [Leeds, 1995], 60–74), provides a preliminary identification of early churches in Herefordshire through the correlation of both documentary and archaeological evidence. He assesses all of the usual structural elements used to date buildings, of-

fering wise cautionary comments on the limits of each, and concludes that there are "seventy potentially early churches in the present county of Herefordshire" (p. 69), only forty-three of which show physical evidence of this. His discrimination of "early" from "twelfth-century" churches allows him to add that between 1100 and 1150, many more churches were built as a result of a "concerted building campaign" (p. 70), and to suggest that the more than forty churches from the late eleventh century were built after Domesday Book and "may perhaps be seen as the precursor of the great acceleration of church building which occurred in the twelfth century" (p. 70), an observation worth considering in relation to greater changes in the post-Conquest Church.

Three studies appearing in 1996 and 1997 concerned Glastonbury. Lesley Abrams's *Anglo-Saxon Glastonbury: Church and Endowment* (Woodbridge, 1996) is, oddly, the first full-length study of Anglo-Saxon England's wealthiest monastic house. Abrams undertook a daunting task in surveying the endowment of Glastonbury. Not only has Glastonbury's legendary history (notably its association with "King Arthur") tended to eclipse its actual history, but the medieval sources for the abbey are problematic. Glastonbury's medieval charter collections are notoriously suspect and its one chronicle, William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastoniensis ecclesiae*, has been the subject of controversy. The nature of these sources precludes the sort of economic history of Glastonbury that Edward Miller, Barbara Harvey, and Christopher Dyer were able to write, respectively, for Ely, Westminster, and Worcester. Nonetheless, Abrams's accomplishment is significant. For much of this book Abrams wrestles with her sources to glean from them evidence for the tenurial histories of the monastery's estates. She carefully and persuasively reconstructs the Church's endowment in 1066, and surveys the 218 individual estates represented in Domesday Book and the house's pre-Conquest charters. Abrams draws some interesting conclusions from these individual estate histories. Though Glastonbury's charters claimed, somewhat dubiously, that many of its Domesday estates had been held continuously since the seventh or eighth century, Abrams uncovers evidence for a dynamic land market in the century preceding the Conquest. The abbey was more successful in retaining control over the lands it exploited directly than the large number of lands the monks leased to tenants. (Tenant land represented an exceptionally large proportion of Glastonbury's endowment, a full forty percent.) As was the case with other monastic houses, Glastonbury had the greatest problems retaining possession of its "thegnlands," the precise definition of which apparently differed from region to region. This observation brings up one of the great strengths of Abrams's book: its terminological sophistication. Abrams does not simply apply received definitions for key terms such as thegnland and hide, but attempts to derive their meanings from the sources. In short, her book sheds much needed light on the Anglo-Saxon monastery of Glastonbury and its endowment. This book will serve as a firm foundation for future research on this important but understudied monastic house.

Nicholas Corcos offers a brief discussion of a single one of Glastonbury's holdings in "Glastonbury Abbey and the Acquisition of Its Manor of Wrington," *Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 34 (Sept. 1996): 78–82, and ibid., 34 (March 1997): 117. Corcos examines the date when the estate of Wrington came to Glastonbury. The second part corrects the first and offers 956 or 957 in place of Corcos's earlier suggestion of 939/40, a revision based on work by Cyril Hart and Lesley Abrams. The grant is primarily interesting because the estate is one that traveled with Athelstan *dux*, or "Half-King," when he entered the monastery in the autumn of 956.

David A. E. Pelteret (a former reviewer for the History section of *The Year's Work*), in "The Preservation of Anglo-Saxon Culture after 1066: Glastonbury, Wales, and the Normans," *The Preservation and Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Culture: Selected Papers from the 1991 Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach and Joel T. Rosenthal (Kalamazoo), pp. 177–209, takes a charter of some interest recording a grant by a Norman baron (Robert de la Haye) of Welsh land to Glastonbury and provides a commentary on its political and geographic contexts. He raises the issue of preservation and the continuity of Old English, and concludes that the Old English boundary clause "has the clear intention of precluding arguments amongst English-speaking locals" (p. 178) who presumably lived in Monmouthshire. He prints an edition of the charter as an appendix.

R.A., T.C.G., B.O'B.

[R.A. reviewed items by (in order of mention) Rausing, Timomen, Barnwell ("*Hlafæta, ceorl* ..."), Sims-Williams, Kleinschmidt ("Beyond Conventionality"), Maddicott, Bliese, Coates, Barnwell ("War and Peace"), Nolte, Suppe, Lundgren, P. N. Wood, Alcock, Morris, Warner, Bailey ("Early Anglo-Saxon Territorial Organisation ..."), Hesse, Barnard, Hinton, J. G. Williams, Higham ("Territorial Organization ..."), Hadley, Hart ("Land Tenure ..."), Bailey ("Buckinghamshire Slavery"), and Abrams; B.O'B. reviewed items by Nelson ("Anglo-Saxon England"), Jewell, Smith, Dufour, Hare, Venarde, Stafford, Walker, Higham (*The Death of Anglo-Saxon England*), Winkler, Thomas, Lert, Rubin ("The *bot* ..."), Wormald, Clark, Sanchez, Holt, Keynes, Abels, Whalen, Garnett, Green, Van Houts, Moore, Watkins, Hudson, Hart (*Thorney Annals*), Fleming, Horsfall, Hagen, Ann Williams, Britnell, Parsons, Corcos, and Pelteret; T.G. reviewed the rest and coordinated the whole.]

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7. Names

The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Part Five: the Wapentake of Bradley, Nottingham, 1997, by K. Cameron with J. Field and J. Insley completes the place-name survey of the North Riding of Lindsey. It follows the format of Cameron's earlier volumes and shows his usual thoroughness. A section of field names occurs at the end of the volume, and addenda and corrigenda for EPNS volumes 64/65. 66, and 71 appear at the beginning of the volume.

Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain: Thirteen Studies of Place-Names in Their Historical Context, London and New York, 1995, edited by B. Crawford covers Scandinavian influence on place-names in Scotland and the islands as well as in England, as the title implies. The four essays dealing with Scandinavian influence in Northern England are dealt with below, but the other essays are also of interest because of the Old Norse place-name elements that are also used in place-names in England. In "Scandinavian Settlement in Yorkshire—through the Rear View Mirror" (*Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain,* pp.170–86), G. Fellows-Jensen reviews her earlier work on the topic and makes some corrections. She concludes, however, that the majority of the hybrid names in -*tūn* in Yorkshire still represent the re-naming of existing English settlements by occupying Danes, that *bý*-names show the division of old estates into small independent units, that *thorp*-settlements were named by Danes or their successors, and that *thveit*-names refer to the clearing of woodland or scrub and represent true colonization. In "Scandinavian Settlement in Cheshire: the Evidence of Place-Names" (*Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain,* pp. 187–94), M. Gelling concludes that major Norse settlement in Cheshire was limited to the Wirral peninsula and the area adjacent to Helsby and Whitby during the early tenth-century Norse colonization. In "Northumberland and Durham: the Place-Name Evidence" (*Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain,* pp. 206 -13), V. Watts rejects nearly all of the proposed Old Norse names in Northumberland not already disposed of by Ekwall, but he does show that place-name evidence indicates concentration of Scandinavians "in the middle and lower Tees valley extending two to three miles north of the river from Yorkshire" and some minor activity elsewhere in Durham. In "Scandinavian Settlement in North-West England with a Special Study of *Ireby* names" (*Scandinavian Settlement in Northern Britain,* pp. 195–205) M. C. Higham, while acknowledging that the pre-1974 counties of Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancashire must have been populated by Danes or Anglo-Danes from eastern England too, shows that the North West was also settled, as has been believed for some time, by settlers of Norwegian ancestry from both Norway, the Isles, and Ireland. She points out that the places-names *Ireby* or *Irby* in these three counties as well as those in Cheshire and Yorkshire are in areas of poor quality land and were probably reserved for the Irish who had come with the Norwegians from Dublin to the North West.

A. R. Rumble and A. O. Mills' *Names, Places and People: an Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson,* Stamford, 1997, contains twenty-nine essays by many of the most respected place-name scholars. Perhaps some of them will be listed as separate items to be reviewed in next year's bibliography. *Domesday Names: An Index of Latin Personal and Place-Names in Domesday Book,* Woodbridge, Suffolk and Rochester, N. Y., 1997, compiled by K. S. B. Keats-Rohan and D. E. Thornton actually consists of three indices: *the Index Personarum (I)* is an alphabetical list of all of the persons by forename, by title, or by place of "institution"; the *Index Personarum* is an alphabetical test of people by surnames; the *Index Locorum* lists all of the place-names in Domesday except where the place is linked to an institution. While the names are Latinized, many of them are Old English, of course. In "*Fela martyra* 'many martyrs': a Different View of Orosius's City" (*Alfred the Wise: Studies in Honour of Janet Bately on the Occasion of Her Sixty-Fifth Birthday,* Cambridge, 1997, pp. 155–78), J. Roberts presents a summary list of the places and people mentioned in the *Old English Martyrology* and shows that the author's focus was on saints associated with Rome but from a perspective from the central part of England rather than Bede's Northumbria despite the use of *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People* as a source.

E. Proudfoot and C. Aliaza-Kelly, in "Towards an Interpretation of Anomalous Finds and Place-Names of Anglo-Saxon Origin in Scotland" (*ASSAH 9,* 1–13), conclude that the Anglo-Saxon presence in Scotland may have been as early as the fifth century but that Anglian settlement was predominantly in the southeast and southwest of Scotland as shown by place-names such as *Balderstone* and *Hilderstone.* The objects found with burials suggest that the Angles may have co-existed with Scots and Picts with some trade or cohabitation in areas other than the known areas of concentration, however. In "the Earliest Old English Place-Names in Scotland" (*N&Q* 44, 148–150), C. Hough suggests that the invasion by Anglo-Saxons does not necessarily have to follow the dates of their conversion to Christianity. Her argument is that the absence of Anglo-Saxon pagan place-names in the Border Counties is not as significant as others have thought because there are none in Northumbria or East Anglia either; perhaps they were consciously eradicated. Furthermore, the scarcity of place-names from OE -*ingas* in Scotland does not mean a later penetration of Scotland by Anglo-Saxons since there are place-names in OE -*hām* and -*ingahām* in the Border Counties. In "The Anglo-Saxons in England in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries: Aspects of Location in Space" (*The Anglo-Saxons,* Woodbridge, 1997, pp. 65–99), D. Hooks argues that it was "through the role of the minor

landlord that the Anglo-Saxons finally dominated the country" and the Celts. She points out that charters from the eighth century onward show that Old English had become the language of the people in most regions and by the ninth century almost everywhere in England except for Cornwall. By the eighth century, large multiple estates controlled by lords who controlled serfs were common across England, and the place-name element *tūn* after the middle of the eighth century appears frequently and seems to be connected to the emerging nucleated settlements with the minor thegns seeing themselves as Anglo-Saxons despite their ethnic origins. In "Ethnic Names and Identities in the British Isles: a Comparative Perspective" (*The Anglo-Saxons*, Woodbridge, 1997, pp. 7–40), W. Pohl concludes that ethnic identities, which were often varied for each group at any particular time, were more often constructed by writers like Bede or Cassiodorus or Jordanes than actually reflecting the self-perceptions of the peoples so identified. Pohl's list of assumptions for the study of early medieval ethnicity as presented at the beginning of the essay are worthy of examination. In "Language Contact in Iceland; the Evidence of Names" (*Language Contact across the North Atlantic*, Tübingen, 1996, pp. 170–86), G. Fellows-Jensen concludes that the settlers who came to Iceland from the British Isles (as opposed to Norway) were already speakers of a Scandinavian language even if they themselves were not of Scandinavian ancestry. The *papar*-names and the names from OI *Dimuin* "two ridges" although Celtic in origin are alleged not to reflect actual contact with Irish monks in Iceland but to have been carried there by settlers from the Northern and Western Isles where the Vikings had settled around the year 800 and intermarried with the Celtic population. Furthermore, some personal-names and place-names suggest the immigrants to Iceland also came from the English Danelaw.

In "Hyde Farms' and Hyde Place-Names: Summary Report of Work" (*Med. Settlement Research Group Annual Report* 10, 20–23), R. Faith summarizes her current research in support of the hypothesis that ownership of a hide by a peasant meant that the owner owed "lighter and less servile services than did villeins" as part of her study of different strata among peasants and the types and location of settlements. In "The Essex Place-Name Project" (*Essex Archaeol. and Hist.* 28, 311–13), J. Kemble reports that the project which began at the end of 1995 to compile the place-names of Essex "in the context of their geography, chronology, ownership, tenancy and land use" using volunteer recorders is still in the data-collection stage and is using standardized recording forms.

C. Hough had five items dealing with individual place-names in this year's bibliography. In "The Place-Name Hardy" (*N&Q* 44, 168–169), she rejects the earlier suggestion that the first element in the place-name *Hardy* in Lancashire is the OE adjective *heard* "hard" on the basis of local topography and suggests that it is an OE personal name *Hearda* because a large number of place-names from OE *ēg* combined with a personal name. In "The Place-Name

Fritwell" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 29, 65–70), she proposes that the place-name *Fritwell* in Oxfordshire, the first element of which M. Gelling derived from OE *freht, fyrht, firht*, "augery" and whose meaning she suggested was "wishing well," might better be translated as a "spring used for divination." She cites field-names such as *Fretwell Close* in the West Riding of Yorkshire, *Frightwell* in Shropshire, and late thirteenth or early fourteenth century field-name *Frethewell* in Nottinghamshire to support her thesis. In "The Ladies of Portinscale" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 29, 71–78), she argues that the Cumberland place-name *Portinscale* should not be interpreted as "shielings of harlots" and the OE *port-cwen(e)* which is its source should be interpreted as "towns-woman" or "female citizen" rather than "prostitute" despite the ON *portkona* "gate-woman" or "harlot." In "The Place-Name Kingston and the Laws of Æthelberht" (*SN* 69, 55–57), she argues that OE *cyninges tun*, the source of forty-nine Kingstons in England, may not be references to a late period of Anglo-Saxon England as commonly thought but may refer to legal structures in place in the early seventh century in Anglo-Saxon society. In "Old English *Ducemann*" (*Neophilologus* 81, no. 4, 605–08), she rejects the derivation of the OE personal-name *Ducemann*, the first element of the place-name *Duckmanton* in Derbyshire, from an OE *ducemann* "a man who keeps ducks" since the use of animal names with *man* as an occupational surname does not occur elsewhere in England until the middle of the thirteenth century. She says the most plausible derivation is from OE *Duc(c)amann* "*Duc(c)a*'s man" meaning "a man under the authority of *Ducc(a)*" even though the personal-name is not attested independently. However, she raises the possibility that *Ducemann* might be a reference to nationality and refer to a person from a non-Scandinavian Germanic-speaking country.

Five other essays in the bibliography also deal with particular place-names. In "Ratley" and "Roothill" (*Namn Och Bygd* 85, 51–55), J. Insley rather ungently attacks C. Hough's suggestion that the place-names *Ratley* in Warwickshire and *Roothill* in Surrey contain OE *rōt* "a root." While he agrees that Hough is correct in rejecting the etymologies proposed by the editors of the EPNS surveys of the two countries respectively, he argues that there never was an OE *rōt* "a root" but only an ON *rōt* "a root" which was borrowed into Middle English. Insley argues that Ekwall was correct in proposing the etymology of the first element in *Ratley* as an unrecorded personal name from OE *Rōta*. He further argues that Roothill is only a Middle English formation and suggests that its first element derives from ME *rōute, routte,* (early) *rute* "a way, route, road" from OFr *rote, route*. Despite acknowledging some phonological difficulty, E. Ellerington, in "The Origin of the Place-Name, Bradon" (*Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 34, 115–170), derives the place-name *Bradon* in *South Bradon, North Bradon,* and *Goose Bradon* in Somerset from OE *brad dumu* meaning "wide valley." However, in "The Derivation of the Place-Name Puck-

ington" (*Notes & Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 34, 75–78), E. Ellerington argues persuasively that the first element in *Puckington* as well as *Puckwell* and similar names should be associated directly with Puck, the goblin, rather than an Old English nickname for someone who looked like a goblin as Ekwall suggested. In "Clovelly Again" (*Jnl of the Eng Place-Name Soc.* 29, 63–64), R. Coates adds to his 1995/6 article on the name a phonological argument that the first element could not be from OE *clof* because the word is a closed syllable and there is no way that the short vowel could have lengthened to its current pronunciation. Coates still believes in his Brittonic explanation and that the source for the entire name is the proto-Cornish *Clo:ðFele* "Fele's earthwork." "Zu den celtischen Namen von Carlisle and Colchester" (*BN* 32, 281–85) by B. Maier is of only peripheral interest to Old English scholars since, as the title states, the article deals with Celtic names of the cities. However, Maire does identify their Celtic names as deriving from the Celtic name of gods with parallel to the names of Roman gods: *Lugus* and *Camulus*.

D. Parsons and T. Styles with C. Hough have edited *The Vocabulary of English Place-Names (Á–Box)*, Nottingham, 1997, which began as a revision of A. H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements*, incorporates the work of the EPNS county survey volumes to the date of publication, but also includes minor and field names and all place-name elements recorded before circa 1750 instead of the focus in Smith's work on only major names and names recorded before the late fifteenth century. The work is thorough, but the editors expect and solicit corrections and additions. One difference in dating from the EPNS is that the editors give the earliest certain date rather than the earliest possible date for place-name citations.

In "OE *lāf* in Place-Names" (*N&Q* 44, 304–06), C. Hough shows by analogy with the ON cognate *lev* that OE place-names combining OE *lāf* with a personal-name should have the element *lāf* understood to refer to inherited property specifically rather than the more general "remains, what is left." In "*Flēot*: Distribution and Use of This OE Place-Name Element" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 29, 79, 87), A. Cole identifies all of the *flēot*-names on the eastern and southern side of England and the field-names and inland *flēots* as "places where water was liable to come and go fleetingly." She also provides maps including one showing the distribution of settlement names in *flēot*.

In "The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 949 and Olaf Cuaran" (*N&Q* 44, 160–61), A. Breeze argues rather empatically that the form *Cwiran* in the *Chronicle* referring to Olaf Sihtricson, king of York and Dublin, has nothing to do with the Old Irish *cúarán* "sandle" but comes from the Old Irish adjective *cúar* meaning "crooked" and means "the hunchback."

G. Kristensson, in "The Old English Anglian/Saxon Boundary Revisited" (*Studies in Middle English Linguistics*, Berlin, 1997, pp. 271–81), uses place-names evidence to suggest the boundary between the Anglian and Saxon dialects by identifying the areas of Saxon (either West or East) influence to include Bedfordshire, Buckinghamshire, Hertfordshire, Huntingtonshire, Cambridgeshire, Essex, and the southeastern part of Northamptonshire as boundary markers.

In "The Scriptorium of the Mercian Rushworth Gloss: a Bilingual Perspective" (*N&Q* 44, 453–58), R. Coates pursues the meaning of Farman's *harawudu* in the glosses to the *Rushworth Gospels*. While Farman wrote in Mercian and Owen wrote in Northumbrian, the shifting border area is obvious, but Coates lists more than a dozen *Harwoods* that have not been rejected as the place of reference in question. He even suggests that the name may be a translation of a Brittonic term *letocaiton* in the Mercian area. In "The Minster *Aet Sture* in Husmere and the Northern Boundary of the Hwicce" (*Trans. of the Worcestershire Archaeol Soc.* 3rd ser., 15, 73–91), P. W. King argues that the minster *Aet Sture* ("At Stour") in a charter in north Worcestershire is at *Kidderminster*, not at *Ismere House* in the old province of *Husmerae*, and that the word called *Moerhab* in the charter is *Kidderminster Heath*. King also suggests that place-names ending in -*saete* correspond to the areas of Roman towns and *saete*-provinces are probably Roman *pagi*. In "Ireland and Britain in *Táin bó Fraích*" (*Etudes Celtiques* 32, 175–87), D. Dumville concludes, after a study of nearly all of the relevant literary and historical documents, that *Albu* in *Táin bó Fraích* refers to Britain, not Scotland as some editors have translated the term.

In "Charter Bounds of the South West of England" (*Local Historian* 27, 18–29), D. Hooke identifies the contributions made by landscape historians and historical geographers to Anglo-Saxon studies with particular reference to the south-western English counties of Cornwall and Devon. She notes that the bounds of charters were usually written in Old English or Cornish while the charters (usually grants to churches) were written in ecclesiastical Latin and the Cornish names increase as one moves westward. Often, the languages are mixed with place-name elements like OE *brōc* "brook" and *andlang weges* "along the way" and Cornish elements like *rid* "ford" and *pen hal* "head of the marsh," showing the probable ethnic composition of the population at the particular time. Bounds also give information about the size and fragmentation of estates. They also occasionally make references to place-names such as the "worthy" settlements in Devon. In "Comment les Anglo-Saxons ont-ils accédé à la Grande-Bretagne?" (*La Linguistique* 32.2, 3–10), A. Martinet suggests that, on the basis of at least sixty names in the -*ing-ham* or -*ing-ton* tradition such as *Tatinghem* and *Conninc-thun* found there, the northwestern section of Artois was one of the crossing points of Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

M. Jacobson's dissertation, *Wells, Meres, and Pools: Hydronymic Terms in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, Uppsala, 1997, examines twenty-one different hydronymic terms used in about a thousand place-names found in the Domesday Book and other Old English sources. He correlates the etymology, morphology, semantic meaning and changes with the geolog-

ical and archaeological data to show that the Anglo-Saxons were quite aware of the semantic distinction among the elements and used them rather precisely while allowing the meaning to be modified in light of Anglo-Saxon land use and settlement patterns. Part 2 of the book is a 140-page list of all such hydronymic place-names alphabetically by county and alphabetically within each county. The list gives the modern form of the name as well as older forms, national grid references, sources, and probable interpretations of the place-name. More complete discussions of place-names with the elements *sæ*, *pōl*, **pull/pyll*, *mere*, and *wella* are presented in Part 3 "to investigate the geo-cultural motivations behind name-giving." In "Coastal Place Name Enigmas on Early Charts and in Early Sailing Directions" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 29, 5–61), W. A. R. Richardson examines nineteen different coastal place-names mentioned in sailing directions or "rutters" in Spanish, Italian, Portuguese and French as well as in various Germanic languages from the fourteenth, fifteenth, and sixteenth centuries. Richardson's article is quite interesting for Old English scholars since some of the place-names can be traced back to OE place-name elements such as *ord* "sword, point, or spit of land" or *næss* "headland" as well as Romance language elements. The article also reproduces parts of seven of the old maps or sailing directions.

In "From Domesday Book to Lay Subsidy Rolls: Place-Names as Informants of Linguistic Changes" (*Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 30, 37–43), J. Diaz Vera uses place-name evidence from the Domesday Book and Lay Subsidy Rolls from Gloucestershire, Herefordshire, and Worcestershire to show the progress of the second fronting in the South West Midlands. He concludes that WGmc. <a> became <e> in all of the Old Mercian dialects spoken there, but the change began in the eleventh century in the part of Worcestershire between the Severn and the Avon, did not occur in Herefordshire, Northern Gloucestershire, and the southern corner of Worcestershire until after the middle of the twelfth century, but was completed by the end of the thirteenth century in the whole region except for isolated occurrences of <e>

still found in northern Gloucestershire. In "British **Caraticos*, Old English *Cerdic*" (*Cambrian Med. Celtic Stud.* 33, 1–8), D. Parsons raises questions about the dating of sound changes such as British syncope and Old English *i*-mutation to call into question the current derivation of the Celtic name *Cerdic*, cited in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as the legendary head of the West Saxon royal dynasty, from British **Caraticos*. He also cites D. Dumville's argument that the chronology implied in the West Saxon regnal list would place the start of Cerdic's reign at least thirty years after the 495 date cited in the *Chronicle* in order to call into question the conventional derivation.

"The Local History of Family Names" (*Local Historian* 27, i–xx) by D. Hay shows that there was little movement of people from where they were born beyond a short traveling distance as shown by the concentration of surnames in various geographical regions or "countries" in England. Although the data to support this hypothesis are primarily from the first half of the nineteenth century, there are some references to earlier names but not to any Old English names.

In "Field Names and Field Shapes in NW England" (*Contrebis* 20, 19–24), M. A. Atkins shows that field names and field-shapes provide evidence of medieval land use from the narrow arable strips to the bundling of these strips together and enclosing them by later farmers.

J. Field's "Bibliography 1995–96" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 29, 104–06) contains many of the same entries that are in *OEN* bibliography, but a few that aren't. One of the latter that sounds interesting is C. Stancliffe's "Where was Oswald killed?" in *Oswald: Northumbrian King to European Saint*, Stamford, 1995. J.D.C.

Work not seen

Kleinschmidt, Harald. "Stirps regia und Adel in frühen Wessex: Studien zu Personennamen in der Epistolographie, Historiographie and Urkundenüberlieferung." *Historisches Jahrbuch* 117 (1997), 1–37.

8. Archaeology and Numismatics

[This section is delayed until next year's issue.]

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edited by Timothy Graham

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Contributors: Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker, Timothy Graham, Stuart Lee, Kathryn A. Lowe, Angelika Lutz, Danielle Cunniff Plumer, Phillip Pulsiano.

THE OLD ENGLISH HEXATEUCH
Aspects and Approaches

edited by Rebecca Barnhouse and Benjamin C. Withers

Cotton Claudius B. iv, an illustrated Old English Hexateuch that is among the treasures of the British Library, contains one of the first extended projects of translation of the Bible in a European vernacular. Its over four hundred images make it one of the most extensively illustrated books to survive from the early Middle Ages and preserve evidence of the creativity of the Anglo-Saxon artist and his knowledge of other important early medieval picture cycles. In addition, the manuscript contains the earliest copy of Ælfric's Preface to Genesis, a work that discusses issues of translation and interpretation.

Given the complexities of its textual history and illustrations, Claudius B. iv invites approaches such as those included here that merge different disciplines in complementary ways. Some of the essays consider the authorship and investigate how the translations contained in the manuscript came to be: others concern the nature of the possible audience and question when, how, and by whom the text was read in the eleventh century: still others study the illustrations and the importance of this manuscript for English culture.

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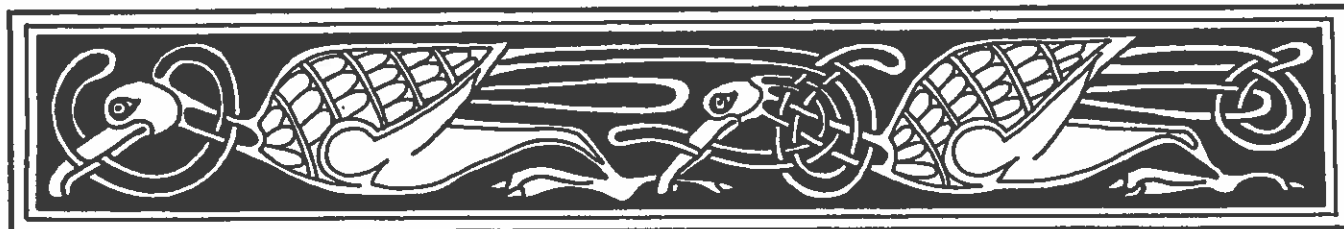
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