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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

1998

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Contents

1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects	5
a. History of Anglo-Saxon Studies	5
b. Cultural History	9
c. Language	9
d. Research Resources, Print and Electronic	11
e. Bayeux Tapestry	12
f. Essay Collections	13
g. Varia	13
2. Language	15
a. Lexicon, glosses	15
b. Syntax, phonology, other aspects	23
3. Literature	35
a. General and Miscellaneous	35
b. Individual Poems	49
c. <i>Beowulf</i>	63
d. Prose	74
4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works	82
a. Early Anglo-Latin (Excepting Bede)	82
b. Bede	85
c. Alcuin	88
d. The Ninth Century	90
e. The Tenth-Century Reform and Beyond	91
f. The Later Eleventh Century	94
g. Comprehensive Works	94
5. Manuscripts, Illumination, Charters	96
6. History and Culture	101
a. General Interest	101
b. Late Roman and Celtic Britain and the Early Kingdoms	102
c. Kings, Administration, and Law	102
d. The Church, Saints, and Religion	104
e. Norman Conquest and Aftermath	106
7. Names	112
8. Archaeology and Numismatics	117

Preface

With this issue of *The Year's Work in Old English Studies* we introduce several new reviewers and honor several who are leaving the project after years of good service. Janet Schrunk Ericksen is being replaced by Richard F. Johnson of William Rainey Harper College in "General and Miscellaneous Subjects"; Paul G. Remley is being replaced by David W. Porter of the University of South Florida in "Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works"; Richard Abels and Timothy Graham have left the "History" team and have been replaced by Christopher A. Snyder of Marymount University. In addition, Benjamin Withers of Indiana University at South Bend this year joins Mary P. Richards in "Manuscripts, Illumination, Charters."

In our last two issues we failed properly to take leave of two long-time reviewers, and we take the opportunity to do so now. The 1995 issue was the last for Matthew Marino of the University of Alabama, who (as noted by Joseph B. Trahern in the Preface to that issue) contributed the "Language" section for more than twenty years. The 1996 issue was the last for Catherine E. Karkov of Miami University of Ohio, who had contributed to "Archaeology and Numismatics" for the better part of a decade. Readers should know that Catherine bears no responsibility for the difficulties we have recently experienced with that section.

Last year, when we went to press without section 3.d., "Prose," we promised that that section would appear this year. However, although we now print "Prose" for 1998, the 1997 reviews must be delayed for another year. Section 6, "History and Culture," is somewhat short this year owing to the unexpected defection of a newly recruited reviewer; this material will be made up in the 1999 issue. We regret the necessity of once again going to press without section 8, "Archaeology and Numismatics." That reviewing team has been reconstituted, and we trust that we will be able to resume publication of that section in the 1999 issue.

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 constitutes 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

Extra! Extra! Read all about it! "Oxford Dons Try to Slay Beowulf." So ran the headline of an article by Judith O'Reilly, Education Correspondent for the *Sunday Times* (21 June 1998, sect. 1, p. 8), documenting the removal of the Anglo-Saxon epic from the undergraduate English syllabus at the University of Oxford. Apparently in response to a declining number of applicants for the English course of study, pressure to create a more attractive syllabus had been mounting. At a contentious meeting earlier in the year, the university syllabus committee recommended a reduction in the number of first-year exams. A contingent of "modernist" dons present at the meeting "argued that Anglo-Saxon should be abandoned as a compulsory subject." One don quoted wondered "whether people are finding the syllabus off-putting," suggesting that the study of 500 years of the earliest English literature had made the English syllabus unattractive to incoming students. Interviewed for the article, Malcolm Godden, eminent scholar and professor of Anglo-Saxon at Pembroke College, presented the argument for retaining the curriculum: "Anglo-Saxon represents a substantial body of early English literature, which is a challenging account of a different soci-

ety. It is the beginning of the English language and how you get to know the roots of it." The author Penelope Fitzgerald, who studied Anglo-Saxon at Oxford under J. R. R. Tolkien, declared that the English degree had become the "easy option" for many students: "It should be much more difficult for them, and if Anglo-Saxon helps bring down the numbers, that is fine."

Perhaps a solution to Oxford's dilemma might be found in James Hogg's alternative to the standard Old English curriculum. In "Spare us *Beowulf* and the *Regula Pastoralis*: Alternatives for Old English at a Foreign University" (*Text and Context: Essays in English and American Studies in Honour of Holger M. Klein*, Ed. Sabine Coelsch-Foisner and Wolfgang Görttschacher. Rheinfelden: 17-29), Hogg notes the failure of traditional Anglo-Saxon curricula to evoke any enthusiasm from students. He suggests infusing courses in Old English with a dose of texts "capable of holding the attention of jaded students" (17). Hogg proposes the vast body of Old English penitential literature as a suitable vehicle to elicit a positive response from students. Paying particular attention to the passages in *The Old English Penitential* and *The Old English Handbook* which outline the penalties for various sexual

peccadilloes, Hogg suggests that these passages might enliven even the duller introductory class in Old English.

Despite the unfortunate fate of Beowulf at the hands of Oxford University's Syllabus Committee, interest in the history of Anglo-Saxon studies and the English language seems to be alive and well, in the United States and abroad. In "The Study of Old English in America (1776-1850): National Uses of the Saxon Past" (*JEGP* 97: 322-26), María José Mora and María José Gómez-Calderón explore the ways in which American patriots in the century after the Revolution employed an idealized Anglo-Saxon past to promote a new national identity. Focusing on the ideological agendas of three American intellectuals, Thomas Jefferson, Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, and Louis F. Klipstein, Mora and Gomez-Calderon argue that the promotion of the study of the Anglo-Saxon language and of an idealized Saxon past became a "powerful tool in the struggle for political and cultural independence" (322). Through the work of these three men, the authors trace the transformation of an historiographic myth which idealized the legal and constitutional virtues of the Anglo-Saxons into a philological and ethnological enterprise of racial superiority. The authors conclude that "the assertion of a national identity plays a central role in the development of the study of Old English in America" (336).

Akio Oizumi's survey of the impressive body of work in English linguistics in Japan, "English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan 1950-1995: A Bibliographical survey" (*English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*. Ed. J. Fisiak and A. Oizumi. Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter. pp. 1-19—a revised and updated version of "English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan 1950-1994: A Survey with a List of Publications Arranged in Chronological Order" in *Language and History and Linguistic Modelling*. Ed. Hickey and Puppel. pp. 771-89) suggests a flourishing field of study. This survey is especially useful since Oizumi offers a brief description of the contents of each listing. Although many of the listings deal with works later than the medieval period, recent works of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists might be 89.2: Ogawa, Horishi, *Old English Modal Verbs: A syntactical study*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger; 89.3: Ogura, Michiko. *Verbs with the reflexive pronoun and constructions with "self" in Old and Early Middle English*. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer; 92.3: Saito, Kurumi. "Nominal modification in Old English prose." Ph.D. Diss., International Christian Univ., Tokyo; and 94.5: Terasawa, Jun. *Nominal compounds in Old English: a metrical approach*. Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger.

William F. Gentrup has edited a collection of essays (*Reinventing the Middle Ages and the Renaissance: Constructions of the Medieval and Early Modern Periods*. Arizona Stud. in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 1. Turnhout: Brepols) which features three articles on the invention of the Anglo-Saxon past. In "The Wasteland of Loegria: Geoffrey of Monmouth's Reinvention of the Anglo-Saxon Past," John

D. Niles examines Geoffrey of Monmouth's motivation in virtually erasing the Anglo-Saxons from his *Historia Regum Britanniae* (*Reinventing the Middle Ages*, 1-18). Niles grounds his discussion of Geoffrey's "radical suppression of the English past" (4) in the context of an abstract compulsion toward "mythopoesis," or the creation of myths of origin, and the particular ideological agenda of the Norman conquerors. Thus, Niles argues that "Geoffrey's narrative firmly alienates the people of Britain from their Anglo-Saxon past" (14) and does so intentionally. According to Niles, Geoffrey's motives in writing the *Historia* clearly involved a complex range of emotions from personal and authorial ambition to ideological conviction. After a brief discussion of the rival "myths" of English history which Geoffrey would have known, namely that of Bede and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Niles uncovers the sources and motivations underlying Geoffrey's alternative "myth of origin." For much of his essay, Niles focuses on the fulfillment of Geoffrey's ideological agenda as it coincided with and established as legitimate that of the Anglo-Norman imperial mission. Niles identifies two of Geoffrey's greatest ideological achievements. In the first place, Geoffrey succeeded in creating "a new entity, 'the British race,'" whom he then portrays and celebrates "as the rightful possessors of the Isle of Britain dating back to a time twelve centuries or so before the Christian era" (14). Geoffrey's myth of origin for the foundation of Britain traces the genealogy of this "British race" back to Troy through the mythical figure of Brutus. The coincidence of Geoffrey's personal and ideological agenda is apparent in Niles's second point. He argues that Geoffrey's *Historia* "has the effect of legitimizing the Norman occupation of Britain, thereby enhancing the prestige and authority of the foreign aristocracy to which willingly gave his allegiance" (15). Niles concludes that Geoffrey's "mythistory" established the ideological groundwork by which "the Norman conquest of the English was revealed as a messianic event that was justified morally as a response to Anglo-Saxon depredations, that was revealed to be providential through prophecy, and that was prefigured typologically by Arthur's imperial reign" (16). Since the success of Geoffrey's foundation myth proved especially long-lived, up to and beyond the time of Shakespeare, Niles's essay breaks important ground for anyone interested in the invention and reinvention of history as it affects national identity.

In "Richard Verstegan's Reinvention of Anglo-Saxon England: A Contribution from the Continent," Richard W. Clement explores the life and work of the sixteenth-century English Catholic and antiquarian Richard Verstegan (*Reinventing the Middle Ages*, 19-36). Although born in London and educated at Oxford, as a Catholic who refused to take the Oath of Supremacy, Verstegan was compelled to spend most of his life in exile in France, Italy, and the Netherlands. Verstegan is known to Anglo-Saxonists primarily for his work *A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities*, published in 1605, which includes the first comprehensive Anglo-Saxon

glossary. Clement explores Verstegan's work in the context of other antiquarians of the period, such as William Camden and Matthew Parker. While Verstegan was clearly familiar with the work of other antiquarians and respectful of much of their scholarship, he carefully distances himself from the Protestant polemics found in their works. Clement suspects that Verstegan also harbored "personal hopes of being acknowledged by the English antiquaries as a fellow-scholar" (29). Like the scholars whose fellowship he desired, Verstegan was primarily interested in the mythic dimensions of race and language. Clement argues that *A Restitution* creates a foundation myth which demonstrates the nobility and heroism of the Anglo-Saxon ancestors. Unlike Geoffrey of Monmouth, Verstegan unequivocally traces the language and lineage of the English to the Anglo-Saxon past. Verstegan recounts the mythic story of the Trojan Brutus, and the history of the Anglo-Saxon, Norman, and Dutch invasions. He declares the English nation and language to be pure despite these many invasions, since "the Danes and Normannes were once one same people with the Germans, as were also the Saxons" (31). Clement argues that Verstegan in his work essentially re-creates "the Anglo-Saxon past," where Geoffrey had obliterated it, and thereby establishes "a new historical vision of the English nation" (36). This new honorable conception of the English nation was, according to Clement, "to have repercussions around the globe" (36) and Clement in his essay honors Verstegan as a formative player in the development of this vision.

In "Pagans and Christians, Anglo-Saxons and Anglo-Saxonists: The Changing Face of Our Mythical Landscape," Anne Savage (*Reinventing the Middle Ages*, 37–49) focuses on a dichotomy in Anglo-Saxon studies, namely the seemingly irreconcilable split between those who believe Anglo-Saxon vernacular literature is "rooted in a pagan, oral-formulaic past" and those who claim it is "rooted in a Latin-Christian present nourished by the writings of the church fathers" (37). Exploring the means by and extent to which these conflicted views are disseminated, Savage cites numerous examples from widely-circulated critical introductions to Old English literature, such as *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* and Mitchell and Robinson's *A Guide to Old English*, and various translations of Old English poetry (particularly the translations of Michael Alexander and S. A. J. Bradley) in which this ideological dichotomy is evident. In each of her examples, Savage deftly reveals the binary oppositions underlying the critical analysis of the vernacular literature. Savage contends that in many of these introductory texts the pagan-Christian dichotomy is often masked by discussions of the orality of pagan epics vs. the literacy of Latin-Christian culture; the masculinity of Germanic heroic culture vs. the femininity of Christian didactic culture; the virility of a pure Anglo-Saxon poetic language vs. the sterility of Latin-Christian literate diction. After a comprehensive review of these binary oppositions, Savage argues that the present split in the discipline reflects a similar dichotomy in Anglo-Saxon times. Savage

contends that "ideas about pagans and Christians were indispensable to Anglo-Saxons' view of themselves and their origins" (45). She points out that, in his *Ecclesiastical History*, Bede displays the dichotomy with his "representations of bad Christian Britons and good pagan Anglo-Saxon invaders, Christianized Anglo-Saxons and backsliders" (45). Savage demonstrates that this same sort of ambivalence is also evident in *Beowulf* and *Exodus*. Savage closes with a call for a new pedagogy in the field which would present the conflicts and contradictions, rather than suppress them and thereby perpetuate them. She calls for the reinvention of Anglo-Saxon studies as a discipline "which is aware of its divisions, its history, and its foundational assumptions, the better to discuss them" (49). To that end, she suggests writing "Introductions to the poetry which include not only the original but several quite different translations of a given poem, commentaries which outline the oppositions of opinion rather than centralizing one of them, and anthologies of critical work which do the same" (49).

In his compelling survey of vernacular texts in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, "Views of Anglo-Saxon England in Post-Conquest Vernacular Writing" (*Orality and Literacy in Early Middle English*. Ed. Herbert Pilch. ScriptOralia 83. Tübingen. pp. 227–47), John Frankis underscores the nostalgic and ill-conceived view the writers of these texts had of Anglo-Saxon England. One writer praises Ælfric but is clearly confusing him with Alcuin. The majority of texts Frankis surveys are vernacular (Anglo-Norman and Middle English) saints' lives, and he discerns three common features in representation of Anglo-Saxon England in these texts. The first is that the texts reflect a "sense of the Anglo-Saxon past as an age of saints." The second recurring theme is that of the "anti-Christian force embodied in the heathen invaders." And the third is a consistent and cross-referenced "network of kings and saints" in the texts. Citing abundant evidence from saints' lives and Middle English lays, Frankis demonstrates that the authors of these texts held an idealized view of the Anglo-Saxon period as "an age in which saints of outstanding holiness and kings of heroic stature were more common than in the post-conquest period, above all perhaps, an age when strange and exciting events occurred in a familiar landscape" (247).

In an essay examining the work of Matthew Parker and his "household" of historians and scholars, "Darke speech: Matthew Parker and the Reforming of History," Benedict Scott Robinson uncovers the religious and political agenda of this group of scholars working in the 1560s and 1570s (*Sixteenth Century Journal* 29.4: 1061–1083). Robinson argues that Archbishop Parker and his colleagues engaged in a polemical scholarship of collecting, editing, and publishing documents of ecclesiastical history with the aim of reinventing the Anglo-Saxon church as precursor of the Anglican church under Elizabeth. According to Robinson, "Parker's was a textual reformation, a reformation of the book: by cor-

recting, reforming, and printing these 'testimonies of antiquity,' the Parkerian scholars worked to produce a usable past for Protestant England" (1064). Robinson reviews the major publications of the Parkerian scholars and the level of recognition and support they received from the government between 1560 and Parker's death in 1575. Robinson contends that the legacy of the Parkerian project, in its attempt to reconstruct a proto-Protestant English antiquity from the manuscript evidence of Anglo-Saxon England, is a paradoxical one. A comparison of the manuscript sources, the preservation of which the indefatigable work of the Archbishop guaranteed, with the publications of these scholars underscores the profound "otherness" of the Anglo-Saxon texts: despite Parker's greatest efforts, "there was something irremediably alien in the English past" (1083).

The troubled career of another antiquarian scholar, Thomas Hearne, is the subject of Theodor Harmsen's "Bodleian Imbroglions, Politics, and Personalities, 1701–1716: Thomas Hearne, Arthur Charlett and John Hudson" (*Neophilologus* 82: 149–168). Harmsen reviews Hearne's early career at the Bodleian Library in attempt to rectify the unsympathetic "caricature" of Hearne that has limited appreciation of this Oxford historical antiquary since his death in 1735. Known primarily for his monumental series of editions of medieval English chroniclers and 145-volume diary, entitled "Remarks and Collections," Hearne began his scholarly career as a "janitor," or library assistant, to John Hudson at the Bodleian in 1701; he became a sublibrarian in 1712. Harmsen explores the degree to which Hearne's outspoken political beliefs (he was a nonjuror and Jacobite, hoping for the restitution of the Stuart dynasty to the throne) led to the premature end of his career at the Bodleian Library. Harmsen divides Hearne's Bodleian career into four periods: "Hearne's work under Hudson, 1701–1709;" "Charlett and the nonjurors, 1708–1709;" "Years of increasing tension, 1710–1716;" and "Hearne must go, 1715–1716." In the final section of the essay, "A deprived librarian," Harmsen considers Hearne's increasing pessimism and frustration after his dismissal as sublibrarian. Harmsen concludes that "it was not only a question of personal idiosyncracies and his over-methodical idealism that led to Hearne's being ousted from the posts of architypographer and (sub)librarian" (165).

In a consideration of the life and work of another outspoken scholar, Henry Sweet, "Against the establishment: Sidelines on Henry Sweet," Robert Henry Robins reviews Sweet's contributions to the field of historical linguistics (*Productivity and Creativity: Studies in General and Descriptive Linguistics in Honor of E. M. Uhlenbeck*. Ed. Mark Janse with An Verlinden. Trends in Ling., Stud. and Monographs 116. Berlin and New York. pp. 167–78). Focusing in particular on his work in phonetics, Robins demonstrates the significance of Sweet's groundbreaking publications, especially *A Handbook of Phonetics* (1877), which lay the foundation for much of the work by contemporary and later phoneticians. Sweet the

scholar, Robins argues, was undoubtedly the "leading phonetician of the nineteenth century" whose work "made English phonetics a proper field for English students and teachers, and led the way for the worldwide influence of the phonetics of Daniel Jones" (175). Acknowledging that Sweet's garrulous and pugnacious personality had certainly limited his career, Robins reserves judgment of his character. He notes with pleasant irony that Sweet's grave in Oxford "is in the charge of the Henry Sweet Society, a society devoted to the history of linguistics, in which he holds an unchallengeable place" (176).

Homages to J. R. R. Tolkien and other prominent Anglo-Saxon scholars are featured in several essays this year. In his contribution to a 1992 conference on Tolkien and his work at Oxford University, published as "J. R. R. Tolkien and Old English Studies: An Appreciation" (*Mythlore* 21: 206–12), Bruce Mitchell sets aside the age-old complaint against Tolkien that he squandered his thirty-four years as an Oxford don on his "hobbit work" and instead offers a personal and touching glimpse of the man and tutor, whose "scholarly output, even excluding the posthumous work, exceeds that of at least some of his critics in quality and sometimes indeed in quantity" (210). Mitchell focuses on three areas of Tolkien's legacy: the effect Tolkien had upon students and colleagues by personal contact; the significance of his Oxford lectures to undergraduates and graduates; the impact of his scholarly publications and public lectures on the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. Mitchell's final assessment of Tolkien as a man, scholar, and teacher is honest, humane, and favorable.

Tolkien's imaginative work receives close philological attention in Arden R. Smith's "Old English Influence on the Danian Language of J. R. R. Tolkien" (*Interdigitations: Essays for Irmengard Rauch*. Ed. Gerald F. Carr et al. New York: Lang. pp. 231–37). Smith analyzes the "influence of Old English on the vocabulary and structure of Tolkien's Danian language" (231). For those unfamiliar with the fictional language spoken by the Green-elves (the Danas) in *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, Smith outlines its development according to Tolkien's own publications. Although the published corpus of Danian consists of less than two dozen words, Smith considers the lexicon in terms of Vocabulary, Morphology, Synchronic Phonology, and Diachronic Phonology. Smith concludes that the great "number of linguistic affinities to Old English" in the Danian lexicon reflects a conscious strategy on Tolkien's part to create a "link between Middle-earth and the modern reader" (236).

The influence of Anglo-Saxon on the poetry of one of Tolkien's student, the poet W. H. Auden, is the subject of M. J. Toswell's "Auden and Anglo-Saxon" (*MESN* 37: 21–28). Toswell offers a preliminary reassessment of Auden's assumed knowledge of Old English and its influence on his poetry. She reviews Auden's most likely third-year exam scenario in Oxford's Faculty of English Language and Literature

(he received a disappointing Third in Finals) and takes issue with Morton Bloomfield's conclusions about the source of Auden's poem, "The Wanderer." Toswell's overarching argument is that the influence of medieval poetry, and specifically that of Anglo-Saxon poetry, on Auden's creative endeavors "may have been less a matter of true understanding and detailed knowledge, and more a question of spiritual affinity, of the provision of metaphors" (21).

b. Cultural History

In a wide-ranging conversation with David Matthews, printed as an interview entitled "Straightforward" (*Parergon* 16.1: 93–104), Allen J. Frantzen candidly discusses his views on developments in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies since the appearance of his book *Desire for Origins*; the resistance of Anglo-Saxonists in particular to recognize the political dimensions of their scholarship; the place of his own work in Anglo-Saxon studies within the larger field of gay studies; the value and pitfalls of "queer theory"; and the future of medieval studies. Frantzen makes unique and insightful comments on each of these topics.

Frantzen's latest book, *Before the Closet: Same-Sex Love from 'Beowulf' to 'Angels in America'* (Chicago: Univ. of Chicago Press), explores the evidence for and attitudes toward same-sex relations in Anglo-Saxon culture, and the association of that behavior with the Anglo-Saxons through the Middle Ages, Renaissance, and into the present. Frantzen outlines four objectives for the book: first, he aims to remedy certain misconceptions of same-sex relations in published histories of sex; second, he hopes to shed light on the present discourse of same-sex relations; third, he employs his title, "Before the closet," to suggest that the Anglo-Saxon evidence of same-sex relations is not "closeted" but open and "straightforward," a notion which has ideological implications that Frantzen makes clear in his fourth objective, to redirect the field of queer medieval studies toward historical research and criticism. The book is divided into three parts: Part One, "Trouser Roles and Transvestites," comprises Chapters One and Two; Part Two, "The Anglo-Saxons," is formed by Chapters Three, Four, and Five; and Part Three, "From Angles to Angels," includes Chapters Six and Seven. In Part One, Frantzen explores how particular moments in opera, dance, and Anglo-Saxon texts demonstrate that homosexual and heterosexual "readings" can live in the same textual house. Part Two analyzes the evidence of same-sex relations in Anglo-Saxon literature (principally the Penitentials, laws, and *Genesis A*) and proposes a less-than-tolerant view of Anglo-Saxon culture. This evidence of this section is summed up and classified in useful appendices. In Part Three, Frantzen charts the discourse of sodomy from the Norman Conquest onwards, with an enlightening discussion of Chaucer's *The Man of Law's Tale*, and provides an intriguing rereading of Bede's story of Pope Gregory's puns about

Anglian boys and "angels." The book closes with a personal account of Frantzen's formative experiences in three "worlds" dominated largely by hetero-normative sexual views; the Afterword is entitled "Me and My Shadows."

Frantzen's third publication this year, "Prior to the Normans: The Anglo-Saxons in *Angels in America*" (*Approaching the Millennium: Essays on Tony Kushner's Angels in America*. Ed. Deborah A. Geis and Steven F. Kruger. Ann Arbor, MI. pp. 134–50), appears in this same form as part of Chapter Seven in *Before the Closet*. In this article, Frantzen discusses Kushner's treatment of Prior Walter as an ethnic construct, a WASP (white Anglo-Saxon Protestant). Frantzen contrasts Prior's "stable" WASP identity with the mobility of other American ethnic identities in order to suggest that all ethnic, national, even racial, constructs are ideologically motivated. Frantzen associates Kushner's drama with the ideology of Manifest Destiny; in the end, Kushner's social construction of Prior Walter as a WASP conforms to, rather than subverts, this ideology.

c. Language

In a remarkably clear and efficient essay entitled simply "Philological Criticism" (*Poetica* 50: 3–15), Fred Robinson discusses the mechanics of this linguistic discipline, by which scholars apply "historical knowledge and common sense to problematic passages, thereby resolving many of the uncertainties" (4) in the study of literature, particularly that of earlier periods. Citing numerous examples from Shakespeare, Samuel Johnson, Alexander Pope, and Jonathan Swift, to name only a few, Robinson reveals the means by which philologists determine the meanings and pronunciations of words or phrases. Robinson suggests the importance of sound philological training by exploring the degrees to which chronological and geographical changes in grammar and vocabulary can disrupt the understanding of literature. According to Robinson, philology is a liberating act which frees the critic from "the linguistic and literary preconceptions of his own time and place" and allows him to "read the literary text in terms of the time and tradition in which it took shape" (14). Robinson celebrates philological criticism as a means of avoiding the ventriloquism of much modern criticism, in which the critic's "own contemporary voice [is] superimposed on the discourse of a verbal artist speaking from another thought-world" (15).

In a collection of essays written by seventeen scholars in honor of the "worda ond worca" of Fred Robinson (*Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*. Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press), the editors, Peter Baker and Nicholas Howe, have paid fitting tribute to one of the most distinguished scholars in the field of Medieval Studies. Of the seventeen essays in the collection, thirteen deal with Anglo-Saxon material. Three of these will be treated here, and the remainder in other sections.

In a stimulating appraisal of current editorial practices in Anglo-Saxon studies, "Old English Texts and Modern Readers: Notes on Editing and Textual Criticism," Helmut Gneuss reviews the recent history of editing Old English texts and proposes a new "pragmatic approach" to this most fundamental task (*Words and Works*, 127–41). Along the way, Gneuss questions the "assumed fundamental opposition between the 'conservative' and the 'liberal' editor of Old English texts" (130) and suggests that the gap between them is "not really so very wide" (131). Gneuss ultimately appeals for "an approach that gives us scholarly and yet readable editions and takes into consideration the prospective readership as well as the nature of the particular text; an approach that does not avoid necessary economies and emends (in a clearly marked form) where this seems appropriate; ideally, it would also be an approach that recognizes the needs and interests of the literary reader as well as those of the historical linguist" (135). Gneuss's formidable footnotes and the bibliography contained therein constitute "required reading" on the subject of editing Old English texts.

Roberta Frank opens "When Lexicography Met the Exeter Book" with the fairy-tale account of the "discovery" of the Exeter Book by John J. Conybeare in 1812 (*Words and Work*, 207–21). After brief tenures with George Hickes and Humfrey Wanley in the late-seventeenth and early-eighteenth centuries, the manuscript is thought to have lain neglected for the next century until Conybeare acquired it. In her entertaining essay, Frank reveals the absurdity of the mythic discovery account and sheds light on the travels of the manuscript in the mid-eighteenth century. It was borrowed in 1759 by Edward Lye, who plumbed its depths for entries in his *Old English Dictionary*. Correspondence between the Dean of the Chapter of Exeter and Lye show that Lye was originally lent the manuscript for one year but actually kept it for nearly two. The Exeter Book was borrowed from the Cathedral Library again by Owen Manning, who used it to complete work on Lye's unfinished dictionary after his death. When the *Dictionary* was published in 1772, it contained "some sixty-two words peculiar to the Exeter Book, at least eight-eight new headwords or lemmas derived the same manuscript, and several hundred additional entries taken from all sections of the codex" (208–9). Despite this abundance of material from the manuscript, contemporary lexicographers (and more recent Anglo-Saxonists) essentially ignored the contributions of Lye and Manning's work. Frank analyzes the work of these two early lexicographers and provides a fresh context in which to recognize their long-neglected contribution to the field.

In a close reading of the work of three modern poets, "Praise and Lament: The Afterlife of Old English Poetry in Auden, Hill, and Gunn," Nicholas Howe uncovers the degree to which these poets are indebted to Old English poetic conventions (*Words and Work*, 292–310). Howe begins by dismantling the operative assumption of many Brit-Lit

survey courses, namely that there exists an unbroken line of literary and linguistic continuity from "*Beowulf* to Virginia Woolf." Such a move, Howe argues, "can have the unhappy consequence of distancing—even isolating—Old English texts from more recent works in English" (294). Rather, Howe suggests, "Old English may be better placed within the shifting field of literary studies if one holds to a disrupted or fragmented sense of tradition. Instead of assuming a majestic, unbroken sweep from *Beowulf* onwards, we might remember that Anglo-Saxon materials have had a habit of reappearing and becoming vital to the culture and poetic life of later eras" (294). In this spirit, Howe conducts close critical readings of the poetry of Auden, Hill, and Gunn with an eye to the ways in which they absorbed and adapted the language, themes, and conventions of Old English poetry in their own work.

In "Knowledge of Old English in the Middle English Period?" Hans Sauer explores the degree to which Old English texts and manuscripts were used and understood in the Middle English period (*Language History and Linguistic Modelling*. Ed. Hickey and Puppel. pp. 791–814). In a systematic review of the evidence, Sauer considers such questions as when the Old English period ended and when the Middle English period began, and whether such a thing as a Middle English language in fact existed. Using the so-called Tremulous Hand of Worcester as "the main witness for the study of Old English in the 13th century" (800), Sauer agrees with Christine Franzen (*The Tremulous Hand of Worcester*, Oxford, 1991) who argues that the possessor of the Tremulous Hand neither knew Old English nor remembered it from his childhood, but instead had to learn it. For evidence of the knowledge of Old English in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, Sauer looks to Nicholas Trevet's use of Alfred's Old English version of Boethius's *Consolatio Philosophiae*, the Old English Prose *Solomon and Saturn*, and the Middle English *Master of Oxford's Catechism*. Sauer contends that "Old English texts were copied till shortly after 1200" (796), but that after this turning point, with only very few exceptions, "Old English texts were no longer copied after ca. 1225" (797). The evidence suggests to Sauer that "OE was no longer understood from that time onwards" (809).

James Milroy analyzes the ideological agendas behind the accepted descriptions of the historical development of English in "Linguistic Ideology and the Anglo-Saxon Lineage of English" (*Speech Past and Present: Studies in English Dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen*. Ed. Juhani Klemola, Merja Kytö, and Matti Rissanen. Bamberger Beiträge zur englischen Sprachwissenschaft 38. Frankfurt am Main. pp. 169–186). Focusing on "the abrupt break that appears in the historical record in the transition from Old English to Middle English in the twelfth century" (171), Milroy refutes the traditional unilinear assumption that Old English transformed itself from "a highly inflected language into a relatively isolative one with a largely different word-order, without external influences to trigger these momentous changes" (174). In-

stead Milroy accepts the hypothesis that Modern English is a lineal descendent of "an Anglo-Norse contact language which developed amongst speakers in the east midlands and north of England between about 850 and 1050, and which is not attested in writing during that period" (173). Using the *Peterborough Chronicle*, among other texts, Milroy suggests that there is evidence of "a well-developed supra-localized koiné or interlanguage based on Anglo-Danish contact" (184). For most of his essay, however, he is primarily concerned with the ideological resistance to such an explanation. Milroy contends that the unilingual and unilinear view of the development of English reflects an ideology which values "uniformity above diversity, monolingualism above bilingualism and purity above mixing" (184). Such an account is "bound to miss or understate certain important generalizations about language contact and diffusion which are historically not unilinear, but which happen to be essential to understanding the period of the English language that we call Middle English" (184).

In "The Old Frisian Studies of Jan Van Vliet (1622–1666) and Thomas Marshall (1621–1685)," Kees Dekker reconsiders the contribution of Jan van Vliet to the field of Old Frisian studies, with particular attention to the now-lost Codex Unia (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 49: 113–38). Dekker conducts an exhaustive review of Van Vliet's career and the evidence of his interest in Old Frisian. From his scholarly friend Franciscus Junius, Van Vliet borrowed several manuscripts containing Old Frisian material; these included Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 109; the so-called Codex Aysma; Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Marshall 60. From annotations made in these manuscripts, scholars have attempted to reconstruct the contents of the Codex Unia. Many of these annotations from the Codex Unia have longed been ascribed to Van Vliet. After a close inspection of the various hands of these annotations in MS Marshall 60, Dekker has concluded that the annotations "are not by Jan van Vliet but in the hand of Thomas Marshall" (121). Dekker reconstructs the scenario by which Marshall, as opposed to Van Vliet, would have acquired the manuscript and made the annotations from Codex Unia. Dekker speculates that Van Vliet may have been at work on an edition of MS Marshall 60, and that the identification of the annotations by Marshall allows for a clearer picture of Van Vliet's intentions. Dekker's Appendix includes useful lists of "Marshall's Collations with J(junius) 109"; "Titles of articles from Junius's collation with MS Unia in J109"; "Marshall's Indications about Texts Absent in MS Unia"; "Marshall's Marginalia from J109"; "Marshall's Collation with MS Junius 49"; "Marshall's Titles of Articles from MS Junius 49"; "Marshall's Additional Marginalia."

d. Research Resources, Print and Electronic

As wide-ranging as its title suggests, *Medieval England: An Encyclopedia* (Eds. Paul Szarmach, M. Teresa Tavormina, and

Joel T. Rosenthal. New York and London: Garland) provides students and interested readers with a useful "introduction to the society and culture of England from the coming of the Anglo-Saxons in the 5th century through the accession of the Tudor dynasty (1485) and the turn of the 16th century" (vii). The general approach of the entries is interdisciplinary. Each entry is followed by a bibliographic guide to further work and reading and a useful *See Also* cross-listing of related topics. The selection criterion for entry topics, namely a "strong relationship between the topic and the events, persons, culture, or language of non-Celtic Great Britain" (vii), has meant that much of the history, literature, music, and intellectual traditions of Scotland, Wales, and the continent are excluded unless they have a strong connection with England. The prefatory pages include a list of the "Entries, Arranged by Category"; lists of the "Kings and Queens of England" and the "Archbishops of Canterbury and York" with respective dates; a list of the "Popes, 590–1503" with regnal dates; a glossary of "Musical and Liturgical Terms"; a visual dictionary of "Architectural Terms" with illustrations of "The Medieval Castle" and "The Medieval Church"; and a series of maps, a partial list of which include "The English Counties," "Ecclesiastical England in the Middle Ages," and the "Dominions of Henry II." An extensive index rounds out this impressive volume. This work will be an indispensable reference for anyone interested in the period, specialist and non-specialist alike. Anglo-Saxonists in particular will appreciate the accuracy, concision, and detail of such individual entries as those on Ælfric, the Benedictine Reform, *Beowulf*, the *Christ* poems, and the *Vercelli Book* and Homilies.

With the second volume of three that relate the "biographies of scholars whose work influenced the study of the Middle Ages and transformed it into the discipline known as Medieval Studies" (ix), Helen Damico and Joseph Zavadil (*Medieval Scholarship: Biographical Studies on the Formation of a Discipline* 2. New York and London: Garland) have provided a tremendously valuable resource for scholars of the field. While volume 1 dealt primarily with historians from the seventeenth to twentieth centuries, the second volume presents biographical accounts of some thirty-two men and women whose scholarship in medieval philology and literature has defined the parameters and terms of work in the field. The range of their subject-fields covers the languages and literature of greater Europe from the seventh through the fifteenth century and "includes Celtic, Scandinavian, Germanic, and Romance nations" (ix). Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be the biographies of preeminent scholars in the field. With an eye to poetic justice, the editors chose scholars working in the field today, some of whom may one day appear in future volumes of this series, to compose these biographies: Laurence Nowell (Carl Berkhout), George Hickes (Richard L. Harris), Humfrey Wanley (Milton McC. Gatch), Elizabeth Elstob (Kathryn Sutherland), Benjamin Thorpe (Phillip Pulsiano), Walter Skeat (Char-

lotte Brewer), Henry Sweet (Michael K. C. MacMahon), Eduard Sievers (John C. Pope), Andreas Heusler (Heinrich Beck), Max Förster (Hans Sauer), N. R. Ker (Kevin Kiernan), and Rosemary Woolf (Helga Spevack-Husmann). The entries are extremely comprehensive, averaging between ten and fifteen pages each, and include extensive bibliography of primary sources (books, articles, papers, and letters of the scholar) and secondary sources (recent scholarship on the work of the profiled scholar). Each entry aims to give the reader a sense of the character and life of the individual scholar. But perhaps the greatest success of the volume is to have placed the scholars and their work in a continuum, underscoring relationships between the work of all scholars, as that body of work shaped, defined, and transformed the field of Medieval Studies.

Three bibliographic essays on the work of Anglo-Saxonists appeared this year. Andrew Prescott has compiled a complete list of "The Published Writings of Janet Backhouse" (*Illuminating the Book: Makers and Interpreters. Essays in Honour of Janet Backhouse*. Ed. Michelle P. Brown and Scot McKendrick. London, Toronto, and Buffalo. pp. 299–305). The list is broken into two sections, "Books and Articles" and "Reviews and Review Articles;" each is arranged chronologically. Emma Mason has produced a discursive bibliography of "The Works of Frank Barlow" (*Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 2.1: 134–39). Her essay is an appreciation of the scope of this formidable historian's oeuvre, which she divides into three categories: "Edited Texts and Monographs"; "The Politics of Church and State"; and "Biographical Works."

In an entry on Franciscus Junius for a biographical dictionary, Colette Nativel reviews the life and complex career of this early Anglo-Saxonist ("Junius (Franciscus F. F.) (1591–1677)." (*Centuriae Latinae*. Ed. Nativel. Travaux d'Humanisme et Renaissance 314. Geneva. pp. 439–48). At once a preacher, tutor, librarian, and adviser to some of the most influential men in England, Junius's career is linked to the development of Protestantism and Humanism in seventeenth-century Europe. Nativel unravels his life and career in a chronological narrative that underscores the importance of this scholar. The essay closes with a useful bibliography of Junius's writings, including his correspondence, and of scholarly work on Junius.

Melissa J. Bernstein's "New and Updated Anglo-Saxon Resources on the Internet for 1998" (*OEN* 32.1: 14–15) reviews eight Internet resources which have come on-line since the publication of her "An Introduction to the Internet for Anglo-Saxonists; Part 2" (*OEN* 31.1: 22–27). As always, Bernstein's reviews are concise and informative, providing novices and experts alike with useful information for research and/or teaching Anglo-Saxon literature and culture.

e. Bayeux Tapestry

The Bayeux Tapestry was discussed in three essays this year. Peter Lasko's "The Bayeux Tapestry and the representation of space," appeared in a memorial tribute to C. R. Dodwell (*Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives. A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*. Ed. Gale Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham. Manchester and New York: Manchester Univ. Press. pp. 26–39). See the "Essay Collections" section below for a discussion of this volume. In a visual source-study of the pictorial style of the Bayeux Tapestry, Lasko argues that the inconsistent representation of size and color in figures, objects, and animals in the Tapestry, and even the irregular placement of those elements, reflects an attempt on the part of the designers "to express a spatial dimension" (29). Focusing on the technique of "diminution" (the principle of perspective whereby items closer to the foreground are represented as larger than those meant to appear further away) in the Tapestry, Lasko compares its use in the Tapestry with similar visual effects in the Old English Hexateuch (London, British Library, MS Cotton Claudius B.iv). Lasko's comparison and analysis lends credence to the view that the Tapestry was created by artisans in the south of England, most likely at Canterbury, in the late eleventh century. In addition, Lasko argues that the "time-sequential elements" in the layout of the Tapestry "suggest a knowledge and deep understanding of Antique traditions of continuous narrative" (34). Reviewing Otto Werckmeister's hypothesis that the Tapestry derived from the Roman Triumphal Columns, Lasko points out that the use of "diminution" is entirely absent in the columns. Instead he invokes the now-outdated view that the Byzantine Joshua Roll of the late-tenth century, which employs both "diminution" and "continuous narrative," was derived from Antique prototypes to posit the existence of such models as might have been used by the designers of the Tapestry. Although no Late Antique manuscripts have survived at Canterbury or elsewhere, Lasko contends that a copy of a Late Antique model must have been available to the designer of the Tapestry and must have inspired the use of diminution and the continuous "scroll" form of the Tapestry.

In his article, "The Bayeux Tapestry: The Case of the Phantom Fleet" (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 80.1: 23–21), David Hill reconsiders the scene of the Tapestry in which Harold II Godwinson is enthroned beneath the trajectory of the comet. In order to more easily identify elements of the Tapestry and to escape the prevailing view of the Tapestry as a series of rectangles (an approach which has fragmented interpretation of the various scenes), Hill proposes measuring scenes and areas from the initial left-hand margin of the Tapestry. Thus, the scene Hill discusses begins at 29.2 metres and runs approximately to 30.2 metres. After a brief review of the principal interpretations of this scene, Hill rejects them out-of-hand: "the link between the comet and the fleet is broken; the soothsayer is not a

sooth-sayer; the look of terror does not exist of Harold's face; the birds of ill-omen have flown and the fleet is real and not phantom" (28). Hill offers an alternative reconstruction of the scene. Considering the narrative continuity of a larger segment (from 25.4 to 31.1 metres) of the Tapestry, Hill argues that there are two images which "may be intended to clarify the story" (emphasis in original, 29). The first image is in the upper border and is that of a figure kneeling with a staff in his right hand. The second image is that of the two "counter-swimming" fish in the lower border. Hill argues that these two images suggest the following interpretation of the scene of Harold's coronation: "the remarkable comet is first seen in the sky at the time when Harold, seated in his hall, with the hulks of his fleet still laid peacefully up outside, instructs . . . a figure of some status (he carries his sword) to carry a message to William" (30). According to Hill, the two fish in the lower border are the astrological sign Pisces and indicate a potential chronology for the message to William (i.e., between 19 February and 20 March) and the events leading up to the construction of the Norman fleet.

The Bayeux Tapestry is considered in light of heroic poetry in an article by Alan D. Stephens, "The Germanic Heroic Tradition and the Cultural Context of the Bayeux Tapestry" (*Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 3: 51–58). Stephens outlines the value system of the heroic tradition and suggests that such a system was the cultural milieu of the Tapestry. In contrast to Dodwell, who proposed a connection to French secular poetry for the Tapestry, Stephens believes that the Old English tradition of heroic poetry had a greater influence on its pictorial style. Following Max Förster, Stephens examines the linguistic form of proper names to argue that the Tapestry was an "English monastic production" (53). Invoking Isidore of Seville's definition of "hero" in the *Etymologiae*, Tacitus's elaboration of Germanic heroic values in the *Germania*, Stephens finds evidence in individual scenes for the practice of heroic values. By examining the Tapestry in this "cultural context," Stephens argues, it is clear that it is "at once a colorful celebration of decorum, generosity, social obligation, loyalty, fortitude and an exemplary dynamic of warfare," which illustrates the fact that "the values enumerated by Tacitus were as real on the eve of the conquest as they had been in the first century" (57).

f. Essay Collections

In *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives; A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell* (New York: Manchester University Press), Gale Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham have edited a volume of essays commemorating the life and work of Charles Reginald Dodwell, one of the leading scholars of medieval art, and especially English medieval manuscripts, in the twentieth century. The twelve essays of the volume, excluding the "Introduction" which surveys Dodwell's life and work, are arranged roughly chronologically and cover a diverse range

of subjects. The greatest concentration of subject-matter is comprised of five chapters on the study of medieval textiles, in terms not only of their production and use but also of their preservation and study as material evidence. The remainder of the book tackles issues surrounding the study of the Bayeux Tapestry, regional styles of sculpture and stained glass in the Anglo-Norman period, and the iconography of art and architecture in late Gothic churches. Still other chapters explore the reception of earlier art in later periods. In a final essay, "Reginald Dodwell: Lambeth Librarian 1953–1958," Richard Palmer highlights Dodwell's parallel career as a capable administrator of such diverse bodies as the Lambeth Palace Library, the History of Art department at the University of Manchester, and the Whitworth Art Gallery. Palmer especially honors Dodwell's role in rebuilding the Lambeth Palace Library after World War II. The book closes with a complete bibliography of C. R. Dodwell's published writings.

g. Varia

In the "Introduction" to a special issue of the *Bull. of John Ryland Univ. Lib. of Manchester* (79.3, 11–13) devoted to "Anglo-Saxon Texts and Contexts," Gale Owen-Crocker outlines the topics and approaches featured in the volume's fifteen essays, which range from a naturalistic consideration of the dragon in *Beowulf* (Howard Shilton) and an appraisal of the achievement of King Alfred as an educator and intellectual (Paul Anthony Booth) to an exploration of the theological interests and educational agenda of the thirteenth-century cleric known by his distinctive script as the "Tremulous Hand of Worcester" (Wendy Collier) and an electronic analysis of the language of a homily in two post-Conquest manuscripts (Loredana Teresi). All but Maria Fitzgerald's essay on "Insular Dress in Early Medieval Ireland" (251–61) are reviewed in subsequent sections. In "Insular Dress in Early Medieval Ireland," Maria Fitzgerald surveys early medieval Irish art for evidence of contemporary dress styles (*Bull. of John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3: 251–61). Relying largely on depictions of dress in art and literature from the advent of Christianity in the fifth century to the defeat of the Vikings at Clontarf in 1014, Fitzgerald demonstrates that the tunic (*léine*), cloak (*brat*), and trousers (*truibhas*) were the mainstay of Celtic dress and persisted in use well into the medieval period. Supported by ample illustrations from manuscripts and stone sculptures, Fitzgerald argues that the iconographic representation of dress in these sources suggests that clothing was linked to ranks of Irish society. The view derived from the pictorial sources is supported by the literature of the period.

In "The Legend of Saint Mildred in the *Nova Legenda Anglie*," Anne Scott has produced a useful commentary and translation of "De sancta Mildreda virgine et abbatissa" from the NLA (*Allegorica* 19: 63–81). Scott prefaces her translation with a review of recent scholarship on the legend of St.

Mildred, particularly that of Colker (1977), Rollason (1982 and 1986), and Aker (1992). Scott first compares the style of the NLA recension of Mildred's legend with the versions by Goscelin and that in the *South English Legendary*. She argues that the NLA legend is an "epitome, an abridgement of Goscelin's much longer version" (64). Scott also discusses specific issues, themes, and motifs found in the various versions of the legend, with particular attention to Mildred's ordeal in the furnace. She suggests that the primary intention of the compiler of the NLA version of Mildred's legend was "to include only that information about Mildred and her history—her genealogy, the martyrdom of her uncles, and the location of her relics, among other events—that made it possible for his audience to follow the story and that assumed the audience's knowledge of the extenuating circumstances surrounding the events" (65). Scott bases her facing-page translation on the Latin text of the Mildred legend found in Carl Horstmann's edition of the *Nova legenda Anglie* (Oxford, 1901), 2: 193–97.

In "The 'Rows of the Battle-Swan': The Aftermath of Battle in Anglo-Saxon Art," Jennie Hooper surveys the body of early medieval representations of warfare from Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England (*Armies, Chivalry, and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*. Ed. Matthew Strickland. Harlaxton Med. Stud. 7. Stamford, Lincs. pp. 82–99). The graphic body of evidence Hooper considers includes stone sculptures, ivory carvings, manuscript illustrations, and embroideries. Hooper draws a distinction between the intentions of the artists of the Anglo-Saxon era and those of the "chivalric" or Anglo-Norman era. One need only examine the iconography of the Aberlemno Stone or Ælfric's Hexateuch to recognize that pre-Conquest artists depicted the violence of warfare and its aftermath in graphic detail. Hooper focuses in particular on the representations of the beasts of battle and their gory banquet. While Norman artists did not ignore the harsh realities of warfare, Hooper argues that "increasingly ecclesiastical monopoly on the production of art" may have altered the iconographical agenda of the artists. Furthermore, according to Hooper, the "chivalric" sensibilities of the Norman artists also seem to have restricted the degree to which they represented the motif of the beasts of battle, so familiar in Anglo-Saxon literature and art.

R. I. Page reexamines two runic texts in "Two runic notes" (*Anglo-Saxon England* 27: 289–94). The first is a little-known text from London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho C.v published in Hickeys's *Thesaurus*, which transliterated reads "conslruieius." Through a review of the runic graphs, Page emends the runic text to read "cons<e>ruieius." Although Otho C.v was badly damaged in the 1731 fire, it is known that the manuscript included the gospels of Matthew and Mark, among other materials, and was 109 folios in length. Page determines that at page 41 the manuscript would have contained part of the gospel of Matthew, and he suggests that the phrase "conservi eius" (Matt. 18:31 in the Vul-

gate) is the phrase represented in runes. Why such runic inscriptions were made puzzles Page, "unless it was to celebrate some reader's skill in the runic character", but they are important as they "give another example of the use of that script in the study/scriptorium, within a learned manuscript context" (290). The second runic text is the record of an inscription transcribed in Roman characters found at Linstock Castle in 1773. Page associates the incomprehensible text to a "small group of Anglo-Saxon rings with similar legends cut in runes round their hoops" (291). These amulet rings contain runic inscriptions of charms, possibly one for staunching the flow of blood from a wound. Page remarks that the Linstock inscription closely resembles that on one of the rings and asserts three hypotheses. Of these hypotheses, Page asserts that the Linstock report is most likely "an eighteenth-century scholar's attempt at transliterating the runes" from one of the amulet rings (293).

In a similar feat of onomastic detective work, Christine Fell examines a perplexing funerary inscription in "A Funerary Monument" (*Names, Places, and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*. Ed. Alexander Rumble and A. D. Mills. Stamford: Paul Watkins. pp. 55–76). The funerary text appears as the first item in the Addenda to the third edition of John Weever's *Antient Funerary Monuments* (1767), where it is asserted that the text is a lost Old English text from the church of Leominster, Herefordshire. Fell reprints the purported Old English text and its published translation. In a review of the manuscript history of the Leominster text, its alleged "discovery," and associated commentaries, Fell dismisses the text as a forgery. A detailed analysis of the etymologies of the place names in the text underscores Fell's suspicions. She deftly demonstrates that the text "could only have been put together by one whose knowledge of Old English and the Anglo-Saxons had been imperfectly gleaned from early printed texts" (73), and she identifies these printed sources. Furthermore, Fell links the persistence of the forgery to the efforts of the Newcastle family, particularly the fourth duke of Newcastle, who had a vested interest in the proven authenticity of the text as it provided them with a royal pedigree.

Written for a primary school audience, Martyn Whittock's *Beliefs and Myths of the Anglo-Saxons* (Oxford: Heinemann) presents the daily religious life of Anglo-Saxons in Pre-Conquest England. The book is divided into thirteen sections, covering such topics as "The two chief gods," "Great heroes and legendary creatures," "The coming of Christianity," and "Places of the dead." Each section spans two facing pages and is neatly organized with introductory text in the left-hand column of each page and "Source" boxes in the right. The "Source" boxes most often contain quotations from contemporary sources and occasionally photographs, followed by a brief description of the source. Each section closes with an explanatory discussion of the significance of the "Sources" presented. Some difficult words (such as "ancestor," "idol,"

2. LANGUAGE

and "sheaf") are in bold-face print and are defined in age-appropriate language in the single-page Glossary at the end of the book. Amply illustrated with vivid color photographs of grave goods, manuscripts, archaeological sites, and various Anglo-Saxon artifacts, this book is an excellent introduction for young students to the belief-systems of the Anglo-Saxons.

The enduring fascination and compelling beauty of early medieval subjects is attested by two poems this year. In "Conjuring Æðelflæd," Joe Francis Doerr honors the Lady of the Mercians (*OEN* 32.1: 11). Donald T. Williams celebrates the industriousness of the monks of Lindisfarne in his "The Lindisfarne Gospels, The British Museum, London, Villanelle 22" (*Christianity and Literature* 48: 132).

Memorials for Olof Arngart, James E. Cross, John McNeal Dodgson, Charles Reginald Dodwell, Christine E. Fell, Lynne Mary Grundy, Edward B. Irving, Jr., Tauno F. Mus-tanoja, and John Collins Pope were published this year.

R.F.J.

Works not seen

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Grundtvig Studier 1998, pp. 120–41.

Downing, Jack. "Meeting the Vikings." *Yorkshire Jnl* 21 (1998), 30–35.

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Oergel, Maïke. "The Redeeming Teuton: Nineteenth-Century Notions of the 'Germanic' in England and Germany." *Imagining Nations*. Ed. Geoffrey Cubitt. Manchester and New York, 1998. pp. 75–91.

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2. Language

a. Lexicon, glosses

In "Interpretatio Romana: An Influence on Old English Vocabulary," *Foreign Lang. Education* (Xi'an Foreign Lang. Univ.) 4 (1997), 11–27, Earl R. Anderson treats several semantic systems of vocabulary borrowed from Latin into Old English. These are the days of the week, the seasons and months of the year, the four headwinds, and the four elements. He maintains that in each instance the borrowed system coexisted with a native system that it ultimately came to supplant. The author kindly supplied a copy of this article for review.

P. S. Baker's "The Inflection of Latin Nouns in Old English Texts," in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe (Univ. of Toronto, 1998), pp. 187–206, considers how writers of OE chose to inflect Latin loan words used in OE. Those words which were unassimilated or partially assimilated appear to have been inflected somewhat differently from those which were fully assimilated. Latin words used in OE passages of Byhtferth's *Enchiridion* form the basis for the discussion. Baker determines that there were five rules for determining which sort of inflection to use for a Latin noun in OE: match the Latin case to the OE one, but merge Lat. nom. and acc.; use the Latin spelling if it is spelled like an appropriate OE one, even if it does not match case and number; choose a Latin ending which sounds similar to the OE one; choose a Latin ending appropriate for the

OE case; use a Latin noun form for any case. Of course, many exceptions exist. Variations from the appropriate OE case and number by writers are not a matter of ignorance, since the writer's Latin or OE ability was not in question, but a matter of the writer's choice of appropriate criteria. Baker concludes with a short section on gender assignment of Latin loans into OE and cautions readers to avoid the easy assumptions. The question of inflections and gender of loan words could use more work.

In "Das altenglische Glossenwort *afigaen/afigen*," *Anglia* 116 (1998), 492–97, Alfred Bammesberger reevaluates this problematic *interpretamentum*, appearing in *Épinal* 414 and *Corpus* 918 with *-aen* and in *Erfurt* 414 and *Cleopatra* with *-en*. It is a gloss for *frixum* in *frixum cicer* 'boiled chick-peas'. Bammesberger rejects two proposed etymologies for the word. First there is Holthausen's (1963, 104) connection with Lat. *coquere* from IE **pek^w* - 'cook' with remote assimilation of the initial *p-* to the medial *-kw-*. Although it may have exceptional *-i-* in a past participle of the 5th class (cf. *fri-gan/frigen*), there would be no other Gmc. reflexes of this word except for this one instance. Also difficult is the suggestion of Seebold (1970, 191) to derive the gloss from IE **peyb-*: there is no other evidence for positing such a verbal root of the first class in Germanic, nor such a root at all outside Germanic. Instead the author further develops Meritt's (1968, 33) idea that *afigaen* is a misspelling for *asigaen*, since the confusion of *s* and *f* is understandable on paleographic

grounds. The word would thus be a preterite participle to the first-class verb *sēon* 'strain'. The participle would have taken over *-g-* from the preterite form, which had it by Verner's law from the Proto-Gmc. root **seihw-*.

In his other work in this section, "An Old English Word for 'butter'," *NeQ* 45 (1998), 414–16, Bammesberger rejects Whitelock's interpretation of *peru* as a normalization of *pero* 'loaves' in a Latin charter of 793–6 that documents King Offa's grant of sixty hides. Instead, he offers the opinion that *pero* is correct, but related to *butergepweor*. Using the existence of doublets such as *gewrit* and *writ* and *gebregd* and *bregd* for support, he concludes that *pwer* may have existed beside *gepwer*, with *pero* in the charter as a version of the plural of *pwer*. The plural should have been *pweoru*. He attributes the spelling in the charter to the diphthong having been replaced and the *-u* weakened to *-o*, while the omission is attributable to a scribal error. This interpretation makes the noun suit the context, with milk-products being mentioned after the livestock.

Christiane Berger's *Altenglische Paarformeln und ihre Varianten* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1993), originally her University of Münster dissertation, is a new collection and analysis of pair or 'twin' formulas of the type OE *blod and ban*, *geong and ald*, *etan and drincan*. The book contains two main parts: a theoretical discussion and a collection of Old English pair formulas. The first section is an overview of the history of research on formulas in older literature, especially Germanic. The review starts with Jacob Grimm (1822), who thought pair formulas in Germanic legal texts were tautological and hence poetic in nature. More recent studies connected the use of formulaic pairs in legal texts not to poetic antecedents but to the involvement of magic in an oral recitation of laws (Dilcher 1961) or something as mundane as the definition of terms (Sonderregger 1962). Other topics discussed are the use of rhythm, alliteration, and rhyme in pair formulas, the ordering of the two elements (the shorter before the longer), and the position in the first or second half line (alliterating in the first, non-alliterating in the second). The pairs may be (near) synonyms, opposites, or complements to one another, but they must belong to the same frame of reference. The most common areas from which they are drawn include religion, morals, feelings, war and peace, and time and place. The next section discusses the difficulties related to identifying formulas. The problem is that their formulaic nature entails repetition and stability, but paradoxically also variation. Variation includes the substitution of one of the elements, reversing the order of the elements, or extending the formula in various ways.

The formulas collected were extracted from three genres: poetry, legal texts, and religious texts. The sources included *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (Krapp and Dobbie), *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* (Liebermann), *Anglo-Saxon Wills* (Whitelock), *Anglo-Saxon Charters* (Robertson), *Anglo-Saxon Writs* (Harmer), the various homilies, etc. Pairs were considered

formulas, either because they occurred more than once, or, in the case of *hapax legomena*, for one of the following reasons: 1. variation with another word pair, 2. lack of translation in a translated text, 3. attestation in Middle or Modern English, 4. attestation in other Germanic languages.

Some of Berger's conclusions include the following: 1. Most OE formulas were variable. 2. Pair formula systems consist of a base pair formula and usual and occasional variants (terms from oral formulaic theory). 3. All variants within a system are lexically or contextually synonymous with the base formula and belong to the same word class. 4. Variation may occur not only within the system; system-external derivatives may also occur. Statistics based on 870 pair formulas are also offered. Here is a sampling: 55% contain nouns, 21% verbs, 18% adjectives, 6% prepositions and participles; 48% have alliteration, 5% rhyme, 48% neither alliteration nor rhyme; 38% were found in poetic texts, 18% in legal texts, 44% in religious texts.

C. P. Biggam's *Grey in Old English: An Interdisciplinary Semantic Study* (London: Runetree, 1998) pp. 363, is based on her doctoral dissertation and follows the pattern of a previous work, "Blue in OE." Biggam locates various color terms which describe some area of the semantic field of "grey" and divides and classifies the terms by objects to which they are applied and optical, linguistic, and cultural variables. All of these variations are considered for *græg*, *bar*, *hasu*, and *wylfen* in OE. Grey became a basic color term during the Germanic period or Stage IV. In its history, "grey" in OE is more similar to "green" than to "yellow."

F. M. Biggs's "The Exeter *Exeter Book*? Some Linguistic Evidence," in *The Dictionary of Old English: Retrospects and Prospects*, ed. M. J. Toswell, OEN Subsidia 26 (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute, 1998), pp. 63–71, examines OE *portic* and *gedon habban* (+prep) to assess P. Conner's 1993 contention that the *Exeter Book* was written in Exeter. Both terms lend credence to Conner's theory as they occur in works known to have been possessed by Exeter Cathedral. *Portic*, as it occurs in OE, clearly means a small room used for interment of bishops and kings. From manuscripts, it seems likely that one of the bishops of Exeter wanted his body to lie in a *portic* and the plan of the cathedral was modified to include *portics* after the Anglo-Saxon practice.

In the same volume (pp. 9–21), M. Blockley's "The Irresistible Force, the Immovable Object, and the *Dictionary of Old English*" discusses the order in which differing parts of speech of the same word should be entered in the DOE, e.g. should the adverb, preposition, or conjunction part of speech of *ær* be entered first? Blockley uses *and*, *ær*, and *gif* as her prime examples. She concludes that perhaps the most syntactically complex senses should be listed first, but says that "a degree of eclecticism" will have to exist.

D. F. H. Boutkan, in "On the Form of North European Substratum Words in Germanic," *Historische Sprachforschung* 111 (1998), 102–33, investigates 13 etyma from the North

European substratum in Germanic, all of which have disyllabic stems and frequent vocalic alternations and all of which appear in his etymological database of Old Frisian. Both the disyllabic stems and vocalic alternations “reflect features of the substratum language.” A convincing Indo-European etymology, according to Boutkan, cannot be found for any of the 13 etyma. These etyma, because of the close contact between PGmc. and North European, might best be said to come from a North European adstratum rather than a substratum. The forms appear to have entered Gmc. before the operation of Grimm’s Law.

Andrew Breeze, in “A Brittonic Etymology for Old English *stor* ‘incense’,” *Anglia* 116 (1998), 227–30, argues that the word derives not from Irish **stor*, which is actually unattested, nor directly from Latin *storax* (as has been supposed), but from the Brittonic etymon of Welsh *ystor*, itself derived from *storax*.

In “The Anglo-Saxon Interjection,” in *Bright Is the Ring of Words: Festschrift für Horst Weinstock*, ed. Clausdirk Pollner, Helmut Rohlfing, and Frank-Rutger Hausmann (Bonn: Romantischer, 1996), pp. 45–48, the late F. G. Cassidy, believing that interjections deserve more attention from scholars because of their semantic import, discusses some of the OE interjections, especially *hwæt*, *lā*, *wā*, *ðū hæl*, *gēa*, and *gē*. In addition, he devotes some time to the negative interjections *nā* and *nō*. Interjections are part of emotion; those that are extrasyntactic clearly belong more to the spoken language than to the written.

Cassidy’s more general article, “English—a Germanic Language?” in *Interdigitations: Essays for Irmengard Rauch*, ed. Gerald F. Carr, Wayne Harbert, and Lihua Zhang (New York: Lang, 1998), pp. 75–79, considers the question whether or not ModE may still be termed “Germanic.” Using the Brown Corpus and the Rank List of the most frequent words used in English, Cassidy concludes that although there have been many influences from various languages and many borrowings, English is still Germanic in its core words. Of the nine basic categories of words, only nouns and adjectives have more non-Germanic than Germanic words listed among the 1000 most frequent. Function words are the most frequently found in the 1000 most frequently used words, and nearly all of them are Germanic.

In the same volume (pp. 163–72), J. E. Cathey’s “*Interpretatio Christiana Saxonica: Redefinition for Reeducation*” presents information about the redefinition of Old Saxon words in the Christian context of the *Heliand*. Although word choice in poetry was largely subject to the constraints of alliteration, many terms seem to be redefined to present Christian ideas to a Saxon audience with a world view very different from that of Mediterranean Christians. Cathey discusses four ways in which this redefinition occurs: a) extended redefinition or explication, b) “biblical phraseology recast in Saxon terms,” c) “short phrases redefined metaphorically,” and d) single words with other meanings used in a clearly Chris-

tian context. Old English *dryhten* is used as a comparison for varying meanings to refer to God.

In “From *unasecendlic* to *unspeakable*: The Role of Domain Structure in Morphological Change,” in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Marcin Krygier (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 33–51, C. Dalton-Puffer discusses the conflict between LIC and ABLE. After demonstrating that ABLE functioned to derive modal adjectives, she turns to LIC and its functions before the borrowing of ABLE. The formation of modal adjectives was only one of the functions of LIC. The tables showing the development of ABLE and LIC and a comparison of their distribution are helpful in following the argument. Dalton-Puffer concludes that a difference in domain structures was the chief factor in the conflicting history and winning out of ABLE over LIC. On the other hand, ABLE took over only one of the functions of LIC.

“Loss of Prototypical Meanings in the History of English Semantics or Semantic Redeployment,” in *Historical Linguistics 1995*, Volume II: *Germanic Linguistics*, ed. Richard M. Hogg and Linda van Bergen, Current Issues in Ling. Theory 162 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1998), pp. 63–71, by X. Dekeyser, draws attention to diachronic configurations of prototypes. Dekeyser argues that Geeraerts (1995) is incorrect about the role of structural weight and the loss of peripheral meanings. Instead, he contends, the lexical items he examined showed loss of core and often oldest meanings, while the younger and peripheral meanings tended to survive.

A. Fischer’s “‘With this ring I thee wed’: The Verbs *to wed* and *to marry* in the History of English,” in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak*, ed. Raymond Hickey and Stanisław Puppel (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 467–81, continues his attempts to find some systematic way of describing and dealing with the ever-changing vocabulary of English. He outlines four scenarios to which borrowing might lead, notes that time and frequency of occurrence greatly influence those scenarios, and then proceeds to his case study of verbs in English meaning ‘to marry’. For OE, notes Fisher, only two such verbs survive into the modern day, *wive* and *(be)wed*. *Be-weddian* meant ‘to pledge’ or ‘to become engaged’, although the meaning shifted in the 12th century. Fisher draws his main data from the Helsinki corpus, the Brown corpus, the Chaucer corpus, and the Shakespeare corpus. The borrowed *marry* has gradually replaced the native *wed* as the preferred verb. Semantically, *wed* has narrowed and become used in several very stylistic contexts. The tables concerning frequency of usage through time allow a clear visualization of the pattern.

S. Foot’s “Language and Method: the *Dictionary of Old English* and the Historian,” in *The Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Toswell (as above), pp. 73–87, considers *angelcynn* and “*munecas and mynecene . . . preostas and nunnan*” in a discussion of what historians might learn from various changes

in vernacular vocabulary. Researchers can better understand the reorganization of monastic life and monasteries by looking more closely at changes in the meanings of words related to religious life in the *DOE* and other works which were produced as a result of the project.

Y. Fujiwara, in "On Identifying Old English Adverbs," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Akio Oizumi (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 21–41, divides OE adverbs into inherited and derived categories and attempts to determine a set of criteria for identifying adverbs. Inherited adverbs have no corresponding adjectival forms, while derived adverbs may be identical in form to the nouns or adjectives from which they were derived. For a variety of reasons the suffix *-e* cannot be used to determine whether a word is an adverb. Likewise, position in the sentence does not make a good discriminator, since the position of adjectives is quite variable. For OE adverbs, it seems to not always be true that derivation changes grammatical category. All of the traditional means for identifying adverbs, when taken together, work most of the time, but new criteria are still required.

L. Goossens's "Meaning Extension and Text Type," *ES* 79 (1998), 120–43, utilizes the Toronto Concordance of Old English to draw out all examples of *bat* and *batulhete* and to study meaning extension and internal coherence in polysemous categories. Ten senses are provided for *bat* and 12 for *batulhete*. The types of texts in which these senses occur are then considered. A broad understanding of the domain matrix accounts for patterns of figurative extensions. Metonymy is an important basis for figurative extensions as well. Semantic networks differentiate into a broad range of figurative senses with low frequencies of occurrence, so textual clustering is important for understanding sense differentiation.

L. Grundy and J. Roberts's "Shapes in the Landscape: Some Words," in *Names, Places and People: An Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble and A. D. Mills (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1997), pp. 96–110, discuss the various words for geometric figures in nature and shapes in and of buildings. Grundy and Roberts agree with Anderson that OE poetry shows OE at Burris's stage two (circles and curves), while OE prose gives evidence of transition to stage three (square or angles). Their data comes from the *Thesaurus of Old English*.

S. Gwara's "New Old English Words from Dry-Point Aldhelm Glosses: *menniscber* and *ellenmod*," *ANQ* 11.1 (1998), 5–7, details two previously unmentioned scratched glosses in *Prosa de virginitate: menniscabære* on p. 16, 1.4 glossing CVNABVLA and *ellenmode* on p. 36, 1.22 glossing HEROICO. Both Meritt and Page overlooked the first gloss. *Menniscabære* appears to be a nonce word and a scholasticism. *Ellenmode* is not found in lists of compounds with the first element *ellen* 'courage', but is similar to *ellencampedon*, glossing "agonizarunt" in the Cleopatra glossaries. Both glosses illustrate native OE speakers trying to understand the intricacies

of Latin.

A. diP. Healey's "Wood-gatherers and Cottage-builders: Old Words and New Ways at the *Dictionary of Old English*," in *Tracing the Trail of Time: Proceedings from the Second Diachronic Corpora Workshop*, ed. Raymond Hickey et al. (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1997), pp. 33–46, discusses the various technological advances in the electronic corpora produced by the *DOE* project. She also discusses the various in-house tools for searching the corpus and those planned or already available for searching the dictionary itself.

D. R. Howlett argues, in "Old English *ondgierwan*, *ongierwan*, *ungierwan*," *Anglia* 116 (1998), 223–26, that *ongyrede* at *Dream of the Rood* 39a is a corruption of the verb represented on the Ruthwell Cross as *ondgereda*, and the etymology of the latter demands the assumption that Christ did not strip himself before ascending the cross but "prepared himself for conflict," i.e. "girded himself as an adversary."

T. Ishiguro's "Verbs of Negative Import: A Syntactic Study that Benefited from the *Dictionary of Old English*," in *The Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Toswell (as above), pp. 23–32, discusses Joly's 1972 work concerning negative clauses which follow such verbs of negative import as *forbeodan*, *widsacan*, and *forwandian*. Ishiguro contends that some of Joly's examples were incorrect in one way or another; however, she acknowledges that the MCOE was not available to Joly and moves on to discuss the use and nature of *þæt* clauses with some of the verbs. Her discussion of *þæt* clauses leads her to conclude that such clauses should be considered when designing entries with syntactic information. The availability of a complete corpus, the MCOE, and now the *DOE*, will allow researchers to investigate more fully the syntactic circumstances of certain words and perhaps point out problems with future *DOE* entries with respect to the syntactic information included for the entry.

A. H. Jucker, in "The Discourse Marker *well* in the History of English," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 1 (1997), 91–110, describes the shifts in the functioning of *well* as a discourse marker. It began as an interpersonal, attention-getting device in OE, much like *hwæt*, lost the interpersonal function in ME, and regained it, as well as other functions in ModE. *Well* has four functions as a discourse marker in ModE: a textual frame marker, an interpersonal frame marker, face threat mitigator, qualifier, and pause filler. Jucker claims *well* begins clearly as discourse marker in ME, although it has some functions in OE, usually as *wella* or *wel + la*. Not until eModE does *well* appear in contexts not associated with direct reported speech. Jucker claims that discourse markers can be found in written texts and that diachronic continuity can be found.

In "–THING in English: A Case of Grammaticalization?" in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 281–91, L. Kahlas-Tarkka studies the trends of ANYTHING, EVERYTHING, NOTHING, SOMETHING, AUGHT, and NOUGHT

in English to determine whether or not a grammaticalization of -THING has occurred. The Helsinki corpus shows 262 occurrences of these words in OE, 439 in ME, and 769 in eModE with NOTHING being the most frequently occurring in all periods. Kahlas-Tarkka concludes that the -THING words clearly fit four of Heine and Reh's seven characteristics (1984) for grammaticalization and possibly all seven. Certainly weak grammaticalization has occurred; the pronouns barely affect the categorial status of the structures involved.

P. R. Kitson's "Old English Bird Names (II)," *ES* 79 (1998), 2–22, continues his previous year's work on names of native birds and catalogues various names for waterbirds, carrion feeders, such as ravens and crows, and predators such as eagles and owls. He discusses each term and gives its variations, possible etymology, and some possible species applications. Another article by Kitson, "The Root of the Matter: OE *wyrt*, *wyrtwale*, -a, *wyrt(i)rum(a)* and Cognates," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 127–41, studies the West-Saxon words *wyrt(i)rum(a)* and the rarer *wyrtwala*, both 'root' and 'wood-bank', in charters and more literary texts. He finds that the latter must be "a relict feature of parts of the Mercian and/or Kentish dialect areas."

Lucia Kornexl examines the OHG and OE words for Lat. *compater* in "Ahd. *gifatero/ac. gefædera* und ihr 'paradoxes Femininum'," *Historische Sprachforschung* 111 (1998), 305–45. The word, which appears in German primarily in glosses to MSS of the Latin work *Summarium Heinrici* up to the 15th c. and in English in prose texts from the second half of the 10th and the early 11th c., is usually taken as a loan translation from Latin. Kornexl posits, however, that a Gmc. term has been filled with additional Christian meaning. In old Gmc. society the term would have described an important relationship between co-parents and the parents of a child, later to be identified with the baptismal godfather and godmother. They apparently became co-parents at the baptism, which was viewed as a spiritual rebirth of the child. It seemed that the medieval Church frowned upon co-parentage but grudgingly incorporated it into Christian practices. The German term would then have been borrowed into English, and possibly into Latin and the Romance languages as a loan translation. Only if *compater* already existed in Latin could we speak of a loan meaning. The word is attested in Old High German as masc. and fem. *n*-stems *gifatero/gifatera*, in Old English as masc. *gefædera* and in acc. form *gefæderan*, which are ambiguous as to whether they belong to the attested masc. nominative or to the unattested fem. **gefædere*. The referents are more often female than male. Compare a typical citation in Old English: *ne on his gefæderan, ne on gebalgodre nunnan, ne on eletan ænig Cristen mann æfre ne gewifige*. As in this example, a common context for the word is the restriction against marrying a co-parent, a nun, or a divorcee.

"The English F-Word and Its Kin," in *Interdigitations*,

ed. Carr *et al.* (as above), pp. 107–20, by A. Liberman, discusses the Germanic background of *fuck*, words with similar sound and meaning, the likely source of the English word, the environment of *fuck*, its possible Indo-European cognates, and its lexicographical and scholarly history. The article covers nearly every aspect possible in the scholarly study of the word. Liberman concludes that *fuck* is not a native English word, that it must have come into English in the late 15th century from some unspecified Low German dialect, and that no clear cognates for it exist outside of Germanic.

In the same volume (pp. 121–28), A. L. Lloyd in "The 'Shaping' of German *Farbe*: Cathedral Renovations and the Rebuilding of an Etymology" discusses the impact of the unseen leaf from Ulfila's Gothic translation of the Bible containing Goth. *farwa* on the study of the etymology of German *Farbe*. The attempts to reconstruct the etymology of Ger. *Farbe* after the Speyer fragment's discovery are flawed in some way. Lloyd proposes that *Farbe* is perhaps best seen as deriving not from a noun but from a verb, as nouns meaning 'form or shape' are attestably so derived in a variety of languages. Lloyd suggests Gmc. **farwa-* coming from PIE **por-wo-* from PIE **per-* 'to strike or beat'. *Wo-* suffixes were used to form adjectives, he notes.

P. J. Lucas's "From *Jabberwocky* Back to Old English: Nonsense, Anglo-Saxon and Oxford," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 503–20, explains which characteristics of "Jabberwocky" are perhaps modeled after OE and which characteristics Carroll created to seem like OE. Dodgson had no formal training in OE, but he possessed a copy of Bosworth's *Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*. Lucas concludes that Dodgson did pick up some phonological and morphological characteristics of OE and imitated them as well as incorporated some of them into his spoof of Anglo-Saxon.

T. L. Markey, in "English *dung* 'manure': Early Animal Husbandry and Etymology," *North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 34 (1998), 3–13, notes that *dung* developed only in Germanic and even then beside **mib-s(a)-* < **meigh-so-*. He answers his own question of why this happened by noting that a distinction between liquid manure (silage) and solid manure (compost) was important to the farmers in mixed agricultural areas with sandy or rocky soils.

Markey also traces in exhaustive detail the origins of Gmc. **mabl-* (OE *mæpel*) and **mabl-* (OS, OHG *mabal*) 'council, court of law, tribunal, popular assembly, (public) speech, verbal (interpersonal) agreement' to Etruscan *meθlum* 'city (state)', 'assembly (council)', 'government (nation)' (all conjectured meanings) and *mexlum* (of seemingly similar meaning): see his "Studies in Runic Origins 1: Germanic **mabl-/*mabl-* and Etruscan *meθlum*," *Amer. Jnl of Germanic Ling. and Literatures* 10 (1998), 153–200. The borrowing has cultural implications, both in respect to a form of government foreign to the Germanic tribes of the first few centuries B.C. and to the stridently contested issue of whether Germanic

runes have their origins in northern Italy—though these issues are touched upon lightly, with the promise of more expansive discussion in future publications.

“‘Gehen’ und ‘stehen’ im Germanischen: Versuch einer Synthese,” *Historische Sprachforschung* 111 (1998), 134–62, by Karl-Heinz Mottausch, continues earlier work by the same author on the verb *go* and deals primarily with the verb *stand*. A survey of the forms of both verbs in Old Germanic shows a certain parallelism in the two paradigms and a general equality of long and short forms of the type OHG *gangan*—*gāng*, *standan*—*stuo(n)t* vs. *gān*, *stān*; cf. OE *gangan*—*ēode* (rare *gang*, *gēong*), *standan*—*stōd* vs. *gān*, (unattested). According to Mottausch, the *go*-forms are a relatively late replacement for forms from IE **b₁ei-*, which still appear in OE *ēode*, Go. *iddja*. The short forms occurred, for the most part, only as presents and infinitives. In the modern paradigms, we typically have mixed paradigms with short forms in the present and long forms in the preterite: NHG *gehen*—*ging*, *stehen*—*stand*, cf. Swed. *gå*—*gick*, *stå*—*stod*. Based on this state of affairs, the author sets up the short forms as the older and the long forms as younger. The expressive synonym **gang-/gung-* eventually replaced the short forms in the present. For *stand*, the short form goes back to IE **steh₂-*. The next posited stage is **steh₂-elo*, an areal innovation in Baltic, Slavic, Germanic, Celtic, and Italic. The preterite is derived from an old root aorist, with **stāt-e* as the 3rd pers. sing. The nasal infix in the long forms of *stand* is attributed to influence from the long forms of *go*.

In “‘To Make Merry’, Its Variants in Middle English, and the Helsinki Corpus,” in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 521–42, S. Nevalinna attempts using a broader data base to confirm her claims about ‘to make merry’ in an earlier work, based on a smaller, hand-selected sample. She deals specifically with ME, and the article contains only a short two paragraphs on OE *myrð*, which in the OE portion of the HC does not occur with *macian*. When *myrð* occurs, it is likely to refer to ‘religious happiness’. This shifts toward ‘secular happiness’ in Middle English. Variations of the phrases containing “mirth” and “merry” are offered with their sources. Nevalinna notes that the phrases are uncommon in the HC, but she attributes this to the selection of the corpus rather to something about the language itself.

A. Österman’s “*There* Compounds in the History of English,” in *Grammaticalization at Work*, ed. Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö, and Kirsi Heikkinen, *Topics in Eng. Ling.* 24 (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 191–276, first notes that *there* compounds increase dramatically in the Middle English period in the Helsinki Corpus and begin to fall off again in eModE, but not to their OE levels. Österman discusses each compound appearing in each period and the text types in which it occurs, and provides several frequency charts for each period and each compound. Medical, legal, and religious works contain the most *there* compounds.

Eight compound types from OE and four from ME survive into ModE. As expected, still existing *there* compounds show signs of grammaticalization and semantic changes. An appendix lists all of the works from which the examples were drawn.

In “Some Notes about Semantic Regularity of Some Polysemantic Words,” *Jnl. of Quantitative Ling.* 5 (1998), 62–66, A. OGuy attempts to quantify semantic regularity using 450 OE adjectives and their meanings, along with similar adjectives from MHG and other IE languages. *Beowulf* is the only OE text mentioned, and only a few individual adjectives are mentioned. OGuy distinguishes between an actual semantic regularity and inductive laws. *Ct* represents the coefficient of similar semantic derivation. Where *Ct* < 0.66 a semantic regularity exists; where *Ct* > 0.66 in many different languages, an inductive law exists.

S. Ono’s “Old English Verbs of Possessing,” in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 297–311, begins with tables listing OE words for Latin *possidere* from the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Rushworth Gospels, the Corpus Gospels, and eleven psalters. The distribution of *agnian*, *gesittan*, *agan*, *geagnian* may be dialectal or stylistic. Further investigation reveals *geagnian* to be neither, but Wulfstan always uses *agan*.

“Old English *winterdun*,” in *Names, Places and People*, ed. Rumble and Mills (as above), pp. 301–06, by R. I. Page, discusses possible meanings for *winterdun*. Clearly it is some sort of exploitation of the land, but what kind exactly is not known. Page suggests that ‘hill-pasturing’ is probably not the only meaning of the word. ‘Winter plowing’ or preparation of the field for winter might also be possible. Closer identification of the meaning would take knowledge of farming, geography, local landscape, etc.

C. Peeters’s “On Germanic Etymology,” *General Ling.* 36, 117–18, notes that in Hamp’s revision of Ross’s etymological formula “A* x* < A *x . . .,” A might be either Proto-Germanic or Indo-European. Germanicists could make their etymologies more useful and precise by stating the most exact A *x known. If A* is English *reach*, that would be PGmc: NE *reach* < OE *reācan* < PGmc **raikjana-*. Dictionaries of Germanic languages should adopt this practice of giving the most precise Germanic etymon possible.

S. Pintzuk and A. Taylor, in “Annotating the Helsinki Corpus: the *Brooklyn-Geneva-Amsterdam-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English* and the *Penn-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English*,” in *Tracing the Trail of Time*, ed. Hickey et al. (as above), pp. 91–104, discuss reasons for annotating the syntax of an electronic corpus, the “theory-neutral” annotation scheme developed for annotating the PPCME; the one used for the Brooklyn corpus; and various computer programs available for use with both corpora. Annotating a corpus is not structural analysis. Rather it provides a tool for those who wish to conduct structural analyses on the corpus.

“Some Comments on the Vocabulary of Emotion in Ger-

manic," in *Interdigitations*, ed. Carr *et al.* (as above), pp. 129–40, by the late E. Polomé attempts to determine whether a few of the 72 etymologies for words of emotion in Buck have retained their reliability after fifty years of scholarship. With numerous words for emotion, many common ones have no certain etymology. OE is mentioned only by way of example.

D. W. Porter's "Dogs That Won't Hunt and Old English Ghost Words," *N&Q* 45, 168–69, rejects Meritt's suggestion of *broðhund* as a hapax legomenon, instead suggesting it is a ghost-word and the reading should be *broðhund*, 'broth-dog' a type of rack for simmering broth, analogous to 'fire dogs' for andirons. He claims the *DOE* is incorrect when it refers the reader to *roðhund*, a large hunting dog, Meritt's reading for the meaning of the word.

In "Re-examining the Influence of Scandinavian on English: The Case of *ditch/dike*," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 561–69, H. Ramisch argues that the evidence for a Scandinavian origin of *dike* is not conclusive. A dialect map of England shows that *dike* has at least two very common but opposite meanings: 'ditch' and 'embankment'. *Dike*, in the sense of 'embankment', was probably borrowed from Middle Dutch, while its sense of 'ditch' may be a native one. The use of *ditch/dike* as illustrative of a doublet in English texts is therefore questionable.

H. Raumolin-Brunberg and L. Kahlas-Tarkka, in "Indefinite Pronouns with Singular Human Reference," in *Grammaticalization at Work*, ed. Rissanen *et al.* (as above), pp. 17–85, use a variationist framework and consider indefinite pronouns from OE to the beginning of the 18th century as drawn from the Helsinki and other corpora. The authors investigate four paradigms of indefiniteness: assertive 'someone', nonassertive 'anyone', universal 'everyone', and negative 'no one'. In each section, examples of the members of the paradigm are given and their semantic and syntactic properties are discussed. Some interparadigmatic comparison is also made. Textual variations and grammaticalization are treated separately just before the concluding remarks.

M. P. Richards's "The *Dictionary of Old English* and Old English Legal Terminology," in *The Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Toswell (as above), pp. 57–61, illustrates the usefulness of the *DOE* for studying the specialized legal vocabulary of OE. She focuses on those words which have both legal and general meanings. Examples are drawn from words concerning the status of individuals, oaths, crimes, and compensation for crimes. Richards concludes by noting that although only six letters of the *DOE* have been published, researchers interested in legal terminology already have a wealth of new information available to them because of the *DOE* project.

M. Rissanen's "*Mapelian* in Old English Poetry," in *Words and Works*, ed. Baker and Howe (as above), pp. 159–72, discusses the fact that *mapelian* shifts in general usage and meaning over time in OE poetry. *Mapelode* is commonly said to introduce direct, formal speeches on important top-

ics or contain important information. Its ritualistic overtones are well studied. After discussing some of its occurrences in *Beowulf*, Rissanen points out that it is used later in time to introduce or refer to gossipy or bragging speech or to mean, quite simply, 'tell'. *Mapelian* disappears from use in ME. The loss of *mapelode*'s special characteristics, Rissanen claims, is related to the movement from a tradition and practice of oral transmission of important information to the written transmission of the same sort of information.

In "The Pronominalization of *one*," in *Grammaticalization at Work*, ed. Rissanen *et al.* (as above), pp. 87–143, Rissanen describes the gradual grammaticalization of *one* from OE to ModE, but he focuses on ME and eModE. Most of his evidence comes from the Helsinki corpus, but other sources are used as well. OE *an* has four specific meanings: numerical contrast, individualizing-specific reference, individualizing-nonspecific reference, and 'alone, only'. All other uses of *an* in OE can be derived from one of these. The development of the pronominal *one* is closely linked to the loss of inflections and a demand for new cohesive devices.

"Towards an Integrated View of the Development of English: Notes on Causal Linking," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 389–406, also by Rissanen, re-emphasizes the usefulness of electronic corpora in historical linguistics and diachronic language studies. Rissanen offers a short examination of causal connectives to demonstrate the kinds of contributions diachronic corpora can make to the study of the history of English. He begins with Quirk *et al.*'s classification of causal relationships (direct reason and indirect reason) and then presents frequency and text type information for various causal connectives in OE, ME, and eModE drawn from electronic corpora. With this information, the reader is better able to see some of the changes and have better data on which to base descriptions of those changes. He does note that the corpora do little to help determine extralinguistic factors of change. Further, the availability of the various corpora should not be taken as reason to abandon the study of primary texts.

Jane Roberts's article "On the *Thesaurus of Old English*," *MESN* 39 (1998), 8–21, identifies the *Thesaurus* (published 1995) as a pilot study for the *Historical Thesaurus of English*. The slips from which it was compiled are drawn exclusively from extant dictionaries. She offers a capsule history of the project, from its inception in 1965, and then she illustrates the organization and structure of its classificatory system, which was initially based on that of the 1962 *Roget's Thesaurus of English Words and Phrases*, but which was subsequently revamped by Christian Kay. She uses the example of vestments, and particularly religious ritual vestments, to demonstrate the classificatory features and one sort of knowledge to be gained from the general makeup of the thesaurus: the generally unspecific nature of vocabulary for clothing in Old English. With the help of its index, the *Thesaurus* may render it "possible to gain a more precise picture of the Old

English lexicon and to undertake examination of changes within fields of meaning, especially of losses and borrowings that occurred between the Old and Middle English stages of the language." Also by Roberts, "A *Thesaurus of Old English*: One Snapshot of a Vanished World," in *North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 33 (1998), 133–53, discusses the eighteen categories in the *TOE* and compares them to ones covering similar material in the *HT*. She also provides some sample entries from the *TOE* for some of the categories to illustrate the various flags.

P. G. Rusche's "What Type of Treasure Is Kept in a *goldhordbus*?" *N&Q* 45 (1998), 14–16, rejects D. W. Porter's contention that *goldhordbus* means 'privy.' He finds the support for Porter's meaning very weak. Meritt, Rusche claims, was correct all along in his definition of *goldhordbus* as 'treasury.' Although Porter correctly interpreted *ypodromum* as having two possible meanings, 'treasury' and 'privy', he incorrectly concluded that *goldhordbus* had to carry both meanings.

Although WS *ni(o)wel*, *niowol* (Anglian *ni(h)ol*) 'deep down' is connected in etymological dictionaries with Skt. *nīcā-* and Old Church Slavonic *nicŭ*, Stefan Schaffner points to the vowel quantity as an obstacle to such a connection, and he proposes a new etymology in "Zu Wortbildung und Etymologie von altenglisch *nihol*, *niowol* und lateinisch *procul*," *Münchener Studien zur Sprachwissenschaft* 56 (1996), 131–71. He reconstructs PGmc. **nihwula-* < PIE **ni-kwe-ló-*, positing an adjective suffix **-kwe/o-* of local adverbial origin meaning 'situated there' or 'in that direction', depending on context; *-lo-* is the familiar diminutive suffix. The suffix **-kwe-* is also reflected in Lat. *procul* 'far, from a distance' < **prokwe-ló-*.

In "Expositio Vocabulorum: A Medieval English Glossary as Archival Aid," *Jnl. of the Soc. of Archivists* 19 (1998), 63–75, D. C. Skemer provides a translation of a thirteenth-century Latin legal glossary and explains its use in translating Anglo-Saxon legal terms into Latin.

Nancy Speirs's "Lexicography and Corpus-Tagging: Enhancing the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* in *Electronic Form*," in *Tracing the Trail of Time*, ed. Hickey et al. (as above), pp. 137–49, suggests tagging the *DOE* electronic corpus with manuscript and headword information. In the first instance, scholars will save time by not having to look up frequently asked-for or needed information. In the second instance, tagging will allow linkage to other reference tools. Speirs gives examples of each kind of suggested tagging.

E. G. Stanley, in "Words for the *Dictionary of Old English*," in *The Dictionary of Old English*, ed. Toswell (as above), pp. 33–56, discusses several OE words and their meanings. He begins with *reote*; *rad*, *ridend*, and *gleo(-)*; and continues with *mund*, *morþ*, and *morþor*. Stanley dismisses Thorpe's rewriting of *reote* as *rote* and contends that imaginative emendations of *hapax legomena* may be more confusing than helpful, particularly to lexicographers, since it is difficult to determine which senses should be included in entries or even whether

the entry should exist for a particular word. At the opposite end of the spectrum are words with many possible meanings. Stanley discusses and provides examples for various meanings of *mund* other than its concrete meaning 'hand'. The section on *morþ* and *morþor* concerns itself with the distinctions between meanings of those terms in legal documents and common, non-legal uses of those words. The thrust of the article is that determining which senses of words to include in dictionary entries can sometimes be difficult, given either their commonality or their scarcity.

In "Old English *halb*, 'slightly raised ground isolated by marsh'," in *Names, Places and People*, ed. Rumble and Mills (as above), pp. 330–44, P. V. Stiles supports Gelling's 1984 proposal that OE *halb* meant 'slightly raised ground surrounded by marsh, dry ground in marsh'. Stiles notes a North Frisian word, *ballig*, with a very similar meaning. Although *ballig* is not attested in Old Frisian, it can be easily reconstructed. Although in place names OE *halb* has a variety of meanings, clearly most relate to this one.

Y. Terasawa's "Some Etymological and Semasiological Notes on *girl*," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 401–16, is, as the title proclaims, a set of notes reviewing various proposals about the etymology and semantics of *girl* in English. Robinson's proposal of OE *gyrela* 'apparel' as the etymon is the most acceptable to Terasawa, but it still has an Anlaut problem. The semantic settling of *girl* to mean 'female child' resulted from a reorganization of semantic fields. *Boy* and *child* took on the central roles in their own semantic fields, leaving 'a female youth' the central meaning for *girl*.

M. J. Wright's "Anglo-Saxon Midwives," *ANQ* 11.1 (1998), 3–5, argues that there was no profession of "midwife" during Anglo-Saxon times, even though OE had two words for "midwife." He bases this argument on the fact that the OE words for "midwife," *byrþ-pinen* and *beorþor-pinen*, do not survive into ME, are lexically transparent, and translate Lat. *obstetrix*. There is also an absence of midwife figures in birth stories of lives of saints. Given the usually high status of saints' mothers, one would expect references to midwives if such a profession existed.

A. Zbierska-Sawala's "Word-Formation and the Text in Early English: The Axiological Functions of Old English Prefixes," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 593–602, contends that some OE prefixes enhance the cohesion and coherence of texts. Data for the study are the occurrences of *ge-*, *to-*, *a-*, and *for-* in Matthew 5–7 of the West Saxon gospels and the King James Bible. In her examples, *ge-* provides a kind of positive evaluation of the action, enhancing surface cohesion, while *to-*, *a-* provide neutral to negative evaluation, and *for-* is clearly negative. The repeated patterns in the use of these prefixes in this text emphasize the positive or negative nature associated with the passage.

K.D.T.

[In section 2.a., R.D.F. contributed summaries of works by Earl R. Anderson, Andrew Breeze, D.R. Howlett, Bettelou Los ("The Rise of the *to*-Infinitive"), Tom Markey ("Studies in Runic Origins"), Jane Roberts ("On the *Thesaurus of Old English*") and Stefan Schaffner.]

b. Syntax, phonology, other aspects

W. Abraham's "Jespersen's Cycle": the Evidence from Germanic," in *Interdigitations*, ed. Carr *et al.* (as above), pp. 63–70, argues that Jespersen's cycle needs to be revised because of more diachronic information on multiple and simple negation. In his revision, the author separates negation into weak and strong categories. Strong negation is a Spec-category while weak negation has only head status. Thus, in Jespersen's Cycle, Neg2, which occupies the lower position in the VP, needs to be split into a stressed and an unstressed variant. Abraham claims his revision holds for all Germanic languages, but he does not speculate why.

C. L. Allen's "Genitives and the Creolization Question," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 2 (1998), 129–35, argues that the retention of the genitive category and the inflectionless genitive constitute evidence against Middle English having been the result of true creolization. Further, Allen contends that while language contact could have been one of the causes of inflectional simplification in Middle English, and especially with the genitive category, researchers need to be more careful, since contact does not always result in creolization, and creolization is more than merely prolonged language contact. In a similar vein, "Middle English Case Loss and the 'Creolization' Hypothesis" (*Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 1 (1997), 63–89), also by Allen, treats the data and evidence for her same position against creolization in more detail. The loss of inflections was gradual and more orderly than one would find with creolization, and the data support this position. She begins by noting that inflectional levelling was already at work in OE. She draws her data from the *Lindisfarne Gospels*, the *Ormulum*, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Ancrene Wisse*, and *Vices and Virtues*, as well as others. Allen does note that extended language contact could have aided the loss of case markings in some fashion, but this contact was certainly not creolization. The texts help to illustrate that the loss of inflections was clearly gradual and systematic. Further, a number of ME characteristics—inflectional distinction of singular and plural and the retention of a genitive case for nouns—are not usually found in genuine creoles.

J. Anderson's "Subjecthood and the English Impersonal," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 251–63, reviews his own work on impersonals and provides some suggestions about their demise. The development of syntactic subjecthood pushed out the impersonal constructions in OE. The principle of subjecthood solidarity requires discrepancies in subjecthood assignment to be eliminated and harmonized according to the fol-

lowing hierarchy: behavioral syntactic > positional syntactic > morphosyntactic. Since behavioral subjects attract positional and then morphosyntactic subjecthood, experiencers which often do not show subject morphology are vulnerable to this principle. Anderson shifts from syntax to morphology in "A Core Morphology for Old English Verbs," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 2 (1998), 199–222, where he presents a characterization of the 'regular' OE verbs and what is expressed by variations in their paradigms. He designs an expression-oriented system of verb categories and a function-oriented system of verb categories along with the rules for expression and category realignment. The weak verbs are more complex than strong verbs in that they possess an extra derivational stage. Anderson concludes that conjugational categories are lexical and so absent from the function-oriented system of categories.

A. Bammesberger's "The Germanic Preterite-Present **ann/unn-*," *North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 34, 15–21, begins with the assumption that in the form **anns-/unns-* the *-s* originally belonged to the root and was not introduced secondarily. Following this assumption, Bammesberger demonstrates that **ann-/unn-* originally belonged to the IE root **nes-*, which probably meant something similar to 'return'. Thus, **uns-/unz-* was the regular zero-grade in the *ann/unn-* paradigm.

Bammesberger also gives thorough treatment to the etymology of "Runic Frisian *weladu* and Further West Germanic Nominal Forms in *-u*," *North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 33 (1998), 121–32. He surveys the five words ending in *u* in the Frisian runic corpus and focuses on *weladu*, usually taken to be cognate with OE *Weland*. He lays out possible etymologies for the name and concludes that none points to a Germanic *a*-stem, so it is not necessary to posit an unlikely development *-az* > *-u*. Most likely the formation is either an *u*-stem or a consonant-stem. Some other forms in *-u* are susceptible of similar interpretation.

C. M. Barrack's "Mother Reveals Why Intervocalic Coronals Misbehave," in *Interdigitations*, ed. Carr *et al.* (as above), pp. 71–74, attempts to explain the occurrence of West Germanic gemination in OE as in *mōdor*~*moddor*. This gemination occurs due to the prolonged articulation of single consonants before resonants. However, that doesn't explain why *d* is the only voiced stop that geminates before *r* in OE. This, he claims, "is an artifact of the general absence of other voiced stops in this environment." He continues then with a discussion of the gemination of coronal stops in Germanic. By paying attention to phonetic detail in addition to structural relationships, Barrack concludes, many asymmetries in phonological change may become explainable.

In *Sievers' Law in Germanic*, Berkeley Insights in Ling. and Semiotics 22 (New York: Lang, 1998), Barrack revisits some much-discussed questions about syllabicity and antevocalic glides in unstressed syllables. Are the alternations seen in Germanic related genetically to those in Vedic Sanskrit? To what extent are alternations like those found in

Gothic recoverable in Old English? Are Sievers's law, high vowel deletion in Old English, and metrical resolution all manifestations of the same phonotactic principle? The brief first chapter comprises a useful chapter-by-chapter summary of the book, and the second lays out Barrack's phonological framework for analysis, based on the Syllable Preference Laws of Theo Vennemann and Robert Murray. He proposes, however, a revision of the Syllable Contact Law to discourage syllabifications like *aʃkta*, which the standard formulation seems to favor. In the third and fourth chapters, devoted to the general problem of syllabification in Germanic, he supports Sievers's original formulation of the law by responding to two types of counterevidence that have been offered: (1) Murray and Vennemann's evidence for the heterosyllabification of intervocalic *-Cj-* sequences in Proto-Germanic (based primarily on word division in Gothic manuscripts) is countered by a variety of considerations, including the awkward necessity, under their analysis, of assuming later resyllabification on an independent basis in each of the West Germanic languages. Gothic word division may instead be explained as morphologically based. (2) The evidence of alliterative verse is inconclusive because verse seems to present special conditions for syllabification. In particular, Norse rhyme-based evidence for heterosyllabification of *-lj-* in a word like *skiljask* in *dróttkvætt* is negligible as evidence for actual Norse phonology because the syllable boundary is simply displaced to the right in this poetic form. In the fifth chapter, Barrack reexamines Sievers's law in Gothic and concludes that the key factor regulating alternations is not syllable onset but the weight of the preceding syllable, with the result that a pair of metrically resolvable syllables has the same effect as a single heavy syllable. In Old Norse (Chapter Six), although Sievers's law alternations in the verbal system are like those in Gothic, among substantives, *(i)j* may or may not be syllabic after light syllables. Barrack's explanation is that Sievers's law was a variable rule in Proto-Indo-European, and the denuclearization that it prescribes did not reach completion until after the PIE period. In the seventh chapter, he critiques attempts to reduce Sievers's law, high vowel deletion, and metrical resolution to a single phonological process. Such a view faces the difficulty that high vowel deletion prescribes the elimination of high vowels in the same environment in which Sievers's law creates them. Rather, Sievers's law is chronologically a much earlier phenomenon. Though it is generally assumed that the West Germanic verb system preserves no trace of Sievers's law, the law explains the different development of root vowels in OE *fiellan* < **fall-ij-an* and *tellan* < **tal-j-an*. In Chapter Eight, Barrack argues that Sievers's law is indeed an inheritance from Proto-Indo-European, and it is the sort of process one might expect in a language, like PIE, with pitch accent, while high vowel deletion is more properly associated with a group of languages like Germanic, with strong stress accent. In the final chapter, Barrack critiques the analysis of Elmar Seebold that Sievers's law arose as a way of avoiding super-

heavy syllables, and the nuclearization of antevocalic *-y-* after heavy syllables obscured an original distinction between two noun suffixes, **-y-* and **-iy-*. Barrack argues that the facts are better explained by the assumption of Sievers's law as a variable rule in PIE that was subject to the process of lexical diffusion. The book is well indexed, including a subject index, a word index, and, incorporated into the bibliography of works cited, an author index.

K. Bech's "Pragmatic Factors in Language Change: XVS and XSV Clauses in Old and Middle English," *Folia Linguistica Historica* 19, 79–102, uses the change in verb placement to argue that pragmatic factors should be considered when attempting to explain some language changes. Data is drawn from the *Cura Pastoralis* and Orosius for early OE, and from *Mandeville's Travels* and Malory's *Le Morte D'Arthur* for late ME. XVS clauses decrease by late ME while XSV clauses increase. Further, low CD (communicative dynamism) subjects dominate XSV clauses in OE, while high CD subjects dominate XVS ones. The situation evens out some in late ME, but not completely. Bech concludes that pragmatic factors did contribute to the shift in clause types.

R. Bermúdez-Otero, in "Prosodic Optimization: the Middle English Length Adjustment," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 2 (1998), 169–97, argues that Middle English Open Syllable Lengthening (MEOSL) and Shortening before Consonant Clusters (SHOCC) are not the result of any conspiracy such as Prokosch's law to standardize Germanic syllable quantities. He supports Donka Minkova's analysis of MEOSL as compensatory lengthening dependent upon schwa-loss, for he finds that Trisyllabic Shortening (TRISH), a mechanism required by Luick's analysis, will not account adequately for the data. Further, he offers a formulation of phonological conditions for the seemingly irregular lengthening seen in *raven*, as opposed to *heaven*, *body*, *gannet*, and so forth: the post-tonic rhyme of an unsyncopated disyllabic stem must contain a sonorant consonant for lengthening to apply. An account based on Optimality Theory allows him to meet the objections of Tomas Riad to the mechanism of compensatory lengthening by means of constraint ranking.

In "Apposition and the Subjects of Verb-Initial Clauses," in *Words and Works*, ed. Baker and Howe (as above), pp. 173–86, M. E. Blockley argues, contrary to Bliss and Andrew, that verb-initial clauses with unexpressed subjects are not always dependent; some can best be interpreted as independent clauses. The strongest argument made by Bliss and Andrew for some of them being dependent is that they occur in apposition to main clauses. Blockley disputes apposition as a criterion for dependence. Her examples are drawn from *Beowulf*. Variation in the structure of subject placement or its presence in the clause is part of the poet's choice. Scholars have yet to determine a criterion or set of criteria that distinguishes dependent verb-initial clauses from independent verb-initial clauses. That we find different structures in prose as opposed to poetry helps to support this idea.

J. M. Denton, in "Phonetic Perspectives on West Germanic Consonant Gemination," *Amer. Jnl of Germanic Ling. and Literatures* 10, 201–35, supports Paul's theory that the development of an epenthetic vowel blocked gemination from applying to *r*. Denton expands on that argument and suggests that it was not a circumflex accent as claimed by Paul, but articulatory and acoustic factors that played a role in the epenthetic vowel's development. The North Germanic gemination of velars may be related to their long voice onset time.

R. Derolez's "On the 'Otherness' of the Anglo-Saxon Runes and the 'Perfect Fit' of the Futhork," in *Runeninschriften als interdisziplinäre Forschung*, ed. Klaus Düwel (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 103–16, restates his case for the 'perfect fit' theory of runes, addresses some of the objections raised by those favoring the 'otherness' theory, and attempts to dispel some misunderstandings. Derolez says he is amenable to the use of the term phonemic fit rather than 'perfect' fit if it will quiet some of the concerns. He says 'otherness' is a useful idea and in fact does exist to a certain extent in the younger, Scandinavian futhork. The Anglo-Saxon tradition is the more conservative of the two runic traditions.

"How a Man Changed a Parameter Value: The Loss of SOV in Estonian Subclauses," in *Historical Linguistics 1995*, ed. Hogg and van Bergen (as above), pp. 73–88, by Martin Ehala, compares the clear cut, intentional elimination of SOV in Estonian to loss of the same pattern in English. The great majority of the article details the loss of SOV in embedded clauses in Estonian between 1905 and 1940. Many demographers define a generation as lasting either 30 or 40 years. Ehala concludes by disputing Lightfoot's claim that parametric changes in the grammar of a language should be considered a section of language acquisition. Aavik's success in nearly eliminating the SOV order in Estonian in 28 years supports this conclusion.

O. Fischer's "The Grammaticalisation of Infinitival *to* in English Compared with German and Dutch," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 265–80, explains that the grammaticalization of English *to* has not proceeded as far as has the grammaticalization of German *zu* and Dutch *te*. Fischer says this is probably because infinitives became highly verbalized much earlier in English than in the other Germanic languages. The rapid replacement of *that* clauses by *to* infinitives and the early loss of inflections in English would account for this early verbalization of *to*. In OE, bare and *to* infinitives had case while *t* clauses had tense. With the loss of case markings, ME *to*-infinitives also acquired tense.

"Grammaticalisation, Textuality and Subjectivity: the Progressive and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," in *The Virtues of Language: History in Language, Linguistics and Texts*, ed. Dieter Stein and Rosanna Sornicola, Stud. in the Hist. of Lang. Sciences 87 (Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins, 1998), pp. 21–49, by S. Fitzmaurice, uses a historical pragmatic analysis to reinterpret Nickel's observation that the distribution

of the progressive in OE is dependent on style. The OE progressive has a textual backgrounding function throughout the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. An increase in the use of the progressive and its acquisition of meaning continuity and duration accompanies the increasing complexity of the narrative style of ASC. This increase continues into the Peterborough Chronicle. By the end of the ASC, the progressive has acquired nascent aspectual status.

The second edition of Dennis Freeborn's *From Old English to Standard English: A Course Book in Language Variation across Time* (London: Macmillan; Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press, 1997), at 479 pages, more than doubles the length of the first. It retains the characteristic practice of presenting texts in facsimile, with transcriptions and translations, due to Freeborn's conviction that the use of standardized spelling and modern punctuation obscure important linguistic features. Material has been added to make the book more suitable for use in the college classroom, with greater attention to allowing students to observe how linguistic questions are posed and on what basis answers are devised. The Old English texts are drawn almost exclusively from versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Available from the author with this edition are two supplementary books in typescript, a *Text Commentary Book* and a *Word Book*, along with a cassette tape of readings.

In "Ambisyllabicity in Old English: a Contrary View," in *Insights in Germanic Linguistics II: Classic and Contemporary*, ed. Irmengard Rauch and Gerald F. Carr, Trends in Ling., Stud. and Monographs 94 (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997) pp. 29–45, R. D. Fulk adduces evidence against the theory of ambisyllabicity in Old English and concludes that the assumption of ambisyllabicity explains phonological processes like breaking and the loss of intervocalic *b* no better than the assumption of heterosyllabicity.

In an article summarized in *YWOES 1995*, p. 16, P. V. Stiles argues against the Anglo-Frisian hypothesis, showing by the ordering of phonological rules that English and Frisian must have diverged at an early date rather than formed a discrete unit within West Germanic. R. D. Fulk attempts a different analysis in "The Chronology of Anglo-Frisian Sound Changes," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 49 (1998), 139–54. The key is to assume that Gmc. *ai* was monophthongized only after the fronting of *a*, an assumption that offers several practical advantages. One result is that several phonological changes in the two languages can then be regarded as the result of linguistic unity rather than as the separate innovations that Stiles's analysis demands. Thus the Anglo-Frisian hypothesis has not yet been altogether disproved.

Fulk's "Evaluating the Evidence for Lengthening before Homorganic Consonant Clusters in the *Ormulum*" in *Interdigitations*, ed. Carr et al. (as above), pp. 201–09, examines the reliability of the *Ormulum* for providing evidence of stressed vowel lengthening before homorganic consonant clusters. Fulk explains the nonconforming forms in *Orm* as

ascribable to mistranscription by even meticulous scholars, the poor state of the text, analogy, phonological causes, or possibly scribal error, although he is hesitant to invoke the last. Since so many of the nonconforming forms may be so easily explained, and the conforming forms seem strongly supportable, the *Ormulum* still provides the best textual evidence of this kind of lengthening.

Fulk also writes about "The Role of Syllable Structure in Old English Quantitative Sound Changes" in *North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 33 (1998), 3–35. He argues that the use of geminates in words like *næddre* and *micle* is intended to indicate primarily syllable structure rather than consonant length: in a language in which syllabication immediately after the syllable peak was preferred, the geminate marks exceptions to the rule. He argues that vowel shortening may have taken place at an early date before consonant clusters that could not form a syllable onset (excluding the homorganic clusters that caused lengthening), and this obviates the need to assume a rule of shortening in trisyllables to account for forms like *twentiges* and *blesian*. Analogy presumably removed very many resulting irregularities of quantity, as it did in Old Icelandic.

The doctoral dissertation of David Charles Gamon, "The Grammaticalization of Grammatical Relations: A Typological and Historical Study Involving Kashaya Pomo, Old English, and Modern English" (Ph.D., Univ. of California at Berkeley, *DAI* 58A (1998), 3107), investigates grammatical relations on typological and historical bases. Grammatical relations are assumed to be language-specific, because syntax and morphology conflate them to different degrees in different languages, and semantic and pragmatic correlates present a severe obstacle to any universalizing schema. Old English conditions are studied in Chaps. 5–10, where little evidence for grammatical relations is found: the language is a grammatically transparent one.

While it is customarily assumed that the modern periphrastic auxiliary *do* derives from Old and Middle English causative *do*, Andrew Garrett argues for a different source in "On the Origin of Auxiliary *do*," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 2 (1998), 283–330. In the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, the *do* 'perform' + verbal action noun construction (e.g. "did a battle") was reanalyzed as a habitual *do* + infinitive construction. The resulting habitual construction could then be reinterpreted, in some contexts, as identical to nonhabitual, elliptical constructions (e.g. negative constructions like "He doesn't listen"), and the resulting use of ellipsis with overt infinitives is the source of modern periphrastic *do*. The argument is supported by evidence from Old and Middle English texts and from modern dialect usage.

P. Gašiorowski's *The Phonology of Old English Stress and Metrical Structure*, *Bamberger Beiträge zur englischen Sprachwissenschaft* 39 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), pp. x, 131, is a version, slightly revised for publication, of his 1994 doctoral thesis, in which he develops a mora-based theory of

stress in Old English. He does not propose abolishing the syllable and replacing it with the mora, only revising and re-describing its function within the metrical system. However, the moraic account provides a suitable and relatively simple explanation for the principle of resolution.

G.-Y. Goh, in "Relative Obliqueness and Subcategorization Inheritance in Old English Preposition-Verb Compound Verbs," *Ohio State Univ. Working Papers in Ling.* 51, 59–93, explains how the obliqueness hierarchy allows a nonhead to contribute to the subcategorization of the entire compound verb and still allow the head to control subcategorization inheritance in OE compound verbs as well as the case government of OE CVs.

D. H. Green's *Language History in the Early Germanic World* (Cambridge Univ. Press), pp. xv, 438, targets an educated lay audience and undergraduate students. Part I explains the general cultural milieu of the Germanic world, part II contact with the non-Germanic speakers and their languages, and Part II contact with and the influence of Christianity, although Christianity and its influences are mentioned throughout. Green shows in general how historical evidence is important to philologists and linguists in drawing conclusions about linguistic histories. Green provides an index of words discussed in the book but no general index.

In W. H. Ham's "A New Approach to an Old Problem: Gemination and Constraint Reranking in West Germanic," *Jnl. of Comparative Germanic Ling.* 1 (1997–98), 225–62, presents some criticisms of Murray and Vennemann's 1983 account of West Germanic Gemination (WGG). The problems with their analysis, Ham argues, are easily solved by only partially attributing WGG to relative consonant sonority at syllable margins. Optimality Theory holds that variation among languages can be attributed to differences in constraint rankings. Thus, Ham argues that variations across time in one language may be attributable to constraint reranking. WGG consisted of two separate sound changes: "a dis-preference for onset initial *j on the one hand and for syllable contacts in which coda-final *w, *r, and *l preceded onset-initial voiceless stops on the other" (259).

In "The Evolution of Definite and Indefinite Articles in English," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), 1.101–11, John Hewson offers a variety of cogent observations about definite and indefinite articles and their development in English. Indefinite reference is introductory, while definite reference is anaphoric, and the former must logically precede the latter. Because the names of items used in definite reference may be applied to a multiplicity of referents, definite articles are often required before plural forms; since the indefinite article highlights the unvarying lexeme, the need for a definite article with plurals is not great, and none is used with plurals in English. Hewson also explains in rational terms why the definite article developed before the indefinite: indefinite reference is naturally the unmarked form, at least initially requiring no overt

marking. Articles should be regarded as components of the phrasal noun; thus, although the rise of a contrastive system of definite and indefinite articles enabled the distinction between what are commonly called count and non-count nouns (*chicken* vs. *a chicken*), such a classification is a misapprehension of "regular processing, within the phrasal noun."

R. M. Hogg, in "On the Ideological Boundaries of Old English Dialects," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 107–18, describes approaches to Old English dialectology and argues that the dominant and current approach inhibits a "proper understanding" of OE dialects. The pure structure approach to OE dialects proposed by Campbell and others, while an advance over earlier approaches, is mistaken since it removes OE cultural considerations and contexts from the realm of study. Modern concepts of linguistic variation probably offer a better chance for understanding OE dialects and variation than did the hocus-pocus of Campbell or the historically questionable regional divisions of his predecessors. "The Morphology and Dialect of Old English Disyllabic Nouns," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 113–26, also by Hogg, takes up the questions of morphology and dialect differences in the OE neuter *a*-stem nouns. Hogg argues that although Keyser and O'Neill are basically correct in their description, the one synchronic rule of High Vowel Deletion should be divided into two synchronic rules of syncope. This will account for various dialect variations within OE of the inflections of neuter *a*-stems.

J. Hutton's "The Development of Secondary Stress in Old English," in *Historical Linguistics 1995*, ed. Hogg and van Bergen (as above), pp. 115–30, reviews five previous studies of secondary stress in OE: Suphi (1988), McCully and Hogg (1990), Drescher and Lahiri (1991), Idsardi (1994), and Colman (1994). After reconsidering stress assignment and the historical background of stress in Germanic, and the development of non-cyclic secondary stress, Hutton reaches several conclusions about secondary stress in OE. First, stress assignment in OE was morphological. However, the phonology of the foot makes it seem quantity-sensitive. Second, "cyclic stress developed from the embedding of stress from earlier cycles" which, in turn, laid the groundwork for non-cyclic stress, which is also morphological. In non-cyclic stress, if the final syllable was non-derivational, heavy penultimate syllables were stressed. Most suffixes in OE were heavy.

Hutton further discusses "Stress in Old English, *giēt ongean*" in *Linguistics* 36 (1998), 847–85. In the current controversy whether OE stress was assigned on a phonological or a morphological basis, Hutton supports the latter view. He summarizes the theoretical backgrounds of the debate and offers a brief account of the stress system he believes Germanic inherited from Proto-Indo-European, and then he shows how a morphological system of stress assignment in Old English could have evolved from this. Primary stress is assigned to the initial syllable of the cyclic domain and

secondary stress to the penultimate syllable of the noncyclic domain, overriding the demands of metrical structure. The analysis, it should be said, faces several difficulties. Few comparatists would agree that there was lexically assigned stress in late Proto-Indo-European. Hutton's rules for Old English correctly assign nonprimary stress to the penultima in *frēondrāden* but incorrectly in *frēondrādenne*, where the historical changes undergone by the penultimate vowel show it to have been unstressed. And no distinction is drawn between secondary and tertiary stress, so that *-bora* and *-scipe*, for example, are treated equally as suffixes stressed the same way. Meter and vowel changes tell us otherwise.

In "(Pro-)Nominal Reference in Old English and the Origin of the *that*-Clause," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 111–36, Koichi Jin studies examples of *þæt*-clauses in Old English verse, mostly in *Beowulf*, to demonstrate that what might appear to be apposition is actually predication, and such clauses must always have antecedents. For example, in *Fyrenðearfe ongeat þæt hie ær drugon aldorlease* (*Beowulf* 14b–15) he rejects Klaeber's emendation of *þæt* to *þe*, and he regards the *þæt*-clause as a predication of *fyrenðearfe*; he must then regard *aldorlease* as a noun meaning 'interregnum'. In places where no antecedent for a *þæt*-clause is present, he attempts to identify what it might be. For instance, in *Ða se ellengæst earfoðlice þrage gepolode, se þe in þystrum bad, þæt he dogora gewam dream gebyrde bludne in healle* (*Beowulf* 86–89a), unlike most, he does not regard *þrage* as an accusative object, but he proposes a suppressed *torn* as the object of *gepolode*.

In "Morphological Restructuring: The Case of Old English and Middle English Verbs," in *Historical Linguistics 1995*, ed. Hogg and van Bergen, pp. 131–47, D. Kastovsky addresses the problems of restructuring and classifying the OE verbs, particularly the weak ones, with some attention paid to the ME ones. The roots of the current "regular"/"irregular" classification, although it developed in early Modern English, were planted in earlier periods, perhaps even pre-OE. Even in Germanic, reliable predictability of a verb's class membership is possible for the weak verbs on the basis of stem-formatives and the regular strong verbs with base forms that allow classification without reference to other forms of the paradigm. After restructuring in late OE, English verb morphology becomes totally morphologically conditioned. Class assignment shifts to the formation of the preterit/past participle. This leads to four categories in ME: a) preterit/past participle with segmental dental morpheme, b) preterite/past participle with stem allomorphy and dental stop, c) preterite by ablaut and past participle by ablaut and suffix, and d) individual irregular cases such as *be* and the modals.

A. van Kemenade's "Topics in Old and Middle English Negative Sentences," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 293–306, is part of a larger body of work on verb position and negation in early English. Van Kemenade defends her previous position

that OE is an asymmetric V2 language and that embedded clauses lack V fronting and topicalization, against criticisms by Pintzuk, who argues that the position of *Vf* varies and topicalization can occur in embedded clauses. In CV2 languages (the Scandinavian languages, Modern German, Modern Dutch, Old French) COMP is always lexically realized. Root/nonroot asymmetry can be found in CV2 languages and in residual V2 languages, such as ModE, which have V/I to C movement. Since OE exhibits this root/nonroot asymmetry with respect to V2, van Kemenade characterizes it as C-oriented and thus a CV2 language. Pintzuk's analysis views OE as mixed between CV2 and IV2, and that analysis does allow for pronoun positions to be uniformly spec,IP. Van Kemenade argues that spec,CP is the topic position in OE in root declaratives. Although ME will allow a topic to the left of *ne* + *Vf*, it was quite uncommon in OE. For OE and eME, the topic position was spec,CP. The author attributes this to the weakening of preverbal *ne* as a negator.

K. Killie, in "The Spread of *-ly* to Present Participles," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 119–34, investigates the formation of adverbs from present participles. Data for the paper are drawn from verbs in the OED which continued more or less unchanged into ModE. Of the 134 verbs, 84 had corresponding adverbs formed with *-ly* added to the present participle. The specific form under study is uncommon in OE, but it did occur. Killie, however, concentrates on those verbs which survived into ModE. The 14th century saw a great increase in the *-ly* adverbs from present participles of the verbs under study. In the Helsinki Corpus, the eModE period showed the greatest frequency of use of these forms.

M. Kilpiö's "On the Forms and Functions of the Verb *be* from Old to Modern English," in *English in Transition: Corpus-Based Studies in Linguistic Variation and Genre Styles*, ed. Matti Rissanen, Merja Kytö, and Kirsi Heikkonen, *Topics in Eng. Ling.* 23 (Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter, 1997), pp. 87–120, studies the changes in the morphology and functional load of *be*. In morphology, the most important development from OE to ME is the loss of the competing paradigms. From ME to eModE, the most important development is the reduction in the number of forms within the paradigm. The relative share of the three main functions of *be* remains very stable over the time period under study.

Wolfgang Kittlick undertakes a linguistic analysis of the Cleopatra glossaries in *Die Glossen der Hs. British Library, Cotton Cleopatra A. III. Phonologie, Morphologie, Wortgeographie* (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, originally his Free University of Berlin dissertation). The findings of the author corroborate the views of two previous scholars (Bishop 1959–63, 93; Dumville 1994, 136–42) who worked on the MS: written in square minuscule, the Cleopatra glossaries have been dated to the 930's and assigned to St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury. The MS, copied for the most part in two hands, contains

three main parts: 1. an alphabetic glossary, 2. a specialized glossary with alphabetical supplements, 3. *glossae collectae* for the Gospels and Aldhelm, *De viginitate* in prose and verse versions. Collectively, the glosses are 10% purely Latin glosses with the rest in English. The author was able to identify 23 layers in the long and complicated transmission of the MS.

Kittlick concludes the material was copied from alphabetic glossary collections related to the early Old English glossaries, Épinal/Erfurt and Corpus, as well as from specialized glossaries and *glossae collectae*. The latter categories include glossaries to Isidor's *Etymologies* and a plant glossary, both related to the Antwerp-London and the Brussels glossaries; and collected glosses to the Bible and the works of Aldhelm, Gildas, Bede, Jerome, Symphosius, Lactantius, and Cassiodorus.

The phonological and morphological analysis of the glosses shows the dominance of West Saxon and South Anglian forms over Anglian and non-West Saxon forms, although the first main part must be viewed as of Anglian origin. Based on phonology, more rarely on morphology, certain layers may be attributed to Mercian provenance. The most obvious Kentish feature is the grapheme <io>. The very common spelling <ie> points to West Saxon copyists at an early stage in the history of transmission. Kittlick posits that most of the layers of transmission are of Anglian provenance with later Saxonization to varying degrees and presence or absence of Kentish influence. The Kentish reception is apparent primarily in the second and third main parts of the MS, but also in sections of the first.

Y. Kleiner's "Fernassimilation: Germanic Palatal Umlaut and Breaking," in *Interdigitations*, ed. Carr *et al.* (as above), pp. 93–106, contains little information on OE. A detailed discussion of regressive assimilation and its relationship to the titular topics brings Kleiner to his conclusion that regressive assimilation remained in Germanic throughout its various prosodic changes.

W. F. Koopman, in "Inversion after Single and Multiple Topics in Old English," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 135–50, contends that nominal subjects exhibit inversion almost invariably, while pronominal subjects rarely invert. The adverbs *þa* and *þonne* seem to trigger inversion in both nominal and pronominal subjects. Non-inversion seems to occur following *þa* and *þonne* when the adverb is the first of multiple topics. For inversion of pronominal subjects after multiple topics to occur, the verb must be higher than the subject. Koopman also addresses topicalization in "Topicalization in Old English and Its Effects: Some Remarks," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel, pp. 307–21. Inversion after topicalized objects is rare with pronominal subjects and variable with nominal ones. Ælfric's works show less variability; inversion with nominal subjects almost always occurs. These facts present problems for traditional government-binding analyses involving V2.

In "Epenthesis and *Mouillierung* in the Explanation of *i*-Umlaut: The Rise and Fall of a Theory," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 151–59, M. Krygier reviews both theories and the criticisms of them to discern whether any evidence for reviving them might exist rather than dismissing them categorically as some have done. Experimental phonology seems to provide the only evidence, synchronic though it is, that *Mouillierung* and epenthesis may play a role in *i*-umlaut. Two main questions must be answered if these theories are to be reconsidered: where are the traces of postulated palatalised consonants in old texts and modern dialects, and why do the root vowel and epenthetic glide clusters behave differently from regular diphthongs?

Likewise in *From Regularity to Anomaly: Inflectional i-Umlaut in Middle English*, Univ. of Bamberg Stud. in Eng. Ling. 40 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1997), Krygier's purpose is to track in detail the breakdown in Middle English of Old English alternations produced by front mutation. The first two chapters offer a summary of research on *i*-umlaut and theories about its phonological underpinnings. The third describes the facts about *i*-umlaut as it is attested in the other early Germanic languages, and the fourth does the same, in greater detail, for Old English. The ensuing chapters survey the remains of the Old English alternations in the five chief Middle English dialects, in texts of the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In the brief conclusion, Krygier describes the four forces regulating the systemic pressure toward the elimination of umlaut alternations: (1) optimal patterning (e.g. the extent to which umlaut and non-umlaut are associated with formal categories like present and preterite); (2) type frequency (categories with umlaut alternations comprising many members or few); (3) language contact; and (4) paradigm pressure. Contrary to the general pattern of loss of umlaut alternations in Middle English, umlaut is anomalously preserved in root nouns and *rückumlautende* verbs (*sell*, *seek*, *reach*, etc.) chiefly because of high optimal patterning and frequency of use. The book is rounded out by an appendix listing lexemes and their Old English equivalents, and by a bibliography of works cited.

Krygier's "Nominal Markedness Changes in Three Old and Middle English Psalters—Using the Past to Predict the Past," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 143–52, agrees that internal criteria must be found to distinguish OE from ME rather than using dates of any sort. In addition, it may be that such criteria cannot unequivocally distinguish ME from OE. The Vespasian Psalter, Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter, and the Earliest Complete English Prose Psalter provide data for the study. Krygier, using Mayerthaler's principles of Natural Morphology and relative marker weight, concludes that total markedness value (TMV) can be used to place individual manuscripts in chronological order by the decline in TMV. Relative Marker Weight for case markings can also be

used for placing texts chronologically. Krygier provides a formula and an example using the same three psalters. Periods of English should be treated as measurements of advancement which may or may not overlap with traditional scales. Likewise, in "On a Synchronic Approach to Old English Morphology," *Folia Linguistica Historica* 19, 119–28, he favors something other than the traditional inflectional paradigm approach to OE morphology, claiming it hinders, rather than promotes, the study of synchronic OE morphological data. Proto-Germanic inflectional types should be abandoned, as they do not reflect the synchronic reality of OE. The inflections themselves should be used to describe OE declensions. Similar reclassifications should be considered for gender and verbal inflections. The weak and strong dichotomy should be preserved, but the sub-classifications within those divisions need to be reworked.

María José López-Couso and Belén Méndez-Naya, in "On Minor Declarative Complementizers in the History of English: the Case of *but*," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 161–71, contend that studies on minor complementizers are lacking compared to studies on *that* in English. After discussing various examples, they note that *but* does not occur in the OE records in the Helsinki Corpus, and they find just two possible examples in other works. However, some constructions with *butan* are similar to complementizer functions. The authors dismiss Latin as a possible source for the complementizer function of *but*, since the earliest examples are from texts in no way connected to Latin. They decide that the source must lie somewhere in OE postmodification structures. A non-assertive matrix must also exist for *but* to be used as a negative complementizer.

In the same volume (pp. 173–88), B. Los's "Bare and *to*-Infinitives in Old English: Callaway Revisited" argues against Callaway's contention that bare and *to*-infinitives were in competition in OE. Additional data from the *Toronto Corpus* seems to support Los's view. In addition to using semantic distinctions of the verbs for organizing the data, Los uses syntactic distinctions: subject-controlled constructions, object-controlled constructions, and accusative-and-infinitive-controlled constructions. The first construction is monotransitive and the last two ditransitive. *To*-infinitives, if they compete with a construction, compete with NP *that*-clause complements. Only with aspectualizers does it seem that there is any competition with bare infinitives.

Historically, the use of the *to*-infinitival complement ("wish to go") has grown, on the standard view, at the expense of the bare infinitival complement ("will go") in English. Los, again, in "The Rise of the *to*-Infinitive as Verb Complement," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 2 (1998), 1–36, critiques the explanation of Callaway (1913), which ties the variation to the case of the object, since she finds that his classification of the data is problematic; and she considers inadequate the hypothesis of Bock (1931) that prepositional objects play a

role, for although the explanation makes sense, it is not supported by the facts about prepositional objects with ditransitive verbs. Los finds that the growth of the bare infinitive was more directly at the expense of *that*-clauses, with their receding subjunctive encoding, than of bare infinitives.

In "Finite and Non-Finite Clauses in the English of Alfred's Reign: a Study of Syntax and Style in Old English," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 189–207, K. Manabe presents a detailed study of the titular topic with a table detailing the distributional information on which the conclusions are based. Copious examples accompany the argument. Sources, genre, purpose, audience, and translator's attitude all influence distribution patterns. *Laws* contains the highest proportion of finite to non-finite clauses.

J. Martín Arista, in "The Role of VN in Functional Syntax: OE Patterns," *Miscelánea* (Zaragoza) 18 (1997), 169–92, concludes on the basis of figures concerning the number of examples of V2 from five corpora that the V2 rule as currently stated is inadequate to describe many OE constructions. He also argues that the beginning point for formulating rules where VN and X both occur should be X and not VN, since X receives sentence stress, bears unmarked focus, and occurs in an outstanding syntactic position so that the syntactic organization of the clause reflects the distribution of pragmatic information. Tables showing the percentages of syntactic continuity vs. discontinuity, relative order of Vf and Vn, absolute order of V1, and absolute order of V2 help to make the argument of the paper easier to follow.

In a 1997 Glasgow Ph.D. thesis, "Studies in Early English Element Order, with Special Reference to the Early Middle English Lambeth Homilies," *Index to Theses* 47 (1998), 1339, S. McPherson reports the results of an analysis of element order in the Lambeth Homilies, using the program *OCP* on a personal computer. Aspects studied include theme/rheme, topicalization, and weight, and it is concluded that the text shows signs of the development of SVO order, and it offers no support for an argument for V2 order in early ME. K. Sisam's argument that the two main sections of the text are not coeval is unsubstantiated.

For B. Méndez Naya, the answer to the title question "Subject Clauses in Old English: Do They Really Exist?" *Miscelánea* (Zaragoza) 18 (1997), 213–30, is yes. In setting up the argument to arrive at that answer, the author reviews positions which hold that clauses which have been called subject clauses perhaps should not be so labeled. In particular Méndez Naya contends that clauses which depend on passive matrices of verbs taking accusative objects should be labeled subject clauses in OE and that some clauses found with nouns or adjectives should be called subjects rather than NomCOMP or AdjCOMP. In OE, the preverbal position is not a valid criterion for subjecthood.

J. Milroy's "Internal vs External Motivations for Linguistic Change," *Multilingua* 16 (1997), 311–23, contends

that linguistic change is speaker-based. Regardless of whether the change is due to internal or external factors, changes are transmitted via the speakers. The contact between OE and ON speakers and the question of mutual intelligibility forms one of the main examples, although no explicit, detailed examples are used. Milroy distinguishes carefully between innovation and language change. For language contact to be integrated into a theory of language change, what prompts a language to accept speaker innovations as changes will have to be described. This description will likely rely on some social-political-cultural factors. Structural theories of change which hold that all language change is internally motivated will have problems with these ideas, since language contact is accidental.

On the basis of ictic patterns in verse, it is generally assumed that native ME words like *hardi*, *holi*, and *riding* might be stressed on the second syllable, by analogy to forms with variable accentuation, like *cite*, *forest*, and *licour*. Donka Minkova challenges this consensus in "Constraint Ranking in Middle English Stress-Shifting," *Eng. Lang. and Ling.* 1 (1997), 135–75. Reexamining the metrical evidence within an OT framework, she finds that outside of the rhyme position, which presents special conditions due to its metrical strength, very few words borrowed from Latin and French actually show variable stress in verse. Thus, "ME continues to sort stress primarily, but not exclusively, on the basis of morphological class," not syllable weight.

D. Minkova and R. P. Stockwell's "The Origins of Long-Short Allomorphy in English," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 211–39, contend that researchers should take note that not all allomorphy can or should be attributed to phonological change. In support of this position, the authors discuss Trisyllabic Shortening (TRISH) and Pre-Consonantal Shortening (SHOCC) for English. No OE forms show morphophonemic alternations based on TRISH. There are no eligible forms in OE or eME and no way to tell which borrowed forms might have been subject to it. Data does support SHOCC in OE and eME, but no reason exists to assume a relationship between SHOCC in OE and what occurred later after the influx of Romance words, since shortening before two dental suffixes was dead before this influx. What appears to be a phonologically caused allomorphic relationship of ModE to SHOCC in earlier English is not. It is accidental.

In "Economy as a Principle of Syntactic Change," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 357–72, L. Moessner contends that change is a striving for economy and concludes that syntactic change is favored whenever form and content exist in an imbalanced state. Changes in the passive voice, periphrastic past tenses, and progressives are considered for the verbal syntagm; changes in postmodification by a relative clause are considered for the substantival syntagm; subordination, negation, subjects, and objects form the rest of the data.

R. Molencki's "Modals in Past Counterfactual Conditional Protases," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 241–51, focuses on the use of *would* to express counterfactual conditional protases. The author notes that OE "had no distinct morphological means for indicating past counterfactuality": the preterite subjunctive expressed both past and present contrary-to-fact conditionals. *Would have* + past participle appeared in the 14th century in the apodosis and spread to the protasis later. The pluperfect form, which replaced the subjunctive, to express counterfactuals lost favor in PDE, perhaps because it was not perceived as "modal" enough.

"Die reduplizierenden Verben im Nord- und Westgermanischen: Versuch eines Raum-Zeitmodells," *North-Western European Language Evolution* 33, 43–91, by Karl-Heinz Mottausch, is a geographic and chronological synthesis based on recent research on the topic. In North and West Germanic, new forms developed to replace the Common Germanic form of reduplication (cf. Go. *habhait*). The older forms were replaced because their construction had lost its transparency through changes like $x > b$ and $z > r$. The new types in West Germanic are as follows: I. **ueyald* > **uald* type with retention of accent on the stem syllable and loss of the reduplicative syllable. II. **lelot* > **lelt* type with loss of the root syllable after shift of accent to the reduplicative syllable. III. **sezō* > OIc. *sera* type with infixes, especially *-*ez-*. IV. **fallan* : **fē-all* type with contraction of the sequence: stem initial + *e* + present vowel (+ stem final).

Mottausch posits that each type comes from a different part of the NWGmc. territory and spread to varying degrees. Type I originated in East Norse and spread to West Norse and Old English (cf. OE *blondan* : *geblond*). The few attested remnants of this type are concentrated in East Norse. Type II is found only in Old English and presumably did not spread to other languages. Here the author follows Bammesberger's (1986, 62ff) proposal for its genesis: after accent shift to the prefix, **lelot*/**lelt* > OE *leort* and **rérod*/**rérd-* > OE *reord* functioned as prototypes for analogy in the other verbs of the class. Mottausch, however, is against explaining **eo* in each of the verbs of this class by different means. Rather, he thinks analogy from the prototypes spread **eo* throughout the class. Type III is represented by *-er-* verbs in Old Norse, like ON *sá* : *sera*, *róa* : *rera* with rhotacism in the infix element, and the *r-*preterites in Old High German, particularly in Alemannic (9th c. glosses), Bavarian, and Otfried. The OHG forms like *scirun* do not have true infixes but developed the *r-*elements individually by different processes. Type IV with its quasi-ablaut is the most commonly attested type in West Germanic. It relies on the reconstruction of a number of phonological changes in the various forms: monophthongization of *ai*, *au* > *ē*, *ō* in stage 2 of its development, **e-a* > **e̅*, **e-o* > **eō* > *eu* in stage 3, and shortening of **e̅* before geminates and clusters in stage 4; cf. **hē-ait* > **hē̅t*, **hlē-aup* > **hlē-op* > **hleop* > **hleup*, **fē-all* > **fē̅ll* > *fell*. The author posits, based on

the chronology of the vocalic changes in question, that type IV originated in Franconian dialects and spread south to Upper German, where state 3 is attested, and later north to Old English, Old Saxon, and Old Frisian, where stages 3 and 4 are attested. Mottausch establishes the 6th c. as the time for the development of all four types.

S. J. Nagle and S. L. Sanders, in "Downsizing the Preterite-Presents in Middle English," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 253–61, claim a variety of factors, including competition from synonyms, led to the loss of the non-modal preterite-presents beginning in late OE. Most notably, modal morphology became closely associated with modal semantics, leading speakers to gradually purge the non-modal preterite presents. Their loss was not accidental, as Lightfoot has claimed.

In "The Instrumental in Old English," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), 1.153–66, Ruta Nagucka offers three reasons to regard the instrumental as a discrete case in Old English: it is formally distinguished from the dative under some circumstances; it was not lost altogether, because it was preserved as a prepositional phrase at the time it fell together entirely with the dative; and it represents a concrete case (although it is partly grammatical, like the nominative and accusative). Nagucka believes that analogy to Latin ablatives was responsible for the preservation of the instrumental.

"The Hiatus in English Historical Phonology," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 59–64, is the subject of T. Nakao's contribution to this massive work. Tautosyllabism served in OE to work adjacent vowels into the same syllable for vocalic assimilation and lengthening processes. Heterosyllabism replaces tautosyllabism in ME and the two vowels of the hiatus are split to form different syllables. Middle English Hiatus Lengthening (MEHL) can affect words of more than two syllables. However, it does not begin to operate unless the left vowel of the pair is stressed. The shift from tautosyllabism to heterosyllabism is the impetus for the bimoraic/bisyllabic structure of English stressed syllables.

In the first of three volumes, *The Continental Backgrounds of English and Its Insular Development until 1154*, North-Western European Lang. Evolution, Suppl. 19 (Odense: Odense Univ. Press, 1998), pp. xiv, 234, H. F. Nielsen covers the development and demise of Old English. Its general nature makes it appropriate for the interested student or layman. Nielsen focuses primarily on lexicon and phonology with emphasis on loan words and pre-OE to OE phonological developments.

Y. Niwa's "Cumulative Phenomena between Prefixes and Verbs in Old English," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 167–78, uses the Vespasian Psalter for data to study constructions such as *byt na na feoll*. Niwa uses a common semantic feature or csf

to compare meanings of verbs and illustrate cumulative relationships between verbs and prefixes. Cumulative relationships with verbs and OE *for-*, *after-*, *in-*, *of-*, *ofer-*, *up-* and *ut-* are studied using csf's. The first prefix, *for-*, shows 43% of the occurrences have cumulative relationships, and 57% have non-cumulative. The next three prefixes show no non-cumulative relationships. The last three prefixes show more cumulative than non-cumulative relationships.

In "On the Origin and History of the English Prepositional Type *a-hunting*: A Corpus-Based Study," *Revista Ali-cantina de Estudios Ingleses* 9 (1996), 105–17, Paloma Nuñez Pertejo gives a conspectus of scholarship on the origin and development of such constructions, which were never very common in English, and which are generally agreed to derive ultimately from Old English prepositional phrases comprising *on* and a verbal noun in *-ing/-ung*. The loss of *a-* during the Middle English period rendered such words formally indistinguishable from the ordinary present/active participle, from which they were not distant in meaning, perhaps the only differences being that they often imply intentionality and they may have passive force (as in *The house is a-building*.) Finally Nuñez Pertejo studies the instances of the construction that appear in the Early Modern texts in the Helsinki corpus, examining their generic distribution, the variety of accompanying verbs, the intransitive nature of the examples encountered, and other features.

D. D. Oaks, in "Historical Roots of Structural Ambiguity in English: a Survey of Some Selected Grammatical Features," *General Ling.* 36, 59–70, comments that the loss of inflections contributes to the number and types of structural ambiguities which exist in ModE. Morphological merging, conversion, more transitivity options, increasing use of phrasal verbs, and the development of natural gender also contributed to structural ambiguity in English. Some pronoun reference ambiguity did exist in OE.

In "Ælfric Believed on God," *N&Q* 45 (1998), 273–75, Michiko Ogura predicts, and finds, from a survey of a range of texts, that the expression *geliefan on* 'believe in' will be found in West Saxon texts, and *geliefan in* will be found particularly in glosses, with few exceptions.

Another article by Ogura, "The Grammaticalization in Medieval English," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 293–314, discusses degrees of grammaticalization. Grammaticalizations for glossing Latin and auxiliaries in native constructions form the database for the study and conclusions. In the gloss grammaticalizations, *cwyst þu*, *cwæðe ge*, for Lat *num(quid)* and *nelle þu*, *nellað ge* for Lat. *noli(te)* are considered. For auxiliaries, *uton(us)* + infinitive, *gewat* + infinitive, *gan/con* + infinitive=V [+preterite] and *do*-periphrasis form the data. From this data, Ogura proposes four degrees of grammaticalization. When a word reaches the fourth degree, "petrification," it is likely to die out. This was the case with the OE words glossing Lat. *num(quid)*. The situation with the auxiliaries is more repre-

sentative of the four degrees: *gewat* and *gan/con* have died out; other auxiliaries appear to be at degree III, where the meaning of the word is nearly empty and the functions are becoming restricted to one main one.

In "On Double Auxiliary Constructions in Medieval English," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 229–36, Ogura notes that "double auxiliary" constructions did exist, and in fact proliferated, in ME, and probably existed in OE, although few examples can be found. However, these are not "double modal" constructions.

M. Ohkada's "On Nominative Case Assignment in Old English," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 345–59, draws data from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* to investigate the titular topic. Ohkada proposes that the subject of passive constructions does not move to spec,IP and nominative case is assigned in the object position in OE. Case assignment occurs through government and case transmission, which allows the case that the higher V possesses to be transmitted to the lower V if V-raising or VP-raising applies.

Lisi Oliver ably lays out the evidence for "Irish Influence on Orthographic Practice in Early Kent," *North-Western European Lang. Evolution* 33 (1998), 93–113. She demonstrates that <d> predominates over <th> as representations of the OE voiced and voiceless dental fricatives (regarded as allophones) in names recorded in the earliest texts, and not just in manuscripts of the North but also those containing texts of Kentish extraction. The texts studied are charters, glossaries, and Bede manuscripts. She argues that the use of <d> is a sign of Irish influence even as far south as Kent, where Theodore is said to have been surrounded by Irish students. She presents evidence that the usage is not of Frankish origin, since <d> in names in Frankish texts must represent a stop consonant.

In "Effects of Mood Loss and Aspect Gain on English Tenses," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 1527–36, H. Paddock makes some comments about mood and aspect in OE to lay the foundation for the more general argument, but does not provide any extended examples of OE. He proposes three stages for English tense contrast: tense with aspect, tense with mood, and finally tense with deixis. These stages, of course, do not correspond exactly to the traditional historic periods in English.

The late H. Penzl's "The Germanic *i*-umlaut Revisited," in *Insights in Germanic Linguistics II*, ed. Rauch and Carr (as above), pp. 189–95, argues that modern critics of his theory of *i*-umlaut, especially those espousing a generativist view, have not carefully considered the graphic evidence or have ignored the important distinction which must be made between allophonic umlaut variation and phonemic umlaut. Penzl reiterates his well-known and well-accepted views about *i*-umlaut with a view toward putting some of the criticisms to rest.

In "Post-Verbal Complements in Old English," in *Historical Linguistics 1995*, ed. Hogg and van Bergen (as above), 2.233–46, S. Pintzuk argues that OV and VO orders coexisted in OE. This is counter to the widely held account that there was a shift from OV to VO between OE and ModE. While eighth-century OE, as represented by *Beowulf*, clearly shows an underlying OV order, by the late ninth century VO had emerged to compete with it. In *Beowulf*, the heavier the NP, the more likely it is to appear post-verbally. Later OE prose provides evidence for underlying VO structure as well as underlying OV structure. Such structural competition would make the change in surface order gradual rather than radical. Analyses of grammatical competition in other languages support this position. On the same topic, Pintzuk's "Old English Verb-Complement Word Order and the Change from OV to VO," in *York Papers in Linguistics* 17 (1996), 241–64, argues that although the change from underlying OV to VO order is usually regarded as an abrupt change that took place at the close of the Old English period, it is instead the result of a continuing competition between OV and VO grammars that spanned the Old and Middle English periods. She offers data showing that three predictions of the standard analysis are false: (1) contrary to that analysis, there are clauses with underlying VO structure in Old English; (2) there are clauses with underlying OV structure in Middle English; (3) although it is true, as predicted, that there is an increase in VO surface word order during the Old English period, the increase cannot be linked persuasively to an increase in the rate of V2 and/or postposition. The author kindly supplied an off-print of this article.

The Proto-Germanic diphthongs /ai, au, iu/ were an unwieldy set, argues Vulf Y. Plotkin, "A Case of Divergent Phonological Evolution in West Germanic," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), 1.873–77. The first two show vertical gliding, the last two horizontal. The mismatches were resolved differently in the West Germanic languages: Old English retained horizontal gliding and eliminated the first diphthong, while the Continental Germanic languages retained vertical gliding and enhanced it by the diphthongization of /c:/ and /o:/ to /ia/ and /ua/, respectively. "As for the 'odd-man-out' diphthong /iu/ and the diphthong /eu/ derived from it in the course of Old High German breaking, they were not involved in the process described here for lack of vertical gliding in their phonic realizations and underwent quite a different evolution."

The title tells all: "Derivation of *it* from *þat* in Eastern Dialects of British English," by Patricia Poussa, in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), 1.691–99. Although initial /ɪ/ is widely retained in parts of modern Norfolk, the reflex of OE *hit* has no /ɪ/. The source of *it* in this area is therefore very likely "a Scandinavian-influenced *þat*, possibly pronounced /tat/. Since there is effectively no Old English linguistic evidence from this area, this is an instance in which retrodiction, be-

ginning from the modern dialect features, is the only practical approach to ascertaining Old English conditions.

In the same volume (pp. 373–83), M. Rissanen's "Optional *THAT* with Subordinates in Middle English" contains only a short section on OE. The closest OE construction to those under consideration, "simple subordinating element + *that*," is *op þat*. The constructions began to be used in the ME1 period. Of the 220 constructions found, *Orm* had 114. The frequency of this construction declines to 4 by eModE3. The additional conjunctive element became unnecessary with the subordinators.

In "A Relevance Theory Approach to the Scandinavian Influence upon the Development of the English Language," *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 10 (1997), 183–91, M^a Angeles Ruiz Moneva discusses the fact that language contact occurs among speakers, and as a result, changes take time to appear in written form. The purpose of the borrowings and changes seems to have been to make communication fluent and relevant to both the speaker and listener with the highest efficiency and least effort. Ruiz Moneva uses a creolization process to explain the language changes which resulted from contact. For the author this makes sense because the contact was oral, and constant oral language contact with little written contact seems to result in some sort of *lingua franca* which might then lead to pidginization and creolization.

A. Seppänen's "The Genitive and the Category of Case in the History of English," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel (as above), pp. 193–214, mentions a few OE examples involving the genitive case but does not present an extended analysis of OE genitives. Seppänen argues that although the manifestations of the genitive have changed, the category is still present and identifiable in ModE. The changes in the genitive case have made it a category of NP. This suggests that this also occurred with "common case" as well. Substandard forms such as *she's* and *he's* used as genitives may represent the ultimate stage of the English genitive.

In K. Sonoda's "On the Inseparable Nature of Verb-Auxiliary Combinations in Old English," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 313–21, we learn that Aux + X + V is possible while V + X + Aux is not. Sonoda argues that this restriction cannot now be handled in government-binding models, since linearity relations are not defined over syntactic structures in a narrow sense. Perhaps a relation which holds only between auxiliary and verb is necessary.

Old English grammars analyze the inflectional classes of nouns on a historical basis, identifying *a*-stems, *ō*-stems, and so forth, even though such categories have questionable significance in any plausible synchronic grammar of Old English. Such an approach is in opposition to the "Minimalist Morphology" espoused by D. Wunderlich and R. Fabri in a 1995 article in which they forbid the use of such abstract features in the identification of inflectional classes. Only features

with independent motivation may be appealed to, features like gender and stem-final phonology, in the construction of real-istic inflectional categories. In "Against Arbitrary Features in Inflection: Old English Declension Classes," in *Phonology and Morphology of the Germanic Languages*, ed. Wolfgang Kehrein and Richard Wiese, *Linguistische Arbeiten* 386 (Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1998), pp. 241–65, Carsten Steins develops such a Minimalist analysis of Old English noun inflection, employing only the gender features [masculine] and [feminine] (leaving neuter as the unspecified default) and, in some cases, phonological information about stems. For unproductive classes like root-stems, some case-forms must be listed in the lexicon (e.g. *fōt* to *fēt*), but the remainder may be generated from the pool of affixes available in other inflectional categories.

In "Adverbialization and Subject-Modification in Old English," in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 443–56, Toril Swan examines a class of adverbials she terms "subject-modifier adverbs," such as "fascinatedly" in "The children, listening fascinatedly as we fought . . ." and the last word in "She looked up, resignedly." In Modern English they describe either the subject's state of mind or the subject's external characteristics (e.g. "blushingly"), though the latter type is rare. In Old English, adverbs are the chief variety of subject modifier in this sense, though adjectives, participles, and some other, minor types are found. The class of such words is less versatile in Old English, but the use of adverbs is clearly on the rise in the language, leading up to the fully adverbialized conditions in the present. Now adverbialization may amount to either grammaticalization of an entire proposition (e.g., "It is fortunate that" > "fortunately") or addition of *-ly* to an ever-expanding variety of adjectives.

M. Terajima's "The Syllable Structure and Phonological Processes in the History of English," in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 361–85, tests the idea that how phonological processes operate depends on whether the onset/coda is peripheral or internal to a word. Voicing, devoicing, deletion, gemination, spirantization, and palatalization are all considered in the article. Terajima concludes that the onset position is more resistant to phonological process than the coda position. Word-internal onset and coda seem to trigger change fairly readily. Phonological processes are not identical in word-initial, word-internal (onset and coda), and word-final positions. A linear perspective accounts for some phonological processes better than a non-linear one.

Loredana Teresi, in "Computer-Assisted Linguistic Analysis in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: An Experimental Study," *Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 133–48, describes the use of two analytical software programs to tabulate orthographic differences between two copies of a homily from the second series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies, Dominica in Septuagesima* (Cameron B1.2.6), in

CCCC 302 and BL, Cott. Faust. A. ix. The differences she finds are, for example, spellings of *blaford* with *f* or *u*, of *mild-beortnes* with *-nes* or *-nys*, of words with and without final *n*, and so forth. The article includes copious tables of such differences, but no analysis is offered of the linguistic significance of the differences located.

In "Wirdbu and the Germanic Passive," in *Interdigitations*, ed. Carr *et al.* (as above), pp. 141–46, Paul Valentin discusses *wirdbu* as having a concurrence with *bim/was*. He proposes that it might be used to express some future constructions, since some *ga-/gi-* perfective verbs were used to render Latin passives. Valentin then describes these Germanic "passive" constructions to support his conjecture about *wirdbu*. Germanic passive constructions using *wirdbu* are really perfective constructions. Thus it is difficult to propose that the passive existed as a grammatical device in old Germanic dialects.

N. Van den Eynden's "Aspects of Preposition Placement in English," in *Speech Past and Present: Studies in English Dialectology in Memory of Ossi Ihalainen*, ed. Juhani Klemola, Merja Kytö, and Matti Rissanen, *Bamberger Beiträge zur englischen Sprachwissenschaft* 38 (Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1996), pp. 426–46, argues that the rules for Wh-relatives need to be adapted. After discussing OE preposition stranding and pied piping, Van den Eynden moves on to modern dialects of English. Frequency tables show that stranding is common in dialect speech and quite uncommon in standard English speech and scientific writing. Clearly pied piping and preposition stranding are register-correlated. The chief conclusion of the article is that Wh- OP relatives occur only with pied piping. For this reason, the standard rules proposed for Wh-relatives need to be adapted.

In "The Future of *for to*," *Amer. Jnl of Germanic Ling. and Literatures* 10 (1998), 45–71, E. van Gelderen traces the changes in *for to* and demonstrates how *for to* becomes grammaticalized and extends meaning from location to future and non-tense constructions. *Beowulf*, the Junius MS, the Exeter Book, and the Vercelli Book form the data base for the OE section on *for* as a preposition. The syntactic functions of *for* widen somewhat in OE, but *for to* does not occur until around 1175. The majority of the work focuses on *for to* in various periods of ME. A short section is devoted to other varieties of English and to other languages. The intrinsic features of *for to* change from case to future/purpose. As features change through grammaticalization, the terms change categories.

T. Venneman's "The Development of Reduplicating Verbs in Germanic," in *Insights in Germanic Linguistics II*, ed. Rauch and Carr (as above), pp. 297–336, presents a solution to the development of reduplicating verbs which adheres to traditionally accepted principles of phonological reconstruction rather than one utilizing a morphological solution. The North and West Germanic development of reduplicating verbs results from the shift to first-syllable accent, through a rather natural series of sound changes.

In "Passive Constructions: The Case of Old English,"

3. LITERATURE

Folia Linguistica Historica 19, 53–64, L. Vezzosi contends that the passive has no single defining property. Transitivity and control are better indicators than syntactic constructions. The four constructions which can be said to express the passive in OE fall into that complex domain but are not equivalent to one another. Periphrastic constructions in OE win out over the “*mon*” constructions and the impersonals for expressing the passive. Changes during ME speed the grammaticalization process of passive constructions.

H. Waltz, in “Causative Psych-Verbs in the History of English,” in *Insights in Germanic Linguistics II*, ed. Rauch and Carr (as above), pp. 337–43, claims that traditional accounts of the loss of the causative psych-verbs are inadequate, since most causative psych-verbs occurred with oblique experiencer pronouns. This occurrence disambiguated the situation created by the loss of case markings well enough that factors other than loss of case markings must have been at work. Psych verbs inherited a tendency toward variation between intransitive forms and causative forms from earlier IE. The shift to SVO made the causative variant functionally less important. The gap left in written English by the loss of the causative variant would have been filled by borrowed psych-verbs.

J. Wetna’s “The Functional Relationship between Rules (Old English Voicing of Fricatives and Lengthening of Vowels before Homorganic Clusters),” in *Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier (as above), pp. 471–84, discusses the perceived relationship between OE fricative voicing and homorganic lengthening which has been virtually ignored. Theories on OE fricative voicing have been based on pre-OE or modern data. Perhaps the output vowels of homorganic lengthening can be used to determine the input consonants subject to fricative voicing. The author presents a compilation of OE words with the clusters <rp> and <rs> in word-medial and word-final positions and contends they do trigger lengthening. Homorganic lengthening appears to be determined by the voiced consonant in the cluster. Moving into morphology, Wetna, in “Weak-to-Strong: a Shift

in English Verbs?” in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, ed. Hickey and Puppel, pp. 215–28, attempts to present a systematic view of those formerly weak English verbs and verbs borrowed into English which adopted characteristics of strong verbs. The author provides a list of formerly weak English verbs which “became” strong or show clear influence of the strong verbs in their ModE forms. Tables illustrating native and borrowed verbs and when they acquired strong characteristics help visualize some of argument that what occurred with the weak verbs acquiring strong characteristics deserves to be called a “shift,” as does the more frequently studied acquisition of weak characteristics by strong verbs.

N. Yamada, in “On the Functional Motivation of Phonological Changes in English,” in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi (as above), pp. 417–37, uses data primarily from ME and eModE to investigate the working hypothesis that stressed syllables tend to be strengthened and unstressed syllables tend to be weakened. Both strengthening and weakening processes increase perceptual salience in stressed syllables. Opposite changes may occur if the limit of perceptual salience is reached. These changes occur to protect the balance between perception and production. Yamada presents OE examples in some of the sections but undertakes no detailed discussion of the processes as they might occur in OE.

K.D.T., R.D.F.

Not Seen

Jin, Koichi. *Aspects of English Syntax and Style: a Comparative Study*. Tokyo: Shubun International, 1997. xvi, 524 pp.

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Vezzosi, Letizia. *La sintassi della subordinazione in anglosassone*. Pubblicazioni dell’Istituto di linguistica 3. Naples: Edizioni Scientifiche Italiane, 1998. xii, 343 pp.

3. Literature

a. General and Miscellaneous

Editions, Translations, and Kleine Schriften

Andreas Epe’s *Wissensliteratur im angelsächsischen England: Das Fachschriftum der vergessenen artes mechanicae und artes magicae. Mit besonderer Berücksichtigung des Somniale Danielis: Edition der (lateinisch-)altenglischen Fassungen* (Münster/Westf.: Tebbert, 1995) is the author’s doctoral dissertation (Westfälisch Wilhelms-Universität zu Münster). It begins as a critique of generic typologies in modern literary studies, which distinguish literary types in a way that would not have made sense to Anglo-Saxons; and they are espe-

cially detrimental to literature that is not of the “high” variety. Studies of practical and scientific literature, beginning with the work of Gerhard Eis, have pointed the way to an escape from this particular hermeneutic circle. Epe traces the development of classificatory systems for this body of literature from late antiquity (when it was subsumed under the term *philosophia*) to the twelfth century, systems paralleled by the divisions within the *artes liberales*. Hugh of St. Victor’s *Didascalion* provides a classificatory scheme for the *artes mechanicae* (i.e., all the *artes* devoted to some form of physical activity), dividing them into *lanificium*, *armatura*, *navigatio*, *agricultura*, *venatio*, *medicina*, and *theatrica*. These categories

are often broader than they might at first seem: *navigatio*, for example, includes trade as well as maritime skill, and *agricultura* covers a wide variety of forms of land management. The Old English texts representing these activities range widely over the corpus, including not just the expected scientific texts, but also *Apollonius of Tyre*, *The Gifts of Men*, maxims, the riddles, and many others, and Epe furnishes a bibliographical introduction to each category and the texts that represent it. The *artes magicae* include charms, forms of divination, a wide variety of prognostics (on the basis of thunder, winds, days of the week, astrology, and so forth), and the interpretation of dreams, and again a bibliographical introduction to each category and subcategory is provided. It is the last division that is Epe's particular interest, as he collects and edits the material in Old English that derives from the *Somniale Danielis*, a *Traumbuch* (handbook of oneiromancy) and a text that has been neglected, even though it is preserved in approximately one hundred manuscripts from the ninth century to the sixteenth. Epe provides a general introduction to the different recensions of the Latin text and its renderings into German, English, French, Icelandic, Irish, and Welsh. The Old English texts edited are the ones designated ProgGl 1 and Prog 3.2, 3.10, and 6.8 in the *DOE* corpus (Ker, items 186.7a, 186.71, 186.7q, and 332.35j). Where the Old English text is a gloss rather than a translation, it is interlineated with the Latin, but in both cases a Latin text based on the best manuscripts available is also presented *en face*, with a detailed *apparatus criticus* for both the Latin and the vernacular. The value of the edition, it should be noted, is badly undermined by an unfortunate printer's error: page 114 of the Old English text is missing, and a second copy of p. 112 is supplied instead. The edition is furnished with a glossary and an index.

Poems and Prose from the Old English (New Haven: Yale Univ. Press, 1998) is a "revised, restructured, and much enlarged" successor to Burton Raffel's *Poems from the Old English* (1960). The translations are Raffel's and the introductions to them are by Alexandra H. Olsen. The poetic groupings are "Elegies," "Heroic Poems," "Religious Poems," and "Wisdom Poetry," and the prose ones are "Historical," "Testamentary and Legal," "Religious," "Social and Instructional," and "Medical and Magical." The selections within each category are generally much anthologized literary pieces, though there are some pleasant surprises, including a variety of wills and legal statutes and Ælfric's homily for the feast of the assumption of St. John the Apostle. Raffel's poetic translations are too familiar to require description here; the purpose of the volume is, in Olsen's words, "to introduce the Anglo-Saxons in words nuanced and supple enough to convey a sense of the original." The prose translations are fluid and, aside from a few archaic interjections ("alas," "lo," "behold"), natural-sounding. The volume is prefaced by an Introduction (pp. xi–xxii) to Anglo-Saxon political history and society (conceived as a *Männerbund*) that includes brief accounts of the chief figures in Anglo-Latin letters, the po-

ets Cædmon and Cynewulf, the four poetic codices, and the chief writers of prose in Old English, followed by a very select bibliography. Closing the volume are a glossary of terms like "atheling," "eucharist," and "litotes," and proposed solutions to the twenty-one riddles translated.

In *Des animaux et des hommes*, *Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales 17* (Paris: Presses de l'Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1998), Marie-Françoise Alamichel and Josseline Bidard offer translations of texts that are useful for the study of the representation of animals in medieval English literature. The texts have been selected on the bases of the relative infrequency with which they have been translated and their relative brevity, though nearly all the renderings are extracts rather than complete works. The texts of interest to Anglo-Saxonists are a selection of riddles, *The Whale*, *The Panther*, *The Phoenix*, the voyages of Ohthere from the Old English Orosius, the Old English gloss on Ælfric's *Colloquy*, and *Lazamon's Brut*. All translations are in prose, and each is prefaced by a brief introduction and a briefer bibliography. To the volume as a whole there is a longer introductory set of comments (pp. 11–36) ranging over Old and Middle English literature. It covers four topics: the diversity of animals encountered in medieval texts; the nature of descriptions of animals, which are often detailed and anthropomorphic; the practice of lending speech and other human characteristics to animals (no Old English examples); and the use of animals for didactic moral purposes, primarily in *exempla* and allegories.

Mittelalter und Renaissance in England: Von den altenglischen Elegien bis Shakespeares Tragödien (Freiburg im Breisgau: Rombach, 1997) collects articles by Willi Erzgräber from 1955 to the present, two of them previously unpublished. The two articles it contains on Old English matters appeared previously: "The Beginnings of a Written Literature in Old English Times" (1989) and "Der Wanderer: Eine Interpretation von Aufbau und Gehalt" (1961). The introduction to the volume touches only briefly on some Old English poems.

Bibliographies

A most welcome addition to the excellent set of bibliographical tools already available to Anglo-Saxonists is Russell Poole's *Old English Wisdom Poetry*, the fifth volume in the series *Annotated Bibliographies of Old and Middle English Literature* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer, 1998). The works covered are the metrical charms, *The Fortunes of Men*, *The Gifts of Men*, *Homiletic Fragment I and II*, *Maxims I and II*, *The Order of the World*, *Precepts*, the diglossic proverbs in *ASPR* 6.109, the proverb found in the correspondence of Boniface's circle, called *A Proverb from Winfrid's Time* in *ASPR*, the riddles of the Exeter Book, *The Rune Poem*, the *Solomon and Saturn* poems, and *Vainglory*. The bibliography for each of these is headed by a substantial "Orientation to Research," a bibliographic synopsis of major issues in the study of the work. The annotations themselves

vary considerably in length, according to the complexity of the issues and the importance of the ideas presented. A particularly useful feature of the book is that it covers not simply books and articles devoted mainly to the works under consideration, but also those studies in which the works are given less prominent attention, often those in which the works are mentioned only in passing. Future studies of these poems will thus no doubt take into account a wider store of ideas, and particularly the ideas of nineteenth-century scholars, which are so often ignored in current scholarship, but which are given excellent coverage in Poole's book. The bibliography is prefaced by a wide-ranging introductory essay (pp. 7–35) that begins with a characterization of wisdom literature as both taxonomic and celebratory, dealing most characteristically with the transience of all things. Wisdom is thus at base an awareness of mutability. One error that pervades scholarship on wisdom literature is the assumption that its prescriptions constituted a monolithic "wisdom of the people" that was universally espoused within the culture. The assumption of conflicting attitudes better explains, for example, the contradictory meanings of *wlanc*, which has positive connotations in an "ambitious young person's" view and negative in a "wise old person's." Such conflicting attitudes are characteristic of the way sententious utterances have been treated throughout English literary history, since wisdom literature has been alternately (or even at once) appreciated and scorned. This is nowhere clearer than in the history of critical attitudes toward Old English wisdom literature, which is both nostalgic and patronizing, as Poole illustrates with examples from both textual and interpretive criticism. A particularly salient variety of the controversy is evident in the opposing critical practices of those who see this literature as entirely traditional, stemming from a collectivity of "the folk" within an oral culture, and of those who see it as literate, the product of individual authors under the influence of Latin learning. And despite all the discouragement that has been aimed at those who insist on finding heathen mythology in the corpus, the impulse is a persistent one. This is one variety of a pervasive debunking mode in current scholarship, and other examples vary in their plausibility—for example, Poole, though appreciating Allen Frantzen's efforts to uncover the ideologies underlying current critical practices in Old English, finds that his claim about the dominance of philology in critical methods is excessive, since it is clear that scholars freely disregard philological considerations when such concerns stand in the way of a desired interpretation. The debunking function can in fact never be entirely successful, since it is in the nature of critical practices to contain repressed ideas. It is more fruitful to recognize the nature of literary scholarship as dialectical, but without final synthesis, representing "a long-term oscillation between compelling but mutually contradictory hypotheses."

Language and Poetic Form

Stephen N. Tranter's argument in "Significant Choices: The Interplay of Rhyme and Alliteration in Medieval English Poetry," *Literaturwissenschaftliches Jahrbuch* n.s. 39 (1998), 75–94, is that alliterative and syllabotonic verse forms are not "hermetically distinguishable" in English verse from Aldhelm to Chaucer, but the two interpenetrate. The clearest example in Chaucer is the alliterative passage describing Palamon and Arcite's tournament in *The Knight's Tale*, where evocation of the alliterative tradition emphasizes "the bass-note of brutal instinct" and prepares us to see one of the men meet his doom. Anglo-Saxon works play a relatively minor role in the argument, but most of those that show extended rhyme along with alliteration are cited: Æthilwold's *Carmen rhythmicum*, *Elene* 1236–42, and *The Death of Alfred* 1–14, with brief mention of *the Riming Poem*. The poem on Alfred, however, shows a change in progress, as here the rhyme is no longer subordinated to the alliterative form, but fully competes with alliteration, a tendency pursued further in Lazamon's *Brut*. In Cynewulf, on the other hand, rhyme is used as a semiotic index, its association with Latin poetry signaling a moment of solemn religious introspection before Cynewulf begins his runic signature. In the conclusion, Tranter indicates his belief that the metrical studies of Tomas Riad and Chris Golston hold out promise for identifying "a common metrical denominator . . . linking Classical Old English and Middle English alliterative verse."

Donka Minkova's purpose in "Velars and Palatals in Old English Alliteration," in *Historical Linguistics 1997*, ed. Monika Schmid, Jennifer R. Austin, and Dieter Stein (Amsterdam: J. Benjamins, 1997), pp. 269–89, is to explain why the stop and the affricate represented by <c> continued to alliterate with each other even though the stop and the glide represented by <g> in initial position ceased to do so in the second half of the tenth century. Taking issue with the classic argument of Herbert Penzl ("The Phonemic Split of Germanic *k* in Old English," 1947), she argues that nonaffricate [k] is preserved before unlauded vowels not because of phonemicization of the velar and palatal allophones of /k/ but because of analogical replacement of the palatal variety in those environments at a relatively early date. Thus phonemicization of the alternants need not be assumed to have taken place before the end of the tenth century—a revision of the standard chronology. (I should note, though, that the assumption that allophones, as opposed to phonemes, may be subject to analogical replacement seems to contradict a fundamental assumption of phonemic theory, that allophony is invisible to native speakers, and thus not subject to analogical processes.) As for /g/, it may be assumed that the palatal fricative allophone of this in initial position was near enough in phonetic value to the palatal approximant /j/ inherited from Germanic that /g/ and /j/ could alliterate—that is, until the second half of the tenth century, when /g/ in initial position changed

from a fricative to a stop. Minkova develops a rationale for the alliteration of /g/ and inherited /j/ within the framework of Optimality Theory, hypothesizing that place of articulation was a less salient feature than manner or voicing. The assumption that it had less salience is justified by its relative unmarkedness, vis-à-vis the other features, in acoustic phonetics; and we should expect its markedness value in speech perception to be more significant than in speech production, given the oral nature of Old English verse. The low salience of place of articulation did not result in the alliteration of, say, *f* with *þ* because “within the OE consonantal system it is only the velars that could be affected by vocalic palatal assimilation without becoming members of a different PLACE series.” This observation can also be translated into a series of ranked constraints under OT, of the order [labial] > [coronal] > [dorsal]—that is, [dorsal], subsuming palatal and velar articulations, is the least salient. In conclusion Minkova observes that in the light of this analysis, “alliteration” is a misleading descriptor for what might better be termed “left edge isophony” or “acro-isophony,” terms that do not assume identity of the sounds involved.

The sequence *belle grund* is treated inconsistently in *The Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records*, sometimes as a compound and sometimes as a genitive modifier plus noun. In “The *belle* Sequence in Old English Poetry,” in *English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Akio Oizumi (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 387–99, Jun Terasawa argues that it should always be treated as a phrase. In one instance (*Christ III* 1269) the sequence bears no alliteration, and this would be unusual for a compound. Moreover, the sequence occurs most commonly in verses of type B, rarely D, while in the analogous instance of *bildedeor*, which is unambiguously a compound, the verse types involved are about equally B and D. The proportion of B to D in the case of *wuldres god*, however, is like that for *belle grund*, corroborating the phrasal interpretation. When other ambiguous sequences with *belle* are considered (*belle hæftas*, *belle hinca*, etc.), the high incidence of double alliteration speaks for the phrasal analysis, since double alliteration in compounds is not common in Old English. It is safest to assume that *belle* in prose is also a separate word, though it is often treated by editors as part of a compound, as with *belle-broga*, *belle-bryne*, and so forth.

O. D. Macrae-Gibson and J. R. Lishman’s “Variety of Old English Metrical Usage,” *NM* 99 (1998), 139–71, is a fuller report on the project they described preliminarily in a 1995 article (see *YWOES* 1995, p. 19). They have developed a computer program capable of metrically scanning the entire poetic corpus (with minor errors), with the dual aim of identifying what the metrical entities of Old English are and to what extent patterns in the use of such entities are particular to individual poets. They do not claim success in the former aim, but they explain that despite appearances, this does not actually preclude success in the latter.

What they are testing for is the distribution of verse types in three positional categories, the on-verse with double alliteration, the on-verse with single alliteration, and the off-verse. As a preliminary test they divided longer poems in half and compared the halves, finding no statistically significant differences in most poems. *Beowulf*, however, shows a higher incidence of double alliteration in the first half than in the second in verses like *laðan liges* and *wuldres wealdend*. They do not claim that *Beowulf* combines two discrete compositions, yet “it does seem to be the case that it has a slightly changing metrical technique” not paralleled in other poems. They also find differences between the narrative and exegetical portions of *The Phoenix* (though the poem is too short to afford statistical certainty), and between *Guthlac A* and *B*, the latter of which, however, shows no significant differences from *Elene*, thus supporting claims for Cynewulf’s authorship. The three parts of *Christ* are not significantly different from one another in this regard, nor the two parts of *Christ and Satan*, suggesting unity of authorship. *Judith* is more similar to *Elene* than *Andreas* is, though its brevity prevents any firm conclusions. The authors’ findings suggest a grouping of *Genesis A*, *Exodus*, and *Christ and Satan* that excludes *Daniel*, and another of *Andreas*, *The Phoenix*, and *Guthlac A*; but they concede that their statistics are better at indicating differences of metrical usage than unity of authorship. *Beowulf*, it turns out, shows the most consistent wide contrast with other poems, and thus they find it regrettable that so much metrical scholarship has focused exclusively on this idiosyncratic composition. The second half of the article is primarily a critique of the findings of B. R. Hutcheson’s *Old English Poetic Metre* (see *YWOES* 1995, pp. 20–21), a work that shares some of their assumptions about the metrical significance of syntactic discriminations. Hutcheson’s figures in the determination that resolution is metrically significant in terms of the distribution of resolved types are flawed because of inadequate differentiation of syntactic types and his practice of combining figures for his corpus as a whole rather than examining individual poems. The authors also criticize Hutcheson’s statistical evidence against Bliss’s concept of the caesura, though they arrive at a similar conclusion on the basis of their own data. Again because of their different syntactic coding they reject Hutcheson’s conclusion that three-stress verses form a high-level taxonomic group separate from Sievers’ types. They counter his evidence that lexis affects distribution and then proceed under the assumption that it does not. They describe their attempts to determine on a purely mechanical basis how syntactically discrete types might be combined into larger metrical categories, and how they found no robust groupings by this method. They turned instead to “discriminators which have been held important, and unimportant, to useful grouping of types,” hoping to eliminate some and thus create larger groupings, and they found two rhythmic ones that they consider unimportant, but which they continue to mark in their database, mainly in order not to depreciate its

usefulness to other metrists: the distinction between light and heavy monosyllables (which is significant in *Gutblac B*, though for an apparently formulaic reason, and less explicably in *Beowulf*) and Bliss's caesura. Anacrusis, surprisingly, also might be placed in this category, on the basis of arguments too detailed to recount here. In terms of syntactic discriminators, the distinction between adjectives and past/passive participles and that between linking by copula and by conjunction might also have been eliminated. All other criteria applied in the database do seem to affect distribution significantly. Two appendices explain some of the fundamental assumptions in their scansion and the structure of the database.

Textual Criticism and Authorship

In "Cynewulf as Author: Medieval Reality or Modern Myth?" *Bull. Of the John Rylands Univ. Library of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 25–39, Jacqueline A. Stodnick has some thought-provoking things to say about the function of authorship in Old English literary studies. The fantasies spun in earlier criticism about the identity and character of Cynewulf illustrate well enough the warping influence that the concept of authorship has had on literary scholarship. Yet even contemporary scholars, who may believe themselves free of that kind of error, continue to be guided in counterproductive ways by the concept, she believes. But Stodnick's harshest words are reserved for linguists and philologists who study Cynewulf's meter, vocabulary, and style for signs of recognizable patterns: these slippery types, with their pseudo-science and their "tests" (her quotation marks) are enablers—are indeed indispensable to author-function as a critical enterprise, since they display (in the words of Allen Frantzen, whom Stodnick quotes with approval) "the dismaying and even self-congratulatory sureness with which some scholars seek to establish 'the linguistic facts about poetic style' upon which mere critics may be permitted to construct interpretations." The argument at length evolves into one about textual criticism, since Stodnick observes that anonymity is part and parcel of the unstable nature of early medieval textuality, a view that proceeds "in harmony with the flow of linguistic possibility without the burdensome modern desire for literary originality." By the end of the article, then, Stodnick's point is no longer one about investing authors with preconceived characteristics but a more familiar one about "the myth of the single author," an argument to which we have been treated repeatedly in recent debate about editing. Stodnick's position thus subtly shifts, from stigmatizing a property that probably all will agree is regrettable in earlier Cynewulf scholarship to a view of Old English textuality that is heavily contested and intensely ideological. Because I am a multiple offender in respect to the philology of authorship, perhaps I may interject a few words of caution about this turn in the argument. It is odd that she (and Frantzen) imagine philologists assuming a position of smug superiority—odd, because her

argument seems to demand the contrary assumption, with literary scholars assuming for themselves the true work of scholarship and making of philologists mere acolytes in the textual enterprise. This is in fact the way Stephen N. Tranter characterizes medievalists' view of the role of the metrist at the start of his article summarized above; and in Tolkien's famous lecture on the monsters in *Beowulf* (to cite one of many familiar examples) he refers to philological and historical research on the date of *Beowulf* as "a department of research most clearly serviceable to criticism." This is not just a tit-for-tat countercharge but an indicator pointing to the central illogic of her argument: philologists do not do what they do merely to serve the purposes of literary scholars. (At least, good ones do not proceed on that basis, and if some are not good in that respect, surely that is not justification for vilifying the entire discipline.) They have their own scholarly interests and reasons for what they do, which more often than not have nothing to do with literary analysis. Thus unless one presumes to claim that literary studies are intrinsically worth pursuing and philological ones are not, to abuse philologists for the fallacies that some literary scholars engage in does not make unimpeachable sense. But a more concrete objection is to a certain vagueness about what precisely the current problem is. When examples of scholarly misconceptions based on author-function are offered, they are almost invariably from times long past, and the few exceptional examples of very recent offenses strike me as demonstrating not a pervasive problem in Old English literary analysis but odd and sparse anomalies on the fringes of the discipline. The claim that as a result of author-function there is a "concentration of interest in the works of Cynewulf while other Old English poems pass largely unregarded—poems which some would judge more worthy of attention" is simply untrue of the contemporary scene, to judge by Carl Berkhout's annual *OEN* bibliography, in which poems like *Andreas* and *Gutblac A* and *B* (the texts that seem to me most nearly comparable to Cynewulf's) appear in recent years to have inspired about the same number of studies as any of Cynewulf's poems. As for the importance accorded scribes and compilers at the expense of authors, this is quite a different matter from making a wandering minstrel of Cynewulf, and it is best treated in its usual context, nestled among the particularities of textual editing, where it can be afforded the more detailed consideration that the proposition deserves. I have expressed some of my views on this question in a couple of other places, and so I'll say only that the objection of Sievers and many subsequent scholars to the meter of *Christ II* 556b, prompting emendation, does not seem to me to illustrate correction on the basis of preconceptions about the nature of a particular author's characteristics, as Stodnick believes it does. Sievers corrected the meter of many anonymous works, too, and in any case his notions about what is and is not metrical were based on a much larger body of verse than the Cynewulf canon. Stodnick's apparent position that all such emendation is unwarranted, at all events, is not an

argument derived from the facts presented but a presupposition, and thus it lends no support to her efforts to convince us that author-function is still gumming up the machinery of Old English studies. If my response to these points is unusually full for the pages of *YWOES* (though not as full as the argument deserves), it is because the issues that Stodnick raises are important and her treatment of them intelligent, even if, as I believe, her conclusions are mistaken.

Several of the essays in *New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1998) deal with larger principles of editing rather than with particular texts. In her "Introduction" (pp. 1–9), O'Brien O'Keeffe chiefly and conveniently summarizes the arguments of the essays one by one, though she also identifies some of the battle lines in Old English textual editing. Her own chief concern is with "the cultural significance of the invention of space in writings in Old English," to which she finds that editors are indifferent (as she has argued elsewhere). The first essay in the volume is by the late Edward B. Irving, Jr., titled "Editing Old English Verse: The Ideal" (pp. 11–20). He desires greater attention to the aesthetic qualities of texts in the process of editing, and he identifies exegetical critics of past years as one group that tended to overlook the poetic qualities of the texts they studied. As a more concrete example of his concerns he offers an alternative layout of *Beowulf* 2444–49, manipulating space to make rhetorical groupings of verses, largely ignoring the convention of pairing verses to form long lines. The greater part of the essay, though, is devoted to an exposition of four "levels" of exigency in emendation: (1) errors equivalent to misprints, which should always be emended (e.g. *almibne* > *almibtigne*); (2) metrical and alliterative deficiencies, which should usually be emended (e.g. *ealdwerige* > *ealdorwerige* at *Exodus* 50a); (3) deficiencies in sense to which there are easy and obvious solutions (e.g. *deor dædscua* > *deorc deaðscua* at *Christ I* 257a), which should sometimes be emended; and (4) sensible readings to which doctrinal or theoretical reasoning produces objections, which should never be emended (e.g., *freond*, in reference to an Egyptian bereaved by the final plague, should not be emended to *feond* at *Exodus* 45b).

In "Towards a New Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records" in the same volume (pp. 67–77), D. G. Scragg lays out the chief desiderata for a new collective edition of Old English verse, should anyone care to produce such a thing. In addition to presenting edited texts it should reproduce manuscript pages, constantly to remind readers of the contexts in which verse is found. The material requires more principled organization, both in the order of volumes and in the method of presenting poems like those on the soul's address to the body, and *Daniel* and *Azarias*, since the parallel passages call for synoptic layout. The divorce of certain poems from their prose context, the revision of poem boundaries (entailing undesirable renumbering of lines), and the renaming of works like *Christ* and *Soul and Body*, which currently involve the addition of

numerals with inconsistent significance, will also require careful consideration. Replacements for titles like *The Dream of the Rood* (which is inaccurate and archaic) and *Homiletic Fragment I* (which is simply uninformative) is an urgent need, and even titles like *Elene* and *Beowulf* might be improved upon. Verse paragraphing, if retained at all, requires more reasoned application, particularly in regard to a poem like *Beowulf*, in which the matter is complicated by the fitt numbers. Scragg favors elimination of the space at the mid-line caesura, which he sees as serving only "the reader who is so incompetent as to be incapable of understanding the metre without such an elementary clue." (I should remark, though, that even Krapp and Dobbie could not claim full metrical competence in this respect, since the division of manuscript texts into verses in ASPR is more than a few times wrong. Daniel Donoghue points out a good number of instances in his *Style in Old English Poetry* [New Haven, 1987], pp. 178–99.) Unlike Krapp and Dobbie's text, a revised ASPR should clearly indicate editorial intervention by the usual means (italics, brackets), and emendation should be justified by reference to a scribe's practices in prose as well as other poems he copied. Finally, the usefulness of Klaeber's textual apparatus suggests that a new ASPR could profitably be made into a variorum edition of this sort.

Also in this volume, Patrick W. Conner begins his contribution, "Beyond the ASPR: Electronic Editions of Old English Poetry" (pp. 109–26) with a sweeping history of the technology of poetic texts, from the beginning, which he dates to the rise of poetic formulism, to the electronic edition, which he identifies not as a file to be displayed but an application, like a word processor, for the manipulation of files. Print editions, Conner believes, bring with them certain naive expectations, as they assume "'originary' status, hard boundaries, and cultural associations imposed by solitary, independent editors." Electronic editions, he says, will change readers' expectations about what an edition represents, since they will "not deny any text what we might call the full extent of its textuality." The editor is demoted from textual authority to electronic technician, since hypertext applications will enable readers to construct their own editions from a mass of interlinked information about the text. Such an arrangement, he believes, is "anathema to those who fear that the text is a delicate flower, easily plucked and tossed away by careless users if stalwart editors, pure in their motives, are not there to protect it." Electronic texts, however, will be disregarded unless they exploit the full potential of the medium, and this means that they must be interactive, available everywhere, and "distributed," i.e. having their components located on various servers. The verbs in this synopsis are all in the future tense because the technology is not yet in place to accomplish the sort of edition Conner describes. Yet the technology of imaging should ultimately produce the ability to view manuscripts in three dimensions, bound and unbound, even stripped of writing, which could be resupplied in new config-

urations. Conner's apparent need to ridicule print editors, as in the quotations above, may not be unrelated to current deficiencies in hypertext applications, and his vision of students constructing their own text may seem excessively sunny when even Krapp and Dobbie could not divide the verses plausibly, not to speak of other kinds of basic editorial decisions. But it would be foolish to ignore Conner's arguments simply because they promote a particular view of editing that many will find unproductive. Electronic resources are already indispensable to the professional study of Old English poetry, and so developments in electronic editing demand close attention, if for no better reason than to insure that the technology serves scholars' needs effectively rather than dictates the principles on which editions are constructed, as Conner believes is the case with print editions, and as many may believe the case to be in Conner's vision of the future. This is for that reason an important contribution to Old English textual theory.

Orality, Literacy, and Formulaic Theory

After a long delay, Paul Acker's 1983 Brown University doctoral dissertation has been published as *Revising Oral Theory: Formulaic Composition in Old English and Old Icelandic Verse*, Garland Studies in Medieval Literature 16, Garland Reference Library of the Humanities 2104 (New York: Garland, 1998). The introduction offers a useful, concise account of the major developments in oral-formulaic theory in Old English, suggesting that current approaches have entered a post-structuralist phase. In chapter 1, Acker studies all the repeating verses of the type *babban and healdan* ("syndetic" phrases) in *Beowulf* to determine whether any are "bound expressions"—phrases identified by Paul Kiparsky as having limited distribution, frozen syntax, and non-compositional semantics, like *high jinks*. He finds that their syntax is not entirely fixed, and that most do not involve paired terms that can be collocated across a verse pair rather than contained in a single verse; yet he still concludes that some syndetic formulas may be regarded as bound expressions. Chapter 2, concerning *The Rune Poem*, appeared in an earlier form in 1989 in the journal *Language and Style*, an article that was summarized ably by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe in *YWOES* 1992, pp. 40–41. It need not be summarized again here, except in general outline as a comparative study of approaches to the formula, proposing a way to account for formulaic strategies that trouble more conventional definitions of the formula and of formulaic systems. Chapter 3 applies the same analytic tools to the eddic *Alvismál*, and chapter 4 very handily surveys oral-formulaic approaches to eddic verse, in the form of a chronology. The bibliographical coverage in the book is admirable.

Ursula Schaefer also studies syndetic phrases (or *Zwillingsformeln*) in "Twin Collocations in the Early Middle English Lives of the *Katherine Group*," in *Orality and Liter-*

acy in Early Middle English, ed. Herbert Pilch, *ScriptOralia* 83 (Tübingen: G. Narr, 1996), pp. 179–98. By referring to them as collocations rather than formulas she obviates questions about how to define "formula" and how much variability should be allowed the category. Like Acker, she believes that some such expressions were already idiomatic (i.e. bound) in Old English. They are common in the works of the Katherine Group, and in *Iuliene*, where they have a tendency to be iterated in a small space, they serve a particular rhetorical function, introducing or concluding various prayers. For this reason Schaefer believes that the author's model is Wulfstan's alliterative technique rather than Ælfric's, contrary to Dorothy Bethurum's view, since such "cascading" of binomials is a characteristic of his style. The use of *Zwillingsformeln* in the Katherine Group differs from that in Old English: in the latter the collocations are traditionally poetic, while in the former they are structurally poetic, in the Jakobsonian sense that their very structure rather than their status as part of traditional poetic diction is what renders them effective. Because of their different status in Old and Early Middle English, such collocations may be regarded as an interface between orality and literacy, connecting the two realms across time. An appendix lists instances of three collocations in the Katherine Group: *beien and berien*, *wewole and wunne*, and *wa and wunne*. In the same volume, Eric Gerald Stanley anatomizes "Personification without the Distinction of Capitalization, Mainly in Early Middle English," pp. 199–226. He distinguishes four methods of personification: (1) dialogue (having nonhumans speak), (2) apostrophe, (3) personifying action (having nonhumans perform human actions), and (4) personifying association (giving nonhumans other human qualities). He later adds (5) gender (other than grammatical gender); his judgment, however, that "If Death and Sleep were not both masculine in Greek θάνατος and ύπνος, Latin (*mors* and *somnus*), Old English (*deap* and *slæp*), and German (*Tod* and *Schlaf*), it is not easy to see that they could ever have been regarded as brothers, as they were from Homer onwards" is self-disproving, as Latin *mors* is feminine. Examples of the five types are adduced from Stanley's wide reading, including authors as late as Schiller and Shelley. The Old English and transitional texts cited, mostly in passing, are *Genesis B*, Vercelli Homily xxii, *Gutblac A* and *B*, *Beowulf*, *The Grave*, *Solomon and Saturn II*, *The Wanderer*, *Judgment Day II*, *Andreas*, *Christ III*, and *Maxims II*.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe's "The Performing Body on the Oral-Literate Continuum: Old English Poetry" appears in a volume designed to acquaint teachers and students with a range of pedagogical approaches to oral traditions, juxtaposing discussion of theoretical issues with practical applications. The book is *Teaching Oral Traditions*, ed. John Miles Foley (New York: Modern Language Assn., 1998), pp. 46–58. Given these practical aims, the documentation is designedly sparse. After noting the shift in Old English orality studies from Magouian absolutism to assumption of an oral-literate

continuum, O'Brien O'Keeffe discusses the obstacles to reconstructing a performance context for Old English verse, illustrating by way of the ambiguities in the references to performative situations in *Widsith* and *Beowulf*. Current approaches she derives from the trend set by Paul Zumthor in making the performing body (i.e. the irrecoverable details of performance) the focus of interest in regard to oral texts. For Zumthor the mouth is the true site of orality; hence his insistence on the *vocalité* of early medieval texts. John Miles Foley modifies this position by situating oral-derived texts within a traditional system of signification, so that oral texts are in a constant dialogue with that tradition, and performance must likewise be seen as relating to a *tradition* of performance. O'Brien O'Keeffe would further modify this position to take into account scribal performance, in that each manuscript instantiation is also a performance in dialogue with a tradition. The performative nature of scribal activity is demonstrated by colophons complaining about the difficulty of writing and by manuscript facsimiles illustrating strategies for dealing with holes in the parchment, spacing, and corrections. The charms and the riddles in particular preserve performative textual features in their insistence on ceremony and first-person address, respectively. "Broadening the scope of performance to include hands and texts as well as mouths," she concludes, "helps us to see that traditional works are not imprisoned in their manuscripts; they are embodied in them."

Rosemary Huisman's concern in *The Written Poem: Semiotic Conventions from Old to Modern English* (London: Cassell, 1998) is with the history of the line as a visible spatial unit of English verse, and with the semiosis of the arrangement of verse on the page. What she finds is that the poem developed in the twelfth century as a visual object, and the highly literate subjectivity necessary for interpreting that visible object developed in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Aside from a few scattered references, Old English poetry is discussed only on pp. 99–101, where the poetic remains are described and it is reiterated that visual display in Old English manuscripts is not guided by considerations of the value of the text as poetic discourse. In addition, in chapter 1 Huisman makes the more interesting assertion that the orality of Old English verse has been overstressed in scholarship: though the culture was an oral one, the scriptorium was a literate environment, one characterized by "a transferred, rather than a transitional, literacy from (primarily religious) Latin to Old English texts, and then from Latin to Anglo-Norman to early Middle English texts, and at the same time a parallel development of non-classical Latin poetic texts."

Catherine Brown Tkacz's "Heaven and Fallen Angels in Old English," in *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, ed. Alberto Ferreiro (Leiden: Brill, 1998), pp. 327–44, builds upon the findings of an earlier article of hers (see *YWOES* 1993, p. 24) detailing the elements of a poetic formula derived from the biblical account of the three young men in the fiery furnace.

In the first part of the present article she returns to one element of that formula, the use of the verb *scufan*, to examine its use in connection with descriptions of the fall of the rebellious angels. In verse, she finds, God is described as actively shoving the angels out of heaven—an ironic reversal of the Daniel material studied earlier—while in prose, with few exceptions, the action is agentless, perhaps to remind the sinner of his own role in his end. The second part of the article reports the results of the author's study of the words *wlite*, *wuldor*, and *wynn* (along with related forms) and their collocations in verse. Tkacz finds five full-line patterns that she identifies as further examples of formulas not derived from native sources, but from renderings of the Bible and liturgy. By "full-line" she means an instance in which a formula in the on-verse (e.g. *wuldres wynn*) is accompanied by a variety of a particular formulaic off-verse (e.g. *wigena þrym*).

Intertextuality and Culture Studies

In "Cloth-Making and the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives: A Memorial Tribute to C. R. Dodwell*, ed. Gale R. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester: Manchester Univ. Press, 1998), pp. 8–25, Elizabeth Coatsworth, in reliance on Mary Clayton's *Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (1990), first surveys the literary evidence for Anglo-Saxon awareness of the Marian apocrypha subsumed in the Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew, even though the (probably) sixth-century Gelasian decree prohibited its use. The salient feature of the apocryphal accounts is the representation of Mary as spinning purple thread for a new curtain for the Temple at the time of the Annunciation, and to this there are clear allusions in the *Old English Martyrology*, in Alcuin, and in an eleventh-century homily. These works evince "a subtle understanding of dyeing, spinning and weaving as metaphors of the Incarnation." Aldhelm, on the other hand, in his prose *De virginitate*, makes no direct association of Mary with spinning, though there are hints of his familiarity with the Marian apocrypha in his references to purple thread and the Temple curtain; and his refusal to associate Mary with the spinning of purple thread may be due both to his orthodoxy and to the problem that purple thread and fine dress are condemned as sinful extravagances by Bede and associated with the Whore of Babylon by Aldhelm himself, making it difficult to associate Mary with spinning. Nonetheless, there are no fewer than four surviving objects from pre-Viking Northumbria (two stone carvings and two ivories, all illustrated) on which Mary is depicted with spinning implements; and Coatsworth interprets the object held by Mary in the Annunciation in the late tenth-century Benedictional of St. Æthelwold as a crossed distaff and spindle at rest in her lap. Some of these representations suggest their makers' awareness of the difficulties, mentioned above, of using the apocrypha.

Ute Schwab poses questions about the uneasy relationship between heroic verse and the ecclesiastical environment in which the surviving examples were recorded, in *Servire il Signore morto. Funzione e trasformazione di riti funebri germanici nell'epica medievale inglese e tedesca*. Università di Catania, Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia, Collana di studi di filologia moderna 5 (Soveria Manelli: Rubbettino, 1990). She views Alcuin's condemnation of the recital of heroic verse about Ingeld at the dinner table as a call for replacement of such verse by religious epic in traditional heroic style, and she raises the question how such seemingly divergent material as heroic verse and sacred narrative were to be reconciled. One area of contact between the two was their common interest in the theme of serving one's fallen lord. *The Dream of the Rood* is one product of this discovery of a common ground, and the contrast it raises between courage and humility speaks directly to the problem of reconciling oral tradition with the new faith. The *sorbleoð* sung by Christ's loyal retainers in this poem is a reflex of a feature of heroic verse, the funeral hymn, which is illustrated also in *Beowulf* 3169–82. This short monograph (78 pp.) deals primarily with works of Continental literature, but most of the second half of it is devoted to an analysis of *The Battle of Maldon*. Byrhtnoth's dying speech (173–80) is said to be intentionally reminiscent of the *commendatio animae* of the Office for the Dead in the Roman Missal (a point made earlier by James Cross), and yet it does not confer on him the kind of sainthood accorded St. Oswald, St. Edmund, and Roland, since the *eorl* prays only for himself, not for the remnant of his troops. The historical improbability of Byrhtnoth's actually having spoken such words demonstrates the importance that the poet attached to lending dignity to the hero's death—a heroic convention rather than a saintly impulse. The retainers' speeches are equally improbable, and they are incorporated into the poem because they serve the important function of recouping for the English their own honor and the honor of their fallen commander by recasting the events of the battle in the terms of traditional panegyric, forming a "necrologio eroico" designed to elevate the actual events to the status of legendary material. Thus Thomas D. Hill's critique of Byrhtnoth as a heroic figure, and Michael Swanton's of the rhetoric of the retainers' speeches, suffer equally from insufficient regard for the exigencies of heroic style. Ælfwine says, "ic wæs on Myrcon miccles cynnes," and his use of the past tense expresses the inevitability of his death, as if his duty were already performed. Thus his and the other retainers' speeches are to be regarded as their own eulogies. The traditional nature of Ælfwine's speech is reflected in its tripartite structure, presenting his name, his background, and the circumstances of his (approaching) death; and this structure is reflected also in some later medieval funerary compositions, exemplified by a commemorative poem on Přemysl Ottokar II of Bohemia (d. 1278). In regard to the treatment of Byrhtnoth and his retainers, comparison is also drawn to the *Chanson de Roland* (al-

though it is the twelfth-century *Rolandslied des Pfaffen Konrad* that is actually cited), to demonstrate that the heroes of Maldon are not sanctified or made martyrs: the poet's aim is to memorialize them as heroes of a traditional sort. The poem is also compared with the accounts in the *Liber Eliensis* and the *Vita Oswaldi*, leading to the conclusions that one should not expect the decapitation of Byrhtferth's corpse to have been mentioned by the poet, as it accords ill with heroic tradition, and that the *Vita Oswaldi*, as an ecclesiastical document, substitutes *planctus* for the heroic encomium encountered in the poem.

In "Godes þeow and Related Expressions in Old English: Contexts and Uses of a Traditional Figure," *Anglia* 116 (1998), 139–70, Hugh Magennis first traces the literary background of the image from the Old and New Testaments to the works of Bede. He insists on the meaning 'slave' rather than the milder 'servant' for *þeow* and he sketches briefly the nature of slavery in Anglo-Saxon England and surveys the uses of the word in verse, which are quite few, since in poetry the expression tends rather to be *Godes þegn*. Ælfric also frequently substitutes *þegn*, though he is not averse to using *þeow*; he does, however, strictly avoid referring to women as slaves, perhaps because of possible sexual connotations, as suggested by Elizabeth Girsch, though more likely, Magennis concludes, because the connotations of *þinen*, the female equivalent of *þegn*, were more dignified. In these respects Ælfric's practices differ from those of other writers of prose.

Fia-eth is the name of a formulaic text in Old Frisian to be spoken by a widow in the process of dividing her movable property with her children. It is designed to ensure her truthfulness by reinforcing her awareness of the gravity of her oath. The ninth paragraph is something of a legal blazon, admonishing her on each separately listed part of her body that she will be cursed if she is untruthful. In the first of his "Two Notes on the Old Frisian *Fia-eth*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 49 (1998), 169–78, Thomas D. Hill cites parallels in Latin *lorica* prayers that itemize parts of the body in an attempt to compel a woman's love or to draw down a malediction on an unnamed person. In his second note, Hill draws a more tentative parallel between the fourth paragraph of *Fia-eth*, in which the individual is said to have nothing to offer God on doomsday but her soul, and the "pledge of the soul" motif identified in Old English homiletic literature by Charles Wright. In this fourth paragraph there is reference to the *wēd* 'garment' in which the oath-taker was clothed when she first came into the world. Hill speculates that even though the text is explicit and detailed about the significance of this garment, at some point in the history of the text, *wēd* was substituted for *wedd* 'pledge', parallel to the *wedd* of the soul in the posited Old English parallels. This, he believes, makes better sense because the pledge, which is rendered with an expectation of return, may be taken as an analogy designed to point the way out of the conundrum of where new souls come from when humans are born, a problem that the Church Fa-

thers struggled with.

John Highfield states his aim succinctly in the first two sentences of "Mod in the Old English 'Secular' Poetry: An Indicator of Aristocratic Class," *Bull. Of the John Rylands Univ. Library of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 79–92: "When it is used in the works of Alfred and in Old English prose in general, the word *mod* is often translated aptly enough as 'mind'. In some Old English poetry, however, the *mod* does not seem to be primarily an intellectual faculty—nor indeed an emotional or moral one: I wish to suggest that it seems rather to refer in some way to the attitudes and presuppositions of the aristocratic class." By "secular" he means poems that are not closely related to Latin texts, a group comprising *Beowulf*, *Finnsburh*, *Widsith*, *Maldon*, and several of the so-called elegies. He demonstrates why the word cannot be assumed to refer to the intellect in these poems, and why it only sometimes is to be associated with the emotions. Rather, the meaning that makes the best consistent sense of its uses in this body of poetry is "the mind-set of a person of the noble class."

In "Form and Function: The Beasts of Battle Revisited," *ES* 79 (1998), 289–98, Thomas Honegger surveys examples of this topos in Old English to distinguish degrees of skill in its deployment. In *Brunanburh* 60–65, *Judith* 292–96, and *Finnsburh* 34–35 it is "naturalistic," in the sense that the beasts literally frequent the scene after a battle, in search of their fill. It is "mechanistic" in *Genesis A* 1983–85, *Exodus* 162–67, *Judith* 204–12, *Elene* 27–30, 52–53, and 110–13, and *Finnsburh* 5–7, where the device seems merely ornamental and conventional. It is "creative" in *the Wanderer* 80–83, *Beowulf* 3024–27, and *Maldon* 96–97 and 106–7, where the beasts take on heightened symbolic or structural value. Despite the predominance of conventional usage, some poets were able to apply the theme imaginatively.

It is Ralph W. V. Elliott's belief that the currently prevailing skepticism about the intimate association of runes with magical practices in early Germanic culture is misguided. In "Runes in English Literature: From Cynewulf to Tolkien," in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung: Abhandlungen des Vierten Internationalen Symposiums über Runen und Runeninschriften in Göttingen vom 4.–9. August 1995*, ed. Klaus Düwel in collaboration with Sean Nowak (Berlin: W. de Gruyter, 1998), pp. 660–66, he presents some evidence. After a survey of references to runes and northern antiquities in English literature from the eighteenth century to the twentieth, with particular mention of Bishop Percy, Thomas Gray, Horace Walpole, William Wordsworth, Thomas Hardy, M. R. James, T. S. Eliot, William Morris, and J. R. R. Tolkien, Elliott turns briefly to the use of the word *rūn* and its compounds in Old English texts to demonstrate the way these words are tied to ancient heathen beliefs. The evidence is small, but on its basis he speculates whether Cynewulf might not have been aware of the supernatural practices associated with runes.

Marjorie A. Brown's chief aim is to illustrate the importance of feasts and halls in Anglo-Saxon England, though she also offers an argument about the nature of feasting in Old English literature, in "The Feast Hall in Anglo-Saxon Society," in *Food and Eating in Medieval Europe*, ed. Martha Carlin and Joel T. Rosenthal (London: Hambledon, 1998), pp. 1–13. She surveys, briefly, the archaeological evidence for Anglo-Saxon royal halls and the vocabulary of halls and feasting, and then she mines the literature (mainly verse) for examples of eating in halls, drinking, being entertained, sealing bonds of loyalty, dispensing and receiving gifts, and fighting. Positive images of activities in the hall, however, are chiefly restricted to heroic literature; works "adapted from Christian rather than Germanic legendary sources" tend to portray the inhabitants of halls as demonic, as in *Judith*, *Juliana*, and *Daniel*—though heavenly feasts or halls are also encountered, as in *Christ I* and *The Dream of the Rood*. The generally darker view of feasting in pious literature is natural, given the value placed on abstemiousness in monastic life. On the same topic, Colette Stévanovitch has practically nothing to say about what Anglo-Saxons ate at feasts in "Le menu des banquets dans la poésie vieil-anglaise," in *Banquets et manières de table au Moyen Âge*, *Senefiance* 38 (Aix-en-Provence: Centre Universitaire d'Études et de Recherches Médiévales d'Aix, 1996), 375–89, the proceedings of a 1996 conference at Aix-en-Provence. Rather, like Brown, Stévanovitch describes the activities associated with feasting; and she observes that eating is generally an activity that we see only monsters and Mermedonians partake of, since it is unheroic—except that in Andreas, a "poème chrétien" (unlike, it seems, *Beowulf*), nourishment may have positive connotations, as with Andreas's wish that God may grant his boatman host *beofonlicne blaf* (line 389), and in the Israelites' taking sustenance during their flight from Egypt at *Exodus* 129–31. *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, on the other hand, evinces Christian disdain for gourmandism. Some of the same points are made more coherently by Hugh Magennis in "Food, Drink and Feast in Old English Poetry," reviewed in *YWOES* 1997.

In "Friend or Foe? The Portrayal of Enemies in Anglo-Saxon Literature," *Medieval History* 2.1 (1992), 34–44, M. A. L. Locherbie-Cameron argues that the effective portrayal of adversaries requires not just antithetical qualities but "either a parallelism or some similar affective relationship between hero and enemy." In the Chronicle entry s.a. 755 on the dealings of Cynewulf and Cyneheard, the latter is presented as a treacherous coward, and yet both men inspire the loyalty of their men. The inferiority of *The Battle of Brunanburh* to *The Battle of Maldon* stems from the poet's failure adequately to portray the enemy, thus depriving the English of their due of heroism. Effective adversaries pose both an external and an internal threat, like the speaking cross in *The Dream of the Rood*, which is both Christ's instrument of death and a representative of the heroic impulse, a part of the hero himself. In *Genesis B*, Satan requires of his retainers the loy-

alty that he was unwilling to give to God, and a comparable failure of leadership is evident in Holofernes in *Judith*. Particular attention is lent to the monsters of *Beowulf*, which are especially evocative examples of adversaries designed to parallel the hero. Grendel deprives the Danes of all—their hall, their faith in Hrothgar, their self-respect, and their spiritual well-being—and thus he challenges everything that the hero stands for. His mother, though seemingly less threatening, poses the greater challenge because her revenge is justified. In thus lending complexity to the moral polarities of the situation, instead of raw courage “she tests the proper balance between courage, confidence and understanding.” The dragon highlights the hero’s conflicting responsibilities and demonstrates that in the moral economy of the poem, disaster is inevitable. Citation of critical discussions of these issues is sparse, and one has the impression that the article is not written for Anglo-Saxonists.

In “Traditions of Beheading: A Comparative Study of Classical Irish and Anglo-Saxon Cultures,” in *Medieval Heritage: Essays in Honour of Tadabiro Ikegami*, ed. Masahiko Kanno et al. (Tokyo: Yushoda Press Co., 1997), pp. 315–28, Naoko Shirai cites examples of decollation in medieval Celtic literature (*Fled Bricrend*, *Scéla muicce Meic Dá Thó*, *Branwen Uerch Lŷr*, and others), Middle English (*Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*), and Old Icelandic (Mímir’s head in the poetic edda and in *Ynglinga saga*, the beheading of Reginn in *Völsunga saga*) for comparison with Old English examples: Ss. Justus, Quintinus, and John the Baptist in the *Martyrology*, the beheading of Grendel in *Beowulf*, and of Holofernes in *Judith*. Shirai believes that Beowulf’s remark to Hrothgar that he need not hide his head if Grendel kills him is a reference to the practice of taking an adversary’s head as booty; and that the clause “hie banhringas abrecaþ pohton” at *Andreas* 150 refers to the Anthropophages’ breaking their victims’ necks. The conclusion from this series of comparisons is that while most of the other examples suggest a belief in a detached head’s ability to preserve the qualities of its owner, examples in Old English heroic verse reflect a more “practical” attitude in the form of a practice of taking the head of one’s enemy as a token of victory.

La Ronde des saisons, ed. Léo Carruthers, *Cultures et Civilisations Médiévales* 16 (Paris: Presses de l’Université de Paris-Sorbonne, 1998), contains four essays that touch on Old English subjects. The greater part of “Le rondeau du coucou,” by Marguerite-Marie Dubois (pp. 15–21) is devoted to identifying the cognates and tracing the etymologies of the vocabulary of “Sumer Is Icumen In,” but Dubois also cites the references to the cuckoo in *The Seafarer* and *The Husband’s Message* and concludes that, unlike in Middle English, for the Anglo-Saxons the cuckoo was a harbinger of sorrow. (She seems to be unaware of the more lighthearted references to cuckoos at *Guthlac A* 744 and in Alcuin’s *Versus de cuculo* and *Conflictus veris et hiemis*.) She also cites evidence that summer was reckoned among the Anglo-Saxons as a ninety-day pe-

riod beginning the ninth of May; but cf. Earl R. Anderson in *ASE* 26 (1997), 231–63, who argues that a Latin calendar of four seasons coexisted with a native calendar of two. The first part of Jean-Michel Rat’s “Les activités maritimes du Haut Moyen Age en relation avec les saisons” (pp. 23–35) draws on varied sources to compile evidence for the reasons that the Anglo-Saxons took to the sea: commerce, pilgrimage, piracy (which he assumes that the Anglo-Saxons practiced, though he finds no evidence), warfare, and exile. The second part of the article is a series of fairly general reflections on the significance of the seasons for maritime activities and daily life. Rat’s chief point is that if Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward the sea are conflicted, this is because the changing of the seasons lends the sea a dual character. The sadness in the cuckoo’s call in *The Seafarer* and *The Husband’s Message* he explains by the association of fair weather with the return of the vikings and with shipwreck. Cyclicity is an unsurprising theme in works dealing with seafaring, he says, since life at sea was governed by seasonal changes and the observation of migratory routes. In “The Seasons in Old English Poetry” (pp. 37–49), Jennifer Neville’s first aim is to demonstrate “that the Anglo-Saxon concept of the seasons is not without complications.” This she accomplishes by citing the conclusions of Earl R. Anderson (as above), to which she adds the point that there was no word for “season” in Old English poetry. (She does not consider the word *missere*.) Her second aim is to show “that the use of seasonal imagery in Old English poetry may reveal neither external reality nor a primitive ‘Germanic’ mind-set, but rather a learned if no less gloomy expectation of the imminent apocalypse.” She finds evidence of a cyclical view of history in *Beowulf* and *Genesis A*, and although she also finds evidence of the passing of the seasons as a trope of cyclicity, she offers a “theory of non-cyclical seasons”: the mention of the seasons, she says, summoned up ideas of decline, and specifically of doomsday. (Her remark that most Old English poetry was written down as the millennium approached would seem to imply that she believes the poems put the seasons to chiliastic uses because they were composed in the late tenth century.) This, she believes, explains the sadness of the cuckoo’s call in *The Seafarer*, the frost on the walls in *The Ruin* and *The Wanderer*, and the associative logic of the dialogue in *Solomon and Saturn* 282–307 and 312–26. Marie-Françoise Alamichel, in “‘Sumer is icumen in’: chants et saisons dans la Grande-Bretagne médiévale” (pp. 51–60), begins with the observation that poems about the seasons are traditionally associated with music, and she cites the song of the phoenix in the poem of that name and the calls of birds in *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, and *Guthlac A* in illustration of her point that Old English songs, though more melancholy, are less monotonous than Middle English lyrics (to which the second half of the article is devoted).

In “Notes sur l’enfance dans l’Angleterre du haut moyen âge,” *PRIS-MA: bulletin de liaison de l’Equipe de recherche sur la littérature d’imagination du moyen âge* (Poitiers) 12 (1996),

157–65, André Crepin presents a collection of texts (one visual, the others in translation only) dealing with childhood, from nine Anglo-Saxon contexts. The sources are *Maxims I*, *Lacnunga*, *Precepts*, Felix's life of Guthlac, Asser's life of Alfred, *Beowulf*, Ælfric's grammar, the Bayeux Tapestry, and *Christ I*. The notes are mostly brief and varied in nature, ranging from plain reportage of what the text says (as in the case of *Lacnunga*) to analysis of a sort not obviously related to the light that the passages shed on Anglo-Saxon childhood (as with the note on *Maxims I* 22–27, which explicates the train of thought linking one maxim to the next). No summary or general conclusion is offered.

Zacharias P. Thundy begins his *Millennium: Apocalypse and Antichrist and Old English Monsters c. 1000 A. D.* (Notre Dame, IN: Cross Cultural Pubns., 1998) with the observation that two Midwestern restaurants with which he is familiar have now reopened offering Asian cuisine. This is evidence of "the counter-colonization of the West by the East." (My colleagues at Indiana in postcolonial studies, I should say, are uniformly kind and pleasant people, but this sort of comparison tends to make them ferocious—as would the appreciative reference to Westerners' "acquiring the Oriental taste not only in culinary art but also in apocalyptic thinking." Edward Said naturally goes uncited in the bibliography.) Thundy's larger argument, then, is that although the apocalypse and the idea of the Antichrist are themes of Western literature, they "are as much Eastern as well. As the Anglo-Saxon world of the first millennium is Eastern in many ways, so also the classic *Beowulf* is an Eastern text." The first part of the book, "Apocalypse and Antichrist in the First Millennium" (chaps. 1–4) traces the origins and development of these two themes in the Christian East and West, citing Jewish and Islamic influences. The second part, "Apocalyptic Tradition of Early England" (chaps. 5–9) focuses on the representation of these themes in Anglo-Saxon literature. As a preliminary, though, chapter 5 argues that the Mercian nation was descended from Iberian Visigoths, as were Bede's invading *Iuti* and the Geats of *Beowulf*. The argument of chapter 6 is that Anglo-Saxon England partook of the larger amalgam of Eastern and Western traits that characterized European culture of the period, through the exchange of books and other goods. Chapter 7 attempts to show how the two themes were incorporated into Old English literature, and how their treatment in homilies is more doctrinaire than in poems on eschatological themes. Chapter 8 argues for the existence of a Germanic apocalyptic tradition, on the basis of its remains in Icelandic literature. The final chapter "shows how an English poet fused Western Christian, Eastern Christian, and Germanic apocalyptic traditions imaginatively and created the national epic *Beowulf*." An example of Eastern influence in the poem: the reference to the kin of Cham (emended to *Cain*) at line 107 is to non-European menaces: "Muslim Arabs from Egypt and Moorish marauders or Moorish Vikings from Africa, who invaded Europe in the eighth century." The central point of the brief

conclusion is that the distinction between East and West is a relative one, but the assertion prompts some divagations, including an encomium on Rudyard Kipling, a consideration of ancestry as the sole determinant of race (with particular attention to the golfer Tiger Woods' ancestry), an argument that all literature is "fuzzy" (because "the closer you look at a text it gets fuzzier at the borders," though Thundy is actually attempting to draw an analogy to the "fuzzy logic" employed in some of the sciences), and an argument for the superiority of Catholic theology to Protestant because of its fuzzier nature. Three homilies of Wulfstan are translated in an appendix.

Gabriele Knappe's "Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 27 (1998), 5–29, is an English digest of the essential results (mainly those of Part II) of her fine 1996 book, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England*. A detailed synopsis of the book was given in *YWOES* 1996, pp. 30–31. The article is reviewed below in sec. 4.g.

Die Figuren der Diskurspartner und ihre Verwendung in der altenglischen Dichtung, Internationale Hochschulschriften 263 (Münster: Waxmann, 1998) is Antje Wendler's 1996 Münster Univ. dissertation. Part One constructs the theoretical framework, beginning with an evaluation of the *Rhétorique générale* (Paris, 1970) of the rhetoricians from Liège called "Groupe μ ," along with the responses of their critics, focusing particularly on the chapter devoted to *figures des interlocuteurs*. Wendler finds that the treatment is too rigid, too closely allied to the methods of classical rhetoric. Building on the analysis of a Münster Univ. scholar, Klaus Ostheeren, she constructs a new system of classification for varieties of *prosopopoeia* based on substitutions in the person, number, and gender of pronouns. For example, person is affected when a non-human is made to speak (as with the Alfred Jewel) or when a human refers to himself in the third person (as the *eardstapa* of *The Wanderer* effectively does when he speaks of one who knows what it is like to suffer), or a speaker addresses himself (or his soul, as in *Judgment Day II*); number is affected when an individual is made to stand for a group (as when Christ, at doomsday, tells each sinner, "It is you who made me suffer," in *Christ III*); and gender is affected when, for example, Shirley, in Charlotte Brontë's novel of that name, speaks of herself as if she were a man (no good examples in Old English, though pronoun confusion with Grendel's mother is noteworthy). Part II applies this system of analysis to Old English poetry, focusing on examples like those cited above, though first the knowledge of classical rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England is surveyed century by century. Wendler argues for the superiority of her classification of figures, pointing out that it draws our attention to figures for which there is no name in classical rhetoric. She finds that on a continuum from ancient to modern times, at a steady pace, more and more such unnamed varieties come into use. The book includes an appendix identifying all such figures in Old English verse, and there are several lucid summaries of the

whole and its parts, including a brief one in English.

A Grammar of Iconism (Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press, 1998), by Earl R. Anderson, is a species rarely spotted these days, an example of what used to be called linguistic approaches to literature. It is a defense of the study of mimesis in language, and a systematization of mimetic features. Anderson's interest thus is in formal properties of literary language like onomatopoeia, synaesthesia, and rhetorical tropes (polyptoton, tmesis, hendiadys, and the like). Such formalist interests of course run counter to mainstream directions in current literary analysis as well as linguistics, and so Anderson's argument puts him into dialogue instead with structuralist linguistics—a feature that tends to situate the book in past discourses rather than present ones. And despite Anderson's critique of structuralism, the book is very much a formalist work, freeing texts from the entanglements of contexts, as becomes arrestingly clear when the book is juxtaposed with work like that of Knappe and Wendler (above), which typifies the historicism of current critical approaches in its method of first establishing the evidence for Anglo-Saxon knowledge of classical rhetorical study before attempting to persuade us of their rhetorical analysis of individual passages. It is certainly no reflection on the very high quality of Knappe's work, but highlighting the backward-looking quality of Anderson's tends to confirm one's suspicion that critical fashions do not always serve us well, since Anderson's arguments strike me as more rewarding of the effort, and more learned—though no less polemical—than many that are more squarely situated in current literary trends. Anderson's command of literary and cultural icons, it should be said, is eclectic, ranging from Mallarmé to the Muerto Canyon hantavirus. Old English then plays a relatively minor role in such a panoply of cultural objects, and though Old English texts are mentioned not infrequently, none is analyzed in detail or at length. Their function rather is to supply examples of mimetic properties in literary language—as when, for example, the back vowels in *Beowulf* 128–34 are said to collocate words and images that suggest lamentation, an example of phonaesthesia. The book includes a glossary of critical terms, a subject index, and an exceptionally full bibliography, but no summary or conclusion, rendering it a bit difficult of access.

An example of careful and enlightening formalist analysis is Elizabeth Jackson's "Not Simply Lists: An Eddic Perspective on Short-Item Lists in Old English," *Speculum* 73 (1998), 338–71. Jackson's argument is that there is a crafted character to the way items are organized in lists in eddic and Old English verse, since they form certain characteristic patterns. The devices employed in structuring lists include signals that a list follows, introductory indications of the topic of the list, distinctive first items, subsections within lists, framing devices (e.g. closing echoes of the way the list opens), pattern changes to reduce monotony, and distinctive conclusions. The bulk of the article is a painstaking analysis of some dozen examples (e.g. *The Wanderer* 80b–84, describing the

fates of dead warriors) demonstrating the rhetorical strategies of Old English and Old Norse poets in dealing with catalogued information. Jackson finds that certain structural principles and devices—for example the principle of balance and the practice of grouping in pairs or triplets—are characteristic of lists across cultures, while some patterns and techniques seem to be peculiar to Old English and Old Icelandic, such as the pattern with a triplet in the first part of a two-part list. A small number of patterns even seem to be peculiar to Old English, such as the strategy of switching between abstract and concrete subjects, as in *Maxims I* 129–31. Whether such patterns are influenced by prose lists in Latin remains to be determined.

John Edward Damon's 1998 Univ. of Arizona doctoral dissertation, "Soldier Saints and Holy Warriors," *DAI* 59A (1998), 1155, argues that although there existed a tension between crusading ideology and opposition to war throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, there is traceable in the Christian literature an evolution of attitudes from rejection of warfare to militancy. Damon studies various literary *topoi* to trace this development as expressed in the lives of warrior saints. Cynthia Kaye Deatherage, in her 1997 Purdue Univ. doctoral dissertation, "The Anglo-Saxons and the Primal World View," *DAI* 59A (1998), 164, examines characteristics of Anglo-Saxon culture and literature that express a "primal" or spiritualistic world view (as opposed to the materialism of modern Western views), employing an "anthropological-missiological approach." *Cædmon's Hymn*, *Genesis A* and *B*, and *The Dream of the Rood* are analyzed as conversion poems that answer the questions posed by primalists when confronted with the Christian faith. Debra Magai Dove's 1998 Univ. of Alabama doctoral dissertation, "Violence at the Borders in Early English Literature," *DAI* 59A (1998), 1175, argues "from the perspective that violence erupts when social codes clash" and "explores the violent images in early English texts as cruxes that open the question of social codes and their borders." The Old English texts studied are *Beowulf* and *Juliana*, which are found to authorize and oppose violence, respectively. Heide Ruth Estes, in her 1998 New York Univ. doctoral dissertation, "Lives in Translation: Jews in the Anglo-Saxon Literary Imagination," *DAI* 59A (1998), 1155–56, studies the representation of Jews in several poems, including *Genesis*, *Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Judith*, *Andreas*, and *Elene*, and finds a polarity of attitudes, in that Jews are on the one hand regarded as legendary forebears of heroic stature and on the other as the monstrous killers of Christ. Even in poems displaying the former attitude, however, there are signs of authorial aversion to the Jews. C. R. Fee's 1997 Univ. of Glasgow doctoral dissertation, "Torture, Text and the Reformulation of Spiritual Identity in Old English Religious Verse," *Index to Theses* 47 (1998), 458 (no. 2880), collects instances of torture in Anglo-Saxon historical records and law before turning to a close examination of the language and structure of *The Dream of the Rood*, which is found to demonstrate Anglo-Saxon un-

derstanding of the paradox that pain is at once universal and isolating in its inexpressibility. *Elene*, *Juliana*, and *Daniel* are among the texts found to express "how torture may be construed as a form of language, and how the performative nature of an act of torture articulates that act's context of power and politics in the culture at large." M. A. E. Fox's 1997 Univ. of Cambridge doctoral dissertation, "Augustinian Hexameral Exegesis in Anglo-Saxon England: Bede, Alcuin, Ælfric and Old English Biblical Verse," *Index to Theses* 47 (1998), 434 (no. 2710), examines the treatments of the creation and fall in Augustine's works as a way to assess his exegetical influence on Bede, Alcuin, and Ælfric. The final chapter extends the inquiry to Old English biblical verse, and particularly *Genesis A* and *B*. Richard Freeman Johnson, in his 1998 Northwestern Univ. doctoral dissertation, "The Cult of Saint Michael the Archangel in Anglo-Saxon England," *DAI* 59A (1998), 1565, traces the origins and development of the legends and cult of the Archangel from the ancient Near East to Ireland to England, focusing on representations in liturgy, literature, and iconography. The saint's cult seems to have been localized particularly in Celtic Britain. The previously unedited Cotton-Corpus Michael text, based on Salisbury, Cathedral Library MS 222, is edited in the appendix.

Gender and Sexuality

Monica Brzezinski Potkay is the author of Chapter Two, "Redeeming Ornament: Women in Old English Literature," pp. 31–46 and 204–206 in *Minding the Body: Women and Literature in the Middle Ages, 800–1500* (London: Twayne, 1997), which she wrote in collaboration with Regula Meyer Evitt. Potkay argues that pre-Christian Germanic culture was respectful of women, and that Old English literature does not partake of the misogyny of the Church Fathers. Unlike Tertullian, who scorns women's ornamentation of themselves, Old English literature displays an appreciation of ornament and perceives beauty such as women possess as divine rather than demonic. The *Genesis B* poet's point is not a misogynist one when he attributes less intelligence to Eve, and in any case Adam is equally susceptible to temptation. (Potkay seems to be unaware of Fred Robinson's argument that *wacran* refers to Eve's pliancy rather than her I.Q.: see *YWOES* 1994, p. 26.) The poet of *Judith* shows his respect by altering the source, which has Judith succeed through a ruse, and his casual portrayal of the widow as a warrior, Potkay believes, may reflect Anglo-Saxon familiarity with women warriors. Cynewulf's *Elene* is cast as "the mother of the church," a figure of authority, and one whose femaleness is celebrated. Potkay excuses Cynewulf's anti-Judaism on the grounds that to Anglo-Saxons, Jews were symbolic figures rather than flesh and blood people; and while Judaism is portrayed in the poem as the religion of patriarchy, Christianity "comprises masculine and feminine elements working in concert." Although *Juliana* shares Tertullian's rejection of ornament, it portrays trinkets

as emblems of male vice. *Beowulf*, on the other hand, devalues and marginalizes women, from its patriarchal genealogies to its portrayal of peaceweaving as bride exchange. Only Wealhtheow and Grendel's mother are granted any prominence, the latter representing, as Potkay argues, "heroic society's diminishment of women; the damage she performs is the harm the tribe does itself when it excludes women." Yet the poem's dismal treatment of women is actually part of its Christian critique of the heroic ethos.

Berit Åström's larger point in "The Creation of the Anglo-Saxon Woman," *SN* 70 (1998), 25–34, is that the motives and expectations that scholars of Anglo-Saxon literature and history bring to their studies inevitably color their conclusions. She offers three examples in evidence, all dealing with Anglo-Saxon women: (1) In a brief 1975 article, Sonja Chadwick Hawkes and Calvin Wells spin an improbable yarn of gang rape in order to account for the position and injuries to the bones of two females buried prone in a Hampshire cemetery. Their prose about the elder of the two is more than a little voyeuristic. (2) Åström reiterates at length the findings of a 1992 article in *Comitatus* by Christine Alfano to the effect that five translations of *Beowulf* misrender *ides* and *aglecwif* because of preconceptions about the nature of Grendel's mother. (3) Åström critiques scholarship on *The Wife's Lament*, focusing chiefly on articles from the 1960s that deny that the speaker is female or make her a "marginalized and ignorant creature," though some more recent studies come in for criticism, as well.

Åström's article actually has much in common with Stodnick's critique of authorship (above) in the author's evident exasperation and her use of examples mainly from a long-past critical era to represent ostensibly current critical views. Unlike Stodnick, Åström acknowledges the datedness of her examples, but she justifies their use on the grounds that her field of interest "has been neglected in recent years." Still, it seems to be offered as a characterization of contemporary scholarship when she says, "Scholars studying Anglo-Saxon literature will most often follow in the footsteps of Jacob Grimm, and regard the pagan literature as vigorous, creative and *authentic*, and any Christian influences will be seen as a curbing, limiting and taming of the free poetic spirit of the Anglo-Saxons. Note for example the long-standing discussion whether the first and last five lines of the poem *The Wanderer* were grafted on to the poem by a Christian scribe." It might well be a fair characterization of the practices of the authors of the first of her three examples when she says, "The pagan Anglo-Saxons are depicted as cruel and brutal, incapable of tenderness and kindness, whereas the Christian Anglo-Saxons are seen to be more or less like ourselves, enlightened, kind to children and animals and full of love for their fellow man." But this does not sound like any prevalent attitude I've encountered as a reviewer for *YWOES*. One sympathizes with the call for awareness of subjectivity but wonders whether the need is no greater than the offered evidence suggests.

Virginia Yvette Blanton-Whetsell's 1998 State Univ. of New York at Binghamton doctoral dissertation, "St. Æthelthryth's Cult: Literary, Historical, and Pictorial Constructions of Gendered Sanctity," *DAI* 59A (1998), 1155, examines the Old English and Anglo-Norman accounts of the life of the saint, focusing on the development of her cult and representations of her body. Also examined are "miracle stories, monastic chronicles, liturgical texts, pictorial cycles, and architectural campaigns" from 731 to 1425 to demonstrate the "fluidity and malleability of the virginal body's gender throughout the life of the medieval cult," relating this to the types of audiences for which such artifacts were constructed.

Post-Conquest Studies

See the essays by Schaefer and Stanley under "Orality, Literacy, and Formulaic Theory" (above).

R.D.F.

b. Individual Poems

Cædmon's Hymn

Mary Eva Blockley's "Cædmon's Conjunction: *Cædmon's Hymn* 7a Revisited" (*Speculum* 73, 1–31) is a wide ranging, wonderfully learned essay seeking to show that *þa*, at the beginning of line 7, need not be read as an adverb but can be taken as a conjunction introducing a subordinate clause. Rendering *þa* as "when," Blockley translates lines 5–9: "He, the holy Creator, first [had] created for the children of men heaven as a height, when the guardian of mankind, the eternal lord, the almighty lord, afterwards adorned middle earth, the earth, for men" (6; Blockley's brackets). Blockley painstakingly builds a compelling case that *þa* here may possess a conjunctive function. I remain uncertain, however, of the rhetorical or theological advantages of incorporating her grammatical point in a reading of the poem.

In "The Transmission of the West Saxon Versions of *Cædmon's Hymn*: a Reappraisal" (*SN* 70, 153–64), Peter Orton offers evidence that two of the three West Saxon groups of texts, the *eorðan* group and the *ylða* group, derive from Northumbrian versions of the hymn. The evidence that the third West Saxon group, the *eorðe* group, originates from a Northumbrian version is much less clear, but Orton prefers that explanation to the hypothesis that the West Saxon *eorðe* group derives from the West Saxon *eorðan* group. He also contends that, once the text of the hymn was first recorded in writing, it was transmitted by written rather than by spoken word and that many of the errors in transmission derive from misunderstanding the original Northumbrian. In the second part of the essay Orton examines major variants in the *eorðan* group and takes the occasion to differ from Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe's argument that scribes in a vernacular context were to an extent composers as well as copyists. "It seems to me," says Orton, "easier to explain the origins of most of

these variants, not by a theory of sporadic and unpredictable formulaic guesswork, inference or prediction on the part of copyists knowledgeable about poetic style, but rather by assuming that these copyists sometimes encountered particular linguistic difficulties in the texts they received, and attempted to solve them editorially by emendation, either for their own satisfaction or for the benefit of later readers" (162).

Paul E. Szarmach writes on "*Anthem*: Auden's *Cædmon's Hymn*" (*Medievalism in the Modern World: Essays in Honour of Leslie J. Workman*, ed. Richard Utz and Tom Shippey; *Making the Middle Ages* 1; Turnhout; 329–40). "*Anthem*" is a fourteen-line poem Auden composed about 1945 (when he would have been thirty-eight), for which Szarmach gives a reading, in the tradition of the New Criticism, that is more adroit as a reading than Auden's poem is as a poem. (May soon the time return when scholars will, like Szarmach, again read literature for its art and craft instead of for what it supposedly says about power and politics, gender and class, race and rage, or other folderol.) Szarmach finds that "*Auden's Anthem* bears a likeness in style and meaning to *Cædmon's Hymn* to such a remarkable degree that it may be best considered to be an imitation of the Anglo-Saxon poem" (334). Still, Szarmach notes that Auden does not use compounds, formulas, or kennings in the OE manner and that Auden's alliterative patterns more closely resemble those of the fourteenth century than the OE period. Szarmach goes on to discuss Auden's study of OE and philology as a student at Oxford and quotes the poem Auden wrote to honor Tolkien and the double poem—in OE/NE—Tolkien wrote to honor Auden. Tolkien's double poem is a poet philologist's tour de force: the NE as well as the OE version follows the rules of OE alliteration and meter. But the best part comes in the last line of the NE version, when Tolkien tenderly tenders Auden his ode as a "token of thanks."

Genesis A

"'Sing Me Creation': Creation in the Old English *Genesis* in Physical and Cultural Context" is a doctoral dissertation by Stephen Scott Norsworthy (University of Southwestern Louisiana, 319 pp. + plates), whose purpose is "to firmly establish physical and cultural contexts in which the account of Creation in the Old English *Genesis* can be interpreted and appreciated despite seemingly intractable codicological and textual problems" (2). In the first of five chapters Norsworthy reviews scholarship on *Genesis A* (but omits reference to David Marsden Wells's edition, 1969), outlines his study, shows that hexameral accounts of creation—creation divided into six days—did not predominate in early Christianity, surveys late Anglo-Saxon art, and discusses liturgy and history. In the second chapter, "The Tripartite World of Heaven, Earth, and Sea: An Informing Commonplace in Anglo-Saxon Responses to Creation," Norsworthy studies the intellectual history of the tripartite division ("heretofore

undocumented" [14]) and explores its use in Anglo-Latin and OE literature. Chapter three, "Reconstructing Quire 2," considers seven possible reconstructions of the second gathering in MS Junius 11 and argues from firsthand study of the evidence that the folio now numbered 9/10 was originally in second position and that the folio now numbered 11/12 was originally in sixth. In chapter four, "Three Gaps," Nornworthy acknowledges that his reconstruction "posits missing leaves in the wrong places: too few in the first of three textual gaps, too many in the second, and either too many or too few in the third" (138). To account for the material missing in the first gap (one folio) between pp. 8 and 9, he draws on patristics, the liturgy, and the art work on pp. 6–7 to argue that the poet turned directly to the creation of man after describing the creation of the sea on the third day. To account for the material lost in the second gap (three folios) between pp. 10 and 11, he maintains that little text from *Genesis A* is missing; rather, the lost folios once contained a bestiary (like the OE *Physiologus*) or a homiletic work. To account for the material missing in the third gap (two folios) between pp. 12 and 13, he suggests that some of the space was occupied by pictures, that the *Genesis A* poet may not have narrated the fall of Adam and Eve, and that *Genesis B* may have been interpolated into *Genesis A* to supply the episode. Chapter five, "Heaven, Earth, and Sea: Re-Presenting the Creation of the World in *Genesis A*," concentrates on "departures from the hexameral narrative, specifically the extrabiblical images in *Genesis A* of the green/un-green earth, light/dark sky, and fettered loose waters" (237) to elucidate the poet's themes and techniques. You will look long before finding a dissertation more learned and lucid than Nornworthy's. Liturgy, literature, codicology, patristics, iconography: Nornworthy can do it all. Yet some of his chief conclusions are literally incredible. I do not believe that the poet, who, in the part of his account that remains, treats creation day by day, abandoned the general hexameral scheme in the lines that have not survived. (Nornworthy admits [167] that the poet may have given a compressed version of the fourth, fifth, and sixth days of creation; this sounds to me like the hexameral tradition, albeit abbreviated.) I do not believe that someone inserted something like the OE *Physiologus* into the middle of the poet's story of creation. Nor do I believe that the poet omitted narrating the fall of Adam and Eve.

In "The Fall of Lucifer in *Genesis A* and Two Anglo-Latin Royal Charters" (*JEGP* 97, 500–21), David F. Johnson observes that the *Genesis A* poet, departing from the Augustinian hexameral tradition, presents the material world as created by God to fill the celestial thrones abandoned by the evil angels with a new order of being, mankind. Johnson puts forward two late tenth-century Anglo-Latin charters as analogues to the account in *Genesis A*, "King's Edgar's Privilege to New Minister, Winchester," and the "Peniarth Diploma," finding six points of agreement among the three works, the implication being that the works drew on a common tradi-

tion. (Cf. "Vacancies in Heaven: the Doctrine of Replacement and *Genesis A*," *N&Q* 44 [1997], 150–54, reviewed in *OEN* 32.2 [1999], 36, in which Dorothy Haines reasonably posits an Anglo-Saxon origin for the version of the doctrine found in *Genesis A*.) Near the end of the article Johnson pleasingly speculates on why Lucifer and Adam should be featured in the preface to "Edgar's Privilege":

[T]he account of the fall of the angels and the prelapsarian glory of Adam are immediately relevant to the foundation and ordering of the monastery. The terrestrial paradise is thus a "type" of the spiritually ordered Christian life, most fully and perfectly realized under reformed Benedictine monasticism, and the precursor of the monastery which Edgar is founding . . . Edgar removes the "wicked and licentious" secular cannons and replaces them with reformed Benedictine monks—an action that is further justified by the Replacement doctrine. (520–21)

Genesis B

In "*Genesis* 549–51 and 623–25: Narrative Frame and Devilish Cunning" (*PQ* 76 [1997], 347–68), John Vickrey contends that an envelope pattern operates between lines 549–51, which introduce the tempter's first speech to Eve, and lines 623–25, which conclude his second speech to her. In the first passage Vickrey understands indirect discourse: "[the tempter] said that the greatest of enemies to all her sons would be ever after" (348). In Vickrey's reading "the greatest of enemies" refers to God, who, according to the tempter, will be offended unless Eve obey his messenger (whom the tempter claims to be). Vickrey implies that he would translate the second passage, lines 623–25, like this: "So must her posterity afterwards live: whenever they give offense, they must bring about something good, atone for the calumny of their Lord, and have his favor henceforth." It is odd to think that the tempter, speaking to Eve, should refer to "her posterity": hence other scholars who, like Vickrey, ascribe the lines to the tempter, emend MS *hire* to *hi[s]*, referring to Adam's posterity, or to *[inc]re*, referring to the posterity of the couple ("of you two"). Vickrey, however, insists that MS *hire* should be retained as the tempter's attempt to appeal to Eve's pride, the common assumption of the time being that posterity belongs primarily to a husband rather than to a wife. This is Vickrey's third published attempt to defend the MS reading. (See also *OEN* 24.2 [1991], 22–23; 26.2 [1993], 32–33.) I remain unconvinced: in speaking to Eve not even the devil, perversion personified, would refer to her in the third person. Vickrey first proposed an envelope pattern between lines 549–51 and 623–25 in his doctoral dissertation (Indiana University, 1960: 219, 231–37). As I have noted before (but hereby promise never to note again—unless Vickrey publish on the passage a fourth time), in his doctoral dissertation he thought it neces-

sary to emend MS *bire* to *bi[s]*. 'Tis an emendation devoutly to be wish'd.

In "The Translator and the Text of the Old English *Genesis B*" (*Medieval Translator* 5 [1996], 130–45), Colette Stévanovitch, comparing the OS and the OE texts, aims to determine "how far the translator has kept or modified the stylistic features of the original" (130). She considers three areas. First, rhythm: the translator was a Saxon without mastery of OE who sporadically shortened OS lines to "anglicise the metrics" (135) and thereby sometimes distorted the ebb and flow of the original verse. Second, envelope patterns: the translator preserved many of the original patterns whether he recognized them or not, but sometimes he seems to have disfigured some of the more elaborate ones by inserting filler words of his own. Third, wordplay: thanks to the similarity of OS and OE, the translator preserved much original wordplay and, by chance or design, may have enhanced it. For example, in *Genesis B* there is arguably a pun on *hyldo* 'favor,' *ylde* 'men,' and *yldu* 'old age,' but in the original OS poem the three words would have been *huldi*, *eldi*, and *eldi*, with *huldi* too different in sound from *eldi* to have invited wordplay. Stévanovitch concludes, overall, that the translator retained most of the stylistic features of the original largely because of his literalness. This may seem a strong conclusion in view of the fact that only two dozen lines survive from the OS original, but Stévanovitch's intricate knowledge of the OE poem (which she has edited) serves her well. Her cheerful audacity does the rest.

Daniel

Taro Ishiguro, in "*Daniel: the Old English Poem of Nebuchadnezzar against God*" (*Essays in Honour of Professors Shin-suke Ando and Haruo Iwasaki*, ed. Keiko Kawachi and Takami Matsuda; Tokyo, 1997; 462–78), explores "first how Nebuchadnezzar is presented in the narrative and then how the poet's use of epithets depicts him in contrast with God" (463). Like some other scholars, Ishiguro sees the Babylonian king as the central character in *Daniel*, even calling the story of Jerusalem's fall the "prelude" and the story of Belshazzar's fall the "epilogue" to the story of Nebuchadnezzar. Also like others, Ishiguro, using the terms *hubris* and *nemesis*, understands the king's story as one of pride punished and wisdom, won through suffering, rewarded. Further, "... the poet's presentation of Nebuchadnezzar by means of various epithets puts him in good contrast with God. The opposition is not that of wise Daniel and Nebuchadnezzar, but that of the heavenly King and the earthly king ... who can be debased to a miserable man once nemesis has fallen on him" (476–77). Among the epithets common to God and Nebuchadnezzar that Ishiguro explores are *cyning*, *weard*, *drihten*, and *frea*.

Christ and Satan

In "The Power of Knowledge and the Location of the Reader in *Christ and Satan*" (*JEGP* 97, 1–12), Ruth Wehlau sees the poem as focused on knowledge and identity: Satan thinks he is God and must be shown that he is a creature; Satan thinks Christ is a creature and must be shown that he is God; readers must be confirmed in their capacity to identify the two correctly—"knowledge acquired too late is punishment" (8). Toward the end of the essay Wehlau associates the poem with the "symbolic illustrations" in tenth- and eleventh-century psalters and associates both the poem and the psalters with Augustine's theory that language at once illuminates and obscures: "Faced with this dichotomy, the poet of *Christ and Satan* attempts to bridge the gap, to reveal, breaking down the distancing effect by focussing on the reader's present knowledge, rather than attending to the chronology of the narrative. Just as the psalter illustrator relied on symbolic images to show the reader the true Christ, so *Christ and Satan* removes the veil of historical time to reveal the incarnation and the cosmic battle that underlies it all" (12).

Judith

In "Female Community in the Old English *Judith*" (*SN* 70, 165–72), Mary Dockray-Miller maintains that Judith's maid is "the key to Judith's gender performance when both contemporary theory and traditional philology are brought to bear on the section of the text where the maid appears" (165). Dockray-Miller examines in detail lines 125–41a, in which Judith puts the head of Holofernes into a bag (wherein the maid had kept their kosher food) and the two journey from the Assyrian camp back to Bethulia. During the journey the women are united in the plural words used to describe them, especially the adjectives *eadbreðige* 'rich in victory' and *col-lenferhðe* 'elated,' and make up both a metaphoric mother-daughter team and a female community (the only female community Dockray-Miller finds in OE verse). "In *Judith*, Judith is a hero, but not because she appropriates male power and uses it to her own ends. She is heroic because as a maternal figure she creates a bond with her metaphorical daughter, her maid, and they work together to achieve a common purpose" (171). It is pleasing to see the poet so join Judith and her maid and for Dockray-Miller to advert to it forcefully. The Anglo-Saxons would not, however, have seen Judith as a hero because she unites in womanly purpose with her maid but because she gamely gambled her life and saved her people.

Paris Psalter

M. J. Toswell spends the first half of her essay, "How Pedantry Meets Intertextuality: Editing the Old English Metrical Psalter" (*New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe; Cambridge; 79–93), on various topics, most no-

tably a survey of scholarship on the subject of editing. In the second half Toswell considers practical editorial problems of editing the *Paris Psalter*: whether to include in an edition the Latin text of the Psalter in parallel with the OE text as found in the manuscript, how to punctuate the OE text, whether to renumber the psalm verses, how to present textual variants and notes, and how to explain the relationship between the Latin and OE texts (or so I take Toswell's statement that the editor must make clear "the different layers of text that appear here" [90]). After informing us that editors are obliged to fit the *milieu* of their text into their editions, Toswell says that her essay is a first attempt to apply Julia Kristeva's concept of intertextuality to OE editing. Here is how Kristeva defines "text": "the focus where knowing rationality grasps the transformation of *utterances* (to which the text is irreducible) into a totality (the text) as well as the insertions of this totality into the historical and social text" (80, 93). Kristeva is clearly the queen of sophistic claptrap.

Psalm 50 and A Prayer

In "Respect for the Book: A Reconsideration of 'Form', 'Content', and 'Context' in Two Vernacular Poems" (*New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse* [ut supra], 21–44, ill.), Sarah Larratt Keefer bids us recognize that the physical context of an OE poem includes not simply the other works in the manuscript environment but the visual features of the poem as copied. Keefer considers *Psalm 50*, preserved in Cotton Vespasian D. vi, and *A Prayer*, preserved in Cotton Julius A. ii and (in part) in Lambeth Palace 427. She notes that the *Psalm 50* scribe included the full text of Latin verses from Psalm 50 embedded in the OE text until he reached Latin verse 6, when he began to truncate the Latin text. Unless you look at the visual record, Keefer observes, you do not see that the Latin verses are limited to the amount of text that could be fitted in the space remaining on a scribal line. The scribe, running out of parchment and supposing that educated readers would know the rest of the words of the psalm, decided to save space by giving but the first few words of the Latin. Turning to *A Prayer*, Keefer points out that the Lambeth copyist copied only part of the poem, as befitting the penitential theme of the manuscript context and amount of space available. The Cotton copyist, however, copied certain phrases to highlight visually contrasts or parallels in the poem. Keefer concludes, "Therefore, it seems right that we [editors] should also present, together with our scholarly but subjective views on the text, an absolutely honest replica of all physical evidence from the manuscript witness wherein it is found" (44).

Phoenix

Bill Griffiths' translation of the *Phoenix* in *The Phoenix* (Market Drayton: Tern; [75] pp. ill) is virtually the same translation published in his *The Old English Poem 'The*

Phoenix' (London: Amra, 1990; [32] pp. ill). As noted in *OEN* 26.2 (1993), 29–30, the translation is occasionally quite free, especially when Griffiths sacrifices sense to alliteration. (In the brief preface to the 1998 book he says that he uses "a loose alliterative chaining . . . to give some idea of the sound structure that unites the Old English poetic form.") The chief difference between the 1990 and 1998 books lies not in the message but in the medium. The 1990 book is an amateur effort—the illustrations few and crude, the sans serif font (like all sans serif fonts) unappealing, the pages produced from a copy machine or PC printer. The 1998 book is published by a small private press, on good paper, in handsome type, with attractive illustrations, and in a limited edition of 95 copies: a collector's edition (for those who have \$200 to collect it).

Charms

In "Traces of Indo-European Medical Magic in an Old English Charm" (*Interdigitations: Essays for Irmengard Rauch*, ed. Gerald F. Carr, Wayne Harbert, and Lihua Zhang; New York; 1–24), Vyacheslav V. Ivanov discusses *For a Sudden Stitch*, seeing the body terms in lines 20–22—*fell, flæsc, blod*, and *lið*—as parallel to a series of body terms in OHG and OS texts. "Thus a tentative reconstruction of the Proto-Western Germanic series seems now possible" (2). Ivanov next turns to lines 23–26, which use the terms *esa, ylfa*, and *gescot*. *Esa* he relates to the Old Indian gods, *asura*; *ylfa* to the Germanic tradition concerning elves (both good and bad), which may go back to the Old Indian; and *gescot*, repeated half a dozen times in the passage, to Balto-Slavic and Germanic traditions. Next, focusing on lines 3–19, in which the charm-master shoots back the arrows or spears first shot by the evil gods or elves into the victim's body, Ivanov notes that the procedure resembles one found in Siberian shamanism. His overall conclusion—"the main features of this Old English charm as well as of some other texts of similar genres (cf. the charm on the bee-swarm . . .) could have originated in the distant past" (9–10, my ellipsis)—seems hyper-cautious in view of the strong claims in the rest of the article.

Lois Bragg's purpose in "The Modes of the Old English Metrical Charms—the Texts of Magic" (*New Approaches to Medieval Textuality*, ed. Mickle Dave Ledgerwood; New York: Peter Lang; 117–40) is "to investigate the extent to which the literary aspects of the metrical charms are linked to their magical methods" (117). After discussing at length the relationship between contagious magic and metonymic language, both of which imply a physical worldview, and homeopathic magic and metaphoric language, both of which imply a metaphysical worldview, she divides OE metrical charms into two categories. Under metonymic charms Bragg takes up *For a Swarm of Bees*, *For Unfruitful Land A*, *For Loss of Cattle*, *For Theft of Cattle*, and *The Nine Herbs Charm*, all of which "function by calling up certain powers and harnessing

them to achieve the desired effect" (130). Under metaphoric charms she takes up *Against a Wen*, *A Journey Charm*, *For Unfruitful Land B*, and *For a Sudden Stitch*, most of which relate to the mythic or supernatural realm. Bragg concludes that the two kinds of charms "demonstrate the viability of the binary model of language The binary model makes sense of the charms. Looked at through this theory, they are no longer quaint artifacts of unsophisticated minds, but living pieces of discourse that reflect not only the Anglo-Saxons' way of thinking, but our own as well" (135).

In *Il 'genere' incantesimo nella tradizione anglosassone: aspetti semantico-pragmatici e sviluppo diacronico*, Pubblicazioni della Facoltà di Lettere e Filosofia dell'Università di Pavia 83 (Florence: La Nuova Italia, 1996; 162 pp. ill), Marina Buzzoni employs modern linguistics and language philosophy—especially the work of John Searle—to attempt to elucidate OE charms. In the opening chapter, on methodology, she sees charms as directions for speech acts of an essentially pragmatic character and as based on the primitive belief that certain utterances can directly influence extra-linguistic reality. A charm is a complex system integrating myth with exorcism and ritualized performance with charged language. In chapter two Buzzoni takes up *For a Swarm of Bees* and *Against a Wen* to analyze the language of pagan magic, including diction, formulas, syntax, and structure. In the next chapter, concerned with magic speech in paganism and in Christianity, she notes that early Christians in England adapted pagan practices to Christian belief but that the formal similarity between pagan and Christian charms does not imply conceptual similarity. Such Christian charms as *For Loss of Cattle* are as much influenced by Christian prayers as by pagan charms. In chapter 4, "La modalità negli incantesimi. Aspetti e problemi," Buzzoni analyzes charms in terms of epistemic and deontic modalities, that is, as speech acts combining truth content with illocutionary force. This leads her to propose a new category, "modalità ontopoietica," to describe the situation in which the performer of a charm claims to produce the reality the imagery signifies. In the fifth and final chapter Buzzoni elaborates on the results, implications, and limitations of her research. All in all, *Il 'genere' incantesimo nella tradizione anglosassone* is a highly theoretical study directed mainly to a linguistic rather than a literary understanding of the charms.

Meters of Boethius

Colette Stévanovitch is not simply a woman of letters but a woman of envelopes, as can be seen yet again in "Envelope Patterns in Translation: the Old English *Metres of Boethius*" (*Medieval Translator* 6, 101–13). Near the beginning of the essay she notes that the Latin meters were first translated into OE prose and that later someone (perhaps indeed King Alfred) used the prose translation as the basis for rendering them into OE verse. Stévanovitch wonders to what extent the author of the OE verse rendering employed envelope pat-

terns and to what extent they were prompted by the prose translation. She discovers that the poet used many envelope patterns and introduced a majority of them on his own, without a hint from the original Latin or from the OE prose. In making the point Stévanovitch, moving adroitly among the three versions—Latin, OE prose, OE verse—considers passages from Meters 2, 12, 3, 4, and 5. She concludes that "The versifier of *The Metres of Boethius* . . . was sufficiently sensitive to the structure of Old English verse to notice and reproduce its envelope patterns, behaving as if he felt them to be scarcely less indispensable to verse than alliteration" (112).

Wolfgang Obst and Florian Schlegel edit and translate *Lieder aus König Alfreds Trostbuch: Die Stabreimverse der altenglischen Boethius-Übertragung*, Anglistische Forschungen 259 (Heidelberg: Winter; xiv, 135 pp. ill). In the foreword they discuss the historical context, the manuscript sources, the relationship between the OE prose and metrical versions, and editorial matters. Following a brief bibliography, Obst and Schlegel explain and illustrate their (or, more accurately, Obst's) theory of OE meter, which is neither Bliss nor Sievers but more Bliss than Sievers. The OE text and German translation appear on facing pages. The OE text does not use capitals but does use modern punctuation and caesural space to separate the hemistichs. Long vowels are marked by macrons, and primary and secondary metrical stresses are marked by short vertical superscripts and subscripts respectively. (Since the superscripts and subscripts are not placed over vowels but at the beginning of syllables, the text has a chopped look. Here is line 2 of the *Proömium*: 'cyning 'west,sexna, 'cræft 'mel,dode.) The text is very conservative, the translation fairly literal. Printed below the text are notes on the manuscript, alliteration, meter, syntax, and emendations; printed below the translation are notes on historical matters, the Latin text of Boethius, and problems of translation. Overall the work is handsomely presented and executed.

Durham

David Crane has brought out a dual language text, *De situ Dunelmi = On Durham: The Last Poem in Old English* (Bath: Old School Press, 1996; [12] pp. ill). In a four-page introduction Crane touches on the relics at Durham, the history of the site, Simeon of Durham, the date of the poem, OE stylistics, and the themes of the poem. The OE text—for which caesural space and *æ*, *þ*, *ð* are not used—is printed opposite the translation. The translation, with the literal sense sacrificed to style, reads smoothly, each line alliterating. The booklet is evidently intended for collectors. We are told that "Some three hundred & fifty copies of this book were printed with hand-set Caslon Old Face type on Zerkall mould-made paper. This is one of about two hundred and fifty trade copies sewn into wrappers also of Zerkall paper. The illustration [on p. 7] was printed from a nineteenth century wood block" ([11]). The paper is without watermark, and the booklet is

not signed. The overall impression of the booklet is pleasing.

Franks Casket

Nicoletta Francovich Onesti's essay, "Roman Themes in the Franks Casket" (*L'Antichità nella cultura europea del Medioevo / L'Antiquité dans la culture européenne du Moyen Age: Ergebnisse der internationalen Tagung in Padua 27.09.-01.10.1997*; Greifswald; 295–313, ill.), is somewhat mistitled because she explores not simply "Roman themes" but the meaning of the casket as a whole. "What could have been the point of resorting to so many different, totally unrelated themes?" asks Francovich Onesti. "[I]ts likely purpose was to build up a succession of riddles, a sequence of enigmas meant to create a continuous discourse; to find its key one had to link the solution of each scene to the next. These must necessarily be in a given order, there must be a definite programme . . ." (297). Believing that the casket was designed by and for learned Christians who took pagan allusions (Latin or Germanic) in stride, she proceeds to read each scene and accompanying text, beginning with the lid and continuing with the front, left side, right side, and back panel, and teases out a message on treasure and travel and triumph. Towards the end of the essay, she playfully speculates, "by assembling the initial runes of all the single words carved inside pictures" (305), that the casket is a wedding gift for a couple named Æscman and Radberga. *Ars longa, vita brevis* (as the Franks Casket shows). If for the rest of your brief life you have time to read but one long essay on the art of the Franks Casket, let it be Nicoletta Francovich Onesti's.

J.R.H.

Andreas

Carol Hughes Funk reviews "History of *Andreas* and *Beowulf*: Comparative Scholarship" in her 1997 University of Denver dissertation (*DAI* 58A (1998), 3535). After a brief introduction, her "Overview of *Andreas/Beowulf* Scholarship" (6–44) covers landmark studies and key issues such as authorship, parallels between the two poems, Christianization of the saga, poetic language, and the uniqueness and degree of independence of each poem. Throughout the dissertation, Funk offers the views of the scholars she presents without judgments. The bulk of the dissertation is a 450-page summary of scholarship running line-by-line through *Andreas*, with the lines from *Andreas* and *Beowulf* printed together followed by a summary of the literature on the parallel in those lines. Where a formula is used in more than one line, she may list all occurrences with the first; not all of these are cross-referenced. Later occurrences feature only scholarship connected with the line at hand, not all the lines with that formula, so readers should note the first occasion or use the index in the last chapter which relates each *Beowulf* line number to all relevant *Andreas* line numbers. Because this index is last and all citations in the body appear in brief form

with full information in the Works Cited section at the end of the dissertation, users will want to obtain a print rather than microfilm copy.

Karin Olsen discusses the unique complex of imagery the *Andreas*-poet employs to bring vividness to his work in "The Dichotomy of Land and Sea in the Old English *Andreas*" (*English Studies* 5, 385–94). The first set of images present sea as road and ship as horse—a horse not always under the sailors' control. Meanwhile, the poet presents the storm at sea as a personified enemy attacking defenseless seamen. In these compounds of sea-element + land-element, the land-sea dichotomy is obvious. Other images express the sea wholly in terms of land, as a path or region. Olsen argues that *And* 190–201, sometimes taken to refer to anticipated difficulties in the land of the Mermedonians, actually refers metaphorically to the dangers of the sea; this imagery climaxes in 305–314 by specifying the two main dangers facing *Andreas*'s band: they have no provisions and are crossing a hostile land (the sea). Recognizing the poet's unique imagery also helps with two textual cruxes: *waruðgewinn* (439) ordinarily means "shore-strife," and *bordstæðu* "ship-shore," yet in this context they clearly do not refer to any shore. Recalling the poet's use of land terminology for the sea, readers can understand that these words refer not to hostility between land and ship but sea and ship. Olsen concludes that negative judgments of the poem sometimes result from the failure to recognize the poet's unusual but consistent imagery, and that recognition enables us to enjoy "a sometimes almost skaldic type of poetic practice" (394).

Deor

Maria Vittoria Molinari begins "Overcoming Pagan Suffering in *Deor*" (trans. Richard Davies; *Linguistica e Filologia* 8, 7–28) by encouraging respect for the fictional nature of the 'Deor' character, for the poem's unity, and for its place in literary tradition. Molinari notes that the allusive first five stanzas contrast with Deor's story in the sixth. All six stanzas offer tales of legal or ethical conflict causing unresolved suffering. Yet while heroic morality makes conflict inescapable, Christian morality accepts conflict in order to transcend it. The first five stanzas illustrate the failure of Germanic morality with an allusiveness that universalizes their stories. Deor learns from them, providing a model for readers: not relying on a pagan worldview, Deor knows that God is present throughout the world and mysteriously controls changes of fortune. The narrator deliberately avoids judgmental or emotional language in his own, more detailed story to show his acceptance of events. The first half of the refrain, in past tense, generalizes the suffering of the first five stanzas; the second half universalizes further, rejecting all earthly life as both transitory and unjust. The poem fits into the Old English elegiac genre but also displays a tripartite homiletic structure: negative *exempla*, a moral extracted from those cases, and a con-

cluding positive *exemplum*. Molinari concludes by suggesting that the phrase “be wurman” of line 1 suggests that Weland is ‘among snakes’—among evil or sin, which snakes often signify in Scripture, hagiography, and the ninth-century *Historia Langobardorum Codicis Gothani*. While the heroic Weland is not himself criticized, his place in pagan society makes his suffering inevitable. Molinari concludes by comparing *Deor* to *Beowulf*: both poems use the Germanic past to arrive at a Christian vision of the transitory nature of life.

Elene

Two items treat cultural tensions in *Elene*. Robert DiNapoli begins “Poesis and Authority: Traces of an Anglo-Saxon Agon in Cynewulf’s *Elene*” (*Neophilologus* 82, 619–30) by noting Cynewulf’s sympathy for the Jewish community and Judas himself. Cynewulf’s additions to *Acta Quiriaci*, an analogue to his Latin source, establish Judas’s position as heir to a revered tradition and possessor of poetic wisdom, marked by the *hapax legomenon* “leoðorune” (522b). DiNapoli reads the same poetic wisdom outside the Christian tradition in *The Order of the World* (see below). Both poems, he argues, record tension between native Old English poetic tradition and the new Anglo-Saxon church, a conflict paralleling that between Judaism and Christianity. Judas thus models native poets in England after the conversion and appears sympathetic in his suffering under Elene, figured more as persecutor than saint. He errs not in belief but in his attempt to keep esoteric what has already become exoteric. Unlike Elene, however, Judas can learn and grow, becoming empowered to proclaim truth and to perform miracles. DiNapoli sees a parallel in Bede’s less antagonistic encounter between Cædmon, a poet, and Hild, a female, orthodox religious authority; here again an independent source of wisdom is subordinated to authority. *Elene*’s autobiographical close focuses more upon *leoðucraft*, poesis, than penance, aligning Cynewulf with Judas. Whether consciously or not, *Elene*, *The Order of the World*, and Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* reflect traces of an early conflict between native, pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon wisdom poetry and the new Christian tradition which subsumed it.

Joyce Tally Lionarons’ “Cultural Syncretism and the Construction of Gender in Cynewulf’s *Elene*” (*Exemplaria* 10, 51–68) examines collisions of gender, religion, and Latin and Germanic cultures. Constantine’s messenger is grammatically and physically masculine in accord with Latin angelic lore, but he is feminized when the poem places him in the Germanic roles of ‘peace-weaver’ and ‘whetting-woman.’ Conversely, Elene is a mother, yet through much of the poem she ‘cites’ masculine behavior. While Elene’s son waits passively (femininely) at Rome, she appears in Jerusalem as a warrior-queen, a description made thinkable by the categories of Germanic warrior-woman and Latin *virago*. She becomes Judas’s spiritual mother, but Judas resists, citing patrilineal authority. His resistance forces Elene into masculine rhetoric

and violence, rendered thinkable by her position on the privileged side of the Jewish/Christian divide; Judas is feminized by his weak position and his limitation to an ineffective weapon, ‘closed’ rhetoric. Any Anglo-Saxon discomfort over Elene’s role as tyrannical persecutor would probably be allayed by Judas’s conversion and assumption of Christian, masculine power after a scene of birth from the pit in Elene’s absence. Judas, now Cyriacus, asserts the authority of God the Father and then becomes the spiritual father of Elene, restoring normative gender roles. Cynewulf’s epilogue describes Elene’s story as inspiration, suggesting a female muse—yet a man presumably authored the source text, and Cynewulf becomes the father of the new poem. Lionarons concludes that the poem’s opposed gender, social, and literary categories are all relational constructs that must be considered together.

Exhortation to Christian Living and Summons to Prayer

In “A Note on Robinson’s *Rewards of Piety*” (*Notes and Queries* 45, 5–8), Thomas A. Bredehoft examines the poem’s manuscript presentation. Where editors have read two poems, *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer*, Fred Robinson argued for a single poem. Bredehoft accepts this reading but explains that manuscript features misled both Anglo-Saxon and modern readers into dividing the poem in two. As Robinson notes, the rubrication, spacing, and end of a scribal stint and quire set *Exhortation* and *Summons* apart from adjacent poems. However, Bredehoft finds that Robinson oversimplified in describing the initial between *Exhortation* and *Summons* as identical to the initials marking sections within *Exhortation*. Instead, Bredehoft finds that the main scribe set aside as much space for the initial of *Summons* (a thorn) as for *Exhortation*’s (N), but the rubricator actually made the thorn, with its ascender and descender, larger than the N. (Bredehoft speculates that the main scribe may have intended an eth instead of a thorn; with no ascenders or descenders, an eth would have taken only as much space as *Exhortation*’s opening N, giving the sections equal weight.) Moreover, the main scribe generally tries to fill out lines, spacing out words on short lines to make them come to the right margin, but he leaves over a quarter of a line blank between *Exhortation* and *Summons*. Finally, the triple punctuation mark at the end of *Exhortation* matches that at the end of the previous poem (*Judgment Day*) and does not occur elsewhere in *Rewards*. The main scribe may have meant to indicate one poem with two subsections, but the rubricator seems to have understood two poems here, leading Anglo-Saxon and modern audiences to do the same.

Fortunes of Men

In “*The Fortunes of Men* 4a: Reasons for Adopting a Very Old Emendation” (*Modern Philology* 96, 184–7) Michael D. C. Drout supports Benjamin Thorpe’s 1842 emendation. Line 4a of the poem, “tennaþ ond tætaþ,” offers two *hapax*

legomena. Grein would read these “entice and coax” based on Old High German and Old Norse cognates, but Benjamin Thorpe’s emendation to “temiaþ and tæcaþ” (“discipline and teach”), Drout argues, makes more sense, although a lack of explanation from Thorpe and other editors has led to its neglect. Germanic false cognates are common, Drout writes, and Grein offers no further rationale for retaining the manuscript readings. Thorpe’s emendations have paleographical support: differences between ‘mi’ and ‘nn,’ and between ‘c’ and ‘t,’ in the Exeter Book are minimal. The Exeter scribe may have miscopied an exemplar, or the errors may have been in that exemplar if it too was in pointed minuscule. Moreover, “temiaþ” connects 4a’s description of raising a child to the description of taming a hawk in *Fortunes* 85, and it parallels a usage for teaching children in the following poem, *Maxims I* (“atemedne,” 46). Drout concludes that the emendation not only makes sense of a difficult passage, but reveals that Anglo-Saxons considered the teaching of children a bodily practice comparable to taming animals.

Guthlac B

Stephen D. Powell considers “The Journey Forth: Elegiac Consolation in *Guthlac B*” (*English Studies* 6, 489–500). He finds that *Guthlac B* draws upon traditional Anglo-Saxon vocabulary of exile to lend the poem an elegiac tone which cannot offer full consolation for death. Although the poet uses Felix’s conventional life as a source, the poem is not typically hagiographic; unlike other versions, *Guthlac B* focuses on the death rather than the life of the saint. The ‘vocabulary of death’ emphasizes separation of the soul from the body, life from death, and lord from servant. It also highlights the inevitability of death in a fallen world and the pain that survivors feel. Guthlac’s death leaves his disciple exiled from his lord and from the joy that Guthlac himself can experience in death, and the disciple’s visit to Guthlac’s sister demonstrates Greenfield’s four aspects of exile. Powell compares the poem to the *Wanderer* for its presentation of the pain, complexity, and helplessness of earthly life and death even in the face of Christian reassurance. The poem is incomplete; perhaps it, like the *Wanderer*, originally contained more consolation at the end. Yet as it stands, *Guthlac B* provides a remarkable understanding of how even believing the Christian view of death that Guthlac offers his disciple does not provide a full consolation for suffering in this world.

Husband’s Message

Janet Schrunk Ericksen adds evidence to an ongoing debate in “Runesticks and Reading *The Husband’s Message*” (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 99, 31–37). Some scholars have objected to reading the poem’s speaker as a runestave because of the suggestion of lines 5b–8a that this speaker has made many voyages (more like a man than like a runestick) and because the content is so personal. However, actual runesticks

prove these obstacles quite surmountable. Norwegian finds include at least one stick that has been repeatedly scraped and recarved. Others have a message from one writer and a response from another—including two which have messages from men and responses from women relating to sex and marriage. A runestave from late-eighth-century Friesland also offers a choice, possibly a marriage proposal, to a woman. While Ericksen notes that her arguments are not conclusive, reading the speaker as a runestick is certainly compatible with archaeological evidence showing runesticks making multiple journeys and bearing personal messages.

Order of the World

Robert DiNapoli treats pre-Christian poesis in “The Heart of the Visionary Experience: *The Order of the World* and Its Place in the Old English Canon” (*English Studies* 79, 97–108). DiNapoli argues that the poet draws upon Germanic poetic tradition to create an inspired persona with access to a long tradition of poets who reach divine knowledge specifically through this poesis. This poet sees poetic language *embodying* truth, not covering it, as in the Augustinian poetics which DiNapoli says many critics assume for the era. DiNapoli reads the creation account in 38–40 as an allusion to Genesis, which the poet then surprisingly links to contemporary creation. Taking the image of a steersman in 43–46 as a reference to Boethius’s *De consolazione philosophiae*, DiNapoli notes that Boethius’s text, like this poem, treated divine order without explicit recourse to Christianity. (DiNapoli, however, quotes not the Latin text but the Old English *Meters of Boethius*, a more explicitly Christian text.) The poet fulfills his boast to reveal deep truths through magnificent poetry using distinctive Anglo-Saxon poetic juxtaposition to join past creation to current events, the light of God to the visible light of the sun, and even the darkness of night to the light of day. The poet then reins in his talent to emphasize that one must subject oneself to God to receive heavenly rewards. DiNapoli concludes that the poem, while drawing upon orthodox Christianity, refuses to subject pagan Germanic poetics to it, and that Anglo-Saxonists should rethink our understanding of Christian conversion and its effects on poetry.

Resignation B

Susan E. Deskis unites source and generic study in “Jonah and Genre in *Resignation B*” (*Medium Ævum* 67, 189–200). Pursuing Shücking’s suggestion that *Resignation B* concerns a specific narrative, she concludes that the poem offers Jonah’s thoughts between his expulsion from the whale and his entry into Nineveh. The poem’s speaker, like Jonah, feels both God’s anger and his own guilt, and each man seems resigned to a journey he did not choose while fearing that his powers of rhetoric and judgment are insufficient. Apparently contradictory statements by the poem’s narrator about receiving both help and pain from others fit the Old Testament sailors, who

try to help Jonah but must throw him overboard. Three Old English homilies tell Jonah's story, each with one or more details similar to *Resignation B*: the use of the phrase 'buy a boat' to mean hiring passage; Jonah's fear of Nineveh's inhabitants; suffering as a result of God's plan. Deskis then turns to the question of genre. Stanley argued for *Resignation* as a penitential poem, but the speaker of *B* seems to lack contrition. Deskis finds more ties with the elegies, poems in which personal suffering is universalized. *Resignation B* and the elegies tend to contrast past and present, highlight the speaker's state of mind, treat the theme of exile, and give highly specific details without revealing the speaker's identity. Because *Resignation B* does not offer positive memories of the past or conclude by noting the world's evanescence, it is a 'lament' rather than an elegy. Still, the poet deploys elegiac convention to bring to life the story of Jonah in *Resignation B*.

The Ruin

In "The Ruin: A Reading of the Old English Poem" (*Litteraria Pragensia* 15, 15–33), Helena Znojemska argues that *The Ruin* is a riddle containing its own solution. Lines 1–11, "the proposal of the riddle" (17), present the ruins. While they allude to human construction, compounds verbally joining architectural features to natural phenomena (such as frost) make the ruined city an object which the natural world has taken from human culture. The phrase *enta geweorc* (2b) further removes the city from human experience. Yet the first word, *wraetlic*, emphasizes both wonder and skill in ornament, and judging the skill of the city's fabrication places it back in the province of the "tame" or human culture. The second section of the poem, legible from 19 on, claims the city as human work through descriptions that fulfill readers' expectations of a great city, an ideal heroic life centered on the mead hall as in *Beowulf*. This ideal is nostalgic: the ruin offers a Foucauldian heterotropy of compensation, creating "a perfect space" (26) to replace the failures of the speaker's own space. The heterotropy resembles *Wanderer's* memories of the lost past (37–57). Both offer fantasies of worldly consolation, but only *Wanderer* presents an explicit Christian consolation. Though *Ruin* lacks its closing lines and explicit consolation, Znojemska argues that early clues point to a Christian consolation. The words *wigsteal* and *hergas* (27 and 29) may derive from *wig* and *here*, referring to combat—but they could also derive from *weob* and *berig*, referring to pagan temples. In this reading, the reference to *entas* means not 'giants' but pagan gods. What has been lost in the apparently ideal city is a pagan culture; the Christian consolation lies in recognizing the irony and concluding that worldly consolation does not exist. Znojemska concludes that the poem, like her own reading of it, attempts to recover the original context of a work of art. While some resonance is possible, full recovery never is.

The Rune Poem

R. I. Page offers a wealth of materials relating to "The Icelandic Rune-Poem" in *Nottingham Medieval Studies* 42, 1–37. These alliterating collections of kennings exist in two manuscripts of c. 1500 and 1539–58. After describing the manuscripts and editions, Page transcribes each manuscript and offers a detailed commentary. He notes that comparison of the manuscripts indicates not a single source or archetype but the existence of a large body of material on runes from which Icelandic writers could select as late as the eighteenth century. Page offers further transcripts and commentary for some of the late materials. He concludes that two to four of the stanzas seem to have a standard version and another five come close, while two show no standard whatsoever. Some variants also suggest that the early poems' triadic structure coexisted with a tradition in which only two kennings were supplied for each rune. Finally, Page concludes that reconstruction could at best recover a poem for the late period from which the manuscripts themselves date, and that the manuscripts offer antiquarian riddles, not a method for teaching students to write. Page then offers an edition based on all his sources, to be used in concert with his transcripts. In closing he advocates great caution in using the Icelandic version to elucidate the Norwegian or Anglo-Saxon rune poems or using the latter two to establish readings in the Icelandic poem. His appendix offers a translation of his edition with translation of the most significant variants and some additional commentary.

Soul and Body II

In "Violence and Ideological Inversion in the Old English *Soul's Address to the Body*" (*Exemplaria* 10, 271–85), Michelle Hoek writes that violence and inversion arise on the borders between dualistic terms: soul/body, prisoner/torturer, interior/exterior, spoken/written. In the poem, the soul presents itself traditionally as prisoner of the body. Yet in fact, as the 'inferior social construct,' the mute, decaying body is hostage to the soul's verbal torture. Meanwhile, its interior/exterior division is literally dissolved by the worms in Kristevan abjection. Refusing the Eucharist results in the perversely similar devouring of the body by worms. The most obvious boundary between internal and external is the mouth, and the same mouth which engaged in physical gluttony now finds itself punished by losing the more spiritual capacity for speech. The body becomes a Foucauldian spectacle for those who might challenge the Church: if prayer, fasts, and Eucharist are not observed, exile and abjection follow. Hoek concludes that the soul's verbal torture of the body cannot be effective as the body cannot hear. Moreover, the mute body proves a more powerful sign than the speaking soul; the body itself will answer for both on the Day of Judgment. Hoek links the privileging of silent sign over spoken voice to the privileging of written word over voice, also part of Foucault's 'politics of

terror': the Church need not prove its silent, internal authority. She closes by cautioning that in reading *Soul and Body* we should not feel superior to medieval Christians: we have simply reversed the hierarchy, privileging the body while still objectivizing it.

Wanderer

Paul de Lacy draws attention to "Thematic and Structural Affinities: *The Wanderer* and *Ecclesiastes*" (*Neophilologus* 82,125–37). After reviewing the extensive literature on the poem, he concludes that *Wanderer* does contain a radical disjunction in theme and tone between the body and the opening and closing lines, and that previous attempts to find a genre or analogues for it have failed. Yet *Ecclesiastes* similarly dwells on the ephemeral nature of the world, offering both individual experience and proverbial support. Both *Wanderer* and *Ecclesiastes* then abruptly end by declaring God's goodness and the necessity of living in His ways without thematic or structural preparation. Both books also start with a commentator's voice, move to a character's voice, and then return to the commentator's voice (although de Lacy notes that some count three speakers in *Wanderer*). Throughout the article de Lacy traces a number of specific parallels in tone, voice, structure, and imagery. He ends with a warning against finding Scriptural analogues for every element, noting that the poet makes effective use of native tradition as well—one reason why the Biblical analogue has remained undetected for so long.

Graham Holderness offers a new verse translation of "The Wanderer" in *English* 47 (99–102, plus Editorial Commentary 165–8, although the editor has here incorrectly called the poem "The Seafarer"). His rendering captures much of the sound of Old English: most of his lines comprise two half-lines of two beats each; alliteration occurs within most half-lines and sometimes binds whole lines together; and he varies the length of the lines where the source text becomes hypermetric (although he shortens rather than lengthens his lines). Readers desiring an impressionistic translation may appreciate this one. Holderness addresses readers who cannot read Old English, providing a brief introduction to Old English and its verse in the commentary. Many liberties have been taken. The 115 lines of the original now exceed 160. Phrases and occasionally whole sentences are added or repeat with variation those that Holderness has already translated, and a few words are omitted. Many renderings are loose, sometimes altering the meaning: when Holderness translates the personal nouns "wita" (65) and "beorn" (70) as "Wisdom," he lends the poem an Old Testament flavor the Old English really does not carry here. (He notes in his commentary that he has added echoes from later Bible translations.) His translation of "enta geweorc" (87) as "the edifices of the elders" rationalizes the text, and his insertion of the first-person pronoun into his translation of line 90 changes the speaker's

voice. The conclusion of the poem expands the brief aphorisms of the Old English into fuller moralization. Holderness's translation indeed offers readers without access to Old English a taste of the sound and power of the original, but readers seeking a better understanding of the source text may want to look elsewhere.

Wife's Lament

Carol Hough's "*The Wife's Lament* Line 15B and *Daniel* Line 499B: Two Notes on Place-Name Evidence" (*English Language Notes* 35, 1–4) offers solutions to two cruxes through place-name evidence. In *The Wife's Lament* 15b, the phrase "her heard" has posed problems that most editors resolve by emending the manuscript or treating the words separately. Conybeare, however, suggested the phrase means 'hard conditions here'—a reading supported by place-name evidence that shows *beard* used for land that is difficult to work or 'cheerless.' In *Daniel*, 499b, Nebuchadnezzar's dream-tree is described, "Næs he bearwe gelic," "unlike a [tree in] a grove." Some would take grove-trees as small, but this goes against place-name evidence that trees in groves were often big. Instead, *bearu* in place-names seems to indicate 'isolated wood.' Thus Hough takes the world-embracing tree of Nebuchadnezzar's dream as 'not isolated,' or 'ubiquitous.' She concludes that examining place-names can help resolve significant poetic cruxes.

Raymond Tripp, signing himself "Sub-Deacon Bede," offers a new translation titled "The Riddle of the Soul" (*In Geardagum* 19, 55–6). He declares in a note that "The psychological and social purview of secular humanism has caused this homiletic poem . . . to be translated as 'The Wife's Lament'" (55) but provides no further discussion of his reading. Several translation choices will be controversial. In lines 18, 27, and 42, the words *monnan* and *mon*, rendered 'man' by most translators, are taken as *man* or *evil* (although in line 27, "Heht mec mon wunian on wuda bearwe," Tripp's "The evil of the man keeps me in this wooded grove," takes "mon" as "evil" but also supplies ModE "man"). These renderings lend a moralistic tone that most translations lack. Some liberties are taken in other lines: "sceal" of line 43 is generally translated "must," not Tripp's "shall"; "holdra freonda" in 17a becomes Tripp's "wholesome lovers" rather than "loyal friends." Many lines are close to previous renderings, but Tripp adds some nice touches, such as "storme behrmed" (48) as the vivid "pasted with freezing storms." The use of some alliteration and the retention of the source text's allusive style help retain some Anglo-Saxon flavor, but the title and translation certainly challenge conventional wisdom on the poem.

Wulf and Eadwacer

Ioana I. Petrescu addresses "'Wulf and Eadwacer' and the 19th Century Romantic Poems" (*Orality and Literacy in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Herbert Pilch, Script-Oralia 83,

Tübingen, 1996, 167–76). Petrescu maintains that romanticism (like classicism) is an essence that transcends literary history. *Wulf and Eadwacer* can partake of this essence while remaining an embryonic example that anticipates the Romantic era. Petrescu identifies a number of Romantic characteristics in the “genetic code” (170) of the Old English poem, including: an ‘I’ who is not merely a type but represents the poet; love-longing; spontaneity of composition; “sentimental confession, contemplative meditation and nostalgic reveries . . . and a melancholy mood” (170); an effeminate character in a personal situation; and “a profoundly individual psychological structure . . . still engaged in the problems of the community” (172). *Wulf and Eadwacer*, Petrescu concludes, reveals a timeless romantic essence in the human spirit.

N.G.D.

Battle of Maldon

Christopher M. Cain tackles the issues of *ofermod*, loyalty, and national calamity in “‘The Fearful Symmetry’ of *Maldon*: The Apocalypse, the Poet, and the Millenium” (*Comitatus* 28 (1997), 1–16). Following a review of scholarly opinion on the precise meaning of *ofermod* (the consensus now being that the term is every bit as pejorative as the lexical evidence suggests), Cain historicizes the poem’s events and speculates that Byrhtnoth’s decision, despite the poet’s comment, was neither unwise nor motivated by pride. He argues for the tactical and strategic necessity of confronting the Vikings then and there. Thus Byrhtnoth’s *ofermod* is revealed as a “poetic contrivance” (8), one element in a series of apparent contradictions in the poem which Cain explains thus: “Byrhtnoth is exalted as a model of heroism, yet accused of *ofermod*; the theme of loyalty is exemplified by the same English *fyrð* that also demonstrates the ignominy of cowardice; the justness of the English cause is severely undermined by their defeat. This unevenness is not the contradiction some have felt it to be but the poet’s direct reflection of the situation—political and spiritual—of Anglo-Saxon England at the millenium” (13). He views the overarching contrast in the poem to be that between “an appreciation for a glorious past and the anticipation of a future that is uncertain and ominous” (15).

Paul Cavill explores “Maxims in *The Battle of Maldon*” as expressions of a socially sanctioned world view (*Neophilologus* 82, 631–44). He explains that they function both affectively and evaluatively, depending on their reference to either future or past conduct. “They have authority as accepted answers to recurrent errors, problems, and conflicts” (631). Cavill isolates five such maxims in the poem, two spoken by Byrhtnoth, one by Dunnere and the remaining two by Byrhtwold. His close reading of the maxims and their contexts leads him to develop the argument that these maxims contribute to characterization and narrative flow, but also reflect the poet’s own agenda in creating an ideal of men standing by their lord in death. The maxims reflect the characters of the speakers, and

the poet “gives implicit support to the notion that maxims are proverbial and traditional by giving them to two kinds of characters: the old and experienced warriors who function as spokesmen for the English company as a whole, and the noble retainers, namely Byrhtnoth and Byrhtwold; and the simple *ceorl*, Dunnere, who is not necessarily old, but like the Shakespearean fool, speaks the truth in wise saws” (641). Moreover, the “maxims express the ideal and the proper order against the tendency of the prevailing situation” (641). A truly enlightening study.

Lee Forester highlights the metonymy of Old Germanic alliterative poetry in “On the Semiotics of Germanic Alliterative Verse” (*Interdigitations*. Ed. Gerald F. Carr, Wayne Harbert and Lihua Zhang, New York: Peter Lang, 81–91). The first half of the article is a summary of Jakobsen’s model of communication and semiotics. The second half applies these insights to data drawn from *The Battle of Brunanburh* (a kenning from line 6) and *The Battle of Maldon*. Forester focuses on metonymy and the juxtaposition of elements to reinforce an idea, highlighting nominal compounds paired syntactically and strengthened by alliteration and word stress. His conclusion: “The data found in Old English poetry seem to indicate that, according to Jakobsen’s basic model, Germanic alliterative poetry is in many ways prose-like, because it is not primarily metaphorical. [. . .] If, then, this type of verse shows devices evincing metonymic properties typical of prose, it follows that the study of such poetry, guided by the methodology of semiotics, can contribute to our overall understanding of poeticity and helps rectify the imbalance of scholarly over-attention to the pure metaphor and partially redirect it towards the under-rated metonym” (89).

In a note, “Dialect and Literary Dialect in *The Battle of Maldon*” (*N&Q* 45, 272–73), Mark Griffith offers further evidence for “an area of origin for the poem in Essex or the south-east” (273). In his edition of the poem Don Scragg had noted a number of eastern spellings and Danish words that suggested an eastern composition. F. C. Robinson pointed to a high concentration of Scandinavianisms in the speech of the Viking messenger, arguing that they represent the earliest recorded use of dialect in English. Griffith is the first to observe that the eastern features in the poem are clustered in the speeches of Byrhtnoth and Leofsunu of Sturmer, a man whose Essex pedigree is thus made explicit. He considers the possibility that this is another use of literary dialect deployed by the poet, but in the end rejects this theory because most of the spellings in question are inverted, not phonetic. Griffith concludes that it is more likely that a poet from the east/south-east departed from the conventional spelling he was accustomed to when “representing the words of people he knew to be, or had a particular interest in representing, as local” (273).

Carole Hough brings grammatical and stylistic arguments to bear on a line in the poem whose precise meaning has eluded scholarly consensus (“*The Battle of Maldon* Line 33.”

RES 49, 322–26). Pivotal to our interpretation of the line, “þon we swa hearde [hi]lde dælon,” is whether we take *hearde* to be an adjective or an adverb, and whether the phrase *hilde dælon* is to be translated “to engage in” or “to deal out.” The latter is important because it has implications for the referent of the pronoun *we*: does it refer to *both* the Vikings and the English, or just to the Vikings? Hough exhaustively reviews the commentary on and translations of the line, notes a parallel construction at line 59 (“Ne sceole ge swa softe sinc gegangan”) and argues convincingly that the “cumulative weight of evidence . . . points to the following interpretation of the line: ‘than that we [the Vikings] should so fiercely deal out battle’” (326).

Every student of the poem is familiar with that major turning point in both battle and poem, where Odda’s sons—Godric, Godwine, and Godwig—are the first to flee (ll. 185–6). In “Odda in *The Battle of Maldon*” (*N&Q* 45 (1998), 169–72), Carole Hough takes a close look at the question of whether the sons of Odda were simple cowards or evil traitors. The poet later brands one of them *earb*, ‘cowardly,’ a description that is traditionally thought to clinch the motive for their flight. But E. R. Anderson has argued that their flight was “a planned and daring betrayal by Anglo-Danes of divided loyalties” (170), and as Hough notes, his reading has been accepted by recent critics. The main pillar of this argument is the idea that the name ‘Odda’ is more Scandinavian than English, and as such hints at conflicted loyalties among the sons who deny Byrhtferth their aid in battle through their flight. Hough’s purpose in this article is “to draw attention to toponymic evidence indicating that in fact the name of Godric’s father is of native Anglo-Saxon origin” (170). She establishes, in fact, that the name *Odda* appears in numerous contexts virtually devoid of any Scandinavian influence. Lacking unambiguous and distinctive Scandinavian associations, then, the name can no longer be used to argue that Odda’s three sons fled the battlefield as a deliberate act of betrayal by Danish sympathizers.

Ann Williams casts a historian’s eye on the relationship between literature and history in “The Battle of Maldon and ‘The Battle of Maldon’: History, Poetry and Propaganda” (*Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 2.2 (1992), 35–44). The conventions, form, and content of literary works make using such texts as historical sources a difficult endeavor, fraught with all kinds of problems for the historian. As an example Williams considers the case of the site of the battle itself, information provided exclusively by the poem. She notes that while the causeway on “Panta’s Stream” is a reasonable enough site for the battle, the defense of this crossing and the further events that flow from the two armies being drawn up facing each other just so could just as well be a literary device (37). From here Williams proceeds to the meat of her argument, which focuses on the theme of loyalty and its representation in the poem and the real world of the Anglo-Saxons. “The question is whether the celebration of loyalty is more than a matter of poetic con-

vention, a function of the literary form to which the *Battle of Maldon* belongs” (38). In seeking to answer this question, Williams reviews the historical basis for the depiction in the poem of the relationship between Byrhtnoth and his men. She argues that loyalty as it is portrayed in the poem is no doubt an ideal, but it is also one “with substance in the social fabric of the time” (39). Drawing on historical sources like the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the law codes, and the writings of Wulfstan, Williams further shows how the theme of disloyalty on a large scale was a major concern of the poet and his times. The literary context of the poem—the *Æthelredian Chronicle*, Wulfstan’s *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* and *The Institutes of Polity*—are what lend it its historical interest. “It is loyalty—the fidelity of lord and man and of both to the king—which upholds land and people, and disloyalty which brings defeat and disaster” (44).

Dream of the Rood

Elaine Glanz sees an apparent crux in the traditional interpretations of 62a of *The Dream of the Rood* (“Standan steame bedrifenne in *The Dream of the Rood*.” *Mediaevalia* 21 [1997], 189–208). She reviews the dictionary and glossary definitions of both *steame* and *bedrifenne* and notes how scholars have based their interpretation of this phrase (“stand drenched with blood”) on its poetic context, rather than the lexicographical evidence. Because the two words in question are not otherwise recorded in OE with just these senses, she looks elsewhere for an explanation of their meaning. Glanz takes these elements in order, considering *steame* first and pulling together an impressive number of passages from OE and Latin texts to show that “The association of aromas with the suffering of Christ and his cross in early Church writings, the mention of similar odors in Old English writings about the cross, and the frequent association of *steam* and *steman* with words suggesting “odors” in Anglo-Saxon glosses strongly support the possibility of an aroma surrounding the cross of Christ at the moment of his death” (202). Glanz concludes that the most appropriate meanings for the verb *bedrifan* must be “to cover over” or “to overwhelm,” senses she finds reinforced by a parallel use of the verb in *Andreas*. “The cross of Christ, as it describes itself in the *Dream of the Rood*, could, also, have been overwhelmed” or “covered over” or even more appropriately “enveloped,” by an aromatic vapor at the moment of the savior’s death” (203). The problem, here, as I see it, is that the cross may just as well be “covered” over with *steam* in the sense of hot, fresh blood, and despite Glanz’s objection to the contrary, the phrase in question may have everything to do with blood, as the next line in the poem strongly suggests “ic wæs mid strælum forwundod.” Still, the weight of her evidence, especially for *steam* as “aromatic vapor” is considerable, and students of the poem would do well not to overlook this study.

David Hillary has translated *The Dream of the Rood*

("The Dream of the Rood" *Eppworth Review* 24 [1997], 46–49) because "It is a beautiful poem and a work of genius but Old English is now hard to read." He "prepared this translation into Modern English so that we can enjoy it and be inspired by it without learning an ancient language" (46). Hillary intends his translation of the poem to be used as worship material, suggesting the insertion of a song, a prayer or meditation at the natural breaks in the narrative. His very brief introduction touches on the poem's heroic portrayal of Christ, the use of alliteration, and the four-stress line of the original. No mention is made of the edition used for the translation, or whether other translations were consulted.

Bruce Mitchell's contribution to the Robinson *Festschrift*, "The Dream of the Rood Repunctuated" (*Words and Works*. Ed. Baker and Howe, Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 143–57), deals with the problems inherent in using modern punctuation in the editing of Old English texts. (I previously reviewed this article for *The Medieval Review*, 99.03.02.) Mitchell laments the lack of attention given his proposal for a new system of punctuation since first he made it in 1980. *Carthago delenda est* is his refrain, and in this article he once again sounds the call for us to face "the inadequacy of the manuscript punctuation and the unsuitability and irrelevance of modern punctuation" (144). He modifies here the system proposed earlier to fulfil the following requirements: "It should be used only when essential and should involve a minimum of interfering whistle blasts from an officious umpire-editor. It should allow the river of poetry to ebb and flow so that the reader can appreciate its variety—now swift-flowing, with swirling currents and rapids, now calm and leisurely, now slow-moving and majestic—but should not be taken as implying an increase in the speed of delivery" (146). Mitchell's most basic principle is quite simply: No punctuation where the sense is clear without any. The theory is applied to the text in a repunctuated *The Dream of the Rood*. Those familiar with his previously suggested system will note that most of the unusual punctuation marks have been jettisoned in this new one. There remains only the essentially 'medieval' elevated point, which he uses to indicate "a pause which might vary between today's comma and full stop and in general is used to mark off clauses when this is necessary or desirable" (148). An initial reading of the text proves his point, and I should think that his proposed system will receive a good deal of attention within the context of the current discussions of the editing of Old English poetry; he includes an invitation to all readers to send him their responses and comments on the system.

Adelheid L. J. Thieme's thesis in "Gift Giving as a Vital Element of Salvation in *The Dream of the Rood*" (*South Atlantic Review* 63.2, 108–23) is that the *Rood* poet applies this secular moral principle, one that contributes to the stability and cohesion of secular society, to the spiritual realm. In her view, the Dreamer "comes to realize that the vision of the gold-adorned cross is a gift from God which he is called upon

to reciprocate by composing the poem. The poem, in turn, can be interpreted as a gift to the audience, so that the people who listen to it may render Christ the gift of faith that his act of salvation demands" (109).

Riddles

A. N. Doane challenges assumptions about the editing of Old English texts in "Spacing, Placing, and Effacing: Scribal Textuality and Exeter Riddle 30a/b." (*New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*. Ed. Keefer and O'Keefe. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 45–65). Modern editorial practice, he claims, which is largely author and reader-centered and biased toward an aesthetic/authoritative approach, produces "clean" texts which do not require of the reader that he make an effort to understand the textual form of a text in its original documentary form (48). One of his main points in the first, theoretical part of this study is that Old English texts in manuscripts are "not arranged visually, as modern editions would have us believe, but sonically" (49). He takes Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe's point that "the textuality of the manuscripts is not ours" a step further by arguing that "irregular text features parallel and literally imitate features of speech not formally marked by modern textual rhetorical pauses, word-stress and variations of pitch and loudness" (49). To illustrate the "speaker-based textuality" that differs radically from that of Classical texts, Doane turns to the two versions of Riddle 30 copied by the same scribe into the Exeter Book. Doane focuses on the layout of the text on the page, highlights the changes made by the scribe to the text by means of variants in phrasing, but calls attention to his faithful rendition, in both instances, of the spacing of its suprasegmentals. "The performances of the Exeter scribe suggest that our textuality tends to cause us to reverse the priorities of Old English scribes, to elevate to first place the phonemic string, which was nearly transparent and freely changeable, and to erase the significant patterns of layout and spacing that were to the scribe inviolable but which to us are to be ignored as the incidental products of an outmoded and mysterious form of textuality" (64).

This year's bibliography rendered no fewer than three new solutions to one of the most solution-resistant of the collection, no. 74. In "An Answer for Exeter Book Riddle 74" (*Words and Works*. Ed. Baker and Howe. Pp. 45–58—also reviewed in *The Medieval Review* 99.03.02.), Daniel Donoghue offers a faux apology to Fred Robinson for the pun in his title, and an only marginally more serious one to all future students of Old English who will use Mitchell and Robinson's *A Guide to Old English*. The text of Riddle 74 printed therein is not provided with a solution, hence Donoghue's apology for playing the spoiler by offering an answer to it. What could be "a young maiden, a gray-haired woman, and a peerless man at the same time," and moreover fly with the birds and swim with the fish? Donoghue's response is the barnacle goose. There is no consensus solution to Riddle 74,

though this semi-legendary bird does enjoy that status as the answer to Riddle 10. Noting that the latter rests largely on post-Conquest materials, Donoghue surveys the evidence for the legend of this bird that was believed to start life as a shellfish and mature into a waterfowl. Following this fascinating account, Donoghue suggests that the poet has capitalized on the belief that this bird did not participate in the procreation of its own species—they were thought to generate spontaneously on driftwood in the sea—and hence they shared one quality with a virgin (*faemne geong*), old woman (*feaxhar cwene*) and single man (*aenlic rinc*): sexual inactiveness. Donoghue succeeds in unpacking this riddle in convincing fashion and his solution strikes me as superior in many ways to others offered before it.

Riddle 39 is another one of the Exeter collection's disputed poems. Solutions for it have been wide-ranging, among the most popular being 'cloud' and 'moon,' while the most recent is 'speech' (endorsed by the *Dictionary of Old English*). Antonina Harbus argues here ("Exeter Book Riddle 39 Reconsidered." *SN* 70, 139–48) in support of what she deems the most convincing of all solutions offered thus far, Stanley Greenfield's 'dream.' "Though the particularly allusive nature of this riddle removes any hope of an unqualified solution, another look at the clues and the language of the poem will suggest 'revelatory dream' as the most likely option and attest the poetic skill of this provocative riddler" (139). Harbus' analysis shows that all the clues in this riddle fit the solution 'true dream.' Moreover, she argues, the poem's verbal and stylistic qualities parallel the features of its subject, and as such its form is as much a part of the conundrum as its contents. "More specifically, the very nature of the dream, its allusive suggestiveness and the absolute necessity for 'telling' and interpretation, are reflected exactly in the genre and form of this riddle" (147). Harbus' treatment of the subject constitutes a fittingly nuanced and convincing extension of Greenfield's original proposal.

In another gem of an article, Carole Hough shows that attempts to determine the provenance of Riddle 49 in the Exeter Book based on the OE word *gop* are ill-advised ("Place-Names and the Provenance of Riddle 49." *Neophilologus* 82, 617–18). The theory had been that *gop* (slave, servant), found in the riddle, was of Irish origin, and that, because loans from Irish are characteristic of Old Northumbrian, the riddle must have been composed there. Hough applies place-name evidence to demonstrate that indeed the word appears in Anglo-Saxon place-names which occur outside Northumbria. While her argument does not discount the Old Irish origin of the word, it does show that the provenance of Riddle 49 must remain an open question.

John D. Niles establishes a set of criteria for the solution of the riddles and applies it to Riddle 74 in "Exeter Book Riddle 74 and the Play of the Text" (*ASE* 27, 169–207). To be acceptable, any answer must be (a) philologically exact, (b) complete and self-consistent, (c) elegant, and (d) contextu-

ally apposite, as well. The answer Niles proposes—an oak tree turned into a boat—would appear to meet all of these. "No word has been twisted from its literal meaning or used in a special sense, apart from appropriate metaphorical extension" (a; 193). "Every word of the riddle, every image, has been accounted for in a manner that is free of contradiction" (b; 193). The elegance (c) of his solution he leaves to the reader to judge, but to the question of contextual fit (d), i.e. "Is the proposed solution anachronistic, generally scandalous, or otherwise monstrous on contextual grounds?" Niles responds with a resounding 'no', and indeed the reader will agree with him that "None of the conventions of the riddle genre is violated by this solution, and some are aptly filled" (193). "An oak tree turned into a boat" makes for a plausible and elegant answer. All three of this year's articles on Riddle 74 provide solutions that merit consideration and comparison, and it may well be that the other two reviewed here would pass the test of Niles' methodology. But Niles' article offers more than just a solution to a difficult riddle. His discussion of Riddle 74 is set in the larger context of a consideration of the process of reading poetry itself. "In its brevity, its use of the first-person voice, and its reliance on metaphor, personification and paradox, Riddle 74 is a distillation of the Anglo-Saxon poetic art—an art that thrives on the fiction that is a gift of words, an act of verbal exchange. Since literature has never wholly shed this underlying fiction of orality, the process of reading the Exeter Book riddles thus typifies the process of reading poetry in general" (202). At the end of this piece Niles expresses the hope that the reader will have at least enjoyed the exercise of close reading that the article provides, even if his methodology and solution do not find acceptance. This reader has enjoyed it immensely, and recommends this as a must-read for all those interested in the OE riddles.

In this year's third treatment of Riddle 74, Mercedes Salvador Bello likewise proposes a new methodology for the solution of problematic riddles in the *Exeter Book* in "Direct and Indirect Clues; Exeter Riddle No. 74 Reconsidered" (*NM* 99, 17–29). "Direct" clues are the guiding elements provided by the riddler that are to be taken as "true" and in fact can lead the potential solver directly to a solution. "Indirect" clues function to divert the reader from the true answer. "The degree of riddling difficulty is therefore proportional to the complexity of the misleading clues—which work as virtual traps—and the riddler's ability depends on the skilful combination of direct and indirect hints" (17). Having first defined her methodology and then illustrated it by means of a non-Anglo-Saxon riddle, Salvador Bello applies it to one of the notoriously difficult riddles in the Exeter Book. Various solved quill-pen, cuttlefish, sea-eagle, siren, water, swan, ship's figure-head and soul, Salvador Bello offers a fresh analysis supporting the solution "swan." By treating the direct and indirect clues separately, she is able to disentangle the various traps set by the riddler, even eking out evidence from the multiple paradoxes of the indirect clues to support the solu-

tion of the riddle. At the very least the evidence points to a bird of some kind (compatible with Donoghue's solution, above). A very convincing argument, well-applied.

D.F.J.

Works not seen

N. J. Higham, "The Context of Brunanburh." *Names, Places, and People*. Ed. Alexander R. Rumble and David Mills. P. warkins, 1997: 144–56.

Renate Laszlo, *Köcherfliege und Seiden raupe in den altenglischen Rätseln*. Marburg: Tectum, 1997.

———. *Die Sonne bringt es an den Tag: ein altenglisches Rätsel des siebten Jahrhunderts und seine Lösung*. Marburg: Tectum, 1998.

c. *Beowulf*

Text

Our review this year begins with a review article: Johan Gerritsen's scathing review of Kevin Kiernan's revised edition (1996) of "*Beowulf*" and the "*Beowulf*" Manuscript ("*Beowulf* Revisited," *English Studies* 79 [1998], 82–86). Gerritsen takes Kiernan to task for failing to update his arguments in light of the criticism levelled against the first edition of his book. Gerritsen argues against the codicological analysis in Kiernan's newly added essay and against his spelling of the hero's name (Biowulf). In the second half of his essay, Gerritsen poses that the palimpsest was not created by Scribe B, but could represent a "freshening up" of the manuscript by Laurence Nowell.

A different type of scholarly communication is described by J. R. Hall in another of his always enlightening studies of the history of *Beowulf* as we know it: "F. J. Furnivall's Letter to the Royal Library, Copenhagen, Asking That the Thorkelin Transcripts of *Beowulf* Be Sent to London for the Use of Julius Zupitza," *NeQ* 45 (1998), 267–72. In 1880, Furnivall, head of the EETS, wrote to Christian Bruun, librarian of the Royal Library in Copenhagen, asking that the Thorkelin transcripts be sent to London for Zupitza to use in preparing the EETS facsimile edition of the poem. Hall prints and analyzes this letter, arriving at three main observations. First, Furnivall's letter refers to "the copies of the MS made by Thorkelin & Grundtvig" (p. 268). Grundtvig never made a copy from the manuscript, so of course, none was sent. Second, based on the dates of Furnivall's letter and of the permission granted to send the Thorkelin transcripts, Hall calculates that Zupitza would have had access to the transcripts for a period of seventeen days at most, which accounts for his errors in the use of them. Finally, Hall explains the irony by which Furnivall cites George Stephens as a supporter of Zupitza's work, when in fact, Stephens had publicly decried the assignment of the project to the German scholar.

Other mysteries of collaboration are unravelled by Kevin S. Kiernan in "The Conybeare-Madden Collation of Thorkelin's *Beowulf*," in *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their*

Heritage, ed. Pulsiano and Treharne, pp. 117–36. Kiernan uses Frederic Madden's journal to piece together the events linking Madden with Conybeare and his collation. This task is complicated by the fact that Madden re-copied (and doubtless edited and/or rewrote) his journal for the relevant years. Nevertheless, Kiernan follows Madden's collating work on an almost daily basis and reports Madden's disparaging remarks about the collation by Conybeare (then recently deceased). Kiernan goes on to illustrate the value of these two collations in appraising Thorkelin's editorial practices and the rate of deterioration of the manuscript.

Moving backwards in time from transcribers and collators to actual scribes, we find Immaculada Senra Silva's study of "The Rune 'eþel' and Scribal Writing Habits in the *Beowulf* MS," *NM* 99 (1998), 241–47. Eþel is the only rune appearing in the Nowell Codex; it is used three times by Scribe 1 and not at all by Scribe 2. Senra Silva describes the distribution of this rune in the manuscript as unsystematic, and concludes that Scribe 1 must have found it in his exemplar because he does not use it in his prose.

A notorious crux in *Beowulf* occurs at line 62, where the manuscript identifies the fourth of Healfdene's children as "elan cwen." Steve Peter addresses that crux with an interesting, though highly speculative, argument in "Healfdene's Honey: A Bear Bearn in *Beowulf*," in *Mír Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay Jasanoff et al. (Innsbruck, 1998), pp. 573–84. Believing that so prominent a woman as Healfdene's daughter ought to be named in the poem, Peter favors the emendation offered by Clarke and Malone: hyrde ic þæt Yrse / wæs Onelan cwen. Peter follows Olrik in taking Yrsa as a loanword meaning "bear," but he deplors the lack of alliteration with the other names in Healfdene's family. To solve that problem, he proposes that Yrse is a nickname used to achieve alliteration in the line and that the woman's real name, back in the earlier Germanic period, was *Hunig+ (as in "honey-eater=bear").

Anatoly Liberman chooses not to emend the text of *Beowulf*, but to redefine one of its troublesome words: "The 'Icy' Ship of Scyld Scefing: *Beowulf* 33," in *Bright is the Ring of Words: Festschrift für Horst Weinstock*, ed. Clausdirk Pollner et al. (Bonn, 1996), pp. 183–94. Some scholars have found the description of Scyld's funeral ship as "isig ond utfus" difficult to gloss, in part because "utfus" is a hapax, and a rather strange one at that. Liberman argues that the very strangeness of "utfus" (mainly, its use of an adverb as the initial element of a compound) marks it as a neologism coined by the poet to alliterate with "isig"; therefore, "isig" should not be emended. This pairing of the words suggests that they should have some sort of complementary or tautologous semantic relationship, which does not occur with the usual translations of "isig" as "ice-covered" or "shining like ice." Liberman explains and illustrates that the words for "ice" and "iron" were frequently merged or confused in medieval Germanic languages,

and he favors the latter meaning for "isig": "made of iron" or, perhaps, "agitter with metal."

In a very brief article, Susan J. Hubert makes "The Case for Emendation of *Beowulf* 250b," *In Geardagum* 19 (1998), 51–54. In that line, the Coastguard says that Beowulf must be a person of some note "næfne him his wlite leoge" [unless his countenance belies him]. "Næfne" is the result of emendation, as the manuscript here reads "næfre." Fred Robinson has argued against this emendation, but Hubert supports it on the grounds that the Coastguard is (appropriately) gruff and suspicious in his first remarks to the unexpected Geats, so the qualification of his compliment is not out of character.

Alfred Bammesberger has been typically busy examining the text of *Beowulf*; he published three textual notes in 1998. The first of these (in no particular order), is "The Reading of *Beowulf*, l. 31b," *NM* 99 (1998), 125–29. Bammesberger observes that lines 30–31 have long left readers with an uncomfortable feeling:

penden wordum weold wine Scyldinga—
leof landfruma lange ahte.

The "ahte" of 31b is usually parsed as the preterit of the verb "agan" [own] and line 31 translated "the beloved ruler of the land ruled for a long time." The discomfort comes in because "agan" does mean "own, possess," not, typically, "rule," and it should be provided with an object. Bammesberger circumvents the problem by proposing an alternate textual history for 31b: "If we assume that the archetype of the *Beowulf* text goes back to a period early in the eighth century" [a rather large assumption], the halfline might have read "langaehtae," the latter part of which represented an accusative form (used instrumentally) of the substantive "æht" [power]. According to Bammesberger, the manuscript form of 31b could have resulted from a combination of post-8c linguistic developments and scribal error. Thus reinterpreted, lines 30–31 read: "when the friend of the Scyldings, the dear lord of the land ruled in wide-extending power" (p. 127).

In a reinterpretation that presupposes no emendation, Bammesberger writes in support of Kemble's reading of line 962a: "The Half-Line *freond on frætwum* (*Beowulf* 962a), *NM* 99 (1998), 237–39. Since Thorpe's day, "on frætwum" has been taken to refer to Grendel's outfit or some aspect of his appearance, but Bammesberger points out that in crafting such a description the *Beowulf* poet generally prefers the preposition "in" to "on" and that he often uses "on" plus the dative to refer to the place where something happened. Thus, the "frætwa" in question would be the ornaments of the hall, Heorot, where Beowulf wishes Hrothgar could have seen Grendel fall.

Bammesberger's third article for this year addresses "The Half-Line *Grendeles mægum* (*Beowulf* 2353b)," *N&Q* 45 (1998), 2–4. Before Beowulf engages in his fateful battle against the dragon, he takes a moment to reflect back on

some of his earlier conflicts; specifically, his success in destroying "Grendeles mægum // laðan cynnes" (lines 2353b–54a). "Mægum" appears to be the dative plural of "mæg" [kinsman], but this reading violates narrative logic, as Beowulf actually killed Grendel himself and only one of his kin. Bammesberger attempts to solve this problem by proposing that "mægum" in 2353b and "magan" in 1391a represent remnants of a nominal dual. The evidence for this possibility is not yet strong.

Editions and translations

Those of us who teach *Beowulf* have, by and large, continued using Klaeber's edition to do so, despite our recognition that his text and notes are severely out of date. Now comes the most substantial of recent new options for the classroom: "*Beowulf*": *an Edition with Relevant Shorter Texts*, ed. Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson (Oxford and Cambridge, MA: Blackwell, 1998). This edition has a totally different feel from Klaeber's, perhaps because, as the editors point out, it was designed specifically for classroom use, or perhaps because our expectations of what the classroom demands may have changed. The edition comprises four main divisions, plus the necessary apparatus. In the Introduction, Mitchell and Robinson present very brief (3–4 page) overviews of various aspects of the poem: manuscript, dating, language, structure, style, meter, subject, and themes. These sections are written in a very friendly and accessible style, though more experienced scholars and students may find that style somewhat condescending in tone. Most of the discussions are fairly standard in content, though of course one could quibble with bits here and there. For example, the section on dating presents numerous reasons why scholars have rejected linguistic means of dating the poem, then uses primarily linguistic means to settle on a date of ca 680–800. The section on the language of *Beowulf* provides only one paragraph about the language of the poem itself; the rest of this part describes general features of OE grammar and syntax. That latter discussion seems superfluous considering that nearly all students come to *Beowulf* with some prior study of OE under their belts. The editors are not afraid to disagree with each other, as they do in the sections on Subject Matter (mainly Christian coloring) and thematics. After this introduction come the text and notes.

The philosophy of the editors has been to keep emendation and punctuation to a minimum, which represents a welcome change from Klaeber. The notes are conveniently presented at the foot of the page and offer grammatical glosses, comments on meter, and contextual interpretation. Here, as in the Introduction, references to the work of other scholars are almost nonexistent, and that is what I find troubling about this edition. As frustrating as it can be to navigate the oceans of information in Klaeber's *Beowulf*, one is never allowed to forget that there exists a great deal of research and, dare I say,

knowledge surrounding the poem. In this new edition, the enterprise of scholarship is deliberately concealed. I, at least, would rather engage my students in that enterprise than allow them to ignore it. The editors have also decided to provide each part of the poem with a subtitle describing its contents. They admit that some readers may find these summaries annoying; I did, but students may well find them helpful. Part III of the edition describes "How We Arrived at our Text." It explains such matters as scribal error and physical damage to the manuscript and discusses the editors' conservative approach to emendation and punctuation.

Part IV provides "The Background" to the poem: genealogical tables, clarifications of the Geatish-Swedish wars, and a fine section on "Archaeology and *Beowulf*" by Leslie Webster. This last includes many pictures and describes archaeological analogues to such elements of material culture as the hall, weapons, armor, ships, and burials. Next come some shorter Old English poems that can be used to situate *Beowulf* in its literary context: *Widsith*, *Deor*, *Waldere*, the Finnsburh Fragment, and an excerpt from *Maxims I*. Mitchell and Robinson made a wise decision to present these poems in OE with a facing PDE prose translation, as students in a *Beowulf* course are unlikely to have the time to do any additional translating themselves. Placing the poem in its context of history and legend is made easier by the presentation of some other types of texts: genealogies, biblical excerpts, bits of histories and sagas. Part IV concludes with a bibliography, which is very brief (only a few pages) in keeping with the editors' intention of keeping students happily in the dark about prior scholarship.

The Glossary to this edition is quite good. In it, every occurrence of a word is listed and parsed (except for some very common words like pronouns and forms of "beon"). The apparatus also includes a Glossary of Proper Names and some other linguistic aids like lists of common words, of common variant forms, and—my personal favorite—of pairs of words "Which Look Alike and Are Sometimes Easily Confused." The book concludes with a superfluous appendix describing "A New System of Punctuation"; superfluous because it is not the system used in this edition. In evaluating Mitchell and Robinson's *Beowulf*, one has to ask whether it is a good edition for students. Yes, it is, because of its ease of use and stripped-down text. However, in an ideal world, one would be able to pair this new, user-friendly edition with something like an updated, Hoops-like commentary that would reveal all the glories (and gaffes, I suppose) of the history of *Beowulf* scholarship.

Perhaps anticipating the objections of a pedant like myself, Fred C. Robinson also published "Some Reflections on Mitchell and Robinson's Edition of *Beowulf*," *MESN* 39 (1998), 27–29. Here, Robinson explains the student-friendly policy that led to editorial decisions such as minimalist punctuation; modern word- and line-breaks; limited discussion of topics like codicology, metrics, and palaeography; and the lack

of ambiguity in the glossary.

Peter S. Baker discusses a different type of edition in "The Reader, the Editor, and the Electronic Critical Edition," in *A Guide to Editing Middle English*, ed. Vincent P. McCarren and Douglas Moffet (Ann Arbor, 1998), pp. 263–83. Baker describes his own "working model of a program for readers of electronic editions" (p. 266) and includes *Beowulf* among his illustrations. [His software can still be found at <http://www.engl.virginia.edu/OE/>.] Baker's basic idea is to create a text with a series of "overlays" which would allow the reader to see a diplomatic text or one with such editorial interventions as capitalization, punctuation, and variants. The job of the editor would be to collect this information and make it available; the reader could then manipulate the overlays to produce a specialized text for his or her own use. The reader would not be able to discard textual evidence or editorial decisions, as these would always exist in the background. However, each reader could add variants in his or her own overlay. As Baker reminds us, *Beowulf* exists in only one manuscript, thus there are no variants, but its overlays could display such things as scribal corrections, readings from the Thorkelin transcripts, editorial emendations, and normalizations. So, "the electronic critical edition of the future will be animated and interactive, allowing and even encouraging readers to adapt the text to meet their needs or reflect their theoretical orientations" (p. 273). In the second half of the article, Baker demonstrates how the form of textual notes in a printed critical edition won't work on a computer, and he recommends the use of SGML as a standard. He goes on to describe and illustrate the use of SGML under the guidelines of the Text Encoding Initiative.

Of course, as I write this (in 2002), an electronic edition of *Beowulf* already exists. The genesis and production of that edition are described by Andrew Prescott, "Constructing Electronic *Beowulf*," in *Towards the Digital Library: the British Library's 'Initiatives for Access' Programme*, ed. Leona Carpenter et al. (London, 1998), pp. 30–49. Prescott had already delivered nearly all of this information in a 1997 article (see YWOES for that year), but this version was worth reading just for the apt sentence that describes Paul Szarmach as "one of the great academic entrepreneurs of Old English studies" (p. 31).

As yet a third type of edition there is Trevor Eaton's "*Beowulf*," *Read in Anglo-Saxon* on two CDs (Wadhurst, E. Sussex, 1997). Eaton reads the poem with enthusiasm and phonological accuracy, but far too rapidly. No Kemp Malone, he. The booklet that accompanies the CDs has a useful format, providing a brief plot summary and a detailed list of events and speeches keyed to the lines of the poem and the tracks of the CDs.

Translations of *Beowulf* were few this year, being limited to two, neither of which offers a complete version of the poem. Both are a little strange. The first is by S. R. Jensen, *Beowulf and the Monsters, Adapted and Abridged from the Old*

English Poem "Beowulf" (Sydney, 1997). This pamphlet-like publication begins with a rough map and an even rougher guide to pronunciation: h=g ("Hildeburh is pronounced rather like 'Hildeburg'") and h=k ("nibt is pronounced as 'nikt'"). The translation covers (parts of) three sections of the poem: the Grendel episode, the fight with Grendel's dam, and the fight against the dragon. Each part has an introduction and footnotes. The introductions can be dangerously speculative; for example, one links Grendel with Ingeld and Agnar and suggests that he might have a legitimate claim to the Danish throne. Another argues that the sword found in Grendel's lair "had once belonged to 'Healfdene', but had been taken by Ingeld ... as part of the spoils of combat" (p. 18). The absence of a bibliography allows these improbable interpretations to go without challenge. The translations themselves are given in fairly straightforward prose, except that they are peppered with OE words and phrases: "the kings of the nation in *geardagum* 'in days of yore'" or "he drew his *gomel swyrd* 'ancient sword'" (pp. 5, 39). I cannot think of any reason to recommend this booklet.

At least James W. Earl's translation is deliberately strange and has a point ("*Beowulf*: the Raw and the Cooked—an Experimental Translation," *OEN* 31.3 [1998], 16–27). Earl notes that most translators try to smooth out the difficulties in the text. He, on the other hand, translates lines 2200–2315 in a form that attempts "to capture precisely those confusing and frustrating features so familiar to students of OE" (p. 16). Earl uses the manuscript as his base text without reformatting it into poetic lines; he also retains the manuscript's punctuation, word-spacing, and lacunae. The result looks something like this:

Not by force was the wormhoard
skill by his will who onhim harm inflict
ed but terror need the th unknown (p. 19).

The point of the production is to allow students to lineate, punctuate, and re-space the text on their own. I have not tried this exercise on my own students, but I suspect that if it doesn't lead to paralyzing frustration it will give them a better appreciation of the work of editors and translators. For those who just want to illustrate the contrast between "raw and cooked," Earl also provides a somewhat normalized translation of the lines.

Meter

If there is one area of OE studies most frequently avoided by non-practitioners, that area is probably metrics. The reasons for that avoidance are complex, ranging from the demands of specialization to the perception of basic disagreements on principles of the subfield. However, Geoffrey Russom's "*Beowulf*" and *Old Germanic Metre* (Cambridge, 1998) is one study of metrics that can profitably be read by metrists and non-metrists alike, and should be. In this book, Russom uses

the same principles of word-foot theory that he developed in his *Old English Meter and Linguistic Theory* (1987), but here, he attempts "to explain the development of Germanic verse at the level of fine detail" (p. 8), using as example texts *Beowulf*, Eddic poems in *fornyrðislag*, and Old Saxon and Old High German texts. In Russom's elegant theory, the norm for OE meter consists of a verse (half-line) containing two word-feet, with each word-foot a trochee (as in "lange þrage"). "Other verse patterns will be represented as inherently complex to the extent that they deviate from this norm" (p. 8). The body of the book begins with Chapter 2: The foot, where Russom examines the ways in which OE and ON metrics are similar and different in their construction of feet. In this chapter and those that follow, Russom develops metrical rules and constraints as he goes along and catalogues these in an appendix.

Chapter 3: The verse continues the explanation of how ON and OE metrical patterns diverged as their linguistic histories diverged. For example, syncopation and the loss of infixes in ON changed the shapes of words, and thus of feet. Russom's pattern of developing metrical rules based on increasing levels of detail continues in the next several chapters on Light feet and extrametrical words, Metrical archaisms, Alliteration, and Metrical subordination within the foot. In his chapter on Resolution, Russom demonstrates that resolution occurs most naturally in strongly stressed positions, and not at all in unstressed positions. This tendency is especially marked in ON, with its stronger stress. In Chapter 9: Word order and stress within the clause, Russom treats Kuhn's Laws and Satzpartikeln, finding that the ON evidence does not support Kuhn's Laws or Bliss's unstressed-verb hypothesis. In the next two chapters, Russom moves from OE and ON to continental Germanic poetry, treating first Old Saxon and then Old High German alliterative verse. In both of these instances he is able to demonstrate the effects of word stress on metrics, finding that the weaker primary stress in these languages yields less forceful metrical stress, thus allowing for more weak syllables in the verse. The final chapter offers Russom's conclusions and is followed by an apparatus including the appendix of rules mentioned above, a bibliography, a general index, and an index to verses specifically discussed. This book should stimulate the study of Germanic metrics for some time to come, as specialists will want to apply or challenge its findings and non-specialists to use it to discover a clear, cogent theory of the meter of *Beowulf* and its cousins.

The healthy disagreements that mark the field of metrics are much in evidence in Robert P. Stockwell and Donka Minkova's "Against the Notion 'Metrical Grammar,'" in *Insights in Germanic Linguistics II: Classic and Contemporary*, ed. Irmengard Rauch and Gerald F. Carr (Berlin and NY, 1997), pp. 243–55. Stockwell and Minkova describe three different uses of the term "metrical grammar" and argue that one of these has the most validity: "as a name for morphosyntactic rules that are manifested only or predominantly in the

verse corpus" (p. 245). They take up Kuhn's inconsistency in his work on upbeat (Auftakt) and argue that Kendall uses Kuhn's principles in a circular argument. They further some of their earlier work that showed that "all but one [Ib displaced] of Kendall's verse types could be redefined in purely syntactic terms" (p. 251) and characterize verse type Ib displaced thus: "Following a verb-final clause, main or subordinate, the immediately subsequent clause with the same subject unexpressed . . . is regularly verb-first" (p. 252). The article concludes with some remarks about Kuhn's place in the history of metrics and syntax.

Seiichi Suzuki's book on *The Metrical Organization of "Beowulf"* came out in 1996; it was graced with two review articles in 1998. One of these is by Benjamin W. Fortson, IV: "Some New Work on Old Problems: the Meter of *Beowulf*," *Diachronica* 15 (1998), 325–37. Fortson finds some problems with Suzuki's analysis and theories, but concludes that the study under review is "eminently reasonable and convincing far more often than not" (p. 336). Some of the problems that Fortson finds with Suzuki's book are its loose use of the term "enclitic," its incomplete explanation of hypermetric verses, and its "confusing" analysis of compounds.

Suzuki's work is also generally approved of by Robert D. Fulk in his "Secondary Stress Phenomena in the Meter of *Beowulf*," *Interdisciplinary Jnl for Germanic Ling. and Semiotic Analysis* 3 (1998), 279–304. However, Fulk focuses on the two areas in which he finds himself in substantial disagreement with Suzuki: "the components of the hierarchy of noninitial syllables and the analysis of Kaluza's law" (p. 281). Fulk renews his argument that all unstressed, adjectival examples of -lic- should have short vowels and uses -lic- to argue against Suzuki's assertion that the head of a disyllabic compound can coincide with the first lift of a type B verse. Fulk also takes issue more generally with Suzuki's treatment of compounds and quasi-compounds. The second half of Fulk's article criticizes Suzuki's treatment of Kaluza's law in a degree of detail impossible to summarize here.

Sources and analogues

Marijane Osborn's purpose in her article on "The Real Fulk Fitzwarine's Mythical Monster Fights" is to make readers better acquainted with the forgotten figure of Fulk and to compare his feats to those of analogous heroes, including *Beowulf* (in *Words and Works: Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature in Honour of Fred C. Robinson*, ed. Peter S. Baker and Nicholas Howe [Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1998], pp. 271–92). The historical Fulk became an outlaw after being dispossessed of his castle by King John and, Robin Hood-like, roamed the forests of Shropshire in the first half of the thirteenth century. His legend survives only in a French prose romance which includes such elements as a dragon and some troll-like, subterranean dwellers. Osborn analyzes Fulk's story and its relation to some analogues (in-

cluding *Beowulf* and *Grettis saga*) using the structural approach to the Two-Troll tradition developed by Michael Stitt. She finds that the monster fights of Grettir and Fulk are less integral to the plots and themes of their respective works than are *Beowulf*'s: "It seems as though both storytellers [of *Fulk Fitzwarine* and *Grettis saga*] added traditional monster fights to the historical or quasi-historical activities of their real-life outlaws, whereas the *Beowulf* poet instead superimposed an imaginary hero with his monster fights upon 'real' . . . history" (p. 286).

Hermann Reichert also compares the ways in which heroic legends are used, in his "Runeninschriften als Quellen der Heldensagenforschung," in *Runeninschriften als Quellen interdisziplinärer Forschung*, ed. Klaus Düwel with Sean Nowak (Berlin and NY, 1998), pp. 66–102. Reichert notes that runes do not figure prominently in most versions of Germanic heroic legend and that, likewise, runic inscriptions themselves make small reference to such legends. He cites a few possible examples of the latter, then spends most of the article working out an interpretation of the Rök stone. He suggests that *Beowulf* and the Rök stone may have a figure in common: Ingeld is mentioned in the poem and the "ikultika" on the stone may be interpreted as "the family of Ingeld" (p. 75). Reichert explains the two references in terms of praise. Just as *Beowulf* introduces the heroes of the past in the course of praising the hero of the present poem, references to mythology or heroic legend on a memorial stone like Rök could be intended as praise of the dead man or his family. He goes on to argue that some of the enigmatic nature of the Rök inscription might be explained by seeing it as a series of allusions to heroic legends, especially that of Theoderich.

A slim volume edited by Arthur Percival—*Beowulf in Kent* (Faversham, 1998)—contains two papers attempting to locate the events of *Beowulf*. The first is by Paul Wilkinson: "Beowulf: Some Topographic Considerations," pp. 1–18. Wilkinson is an archaeologist who admits to a liking for setting archaeological sites into speculative historical frameworks, and in this case his speculation focuses on *Beowulf*. The site in question is the island of Harty, which lies off Faversham on the north coast of Kent; here Wilkinson places Hrothgar's hall, Heorot. Wilkinson makes his argument, such as it is, using elements of topography and onomastics. Examples of the former include *Beowulf*'s two-day sea journey to Heorot, which, Wilkinson estimates, is the actual amount of time it would take to travel to Harty from the mouth of the Rhine, where he places *Beowulf*'s home. He also notes that Harty boasts a Roman road like that marched along by *Beowulf* and his men. As for names, Wilkinson posits that Wealththeow "was most likely a Romano-British noblewoman given in an alliance marriage during the Age of Migration It is inconceivable that she would have lived in Denmark" (p.6). Of course, princesses involved in such alliances changed residence all the time. There is also a perfectly wonderful place-name on Harty dating back to the 13c—Schrawynghop—which

Wilkinson interprets as indicating a piece of land surrounded by marsh and haunted by malignant beings. This paper is received more enthusiastically by Simon Hall, "Beowulf: New Light on the Dark Ages," *History Today* (Dec. 1998), 4–5.

In the same volume, Griselda Cann Mussett attempts to add support to Wilkinson's theory ("Beowulf and the Sheppey Legend," pp. 19–38). What used to be the Isle of Harty is now, apparently, part of the Isle of Sheppey, where a legend has circulated at least since the 17c involving a 13–14c knight who is buried there in a tomb decorated with a horse's head. I won't recount the whole legend, but the main comparison between it and *Beowulf* seems to be that Beowulf fights unarmed against Grendel and the knight "fights" unarmed against a priest by kicking him into an open grave.

In the last three works treated in this section, the authors argue against, rather than for potential analogues. Michiko Ogura addresses "An Ogre's Arm: Japanese Analogues of *Beowulf*," in *Words and Works*, ed. Baker and Howe (1998), pp. 59–66. Japanese legend and literature include instances of an ogre having its arm cut off; female ogres also appear. Ogura analyzes these analogues to *Beowulf*, concluding that the Japanese hero, Watanabe-no-Tsuna, is not Beowulf. As Ogura points out, the Japanese stories differ from *Beowulf* in two crucial ways: first, the amputation of the ogre's arm is not fatal, but sets up the return of the monster; second, the main theme of the plot involving a female ogre is her metamorphosis from a human woman.

Some twenty years after Peter Jorgensen first proposed the idea, Martin Puhvel takes a critical look at the theory that Beowulf's swim meet with Breca bears sufficient resemblance to swimming contests found in the sagas that the whole lot must originate in a Germanic archetype ("The Aquatic Contest in *Hálfðanar saga Brönufóstra* and Beowulf's Adventure with Breca. Any Connection?" *NM* [1998], 131–38). Puhvel rejects any essential similarity between the Breca incident and the swimming contest found in *Hálfðanar saga*, Jorgensen's most important ON parallel. As Puhvel notes, Hálfðan and Áki do not swim for distance (they wrestle underwater), Hálfðan's post-victory playing about better resembles a modern victory lap than Beowulf's struggles with sea monsters, and the wearing of armor in both episodes is motivated differently, though logically. He suggests that the swimming contests of the sagas might reflect real-life training exercises for Vikings, while Beowulf's feat maintains "a manifestly folkloric or mythic aura" (p. 135).

In *The Long Arm of Coincidence: the Frustrated Connection between 'Beowulf' and 'Grettis saga'* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1998), Magnús Fjalldal has a single purpose: to debunk the notion that there exists some type of genetic or essential connection between those two works. I approached this study not necessarily with the completely open mind requested by its author, but at least with a healthy curiosity about what arguments he would use to demolish the cherished connection. Unfortunately, his style of argumentation

consists mainly of something along the lines of "is too!"—"is not!" The book is organized into three sections: the first addresses the specific, proposed parallels between *Beowulf* and *Grettis saga*; the second attacks the theories that have explained those parallels; and the third offers an alternative thesis for the origin of the details of the Glámr and Sandhaugar episodes of the saga. In Part I, Fjalldal adopts the stance that the differences between the two works are more important than their similarities. For example, Beowulf and Grettir are both unusually strong, but Beowulf's strength reaches the level of the superhuman whereas Grettir's does not. Or, both Grendel and the troll woman at Sandhaugar lose an arm, but Grendel's arm plays a further role in the plot and the troll's does not. This instance illustrates another problem with the book: its tendentious misreadings of *Beowulf*. It is not true that, as Fjalldal claims, Grendel's mother comes to Heorot specifically to retrieve her son's limb. Fjalldal's technique elsewhere in Part I is to attack the weaker connections between the works while ignoring the stronger ones. Furthermore, he consistently ignores the generic difference between epic and saga, as when he dismisses the Glámr parallel partly on the grounds that this fight "is hardly an event of national importance" (p. 42). Fjalldal's argumentation is stronger in Part II, where he takes on the various theories purporting to explain the connections between *Beowulf* and *Grettis saga*. Sometimes he lets other critics do most of his work for him, as in his attacks on the "English Hypothesis" and Panzer's Bear's Son thesis, but he does add his own critique (for example, pointing out the problems of using modern folktales to reconstruct a tale from a millennium ago). In assailing what he calls "The Common Origin Theory," Fjalldal describes some disagreements among adherents to the theory: whether the original tale was Scandinavian or English; whether the female monsters in *Beowulf* or *Grettis saga* are presented in a way closer to the original; what the "old legend" itself comprised. Fjalldal goes on to address the so-called (by him) "Big Bang Theory," which proposes "that the 'old legend' had somehow exploded and left literary debris all over the place" (p. 108). He finds analogues collected on this premise far too loose. In Part III, Fjalldal intends to offer an alternative hypothesis explaining some narrative details of *Grettis saga* that might otherwise seem related to those in *Beowulf*. He points out that the author of the saga was very well versed in other Icelandic histories and sagas and concludes from this fact that 1) the author of *Grettis saga* was very "literary-minded" (p. 120), and 2) the author liked to "decorate" his saga with bits and pieces from other stories. He finds the literary influence of other Icelandic works on *Grettis saga* the simplest, and therefore best, explanation for the details of the Glámr and Sandhaugar episodes. His concluding argument gets convoluted when he combines the stance that literary influence on *Grettis saga* precludes a genetic relationship with *Beowulf* with his final point, that any similarities between the works must be accidental because *Grettis saga* openly uses folktale motifs whereas *Beowulf*

is emphatically not a folktale and is unlikely to be descended from one. Most readers of this book will emerge with their faith in the time-honored parallels appropriately examined, but intact.

Criticism

Our review of 1998 contains no separate section on the dating of *Beowulf* because only one paper addresses the topic: David N. Dumville's "The *Beowulf*-Manuscript and How Not to Date It," *MESN* 39 (1998), 21–27. Here, Dumville renews and continues his running debate with Kevin Kiernan. In supporting his dating of the *Beowulf* manuscript to ten years on either side of 1000, Dumville recapitulates his palaeographic study of English square minuscule (setting it against what he calls Kiernan's "assertions"); he accuses Kiernan of misreading Ker; and he rejects Kiernan's proffered evidence of English square minuscule in a charter from the 1030s. There is nothing really new here, but the short paper is worth a read if you enjoy the rhetoric of heated academic disagreement.

1997 saw the publication of *A Beowulf Handbook*, which offered students of the poem a convenient summary of scholarly opinion on a variety of issues. In 1998 there appeared another review of scholarship, though organized differently and with different intentions: "*Beowulf*: the Critical Heritage," ed. T. A. Shippey and Andreas Haarder (London and NY). The lengthy Introduction to this volume gives a history of the earliest modern reception of *Beowulf* from Wanley to Chambers. It gives due attention to topics like *Liedertheorie* and describes the academic rivalries going on among German, Scandinavian, and English scholars. It does not shy away from difficult questions like "how much responsibility, or guilt, should the early *Beowulfians* and their colleagues in *Germanistik* bear for the development of Nazi ideology?" (p. 71). After the Introduction follow excerpts (translated when necessary from the Latin, Danish, German, etc.) from works on *Beowulf* ranging from half a page to six or seven pages. These are arranged chronologically beginning with Wanley (1705) and concluding with Walter Berendsohn (1935). This is a very welcome volume in the history of *Beowulf*-scholarship, not only for translating its matter into English, but also (and probably more so) for making available many writings that would otherwise be very difficult to locate.

Leo Carruthers' *Beowulf* (Paris, 1998) is intended as a study guide for the 1999 *Agrégation* examination in English, which sets the Donaldson translation (edited by Tuso) as the base text of the poem. Carruthers provides a rudimentary introduction to the poem and its background, very briefly covering topics like manuscript, language, themes, analogues, religion, and characterization. He also discusses, in passing, the nature of the Donaldson translation. The bibliography, though brief, is noteworthy for including sections on such media as sound recordings and Internet sites.

Stephen P. Thompson's *Readings on 'Beowulf'* (San

Diego, 1998) is part of the Greenhaven Literary Companion Series, which is "designed for young adults." Thus, Thompson compiles and edits a number of essays treating topics like socio-historical background, character, theme, and plot. Subjects like dating, formulaicism, and meter are omitted as being unlikely to arise in an introductory-level classroom. The authors of the essays range from Tolkien to Chickering, to Leyerle, to Goldsmith, with a preference being shown for excerpting the introductions to editions of the poem. There is nothing terribly problematic or controversial in this volume, which is in keeping with the series' aim of making literary criticism "compelling and accessible" (p. 11). The book concludes with a bibliography for further reading.

We find, as a part of another programmatic enterprise, Alexandra H. Olsen writing on "*Beowulf*" in *Teaching Oral Tradition*, ed. John Miles Foley (NY, 1998), pp. 351–58. In a review that seems designed for those who teach *Beowulf* only occasionally (or never before at all), Olsen briefly lists some problems associated with the poem: its place on the oral-literate spectrum, its audience, its text. She goes on to explain some features of the poem that relate to its orality, including allusions, style, dialect, formulas, and themes. The concluding pages on pedagogical strategy could prove helpful no matter how many times one has taught the poem.

Although I approached it with some skepticism, Natalia Breizmann's essay on "*Beowulf* as Romance: Literary Interpretation as Quest" (*MLN* 113 [1998], 1022–35) fulfilled its aim of making me rethink the ways in which modern conceptions of genre are linked to formal features and historical periods. Breizmann finds numerous ways in which *Beowulf* resembles later romances rather than earlier epics, most of them cogent. For example, "romance characters are often found listening to and telling stories about themselves and others" (p. 1024); in *Beowulf*, such stories are told by *scops*, by Hrothgar, and by the hero himself. The flyting between *Beowulf* and Unferth "demonstrates subjectivity of interpretation" and "the idea of individualized authorship" (p. 1027) as each warrior creates his own version of the Breca story. Unfortunately, Breizmann does not explore the implications of this generic overlap; her own post-structuralist stamp leads her to be content with accepting *Beowulf's* use of Derridean *différance* and what she calls "interpretive plurality."

Eric Gerald Stanley also compares *Beowulf* to the romances in his "Courtliness and Courtesy in *Beowulf* and Elsewhere in English Medieval Literature," in *Words and Works*, ed. Baker and Howe (1998), pp. 67–103. In this wide-ranging essay (from Hesiod to the *Gawain*-poet), Stanley points out that heroic poetry is concerned only with people of high status and lacks the amorous adventures of romance. He observes that not all romances are noble and chivalric, giving numerous examples of ways in which *Havelok the Dane* is "socially lower" (p. 74) than *Beowulf*. Stanley's last five pages treat *Beowulf* specifically, where he cites the courtly and gracious tone of speeches by *Beowulf*, Hrothgar, and others; he concedes

that a less positive dose of social reality is injected through the poem's references to drinking. Thus, a courtly, heroic poem like *Beowulf* differs from popular romances like *Havelok* or *Gamelyn* in looking back to a Heroic Age of near perfection with longing, not with the apparent ignorance of romancers who "are describing the high world of nobles from below" (p. 96).

Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., relates *Beowulf* to a different genre in "*Beowulf* 301–308: the Mock-Heroic Arrival of the Hero," *ELN* 36.1 (1998), 1–8. To Tripp, the *Beowulf* poet is clearly aware of the distance between himself and his heroic, Golden Age, pagan characters. In an attempt to assert the value of the present over the past, the poet might have presented his characters in a mock-heroic way. Tripp locates the mock-heroic in the scene where the Geats disembark in Denmark. Here, he sees an overuse of pig imagery that contrasts with and trivializes the elaborately described boar helmets worn by the Geats. For example, their ship "seomode" [wallowed] "on sole" [on mud] and was "sidfæðmed" [broad in the beam] (p. 3). Some other pun-producing re-arrangements of the text fail to convince.

James W. Earl admits that a psychoanalytic theory of epic "will seem preposterous to anyone who approaches epic from any other angle" (p. 161), but he finds it pertinent to the study of how epic acts on its audience ("Freud on Epic: the Poet as Hero," in *New Methods in the Research of Epic / Neue Methoden der Epenforschung*, ed. Hildegard L. C. Tristram [Tübingen, 1998], pp. 161–71). There are only two places where Freud mentions epic. The first is in his *Group Psychology*, where he states that the movement from group psychology to individual psychology may have occurred when an individual, "the first epic poet," constructed a heroic myth to give primacy to his own role in the slaying of the *Urvater*. In analyzing Freud's myth of the primal horde, Earl characterizes the epic hero as a brother, but the only brother "with a mind of his own" (p. 165; emphasis in original). As a father-substitute, this brother evokes feelings of hatred and guilt from the others, who are bound closer to him by those feelings. *Beowulf* partakes of this ambiguity: his insistence on facing the dragon alone has been interpreted as an act of pride, and the poet condemns the so-called "cowardly retainers" for obeying *Beowulf*'s command to stay put. After briefly examining Freud's other comment on epic (in *Moses and Monotheism*), Earl concludes that Germanic epic "attempts to socialize its audience into a radically authoritarian world" but, simultaneously, in the figure of the hero "the poet has made room for the emergence of the free individual subject" (p. 170).

We move from genre to a series of books and articles that treat—at least to some extent—the religious backgrounds of *Beowulf*.

[Dora Faraci, in "La caccia al cervo nel *Beowulf*," *Romanobarbarica* 14 (1998 for 1996–7), 375–420, takes an exegetical approach to lines 1368–72 (where Hrothgar describes the stag preferring death on the brink of Grendel's mere to

saving itself by jumping in). She offers comparisons to classical literature (including Virgil, Ovid, and Homer), to hunting manuals and natural histories from Xenophon to Juliana Berners, to both Old and New Testament references, and to exegetical expositions from Jerome and Augustine to later medieval preachers, with stops along the way including illustrations in the Harley and Utrecht psalters and Roman mosaics found in Britain. While she notes similarities to classical sources, Faraci thinks it most likely that the scene has a specifically Christian resonance, that the forbidding mere inverts the "water of eternal life" offered by Christ and discussed by Bede in his commentary on Psalm 41. She argues that the phrase "hafelan beorgan" (1372a) may allude to Augustine's sermon 64, where he asks, apropos of the serpent protecting its head: "Quid est, serva caput tuum? . . . Caput viri Christus est. Qui ergo Christum servat in se, caput suum servat pro se." She suggests that the Anglo-Saxon stag may be assimilated to Augustine's serpent, since as one sheds its skin, the other sheds its horns, a comparison offered by Peter Lombard's commentary on Psalm 41. (This review was generously provided by Nicole Clifton.)]

Some implications of paganism in *Beowulf* are explored by Michael J. Enright in "The Warband Context of the Unferth Episode," *Speculum* 73 (1998), 297–337. In trying to understand Unferth's description as "þyle," Enright introduces Old Irish evidence; not because there is any direct link between it and *Beowulf*, but because Old Irish literature is like OE (and ON) in focusing on the institution of the warband. Enright finds in Old Irish "a figure who closely parallels Unferth" (p. 302): Sencha mac Ailella, who is attached to the retinue of Conchobar, king of Ulster. He sits at the king's feet and is described (in the *Táin*) as "the eloquent speaker of Ulster" (p. 302). He also acts as a field marshal and a counselor to the king. Enright argues that these functions would carry over into the hall from their utility on the battlefield. Taunting, for example, would be one way of rousing men to battle, so Unferth's challenge to *Beowulf* is not rude, but is part of his official function. Despite Unferth's apparently exalted status, the *Beowulf* poet does not praise him—why? Enright answers that "the Christian poet regards Unferth as an advocate of paganism" (p. 313) by his implication in warband religiosity. The poet's hostile attitude towards Unferth is evinced especially through the failure of his sword.

Paul Beekman Taylor thoroughly embraces the potential paganism of *Beowulf* in his *Sharing Story: Medieval Norse-English Literary Relationships* (NY, 1998). Nearly all of the chapters of this book previously appeared as journal articles, so I will not summarize them here. The book is divided into three parts. In the first, "Sharing the Story of *Beowulf*," various connections are made between the OE poem and ON literature. Topics range from the vocabulary of treasure and the meaning of "searoniðas" to more general subjects like sacral kingship and pagan cosmology. In this part of the book, Taylor relies heavily on etymology and assumes, rather than argues for,

a meaningful connection between OE and ON. Magic also figures prominently. Etymology reappears in Part II: "Nominal Figures on the Northern Literary Landscape." This section includes a new essay on "Bilingual Praise of *Æpelstan*" in *Brunanburh* and Egil's verses. Part III seeks (unsuccessfully) to illustrate the perpetuation of Norse material in English Gawain-romances, in Malory, and in Chaucer.

Paul Goetsch finds that the colonial discourse in *Beowulf* resembles, to some extent, that found elsewhere but is more complex than that found in strictly Christian epics ("Der koloniale Diskurs in *Beowulf*," in *New Methods in the Research of Epic*, ed. Tristram [1998], pp. 185–200). Grendel and his mother, who represent the "native opposition," are accordingly demonized. However, the Christian poet does not fully commit himself to the cause of the pagan Geats and Danes: he puts historical distance between the characters and himself by sometimes creating parallels between the humans and the monsters.

Frands Herschend compares "Beowulf and St. Sabas: the Tension between the Individual and the Collective in Germanic Society around 500 A. D.," *Tor: Tidskrift för arkeologi* 24 (1992), 145–64. Herschend suggests that the small scale of Denmark and Geatland as they appear in *Beowulf* reflects the social organization of the Late Roman or Migration periods, when "Nationwide, social conflicts did not yet exist" (p. 152). The "londbuend" from whom Hrothgar has heard about the Grendelkin are interpreted as hall owners directly under the king's command. Grendel, who won't pay wergild, "represents an older and more egalitarian ideology" (p. 154); he also has a whiff of paganism about him. Herschend goes on to analyze the story of St. Sabas, who, in the 4c, was persecuted by lords but tolerated by villagers. Both *Beowulf* and the lord who martyrs Sabas "represent the new social order in which the representatives of the upper classes take precedence over the common people" (p. 161).

Two articles for this year interpret *Beowulf* in the context of orality (see also the review of A. H. Olsen, above). A very specific analysis is undertaken by Victor I. Scherb, "Setting and Cultural Memory in Part II of *Beowulf*," *ES* 79 (1998), 109–19. After an introductory explanation of the memorial role of oral poetry, Scherb argues that the *Beowulf* poet "employs setting in order to self-consciously examine the role of memory in Anglo-Saxon culture" (p. 111). The settings compared here are *Beowulf's* hall, his burial mound, and the dragon's barrow. *Beowulf's* hall is introduced only as it is in the process of being destroyed; its loss symbolizes the ruin of Geatish society. The contents of the dragon's barrow indicate the socially destructive hoarding of treasure and the loss of cultural memory about the tribe that buried the treasure. *Beowulf's* burial mound has a more positive connotation: it serves to activate memory both for the characters within the poem and as a signal for the Anglo-Saxon audience to do the same.

John D. Niles takes a broader view in "Reconceiving *Beo-*

wulf: Poetry as Social Praxis," *College Eng.* 61 (1998), 143–66. As he has argued elsewhere, Niles understands *Beowulf* as "a special production of the kind that results at the interface of an oral tradition and a textual one" (p. 144). Here, the questions he wishes to address are "What purposes were served by the performance or recording of a text of this character?" and "What are the cultural issues to which this text represents a response?" (p. 144). Niles decides that traditional literature like *Beowulf* satisfies six main functions: the ludic, the sapiential, the normative, the constitutive, the socially cohesive, and the adaptive. The rest of the article discusses each of these functions in *Beowulf*. The placement of this paper in *College English* is appropriate, as it opens up broad cultural issues suitable for class discussion.

Three articles this year treat *Beowulf* primarily from the standpoint of gender studies. Victoria Wodzak writes "Of Weavers and Warriors: Peace and Destruction in the Epic Tradition," *Midwest Quarterly* 39 (1998), 253–64. To Wodzak, weaving is metonymic for women's work generally, but it also "becomes a boundary marker between the heroic, martial world of men and the private, domestic view of women" (p. 254). She examines this pattern in the *Iliad*, the *Odyssey*, and especially in *Beowulf*. In her analysis, men are actively heroic defenders of society; the heroism of women consists of maintaining (more or less passively) the stability of society. Weaving appears as a metaphor for the attempt to maintain peace and stability.

In "The Parturition of Poetry and the Birthing of Culture: the *ides aglæcwif* and *Beowulf*," *Exemplaria* 10 (1998), 29–50, James Hala intends to analyze Grendel's mother using Julia Kristeva's concepts of "abjection, the deject, and the role of the maternal chora in the process of ego formation" (p. 30). Hala makes a good case for seeing Grendel as the Kristevan deject who is never separated from the abject: witness Grendel's hatred of divine and human order, his association with gore, and his cannibalism. The mere, with its mixing of elements (air, water, fire) and its gore is the chora, "the site of undifferentiated heterogeneity" (p. 37). In her own realm, Grendel's mother "becomes the subject and controls the action" (p. 42). Hala's Kristevan analysis sometimes gets hot and heavy: when *Beowulf* and Grendel's dam are at an impasse in their battle, "*Beowulf* struggles to be free from the *ides* just as the soon-to-be ego struggles with the Phallic Mother. Neither is capable of piercing the other because neither possesses the as-yet-ungendered phallus" (p. 44). *Beowulf* breaks the impasse when he acquires the giantish sword that "represents the transcendent Phallus/Signifier" and is implicitly provided by "God, the ultimate father" (p. 46). Hala concludes that *Beowulf's* success has three consequences: "Because the *ides* [is] . . . sublimated into a perfected history, the creative power of poetry disappears. And the disappearance of poetry signals the end of the [Geatish] culture" (p. 50).

If masculine power can be acquired in *Beowulf*, it can also be lost, which is the point of Mary Dockray-Miller in her

"Beowulf's Tears of Fatherhood," *Exemplaria* 10 (1998), 1–28. Framing her analysis with psychoanalytic reading of the problem of fatherhood in *Beowulf*, Dockray-Miller specifically examines the figure of Hrothgar, who becomes a source of ambiguity and tension because of his "faltering masculinity" (p. 7). Hrothgar cannot control either Grendel or Beowulf. The "slips in his masculinity" (p. 10) are especially evident in two scenes: when he sleeps with Wealhtheow rather than in the hall with his men and when he takes leave from Beowulf and "ends up positioning himself as an effeminate Other" (p. 18) through his kisses, embraces, and tears.

Beowulf's recounting to Hygelac of his adventures in Denmark has struck many readers as redundant and clumsy. However, John W. Schwetman argues that the passage occurs in a crucial spot—at the end of the career of the young Beowulf and just before the career of the old Beowulf—and is thus "the fulcrum upon which the work is balanced" (p. 136; "Beowulf's Return: the Hero's Account of His Adventures among the Danes," *Med. Perspectives* 13 [1998], 136–48). For example, Beowulf's use of sentential cadences in his report "attempts to demonstrate the wisdom for which he was praised among the Danes" (p. 142). The discrepancies between the initial narrative and the retold version of Beowulf's battles may help the hero to enhance his valor, as when he adds a description of Grendel's horrible "glof." These and other details of Beowulf's speech suggest that the young hero "was still finding his place" and "was overcoming an earlier reputation" (p. 146).

The narrative structure of *Beowulf* is also examined by Gale R. Owen-Crocker, who compares it to a visual artifact in "Telling a Tale: Narrative Techniques in the Bayeux Tapestry and the Old English Epic *Beowulf*," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives*, ed. Owen-Crocker and Timothy Graham (Manchester and NY, 1998), pp. 40–59. Owen-Crocker finds numerous structural similarities between the tapestry and the poem: binarism, trinarism, digression, enveloping, rings, and repeated motifs. The article does not try to explain these structural similarities beyond noting that both artifacts may derive from late Anglo-Saxon culture; the parallel with *Beowulf* is used to argue for a more complex, less linear conception of the narrative structure of the Bayeux Tapestry.

In *The Medieval Dragon: the Nature of the Beast in Germanic Literature* (Enfield Lock, Mddx, 1998), Joyce Tally Lionarons delves into "the nature and characteristics of Germanic literary dragons and dragon slayings as they relate to contemporary ideas about myth and narratological theory" (p. vii). Those "contemporary ideas" are mostly drawn from Girard, Bakhtin, and Jauss, all of whom Lionarons uses judiciously and intelligently. The introductory chapter divides dragon-lore into four categories: mythological; natural-historical; historical-political; and biblical and hagiographical. Lionarons explains how any combination of these types of intertexts may feed into the portrayal of any dragon. In her chapter on "Beowulf and the *Beowulf* Dragon," Lionarons

seeks "to determine the specific, distinctively Anglo-Saxon horizon of expectations for the *Beowulf* dragon by looking first at the external textual contexts . . . and then at the dragon itself as it appears in the internal context of the poem as a whole" (p. 23). The texts examined include *The Wonders of the East*, *Alexander's Letter to Aristotle*, and Saxo's *Gesta Danorum*. Lionarons finds that "the text of *Beowulf* does not itself privilege any one external context for the dragon" (p. 27). For internal context, she examines the dragon (and the Grendel fights) in light of the Indo-European dragon myth dealing with monstrous guests and hosts. As it is reflected in *Beowulf*, this myth is concerned with the establishment of social order. This chapter also analyzes *Beowulf* using the Bakhtinian idea of the chronotype. The remaining chapters of the book treat ON and MHG dragon-infested texts.

"The Nature of Beowulf's Dragon" is also explored by Howard Shilton (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 [1997], 67–77). Shilton begins by mining the text of *Beowulf* for information about the dragon's physical characteristics. He discovers that it is nocturnal, huge, it spews fire, it flies, and it is reptile-like in its shape, venom, and skin. He supports a popular belief in dragons through place-names and with quotes from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and the Finnsburh Fragment. Shilton concludes that the dragon in *Beowulf* is evil in the way that natural disasters are evil, but it is not immoral like Grendel. Besides being real and corporeal, the dragon functions as a symbol for "avarice, malice, and destruction" (p. 77).

Alvin A. Lee loves metaphor. He especially loves metaphor in *Beowulf*, which is evident from the content and the title of his book: *Gold-Hall and Earth-Dragon: 'Beowulf' as Metaphor* (Toronto, Buffalo, and London, 1998). According to Lee's Introduction, the aim of his book is "to help re-create as fully as possible for modern-day readers the original metaphorical force of the poetic language of *Beowulf*" (p. 3). Lee brings to this task his own impressive sensitivity to metaphor and a theoretical underpinning provided mainly by Northrop Frye (with cameo appearances by Walter Ong and Paul Ricœur). The theoretical background allows Lee to move his analysis easily among the levels of the individual word, the poem as a whole, OE literature as a whole, and literature itself as a whole. Thus, he discusses the employment by the *Beowulf* poet of "romance" and "mythic" modes of discourse and illustrates these modes through studies of single words. He lists and discusses kennings in great detail, moves into medium range in an argument regarding the uses of memory in the poem, and takes a broad view in relating *Beowulf* to Frye's three phases of language. The second half of Lee's book uses the foregoing descriptions of *Beowulf*'s metaphor and mnemonics to examine how the poem creates meaning. Here, he asks large questions of interpretation like What is Heorot? Who are the Scyldings? Who is Beowulf? The answers to these questions are to be found through the lenses of Christian mythology, mythic versus ro-

mance discourse, and the nature of tragedy. Not all readers will like the Bible-myth-centeredness of many of Lee's interpretations, but they are for the most part cogent and enlightening and do not interfere with or overshadow other aspects of the poem's art.

Karl Schneider takes a more limited look at stylistics in his paper "On Some Onomatopoeic Elements in the Textual Formulation of the *Beowulf* Epic," *Poetica* (Tokyo) 49 (1998), 97–102. He discovers onomatopoeia in the passage (lines 740–45) where Grendel devours Hondscoih: [f] and [s] represent Hondscoih's snoring, then, a few lines later, Grendel's sucking of blood. In line 743, "the [b] alliteration is illustrative of Grendel's repeated snapping attacks on the victim" (p. 98). Schneider also analyzes lines 1903–13, finding that in this passage rhythmic patterns combine with consonant sounds to reproduce or represent the sounds of wind and water on Beowulf's journey home from Denmark.

Urula Schaefer ponders whether concepts like "style" and "rhetoric" are applicable to an epic like *Beowulf* in her "Epik und Stil: Überlegungen zu einer analytischen Kategorie," in *New Methods in the Research of Epic*, ed. Tristram (1998), pp. 173–83. Schaefer delineates several types of style—generic, period, and authorial—arguing that the last is especially problematic when applied to *Beowulf*, as it implies a single, individualistic author of the poem. The application of the term "rhetoric," with its implication of individual intention, faces similar problems.

Ruth Wehlau links mood to imagery in "Seeds of Sorrow: Landscapes of Despair in *The Wanderer*, *Beowulf*'s Story of Hrethel and *Sonatorrek*," *Parergon* 15.2 (1998), 1–17. All three poems deal with a particular type of despair: that arising from the loss of a lord or son. The spatial imagery—"space is too little or too big, and frequently both at the same time" (p. 5)—reflects this despair, which admits of no consolation. "Language is unable to function meaningfully in order to console, creating a loss of meaning in the world at large" (p. 5). In contrast to the OE poems, *Sonatorrek* "offers a solution to the problem of grief and loss which is explicitly pagan and contrary to the Christian consolatory tradition" (p. 5).

Bob Barringer writes of "Adding Insult to the Inquiry: a Study of Rhetorical Jousting in *Beowulf*," in *Geardagum* 19 (1998), 19–26. Barringer divides the vows offered by characters in the poem into two types: those inspired by the hero's own boast and those which come "in response to the provocation of a taunt" (p. 21). Taunts may escalate vows, as when Beowulf progresses from offering counsel to the Danes to vowing to fight Grendel alone and unarmed. An insult "seeks the final word and attempts to stifle or pre-empt the opposition with shame" (p. 22). So, Unferth's speech to Beowulf could be perceived as a successful taunt or a failed insult. Barringer examines other insults in the poem and finds that they add status to the character of Beowulf and lend unity to the work.

Paul Anthony Booth uses *Beowulf* as a foil to King Al-

fred in "King Alfred versus Beowulf: the Re-education of the Anglo-Saxon Aristocracy," *Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 41–66. To Booth, the poem reflects the "romanticism" of the heroic ideal of lasting fame, whereas Alfred, though well remembered, was "a classically-minded English Carolingian" (p.44). Booth explores Alfred's public educational programs and personal intellectual contributions, then contrasts Alfred's Boethius to *Beowulf* with respect to the subject of fate. He finds that the concepts of divine grace and free will do not figure into *Beowulf*'s handling of "wyrð." As for the theme of mutability, both Alfred and *Beowulf* acknowledge that the world is mutable, but Alfred expresses less regret about it.

André Crépin asks the pressing question: "Beowulf: monstre ou modèle?" *EA* 51 (1998), 387–98. He points out that every reader of a poem is a critic, and that the first known critic of *Beowulf* is the person responsible for including it in a manuscript with the Passion of St. Christopher, the Wonders of the East, the Letter of Alexander, and Judith. Crépin finds that what the texts have in common is not that they are all about monsters, but that they are all tales of extraordinary adventures; only in *Beowulf* do the monsters have a negative morality. Beowulf and Grendel do resemble each other, but they are separated by the fact that Beowulf has a vigilant conscience. Crépin concludes that the story of Beowulf is one that reflects the image of an ideal leader: he is loyal, peaceable (as a king), pious, and desirous of glory.

Models and anti-models are explored by Adelheid L. J. Thieme in "The Gift in *Beowulf*: Forging the Continuity of Past and Present," *Michigan Germanic Stud.* 22 (1996), 126–43. The purpose of this article is "to provide a comprehensive study of *Beowulf* from the perspective of gift culture" and to demonstrate "that the *Beowulf* poet uses the theme of reciprocal gift giving to forge a link between past and present so as to make his account of the glorious deeds in the past fruitful for his audience in the present" (p. 126). Thieme demonstrates that the first part of the poem shows the value of gift-giving in the bonds formed by the exchanges among Beowulf, Hrothgar, and Hygelac. In the second part of the poem, we see the vulnerability of this system when the cowardly retainers fail to reciprocate Beowulf's gifts with service. Still, in the end, the song of praise sung by the riders around Beowulf's barrow shows that the ethic is not lost, even if it is not always employed; thus there remains hope for the future (that is, for the audience of the poem).

Finally, E. L. Ridsen explores the connections between "*Beowulf*, Tolkien, and Epic Epiphanies," *Jnl of the Fantastic in the Arts* 9 (1998), 192–99. Ridsen argues that Tolkien borrowed the type of epiphany he uses in his *Hobbit* cycle directly from *Beowulf*. He defines epiphany as "a meeting with a being of a different order, either higher or lower on, one might say, the Great Chain of Being" (p. 192). Tolkien uses *Beowulf*-like epiphanies—where the hero meets with beings of "other orders" that are not necessarily divine—because his

Middle-earth shares the same heroic imperative as the world of the poem: "steadfast courage from heroes and common folk alike in the face of enemies natural or supernatural" (p. 193). According to Ridsen, Tolkien used these models of courage in the face of evil to impart a lesson about the duty of citizens in difficult, war-ridden times like his own.

S.E.D.

Works not seen

Noro, Toshifumi, "The Word 'weatlan' in *Beowulf*," *Philologia* (Mic Univ.) 29 (1997), 5-57.

Rosensfit, Gail Rae, *Beowulf*, Maxnotes (Piscataway, NJ, 1995).

Stévanovitch, Colette, *'Beowulf': de la forme au sens* (Paris, 1998).

Suzuki, Seiichi, "Anacrusis in the Meter of *Heliand*," in *Interdigitations: Essays for Irmengard Rauch*, ed. Gerald F. Carr et al. (NY, 1998), pp. 189-99.

Suzuki, Seiichi, "The Metrical Prominence Hierarchy in Old English Verse," in *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: a Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*, ed. Raymond Hickey and Stanisław Puppel (Berlin and NY, 1997), pp. 73-84.

d. Prose

Sacred Prose

Mary Clayton's superb contribution to Old English prose studies, *The Apocryphal Gospel of Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 26; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998; xi, 355 pp.), provides a richly informative account of the development of Marian apocrypha in England. Clayton's volume presents editions of several Old English versions of Latin texts on the birth, childhood, death, and assumption of Mary. In addition, Clayton edits several of the Latin texts in order to document the relationship between the Old English texts and their putative sources. These apocryphal texts, in both their Latin and Old English versions, attempt to fill perceived gaps in the New Testament, in which the Virgin Mary figures only minimally. The Catholic church seems to have essentially black-listed these texts via various pronouncements, including the so-called Gelasian decree, and, consequently, writers such as Paschasius Radbertus on the Continent and Ælfric in England also rejected them. Nevertheless, these apocryphal texts proved enormously popular in both the Eastern and Western churches and attained a wide circulation.

At the outset of her study, Clayton calls attention to the scholarship of Mimouni, who suggests that these apocryphal writings should be viewed as examples of hagiography. Clayton correctly surmises that this suggestion accounts for the wide distribution of these texts in legendaries and homiliaries. Typically these narratives stress aspects of Mary's perfect purity: her conception during her father's absence, her upbringing in a temple, her miraculous conception of Jesus, and the assumption of her uncorrupted body.

Clayton edits six narratives, three in Old English and three in Latin. The Old English narratives include:

1. a version of a portion of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* based on Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, with variants supplied both from Cambridge, Corpus Christi College (CCCC) 367 and from Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343;
2. an assumption homily found in CCCC 41 (known as *Transitus B²* or the *Transitus of Pseudo-Melito*);
3. and another assumption homily, *Blickling XIII*, a composite found in CCCC 198, that combines most of *Transitus W* and part of *Transitus B²*.

The three Latin narratives include:

1. a translation of part of the Greek *Proteuangelium* found in Cambridge, Pembroke College, 25;
2. a version of the *Gospel of Pseudo-Matthew* found in London, British Library, Cotton Nero E. i;
3. and a Latin version of *Transitus W* found in Cambridge, Pembroke College, 25.

Although serviceable editions of the Old English texts presented here have previously been printed by Assmann, Grant, and Tristram, Clayton is the first editor to provide an extended account of the background of the Marian apocrypha and to investigate in detail the sources of the Old English texts. Clayton begins by tracing the origin of these apocrypha, taking as her starting point the so-called *Proteuangelium Iacobi*, originally written in Greek. The earliest manuscript witness to this early text dates to the fourth century, and the text has been described by scholars as a midrashic exegesis of the birth narratives in Matthew and Luke. Clayton discusses the Latin translations of this text, and then takes up an extensive survey of the Syriac and Greek apocryphal traditions on the death and assumption of Mary before presenting the texts themselves. Clayton's exemplary edition is accurate, informative, and enormously useful to scholars.

In a related study, "A Homily for the Nativity of the Virgin Mary," Maria Butcher presents an edition of one of the homilies included in Clayton's *The Apocryphal Gospel of Mary*, namely, CCCC 367, part II, folios 11-16 (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 [1997], 93-118). Although this particular manuscript version had not been edited before the work of Butcher and Clayton, the two other copies of this homily extant in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 and in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114 do in fact appear in Assmann's *Angelsächsische Homilien und Heiligenleben* (Kassel, 1889), which has not lost its value. The text Butcher edits is incomplete, but otherwise quite close to the Hatton text; the Bodley text eschews the verb *gewitan* (opting instead for *gan* or *faran*) and shows other minor textual

variations. The homily is based on the first twelve chapters of the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew*, and it purports to offer information on the birth and early life of the Virgin Mary. Butcher reports that the *Gospel of the Pseudo-Matthew* was composed in Latin in the eighth or ninth century. Clayton, however, citing the work of Gijssels, suggests an earlier date, between 550–700. Butcher's edition offers a facing translation into modern English. Her M.Phil. thesis (which forms the basis for this article) presents more detailed information about the linguistic aspects of these particular texts.

Several excellent articles for 1998 focus attention on Ælfric. Paul Szarmach explores editorial policies and possibilities in the computer age in his essay, "Abbot Ælfric's Rhythmical Prose and the Computer Age" (*New Approaches to Editing Old English Verse*, ed. Keefer and O'Keeffe; pp. 95–108, ill.). In the past, scholars have handled the difficulties of editing Ælfric's rhythmical prose in a variety of ways, and Szarmach judges the relative merits of these different approaches with particular reference to Ælfric's *Life of Edmund*. An editor might choose, for example, to reproduce the pointing and the long lines of the scribe of the *Julius* manuscript, or might instead follow the pattern of Skeat, who attempts to set the text in metrical lines. Needham, in his edition of *Edmund*, follows yet another tack and presents Ælfric's text as regular prose. Godden also chooses a prose presentation of the text but reverts to the capitalization and punctuation of the manuscript.

Which of these four methods works best? Szarmach rightly notes that a computer edition would allow a user to choose among any of these four editorial options via four different document files. Alternately, one computer document might be produced with hidden markers that would allow any given text to be displayed individually or simultaneously. Szarmach then outlines further advantages made possible through computer technology, advantages that might be brought into play through the creation of what he terms "Old English Online Editions." In a sense, the article is a kind of prolegomenon, an outline, and a progress report for just such an enterprise. The article names Patrick Conner and Paul Szarmach as co-directors of the proposed project. The project would ideally avoid the constraints of a publishing budget while producing editions that might allow, for example, the representation of the text of *Edmund* in its full complexity. Through various computer links, such editions could present digitized facsimiles, archaeological evidence, archives to various critical studies and so on—without incurring the costs of hard-copy production. Szarmach concludes his article by weighing various theoretical considerations—whether, for example, easily available computer options would cause the abnegation of editorial responsibility. Szarmach suggests that in the future, given these technological options, an editor may no longer be "the great arbiter of meaning" but might instead assume a new role, perhaps providing the kind of "open editions" that George Kane called for long ago.

In "Ælfric, Gregory and the Carolingians" (*Roma, Magis-*

tra Mundi: Itineraria Culturae Medievalis. Mélanges Offerts à Père L. E. Boyle; ed. Jacqueline Hamesse; Louvain-la-Neuve [1998], pp. 409–23), Joyce Hill considers the special role of Gregory the Great in Anglo-Saxon literary production, particularly in the writings of Ælfric, who called Gregory *Engliscra ðeode apostol* ("the Apostle of the English"). Gregory's special role in sponsoring the Roman mission to convert the English and his revered position as a leading patristic authority caused many Anglo-Saxons to study his corpus and to propagate his literary legacy through liberal quotation and adaptation in their own Latin and vernacular writings.

Hill begins her article by noting the importance Bede and Carolingian writers attached to the authority of the Fathers of the Church. Bede and the Carolingians sought to "write themselves into that chain of authority, that intertextual tradition which they sought to promote, and of which they wanted to claim a part." Hill asserts that Ælfric also consciously attempts to participate in this Latin tradition, though he does so while writing somewhat reluctantly in the vernacular. Ælfric takes a stand alongside those Carolingians who wished to validate their work by giving it patristic authority. Ælfric explicitly lists his authorities in the First Series of Catholic Homilies as Augustine, Jerome, Bede, Gregory, and two Carolingian writers: Smaragdus and Haymo of Auxerre. Hill briefly touches on the fact that Ælfric makes more use of Bede and Gregory than either Augustine or Jerome. She then focuses on Ælfric's interaction with the texts of Gregory and by examining "the dynamic relationship between four of Ælfric's homilies and four by Gregory." Her essay is designed, in the words of Hill, "to show how Ælfric exploited the intertextual tradition of which he was a part and so created a new intertextuality in the course of his interlingual dialogue with his source materials." Hill presents a superb view of Ælfric's literary methods, one that moves beyond the realm of conventional studies of his sources.

In another essay on Ælfric, "The Violence of Exegesis: Reading the Bodies of Ælfric's Female Saints" (*Violence against Women in Medieval Texts*, ed. Anna Roberts; Gainesville, FL [1998], 22–43), Shari Horner draws upon Ælfric's distinction between understanding a text *lichamlice* and *gastlice* (bodily and spiritually), a distinction Ælfric usually uses to explain some aspect of the Old Testament in terms of the New Testament. Horner suggests that Ælfric's "corporeal hermeneutics can inform our understanding of how the bodies of virgin martyrs in the *Lives of Saints* function as texts that embody literal and spiritual meanings." Horner focuses her attention primarily upon the *Lives* of Agatha, Lucy, and Agnes, and she sums up by noting the importance of the bodies of female virgin martyrs in Ælfric's attempt to show how the carnal can "produce and ensure spiritual truths."

Schin'ichi Takeuchi examines Ælfric's high-frequency use of the verb *forgyfan* (instead of the more common *sel-lan*) and the verb *andwyrðan* (instead of the more common *andswarian*) in a linguistically oriented study titled "Archaism

in the Vocabulary of Ælfric" (*English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi, pp. 341–59). Takeuchi suggests that Ælfric was trying to standardize his use of these words in a way that seems to be a case of idiolect—in an attempt, apparently, to preserve more archaic senses of these particular words.

Writings associated with Wulfstan and his canon form the basis of four articles for 1998. Two of those articles take a linguistic tack. In "Motivation for Producing and Analyzing Compounds in Wulfstan's Sermons" (*Advances in English Historical Linguistics*, ed. Fisiak and Krygier, pp. 15–21), Don Chapman begins with the concept of the motivation of compounds, that is, whether the composite structure of compounds may be discerned "or perhaps even relied upon for interpretation." He notes that coinages, as they find increasing use, tend to enter the lexicon and become lexicalized. The compound *blackboard*, as Chapman notes, has become lexicalized since *black* is no longer meaningful: few blackboards are now black. Chapman describes his article as an "initial foray" into analyzing the lexical status of similar compounds in the writings of Wulfstan.

Chapman begins by analyzing Wulfstan's most prominent stylistic feature, the pairing of compounds with other compounds or with simplexes that repeat one of the constituents of the compound. He looks at such prominent Wulfstanian pairings as *manswican ne mansworon* ('evil-deceivers nor evil-swearers') and *wedlogan ne wordlogan* ('oath-liars nor word-liars'). Chapman notes that some 200 such pairs occur in the corpus of Wulfstan's writings and he examines about a dozen examples. Chapman suggests that such pairings may well have invited the coinage of new compounds. He notes the occurrence of several hapax legomena in Wulfstan's echoic pairs, and he concludes that Wulfstan's highly artificial compound pairs probably "reasserted the composite structure of the compounds."

In "Syntactical Revision in Wulfstan's Rewritings of Ælfric" (*English Historical Linguistics and Philology in Japan*, ed. Fisiak and Oizumi, pp. 215–28), Hiroshi Ogawa examines alterations related to coordination and subordination in Wulfstan's rewritings of Ælfric's *De Septiformi Spiritu*, *De Falsis Diis*, and the D version of Ælfric's Second Pastoral Letter. Ogawa comes to the conclusion that:

Wulfstan tends to write in a way that is verb-oriented and concrete, as compared with Ælfric, whose expression tends to centre around substantives and consequently to be condensed and abstract. Ælfric tends towards a nominal style, Wulfstan towards a verbal style.

For the scholar Hollowell, whom Ogawa cites, this distinction seems equivalent to a distinction between a high style and a low style. Ogawa notes further that many revisions tend to expand constructions in Ælfric's original. What Ælfric might condense into apposition, Wulfstan instead expands into a flow of events. Ogawa characterizes Ælfric's style as static and Wulfstan's as more kinetic; Ogawa concludes

that Wulfstan's revisions result in a more colloquial or low style, whereas Ælfric's writings reflect a more literary or high style.

In an interesting note on writings associated with Wulfstan, Graham Caie calls attention to what he terms a "Wulfstanian" homily in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 113 (Napier's homily XXIX). Caie's note, "Infanticide in an Eleventh-Century Old English Homily" (*N&Q* 45 [1998], 275–76), calls attention to a portion of the homily that contains a section nearly identical to the Old English poem *Judgement Day II*. Both texts derive from Bede's *De Die Iudicii*. Caie observes that an addition in the homily states that clandestine sins shall be revealed at Doomsday. The specific example of such clandestine sins, an example added to the homily but not found in either *Judgement Day II* or in Bede, reads: *þær swutelad elc cild hwa hit formyrðrode* ('there every child will reveal who murdered it'). Caie, after making passing reference to the practice of infanticide in Germanic and Norse literature, concludes that this particular addition to the homily provides a glimpse into the everyday life of the parish—where concerns over abortion or infanticide probably prompted the homilist to add a vivid admonition against such practices.

A second note with a Wulfstan resonance comes from Joyce Tally Lionarons: "Another Old English Text of the *Passio Petri et Pauli*" (*N&Q* 45 [1998], 12–14). She finds that recent scholarship has overlooked an important Old English translation of this apocryphal narrative on the martyrdom of Peter and Paul in Rome. The relevant entry in *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture: A Trial Version* reports two Old English translations: Blickling Homily XV and Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* I, 26. The *SASLC* entry also mentions two secondary uses of the *Passio* in *The Book of Cerne* and in the structuring of one of Ælfric's Rogation homilies. Lionarons points out that a third Old English version of a substantial portion of the *Passio* survives as an interpolation in a version of Wulfstan's homily *De Temporibus Antichristi* preserved in two manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 116, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201. Perhaps scholars have overlooked the interpolation because Dorothy Bethurum chose not print it in her 1957 edition of *The Homilies of Wulfstan*; Bethurum did, however, identify the interpolation in a footnote as a translation of a portion of the Acts of Peter and Paul not made by Wulfstan. And Napier printed the interpolation in his 1883 edition of Wulfstan's writings—so the text that Lionarons calls attention to is simply one omitted in the current *SASLC* entry, which will of course need to be updated.

Several articles for 1998 explore hagiography. In "Archangel in the Margins: St. Michael in the Homilies of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 41" (*Traditio* 53 [1998], 63–91), Richard F. Johnson examines Saint Michael's appearance in homilies written into the margins of this Corpus manuscript, whose principle text is an Old English transla-

tion of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Old English and Latin texts were added to the margins of this manuscript at a later date, probably sometime in the middle of the eleventh century according to N. R. Ker. The Old English texts include, among other items, three charms, one lorica, one medieval recipe, selections from a martyrology, a version of the poem *Solomon and Saturn*, and six homilies.

Johnson builds upon the efforts of several previous studies, particularly those by Sarah Keefer and Raymond Grant. Keefer argues for the existence of a coherent plan for the collection of liturgical marginalia while Grant argues that the selection of marginalia demonstrates an interest in texts with Irish connections. Johnson, drawing on both studies, convincingly suggests that the charms, lorica, and other material display a coherent interest in texts that offer material or spiritual protection; he speculates that this interest aptly coincides with Michael's particular qualities as a saint.

In defining Michael's qualities, Johnson turns to the distinction made by A. B. Kuypers who argued that two great currents, the Irish and the Roman, shaped the prayers in the *Book of Cerne*. In a similar fashion, Johnson suggests, ideas about St. Michael in Anglo-Saxon England may have taken shape through the influence of both Roman missionaries in the south and Irish monks in the north. Johnson argues that these two proselytizing traditions differ not so much in their appreciation of Michael's saintly role as an intercessor and patron, but rather in their representations of the Archangel and his cultic power. In general, the Roman devotions to St. Michael stress his role as a warrior-angel in his battle against the forces of evil, as in Rev. 12:7-9, and as the guardian angel of the faithful. In Irish tradition, however, Michael's role in protecting the souls of the faithful and in escorting souls away from earthly life receives greater emphasis, as is suggested by the offertory chant of the Mass of the Dead: "sed signifer sanctus Michaelis representet eas in lucem sanctam quam olim Abraham promisisti et semini ejus."

Johnson examines the four homilies in CCCC 41 in which Saint Michael plays a role: one for the Assumption, one for the Last Judgment, one for Easter, and one in praise of Saint Michael. Johnson finds that these homilies show connections with Irish rather than Roman traditions. In particular, Saint Michael appears in roles typically favored by the Celtic tradition: as psychopomp, as conveyor of souls before the Judge, and as intercessor on behalf of sinners. It would therefore appear that the homilies were composed in a literary milieu influenced by Irish sources, an idea buttressed by the earlier studies of CCCC 41 by Keefer, Grant, and Willard.

In another article of hagiographical interest, "The Old English 'Ritual of the Admission of Mildrith' (London, Lambeth Palace 427, fol. 210)" (*JEGP* 97 [1998], 311-21), Stephanie Hollis reviews the current scholarly opinion on two fragments of Old English prose preserved in a Lambeth manuscript. The two fragments, written by the same scribe, appear on folios 210 and 211. The fragments are broadly sim-

ilar to a third fragment: London, British Library, Cotton Caligula A. xiv, folios 121v-24v. T. O. Cockayne and M. J. Swanton have edited all three of these fragments and presented them as the remains of a single continuous narrative. Hollis takes a different view and argues that folio 211 of Lambeth is not a fragment of a Life of Mildrith but rather a fragment of a variant version of a text known as *Pa Halgan* or "The Resting Place of the Saints." Hollis further believes that folio 210 may well be a fragment from a lost Life of Mildrith, an opinion that concurs with Cockayne's view of that particular folio.

Joana Proud also takes up the question of manuscript evidence in her hagiographical study, "The Old English *Life of Saint Pantaleon* and Its Manuscript Context" (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 [1997], 119-32). Proud raises several questions about this particular text's inclusion in Cotton Vitellius D. xvii. In attempting to determine the audience towards which the text might have been directed, Proud refers to the work of Gatch and Lapidge. Gatch has pointed out the demand for texts based on lay piety, texts for laymen such as Ælfric's patron Æthelmær, the son of Æthelweard. And Lapidge has described Vitellius D. xvii as an Ælfrician passionate for private devotional readings. In attempting to answer why this text, uniquely extant in Vitellius D. xvii, finds its way into a collection primarily composed of Ælfrician saints' lives, Proud writes:

It is tempting to suggest that the inclusion of this text in the central portion of the manuscript demonstrates the centrality of its themes to the compiler's agenda, but it is only one voice in the multi-layered and multivocal text that is the manuscript.

Clearly this text's inclusion in the Vitellius manuscript merits interest, and Proud's work should prompt further scholarly speculation on its presence there.

Several prose studies focus on apocryphal texts. In "The *Gospel of Nicodemus* in Old and Middle English" (*The Medieval Gospel of Nicodemus*, ed. Zbigniew Izydorczyk; *Medieval & Renaissance Texts & Studies* 158; Tempe, AZ [1997], pp. 207-59), C. W. Marx discusses three manuscripts that contain Old English versions of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. The earliest manuscript is Cambridge University Library Ii. 2. 11, a gospel book from the third quarter of the eleventh century. The four canonical gospels are followed by the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which, in turn, is followed by a text known as *Vindicta Salvatoris*. Although the Cambridge manuscript has some features of a sacred liturgical book (as Förster has argued), Marx thinks it unlikely that an Old English manuscript could in fact have been regarded as a liturgical book in a strict sense. He further suggests it would have been unlikely for a compiler to include apocryphal materials in a Latin gospel book. In analyzing the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, Marx finds that the Old English version in the Cambridge

manuscript compresses the original Latin text and removes material that would duplicate the canonical gospels.

Marx also discusses two other Old English translations of the *Gospel of Nicodemus* found in manuscripts dating approximately 100 years later than the Cambridge manuscript. One text is bound with the *Beowulf* codex in London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A. xv; the first portion of that composite manuscript contains a separate codex dating from the middle of the twelfth century (later than the *Beowulf* codex) that includes King Alfred's version of Augustine's *Soliloquies*, the prose *Solomon and Saturn*, and a homily on St. Quintin. Marx characterizes this grouping as an anthology of "didactic and wisdom literature." Certainly, as Shippey has argued, *Solomon and Saturn* seems curiously literal and factual in its questions and answers, and this characteristic spills over into the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, which answers such pragmatic questions as what Christ did between his death and Resurrection, and what fate befell those who lived before Christ's coming. The third manuscript that contains the *Gospel of Nicodemus*, London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, also shows some affinity with didactic literature. In addition to containing *Nicodemus*, the manuscript contains several homilies by Ælfric—although Marx does not take up the thorny question of Ælfric's concern for orthodoxy and his general disdain for apocryphal texts. Whether Ælfric would have condoned the grouping of his homiletic texts with the *Gospel of Nicodemus* merits further study.

In addition to discussing these three manuscripts, Marx casts a somewhat wider net and notes that many Old English texts make use of the subject of the Harrowing of Hell. Whether these texts owe a direct debt to the *Gospel of Nicodemus* seems doubtful to some scholars, and Marx seems inclined to accept the view put forward by J. J. Campbell that no evidence suggests that these varied references owe a direct debt to the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Instead, these references may well draw upon a wide range of sermons, commentaries, hymns, and theological writings. The only possible exception that Marx draws attention to is the homiletic use of material that has as its source pseudo-Augustine's *Sermo 160*, which contains a paragraph closely approximating the wording of the *Gospel of Nicodemus*. Marx concedes, however, that Campbell's assessment remains largely intact since it is "only through the vehicle of the pseudo-Augustinian homily" that these influences find their way into the vernacular.

Mary Swan's informative investigation of some newly identified manuscript evidence also focuses on apocryphal texts. In her article "The *Apocalypse of Thomas* in Old English" (*Leeds Stud. In Eng.* 29 [1998], 333–46), Swan explores the complexities of the textual transmission of the Latin sources of this text and its vernacular adaptations. Swan cites the work of Förster and Gatch, who have identified four Old English homilies that make use of the Latin *Apocalypse of Thomas*: Blickling Homily VII; the so-called "Corpus-Hatton" text found in both CCC 162 and in Bodleian Li-

brary, Hatton 116; Vercelli Homily XV; and the third homily in CCC 41. Scholars have postulated that basically two versions of the Latin text have circulated: a shorter version and the longer, or so-called interpolated version—but a recent identification of a manuscript fragment calls these basic assumptions into question. Swan's examination of the fragment (University of Toronto, Fisher Rare Books Library, MS 45, fragment 24–25) leads her to the conclusion that it conforms to neither the shorter nor the interpolated version but instead shares characteristics of each. She regards the fragment as an important indication of the complexity of manuscript transmission in the Middle Ages.

Swan's investigation incidentally calls into question Thomas Hall's identification of British Library Cotton Vespasian D. xiv folios 102r–103r as "an Old English translation of the Fifteen Signs before Doomsday, taken from the *Apocalypse of Thomas*" ("The *Evangelium Nichodemi* and *Vindicta Saluatoris* in Anglo-Saxon England"; the article appears in *Two Old English Apocrypha and Their Manuscript Sources*, ed. by J. E. Cross, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1996). Swan argues that the text in Vespasian D. xiv does not overlap with the Latin or Old English versions of the *Apocalypse of Thomas* and shows no signs of being derived from the *Apocalypse*.

Swan's article suggests a close link between apocrypha and apocalyptic themes, and those same links are explored in an article by Leo Carruthers. In "Apocalypse Now: Preaching and Prophecy in Anglo-Saxon England" (*EA* 51 [1998], 399–410), Carruthers surveys tenth-century writings on millenarian themes and argues that religious authorities generally avoided "the trap of a millenarianism based on the literal interpretation of Scripture." Carruthers observes that even though Christians widely expected the return of Christ, many doubted whether this would take place in the year 1000. Drawing on the work of Norman Cohn (*The Pursuit of the Millennium*), Carruthers briefly charts the origin of millenarian prophecies and their use by Anglo-Saxon poets and preachers. After alluding to the influence of Revelation (The *Apocalypse of St. John*) in spawning millenarian beliefs, the article traces the development of a Christian calendar that prompted various interpretations regarding the date of the Parousia. Noting that primitive Christians believed the event to be imminent, Carruthers sketches some of the difficulties in associating the Second Coming with the year 1000 or with other dates (1033, 1065, 1260, etc.) also marked as significant by various writers from the medieval period.

Among those difficulties in dating the Second Coming is the development of the Christian calendar itself, which owes much to the work of the sixth-century Scythian monk Dionysius Exiguus. He calculated the date of Christ's birth to the year 753 after the legendary foundation of Rome and his calculations have, of course, been questioned. The Christian practice of replacing pagan festivals with various religious feasts also created questions about calculating the date of the

year 1. The Julian calendar placed the beginning of the year on January 1st, and the subsequent association of that date with Christ's circumcision (which, in Jewish practice, normally occurred on the eighth day after birth) automatically placed Christmas Day on December 25th and the Incarnation nine months earlier, on March 25th. But, for the sake of convenience, the previous January 1 was made the beginning of the year 1.

Given these and similar difficulties, it hardly seems surprising that disputes over the calendar, particularly in calculating the date of Easter, loomed large in the Anglo-Saxon period. And even though the Council of Ephesus in 431 condemned as heretical millenarian expectations associated with the year 1000, these expectations still weighed on the popular imagination in the medieval period. Carruthers intelligently reports on the millenarian views in *The Blickling Homilies* and in the writings of Ælfric and Wulfstan—though without making mention of Malcolm Godden's fine essay on the topic published in 1994: "Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, ed. Godden et al., pp. 130–62).

Three articles for 1998 explore Alfred's religious writings. In "Wise Wealthstodas: the Prologue to Sirach as a Model for Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral Care*" (*JEGP* 97 [1988], 488–99), Nicole Discenza argues that Alfred draws heavily on the biblical Prologue to Sirach (Ecclesiasticus) in his Introduction to the Old English *Pastoral Care*. Since the Prologue to Sirach deals explicitly with issues related to translation, it is natural, she claims, that Alfred would have fashioned his own program of translation on the ideas and problems outlined in this text.

While Discenza admits that there are virtually no verbal parallels between the two works, she maintains that the thematic correspondences are close enough to suggest that the Prologue to Sirach served as Alfred's primary inspiration. These parallels include: (1) an invocation of national history, (2) a discussion of the translator's own personal motivations for translation, (3) a justification of the act of translation based on precedent, and (4) an explanation of the translator's rationale for choosing particular texts. Besides these general similarities, Discenza points out one interesting verbal correspondence, arguing that the words *bonum* and *necessarium*, which the translator of Sirach uses to refer to his translation, "may have suggested [the words] "betre" and "niedbeðearfostra" which Alfred uses to describe those books he proposes to translate into English.

Some may dismiss the parallels Discenza identifies as the likely and analogous responses of two translators in comparable cultural situations faced with similar problems. However, given the well-known difficulties in identifying Alfred's sources, her argument warrants consideration. The series of correspondences she points to, while largely thematic in nature, do suggest a pattern of thought strong enough to raise the possibility that Alfred had the Prologue to Sirach in mind

while designing his own program of translation.

In "An Analogue, and Probable Source, for a Metaphor in Alfred's Preface to the Old English Translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*" (*NE&Q* 45 [1998], 161–63), Prodosh Bhattacharya suggests that the famous forest metaphor that opens Alfred's text may draw upon a similar passage in the Old English *Cura Pastoralis*. Bhattacharya quotes Gregory's Latin original from Migne's *Patrologia Latina*, 77.118:

...quia et idcirco altum silvae legrum succidimus, ut hoc in aedificii tegmine sublevemus; sed tamen non repente in fabrica ponitur, ut nimitum prius vetiosa ejus viriditas exciscaetur cujus quo in infimis humor excoquitur, eo ad summa solidius levatur.

For we cut down the tall tree of the wood so that we may raise it to the roof of the building; but nonetheless it is not placed immediately in the fabric, so that first its excessive and harmful greenness may dry out—the more its dampness is warmed out of it whilst it is low (i.e. on the ground), the more firmly it may be raised up to the heights.

This quotation echoes Alfred and suggests that Gregory's text may well have prompted the similar forest metaphor at the beginning of Alfred's translation of the *Soliloquies*.

A third article on Alfred, Eugene Green's short but dense "Speech Acts and the Question of Self in Alfred's *Soliloquies*" (*Interdigitations*, ed. Carr et al.; [1998], pp. 211–18), examines how Alfred's translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies* "compliments his version of Boethius' dialogue in placing the self within his concept of the secular and the supernal." Green claims that the voice of *Wisdom* in Boethius carries a doctrinal authority fundamentally in contrast to the more conversational tone of the personified *Gesceadwisness* in the *Soliloquies*, and Green explores how the narrative self in the *Soliloquies* reflects typical Alfredian concerns. Although Green fails to note that *Wisdom* in Alfred's Boethius is also referred to as *Gesceadwisness*, especially in the second half of the work, this oversight seems hardly relevant to his point, which centers more on the relationship between the narrative voice and personified figure in these texts.

Green's argument draws on several different kinds of evidence, ranging from an assessment of Alfred's expansions upon the Latin original to certain grammatical and syntactic features of Alfred's translation. Green's purpose, overall, is to show that Alfred's rendering of the *Soliloquies* reveals a "typically Alfredian desire for communal integration and harmony" with the purpose of "establish[ing] a Christian kingdom of selves joined in common identity." Some readers might seek further guidance on what Green means by the "the self as communal." And some readers might challenge the psychological significance he attributes to certain features of Alfred's

rendering of his Latin original. For example, while Green acknowledges that some of the “differences [in the Latin exemplar and the Old English translation] are partly due to structural elements of language,” at least some of these differences may result from typical Alfredian rhetorical strategy—a topic not addressed here. Despite such possible objections, Green’s comparison of narrative *ic* in the Boethius and the *Soliloquies* serves to expand insight into Alfred’s intentions as a translator as well as his position vis-à-vis the Latin texts with which he worked.

And, as a final footnote for articles on Anglo-Saxon religious prose for 1998, Ingrid Ranum’s “*Blickling Homily X* and the Millennial Apocalyptic Vision” (*In Geardagum* 19 [1998], pp. 41–49) should be mentioned in passing. This brief essay takes a light and rather colloquial look at *Blickling X*, contemporary culture and millenarian themes. Perhaps the key point of the article is best summarized in Ranum’s own words:

Although the original title of this homily has been erased from the manuscript, Bright’s Reader chooses to identify it as “The End of the World is at Hand” and Meador uses the title “The End of the World is Near.” The central theme comes through loud and clear. *Blickling X* is clearly a call for the homilist’s audience to reform *now*, quickly, before it is too late, which it very soon shall be. Just in case they misunderstand his meaning, the author repeatedly restates and rewords his message.

The article does not seek to advance scholarship on *Blickling Homily X*, but instead tries to draw loose parallels between millenarian themes found in the homily and in contemporary culture.

Secular Prose

Among the works on secular prose that appeared in 1998, two particularly cogent studies on Anglo-Saxon law merit special attention. In her perceptive essay, “Body and Law in late Anglo-Saxon England” (*ASE* 27 [1998], 209–32), Katherine O’Brien O’Keeffe explores “the textual dimensions of the Anglo-Saxon *subject*” by focusing on “the use to which the body is put in juridical discourse.” In particular, her study examines the significance of the body in two texts: the account of Alfred ætheling’s murder as recorded for the year 1036 in the C-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and the late tenth-century *Translatio et Miracula S. Swithuni*. While the first recounts the gruesome dismemberment of Alfred and his men, the second narrates a series of stories about St. Swithun’s miraculous ability to heal. Reading these two texts “together and against one another,” she argues, permits insight into the role of the body in Anglo-Saxon socio-legal philosophy.

By contextualizing images of the body within the broader context of Anglo-Saxon law, O’Keeffe is able to make

some general claims about the significance of the body in eleventh-century England. She envisions an ideological shift in the motivation for legal penalties: while earlier codes (i.e., those composed sometime before the eleventh-century) were more concerned with prescribing compensation for particular crimes, later codes focused instead on personal guilt and penance. Secondly, she argues that, in these later codes, bodily mutilations were conceived as spectacles to be ‘read,’ “continually announc[ing] both crime and punishment” in a manner that crossed secular and ecclesiastical boundaries, and witnessed both divine and royal power. The implications of her argument, she claims, counter Foucault’s “monolithic and startlingly precocious” ideas about medieval confession and penance; she in fact produces a much more complicated picture than his simplified model allows. Finally, O’Keeffe utilizes these ideas to better understand the passionate outrage the chronicler of Alfred ætheling’s brutal treatment repeatedly expresses and the significance his mutilation would have held for an eleventh century audience.

Overall, O’Keeffe’s study provides both a compelling reading of the two texts she considers and a plausible explication of the ideological position of the body in late Anglo-Saxon England. Her argument illuminates the significance of the body in eleventh-century English law, and provides a meaningful context for analysis of other Anglo-Saxon literary texts as well.

In another article dealing with Anglo-Saxon laws, Lisi Oliver, in “*Cyninges fedesl*: The King’s Feeding in Æðelberht, ch. 12” (*ASE* 27 [1988], 31–40), proposes a new reading for chapter 12 of the *Laws of Æðelberht*—a short, cryptic provision in a series that prescribes fines for killing various royal servants or neglecting certain obligations. The crux of this passage is the word *fedesl*, a hapax legomenon for which there has been no satisfactory explanation. Previous translations of the term have ranged from de Laet’s “female player of a lute,” to Liebermann’s (now generally accepted) *köningskostgänger*, a semantic parallel to OE *blafeta* “bread-eater, dependant,” also found only in Æðelberht’s Laws.

Basing her argument on a wide array of evidence, Oliver argues that *fedesl* is a technical term signifying the obligation of certain individuals to provide food for the king and his household. Thus, she translates Æðelberht ch. 12, “*Cyninges fedesl XX scillinga forgelde*” as “[For violation of the responsibility for] the king’s feeding, let him [who defaulted the responsibility] pay 20 shillings.” As she points out, this reading is supported not only by the morphological construction of the word and its various cognates in other Germanic languages, but also by “comparative glosses and medieval legal/cultural parallels” relevant to Anglo-Saxon England. She points out, for instance, that Latin *pastus*, with a secondary meaning denoting the same legal responsibility, is mentioned in several Germanic law codes, including a ninth-century Mercian Charter. Beyond that, the practice of royal food-maintenance is well attested in Anglo-Saxon England and

finds parallels in both Medieval Welsh and Old Irish vernacular law. The argument Oliver makes is impressive, certainly providing a viable alternative reading of this difficult passage.

Four intriguing articles probe the writings of Alfred and the difficulties of translation theory and practice. In "The (M)other Tongue: Translation Theory and Old English" (*Translation Theory and Practice in the Middle Ages*, ed. Jeanette Beer; *Studies in Med. Culture* 38; Kalamazoo [1997], pp. 33–46), Robert Stanton strives to highlight the lack of attention he claims Old English scholars have traditionally paid to translation theory and to rectify this perceived problem. Stanton seeks to educate his audience about new critical models of translation theory and points out specific instances of how such theories might be fruitfully applied to the study of Old English literature, particularly to the translations of Alfred. He advises that in this endeavor, "we must not be afraid of importing theory that is anachronistic, or nothing will get done," and he argues further that modern critics should seek to deduce the principles of medieval translation theory from surviving texts, "extrapolat[ing], as it were, from practice to theory."

Next, Stanton discusses a number of issues related to translation in Anglo-Saxon England, many of which will be familiar to scholars of Old English. These include: the early appearance of the vernacular, problems associated with translating a Romance language such as Latin into a Germanic language, and the status of Old English as a literary language. The article concludes with a discussion of several modern theoretical approaches, which, Stanton claims, "may help 'firm up' the study of Old English translation."

While many will agree that there has been a deficiency in this particular kind of research until recently, Stanton perhaps overstates the overall importance of translation in Anglo-Saxon England when he claims that "Old English developed largely as a medium of translation from Latin, and Middle English from French." Certainly, the evidence of early legal texts and charters, to mention just two examples, stand as witness to the fact that many kinds of texts were being produced other than translations. Finally, one would also have desired some discussion, however brief, of the impact of the Irish mission (another non-Romance speaking culture which produced a great deal of vernacular literature), with its likely influence on the "Mercian" translations made as part of Alfred's program.

Ray Moyer's "'Pleasing Passages': Style in the Old English *Pastoral Care*" (*Journal of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Association*, 16–17 [1995–96], 25–51) counters the traditional scholarly assessment of Alfred's translation of the *Cura Pastoralis*. While many have dismissed Alfred's style as tedious and occasionally inaccurate, Moyer points out Alfred's rhetorical sophistication. If, as Moyer argues, we consider Alfred's style in his native cultural context, it becomes clear how Alfred, by "experimentation with rhetorical devices such as alliteration, wordplay, and variation . . . actually set

his sights higher than previous scholars would have us believe." These devices, borrowed from vernacular poetry, provided Alfred with a tradition of style that he adapts for use in his translations.

Following scholars such as Richard Clement and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, Moyer upholds the idea that Alfred probably did not "write" his translations in the modern sense, but rather dictated them to an amanuensis. Thus, Alfred's method of composition was aural and oral, just like the vernacular poetic tradition. Since we know from Asser that Alfred was a dedicated listener to Old English poetry, we might suspect that he would be particularly susceptible to the rhetorical devices found there, and Moyer demonstrates how Alfred adapted these techniques to his own prose style. This practice, he argues, produced translations that were not merely "serviceable," as some scholars have argued, but literary as well. Alfred's rhetorical technique must be regarded, therefore, as an original development, that "grew out of Germanic tradition; it did not merely follow models preserved in Latin and earlier Old English prose." By demonstrating how Alfred experimented with style, Moyer provides a new set of standards by which we can understand the subtleties of Alfred's practice as a translator.

And in a third article dealing with translation practice, Liam Benison explores translation methods associated with the vernacular versions of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* and *Dialogues*, Boethius' *Consolation of Philosophy*, Augustine's *Soliloquies*, and Orosius' *History Against the Pagans*. In his article, "Translation During King Alfred's Reign: the Politics of Conversion and Truth" (*Med. Translator* 6 [1998], pp. 82–100), Benison takes up the question posed by Janet Bately: can some of the prose of Alfred and his contemporaries correctly be termed translations? Certainly some of the vernacular renderings produced by Alfred and his circle seem so creative and so independent of their sources that the term translation seems inadequate. Benison argues that in order to understand translation theory and practice in ninth-century Anglo-Saxon England, one must first consider the political and cultural context in which the translations were produced. Benison attempts to describe this political and cultural context, though this attempt seems confined by the constraints of the brief essay format that encourages generalization. In describing the expansive topic of Germanic religion, for example, Benison writes:

Understanding the nature of traditional Germanic religion is problematical due to its subsequent transformation by Christianity and a lack of written evidence not composed in a Christian milieu. The generalisations may be made that traditional Germanic societies had a polytheistic religion, with a cyclical view of time related to agricultural seasons. They may have viewed the community as sacred, and they transmitted

myths and knowledge of the world though [sic] the spoken word.

Clearly much more could be said on the topic, but Benison soon turns to the thrust of his essay, which he defines in the following way: "It is my contention that Anglo-Saxon translation practices were informed by traditions of hermeneutics from both Christian and pre-literate Anglo-Saxon cultures." He then offers his analysis of various translations from the period.

And in one last article for 1998, Sealy Gilles examines works associated with the Alfredian circle in "Territorial Interpolations in the Old English Orosius," (*Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Gilles; Philadelphia [1998], pp. 79–96). In this article, Gilles looks at the contents of BL Cotton Tiberius B. i, which contains the Old English *Orosius*, the *Menologium*, *Maxims II*, and the "C" version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Though Gilles acknowledges that these individual works were probably not originally bound in the same codex, she nonetheless sets out to study them together, arguing that they were eventually viewed as a unified whole, though perhaps not until as late as the twelfth century. Her purpose is to examine how the geographical and historical representations in these texts reflect "a complex act of cultural definition, spanning several centuries and engaging numerous scribes, book-owners, translators, chroniclers, poets, and compilers."

Gilles focuses most of her attention on the Old English

Orosius, and particularly on the well-known interpolations attributed to Othhere and Wulfstan. She finds these narratives remarkable because they are not overburdened with the moral or eschatological themes one so commonly finds in medieval geographical narratives. She points out that "Othhere and Wulfstan, and their Anglo-Saxon amanuensis, recognize and are fascinated by alterity, but, rather than inscribing it as grotesque, exotic, or primitive, they seem driven to translate the foreign into the vernacular, to naturalize it." This tendency, she argues, reflects contemporary Anglo-Saxon ideology, particularly the need to authenticate their Northern heritage. This acceptance of otherness, she argues, creates a tension with the Latin original it proposes to render, "blunt[ing] the thrust of Orosius' Christian apologetic, explicitly written 'adversum paganos.'" "

The article concludes with a brief explanation of how the remaining three works in Cotton Tiberius B. i fit into an overall ideological agenda. The *Menologium*, Gilles argues, fixes events onto a temporal background, just as the *Orosius* fixes them geographically, and "reasserts the Christian context established by Orosius, but with a distinctly local cast." Similarly, *Maxims II* functions as a repository of ancestral mores, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* concentrates on a distinctly regional scale, localizing events and making them concrete "with place names, battles, and genealogies."

T. H. L.

["Secular Prose" was written with the assistance of Bryan Carella.]

4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

a. Early Anglo-Latin (Excepting Bede)

Martha Bayless and Michael Lapidge, eds., *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae*. *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae* 14. Dublin: School of Celtic Studies, Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, 1998. xiii, 329 pp. [includes essays by Neil Wright, Richard Marsden, Mary Garrison, Andy Orchard, and Peter Jackson]. The *Collectanea pseudo-Bedae* is a strange work charming in its eccentricity. Mere definition is elusive—a Latin anthology of aphoristic *sententiae*, or, perhaps more accurately, a composite consisting of (1) a florilegium of riddles, one-liners, and adages; (2) longer prose pieces dealing with numbers and numerology; and (3) hymns and prayers. The circumstances of the text's preservation are much to blame for this uncertainty, for the *Collectanea* is known only from Herwagen's printed edition of the sixteenth century, where it appeared as a spurious part of the collected works of Bede. Nothing is known, for example, about the basis of the ascription to Bede, or about the manuscript from which the work was printed, or even whether it was printed from two or more manuscripts. That ignorance is regrettable, since the text is a fascinating

collection of pithy and/or funny sayings: "Every lazy man is a prophet" (no. 227); "Why do you stand, why do you gawk, O British ox? I stand, I gawk, I seek a goad to prod the Gallic ox!" (No. 95); more seriously: "Wisdom without eloquence can do good; folly without eloquence destroys many people" (no. 88); or just puzzling: "It is a very shameful thing if a man should seek to learn at a moment when he ought to be unravelling a question" (no. 92); "I saw a host standing on his foot, his body made of earth, his blood of beer" (no. 246). The later, longer pieces, in contrast, touch on such topics as the seven gifts of the holy spirit, the four woods of the cross, the six ages, and so forth. The abcdarian hymns of the final section suggest an Irish origin, the prayers, which have affinities with the Book of Cerne, an Anglo-Saxon one.

The volume is organized as follows: seven introductory and analytical essays ("The Origin ..." by Lapidge, "The *Collectanea* and medieval dialogues and riddles" by Bayless, "The Sources ..." by Neil Wright, "The biblical text ..." by Richard Marsden, "... medieval florilegia" by Mary Garrison, "The verse-extracts ..." by Andy Orchard, and "Herwagen's lost manuscript ..." by Peter Jackson); the text proper,

with individual items in numbered paragraphs and with facing translation; an item-by-item commentary (giving discussion, analogs, sources, bibliographical references, etc.); bibliography and various indexes. The text is as puzzling as it is interesting, so in place of definitive answers the essays often offer hypothetical contexts in which to situate it. Its origin, for example, is supposed to be Irish, English, or southern German, or all of the above, the text supposedly having accreted material by different hands over a period of time. That period of time is conjectured to be from early to mid seventh century to about mid ninth century.

Simon Coates, "The Construction of Episcopal Sanctity in early Anglo-Saxon England: The Impact of Venantius Fortunatus," *Historical Research* 71 (1998), 1–13, traces the influence of Fortunatus in the work of early Anglo-Saxon writers. The focus is on the depiction of bishops, and their social and religious roles. Fortunatus (Bishop of Poitiers, *ob. ca.* 600) pioneered the *opus geminatum* (saint's life in prose and verse), and set many of the conventions of the hagiographic genre. His Saint Martin is reflected in, for example, Bede's Cuthbert and Alcuin's Willibrord. Especially influential for Alcuin's York poem are the works of Fortunatus which express the Roman concept of "civitas"—verses praising prominent citizens (whether secular or religious) and their social contributions. Coates speculates on an Irish transmission of Fortunatus' texts, at least for the case of Bede, while Alcuin may have read the works in a continental setting.

Janina Cünnen, "Amicitia in Old English Letters: Augustine's Ideas of 'Friendship' and Their Reception in Eangyth's Letter to Boniface," *Revista Alicantina de Estudios Ingleses* 10 (1997), 35–46, supplements the scanty literature on the correspondence referenced in the title. The author finds Anglo-Saxon letters to be heavily influenced in their organization by classical rhetoric, and in their content by the writings of St Augustine. Any influence by Cicero's *De amicitia* is an indirect reflection via St Augustine, who is, in fact, "the main source for most of the medieval writers dealing with . . . friendship." Opposing those who have seen in Eangyth's correspondence peculiarly Anglo-Saxon habits of thought, the author supports her argument of Augustinian influence with many verbal parallels. The conclusion offers a description of the elements of Christian friendship as rhetorically adumbrated by the letters: love, trust, honesty, and prayer.

In a significant essay Scott Gwara analyzes the more than ten thousand individual glossed items transmitted with the prose *De virginitate* of Aldhelm ("Glosses to Aldhelm's 'Prosa de virginitate' and Glossaries from the Anglo-Saxon Golden Age, ca. 670–800," *Studi medievali* 3rd ser., 38 (1997), 561–645). Gwara may in fact be said to have invented this line of enquiry by compiling, for his 1993 Toronto dissertation, an exhaustive database of these glosses from the many Aldhelm manuscripts. The present paper, an outgrowth of that original study, exploits the data in order to isolate an early stratum of glossing, termed "the common recension," shared

by several tenth-century manuscripts of various origin. Comparison of this common recension with glossaries of the Canterbury tradition (that is, glossaries associated with the school of Hadrian and Theodore—the Leiden, Épinal-Erfurt, and Corpus glossaries) permits a dating of the Aldhelm glosses with a *terminus a quo* of ca. 800, the date of the Corpus glossary with which they correspond. As Gwara demonstrates, however, an even earlier date may be possible. Common recension items in a ninth-century Continental manuscript, which may have originated in an Insular exemplar of the eighth century, potentially push the date further back, and it may be that the systematic study and glossing of Aldhelm's work constitute one of the earliest Anglo-Saxon school traditions. The bold conclusion would situate this intellectual enterprise at Malmesbury, beginning in the time of Aldhelm himself. A demonstration of this hypothesis would thus write a major chapter in Anglo-Saxon intellectual history. Needless to say, the imminent appearance of the author's definitive edition and study of the Aldhelm glosses (in the Corpus Christianorum series) will provoke a good deal of scholarly debate. The issue will be, as so often in the field of Anglo-Saxon studies, the testing of the hypothesis against the fragmentary record. Gwara's paper is long and the material difficult; readers should prepare to use copious brain work. They will be helped by the following tips. I found it useful to make a chart pairing the manuscript shelfmarks with their sigla, since discussion uses both alternatively. On page 568, Hand 1a for MS C1 should be dated s. XIin rather than IXin. In the chart of page 571, the box in the lower righthand corner represents the manuscript Brussels, RL 1650. And on p. 602, as far as I can determine, "Hand 4" is written as a typographical error for Hand 3.

Two articles in *ASE* volume 27 analyze the impact of Roman school traditions on Anglo-Saxon literary culture. The subject of Michael W. Herren's "The Transmission and Reception of Graeco-Roman Mythology in Anglo-Saxon England, 670–800" (87–103) is the appearance of classical gods in Anglo-Saxon literary and school texts. (See also the discussion of Knappe's article on classical rhetoric, in section g.) The chronological frame is roughly from the seventh-century Canterbury school through the age of Bede. Anglo-Saxon readers would have encountered pagan gods in the *Aeneid*, for example, and in early Christian texts such as the *Psychomachia* which were based on Classical models. For some Insular readers, the old gods represented an important and interesting part of the literate culture that accompanied Christianity, and for a time became the object of focused enquiry, as shown by their frequent mention in scholia, glossaries, and commentaries. As Herren demonstrates, Roman gods could be identified with the traditional Germanic gods, and elements of classical mythology surfaced in texts by Aldhelm and in the anonymous *Liber Monstrorum*. "The last quarter of the seventh century, and, perhaps, the opening decades of the eighth might be looked upon as a sort of mini-renaissance of classi-

cal scholarship in Anglo-Saxon England. Classical poets were read in the schools of Canterbury and Wessex . . . The mini-renaissance . . . was localized and short-lived. It was basically limited to the area of Southumbria . . . and faded away probably in the second decade of the eighth century" (102–3).

David Howlett puts his stylistic theories into application in two papers. (For a brief description of Howlett's system see the discussion in section g.) In the first article, "Insular Acrostics, Celtic Latin Colophons" (*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 35 [1998], 27–44), Howlett edits and translates five Latin poems of the eighth century, arguing on the basis of style that they are of Irish rather than of English origin, as has been supposed. The name "Laurentius" is found in two of the poems (one a newly reported acrostic), the name "Vergilius" (=Irish *Fergil*) in another. Howlett disputes Lapidge's identification of Aldhelmian diction in the fourth poem (an acrostic, "Iohannis celsi rimans misteria caeli"), and asserts instead that Aldhelm was the borrower (though the claim for the poet's knowledge of Greek (38), would seem to admit Lapidge's disputed translation of "Iohannis" as a nominative). The final poem, a translation of a Greek acrostic, agrees with the fourth in style and the sharing of vocabulary with Aldhelm. A second article by Howlett, addressing a tenth-century poem of Anglo-Saxon origin, is discussed in section e.

Colin Ireland, "Penance and Prayer in Water: An Irish Practice in Northumbrian Hagiography," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 34 (1997), 51–66, briefly sketches the history of the curious Irish practice of keeping vigils while immersed in water, and shows its occurrence among the Northumbrians in the first half of the eighth century. Practitioners were Cuthbert, Drythelm (Bede's *HE* V.12) and perhaps Bishop Wilfred.

In "The Seventh-Century School of Canterbury: England and the Continent in Perspective," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 8 (1998), 206–15, Bernice M. Kaczynski reviews Bischoff and Lapidge's *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994) and the anthology edited by Lapidge, *Archbishop Theodore: Commemorative Studies on his Life and Influence* (Cambridge, 1995). Her comments echo in part those made earlier by others: high praise for the detective work that uncovered so much information about the seventh-century Canterbury school of Hadrian and Theodore and about its scholastic curriculum, but a call for sober reassessment of the intellectual achievement represented by the Canterbury Bible glosses. Briefly to summarize her arguments: Michael Lapidge, in his introduction to the commentaries, recounts a compelling narrative of Hadrian and Theodore as representatives of Mediterranean culture who traveled to distant Britain and in a short time attracted a coterie of students whom they inspired with instruction in Greek and Latin. On the other hand, Kaczynski says, the story has lost nothing in the telling. Personal details about the two teachers may be fewer than suggested, and fact

may have been outpaced by inference. Turning to the edition itself, Kaczynski finds it delivers less than promised, not a "commentary," if that word implies a running text, but a series of separate glosses evoked by individual cruces in the text. She also finds the glosses to compare rather modestly with examples of Carolingian or Byzantine learning, and believes the Canterbury school may have had a considerably smaller sphere of influence than Bischoff and Lapidge believe (a question that must await resolution when the remaining Canterbury texts have been published). Kaczynski readily acknowledges the interest and quality of the papers in the Theodore anthology, mentioning especially the essays by Franklin and Stevenson (Stevenson is the editor of an interesting historical text of Canterbury origin, *The 'Laterculus Malialianus' and the School of Archbishop Theodore* [Cambridge, 1995]).

Stéphane Lebecq, "Les saints anglais et le milieu marin. Contribution de quelques textes hagiographiques à la connaissance du milieu littoral dans l'Angleterre du début du moyen âge," *Comptes rendus des séances de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belle-Lettres* 1995, no. 1, pp. 43–56. Paleo-ecologist Lebecq surveys three eighth-century saints' lives (of Cuthbert by Bede and by an anonymous, of Guthlac by Felix) in order to learn what they say about the littoral environment of eastern England. Stripping away strata of conventionality and the fantastic, Lebecq finds the texts present much that is believable—animal species such as otters, whales, ravens, and dolphins, plant species such as the barley so admirably suited to the cloudy, humid north country and the reeds densely covering the fens of Guthlac's Crowland.

Bruno Luiselli's "Dal latino della Britannia romana ai più antichi latinismi del celtico insulare e dell'anglosassone," in *La transizione dal latino alle lingue romanze. Atti della Tavola rotonda di linguistica storica, Università Ca' Foscari di Venezia, 14–15 giugno 1996*, ed. József Herman with Luca Mondin (Tübingen, 1998), pp. 213–27, investigates the Latin of Roman and sub-Roman Britain. Relying largely on the evidence of inscriptions and the recorded lexical corpus, he presents phonological changes occurring in a latinate linguistic stratum in Welsh, Cornish, and Breton, and in Old Irish as well, and lists along the way a number of loanwords and word elements in these languages. A couple of notes relevant to Old English are added almost as an appendix: the place-name element *caester/cester* is added to Celto-Roman topographic terms, and the OE place-name element *eccles* (meaning "church," from originally Greek *ecclesia*) is a Celtic borrowing which contrasts with native compounds in *church*, as in *Churchdown*, and so on.

Conjecturally dated ca. 650–750, the *Liber monstrorum* is a curious composition that catalogs monsters of various sorts and diverse origin. Here Andy Orchard ("The Sources and Meaning of the *Liber monstrorum*," *I 'monstra' nell'Inferno dantesco: tradizione e simbologie*. Centro italiano di studi sul Basso Medioevo—Accademia Tudertina e del Centro di studi sulla spiritualità medievale n.s. 10 [Spoleto, 1997], pp. 73–

105) makes a major contribution to its understanding. No two of the *Liber's* five manuscripts preserve the same text, though the four shorter versions overlap in different extent with the longest version. The important question—is this a single text, or a loose set of related compilations affected by interpolation and accretion? Orchard demonstrates that the *Liber* is the product of one man's pen and that the longest version as it now stands cannot differ radically from the author's original. These facts are shown by the consistent and logical use of sources across the whole of the work: the sources are carefully distinguished in three groups, Classical, "Alexandrian," and Christian (a grouping foreshadowed in the prolog by the tripartite image of the siren), which are then exploited sequentially in discrete sections from the beginning of Book I to the end of Book III. A thoroughly convincing piece of work that reinforces Lendinara's earlier perceptive comments on the learning and culture of the anonymous author.

Lutz E. von Padberg's "Christen und Heiden. Zur Sicht des Heidentums in ausgewählter angelsächsischer und fränkischer Überlieferung des 7 und 8 Jahrhunderts" (*Iconologia Sacra ... Festschrift für Karl Hauck zum 75. Geburtstag. Arbeiten zur Frühmittelalterforschung* 23, eds. Hagen Keller and Nikolaus Staubach [Berlin and New York: 1994], pp. 291–312), drawing on archeological evidence and Bede's *Historia*, explores the cultural disjuncture between the Christian and pagan religions in the sixth to eighth centuries. Hauck's analysis of gold coins of the migratory period documented the geographical spread of polytheism in the North and explained the resistance of the tribal groups to Christianity in the sixth century. These conflicting religious mentalités influenced to some degree the early missionary movement. Sharing with the heathens a belief in kingship and kinship, in magic and mysticism, the missionaries employed concrete tropes: light is good; dark is evil. The devil was compared to earthly tyrants. Bede offers a lesson of conversion and, in his story of King Edwin and Princess Eanflæd, demonstrates in a concrete way the incompatibility of paganism and Christianity. (Reviewed by Anita Wyman)

In *Die altenglischen Glossen zu Aldhelms 'De laudibus virgininitatis' in der Handschrift BL, Royal 6 B VII. Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie* 19 (Munich: Fink, 1996), Michael Richter contributes a solid, scholarly exegesis of vernacular glossing activity in an English manuscript from Exeter, now BL MS Royal 6 B.vii. The copy of Aldhelm's prose treatise on virginity is probably datable to ca. 1078. Writing with authority, Richter offers an edition of the approximately 500 Old English glosses, which now supercedes Napier's text of 1900. References to Ehwald's *Aldhelmi Opera* (1919), and Lapidge's translation of the treatise (1979) make this work fully compatible with modern scholarship. The introduction contextualizes the glossing activity, situating the annotations in the larger realm of late Anglo-Saxon Aldhelm studies as reified in other, earlier sources. While Richter's

encyclopedic approach to the manuscript and its contents derives from a number of prior studies, it can be said that he has usefully assembled a compendium of detailed information suitable to the study of glossography in general and to Aldhelm in particular. (Reviewed by Scott Gwara).

In "St Cædmon" (*N&Q* 45.1 [1998], 3–4), Eric Stanley points out that the celebrated Cædmon, known from Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* as the first hymnist in English, was recognized as saint no earlier than John Wilson's *The English Martyrologe* of 1640—despite a dozen standard reference works that claim otherwise: "No one . . . would wish to exclude Cædmon in his humility and in his glory," but his sainthood is "a pleasing piece of Recusance piety."

Alan Thacker, "Memorializing Gregory the Great: the Origin and Transmission of a Papal Cult in the Seventh and Early Eighth Centuries," *Early Med. Europe* 7 (1998), 59–84, studies the origins and early development of the cult of Gregory. Where veneration of Gregory was short-lived in his native Rome, in Insular culture it flourished, "almost certainly" promoted at Canterbury by Archbishop Theodore, (thus as a clerical rather than popular initiative). It would have begun as a written rather than oral tradition, the best witness of which is the Whitby life of Gregory, ca. 700, itself probably based on a collection associated with John Moschus. From Canterbury the cult spread across England, to Ireland and back again to the Continent, reaching the height of its popularity in eighth-century England and afterwards merging with the veneration of Augustine.

In opposition to M. Cameron, who supposed that Saints Anthony and Guthlac suffered ergot poisoning and vitamin A deficiency, Heinrich Trebbin ("Die Visionen der Heiligen Antonius und Guthlac," *Antoniter-Forum* 5 (1997), 47–55) argues that both were vigorous men whose diets were inaccurately but piously represented in accordance with hagiographic convention.

b. Bede

In "Holy Queens as Agents of Christianization in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*: A Reconsideration," *Medieval Encounters* 4 (1998), 228–41, Dorsey Armstrong explores Bede's account of how England's conversion to Christianity was aided by Christian queens married to pagan kings. Armstrong finds that previous researchers have exaggerated this role: Queens Æthelburh, Alhflæd, Bertha and Eafe play the role of "the royal bride who acts as the first agent of Christianity in a non-Christian land." But in no case is the presence of a Christian queen sufficient in and of itself: Bede's conventionally formulaic narratives require a climactic moment of conversion that triumphantly arrives only after the pagan kings' conflicted wavering. And without exception it is males—kings and bishops—who finally convert the pagan kingdoms. The important point is that in Bede narrative structuring takes precedence over historical fact.

Judith Lamm Beall, "Bede and Irish Monasticism." Diss. Univ. of California at Berkeley, *DAI* 59A (1998), 916. According to the abstract, the author uses Bede's *Historia* and other sources to analyze the conflict between Celtic monasticism and English Benedictinism.

In "Bede's Use of Augustine: Echoes from Some Sermons?" *RB* 108 (1998), 201–13, Frederick M. Biggs describes research undertaken as part of the *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* project—use of the machine-searchable CETEDOC database to find quotations of St Augustine's sermons in the works of Bede. The detailed comparison of verbally overlapping texts resists brief summary, but it can be said that Biggs' findings will affect the *apparatus fontium* of future editions of Bede. The work was not quite as straightforward as one might think: problems included repetitive wording in various of Augustine's texts, possible paraphrasing on the part of Bede, and the perennial question of intermediate sources. The results, succinctly stated in the last paragraph, are as follows: the inclusion of sermons not previously considered sources and the exclusion of others, the addition of probable intermediate sources, and in at least one case (the use of Isidore's *Sententiae* in the *De orthographia*) the substitution of an entirely new source. The research was something of a pilot study and the findings are offered tentatively.

Lawrence T. Martin's "Augustine's Influence on Bede's *Homeliae euangelii*," *Collectanea Augustiniana. Augustine: Second Founder of the Faith*, ed. Joseph C. Schnaubelt and Frederick Van Fleteren (New York, 1990) pp. 357–69, is a source study tracing the influence of Augustine on Bede's homilies. Bede's proficiency and fluent Latin style are attributed in part to imitation of Augustine, and, although the homilies do not quote Augustine verbatim, Martin hypothesizes that Augustine's own homilies provided a general organizational and rhetorical model. Examples of antithesis, oxymoron, and paranomasia of the two writers are juxtaposed.

Alessandra Di Pilla ("La presenza del De Genesi contra Manichaeos di Agostino nell'*In principium Genesis* di Beda," in '*De Genesi contra Manichaeos*,' '*De Genesi ad litteram liber imperfectus*' di Agostino d'Ipbona. ed. L. Pizzolato and G. Scanavino [Lectio Augustini, Settimana agostiniana pavese 8. Palermo, 1992], pp. 99–113) examines the influence of Augustine's *De Genesi contra Manichaeos* on Bede's *In principium Genesis*. She finds that Bede's large debt is hardly due to slavish imitation. Bringing to his source a desire to simplify and clarify Augustine's anti-manichaean message, he makes many additions and alterations, and, driven by this programmatic agenda, his commentary becomes a means of mediating Augustine's complex doctrinal message for less sophisticated readers.

Jacques Elfassi ("Germain d'Auxerre, figure d'Augustin de Cantorbéry. La réécriture par Bède de la 'Vie de saint Germain d'Auxerre,'" *Hagiographica* 5 [1998], 37–47) compares Bede's *Historia* caps. 17–21 with its nearly verbatim source, Constantius' *Life of St Germain of Auxerre*. The analysis is

hardly a mere source study—Elfassi finds the small changes to be guided by a systematic program that makes the discussion very much Bede's own: he christianizes by equating Germanus with Christ while obliterating any pagan echoes of Vergilian poetry; he minimizes (to the point of removing) any Welsh role in the Anglo-Saxon conversion; and he denigrates the Welsh by imputing to them heretical beliefs. "It has been said that Bede . . . was content to compile, without originality, existing works. We hope to have succeeded in showing the contrary."

In "Visual-Kinetic Communication in Europe before 1600: a Survey of Sign Lexicons and Finger Alphabets Prior to the Rise of Deaf Education." *Jnl of Deaf Stud. and Deaf Education* 2 (1997), 1–25, Lois Bragg surveys sign lexicons and finger alphabets from the ancient through the early modern periods. In addition to the Old English sign lexicon from BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii (ed. Banham 1991), there is the Anglo-Latin finger alphabet described in the chapter "*De computo vel loquela digitorum*" ("Of counting or speaking with the fingers") from Bede's *De temporum ratione*. Significant as the earliest such finger alphabet known in any detail and extant in numerous copies (some illustrated), the system uses the fingers of the left hand to express the numerical values assigned to each Greek or Latin letter (1=a, 2=b, etc.). Bede's immediate source was probably Irish (17). His interest in the system Bragg assigns to sheer intellectual delight rather than to any intended practical application, and there was apparently no use by deaf people, nor is there any evident connection between the earlier systems and modern sign language.

In "The *Argumenta* and *Explanationes* on the Psalms Attributed to Bede" (*RB* 108 [1998], 214–39, ill.), Michael Gorman researches what he considers a pseudo-Bedan compilation on the Psalms from Herwagen's 1564 edition. Gorman's investigations reveal the work as a composite of three different though not entirely unrelated texts: the *argumenta* (short comments on each Psalm), the *explanationes* (longer texts on each Psalm), and the *commentarius* (an eleventh-century Psalm commentary). The paper isolates the constituent parts and traces the manuscript transmission of each. The *argumenta* and *explanationes* are companion texts in four ninth-century manuscripts; the *explanationes* circulated without the *argumenta* probably from the early ninth century; and also from the early ninth century the *explanationes* were incorporated as Psalter glosses (six manuscripts of s. ix–xi). Gorman shows how these texts were conflated with the *commentarius*: illustrations include pages of the sixteenth-century edition alongside pages of the two manuscripts used by Herwagen. There is no reliable edition of any of these texts, but Gorman's paper will make essential reading for a future editor, not least because its careful survey of the literature corrects some longstanding misconceptions (even one concerning shelfmarks, made by no less an expert than Bischoff). Noteworthy Insular connections relate the study to Anglo-

Saxon England: the *argumenta* may have an Irish origin; the Paris Psalter descends in part from the Latin text of the *argumenta*; Gorman touts Alcuin and his circle as the likeliest candidates to have connected the *argumenta* with the *explanationes* at the end of the eighth century.

Harald Kleinschmidt's "The Geuissae and Bede: On the Innovativeness of Bede's Concept of the *Gens*," in *The Community, the Family and the Saint*, ed. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 77–102, is a study of the semantic development of Latin *gens* in classical to early Anglo-Latin contexts. Kleinschmidt illustrates how the early classical meaning, "descent groups" or "ethnic groups" underwent considerable alteration during and immediately after the early medieval migration period, when social groupings were greatly confused and ethnic terms became highly variable. "Bede's identification of the Geuissae with the 'gens Occidentium Saxonum' resulted from a retrospective, but untenable application of the early medieval concept of the *gens*"—this because it is a new social grouping, not at all equal to the same grouping during the pre-migration period.

In a fascinating study ("Manus Bedae: Bede's Contribution to Ceolfriht's Bibles," *ASE* 27 [1998], 65–85, ill.), Richard Marsden examines Bede's participation in the copying of three manuscript Vulgate Bibles ("pandects") produced by the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium in the early eighth century. One of the pandects is lost altogether, one exists in a few fragments, and one is the famous Codex Amiatinus. If Marsden's methodology is straightforward—comparison of the Biblical text with the numerous Biblical quotations scattered throughout Bede's exegetical works—the results are nonetheless complex because Bede seems to have used many variants of the Bible, whether directly or indirectly through quotation of patristic sources. In the fragmentary pandect Marsden identifies three emendations which neatly correspond to readings suggested elsewhere by Bede. Although the hypothesis is not testable, the emendations may be in the hand of the great man himself. Given the dense occurrence of emendation in such a small sample of text, Marsden speculates that the fragmentary pandect underwent periodic correction at Wearmouth-Jarrow, most likely under the direction of Bede. Two similar examples of emendation are instanced in the Codex Amiatinus; these would have been made before the codex left England in 716.

Jennifer Moreton, in "Doubts about the Calendar: Bede and the Eclipse of 664," *Isis* 89 (1998), 50–65, inquires into the historical importance of the lunar eclipse that occurred near or possibly during the Synod of Whitby. Because the date, 1 May 664, conflicted with the Roman reckoning of time, Bede in his *De temporum ratione* revised it to 3 May (evidence of his "uneasiness"), and "implied how a solution might be found." Bede's changing of the date was in turn influential on later computists.

Helen. C. O'Briain's "Bede's Use of Classical Poetry In *Genesis*, *De temporum Ratione* and *Epistola ad Wicthedum*,"

Hermathena 161 (1996), 43–51, is an interesting consideration of quotation of Classical and patristic sources by medieval authors. In this instance, the referenced works of Bede, because of their limited scope and modest use of quotation, serve as a pilot study. The methodological problems encountered by the author well deserve the attention of those pursuing similar projects. First, O'Briain found that modern editions' attribution of textual debts may be simply inaccurate, or may fail to account for an author's indirect borrowing via intermediate sources. But even when the borrowing is objectively established, accurate description may be problematic: O'Briain would add a transitional "imitation" classification midway between quotation and adaptation. Straightforward classification is still elusive, however, since quotation by an intermediate source may evoke in the medieval writer a direct reference to the original. Repetition of a phrase may thus recall at once two quite different textual environments, that of the original and that of the intermediary. Finally, O'Briain offers a tentative classification scheme based on the rhetorical use of the quotation. (Source studies by Biggs, by Di Pilla, and by Martin are discussed above.)

Valery Petroff, "The *De Templo* of Bede as the Source of an Ideal Temple Description in Eriugena's *Aulae Sidereae*," *Recherche de Théologie et Philosophie médiévales* 65.1 (1998) 97–106. The thesis of the self-explanatory title is argued on the basis of textual similarity. Proceeding from verbal echoes not found in other patristic commentaries, Petroff proposes that Bede's influence on Eriugena is generally underestimated: "The works of Bede sometimes serve as the starting point for Eriugena's thought," e.g., *De natura rerum* and *De temporum ratione*, which Eriugena exploited in the *Periphyseon*.

Masako Ohashi, "Bede and the Paschal Controversy: the Problem of Interpolation and Manipulation in the Ecclesiastical History," *Nanzan-Shingaku* (Bessatsu) 13 (1996), 127–254. This seems an elaborate study of the Paschal controversy in early Middle Ages. The first chapter reviews the historical development of paschal calculation and its theological significance from the Council of Nicaea. Chapter Two sees how Bede refers to the problem in his *Historia ecclesiastica* and discusses interpolations and manipulations of the problem within the work. Chapter Three discusses the controversy in the early Middle Ages and finds the significance of Bede's work in the context. (Reviewed by Taro Ishiguro)

In "Bede's Women" (*Women, Marriage, and Family in Medieval Christendom: Essays in Memory of Michael M. Sheehan*, C. S.B. ed. Constance M. Rousseau and Joel T. Rosenthal. Stud. in Med. Culture 37 [Kalamazoo, 1998], pp. 19–46), David A. E. Pelteret surveys the writings of Bede (especially the *HE*) to discover what attitudes toward women are there revealed. The search turns up much chaff and little fruit. The women in question are Hild, Ælfþæd, Æthelburh and Æthelthryth. Although historical evidence indicates their considerable importance in the early English church (as,

for example, Hild at the synod of Whitby), Bede ignores their influence or mentions it only in order to minimize in his narrative the impact of Wilfred. If conventions of hagiographic genre are stripped away, not much remains: the women are not quoted directly, their physical appearance is not described, and individual personal actions or anecdotes are not recounted. Bede's cloistered life and the absence of female relatives, it is supposed, gave him little freedom to see women as flesh-and-blood individuals.

Alexander R. Rumble, "Ad Lapidem in Bede and a Merician Martyrdom," *Names, Places and People*, eds. Rumble and Mills. pp. 307–19, identifies the place name *Ad lapidem* (site of a martyrdom in Bede's *Historia*, cap. IV, 16) with "a stone marking the sea-passage from Hampshire to the Isle of Wight." This theory finds support in a post-Conquest life of SS Wulfhad and Ruffin. The Latin *vita*, paralleling Bede's narrative rather closely, preserves the site of the saints' martyrdom as Middle English *stones*—apparently independent corroboration to Rumble's identification.

Benedicta Ward, *The Venerable Bede* (rvsd ed. London: Chapman; Kalamazoo: Cistercian Publications, 1998. iv, 156 pp.) updates a sympathetic and wide-ranging survey covering the man, his life, and writings. Written for a general to moderately specialized audience, it concentrates on the fundamental information while staying close to the primary sources. The six chapters include "Bede and his times" (on the personal and historical background), "Bede the teacher" (on the educational and scientific works), "Bede and the Bible" (on exegesis), "Bede and the saints" (on hagiography), "Bede and the English" (on the *Ecclesiastical History*), and "Bede's influence" (on the cult of Bede and his impact on European thought). Also offered are a complete bibliography of Bede's works, in Latin, and, where translations exist, in English, as well as a useful bibliography of the most important critical studies.

Franca Ela Consolino, "L'invenzione di una biografia: Almanno di Hautvillers e la vita di sant'Elena," *Hagiographica* 1 (1994), 81–100, demonstrates the dependence of Almanno of Hautviller's *Life of St Helena* upon the writings of Bede, most especially his commentary on the Song of Songs.

For Bede's *Life of Cuthbert* as a witness to early medieval fauna and flora, see the article by Lebecq in section a. For a discussion of the *Historia ecclesiastica* and the English missions, see the article by Padberg, also in section a.

c. Alcuin

Numerous studies on Alcuin were published in 1998, eight of them in the anthology edited by L. A. J. R. Houwen and A. A. MacDonald, *Alcuin of York: Scholar at the Carolingian Court (Proceedings of the Third Germania Latina Conference, Held at the University of Groningen, May 1995)*. *Germania Latina* 3; *Mediaevalia Groningana* 22 [Groningen: Forsten, 1998], xi, 215 pp. The paper by D. A. Bullough, "Alcuin's

Cultural Influence: the Evidence of the Manuscripts," pp. 1–26, broadly surveys the manuscript transmission of the corpus of Alcuin's work: "Who, in the seven centuries c. 800–1500, may have read . . . parts of the *opera Alcuini* . . . ? in what places or regions? and in what contexts?" (1–2). My adverb "broadly" should in no way be understood to imply lack of depth. It is a humbling experience to see Bullough's command of such an immense range of paleographic and codicological details about several hundred manuscripts and the ease with which he unites these minutiae by deft, clear general statement. The works in their extant manuscript settings are classified, discussion addressing each group in turn: general collections of *Alcuiniana*, pedagogical works, exegetical works, and so forth. Treatment of a given work or group of works generally follows a chronological order, from the eighth or ninth origin or earliest copy through, sometimes, printed Renaissance editions. Many specifics are conveyed in the notes, which are numerous and long, in contrast to the text itself, which carries the narrative burden. Sections dealing most specifically with Anglo-Saxon England and Old English include pp. 19 through 24 (e.g., *Interrogationes Sigeuulfi presbiteris*, homiletic translations, Wulfstan of York). Bullough's conclusion traces the trajectory of Alcuin's reception by the medieval audience: in demand through about the ninth century because of personal association with the author himself, an established part of the Carolingian oeuvre in the tenth to eleventh centuries, and thereafter losing favor as new forms of thought and study emerged. Searchers for thesis topics might do worse than to pursue Bullough's suggestion (p. 26) that Alcuin's prayers be examined for their influence on the popular *mentalité*.

Albrecht Diem, in "The Emergence of Monastic Schools: The Role of Alcuin" (Houwen and MacDonald 27–44) scrutinizes how the cloister became the classroom—the process that brought intellectual endeavors to monastic schools in the time of Charles the Great. The cogency of the subject is dramatically shown by a contrast of the educational environment before and after Alcuin: before, learning was an extra-claustral affair conducted by urbane men like Fortunatus and Gregory the Great; after, monastic status had become so much *a sine qua non* that the lack of it in Alcuin himself became an occasion for apology. Two texts are seen to mark the beginnings of this sea change, the *Admonitio generalis* and the *Epistola de litteris colendis*, where Alcuin promotes the idea that *studia litteraria* be undertaken by a monastic elite, monks who will put Roman educational traditions to work for Christian ends. Diem demonstrates further that the identification of learning with the coenobitic life reflects Alcuin's English values—an attitude conditioned by the relatively high status of monks in Insular society and the longstanding tradition of monastic scholarship there.

Mayke de Jong's "From Scolastici to Scioli: Alcuin and the Formation of an Intellectual Élite," is a suitable companion piece to the essay by Diem which precedes it in the Houwen and MacDonald anthology (45–57). At issue are the

cultural and social tensions resulting when, in the generation or two after Alcuin, learned monks as educators and intellectuals embraced secular roles as movers among the cultural and political elite. That this was a radical development is obscured neither by nostalgic evocations of the humble cloister (in the form of numerous commentaries on the *Rule*) nor by explicit prohibitions against the presence of lay students in monastic schools—prohibitions which, in any case, probably had little effect: “Efforts to restore the distance between the cloister and the outside world were the very stuff of which monasticism was made: they reminded everyone of what should be—but meanwhile estates had to be run, guests had to be housed, and prospective pupils presented themselves, preferably with the means to pay for their education” (54–55). “By the middle of the ninth century,” incompatibility between religious simplicity and intellectualism expressed itself plainly by the presence of the “scioli,” hyper-learned monks such as Gottschalk who were enamored of new ideas and of disputation for its own sake—“know-all[s] prepared to defy orthodoxy and monastic discipline for the sake of knowledge” (55).

In an instructive article, “The Social World of Alcuin: Nicknames at York and at the Carolingian Court” (Houwen and MacDonald, 59–79), Mary Garrison surveys the use of nicknames among Alcuin’s circle. Introduced and made popular by Alcuin, these familiar forms have a complex usage, with many names of many types—Alcuin himself was called Albinus, Jerome, Paul, Flaccus, etc. Appellations from different domains (e.g., Old Testament, Early Christian, History, Literature) evoke varying associations and serve different rhetorical purposes. Male religious, for example, were given appropriately monastic names: Rabanus is named Maurus after the younger companion of Benedict of Aniane; Alcuin’s relationship with Adalhard is defined by the names of Antony and his elder companion Paulus. Charlemagne, as founder of a new Rome, is Aeneas; his daughter Bertha receives a pagan name as Tibullus’ Delia (a rare exception to Alcuin’s usual practice of naming women after saints). Garrison hypothesizes that the intimacy generated by such nicknames proved expedient for Alcuin’s exertion of a personal influence outside official channels of authority.

C. H. Kneepkens, in “Some Notes on Alcuin’s *De perihermenii* with an Edition of the Text,” (Houwen and MacDonald 81–112) analyzes the relevant section of Alcuin’s *De dialectica* to determine degrees of dependence on various sources. Many borrowings—from Cassiodorus, Boethius (both first and second commentaries), Priscian, Isidore—are adduced, but the notable conclusion is that Alcuin’s renderings of Boethius are so imperfect as to indicate an intermediate source, a manuscript of Isidore with Boethian scholia. Kneepkens supplements the Migne *De perihermenii* with the readings of three additional manuscripts.

L. J. Engels (“Priscian in Alcuin’s *De orthographia*,” Houwen and MacDonald, pp. 113–42) probes the question of Alcuin’s borrowings from Priscian. Alcuin’s dependence

on the Byzantine grammarian was already well known since he produced an epitome of Priscian’s *Institutiones grammaticae* and named him prominently in the poem on York. Here, however, the focus is Alcuin’s *De orthographia*, an alphabetically arranged handbook on spelling and elementary grammar largely patterned on Bede’s work of the same title. Engels builds on the recent research of Dionisotti, who identified two distinct recensions of the *De orthographia*, and of Bruni, who produced editions of each of the versions. Whereas previous researchers had identified a dozen or so Priscian items, Engels uncovers no fewer than 49. One discovery engenders another: most of the correspondences turn up again in Alcuin’s *Grammatica*, evidence of enduring interest and study. Interestingly, moreover, for the *De orthographia* Alcuin often accessed Priscian via the earlier *Grammatica*, and Engels views the repeated treatment as specific evidence for Alcuin’s pedagogical interests in the language arts. Other important issues include Alcuin’s methods of adapting Priscian’s material (severe abbreviation, probably from material excerpted earlier) and the question of other secondary sources (few besides Bede and Cassiodorus—Donatus, Isidore, perhaps Capser and Agroecius).

Charles D. Wright’s “Alcuin’s Ambrose: Polemics, Patrology, and Textual Criticism” (Houwen and MacDonald 143–169) might be titled “When Heresy Met the Grammatical Arts.” When the adoptionist controversy broke over them in the last decade of the eighth century, Carolingian exegetes scrambled to find patristic texts (by such authors as Ambrose and Hilary) with which to oppose the contention that Christ was the adopted son of god. Yet debate was much complicated by variant versions and differing interpretations of the very texts that were supposed to settle the question. In addition to “such illicit means as tampering, misquotation, and elipsis,” disputants on both sides skewed tradition to their favor with selective and biased readings of the patristic tradition. Despite the low level of philological performance, the controversy was a deciding moment: “For better and for worse, polemics had presided over the marriage of patrology and textual criticism.” (A paper by M. Alberi, discussed below, also touches on adoptionism.)

Patrizia Lendinara’s “Mixed Attitudes to Ovid: the Carolingian Poets and the Glossographers” (in Houwen and MacDonald, pp. 171–213) is a thorough survey, well documented with useful references, which examines the recovery of Classical poetry in the eighth to ninth centuries. Lendinara’s edition of a glossary of Ovidian *glossae collectae* from two Continental manuscripts supercedes those of Goetz in *Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum*.

In “Alcuin’s Concept of the *Imperium christianum*,” in *The Community, the Family and the Saint*, ed. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (Turnhout: Brepols, 1998), pp. 3–17, Mary Alberi presents Alcuin’s ideas about a Christian empire as expressed first in his *Vita Willabrodi* and later in his letters on the conversion of the Avars. The letters considerably alter the

earlier ideas of the *Vita*. Whereas Alcuin had first described the empire as a new Jerusalem with the spiritual and secular tightly intertwined under the direction of a chosen people, the Franks' self-aggrandizing behavior after the defeat of the Saxons in 792/3 forced him to revisit those ideas with a more critical mind. Warning against a recurrence of abuse, the letters stress the religious duties of the state and communicate an ideal picture of lay authorities working unselfishly for spiritual ends. Now, Alberi says, it is "the *christianitatis regnum* or *imperium christianum*" which "unites the . . . the baptised 'sons of God,'" an undercutting of the Franks' role as the chosen rulers.

Attached as a preface to Alcuin's *Grammatica* is a short dialogic text known as the *Disputatio de vera philosophia*. Mary Alberi's study, "The 'Mystery of the Incarnation' and Wisdom's House (Prov. 9:1) in Alcuin's *Disputatio de vera philosophia*," *Jnl of Theol. Stud.* 48 (1997), 505–16, examines that text, as well as various letters, with a threefold purpose: to explore Alcuin's use of sources, to discover what ideas are there advanced, and to situate the *Disputatio* in a historical context. Alberi identifies the patristic writers Gregory the Great and Bede as major sources, an important finding which contradicts earlier critics who saw in the text a "secular" orientation. The *Disputatio* is also significant as a statement of Alcuin's belief concerning Christian education: the seven pillars of the house of wisdom (in Prov. 9.1) represent the seven liberal arts of Roman learning—a statement that coopts classical education for Christians even while neutralizing any threatening paganism. And, at the historical moment Alcuin was writing, the logical and persuasive power of the seven liberal arts was necessary for opposing the Spanish heresy of adoptionism. (See also the article on adoptionism by C. Wright discussed above.)

Michael Driscoll, in "Ad pueros sancti Martini: a Critical Edition, English Translation, and Study of the Manuscript Transmission," *Traditio* 53, 37–61, offers an edition and study of Alcuin's *Ad pueros Sancti Martini*. The text is a treatise in epistolary form addressing the importance of confession and penance. Giving its theological and didactic message a central place in Alcuin's oeuvre, Driscoll views the letter as influential in the "development of confession in the ninth century, witnessed in the regional synods and the capitularies of the first two decades" (39). Discussion addresses such issues as the conventions of the epistolary genre, and the role of publication and public reading of such letters ("what scholarly articles are to the present age"). A major part of the essay deals with the early manuscript transmission of the *Ad pueros*. Codicological examination of the manuscripts suggests that the early circulation occurred either in letter collections of Alcuin's work or in small-format "handbooks," and a hypothetical stemma of extant manuscripts is proposed (47). Finally, Driscoll uses technological aids (scanners and word processors) to update Dümmler's MGH edition by taking account of three additional ninth-century manuscripts.

Marie-Hélène Jullien, "Les hymnes dans le milieu alcuinien." *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine*, ed. Louis Holtz and Jean-Claude Fredouille, (Paris, 1992) II, 171–82, delves into the prehistory of the new hymnal promulgated by Benedict of Aniane in 817. A probable close relative is an Alcuinian compilation (represented by two reflexes, a certain "florilegium of Alcuin," Bamberg, Staatsbibl., *Misc. Patr. (B.II.10)*, and a small-format book of prayers, Paris, BN lat. 13388). This evidence, in addition to Alcuin's well attested interest in prayer, his promotion of private devotion, and his close ties with Benedict, supports a hypothetical Alcuinian role in the development of the new hymnal.

Claudio Leonardi, in "Alcuino e la retorica," *Dialektik und Rhetorik im früheren und hohen Mittelalter*, ed. Johannes Fried (Munich, 1997), pp. 171–74, emphasizes Alcuin's definition (in the *Rhetoric*) of rhetoric as a social and civil art rather than as a technical component of logic, literature or religion—a new and significant development in the history of rhetoric.

Eugenio Romero-Pose's "La Biblia de Alcuino y el perdido comentario al Apocalipsis de Ticonio," *Revista Española de Teología* 55 (1995), 391–97, edits the chapter headings to the biblical book of the Apocalypse in the manuscript Biblioteca Vallicelliana Cod. B-6. The manuscript is notable for its Alcuinian connection, the text for its Bedan connection, but the headings themselves, it is believed, may depend on the lost commentary on the Apocalypse by the Donatist heretic Tyconius.

Simone Viarre ("Un portrait d'Angilbert dans la correspondance d'Alcuin?" *De Tertullien aux Mozarabes: Mélanges offerts à Jacques Fontaine*, ed. Louis Holtz and Jean-Claude Fredouille [Paris, 1992] II, 267–74) searches for authentic expressions of personal feeling in Alcuin's letters to Angilbert. Despite apparently tender expressions of paternal concern, so strong are the generic conventions in these letters (written for publication in an emotionally remote acquired language in any case) that nothing can be assumed to spring from the heart.

"L'Illittérature en images," *Etudes Littéraires* 30.1 (1997), 97–104, by Christian-Marie Pons, is an examination of "paraliterary illustration (cover art, comic books, etc) and its relation to literature in the context of Alcuin's concept of 'illiterature'—a concept implied in the eighth-century churchman's plea in favour of ecclesiastical iconography."

For a possible alcuinian role in a compilation on the Psalms, see Gorman in section b. above.

d. The Ninth Century

James E. Cross and Thomas N. Hall, 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* [Bonn: Romanistischer Ver-

lag, 1996], pp. 49–61), describe the supplemental texts in the cited manuscript, a copy of Paul the Deacon's homiliary, s. xi/xii, from St Augustine's, Canterbury. The texts include six abridgements of lives of English saints associated with Canterbury, and, surprisingly, fragments of the homiliary of Alanus of Farfa preserved on four single folios of the ninth century. This is the earliest Insular copy of Alanus' text. The folios, evidently having served as paste-downs and fly leaves, would have become part of Harley 652 some time after the copying of the main text and before press-marks were added to them ca. s.xii/xiv. "The fragmentary leaves originally formed part of a manuscript (possibly a complete copy of Alanus's homiliary) once owned at St Augustine's, Canterbury" (57).

For T. Oda's article relating in part to Asser, see section e. For Lendinara's article (in Houwen and MacDonald) relating to the reception of Ovid, see section c.

e. The Tenth-Century Reform and Beyond

According to Simon Coates ("Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement," *The Church Retrospective*, ed. R. N. Swanson. *Studies in Church History* 33 [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998], pp. 61–74), there were two contrasting and competing tenth-century views of the Anglo-Saxon past—that of the monk and that of the canon. The monastic point of view dominates. The Bedan golden age is appropriated for the purpose of propaganda: many writings of the Benedictines were informed by texts of Bede, just as early Anglo-Saxon monastic saints were culted to evoke former glory. The less influential secular point of view is exemplified by the *Vita Dunstani* of B, who followed the literary model of Stephanus' *Life of Wilfred*. Coates emphasizes B's portrait of Dunstan's upper-class (and non-monastic) values and his close alliance with influential nobility. Though one might mention as a counter-example the similar close association with royalty of the arch-monk Æthelwold, an interesting conclusion points out that the tenth-century picture of a seamless Benedictine past has fooled historians from William of Malmesbury to David Knowles.

In "The Inflection of Latin Nouns in Old English Texts" (in *Words and Works*, eds. Baker and Howe, Toronto: UTP, pp. 187–206) Peter Baker examines the morpho-phonemic qualities of Latin words appearing in Old English textual environments. The results (drawn from a variety of tenth- and eleventh-century texts, especially Byrhtferth) are surprising in that inflection may conflict with syntactic constraints: e.g., examples are found where the nominative, or the accusative, or even the genitive may substitute for other cases, and even grammatical gender (as marked by English articles) may fluctuate—this in so conscientious a writer as Ælfric. Despite the greatly varied practice Baker attempts a loose classification based on a theory of native language interference or

influence.

Scott Gwara analyzes the *Colloquies* of Ælfric Bata from a theoretical perspective grounded in applied linguistics ("Second Language Acquisition and Anglo-Saxon Bilingualism: Negative Transfer and Avoidance in Ælfric Bata's Latin *Colloquia*, ca. A. D. 1000," *Viator* 29 [1998], 1–24). As a rare witness to spoken Anglo-Latin, the *Colloquies* offer a valuable opportunity to study the psycholinguistic processes of Old English speakers coping with problems of interference between the native and the foreign language. After defining the main issues with a thorough and readable review of recent major titles in second language acquisition, Gwara presents his data, instances where OE influences the morpho-syntactic structure of Anglo-Latin (e.g., Lat. *foras* conditioned by OE *for* or *of* "off", Lat. *ad* conditioned by OE *æt*). A second type of interlinguistic influence is "avoidance" of second language features which in the first language are incongruous. Gwara reveals that the *Colloquies* consistently prefer perfect periphrastic constructions (*habere* + pp.) either without objects or with neuter singular objects, this in order to simplify the problematic inflecting of past participles to agree with direct objects. A quite original study.

In a perceptive study of Ælfric's *Colloquy*, Joyce Hill analyzes that work as a Latin-learning text ("Winchester Pedagogy and the *Colloquy* of Ælfric," *LES* 29 [1998], 137–52). The version studied is that of London, BL, Cotton Tib. A.iii, the familiar glossed version edited by Garmonsway (London, 1947). Hill finds much to approve: the subject matter is diverse, there is an "interchange between the nature of the discourse (practical and abstract); there is variety of register . . . ; [and] variety of characterization. There is even an overt recognition of levels of difficulty within the text." The concentration on practical, concrete matters of everyday life is also pedagogically sound, and allows for the use of a restricted set of vocabulary—a feature in which the *Colloquy* resembles modern-day language texts. Hill briefly addresses the interaction of the *Colloquy* with Ælfric's *Grammar*, and further speculates that the *Colloquy* may reflect the pedagogical practices of Æthelwold's Winchester pedagogy. The very limited circulation of the *Colloquy* in comparison to the *Grammar/Glossary* may perhaps be explained by Ælfric's avoidance of the popular hermeneutic variety of Latin. Hill reviews the alterations to Ælfric's text—the running gloss and the obscure hermeneutic vocabulary of the *Colloquy* in the Cotton manuscript, rearrangements and intrusive glossary lists in the other extant versions. These are modifications which mar the text and hinder its educational purpose, but which reflect the taste of eleventh-century teachers such as Ælfric Bata, who altered Ælfric's work.

An article by David Howlett, "Miscouplings in Couplets," *Bulletin Du Cange/ALMA* 55 (1997), 271–76, presents an edition and translation of a fascinating poem (uniquely in Oxford, Queen's College 320, s. x med.—Gneuss 682) describing the joining of opposites: ". . . let us order lilies to be joined to

nettles, and dire hemlock should press the perspicuous rose." The poem, typified by glossematic vocabulary, may show the influence of Horace's *Ars poetica*.

The industrious Christopher A. Jones has five important entries in the 1998 bibliography. In "Two Composite Texts from Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book': the *De ecclesiastica consuetudine* and the *Institutio beati Amalarii de ecclesiasticis officiis*," *ASE* 27 (1998), 233–71, the two composite texts in question are Latin compilations which combine material from Amalarius' *De ecclesiasticis officiis* and from the *Regularis Concordia* (the seminal customary of the tenth-century Benedictine reform). Jones challenges the accepted scholarly opinion which linked the texts to Wulfstan. By demonstrating Ælfric's similar technique with these same sources in his *Letter to the Monks of Eynsham*, Jones argues for a close connection with Ælfric, and for possible authorship by Ælfric himself, working alone or with others. The composite texts are edited from the two manuscripts in which they are extant (CCC 190 and Rouen, BM, 1382 (U.109)—Ker 45 and Gneuss 925)—their first complete edition.

In "*Meatim Sed et Rustica: Ælfric of Eynsham as a Medieval Latin Author*," Jones takes a revisionist look at Ælfric's Latin style. His novel thesis, simply, is that Ælfric's ability in Latin never equaled his facility of expression in Old English. There are, to be sure, many qualifications, the foremost being the question of Ælfric's Latin bibliography. Jones sensibly points out the circularity in arbitrarily excluding a work from Ælfric's canon on stylistic grounds alone, when there is no independently established canon from which a description of the style can proceed. Reopening the question of Ælfric's Latin output, Jones catalogs certain as well as probable or possible works (18). Notable among the uncertain works are a number of epitomes (collections of excerpts from source texts). These are quite a mixed bag in terms of content (a grammar, a sermon, commentaries, etc.), but they bear strong resemblances in how they were extracted from their sources, and this method is remarkably parallel to that used in the composition of two certain works, *the Life of Æthelwold* (largely an abbreviation of the longer *Life* by Wulfstan) and *the Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (an abbreviation of the consuetudinary *the Regularis concordia*). Ælfric's method of Latin composition, it is cautiously suggested, habitually began with the excerpting of Latin source texts. The excerpting may have been more or less selective, more or less skillful, depending on factors such as intended use and audience, but in any case it is described as a "cut and paste," or "cobbl[ing] new sentences out of the scraps of the old." The close reliance on the source is viewed as evidence of an author who was uncomfortable with independent composition in Latin. A number of frequent syntactic and lexical substitutions characteristic of Ælfric's derivative Latin are listed and illustrated with numerous examples: the replacing of non-finite structures by finite, of active by passive, and so forth. This well argued paper raises as many questions as it answers, as much about the methods

of composition as about the fluency of Ælfric's Latin style. One may suppose its heterodox ideas will be much debated, but clearly that debate will take place within the scope defined by Jones's close analysis of the primary texts.

The book in Christopher Jones's "*The Book of the Liturgy in Anglo-Saxon England*" is a metaphor—not a physical book, but the abstract conception of ritual as an object of self-conscious study and explication by Anglo-Saxon churchmen of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Jones gives his study a theoretical grounding in grammatical arts: as texts were opened to the understanding via grammatical *enarratio*, so liturgy attracted its own forms of liturgical analysis seeking to uncover underlying allegorical meaning. The foundation texts were Isidore's *De officiis* and Carolingian commentaries, but most especially Amalarius' *Liber officialis*, which in a peculiarly Insular redaction influenced such writers as Ælfric and Wulfstan and provided a model for original figurative interpretations such as those embedded within the *Regularis concordia* and its various reflexes. The exegesis of liturgy among the Anglo-Saxons is seen, in comparison to Carolingian traditions, as restricted in scope and backward looking, so that renewed Continental influences at mid-eleventh century brought a wealth of new materials to be assimilated.

Christopher Jones informs me that what is found good in his dissertation ("*Ælfric's 'Letter to the Monks at Eynsham': a Study of the Text and Its Sources*." Diss. Univ. of Toronto. *DAI* 59A (1998), 2013) will be found better in his published edition and study of the same title, *Ælfric's Letter to the Monks of Eynsham* (Cambridge Stud. in A-S Eng. 24 [Cambridge: CUP, 1998] x, 255 pp). In this book Jones produces an edition, with translation and full commentary, of the Latin customary which as abbot Ælfric wrote for the community of Eynsham. The text has been edited twice before from the unique copy in CCC 265 (Bateson 1892; Nocent 1984), although neither edition is particularly easy to find. The present book, therefore, brings this important text in accessible format before a wide audience for the first time. Jones takes the *Letter* from under the shadow of its principal source, Æthelwold's well known *Regularis Concordia* (*RC*), and gives it an independent status as an object of analysis. The most significant generalization is that the *Letter* shows considerable divergences from the *RC*, through the broadsweeping simplification and logical reorganization that is considered typical of Ælfric. While liturgiology is a an admittedly complicated subject, Jones is a patient teacher who carefully defines liturgical terms and supplies his discussion with useful references. In addition to its liturgical relevance, the text also carries an important role in the study of its author: "Though it remains one of the least studied of Ælfric's writings, [the] *Letter* preserves the most direct record of the daily and yearly patterns of prayer and work in which Ælfric . . . spent most of his life" (2). It should also be pointed out that Jones's detailed analysis of Ælfric's methods of abbreviation and adaptation become an important part of the raw data for

his groundbreaking essay on Ælfric's prose style (discussed above).

Sarah L. Keefer uses a series of vernacular glosses to contextualize the Anderson pontifical (London, BL Add. 57337, a Canterbury product of ca. 1000) within the tradition of English pontificals ("Looking at the Glosses in London, BL Additional 57337 (the Anderson Pontifical)" *Anglia* 116 [1998], 215–22). Whereas Ker, on the basis of the Latin headings, had found the manuscript most closely related to Rouen, Bibliothèque Municipale 369, "the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert," Keefer's analysis of Old English glosses in the section on ordination of the minor ecclesiastical orders links the manuscript to the Sidney Sussex Pontifical, a roughly contemporary Winchester manuscript. If the two manuscripts are complementary witnesses to a common textual tradition, then their hypothetical source would date from "well back into the tenth century, probably still within the Reform period and plausibly as an example of the type of enthusiastic glossing that is to be found in all kinds of liturgical books after 960" (222). One of the scholia, *æmtig win born*, glossing Latin *urceolus uacuus*, is not attested elsewhere, and brings up some interesting questions concerning liturgical applications of drinking horns.

In "Byrhtferth at Work" (in *Words and Works*, ed. Baker and Howe, pp. 25–43) Michael Lapidge conducts a straightforward source study, but one with a new wrinkle. He traces the use by Byrhtferth of glossed manuscripts, and shows how both lemma and gloss, now endenized as organic parts of Byrhtferth's text, traveled together from such sources as Bede's *De arte metrica* and *De schematibus et tropis*, Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*, and Remigius' commentary on Boethius' *Consolatio*. Various manuscripts of the sources are surveyed with an eye to finding the very ones exploited by Byrhtferth. Although the results are not conclusive, the tantalizing possibility of future discovery remains. And if such hypothetical source manuscripts (with their strong authorial associations) are found to have left the same distinctive marks on anonymous texts also, authorship could be reliably determined. The paper thus offers both a glimpse at Byrhtferth's methods and a model for future research in glossed manuscripts.

Oswald McBride, "Of Cathedras and Kings: a Study of the Place of the King in Tenth-Eleventh Century Monastic Liturgies in England," *Ecclesia Orans* 15 (1998), 91–114, studies the close royal connections of the tenth-century Benedictine reform movement, particularly as they are expressed in the liturgical customary *Regularis Concordia* (RC). A general review of the reform situates it alongside the similar continental movements Cluny, Gorze and Brogne, and, further, sees all of these as reflexes of the Carolingian renewal with its emphasis on monarch and court. For the reformers, it was Edgar (959–975) who played the role of royal patron, a relationship developed and formalized by the RC, which emphasized royal oversight of monasteries and which awarded the royal house a privileged place in the liturgy. McBride finds

the RC backward looking in its acknowledgment of secular control. In the post-Conquest *Monastic Decrees* of Lanfranc the royal element has quite faded away.

The subject of John M. McCulloh's "The 'Pseudo-Bede of Cologne': a Martyrology of the 'Gorzean' Reform" (*Forschungen zur Reichs-, Papst- und Landesgeschichte. Peter Herde zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Karl Borchardt and Enno Bünz [Stuttgart, 1998] I, 81–99) is a continental text only tangentially related to Anglo-Latin studies. It has two Insular connections: the long but spurious association with Bede (it was a part of the first complete edition of his works) and the inclusion, in its earliest textual stratum, of an Insular martyrology. On the basis of comparison to other liturgical books, McCulloh supposes the text reached its present form by about mid-eleventh century, accretions having been added by Ado of Vienne and by Hrabanus Maurus, who exploited the *Martyrologium Hieronymianum Cambrense*, a work not otherwise known to have circulated on the continent. McCulloh's observes that the printer Herwagen, in his *editio princeps* of Bede, exploited many manuscripts of southern German provenance—a point agreeing with Mary Garrison's ideas about the origin of the *Collectanea Pseudo-Bedae* (in Bayless and Lapidge, above, section a).

Takuji Oda, "Passio Sancti Eadmundi and Vita Aelfredi Magni (I)." *Reports of the Keio Institute of Cultural and Linguistic Studies* (Keio University, Tokyo) 28 (1996), 87–98 [in Japanese]. The article is the first part of Oda's tripartite paper which is planned to compare the two heroic kings of Anglo-Saxon England. Here, Oda gives a historical description of struggles against the Danes up to 875, citing chronicles of the time, and briefly discusses how Asser took up his pen and how Abbo was asked to write the passion. (Reviewed by Taro Ishiguro)

Carin Ruff, "Misunderstood Rhetorico-Syntactical Glosses in Two Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *N&Q* 45.2 (1998), 163–66, examines glosses to Prosper's *Epigrammata* and Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale* (in Cambridge, Trin. Col. O.2.31 and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. Lat.Th.c.4—Gneuss 190, 652). Disagreeing with Wieland and Lapidge, who saw the glosses as elementary reading aids, Ruff demonstrates that the annotation of the texts accords with a formal system of syntactical analysis known from *The St Gall Tractate* (ed. Grotans and Porter, Columbia, SC, 1995). That continental text taught parsing and rearrangement of sentences by their major grammatico-rhetorical components—the *circumstantiae* of who, what, where, when, why, etc. Ruff shows the correspondence of interlined interrogatives with these *circumstantiae*, and traces their pedigree to the introductory *accessus* formula developed by Eriugena and popularized by Remigius for school teaching.

In "Die Exkommunikationsriten aus Wulfstans Handbuch und Liebermanns Gesetze." *Bright Is the Ring of Words: Festschrift für Horst Weinstock*, ed. C. Pollner, et. al. (Bonn, 1996), pp. 283–307, Hans Sauer supplements Liebermann's

1903–1916 edition of excommunication formulae by editing three texts pertaining to excommunication (from CCC 265 and Bodleian Libr., Barlow 37). Appendixes list Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing excommunication formulae and those belonging to the tradition of “Wulfstan’s commonplace book.”

In “Some Anglo-Saxon Cuthbert *Liturgica*: the Manuscript Evidence,” *RB* 108 (1998), 104–44, Laura M. Sole addresses the stemmatics of three manuscripts with services in celebration of Cuthbert (CCC 183, Harley 117, Rome, Bibl. Apost. Vat., MS. Reg. lat. 204). She supplements the usual comparative techniques with an analysis of musical neumes or “musical paleography.” Her conclusions: that the three versions descend from a common ancestor, that the text was composed in early tenth century in southern England (indicating an unusually prominent status for a northern Saint), that the system of neumes, probably of Breton origin, found acceptance in Canterbury. The text is edited in an appendix. The evidence of musical notation, it is suggested, may be as valuable as the paleographical information provided by script.

f. The Later Eleventh Century

Rhona Beare, “Swallows and Barnacle Geese,” *N&Q* 45.1 (1998), 5, uncovers an expressive pun in the Latin *Life* of *Edward the Confessor*. There the children of Godwin are divided into two groups. Each is compared to birds, the first to the beneficial swallow, the second to the destructive barnacle goose. The bird species are unnamed, but Beare identifies them by referencing the *Life*’s descriptive vocabulary in Isidore and Varro.

Patterned on Boethius’ *Consolatio*, the *Vita Ædwardi Regis* is a prosimetrical life of Edward the Confessor. Where others have found in the *Vita* a mishmash of fact and fiction, Victoria B. Jordan (“Chronology and Discourse in the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*,” *Jnl of Med. Latin* 8 (1998), 122–55) sees sophisticated narrative architecture. She situates the work astraddle the line dividing history from hagiography, arguing that modern generic categories impede understanding. The prose segments advance the historical narrative while the poems, with metaphor and allegory, present Edward’s saintly nature. The first poem foreshadows, the final prose unites these two approaches.

For James E. Cross and Thomas N. Hall, “Fragments of Alanus of Farfa’s Roman Homiliary and Abridgments of Saints’ Lives by Goscelin . . .,” see section d above.

g. Comprehensive Works

Douglas Dales’ *Called to be Angels: An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon Spirituality*, in the series “Rhythm of Life” (“on various traditions of Christian spirituality . . . for beginners on the journey of faith”), offers six biographical chapters: on Gregory the Great, Cuthbert, Bede, Caedmon, Boniface/Alcuin, and Dunstan.

David R. Howlett’s *British Books in Biblical Style* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts, 1997. xi, 620 pp.) has been the subject of independent reviews (e.g., A. Hood, *Early Medieval Europe* 8: 283–96; C. Eckhardt, *Speculum* 75.3: 700–2), so here I touch on it in passing. In much Old English and Insular Latin poetry, Howlett posits a “biblical style” defined primarily by the occurrence of parallelism (repetition of structural elements) and chiasmus (restatement in reverse order), individually and in combination. These principles, along with the application of various ancillary rules, produce texts that admit complex arithmetical analysis based on the number of lines, words, syllables, letters, etc. Examples adduced range from archbishop Theodore and Aldhelm to Ælfric and later authors. The theory has aroused a measure of controversy—there is some question whether the numerology originates in the texts or in the system that predicts it. Howlett, the editor of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Insular Sources*, bases his original arguments on texts in Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. In *Cambro-Latin Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts, 1998. ix, 170 pp.), Howlett similarly surveys Latin texts of Welsh origin dating from the earliest times through post-Conquest period.

Sarah L. Keefer, “*Ut in omnibus honorificetur Deus*: The Corsnæd Ordeal in Anglo-Saxon England,” in *The Community, the Family and the Saints*, ed. Hill and Swann, pp. 237–264, solves a linguistic mystery in Old English by referencing Latin liturgical texts. At issue is the meaning of *corsnæd*, one of the four types of legal ordeal current among the Anglo-Saxons. The answer is “ordeal by barley bread and cheese.” Keefer’s description leaves no doubt that, for the accused, bread and cheese had little to recommend it above the ordeals by hot or cold water or hot iron. Anglo-Saxon varieties of these foods were unpalatable at best, toxic at worst, and coupled with a guilty conscience could easily have caused the choking indicative of guilt.

Gabriele Knappe’s “Classical Rhetoric in Anglo-Saxon England,” *ASE* 27 (1998), 5–29 examines the rhetorical arts as reflected in the English and Latin writings of the Anglo-Saxons from the beginnings through the Conquest. Roman traditions are first reviewed (Cicero, Quintilian, Augustine) and their expression in England is surveyed. The most prominent trend is for grammatical studies to dominate over rhetoric and to expropriate its traditional sphere, a phenomenon Knappe sees dating from Roman times, when such figures as Donatus and Charisius exploited grammar for textual exegesis. Among the Anglo-Saxons, Alcuin alone is seen to draw on a purely rhetorical tradition, while, in contrast, exponents of the grammatical rhetoric are numerous: writers such as Bede, Abbo, and Ælfric, and readers of such authors as Isidore and Cassiodorus. How classical rhetoric may have been adapted to vernacular purposes is a particularly knotty problem, and, although significant findings are not forthcoming, methods of exploring are closely evaluated—a discussion

worth the attention of researchers in this vein. Readers of English may opt to use the paper as convenient summary and guide to the author's book-length study in German of the same topic, an application made all the easier by the many footnoted references to the longer work.

Joseph H. Lynch's *Christianizing Kinship Ritual Sponsorship in Anglo-Saxon England* (Ithaca and London: Cornell U P, 1998) explores the varieties of ritual Christian parenthood in England from the time of the earliest records to the Conquest and beyond: the distinctly Anglo-Saxon forms of the godparent-godchild relationship during the catechuminate (the period of ritual apprenticeship prior to baptism), at baptism proper, and during the following period of confirmation. In addition to presenting the canonical and liturgical prescriptions, Lynch carefully analyzes the implications of the widening social ties entailed by such formalized relationships, their obligations and benefits, and how they interacted with the system of blood relationships. As only one of several interesting examples, the catechuminate is viewed as a sort of quasi-Christianity, where the neophyte (and/or his family) was allowed social ties with pagans—an expedient political provision when the non-Christian populace was too numerous to be easily ignored, as at the time of initial conversion and again during the time of Viking settlements. The various forms are studied against the background of Continental and Byzantine practice on the one hand and the usages of the Celtic church on the other. Lynch's thorough analysis stays close to the primary literature, especially collections of law and canon law, but he has cast a very wide net: homilies, letters, chronicles, and histories contribute to the fullest possible account of the subject. It is clear that the Microfiche Concordance of Old English has been a valuable resource, as Lynch reviews practically all meaningful occurrences of the relevant vocabulary. An especially valuable contribution of the book is the meticulous study of the semantic field of Anglo-Saxon terms, both OE and Latin, dealing with adoptive and god-parenthood.

Rob Meens, "Magic and the Early Medieval World View," in J. Hill and M. Swan, pp. 285–95, is largely a response to V. Flint, *The Rise of Magic in Early Medieval Europe* (Oxford, 1991). The paper stresses the limited sources of knowledge, and surveys commonalities of motive and magical technique, as well as psychological attitudes toward magical practice. In "The Frequency and Nature of Medieval Penance" (ed. Peter Biller and A. J. Minnis York. *Studies in Med. Theol.* 2 [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998], pp. 35–61), Meens reviews scholarly opinion on the origin and development of penance. Concentration is on the Carolingian period, with an extensive survey of the manuscript evidence and its scholarly literature. Although establishment of exact origins proves elusive, Meens concludes that penance began as a communal act "and that the forms it took in practice consisted of a mixture of public and private acts." An appendix lists manuscripts containing "tripartite penitentials."

[Rob Meens' impressive study of the Tripartite Penitentials (*Het tripartite boeteboek: Overlevering en betekenis van vroegmiddeleeuwse biechtvoorschriften*. Hilversum: Verloren, 1994) is divided into two main parts. The first consists of nine chapters: an introduction, a brief history of penitentials up to and including the Carolingian period, four subsequent chapters, each dealing specifically with one of the four main tripartite penitential traditions (the *Paenitentiale Sangallense tripartitum*, the *Paenitentiale Vindobonense B.*, the *Paenitentiale Capitula Iudiciorum*, and the *Paenitentiale Parisiense compositum*), a chapter on the evidence for pastoral use of these texts in the manuscripts, one considering how these texts reflect their times, despite their formulaic nature, and a conclusion. Part Two presents critical editions and translations (in modern Dutch) of all four penitentials. The volume is rounded off by various appendices, an index, list of manuscripts and summaries in Dutch and English. The main purpose of the study, according to Meens, "is to illuminate the context in which the tripartite penitentials originated" (565). Of particular interest here is perhaps the *P. Parisiense compositum*, which shows indications of having been used in a pastoral context. It survives in just one manuscript, which may, argues Meens, be the autograph. Chapters seven and eight, 'Pastorale gebruiksteksten? De handschriften' and 'Het omgaan met de bronnen: dode traditie of levende teksten?' ('Texts for pastoral care? The Manuscripts' and 'Working with the sources: dead tradition or living texts?') demonstrate well the value of the information on sources and manuscripts compiled and analyzed in the rest of his study. It is here that he considers important questions regarding these penitentials: were they compiled as practical aids for the confessor in a pastoral context, or rather as learned, legal lists meant for the use of a Bishop's ecclesiastical court (221–23)? Was, for example, their treatment of sexual sin predominantly "an abstract compendium of suppositious crimes and unnatural sins, thought up in the cloister by the tortuous intellect of the clerical scribe" (220), or did they reflect a real-world situation? Can they tell us anything about "the common believer" (321)? Based on a close scrutiny of all the manuscripts, he concludes that in most case manuscripts containing the tripartite penitentials were indeed used in a pastoral context. Meens is also able to show that despite the tendency of their compilers to follow their older sources closely, these texts can indeed tell us something about the times in which they were composed. A fascinating, useful and learned study.

D.F.J.]

A volume in the Variorum Collected Studies series, Richard W. Pfaff's *Liturgical Calendars, Saints, and Services in Medieval England* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) contains thirteen papers, of which five appear for the first time. They are listed below, the newly edited papers with a brief description: I. "Introduction: The Study of Medieval Liturgy" (a careful and patient introduction to the book and to the field of liturgiology); II. "Eadui Basan: *Scriptorum Princeps*"; III.

"Lanfranc's Supposed Purge of the Anglo-Saxon Calendar"; IV. "The Hagiographical Peculiarities of Martha's Companion(s)" (on the Persian saint Marius, who, along with various family members, is conflated with Mary and Martha in certain liturgical texts, some of English provenance); V. "The 'Abbreviatio Amalarii' of William of Malmesbury" (Part 1, Commentary; Part 2, Text); VI. "Why Do Medieval Psalters have Calendars?" (a useful introduction to psalters and liturgical calendars, with a concentration on Anglo-Saxon England); VII. "Some Anglo-Saxon Sources for the 'Theological Windows' at Canterbury Cathedral"; VIII. "Martyrological Notices for Thomas Becket" (assembles and discusses eight such martyrological notices); IX. "St Hugh as a Liturgical Person"; X. "Bede among the Fathers? The Evidence from Liturgical Commemoration"; XI. "Bishop Baldock's Books, St Paul's Cathedral, and the Use of Sarum" (on the unconventional post-Conquest manuscript London, St Paul's Cathedral 1); XII. "Prescription and Reality in the Rubrics of Sarum Rite Service Books"; XIII. "The English Devotion of St Gregory's Trental". The volume is equipped with a general subject index and an index of manuscripts.

Written for readers with moderate proficiency in Latin, John Thorley's *Documents in Medieval Latin* (Ann Arbor: U Michigan Press, 1998) is a lively instruction book for reading the historical texts of the period. The focus is on English history, and especially post-Conquest English history, with only one chapter devoted to the Anglo-Saxons and Celts. The first

chapter offers a brief, non-technical account of the language and genres of writing, while the following chapters present short passages of varying difficulty accompanied by a running commentary, again not too technical, on vocabulary and grammar. Full translations are tucked at the back so as not to tempt the lazy. The samples of Anglo-Saxon era texts include Nennius, the *Annales Cambriae*, Gildas, and Bede, as well as short paragraphs on Arthur from William of Malmesbury and Matthew Paris. The post-Conquest chapters address various technical documents—grants, deeds, charters, court rolls, and Domesday book, and a few historical writings.

D.W.P

Works not seen

Reinhold Haggenmüller, *Die Überlieferung der Beda und Egbert zugeschriebenen Bußbücher*. Europäische Hochschulschriften III, 461. Frankfurt am Main: Lang, 1991.

Gordon Jackson, trans. *Alcuin: Selected Poems*. Lincoln: Asgill, 1998. Ludger Körntgen. *Studien zu den Quellen der frühmittelalterlichen Bußbücher*. Quellen und Forschungen zum Recht im Mittelalter 7. Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 1993.

George Montgomery and Arthur F. Dimmock. *Venerable Legacy: Saint Bede and the Anglo-Celtic Contribution to Literary, Numerical and Manual Language*. Edinburgh: Scottish Workshop Publications, 1998.

Günter Spitzbart, ed. and trans., *Venerabilis Bedae Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. Rvsd ed. Darmstadt: Wissenschaftliche Buchgesellschaft, 1997.

5. Manuscripts, Illumination, Charters

Even the most straightforward, narrative illustration carries different information from a text and carries that information in a different way, as many of the other publications this year make evident. Two exemplary essays approach the question of text and illustration in the Book of Kells. Jennifer O'Reilly, "Gospel Harmony and the Names of Christ: Insular Images of A Patristic Theme," *The Bible as Book: the Manuscript Tradition*, ed. John L. Sharpe III and Kimberly Van Kampen (London and New Castle, DE, 1998), pp. 73–88, asks why insular artists, in their characteristic fashion, enlarged and elaborated the nomen sacra as it appeared in Matthew's genealogy in their gospel books. While previous scholars have successfully connected these Chi-Rho pages to patristic literature, especially that of Irenaeus, O'Reilly wishes to find a less arbitrary connection between patristic exegesis and the creation of these elaborate pages. In a densely-structured argument, she points to the links between genealogy and tribal identity in Germanic society; more importantly, she notes the interest in Matthew's genealogy among insular exegetes, who seek in its text a way of understanding both Christ's divine and human identity. She demonstrates that in Hiberno-Latin commentaries the phrase "Christi autem generatio sic erat" becomes

a pivotal point which, when read in terms of its connections with the other gospels, reveals "the divine as well as the human identity of the prophesied Davidic Messiah, Christ." To make her point she examines the illustration of the Imago Hominis in Kells. Traditionally understood as a portrait of the evangelist Matthew, the image also operates in terms of the tradition of the Gospel Harmony, the patristic view that the literal list of names in Mathean genealogy concealed a larger point about the unity of all four gospel accounts. The enigmatic gesture seen in the Kells image, where the figure holds his hand under his robe, is seen as a clue to the image's concealed Christological associations. She connects the Chi-Rho to the appearance of the letter chi at multiple points in Kells including the depiction of the nativity on fols. 7v-8r; to the "Liber generationes" page (folio 28v), to the five-page layout of the genealogy in Luke (200r-202r), and to the opening words of John's gospel. For O'Reilly, the images in Kells are layered with meaning; the chi becomes a sign that stands for the decorative veiling of the text that in turn becomes a metaphor for the art of spiritual reading. Seen in this light the well-known scenes of animals in the Chi-Rho should be seen not just in terms of a visual gloss of the scripture built

on Irenaeus's text, but as a revelation of "the Word made known not only in his incarnation but in his divine work of creation." Distorting and veiling the letter-forms, the decoration renders the text "illegible to those who do not know what they seek."

Bernard Meehan, "The Book of Kells and the Corbie Psalter (with a Note on Harley 2788)," *A Miracle of Learning: Studies in Manuscripts and Irish Learning. Essays in Honour of William O'Sullivan*, ed. Toby Barnard, et al. (Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT, 1998), pp. 29–39, examines the iconographic connections between the Corbie Psalter (Amiens, Biblio. Mun. MS 18) and the Book of Kells. The Corbie Psalter is one of several manuscripts produced in northern France around the year 800 that shows a diversity of influences, ranging from Byzantine, Merovingian, and insular sources. Meehan adds to the catalogue of illustrations where the Corbie Psalter can be seen to share decorative content and technique with the Book of Kells. In doing so, he stresses that many of the details in Corbie appear in a context that is less ambiguous than Kells and therefore may help us reconstruct the complex allusions in the latter manuscript. He deals with parallels in the decoration of the Quoniam page (f. 188r) from Kells and Psalm 129 (f.110r) from the psalter, as well as a series of discs placed above the heads of several groups of figures, arranged in cross-shaped groups of five, on f. 124r of Kells (TUNC CRUCIFIXERANT XPI) as symbolic reminders of the "early and widespread image of Christ represented as the Lamb of God in conjunction with the cross." The article ends with a discussion of f. 187r, the conclusion of Mark's gospel, where we find a winged figure holding a book, identified as an "angelus domini" in a rubric. Meehan points out that Harley 2788, a late 8th century Carolingian Gospel book, contains a depiction of the annunciation to Zacharias placed in an initial "Q" at the beginning of LUKE. The figure in the annunciation is labeled "angelus domini." Could the angelus domini in Kells, which faced the opening of Luke gospel, refer to this scene? Meehan demonstrates another of the wide variety of sources available to the artists of Kells and helps us understand that if some images gloss a text, they do so by adding meaning to it. This meaning may be just as cryptic, or even more so, than the texts themselves.

Designed "for laymen and anyone who enjoys and appreciates great art," Iain Zaczek's *The Book of Kells: Art, Origins, History* (London, 1997) selects representative images (both full folio and details) and discusses the general historical and artistic conditions of their manufacture.

Barbara Apelian Beall has produced a well-researched dissertation, "The Illuminated Pages of the Codex Amiatinus: Issues of Form, Function and Production," Diss. Brown Univ. DAI 58A (1998), 2426. It is especially noteworthy for its careful reconsideration of the codicology of the manuscript, which results in an intriguing reconstruction of the order of the illustration in the first quire.

Gernot R. Weiland, "Gloss and Illustration: Two Means to the Same End?" *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage*, ed. Pulsiano and Treharne. pp.1–20, approaches the relationship of text and image through a reevaluation of whether one specific manuscript, an illustrated *Psychomachia* in Cambridge (Corpus Christi College, MS 23) can be considered a "classbook." His is the most recent contribution to an ongoing conversation with J. A. Kiff-Hooper and R. I. Page who have argued that extensively-illustrated manuscripts, and or those with elaborate initials or other decoration, were not suitable for use as teaching texts in Anglo-Saxon classrooms. Weiland counters with the argument that in the *Psychomachia* manuscripts, gloss and illustration are closely related not only in terms of the physical transmission of textual tradition but also as "means to the same end," that is, as didactic, interpretive adjuncts to the main text. He briefly describes the ten *Psychomachia* manuscripts, glossed and un glossed, illustrated and unillustrated, that can be shown to have an Anglo-Saxon provenance. He notes that "[a]ll extant illustrated *Psychomachia* manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England are also extensively glossed with exactly the types of glosses one expects a teacher to use" suggesting that "the Anglo-Saxons fully recognized the educational possibilities of the illustrations." (6) He endorses a view of the illustrations as inherently didactic, furnishing "pictorial representations for unfamiliar objects or characters" or providing an interpretive anticipation of subsequent scenes. Weiland then proceeds to show several instances where the illustrations do just that: depict unfamiliar garments (such as the *peplus* removed by Pompa in l.440), comment or enlarge upon the text (such as the scene of Abraham offering a lamb). Moreover, Weiland proposes that because gloss and illustration in some *Psychomachia* mss. agree with each other or together contradict a textual reading that this is the best evidence that the two can be seen as "different means to the same end." Certainly, Weiland creatively reclaims CCCC 23 into the ranks of classbooks by showing that illustrations clarify, supplement, and interpret the text and by arguing that the work of an illustrator is "the same activity as that of the glossator, only in a different medium."

One possible instance of pictorial glossing in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is presented by Mark Atherton in his "The Image of the Temple in the *Psychomachia* and in Late Anglo-Saxon Literature," *Bulletin of the John Rylands Univer. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 263–85. Atherton concentrates on just one illustration in the *Psychomachia* cycle, the episode of the dedication of the Temple found at the end of the text. He begins by comparing the scene of the dedication of the temple found in the three illustrated Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, CCCC 23, BL. Add 24199, and Cotton Cleo. C.viii, to the iconographic tradition of the early Middle Ages. He argues that the depiction of the Temple in the first two manuscripts derives from earlier representations that reproduce the form of the late-antique basilica; he detects in the

illustrations in the third manuscript a tendency by the Anglo-Saxon artist to alter this basic plan, with the result that the Temple takes on features of an Anglo-Saxon church. He attributes this to the didactic nature of the text and perceives here a desire by the artist to help the reader perceive a connection between the Temple and the Anglo-Saxon Church. A similar connection can be found in textual sources such as Bede's *De templo*, sermons on the dedication of a church by Ælfric, Wulfstan, and an anonymous homilist. The reworking of this scene in Cleo. C.viii "suggests an attempt to render more clearly its moral, tropological significance and its contemporary relevance to the eleventh-century reader."

The discovery of unknown illustrations from Anglo-Saxon England is a rare occurrence, especially when it involves well-known manuscripts. Robert Finnegan announces the discovery of just such an unnoticed drawing in "The Man in 'Nowhere': A previously Undiscovered Drawing in Bodleian MS. Junius 11," *ES* 79 (1998), pp. 23–32. The drawing in question appears in faded, bluish-green ink at the top of the composition found on p. 7, a section of *Genesis A*. Slightly obscured by later stains, a half-length figure rests in the upper-right hand portion of the top-most arc and looks down toward the image of the Creator in the top center of the page. The figure is part of a larger composition that depicts the Creator ordering creation. In Finnegan's estimation, the drawing resembles the work of the second artist in Junius 11, who was responsible for the work on pp. 73–88 (and illustrations in the *Corpus Psychomachia*, CCC 23). Exactly who or what the figure represents is still unclear, though Finnegan briefly examines and discounts various hypotheses including the possibility that the figure represents one of the Trinity, or that it represents an angel, either of the good or fallen variety. Finnegan prefers to see the figure, which lacks a halo or wings, as human spectator. He notes that the scene appears before the creation of Adam, so the presence of the figure looking over creation could spell a narrative or theological minefield; instead, he suggests that the figure is analogous to the readers of the manuscript itself, that is, he is "our, the viewer's double, literally marginalized, but definitely there," an onlooker who witnesses the revelation of divine history. This figure also "secretly scrutinizes" the creativity both of the deity represented in the act of creation and of this artist's collaborator, whom art historians have given the expressive moniker "First" artist. Partially obscured, the image is observable without technical aid in natural light; the fact that such a figure could apparently be overlooked in every modern study of the manuscript shows the need to keep manuscripts available for first-hand scholarly study.

The latest volume in the EEMF series, by Maria Amalia D'Aronco and M. L. Cameron, eds., *The Old English Illustrated Pharmacopeia: British Library Cotton Vitellius C.III Early Eng. Manuscripts in Facsimile 27* (Copenhagen, 1998) is dedicated to an illustrated version of an Old English translation of several Latin medical and herbal texts. The 64 pages

of text follow standard format for the series volumes, including chapters on the contents of the manuscript, its history, two chapters covering codicology and paleography (the first dealing with the text, the second with the iconography of the illustrations), the identity of the plants in the Old English text and the medical value of the manuscript for its eleventh-century audience. There is no attempt to localize the production of the manuscript to a particular scriptorium. The entire manuscript is reproduced in black-and-white and 8 selected folios, including the two frontispieces, in color. The combination of D'Aronco, an Anglo-Saxonist, and Cameron, described as a "professional biologist with a scholarly understanding of Old English," is an effective one as both the historical context and the scientific status of the manuscript is well-served. The editors disagree with previous scholars who had argued that the manuscript was practically useless as a medical resource; in their view the herbal prescriptions are potentially effective as cures or ameliorations of disease, as witnessed by the continued use of similar remedies today. What also emerges is a sense of the professional attitude of the Anglo-Saxon translator which D'Aronco argues can be seen in his ability to provide Old English equivalents for many of the Latin plant-names and for his unwillingness to make up names for those that he didn't know, an unwillingness perhaps prompted by the desire to keep potential users of the manuscript from mistaking the identities of medicinal plants. For those interested in brushing up on their Italian, Maria Amalia D'Aronco covers the same material as found in the treatment of the iconography of the plant in the EEMS volume in her "Il MS. Londra, British Library, Cotton Vitellius C.III dell'erbario anglo-sassone e la tradizione medica di Montecassino," *Incontri di popoli e cultura tra V e IX secolo*, ed. Marcello Rotili (Naples, 1998), pp. 117–27.

Despite the wealth of imagery stuffed around its margins, the Bury Psalter (Rome, Vatican, Biblioteca Apostolica MS Reg. lat 12) remains one of the most understudied manuscripts from eleventh century England. In an article that summarizes and extends his previous work on the Harley Psalters (London, BL Harley Ms.603), William Noel seeks in his "The Lost Canterbury Prototype of the 11th-Century Bury St Edmunds Psalter," *Bury St. Edmunds: Medieval Art, Architecture, Archaeology and Economy*, ed. Antonia Gransden, British Archaeol. Assoc. Conference Trans. 20 (London, 1998), pp. 161–71, to define the "extent to which the Bury Psalter artist depended on an earlier prototype" from Canterbury. Noel's iconographic sleuthing compares Bury to the Odbert Psalter (Boulougne, Biblio. Mun. MS 20), a manuscript made at St. Bertin c. 999, and to the Utrecht and Harley Psalters. The links between these manuscripts are tantalizing but difficult to describe fully; The Utrecht Psalter famously provided inspiration for the illustrations in Harley, which, as Noel shows elsewhere, are not mere copies but inventive reconsiderations of the problem of illustrating the Psalms. Building on the work of Robert Harris, Noel

5. MANUSCRIPTS, ILLUMINATION, CHARTERS

confirms evidence of a Psalter at Canterbury in the eleventh century with marginal images. At least the first and last illustrations in Bury depended on this now-lost prototype, which derived in part from the Utrecht Psalter. This manuscript inspired not only Bury but also another now-lost manuscript which was taken to St. Bertin where it in turn inspired the creation of the Odbert Psalter. Stylistic evidence in Bury suggests that this prototype was made around 1020 or slightly before; it remained at Canterbury probably at least through the early years of the twelfth century.

In "The Utrecht Psalter on CD-ROM," *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 30 (1997), 37–39, Noel offers a brief review of the exhibition on the Utrecht Psalter at Museum Catharijneconvent in Utrecht in 1996 and a description of the capabilities of the CD-ROM produced as a result of that exhibition. He reviews the medieval tradition of copying the famous psalter (no less than three attempts to make copies of the complete book, including the Anglo-Saxon Harley Psalter, as well as numerous borrowings of individual elements by Anglo-Saxon artists, including the "marginal recension" formed by the Bury, Odbert and Paris Psalters. Noel points out that the CD includes the text of the psalms in five languages and has a feature where an illustration of a particular verse can be highlighted; he points out the how this opportunity for close textual viewing resembles medieval practices and holds out hope that the new technology will provide a starting for a new, visual understanding of medieval mental practices. One lesson learned from this new technology is that the CD-ROM "highlights the very inadequacy of text to 'explain' images."

Just how words and images operate together within the visual frame of the manuscript is the subject of Mary Catherine Olson's dissertation, "Words into Images: Textualizing the Visual and Visualizing the Textual in Medieval Illustrated Manuscripts," *Purdue Univ DAI* 58A (1998). Two introductory chapters establish the theoretical and historical framework for her study; the four subsequent chapters concentrate on three Anglo-Saxon manuscripts (the Harley Psalter, the Old English Hexateuch, and the Marvels of the East) as well as the fifteenth-century Ellesmere Chaucer. Building on three basic concepts, namely schemata, metaphoric tropes and spatial construction, she seeks to dissolve the dichotomy between text and illustration by showing that the relationship between the two, and the meanings generated in their interaction, changes according to context.

In an essay presented at a 1990 conference, E. C. Teviotdale reviews evidence for the provenance of this illustrated, eleventh-century fragment in "Some Thoughts on the Place of Origin of the Cotton Troper," *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Fourth Meeting, Pécs, Hungary, 3–8 September 1990*. Ed. László Dobszay, Agnes Papp and Ferenc Sebó (Budapest, 1992), pp. 407–12. She considers the text, the repertoire of tropes, and affiliated material (namely an incomplete twelfth-century troper-proser bound with the Cotton Troper since the Middle Ages). The repertoire of tropes points to

the availability of Winchester models. Other material can be shown to have been produced at the cathedral priory of Worcester. The absence of local saints in the *sanctorale* and the overall concern for quality script, parchment and arrangement, suggest a manuscript made for export. Acknowledging the circumstantial nature of the evidence, she admits that the origin of the Troper may never be known; while earlier scholarship supposed a Canterbury origin, in her opinion the evidence points to Winchester or Worcester. Continuing her work on this manuscript, Teviotdale examines the active interest in the Cotton, or as she calls it here the Caligula Troper, by a later medieval annotator in "An Episode in the Medieval Afterlife of the Caligula Troper," *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts and Their Heritage* ed. Pulsiano and Treharne, pp. 219–26. This annotator worked in the thirteenth century, perhaps at Worcester. He marked thirteen different pieces with annotations and left five lengthy rubrics in lead point in the manuscript. Teviotdale shows that this annotator was particularly interested in introit tropes and was compiling an eclectic repertoire, though the criteria for selection remains unknown. She associates this activity with the interest in the Anglo-Saxon past evident in the work of another Worcester monk, he of the characteristic "tremulous hand." She argues that far from mere antiquarian interest, this annotator was looking to the past as a source of exotic and archaic material that he meant to have copied for performance in contemporary liturgical practice.

The interest in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts by artists, scribes, and collectors beyond the geographical and chronological bounds of Pre-Conquest England appears in several other articles. Richard Gameson argues in his "La Bible de Saint-Vaast d'Arras et un Manuscrit Anglo-Saxon de Boèce," *Scriptorium* 52 (1998), 316–21, that a late-tenth century initial found on folio 32v of the Anglo-Saxon manuscript now in Paris (BN lat 6401a) served as a model for the continental artist of the Bible of St Vaast (Arras, Mediateque, 559, vol. III, f.123). Since the later is dated to circa 1060, this borrowing suggests that the English manuscript was imported to the continent, and particularly to the monastery at St. Vaast before the Conquest. This, as Gameson delineates, adds to our knowledge of the contacts between England and Flanders before the Conquest.

The Anglo-Saxon connections with an unusual twelfth-century image is just one of the aspects of Karen Louise Jolly's "Elves in the Psalms? The Experience of Evil from a Cosmic Perspective," *The Devil, Heresy and Witchcraft in the Middle Ages: Essays in Honor of Jeffrey B. Russell*, ed. Albert Ferreiro (Leiden, Boston and Koln, 1998), pp. 19–44. Jolly focuses primarily on the illustration of Psalm 37 in the twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter (Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 17.1) which shows the Psalmist pierced by arrows, attacked by five impish-looking, winged creatures. She seeks to reconsider the conclusion of earlier scholars of medicine who suggest that the image depicts "elf-shot" an affliction of the

body that early medieval medical texts attribute to the malevolence of those spritely creatures of Germanic lore. Although this manuscript and its illustration belongs to post-Conquest England, Jolly's study is integrally related to Anglo-Saxon studies in three ways: the famous Psalter contains an unusual combination of three Latin versions of the Psalms, The Glossa Ordinaria, and Anglo-Norman and Old English inter-linear translations; hence the manuscript shows the continued importance of Old English as a language for the study of scripture after the Conquest. Second, the illustrations in the manuscript derive from the Utrecht Psalter, making it part of family of copies of that well-known book that includes the eleventh-century Harley Psalter. Finally, Jolly links the image to the "mental landscape" of early medieval cosmology, a snapshot or portrait of the "process of merging Germanic and Christian conceptions of spiritual agencies." She divides her essay into three parts, a historiographical untangling of modern interpretations, an investigation of textual and iconographic of the Psalter, and a discussion of early medieval cosmological beliefs. She shows how the *Eadwine* artist alters the appearance of the winged creatures from his model (in Utrecht and Harley these figures are so ambiguously drawn that they may be understood as angels) in order to make them appear more "impish" or demonic. The artist's deliberate decision to eliminate the ambiguity found in his model can be understood as interpretive commentary representative of a shift in attitudes toward spiritual agencies. The illustration of the Psalmist beset by demons depicts him as the middle of a larger conflict between good and evil; this dichotomy reflects the tension between body and soul, eternity and temporal existence that defined the early medieval assimilation of Christian and Germanic value systems.

Moving even closer to our own time, Timothy Graham concentrates on the alterations made to medieval manuscripts by Matthew Parker, Master of Corpus Christi College, Archbishop of Canterbury in "Changing the Context of Medieval Manuscript Art: the Case of Matthew Parker," *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives*, ed. Owen-Crocker and Graham (Manchester, 1998), pp. 183–205. Parker, the most important collector of books before Sir Robert Cotton, is known today for preserving many books through his donation to Corpus Christi College Library; Graham points out that Parker's habits as a collector impact us today not only because of his role in preserving books but also because of willingness to interfere with their structure by repairing, restoring, combining texts and even supplying portions that he believed to be missing. Graham contributes several concrete examples of Parker's methods, which range from trimming and rearranging of portions of CCCC MS 197B, a late seventh, early eight-century

gospel book, to his incorporation of thirteenth century miniatures into CCCC ms 419, an eleventh century homiliary, and Lambeth Palace Library MS 1370, the ninth-century MacDurnan Gospels. Parker was even willing to cut up leaves from later medieval manuscripts in order to refurbish treasured Anglo-Saxon ones. At some point in the Middle Ages the outer margins of CCCC ms. 12, a late tenth-century large format copy of King Alfred's translation of the Pastoral Care were cut-away; as Graham carefully shows, Parker restored these leaves by pasting strips cut from a late-medieval Breviary. These alterations reveal a tension between preservation, changing and destroying that can be found not only in Parker's collecting habits but in those his successors. "These and other owners have vitally affected the art of medieval manuscripts in ways that still await a thorough investigation."

Increasingly, it is becoming clear that the history of medieval art in the twentieth century is ideologically tied to notions of ethnicity and biological continuities, that is, but one building block in a larger construction of nationalism. At least, this is the thesis of Jonathan J. G. Alexander's "Medieval Art and Modern Nationalism," in *Medieval Art: Recent Perspectives*, ed. Owen-Crocker and Graham, pp. 206–23. Alexander asserts that medieval notions of identity differ from modern and he sets himself the task of surveying how social cohesion was constructed through pictorial representation in particularly medieval terms. Alexander's examples are far ranging geographically but concentrated primarily on the later Middle Ages; he touches Anglo-Saxon England only peripherally, with oblique references to the Bayeux Tapestry, the Benedictional of Aethelwold and to Bede's retelling of Gregory the Great's encounter with the English slaves in Rome. At the heart of the essay is a fundamentally self-reflective question: "is there justification for describing styles as 'English', 'French', 'Flemish', and so on, and beyond that is it possible to see the qualities of these styles as continuous and constant over the centuries?" (216). While it is possible to detect similarities in works from a particular time and geographic region, it is quite another to argue that a particular style is "imprinted in the genes" of a people. It is readily apparent that any theory of embedded racial characteristic is outdated, yet as Alexander reminds us, such theories continue to live within contemporary art historical practice.

M.P.R., B.W.

Work not seen

Isabelle Marchesi, "Le corps musical dans la miniatures psalmiques carolingiennes et romane," *Le Geste et les gestes au moyen âge. Sénéfiance 41* (Aix-en-provence, 1998), pp. 401–27.

6. History and Culture

a. General Interest

Long in preparation, the new edition of William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum: The History of the English Kings, Volume I*, ed. and trans. R. A. B. Mynors (†), completed by R. M. Thomson and M. Winterbottom (Oxford: Clarendon, 1998), has now begun to appear. The new text incorporates the discovery that MS Tt is a witness to an older first edition, and also inverts Stubbs's second and third editions, B and C. Stubbs printed C while the edition here prints the agreement of C and B with some additions by each confined to an appendix. The reconstructed archetypes are persuasive and the readings accurate. The editors describe in detail the composition of the *Gesta*, through its various versions and offer sensibly supported dates and reasons for the shape of the work. It was begun at the behest of Queen Mathilda (d. 1118), with the first edition appearing around 1126. William continued to work on it into the 1130s, updating it and changing his appraisals of various individuals, and may have produced a special Glastonbury edition around 1135 and a final version (B) afterwards. The translation follows the 19th-century translation of Sharpe and Stevenson and is readable though not as literal as the editors claim. Covering the entire Anglo-Saxon period, William's work is a critical source for scholars and is now available in a very useful edition and translation.

This year saw the publication of the second edition of Peter Sawyer's *From Roman Britain to Norman England* (London and New York: Routledge, 1998), which first appeared in 1978. While the main text of this new edition shows little revision, the bibliography has been updated and there is a lengthy postscript in which Sawyer corrects several of his original assertions in light of subsequent scholarship. Of this scholarship the studies of Ian Wood, Simon Keynes, and Patrick Wormald are most prominent in Sawyer's revision. Still, a reworking of the main text would have been much more effective than the simple addition of a postscript.

Timothy Reuter's "The Making of England and Germany, 850–1050: Points of Comparison and Difference," in *Medieval Europeans: Studies in Ethnic Identity and National Perspectives in Medieval Europe*, ed. Alfred P. Smyth (Basingstoke and London, 1998), pp. 53–70, addresses a paradox: "two of the great tenth-century European success stories turn out to show remarkable similarities at quite fundamental levels of process and structure, and yet the polities produced by these successes might well be taken as the two ends of a continuum on which all other European polities—at least within Latin Christendom—could be located" (54). Reuter sees both Germany and England as starting in the ninth century with much the same kinds of pressures and structures. He diminishes English unity and German regionalism to find

that both "turn out essentially to be multi-regnal empires under kings from a dynasty of successful war-leaders" (56). West Saxon and Ottonian rulers marched together in extending their power through military force and diplomacy. Where they differed was "in the forms which regionality took, and in the nature of the 'states' at the centre." While in Germany, the old regnal divisions developed identities (e.g., Bavarians) reinforced by military service along the same lines, in England, the identities of the old kingdoms faded and the shires, forming the basis for military units, created new identities based on very local loyalties. The English 'state' was centralized and remembered its traditions by self-consciously tracing pre-viking roots, while Germany possessed no similar historical vision and "there was little which gave the kingdom coherence as a kingdom except its existence" (59). While England was defined in large part by its "institutional core," the Germans had none of this and only a series of "itinerating kings." Reuter explores the explanations, offering pithy appraisals of the maximalist position on the Anglo-Saxon kingdom and the qualitative differences in available sources, before resting his conclusions on the reality of the differences between the two kingdoms, explaining them by noting the importance of the shiring of England in the tenth century and, "most important . . . the divergences in the development of a regnal ethnicity" (64). I think here Reuter makes too much of the differences in identities and 'languages' between England and Germany, since old regnal identities and dialects may have been stronger in England than he thinks, and Bavarian and Saxon (etc.) claims to their own languages too modern an appraisal. Nevertheless, his argument is largely persuasive, that "the Germans had no way of defining a common identity and inheritance except in terms of the kings who ruled them"; the English on the other hand "had laws, customs, language to define *Engla Lond*," and so were less focused on *who* ruled them to establish their own sense of identity (66–67).

Patrick Wormald's "Frederic William Maitland and the Earliest English Law," *Law and Hist. Rev.* 16 (1998), 1–25, is a revised version of "Maitland and Anglo-Saxon Law," which he presented at the Pollock and Maitland conference sponsored (and published) by the British Academy. Wormald argues stridently that "Maitland underrated the part played by the earliest kings of England in shaping a distinctive English legal tradition" (3). How did this happen? Maitland simply saw no link between the chaos of the *Leges Henrici Primi* and the smooth sense of Glanvill, and concluded from that that 1066 had been a tremendous break in legal continuity. But that was not Maitland's only error; he was wrong as well on the grants of jurisdiction before the conquest (as shown by J. Goebel and N. Hurnard many years ago). Wormald is as interested in identifying the mistake as in explaining it. Maitland in his eyes was "a victim of his own virtues"—the

most prominent of which were his common sense and talent for making distinct what was murky in the sources. Perhaps Maitland had been tricked by the plethora of forged post-conquest immunities that claimed to represent the situation before 1066? He was also a victim of the “decisively malign influence” of the *Leges Henrici*. The critical factor, however, was Maitland’s sense of the overriding importance of German and French scholarship for understanding English law. Further, Maitland, in his annoyance with the primitive romanticism lurking behind the veneration of the Common Law, perhaps went too far “to disabuse Englishmen of misplaced faith in the special status of their Island Story” (13). Maitland’s own day had to be liberated from bondage to the past. Lastly, Maitland missed the power of the Old English state *in toto*, even though he had the sums needed to make the calculation: why? The survival of *bot* implied by the *Leges Henrici*—“Maitland’s usual incubus” (20). Why then, Wormald asks, is Maitland “one of us?” Elton saw it in Maitland’s “archival trailblazing.” Wormald lists the virtues: “lack of insularity, scorn for unfounded tradition, love of raw evidence” (24). These make Maitland our kin. In his own day, Maitland was an outsider to the historical approaches of Stubbs and Macaulay, and perhaps this is the very core of what made him, according to Wormald, a pioneer.

Philip Beale’s fascinating *A History of the Post in England from the Romans to the Stuarts* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 1998) emphasizes the continuity of postal practices from antiquity to the late Middle Ages. For the Roman period, Beale focuses on the Roman road system in Britain and looks at types of vehicles used for transport of people and parcels. He also utilizes as evidence the recently discovered Vindolanda writing tablets, a unique glimpse into private communication among Romano-British along Hadrian’s Wall. Not much is available for the early medieval period, apart from a few ecclesiastical communiqués quoted by Bede and a letter from Waeldhere, bishop of London, to Archbishop Brihtwold (c.705) in, it is believed, the bishop’s own handwriting. But the pre-Conquest material makes up only a small part of this study, which focuses mainly on the Royal Mail from Henry II to James I. Beale adeptly complements his discussion of medieval documents with images of mail tallies, royal seals, and manuscript miniatures.

In ‘Cornwall’s Giant’s Hedge, Part III,’ *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 38 (1997), 45–51, H. W. Garner traces the history of the Hedge from AD 500 to AD 1000. Unfortunately the narrative is marred by historical inaccuracies, and the short gazetteer of ‘Celtic’ place-names in the vicinity of Giant’s Hedge is not linguistically sound.

b. Late Roman and Celtic Britain and the Early Kingdoms

Stephen S. Evans’s *The Lords of Battle: Image and Reality of the Comitatus in Dark-Age Britain* (Woodbridge and

Rochester, NY: Boydell and Brewer, 1997) is, according to its author, a social and cultural history of Britain from the fifth to the eighth centuries in which the *comitatus* serves as the lens from which the period is viewed. *Comitatus* is interpreted by Evans in a broad sense to include the entire body of armed men in attendance at the courts of both Celtic and Germanic lords. This comparative approach is refreshing. Unfortunately, Evans’s handling of the evidence is uneven. Many of the sources used (e.g. the heroic poetry and hagiography) were written much later than the period being discussed, and the archaeological evidence is occasionally misinterpreted. It is to be fair a daunting task to match the image of the *comitatus* in Britain to the reality, for the material and contemporary written evidence is frustratingly sparse. Evans’s book does, despite its shortcomings, ask many good questions about the “heroic” society depicted in this literature.

In ‘Pictish Matriline Reconsidered’ (*Innes Review* 49 [1998], 147–67), Alex Woolf attempts to resuscitate Alfred Smyth’s skepticism about this unusual practice, first attributed by Bede to the Pictish kings. He tries to undermine the three pieces of evidence used traditionally to defend Pictish matriline: Bede’s foundation story, the Pictish king-list, and relationships between some Pictish and non-Pictish kings. The scarcity of genealogical information for the Pictish kings, which Woolf recognizes, makes both pro and con arguments difficult. Woolf illustrates the complexities of royal succession among the Picts’ neighbors and points to rare examples of matriline among the Britons. While this article does not destroy belief in Pictish matriline, it may swing the pendulum of opinion away from it once again.

One of the several insightful essays in Joyce Hill and Mary Swan (eds.), *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, International Medieval Research 4 (Turnhout, 1998), representing selected proceedings of the International Medieval Congress held at Leeds in 1994 and 1995, David Pelteret’s “Saint Wilfrid: Tribal Bishop, Civic Bishop or Germanic Lord?” (159–80) looks at more familiar sources (Bede, Eddius Stephanus) to discern how Wilfrid interpreted the role of bishop. Pelteret’s answer is that the charismatic Wilfrid combined the qualities of both a spiritual leader and a secular, Germanic lord, such as gift-giving and lavishly entertaining young warriors.

c. Kings, Administration, and Law

The *Encomium Emmae Reginae* is a short text, extending to only 25 printed pages. Nevertheless it fills a gap in the historical record of the early 11th century and offers what appears to be a window into the Anglo-Danish court of Cnut. The text was edited in 1949 by Alistair Campbell whose text has held up over time. The new edition (*Encomium Emmae Reginae*, Camden Classic Reprints 4, Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press for the Royal Historical Society, 1998) is in fact a reissue of Campbell’s text and introduction, but accompanied

now by a translation and new introduction by Simon Keynes. What Campbell had done in his introduction (reprinted here) was quite solid but narrow: a consideration of the manuscripts and text, the author, his Latinity, and a discussion of Emma and her historical context. Keynes emends or confirms Campbell's conclusions in many important ways. While accepting much of Campbell's sensible discussion of the manuscripts and text, Keynes adds to it concerns with the frontpiece illustration, changes in the page format, and erasures, and emphasizes some things buried in Campbell's apparatus, adjusting where recent work would be less confident (e.g., Campbell's attribution of the creation of MS L to a continental scriptorium; Keynes raises Normandy and England as possibilities). Keynes moves the date of MS P to c. 1500 from Campbell's 16th century and notes that another medieval copy may have existed at Glastonbury. Concerning the additional ending to the *Encomium* in MS P, Keynes agrees with Campbell that it goes back to the reign of Edward the Confessor, though Keynes would place the author in England. Keynes's significant contribution to this reissue is at its most original in his suggested reading of the text. For Campbell, the *Encomium* was important "for the illumination of character and motive" (civ); Keynes warns that "it is in this respect, more so than in any other, that the work needs to be treated with all due circumspection" (lxvi). Keynes would instead see scholars use the *Encomium* "as a source for queenship and family politics," and advises us not to expend energy merely dividing hard facts from rhetorical embellishment, but to try to understand the whole work's genesis in the 1040s. Keynes's own reading of the *Encomium* (lxvi–lxxi) turns the work from Campbell's inward glorification of the Danish dynasty and Emma (not as propaganda but for Emma's own enjoyment) to a text that served not Emma's vanity but "a particular political or polemical purpose" (lxix). In identifying this purpose, Keynes is prudently circumspect: Emma, returning from exile after Harold Harefoot's death, needed to secure the loyalty of Harold's allies (e.g., Earl Godwine), argued Harthacnut's case, and cleared herself of culpability in the murder of the ætheling Alfred. As such the *Encomium* was aimed at the Anglo-Danish court and sought to revive fading memory of the political intentions of Cnut. The work then, if this scenario is correct, is political and polemical. In Keynes's words, "the *Encomium* represents the triumph of literary artifice over historical truth; and while truth is still there, it is a truth which lies hidden in the artifice" (lxxi).

In the search for the oral-formulaic in the later written records of Germanic law, clues require a good deal of labor before they will release their meaning. In "Towards Freeing a Slave in Germanic Law," in *Mír Curad: Studies in Honor of Calvert Watkins*, ed. Jay Jasanoff, H. Craig Melchert, and Oliver (Innsbruck, 1998), pp. 549–60, Lisi Oliver starts from the hapax conjunction *ænde* in Wihtréd's code to posit the preservation here of part of the formula for freeing a slave in Anglo-Saxon England (with implications for continental

Germans as well). The argument is speculative in the best sense—guided always by a sure feel for the linguistic and comparative legal evidence. The strongest evidence that the occurrence of this word betrays an oral formula is the rhythm it creates in the phrase "erfe ænde wergeld ȝ munde þare hina" (Wihtréd c. 8), a rhythm which the *Textus Roffensis* scribe must somehow have recognized and thus decided to record, rather than substitute the much more common tironian note "ȝ" or even "and" as commonly spelled in Old English. In doing so, this scribe preserved an archaic form whose presence reveals what might very well be one of those rare oral forms so important in a legal system dependent on public oaths and declarations.

Thomas Charles-Edwards has been one of the most prolific and influential historians working on the early medieval Celtic fringe, with much of his work focusing on the legal and political language of Irish and Welsh sources. In his essay 'Alliances, Godfathers, Treaties and Boundaries,' for Blackburn and Dumville (eds), *Kings, Currency and Alliances: History and Coinage of Southern England in the Ninth Century* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1998), pp. 47–62, Charles-Edwards turns his attention to Anglo-Scandinavian diplomacy during the reign of Alfred. The essay focuses on the baptism of Guthrum following his defeat by Alfred at the battle of Edington in 878, as described by the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Looking closely at the language describing this diplomatic ritual in the *Chronicle* entries, Charles-Edwards argues that baptismal kinship was an important way of binding the pagan ruler and his warriors to Christian kings in ninth-century England, and paralleled as well by contemporary examples from Francia.

Sheila M. Sharp's "England, Europe and the Celtic World: King Athelstan's Foreign Policy," *Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 197–220, catalogues the various relationships of Athelstan with his neighbors, setting them within the deeper context of both the times and his family, as well as considering what initiatives Athelstan undertook for what reasons. Policy here is in the medievalists' soft sense of "influence." Sharp does go occasionally beyond this to suggest that the English for the first time might have been consciously holding the balance of power between continental principalities, Scandinavia, and the various peoples of the British Isles. This is a useful and interesting piece.

Rape before 1066 receives a quick sketch by Julie Coleman in "Rape in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Violence and Society in the Early Medieval West*, ed. Guy Halsall (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998), 193–204. The author makes some useful observations, particularly regarding the interpretation of the penitential evidence, but their value is undermined by the absence of any conclusive definition of rape and, consequently, a failure to distinguish between various offenses found in the sources. For instance, Wulfstan's homiletic account of the insulting of a thegn's wife is not evidence that Wulfstan thought rape was "a symbol of contemporary god-

lessness and a symptom of a general breakdown of order" (195). The phrase *scendað to bysmore* may here imply rape, but in a society where honor defines status, there are many ways to shamefully insult a thegn's wife short of that. The case made is not persuasive.

Returning to an argument he made in 1975, T. J. Rivers argues (in "The Legal Status of Widows in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *Medievalia et Humanistica* 24 [1997], 1–16) that the ebb of kinship and flow of lordship in the late (post-Alfredian) Anglo-Saxon period provided a new set of circumstances that "afforded widows exceptional opportunities." These opportunities are in fact fairly closely circumscribed—some liberation from kin control, some powers over real property. Rivers is aware that the receding danger of kin control was merely being replaced by the approaching threat from lordship, especially for wealthy widows—and so is cautious in his claims. The argument itself is, it appears, a direct response to Margrit Hausner's 1985 review (n. 49) of Rivers's original article, but this is nowhere made clear in Rivers's piece; if it had been, it would have made the emphases Rivers gives more understandable. The article itself at times is unsure of its ground (e.g., "Guthrum, king of Denmark" for Alfred's foe) and trusts its legal and sermon sources perhaps too much. Nevertheless, it raises important issues in a thorny area of women's and legal history.

In "A West-Country Magnate of the Eleventh Century: the Family, Estates and Patronage of Beorhtric Son of Ælfgar," *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1997), pp. 41–68, Ann Williams resurrects a powerful and wealthy thegn of the West Country, Beorhtric, demonstrating the value of Domesday Book for preconquest prosopography and laying out the method for performing such work. Beorhtric was a major landholder, lord of Tewkesbury, and worth over £100 in 1066. Adding up all his holdings in six shires (between 338 and 372 hides), it is clear that Beorhtric was "one of the richest, perhaps the very richest thegn below the rank of earl in pre-Conquest England" (50). Williams describes the estates, reconstructs where possible Beorhtric's tenurial and personal relationships, and offers some little that can be recovered of Beorhtric's role in England's political and social life. He may have been kin to Earl Odda, did attest royal and episcopal charters, but what else? He had lost Tewkesbury by 1071 since we know William fitz Osbern had it by the time of his death in that year, but had Beorhtric forfeited it after Hastings? Or had he fought in the rebellion at Exeter? We know more about his father, Ælfgar, who fought on the side of the Danes in 1016, then we ever will about him.

Timothy S. Jones's "The Outlawry of Earl Godwin from the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*," in *Medieval Outlaws: Ten Tales in Modern English*, ed. Thomas H. Ohlgren (Stroud, 1998), pp. 1–11, provides a short introduction to the section of the anonymous *Vita Ædwardi* that describes Godwine's outlawry and exile. He fits the account into the medieval English out-

law tradition and translates the relevant portion of the *Vita* to illustrate.

Colin Flight, "The Earldom of Kent from c. 1050 till 1189," *Archeologia Cantiana* 117 (1997), 69–82, argues that the lands identified as the "Bishop of Bayeux's" in the pipe rolls, which appear as a separate entry for Kent until 1189 when it was broken up and sold by a king hungry for his crusade, are in origin the preconquest earl's portion in Kent. Held by Godwine, and then Harold, they were passed by William I to his half-brother Odo in 1066. Odo forfeited it and all other English possessions in 1088. He was not replaced as earl until the reign of Henry III. Nevertheless, the earl's portion was accounted for separately by the sheriff of the county until 1189, a sign, Flight argues, of the continuing possibility of an appointment from William II to Henry II.

d. The Church, Saints, and Religion

Several books and articles appeared celebrating the 1400th anniversary of St. Augustine's arrival in Canterbury. Anthony Maret-Crosby's *The Foundations of Christian England: Augustine of Canterbury & His Impact* (Ampleforth: Ampleforth Abbey, 1997) is "an attempt to see Augustine in his context" (1), namely by narrating his story along with those of Bede, Columba, and Gregory the Great. This is a brief and fairly traditional account, with Maret-Crosby sticking closely to the primary sources while consulting only a half dozen scholarly works. The same author penned an article on Augustine, "St. Augustine of Canterbury, 597–1997" (*Ampleforth Jnl* 102.1 [1997], 7–15) which is a straightforward narration of the mission to Canterbury, offering some interesting interpretations of the evidence (Bede, Gregory's letters) but with no references (indeed, no critical apparatus) to secondary literature.

Barbara E. Crawford edited the essays in *Conversion and Christianity in the North Sea World*, St John's House Papers 8 (St. Andrews: Committee for Dark Age Studies, Univ. of St Andrews, 1998), the published proceedings of a Day Conference held at St. Andrews in February 1998. Three of the papers deal with pre-Viking Era Christianity in Scotland. In "Conversion and Politics on the Eastern Seaboard of Britain," Martin Carver reports on his ongoing excavations of the putative monastery at Tarbat and places its burials and sculpture in a wider, northern European context. Edwina Proudfoot explores the long cist cemeteries of the St. Andrews region in "The Hallow Hill and the Origins of Christianity in Eastern Scotland," arguing an influence from the sub-Roman Christian community at Whithorn. Excavations on the Isle of May in the Firth of Forth have shed some light on the conversion of the southern Picts, writes Peter Yeoman in "Pilgrims to St. Ethernan," an exploration of an obscure early Pictish saint and his shrine.

This concern with early medieval Scotland is continued

in Kenneth Veitch's "The Columban Church in Northern Britain, 664–717: a Reassessment," *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland* 127 (1997), 627–47. Veitch challenges the accepted view that the Columban church in Scotland underwent a period of decline in the late seventh and early eighth centuries. First, Veitch joins in the recent chorus of academic voices declaring that we have exaggerated the conflict at Whitby in 664. But his defining of Ireland and the Irish colonies in northern Britain as "the real heartland of the [Celtic Christian] movement" does a disservice to the British Christians who were responsible for the earliest missionary activity, Latin education, and penitentials later adopted by the Irish. Still, Veitch makes a very sound argument that this particular period of Scottish history saw not the decline of the Columban church, but rather its redefinition wrought by changing political circumstances in Northumbria and Pictland.

John Blair's "The Making of the English Parish," *Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 2.2 (1992), 13–19, is intended to introduce the general reader to revisionist thought on the origins of the English parish. Several scholars have recently questioned the assumption that the high medieval English parochial system dates to the earliest missionary days. They have shown that the early medieval "minster" (Latin *monasterium*, OE *mynster*) was a heterogeneous community of bishops, priests, deacons, and laymen as well as contemplatives living under a *regula*. Such mixed communities could, and did, partake in parochial work, including preaching, baptism, confession, and penance. Blair's discussion here is a summary of the studies collected in John Blair and Richard Sharpe (eds), *Pastoral Care before the Parish* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1992).

He was a saint, but was he a martyr? This is the question asked by Victoria A. Gunn in "Bede and the Martyrdom of St Oswald," *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood, *Studies in Church History* 29 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 57–66. Gunn rightly points out that Bede, though admiring of Oswald and intent on defaming the pagan Penda, never specifically calls Oswald a martyr, though other English royal martyrs are specifically designated as such and Bede had plenty of rhetorical material from he could have drawn to depict Oswald as a martyr. Simply dying at the hands of a pagan does not a martyr make: it is how Oswald lived, rather than how he died, which earned him sanctity in Bede's eyes.

The hagiography of Cuthbert is the subject of John R. E. Bliese's article "St. Cuthbert and War," *Jnl of Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 24 (1998), 215–41. Bliese demonstrates that although Cuthbert was not depicted as a 'warrior saint' in the earliest hagiography, he is often linked with battles by later hagiographers and chroniclers. The most famous example is when, on the eve of the battle of Edington in 878, Cuthbert appears to Alfred in the marshes and exhorts the king

to fight the Danes. This incident first appears in the mid-tenth-century *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, and is later repeated by Symeon of Durham, William of Malmesbury, and others. Bliese relates similar appearances by Cuthbert before battles in 674, 794, and 939, and traces the history of the "banner of St. Cuthbert" which was carried into battle by English soldiers from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries.

In a volume produced to mark the centenary of the foundation of St. Benet's Hall, Oxford, Benedicta Ward has contributed a short piece ("St. Frideswide of Oxford," *Benedictines in Oxford*, ed. Henry Wansbrough and Anthony Margett-Crosby [London, 1997], pp. 3–10) on what is and is not known about St. Frideswide, patron saint of both city and university. This saint remains a mystery to researchers. The earliest form of the *vita* is no earlier than the 12th century—a long text-free gap for this supposedly 7th–8th-century saint. Bede says nothing, which would be remarkable if there had been something to say. The earliest references to Frideswide are in the *Liber Vitae* of Hyde and in a charter of Æthelred II (1004), which only locate the saint and her property in Oxford and tell us nothing about her life. Domesday Book gives us a bit more, but it is only in the 12th century that the picture is filled out in text. The first account is William of Malmesbury's few words in his *Gesta Pontificum*, and from the start the picture looks suspiciously like what one would expect of 12th-century sanctity, rather than the 7th- or 8th-century variety. Frideswide was the daughter of a king who spurned marriage to another king, choosing instead virginity and devotion to Christ. She fled the amorous advances of her would-be spouse into the city of Oxford and received there the protection of God. In return, she founded a monastery in the city for women. By 1002, the monastery was filled not with nuns, but with canons. In 1122, the house was reformed and filled with a small number of regular canons—eighteen by 1160. Ward points out that the story Malmesbury tells has more to do with tensions of the 11th and 12th centuries than with the 7th, since there was no early tension between monastic and married life such as drove 11th and 12th century writers. The translation of Frideswide's relics in 1180 was the occasion of the composition of her *miracula* by Prior Philip, a useful text not so much on Frideswide as on life in Oxford in the middle years of the 12th century. Through it all, Ward is painfully aware of how little can be said of Frideswide and wisely eschews any speculation.

In "The Origins of Urban Parish Boundaries," in T. R. Slater and Gervase Rosser (eds.), *The Church in the Medieval Town* (Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT, 1998), pp. 209–35, Nigel Baker and Richard Holt examine evidence from Worcester and Gloucester to discern when and how parish boundaries were defined in Late Anglo-Saxon England. From this limited sample we see no clear single model emerge, but rather diversity in both chronology and the forces—ecclesiastical and secular—that were shaping parochial boundaries.

In a stimulating article, "Perceptions of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Tenth-Century Monastic Reform Movement" (*The Church Retrospective*, ed. R. N. Swanson, Stud. in Church Hist. 33 [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998], pp. 61–74), Simon Coates finds in "B's" *Vita sancti Dunstani* an alternative appropriation of the English past then marks the use of the Anglo-Saxon past in works by tenth-century Benedictine writers. While the latter looked to Bede and constructed a vision of Benedictinism as the only monasticism in early Christian England and the highest achievement of spirituality, "B," an English canon trained on the continent, argued a secular cleric's case in his *vita* of St. Dunstan, counselor to kings rather than cloistered monk. As the reformers drew from Bede, so "B" may have drawn from Eddius Stephanus's *Vita Wilfridi*—the parallels between Wilfrid's life and the tenth-century *vita* of Dunstan are strong, but show no direct borrowings of language. Alas, our mysterious "B" was a bit too late to make his case. His requests for a return to England found him no patrons or any congenial house—these had all become regular in his absence.

Paul A. Hayward, in "The Idea of Innocent Martyrdom in Late Tenth-Century and Eleventh-Century English Hagiology," *Martyrs and Martyrologies: Papers Read at the 1992 Summer Meeting and the 1993 Winter Meeting of the Ecclesiastical History Society*, ed. Diana Wood, Stud. in Church Hist. 29 (Oxford, 1993), pp. 81–92, examines six early English martyrs (Saints Æthelberht and Æthelred of Ramsey, Æthelberht of Hereford, Edward the Martyr, Kenelm, and Wigstan) through the lens of their tenth- through twelfth-century *passiones* and finds that these later texts were intended to "meet the moral needs" of the saints' later communities. The *passiones* did this by providing a place for the monks to redefine sanctity in their own image, emphasizing new concerns with virginity, youthful purity, and salvation as ways of structuring and regulating communal life (and thereby discouraging, e.g., sexual liaisons between monks and boys). Hayward's nuanced thesis supplements the usual interpretation of the textual development of cults for political and economic reasons by opening up a new—perhaps primary—audience and exposing a fundamental purpose in the choice of these saints in tenth- and eleventh-century England as *loci* for cults.

Emma Cownie lays out in "The Cult of St Edmund in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries: the Language and Communication of a Medieval Saint's Cult," *NM* 99 (1998), 177–97, the variety of means used by Bury St. Edmund's postconquest abbots and priors to record and promote the cult of St. Edmund, and identifies how this changed in the course of the twelfth century. Despite a varied 'multi-media' promotion of the cult during the twelfth century, donations and the geography of the *miracula* suggest that the cult remained at core an East Anglian affair, but one which reached out further than most. The description is clear, though some of the reasoning is less persuasive than it could be; texts and languages reveal, as Cownie knows, *intended* audiences rather

than real ones, a distinction she makes but at times seems to forget. Cownie undersells the presence and role of English written sources but otherwise makes a strong case for understanding cults in as richly textured a way as possible.

Using postconquest evidence in "Patterns of Patronage and Power: the Governance of Late Anglo-Saxon Cheshire," *Government, Religion and Society in Northern England, 1000–1700*, ed. John C. Appleby and Paul Dalton (Stroud, 1997), pp. 1–13, N. J. Higham argues that TRE Cheshire society was essentially the earl's, and that below comital commendation a rather murky texture of relationships existed. This is important because (as Higham raises only in the last paragraph) Mercia was the only military force standing against William of Normandy after Hastings. The article makes some points about ministerial tenants of the earl, but is in essence a first attempt at sorting out identities and ties. This preliminary aspect of the work makes it all the more odd that the only works cited (except for one general citation to *VCH Cheshire* and an atlas) are to Higham's own works and Domesday Book.

c. Norman Conquest and Aftermath

This was an important year for the publication of editions related to Anglo-Norman history: in addition to the *Encomium* noticed above, two important chronicles of the Conquest, a new edition of the Conqueror's *acta*, a calendar of Domesday's law, and two biographies.

It was probably some time between 1071 and 1077 that William of Poitiers, chaplain of William I, composed a history of his patron, *The Gesta Guillelmi*, ed. and trans. R. H. C. Davis and Marjorie Chibnall (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1998). It is the "earliest extended biography of any duke of Normandy" and comes not only from a ducal chaplain with intimate knowledge of his subject, but from a former soldier. This is important since William's account is the "most valuable" source for the battle of Hastings. The *Gesta* is divided into two books. Book 1 is mostly on the duke's turbulent youth and wars in Normandy, though there are a few items of English interest. Book 2 begins with Edward the Confessor's death and Harold's assumption of the kingship, and ends imperfectly with the murder of Copsi in 1067—the first and last folios were lost before the only surviving copy, a transcription published by André Duchesne in 1619, was made. The text here has been carefully and cautiously reconstructed, with emendations offered by previous editors such as Raymonde Foreville, F. Maseres, as well as Duchesne's text (when the editors depart from it), included in the apparatus. Davis and Chibnall themselves emend Duchesne's text in only ten places (i.18, 20, 24, 33, 40, 53, ii.4, 5, 44, & 47), often using Orderic Vitalis and Ralph de Diceto (who were faithful to the text when it was their source) against Duchesne, often providing what would correct an easily made error in copying by Duchesne. The translation is wonderfully

fluid and the first complete one to be published in English. Chibnall's familiarity with Orderic Vitalis brings us one of the special aspects of the edition; since William of Poitiers was used by Orderic—in places copied—we can surmise what was in the lacuna in Duchesne's text at the end of book ii where Duchesne's exemplar lacked beginning and ending folios. Moving forward from his version of the events described by William at the end of book ii of the *Gesta*, Orderic, for example, "describes the measures taken by King William for the good governance of Normandy before his return to England in December 1067. The sentiments and language are those of [William of Poitiers]" (xxxvii). So begins Chibnall's careful attempt to reconstruct the lost passages, picking through Orderic's account up to the death of Earl Edwin and capture of Earl Morcar and identifying those parts that probably were in William of Poitiers' *Gesta*. These exceptional pages are the best we are going to have on the missing end of William of Poitiers' account—that is at least until someone is able to gain access to the library of the Marquis of Rosanbo, where some volumes from the once fabulous collection of Pierre Pithou, including possibly the autograph manuscript of the *Gesta*, ended up after Pithou's collection was dispersed during the Wars of Religion.

Elisabeth M. C. van Houts has supplied a sorely needed edition of the only remaining chronicle of the conquest and early Norman period languishing in an uncritical (in fact misleading) 1845 edition by J. A. Giles, incorporating two previously unused manuscripts and reaching a series of important conclusions about the composition and value of the text, "The *Brevis Relatio de Guillelmo nobilissimo comite Normannorum*, Written by a Monk of Battle Abbey," *Camden Miscellany XXXIV*, Camden 5th ser., 10 (Cambridge, 1997), pp. 1–48. The *Brevis Relatio* covers the history of Normandy and England from c. 1035 to, in its earliest ending, 1106, with a later addition providing a eulogy for Henry I (d. 1135). Working with the unpublished notes of R. H. C. Davis on the *Brevis Relatio*, van Houts offers a description of the four manuscript witnesses which she divides into two families, one represented by MS O (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS e Museo 93), the second giving rise to the other three copies, two of which (MS A [Aberystwyth, N. L. W. Peniarth 335A] and MS L [London, Lambeth Palace 99]) preserve an additional chapter offering the eulogy of Henry I. Van Houts argues that it is the scribe of the ancestor of A, S, and L, and not the author who was responsible for the additional chapter. The original text was composed between 1114 and 1120, sometime between the marriage of Henry I's daughter Matilda to the Emperor Henry V and the drowning of William Adelin in the Channel, and revised three times before the 1140s. The author was a monk at Battle Abbey, a Norman, and at work under Abbot Ralph (1107–1124), who likely supplied some of the information used in the chronicle. Van Houts also claims that the author of the *Brevis Relatio* was the author of the *Annals of Battle Abbey*, updated that

work between 1124 and 1125, and was the scribe of a Jerome manuscript in the British Library. The evidence here is hand: MS O of the *Brevis Relatio* and these two manuscripts were all written by the same scribe, and since O is considered by van Houts to be the autograph, the author of the *Brevis Relatio* was probably the author of the *Annals*. She speculates that the author was also responsible for the now lost foundation history of the abbey on the assumption, it appears, that several historical works produced in an abbey around the same time were probably written by the same person. On the issue of whether MS O is, as van Houts claims, the autograph, "a fair copy . . . made by the author of his draft," I am not yet fully persuaded. The editorial interventions noted by van Houts could reflect an author correcting his own errors, as she argues, but it need not. It seems to me more likely that these corrections by the scribe of the text are just and only that. Whether or not the scribe was the author is not something that can be proved by the evidence we have. The text is filled with interesting stories and details, including an important account of the probably spurious pact between the Danes and the Frankish king in the mid 940s, Harold's coronation, the Battle of Hastings, the Conqueror's foundation of the abbey, Lanfranc, political prophecy, and the declining importance of William I's hereditary claim to the throne. Van Houts also notes the significance of oral tradition to the author, and speculates that some of these traditions were supplied by Abbot Ralph. For whom was it written? Van Houts thinks that the mediocrity of its style and absence of rhetorical flourish point to "an audience that wished to be informed of the facts" (22). She links the *Brevis Relatio* with the *Quedam Exceptiones* and the *Hyde Chronicle* (an edition of which she is preparing); all of these texts offer quick Norman takes on the conquest. This new edition is an important contribution to Norman and conquest history.

In 1913 H. W. C. Davis published the first volume of the projected series of volumes covering the *acta* of the Anglo-Norman kings. His volume, covering the reigns of William I and William II, was a calendar, with some documents included in full in an appendix. That was not the only problem with it. Davis had not done significant archival research to unearth all the *acta*—especially true of continental records—and his comments on the authenticity of charters were not reliable. David Bates's new *Regesta Regum Anglo-Normannorum: the Acta of William I (1066–1087)* (Oxford: Clarendon; New York: Oxford Univ. Press, 1998) solves these problems for the *acta* of the first Norman king, along with those of his queen, Mathilda, and Bishop Odo of Bayeux, who served on occasion as regents. The edition adds 74 *acta* to Davis's collection, drops a few misfits, to reach a total of 355 *acta*, a number that rises to over 400 if all the alternative versions of *acta* are taken into account. These 355 include 144 Norman and continental *acta* and 211 *acta* for English beneficiaries. Of the latter there are 127 writs, 32 in Old English, 91 in Latin, and 4 bilingual. The collection may yet grow;

two *acta* were discovered too late to be put in sequence and have ended up as an appendix. For each *acta*, arranged by beneficiary, Bates gives date, a summary of contents, a list of the principal or early manuscripts (omitting later copies), identifies printed texts and calendars, and supplies a note dealing with authenticity, relationship of the record to other *acta*, and relevant studies. After the preliminaries comes the text and, if any, the apparatus. Bates has not produced editions of individual documents—which would often not be appropriate—but has printed in many cases complete texts of alternative versions. All of this work is most welcome and will finally bring William I's *acta* up to (and beyond) the standards set by the second and third *Regesta* volumes. The general introduction to the volume considers the *acta* by region and form, the royal itinerary betrayed by the *acta*, and the vexed issue of the royal chancery. Bates finds that the regularity of the diplomatic in English writs indicates strong continuity with preconquest practices. He also notes the striking predominance of Old English documents in the first years of the reign. On one specific part of the issue of a chancery, he laments that there is no conclusive proof that the 32 Old English writs were produced by a royal chancery, or by the beneficiaries. Throughout the introduction, Bates has combined the best research with his own unequalled familiarity with the records to produce a volume filled with important insights and which will be the standard reference for William I's *acta* for the foreseeable future.

Domesday Book has always tantalized historians interested in English law by holding out the hope of their reconstructing the preconquest and immediate postconquest legal order through an examination of its entries. Surprising then is the time it has taken for someone to provide a guide and index to all that the Great Survey has to say to us about such things as courts and testimony, fines and ordeals. That and much more is what Robin Fleming has provided in her *Domesday Book and the Law: Society and Legal Custom in Early Medieval England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1998). The book has three parts. First, four chapters orient readers in the legal system from c. 1050 to c. 1087, in part building on several very important articles Fleming has already published, but drawn now into a picture of the whole. Part II consists of the texts themselves—3,217 in toto—extracted and numbered (to be cited like Sawyer's *Charters*: e.g., F 3055 for DB ii, 400a's entry on Robert Malet's claim of land at Thorlington in Suffolk). The TRE and TRW information on each entry's holders and hidation is included, along with a translation of the legal information (with important Latin legal terminology included in parentheses). The great glory of the book are its indices (part III): names, places, and an eleven-section subject index. This last is the key to the law in Domesday England and is therefore the heart and soul of the book. Fleming has broken the subject down into major categories reflected in the source: "Transactions," "Agents," "Antecessors and Successors," "Hundreds, Wapen-

takes, and Pleas," "Law and Justice," "Legal Transactions involving Companions, Lords, Peasants, Women, and Families," "Means," "Offenses," "Testimony," "Testimony and Memory: Times other than TRE and TRW," and "Written Word." Each section had subsections, and these subsections are divided into the actual categories used for indexing. For example, if I were interested in "outlawry," I would turn to section 8 on "Offenses," then subsection 5 "outlawry and exile," to find the following categories and their relevant entries: died in outlawry in York, exile, individuals outlawed or exiled, judged an outlaw, made an outlaw, outlaw in Denmark, outlaw reconciled to King, restored peace to outlaw, right to outlaw's property, and taking an outlaw. As you can see, the categories stay close to the wording of Domesday Book in an attempt to avoid wresting these entries out of their context, or worse, out of their context and into the categories of modern law. This is a wonderful collection, which will be the standard reference for some time.

Eadmer, best known for his narrative history and biography of Anselm, also composed a life of St. Wilfrid between 1089 and 1110: *Vita sancti Wilfridi auctore Edmero/The Life of Saint Wilfrid by Edmer*, ed. and trans. Bernard J. Muir and Andrew J. Turner (Exeter: Univ. of Exeter Press, 1998). Eadmer (or Edmer, used here as the more faithful version of his name) undertook this task not because he had anything new to say about Wilfrid's life itself, other than to set into writing what appears to be a Canterbury tradition concerning Wilfrid's vision of the damnation of King Ecgrith. Instead of offering insights about the 8th century, Eadmer's *Vita* reveals a good deal about Canterbury's clerics in the aftermath of the conquest. The principal issue in Eadmer's day appears to have been proving the location of Wilfrid's bones, and, consequently, Canterbury's suzerainty over the Northern Church. The work also demonstrates Eadmer's skills in reconstructing the past—perhaps at an early stage in his career as an historian. The edition is based on Eadmer's revised autograph manuscript (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 371), and presents not only the *Vita*, but also the *Breuiliquium Vite Sancti Wilfridi*, a commemorative sermon. Both works are ably edited and translated. An appendix is devoted to the reconstruction of the parent manuscript that included a manuscript not previously used in any edition, Ballarat, Fine Art Gallery, MS Crouch 10, a late 12th-century manuscript, the discovery of which provided the impetus for this edition. The editors' introduction not only describes the two works and their manuscript witnesses, but also sorts out the scholarly controversies in which these texts have become involved.

Michael Swanton's contribution on the "Deeds of Hereward" in *Medieval Outlaws: Ten Tales in Modern English*, ed. Thomas H. Ohlgren (Stroud, 1998), pp. 12–60, completes the list of new editions and translations. Swanton supplies a translation of the complete *Gesta Herewardi* and also a brief discussion of the context of the tale. The historical context he provides comes from one end of the spectrum, the occupa-

tionist school of conquest historians whose image of England after 1066 is exceedingly bleak. Swanton gives a thumbnail sketch of authorship and sources behind the *Gesta*—Richard of Ely, named as the author in the *Liber Eliensis*, who drew from “a short account that had been written about [Hereward] in English,” supplemented by oral tales told by those who had known the famous outlaw. The piece, like the entire collection, plays to a general audience, with some references to 19th-century fictionalizations of Hereward’s life alongside the more mundane historical facts. Swanton’s translation will be useful to students in search of an English version.

Several works cover the battle of Hastings and the violence associated with William’s invasion. Jim Bradbury’s *The Battle of Hastings* (Stroud: Sutton, 1998) is a gentle, readable account of the famous battle aimed at a general audience (including younger readers). Thus the work abounds in character portraits like “Cnut was a tough, even ruthless king in England” (19). But these are balanced by liberal quotation from or citation of the words of contemporaries. Sources are not always identified, nor are problems with the evidence always explained with clarity (e.g., the discussion of the *Carmen*). The battle itself is treated in chapter 7. Bradbury here makes his most original contribution, arguing an interesting case for relocating the fight to Calbec Hill, rather than leaving it as at present on Senlac, a. k. a. Battle Hill. Bradbury takes his start from the position of an old apple tree, a probable boundary marker for where three hundreds met, a tree that has been accepted as having been on Calbec Hill, and asks readers to reconsider the words of the D chronicler, that Harold came against William “at the hoary apple tree.” Isn’t it surprising that no refuse of the battle has been found on Battle Hill? The book is amply illustrated with B/W and color photos and maps, including the entire battle sequence from the Bayeux Tapestry, which has been placed along the bottom half of the pages (186–205) where Bradbury gives his own account. His assessment of the consequences of the fight is balanced and wisely chooses a middle course.

Frank McLynn’s *1066: the Year of the Three Battles* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1998) is dominated by men—the leaders of the time—who play across his pages in an enjoyable but thoroughly 19th-century way. The book is well researched for one written for the general public by an author who is not a specialist. And scholarly disputes over source authority are not hidden but displayed and evaluated. It slips on facts often (in the second sentence, *Byzantium* “was founded by the emperor Constantine in 332”) and provides the kinds of exaggeration and intensification common in works driven by the narrative expectations of non-professional readers. Nevertheless, this book will attract readers and leave them with a sense of the events (and their causes) as well as point them to a fairly large body of sources and scholarship on the subject.

John Palmer’s “War and Domesday Waste,” *Armies, Chivalry and Warfare in Medieval Britain and France*, ed. Matthew Strickland, Harlaxton Med. Stud. 7 (Stamford,

Lincs, 1998), pp. 256–75, reaffirms the reality of the violence of the harrying of the north by attacking those who would argue that Domesday Book’s *wasta* was something other than devastated land. The article lists the rival theories and offers objections to each, though these counter-arguments do not so much disprove the claims of these rivals as restate emphatically Palmer’s alternative. Was Yorkshire, as he claims, laid waste to such a degree that vast swaths remained uninhabited even as late as 1086? Maybe so, but proof is not found here. It may be that the truth of the matter will emerge in a more varied conclusion, where *wasta est* may mean many things to the commissioners and their scribes, including (but not exclusively) destroyed by war.

Michael V. C. Alexander’s chapter on the Norman Conquest in his *Three Crises in Early English History* (Lanham, MD; New York, and Oxford: Univ. Press of America, 1998) was designed, so the author claims, “to meet the needs of students and general readers who might profit from a clear, concise, and up-to-date account of the causes and consequences” of the Norman Conquest. The goal was to produce a shorter, more focused, but also more analytical account than is available in textbooks. It was also intended that recent scholarship would be integrated. Such are the promises. What is actually here falls far short on all fronts. The account is not analytic; in fact its reliance on character assessments (“Swein, a violent and unruly man”) puts it in the company of medieval chroniclers, who use the same approach. The prose is slapdash, filled with editorial shortcuts that produce bizarre results: Alexander says that when the Witan and Edward picked William of Normandy as heir—“Only the Godwines favored a different candidate, but they were easily outvoted” (6). What might the untutored mind of a student or general reader make of such a statement? As a guide to the evidence, Alexander is not always helpful. In his paragraph on the unhappy search for an heir in Hungary among the family of Edmund Ironside, Alexander cites only the names of the two clerics sent as ambassadors rather than any of the primary sources for this episode. His own reading of the situation is too simple; the actual situation was much more complex. What Alexander offers is only one of a number of possibilities of what was underfoot—to eliminate the others is to significantly reduce the value of this work in training students’ historical imaginations. Errors of elision and misstatement are common. As for the book’s goal of bringing recent scholarship to the attention of general readers, the actual citations tell a different tale. They suggest a scholarly interest on the author’s part in the 1970s that trailed off thereafter, with a scattering of 1980s citations and only two from the extremely productive 1990s. This will not, as Alexander intends, “speed up the process” by which “the vast outpouring of scholarly work” will become known to the public. If anything, reliance on this work will set its readers back several decades.

A number of works deal with the aftermath of the conquest and the sources that describe it. Rouben C. Cholokian’s

puckish entrée this year into Bayeux Tapestry scholarship ("The Bayeux Tapestry: Is There More to Say?" *Annales de Normandie* 47 [1997], 43–50) claims to take current research to task for its fixations—single "authorship," identifiable audience, and clear message—and to destabilize these conclusions with the assistance of Freud, Marx, and De Mann. Cholokain's short piece raises questions relentlessly in a verbal brainstorming about the Tapestry, but rarely reaches any answers. The message is rather that scholars have got it wrong time after time. Cholokian, however, implies they can never really get it right, since the Tapestry is very complex and the important things (authorship/patronage, control, technique, meaning) are all unknowable. This article could have been the vehicle for good advice if the author had been less fixated himself on the despair of certainty all medieval sources cause and more comfortable with Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman sources and scholarship.

John S. Moore, in his "Prosopographical Problems of English *libri vitae*," *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, ed. K. S. B. Keats-Rohan (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1997), 165–88, offers a plea for more work on the *libri vitae* surviving from English monasteries. There are only three that survived changes in fashion and the ravages of the Protestants: Durham, Hyde (including Winchester), and Thorney. The article provides a brief overview of *libri vitae* before investigating their value for historical demographics. Here Moore shows the contribution the *libri* can make for reconstructing some (though not all) of the families found in them. In particular, he offers comment on the families of Ascor of Winchester, William D'Aubigny Brito I, Gilbert of Fulcheswurde, Gilbert fitz Richard (a.k.a. of Tonbridge or de Clare), Robert de Stuteville II, Ralph Chenduit II, Reginald de Longville, Atselin de Waterville, and an especially detailed section (accompanied by genealogical charts) on Aubrey de Vere II, Geoffrey de Trailly I, and William Spec. Moore also includes lists of husbands and wives from the *libri vitae* of Hyde and Thorney with an identification of the origin of their names—insular or continental. Surprisingly, though Thorney exhibits the expected preponderance of continentally named males married to women with insular names, Hyde is different. Of the six mixed couples in the Hyde *liber*, four are of insular husbands and continental wives (dated between 1060 and 1140). Moore of course cautions that these are names, not necessarily identities or ethnicities. Given such interesting finds, Moore's plea for more attention to the *libri* will no doubt be answered.

Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke provides a long review ("Die neue Quellensammlung zum frühenglischen Fallrecht," *Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte, Germanistische Abteilung* 111 [1994], 550–63) of the early records in R. C. Van Caenegem's 1990 *English Lawsuits from William I to Richard I*, comparing them to what appeared in M. M. Bigelow's pioneering 1879 collection of cases and finds, not surprisingly, many improvements, but also some deficiencies.

While Bigelow's flaws are manifest now (and were then), they stemmed from his desire to produce a rough and ready book of cases related to the Common Law in its earliest century and a half. Bigelow drew only from published records and was not comprehensive. Van Caenegem had a further 111 years of scholarly editions to support him and engaged in significant archival work. The results, nevertheless, are not always pleasing. To highlight the differences as well as provide a useful tool, Jäschke constructs a concordance between Bigelow and Van Caenegem (not done by Van Caenegem) which reveals, for instance, that over 50 items in Bigelow have not made it into Van Caenegem. Jäschke also provides limited commentary, usually in the form of citations to supporting records.

If ever there were a pragmatic community of clerics, Durham was its name. William M. Aird's *St Cuthbert and the Normans: the Church of Durham, 1071–1153*, Stud. in the Hist. of Med. Religion 14 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1998) makes this case with erudition and clarity of exposition, covering far more than the Anglo-Norman period suggested by his subtitle. The tendency of the religious community of Durham to make peace with whomever was in charge Aird traces back to relations between the Church of St. Cuthbert and the Scandinavian rulers of York in the 10th century, when the Church was able not only to survive, but also to thrive, annexing the lands of the Church of Hexham. This is not what one expects to find; indeed Aird's monograph is filled with inversions of the conventional wisdom. In another place, Aird rejects the usual picture of northern history after 1066 as one of "the destruction of northern society, particularly as a result of the infamous 'harrying of the north'" (271). Northern society was changed by the Norman conquest, but the survival of some substantial native landholders and social institutions like drengage tenure "mark the gradual transformation but not the sudden obliteration of Northumbrian society" (273). The violence was not brought by the Normans, but discovered there already fully operational (alas for Robert de Comines and Bishop Walcher). Aird's work, like some recent scholarship on the Norman conquest, recognizes degrees of conquest and different kinds of conquest, and he applies this recognition carefully to his analysis of the alliances of the community. Aird finds in the north, as others have found in the south, little to support the picture of a religious community "providing the spiritual leadership for those resisting the French intrusion into Northumbria" (271). After 1083, Aird sees no radical break but rather continuity when Bishop William of St. Calais "reformed" the community, changing the old idiosyncratic *Haliwerfolc* into a community of reformed Benedictines, an event that forms the climax of Symeon of Durham's *Libellus de exordio et procurso istius, hoc est Dunelmensis ecclesie*. He questions whether the fact of reform proves the need for reform and offers the possibility that the congregation welcomed reform. Aird defuses the usual ethnic bomb by pointing out that the problems between the overwhelmingly English monks and their Franco-

phone bishop were not based on ethnic identity issues, but represent the tensions between the monks and the clever bishops with whom they lived. Lastly Aird emphasizes the importance of the Scots to Durham's history, since through the reigns of the Norman kings, it was debatable whether the North would become part of a kingdom of the Scots or of the southern English. This study is fair at the same time it is provocative, a rare combination, and its conclusions are sure to shape the way historians approach not just the Community of St. Cuthbert, but also Northern history in general for some time to come.

Emma Cownie, in her "Conquest, Lordship and Religious Patronage in the Sussex Rapes, 1066–1135," *Sussex Archaeol. Collections* 136 (1998), 111–22, argues that the subtenants of Sussex, a peculiar county which had been devastated by the conquest and denuded of its nobility by the "killing-field" of Hastings, were tied to the new magnate lords of their Rapes and yet not limited in their religious horizons to their Rape or manor. Partly this was because of the peculiar nature of Sussex Rapes, each having one lord who was a tenant-in-chief, a major baron and player on the kingdom's field. So in Sussex at least, Stenton's honorial world is a model that explains little since there is little that is self-contained about the actions and ambitions of the tenants of the lords of the Rapes of Lewes, Bramble, etc. This is seen especially clearly in the patronage given to religious houses by these subtenants.

Robert Stein explains the resemblance between his title, "The Trouble with Harold: the Ideological Context of the *Vita Haroldi*," *New Medieval Literatures* 2, ed. Rita Copeland, David Lawton, and Wendy Scase (Oxford, 1998), 181–204, and the title of Paul Strohm's 1996 *Speculum* article by pointing to a common source—Alfred Hitchcock's 1955 *The Trouble with Harry*; he says that "in the film, in the dynastic crisis studied by Strohm, and in post-Conquest historiography, a dead body takes on a spectral life as an imaginative entity and becomes a powerful engine for fiction-making; and in all three instances, fictions and their production become themselves the generators of real social relations" (181 note). A clever idea, but perhaps it is unwise to name Hitchcock as the shadow director of your research. The article consists of a series of readings of the texts concerning the death and disposal of King Harold: William of Poitiers' *Gesta Guillelmi*, the *Carmen de Hastingae proelio*, the *Waltham Chronicle*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum*, and the early-13th-century *Vita Haroldi*. The last, in contrast to the others, portrays Harold as a survivor of Hastings. These accounts are read by Stein for their hagiographical approach to Harold, his death, and the fate of his body. All the texts, Stein avers, "are united in their complicity with the contemporary array of power"—for Stein there is no reality concerning Harold recoverable from sifting these accounts. They are all merely representations of other things—much grander than the way a king died and what happened to his corpse. Stein sets the

Vita in its own context, considering the "complex ideological rapprochement between representation and disavowing conquest as a political act" (190), and focuses our attention on Ælred of Rievaulx's *Vita Edwardi*, Wace's *Roman de Rou*, and Gerald of Wales *Itinerarium Cambriae*, all of which mention Harold's death or the location of his body. These Angevin-age texts marry Henry II to Edward the Confessor and care less or not at all about resolving the issue of whether or not Harold died at Hastings, or where his body was buried—all of which were the major issues for the Anglo-Norman historians. The odd *Vita Haroldi*, describing King Harold's later wanderings after he survived Hastings, attacks the earlier tales as false. And why shouldn't it? Stein makes much of the anxiety of fabrication he sees in the *Vita's* author, but the article ends too soon and leaves readers wondering whether there is any support for Stein's readings and also why Stein cares so little about context itself. What Stein should have done was integrate his readings with the scholarly literature on King Harold, Hastings, the conquest, saints' lives, Angevins, the law, and other themes raised by the sources.

The same author's "Making History English: Cultural Identity and Historical Explanation in William of Malmesbury and Lazamon's *Brut*," *Text and Territory: Geographical Imagination in the European Middle Ages*, ed. Sylvia Tomasch and Sealy Gilles (Philadelphia, 1998), pp. 97–115, begins with some assumptions. Stein assumes that in 12th-century historical writing, "the Norman Conquest of the English marks a crisis of cultural identity, of the principles of legitimate sovereignty, and of historical explanation" (97). In extending his point about historical explanation, Stein makes the case that an increasingly complex political and social world forced historians to recognize the weaknesses of "conventional historiographical categories" and search for new ones. In Stein's world, reality drove historiography (98). These assumptions do not stand up to much scrutiny. It may have been the case that the Norman conquest created a crisis of identity—but much recent research has found otherwise, or at least has offered less stark appraisals. Even less secure is the assumption that 12th-century realities drove Anglo-Norman historical vision—this is especially a problem since the article devotes no energy to eliciting this "reality" from the sources, content to rest on a very tendentious portrait of postconquest relations found in the work of some scholars. Thus Stein's argument becomes circular, assuming a context to interpret the sources, and then having these sources affirm the assumed context. For instance, Stein says William of Malmesbury must "unavoidably" see the Normans "as imperial repressors of native English liberty"—I think this would be true only if William were a 17th-century historian and a firm opponent of the Stuart monarchy's prerogatives. No perspective in the twelfth century was unavoidable. The problems that lame Stein's analysis of William also trouble his analysis of Lazamon's *Brut*. Stein reads Lawman's account of the Saxon conquest of Britain as informed by "an even greater

discontinuity": the Norman Conquest. This is of course a sensible point to make. Stein offers in support, however, the list of changes Athelstan brought about near the end of the *Brut*: appointing law courts, parliament (accepting R. Allen's translation of "husting"), creating shires, forests for hunting, manor courts, hundreds, guilds, English-style churches, and naming the villages and people in English. Stein says "while [Lazamon] never names them, the Normans are fully present

in this passage, for the institutions listed here are in fact for the most part Norman rather than Saxon" (109). From what is known, only one—possibly manor courts—was principally Norman. The rest were English, as William of Malmesbury knew. Misconceptions, jargon, and lack of research into context combine to reduce the argument to a series of unpersuasive observations.

B.O'B., C.A.S.

7. Names

Several major books are included in this year's bibliography. *The Place Names of Cheshire*, V, sect. 2, Nottingham, 1997, by J. M. Dodgson (and A. Rumble) contains a section of Addenda and Corrigenda for *The Place-Names of Cheshire*, Parts I-V, an index for all of the names in the earlier volumes, "Linguistic Notes on the Place-Names of Cheshire," a short "Notes on the Distribution of Field-Name Elements," a long "Introduction to 'The Place-Names of Cheshire'" which is actually more of a summary of conclusions reached in the volumes, reprints of five of Dodgson's earlier articles, and an Appendix "The Environmental Background" by D. Kenyon dealing with environmental characteristics and settlement history in the country. In *The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Part I: The Borough of Leicester*, Nottingham, 1998, B. Cox presents the first EPNS survey of the toponomy of a major industrial city. The volume is unique and should serve as a model for later studies in its thoroughness. Cox discusses names for every conceivable aspect of the city including sections on "Nonconformist Chaples," "Civic Sanitation," "Recreation and Leisure Sites," "Gardens, Orchards and Nurseries," as well as more obvious categories of names. J. Schneider's *Field-Names of Four Bedfordshire Parishes: Tilsforth, Eggington, Hockleffe, Stanbridge*, Nottingham, 1997, is the third volume in the EPNS Field-Name Studies. While her lists of the field names in each parish seem complete, the earliest entries are recorded only from about 1200, and the majority are from dates much later than that. M. Townend's *English Place-Names in Skaldic Verse*, Nottingham, 1998, is the first volume in a series of monographs that are to be supplementary to the volumes of the Survey of English Place-Names and useful to county editors. Most of the book is a gazetteer of Old English place-names transmitted orally rather than scribally and preserved in Viking Age skaldic verse.

Each entry gives the place-name's source as well as the verses in which it appears (both in Old Norse and translated into Modern English) and a discussion of the actual or probable site. In "The Place-Names of Norfolk: a Danelaw Project in Progress" (*Namn och Bygd* 86, 105-17), J. Insley reviews *The Place-Names of Norfolk 1. The Place-Names of the City of Norwich* and *The Place-Names of Norfolk 2. The Hundreds of East and West Flegg, Happing and Tunstead*. Although he

identifies a few errors in the next to the last paragraph of his review, Insley has high praise for both volumes. In addition, *Names, Places and People: an Onomastic Miscellany in Memory of John McNeal Dodgson* edited by A. Rumble and A. Mills, Stamford, 1997, contains eighteen articles reviewed below.

There are many articles dealing with the etymology of individual place-names. In "Stallingborough in Lincolnshire" (*N&Q* 45, 286-88), C. Hough proposes that the first element of the place-name in the title comes from the genitive plural *stallinga* of an OE **stalling* "young tree" and that the whole place-name means "fortification by the young trees." In "The Field-Name *Palmerwang*" (*N&Q* 45, 31), she suggests that the first element of this field-name from a charter recording a land grant at Barnston in Nottinghamshire is the first recorded reference to *palmer* meaning "destructive hairy caterpillar" and that the place-name means "a piece of land infested by caterpillars." In "Place-Name Evidence for Old English Bird-Names" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 60-76), she suggests that OE *bēmere*, the first element of Bemerton in Wiltshire and other place-names, probably refers to the bittern, that OE *pipere*, the first element in *Peppering* in Sussex and other place-names, probably refers to a waterbird like a sandpiper, and that OE *hearpe*, the first element of place-names like *Harpley*, in Norfolk and other place-names, probably reflects the common term used by the folk to refer to a nightingale. In "The Place-Name Ousden" (*SN* 70, 149-52), she argues, against conventional wisdom, that the first element in *Ousden* in Suffolk is from a non-attested personal-name OE* *Ūf* rather than the attested OE *ūf* "owl," so the name is more likely to mean "Ūf's valley" than to mean "owl valley." In "The Place-Name *Satterleigh*" (*NM* 99, 173-75), she suggests that an Old English plant-name, the antecedent of ME *seter* denoting plants of the genus *Helleborus*, is more plausible than the often-suggested OE *setere* "robber" as the source for the first element in *Satterleigh* in Devon. In "The Hill-Name Haldon" (*Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 38, 23-28), she considers the source of the first element in *Haldon* not likely to be OE *hagol* "hail" and suggests three alternatives. The first is a combination of OE *haga* "a haw, the fruit of the hawthorne" plus OE *lēab* "clearing;" the second is a person-name OE* *Hægel*; the third is a diminutive form OE* *hagel* "a small enclosure" from OE (*ge*) *hæg* "a fence, an

7. NAMES

enclosure.”

In “Harby—a Place-Name Complex in the Danelaw” (*SN* 70, 9–23), J. Insley argues that the place-name Harby in Leicestershire and Nottinghamshire and the lost Derbyshire *Herdebi* contain OE *hierde*, *heorde* “a shepherd, a herdsman” as their first element rather than several Old Norse forms previously suggested. In “A Scandinavian Person Name in Wales,” *Names, Places and People*, pp. 182–85, he identifies the first element in the field-name *Witheresbiflet* in a deed from the mid-thirteenth century pertaining to *Ditbecot*, identified as *Discoed* in Radnorshire on the border with Herefordshire, as ON *Víðarr*, O Dan *Witbar* and rejects the Welsh name *Gwythyr* and OE *Witthere* on phonological grounds.

In “The Lancashire Place-Names Alkincoats and Heskin” (*Nomina* 21, 149–53), A. Breeze interprets the house-name *Alkincoats* as deriving from Brittonic* *alt* “hill, slope, cliff” and the equivalent of Welsh *coed* “wood” and meaning “slope of the wood.” Breeze also interprets the name of the small rural parish *Heskin* as deriving from the Cambric cognate of Old Welsh *hescenn* “sedge, rush” as *Ekwall* had said but identifies the *-in* in the name as a suffix which derives adjectives from noun bases. In “The Kent Place-Name Brenchley” (*Nomina* 21, 154–56), he suggests that the personal name as the first element *Brænci* is a Brittonic name first attested as Old Cornish *Brenci* and probably does not date from much before 1100. In “Four Devon Place-Names” (*Nomina* 21, 157–68), he derives the river-name *Clyst* from primitive Cornish **Clust* “ear; sea-inlet” equivalent to the fourteenth century Welsh *clust* “sea inlet; river reach,” interprets the first part of *Countisbury* as coming from a Celtic personal name including an element meaning “hound,” suggests that the river *Creedy* comes from Welsh *cryddu* “one of whose meanings could be “river of weak or limited flow,” and posits the source of the village-name *Croyde* as a cognate of Welsh *crud* “cradle.” In “The Celtic Place-Name *Loders*” (*Proc. of the Dorset Nat. Hist. And Archaeol. Soc.* 119–183), he suggests that the Dorset place-name *Loders* derives from the Welsh word *llo dre* meaning “site, place, spot, location” and refers to a pre-Old English settlement. In “The Name of the River *Teign*” (*Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 38, 101–03), he suggests that the river-name *Teign* comes from the Welsh *taen* which he says means “the sweeper, the scatterer” in this case rather than “the sprinkling” suggested by *Ekwall*.

In “The Hunting of the Snōr,” *Names, Places and People*, pp. 93–95, M. Delling proposes that the OE place-name element **snōr* from a root meaning “to twist” is the place-name element in *Snowen Hall* near Fordham, Norfolk and seven other place-names associated with hills. She suggests that *Rouncil* as a place-name may be a compound of *rūn* in the sense of “counsel” and *sele* “hill” in “The Etymology of *Rouncil*” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 105–06). However, in “The Origin of the Name *Rouncil*, Kenilworth, Warwickshire” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 99–104), G.

Hilton shows that *Rouncil* in *Rouncil Lane*, Kenilworth is derived from the lost settlement of *Rincele* and has no connection to the folk etymological “round hill.”

In “Mount Caburn” (*Sussex Past and Present* 85, 5), R. Coates points out that the origin of *Caburn* is Old English for “cold fort” with a modern <n> added, not Celtic as reported in the second edition of J. Glover’s *Sussex Place-Names*. He also speculates, in “Dumpsford Hundred” (*Sussex Past and Present* 86, 5 and 7), that this Chichester place-name’s first element might be OE *demend* “judge” and the name comes from OE **Demedesford* “ford of a/the ‘judge’ with the late OE loss of <n> in some middle syllables, but he proposes an OE **dēm* “judging” as more likely so that OE **Demes-ford* would mean “ford of the judging.” In “Liscard and Irish Names in Northern Wirral” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 23–26), he accepts Dodgson’s meaning for the place-name *Liscard* in Cheshire but derives it from Old Irish/Middle Irish *lios na carraige* rather than Primitive Welsh. Coates notes that *Liscard* is about five miles from *Irby* whose Scandinavian name means “Irishman’s (-men’s) farm” and that other Woodchurch parish names *Noctorum* and *Arrow* may also be of Old Irish origin and date from the early tenth century. In “Merrow and Some Related Brittonic Matters in Surrey” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 16–22), he derives the place-name *Merrow* from Latin *marga* “marl” which he says Celtic speakers and Celtic speakers of Latin would have had in their vocabulary. Coates suggests that the word had a broader meaning in the past than it does now, and he cites Brittonic names of or adjacent to the Surrey towns as support for the Celtic origin of the name although from an originally Latin source. In “A Surviving Latin Place-Name in Sussex: *Firle*” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 5–15), he postulates that the place-name *Firle* is to be derived from Latin *ferālia* “having the character of wild animals.” Coates adds that *Firle* referred to a much larger area in the past than just the present parish of West *Firle*.

In “Three Difficult English Place-Names Revisited” *Names, Places and People*, pp. 241–46, A. D. Mills suggests that the first element of *Skilgate* in Somerset is an OE **sci(e)lig*, **scylig* “stoney, shaly,” suggests tentatively that the first element of *Wellesbourne* in Warwickshire is the Anglian *wēl* “the stream of the pool,” and the first element of *Havenstreet* on the Isle of Wight is from the surname or family name of one Richard le Hethene mentioned in a grant c. 1240. In “The Dee at Chester and Aberdeen: Thoughts on Rivers and Divinities” *Names, Places and People*, pp. 247–53, W. Nicolaisen accepts the common etymology of the river-name *Dee* as coming from Celtic *Dēva* “goddess” in both rivers in the title and other rivers in the formerly Celtic continental Europe; however, he speculates that the names reflected aquatic cults’ identification of the river and the goddess being one, rather than the river being named for the goddess.

Several essays this year attempt to locate place-names geographically. In “The Identification and Location of *Cellingc*”

(*Journal of the Research Institution of Cornwall* 3.1, 39–47), I. S. Maxwell concludes, admittedly with little place-name evidence, that the Saxon manor of *Cæling* or *Caellwic* in Cornwall is the Domesday manor of *Trigel* which is the modern Tregear in Garrans parish. In “Whitby Revisited: Bede’s Explanation of *Streanaeshalch*” (*Nomina* 21, 133–48), T. Styles suggests that Bede’s identification of *Streanaeshalch* with the Synod of Whitby is an exegetical interpretation of the name rather than an etymological one and that Bede may be interpreting *strēones-halch* as “*halch* of the meeting or discussion” which refers to the synod of 664. B. Cox shows, in “Baumber in Lindsey” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 27–32), that *Baumber* fits in perfectly with the defensive system of burh sites that he had identified earlier for Lindsey in Lincolnshire and comes from an OE **Bad(d)anburh* “Bad(d)((unsure))a’s stronghold” where *Bad(d)((unsure))a* was a legendary hero. Cox also identifies another probable **Bad(d)((unsure))anburh* in northern Leicestershire as a lost eorð-burh “fortification built of earth” near Arbour. In “Æthelflæd’s Fortification of *Weardburh*” (*N&Q* 45, 8–12), R. Coates argues convincingly that two place-names in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Weardbyrig* and *Westbyrig*, refer to *Gwespyr* in Llanasa in Flintshire in north-east Wales. The *Weardburh* in the title refers to a reference in version C of the *Chronicle* for 915 to *Weardburh*. Coates also, in “A Further Snippet of Evidence for Brunanburh = *Bromborough*” (*N&Q* 45, 288–89), supports Dodgson’s identification of Brunanburh as *Bromborough* in Chester by suggesting that the alternate names for the battlefield used by Simeon of Durham, *Weondune* and *Wendune*, come from a place-name **Wē-land* whose first element derives from OE *wēoh* “sacred” and refer to Rice Wood which was about 900 meters south-eastward of the earthworks identified by Dodgson as the burh that gave *Bromborough* its name. In “Wigingamere” *Names, Places and People*, pp. 383–89, J. M. Dodgson identifies the OE element **wingas* in the place-name *Wigingamere*, the site of the lost burh, and says the name could be interpreted as “the lake of the *Wingas*,” however, *Wingas* probably refers to “persons associated with a heathen shrine or idol” rather than “people associated with war, strife, or a warrior.” Dodgson acknowledges J. Haslam’s identification of *Wigingamere* as Newport, Essex as possible but suggests that Old Linslade is a more likely location of *Wigingamere*. In “The Location of the Burh of *Wigingamere*—A Reappraisal” *Names, Places and Places*, pp. 111–30, J. Haslam concurs with Dodgson’s identification of the burh of *Wigingamere* as Old Linslade three miles northeast of Wing on the river Ouzel rather than Haslam’s earlier identification of the site as Newport in north Essex. In “The Battle of ‘Acleah’: A Linguist’s Reflection on Annals 851 and 871 of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*,” *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: A Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*, Berlin and New York, 1997, pp. 605–13, R. Coates identifies the *Acleah* in the two *Chronicle* entries in the title as *Oakley* in Hampshire with its *East Oakley*, *West*

Oakley, and *North Oakley*.

Many works this year deal with the meanings of place-name elements. In “Old English **Coppa*” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 30, 53–59), C. Hough presents a strong argument that the first element of thirteen place-names and charter spellings such as *Copford* in Essex is not an unattested personal name **Coppa* but an unattested OE **coppe* “a general name for an insect.” In “Das altenglische Toponym *bula* und die Etymologie von ne, bull ‘Bulle, Stier’” (*BN* 33, 365–86), K. Dietz concludes that the place-names and field-names with OE *bula* show that the name represents an appellative as well as a personal name. In “OE *brūn* in *Place-Names*” (*ES* 79, 512–21), C. Hough suggests that instead of the OE *brūn* adjective as an element in place-names, there was also an OE **brūn* noun “a pig” that serves as a place-name element since the substantive use of an adjective to refer to a brown animal began during the Old English period. In “Places Named ‘Anstey’: A Gazetteer” (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Names Soc.* 30, 83–98), M. Atkin provides geographic and historical information concerning the fourteen *Ansty*-names in England from OE *anstig* (or *ānstig*) which she identifies as being on tracks or ridgeways held primarily by men responsible for maintaining law and order in these areas and located primarily on or close to county or hundred boundaries. She suggests that these places may have been muster points for horsemen responsible for keeping peace. In “Re-examining the Influence of Scandinavian on English: the Case of *ditch/dike*,” *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, pp. 561–69, H. Ramisch says that an OE *dike* existed prior to the Treaty of Wedmore and that the word was not just an Old Norse borrowing into Old English. In “‘Another Seaborough’, ‘The Other Dinnaton’: Some Manorial Affixes in Domesday Book,” *Names, Places and People*, F. Thorn concludes that the Domesday Book identifications using *aluns* or *alter* which traditionally were thought to be separate settlements or at least precursors to differentiated villages do not necessarily refer to such in 1086 and may only indicate that division had occurred in a once-unified estate. In “Old English *halb*, ‘Slightly Raised Ground Isolated by Marsh’,” *Names, Places and People*, pp. 330–44, P. Styles uses the modern North Frisian *hallig* “low-lying land liable to flooding” to support M. Gelling’s interpretation of the OE *halb* as a place-name element meaning “slightly raised ground isolated by a marsh, dry ground in marsh.” A. Bammesberger, in *Dollnstein* und altenglisch *Dull-*“ (*BN* 33, 165–69) derives the Old English place-name element *Dull-* from Gmc **dull* from an earlier Gmc *dul-n-*.

M. Jacobson’s *Wells, Meres, and Pools: Hydronymic Terms in Anglo-Saxon Landscape*, Uppsala, 1997 is a doctoral dissertation that discusses twenty-one different hydronymic place-name elements but focuses primarily on OE *sæ*, *pōl*, **pull*/*pyll*, *mere*, and *wella* in a rather detailed fashion. He argues that OE *sæ* was used to describe marshy or clayey lakes, that OE *pōl* denoted deep or wide parts of a stream, that *mere* denoted stockpounds in the uplands after nucleated villages were

7. NAMES

formed, and that *wella* was frequently used for a spring in such nucleated villages. M. Cedarlöf's *The Element -stōw in the History of English*, Uppsala, 1998 is a doctoral dissertation that discusses *-stōw* in Old English appellative compounds in place-names and in Old English charters. One noteworthy discovery is the use of *-stōw* in place-names where the element has the restricted meaning of "place of a church." The book also contains a discussion of cognate place-name elements such as OE *stede*, *stapol*, and *stoc* and a history of *-stōw* as a verb root in English. In "Some East Anglian Dialect Words in the Light of Historical Topography," *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, pp. 320–25, K. Sandred identifies Norfolk place-name elements *lay*, *ley*; *slea*, *slay*, *sleght*, *slegt*; *smea*, *sme*, *smeeth*; and *dale*, *deal* which may reflect Scandinavian influence and thus relate to the question of the number of Viking settlers in that part of England. In "Generic-Element Variation, with Special Reference to Eastern Scotland" (*Nomina* 20, 5–22), S. Taylor suggests that variation between place-name generics such as *pett* and *baile* in the kingdom of Alba occurred when people still understood the meanings of the elements involved, such as *baile* referring to an actual habitation and *pett* referring to a full estate on which there might be habitations from the ninth to the eleventh century. Substitution of one element for the other occurred after their specific meanings were no longer understood and was complete in most of the lowland areas by 1400. In "Scandinavians in Cheshire: a Reassessment of the Onomastic Evidence," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 77–92, G. Fellows-Jensen generally concurs with J. Dodgson's description of Scandinavian settlement in Cheshire except for Dodgson's identification of the place-name *bulm* as an old Danish element rather than a dialect development in south-east Lancashire and north-east Cheshire.

Several essays this year deal with phonology in place-names. In "Elves' and Old English Proper Names," *From Runes to Romance: A Festschrift for Gunnar Persson*, Umeå, 1997, pp. 21–31, F. Colman reiterates that the phonological "behavior" of common words and of those same words as personal names differs and uses the <ælf> spelling of *Ælfred* as an example where the regular sound changes did not occur in a proper name. In "What to Call a Name? Problems of 'Head-Forms' for Old English Personal Names," *Language History and Linguistic Modelling*, pp. 615–27, he argues that variation in spelling in Old English personal names suggests phonological and perhaps morphological relevance not only to onomastics, but possibly to the entire Old English language even though name-elements often do develop differently from the corresponding common words. Colman concludes that the selection of one form as the "head-form" over alternative forms in a catalogue or glossary will be determined by the intended audience and the purpose of the glossary or edition. In "Æle-/Ele- as a Name-Form on Coins," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 326–29, V. Smart suggests that the *ele-* or *Ele-* element formed on coins in Chester, Gloucester,

and Hereford is a variant of *æthel/ægel* where the /ð/ was lost in pronunciation before the end of the Anglo-Saxon era. In "Middle English *utete*," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 378–82, V. Watts shows convincingly that the word *utete* in line 1754 of *The Owl and the Nightingale* is the result of a scribe reading the <u> representing the voiced [v] for the initial [f] in Southern and Southwestern dialects as if it were the vowel <u> and amending the text. The word is actually to be derived from the Old English feminine *ōn*-stem noun *flēote* rather than the more common masculine *a*-stem *flēot*. In "The Voicing of Initial Fricatives Revisited," *Names, Places and People*, G. Kristensson concludes that the voicing of initial fricatives occurred in the area that remained in Alfred's possession but was retarded by the Scandinavian influence within the Danelaw.

Three essays focus on the status of Mercia during the time of the heptarchy. In "The Danish Element in the Minor and Field-Names of Yarborough Wapentake, Lincolnshire," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 19–25, K. Cameron provides evidence that the Danish settlement of this part of East Mercia was quite large by listing the Old Norse place-name elements that occur in the thirty-six parishes, the minor and field-names with Old Norse elements in pre-1500 documents, and a list of the Scandinavian personal names occurring as the first element in forms from medieval documents. In "The Land Between Ribble and Mersey' in the Early Tenth Century," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 8–18, M. Atkin argues that place-name evidence shows that the hundreds of West Derby and Leyland in south Lancashire were under the control of Mercia at the beginning of the tenth century under the rule of Æthelflæd, daughter of King Alfred. In "Old English Place-Name Elements in Domesday Flintshire," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 269–78, H. Owen uses the idea of a Mercian "plantation" to explain the fact that Flintshire Domesday place-names had a high proportion of Old English rather than Welsh names, that *tūn* was unusually frequent as an element, and that personal name compounds were unusually common. Owen suggests that the place-names were assigned by Mercian administrators as part of an imposed administrative system and that the administrators gave the places the name with *theyns'* names as the first element to simplify tax-gathering records.

Grammatical analyses are used to explain some name forms. In "Reading a Kentish Charter," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 320–25, K. Sandred suggests that the genitive form *Earhides* with the masculine or neuter inflection on the OE feminine noun *ēarbyð* should be explained as a change of inflection with the use of the word in a new toponymic context such as a field-name or a habitative name. In "The Plural of Singular *ing*: an Alternative Application of Old English *-ingas*," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 26–49, R. Coates concludes that the place-names *Worting*, *Saling*, *Horning*, *Steyning*, and *Haslingfield* are probable OE "plural-of-singular" *ing* names.

Field name studies also occur in the year's bibliography. In "Conservation and Innovation in the Toponymy of a West Riding Township" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Names Soc.* 30, 107-53), H. Daniels deals with field-names and street-names although the street-names are all from the Modern English period and the field-names date back no farther than 1323, with most of them much later. Although Old English and Middle English etymologies are provided, the work will be of little interest to Old English scholars. In "The Longevity of Field-Names: a Case Study of Sherington" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 38, 163-74), A. Baines cites A. C. Chibnall's *Sherington: Fiefs and Fields of a Buckinghamshire Village* to support his contention that one can calculate the rate of change of field-names on the "half-life of the population" of field-names if one has complete lists of names of a parish at "intervals throughout history" if one can be sure that the names on any lists refer to the same fields as those on earlier lists. In "Souterscales—A Furness Abbey Estate in Lonsdale," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 131-43, M. Higham provides an "identification and perambulation" of the pasture of Souterscales in Yorkshire belonging to Furness Abbey in Lancashire as identified in Alice de Stavelay's 1251 confirmatory grant to the Cistercians.

Several essays have their primary focus on personal names. In "Cardinal Berard, Weston Beggard, and a Bromfield Writ of the Confessor" (*N&Q* 45, 288), A. Breeze adds to his earlier suggestion that "Begard Bissop" referred to in the 1060-1 writ of Edward the Confessor was indeed *Cardinal Berard* of Palestrina who may have visited England as a papal legate in the winter of 1060-1 by noting the village of Weston Beggard about five miles east of Hereford where *Beggard* is a family name of a prominent local family and suggesting that a Hereford scribe of about 1300 copying the Bromfield Writ inadvertently wrote *Begard* for *Berard* because of his familiarity with the first name. In "Stockdill/Stockdale, the IGI, Telephone Directories and Discs" (*Jnl of One-Name Stud.* 6, 98-99), R. Stockdill concludes from examination of CD-ROM phone discs that the name *Stockdale*, meaning "tree-stump valley," and its variants such as *Stockhill*, *Stogdill*, and *Stogdale* originated in Yorkshire on the basis of the personal-names on the phone discs covering the area of the old county boundaries rather than originating in both Yorkshire and Cumberland as stated in official name dictionaries. M. Townend, in "*Ella*: An Old English Name in Old Norse Poetry" (*Nomina* 20, 23-35), lists the nine Old English personal names that appear in skaldic poetry for a total of thirty occurrences including the ten occurrences of *Ella* whom Townend identifies as *Ælla* who was king of Northumbria at one time and who was famous among the Scandinavians rather than among the Anglo-Saxons. In "Penda's Footprint? Place-Names Containing Personal Names Associated with those Early Mercian Kings" (*Nomina* 21, 29-62), G. Jones discusses the place-names in western England supposedly containing as an element the personal names of King *Penda*, his father

Pypba, his grandfather *Creoda*, and his son *Peada*. He lists the corpus of place-names, gives a geographically-arranged list of these place-names, and also gives the surviving forms of the personal names. In "Ew (Eu? Yew?) Know It Makes Sense" (*Sussex Past and Present* 85, 6-7), H. Gordon-Williams proposes that the first element in Ewhurst parish in Sussex comes from the *Eu* family since Robert, Count of Eu, was awarded the territory including the parish after the Norman Conquest.

In "Hey, Mac! The Name *Maccus*, Tenth to Fifteenth Centuries" (*Nomina* 20, 67-94), D. Thornton speculates that the common use of the patronymic-element *mac* led the Hiberno-Scandinavians who had lost familiarity with Gaelic to coin the name *Maccus* where the *-us* was the Latin case ending which lost its grammatical function. In an appendix to Thornton's article, "*Talkarn Mackus*" (*Nomina* 20, 95-98), O. J. Padel discusses the surname *Osmund Talkarn Mackus* cited by Thornton from the Close Roll of 1286. Padel suggests that *Mackus* is derived from the name of a known Hiberno-Scandinavian tenant of the property formerly owned by St. Petrock's monastery in Cornwall. A. Breeze, in "The Irish Nickname of Sitric Caoch (d. 927) of York" (*Saga-Book of the Viking Soc.* 25.1, 86-87), feels that the epithet *caoch* should be interpreted as "one-eyed" rather than "squinting," "dim-sighted," or "blind."

Two essays deal with Old European sources. In "A New Explanation for the Name of London" (*Trans. of the Philol. Soc.* 96, 203-209), R. Coates proposes a late British **Lōnidonjon* deriving from a Celticized river-name from an Old European **Plowonidā* as the ultimate source of the place-name *London*. In "Remarks on Some British Place Names," *Interdigitations: Essays for Irmengard Rauch*, New York, pp. 25-62, T. Vennemann suggests that British place-names like *Arundel* reflect an "Old European" or Vasconic origin (Basque being the only extant language from that family) and that British place-names like *The Solent* reflect an "Atlantic" or Hamito-Semitic, specifically Semitic, origin (Pictish being the last surviving member of the Atlantic languages).

Several essays this year deal with larger issues than individual names or individual elements. In "The Survival of Pre-Conquest Place-Names (Mostly Minor) in Worcestershire," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 166-81, D. Hooke surveys the survival of minor names found primarily in boundary-clauses in pre-Conquest charters in Worcestershire and concludes that a surprisingly large number have survived although they have often been altered so that they bear little resemblance to their original form or meaning. In "Hundred Meeting-Places in the Cambridge Region," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 195-240, A. Meaney concludes that the hundred meeting-places are places where one might expect open-air assemblies from the pagan period onward where people's paths crossed such as at fords, centers of pagan worship, or sites where a tribe would assemble. She includes a list of the hundred meeting-places in the Cambridge region at the end of her essay. In "Roads and Romans in South-East Lindsey: The

8. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

Place-Name Evidence," *Names, Places and People*, pp. 254–68, A. Owen uses place-name evidence to show that a roughly parallel series of roads can be identified as reflecting an old Roman network of roads with the smaller roads coming at nearly right angles off the major roads which run NNW.

In "Joining the Dots: a Methodology for Identifying the English in Domesday Book," *Family Trees and the Roots of Politics*, Woodbridge and Rochester, pp. 69–87, C. Lewis proposes a systematic method of identification of all of Edward the Confessor's theyns and freemen mentioned in Domesday Book by examining bynames, the rarity of the name, the succession of estates after 1066, groupings of related personal names, and the size of the estate attached to a personal name. In "The Manor in Domesday Buckinghamshire: I" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 38, 125–38), K. Bailey ascertains that nearly three-fifths of Buckinghamshire holdings were identified as manors in 1086 either by an *m* for *manerium*, by the phrase *pro uno manerio*, or by statements like *se defendit pro*... Other categories include names which are said to have been held as manors in 1066 or a place simply identified as *terra*.

Some works in progress are reported on. In "The Dialects of Middle English," *Language History and Linguistic Modelling: a Festschrift for Jacek Fisiak on His 60th Birthday*, Berlin and New York, 1997, pp. 655–64, G. Kristensson summarizes the results of the not-yet-finished *A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290–1350* under the direction of O. Arngart and provides a map showing the revised dialect boundaries. One change is that the East Midland dialect does not stretch as far south as Moore-Meech-Whitehall had indicated. In "Essex Place-Name Project" (*Essex Archaeol. and Hist. News* 128, 3–4), J. Kemble reports that over 7,000 Essex place-names have

been recorded and the Tithe (or Enclosure) Place-Names Record for 29 parishes has been completed, with work being done in over 140 parishes.

In "Computers in Place-Name Teaching: the English Place-Name Database" (*Lit. and Ling. Computing* 13, 29–35), C. Hough explains how her second- and third-year students use the database of English place-names being compiled at the University of Nottingham in their second semester of the two-semester "English Place-Names" medieval option for their own research.

She finds it a good teaching tool despite computing system crashes and the fact that the database does not contain all the known information.

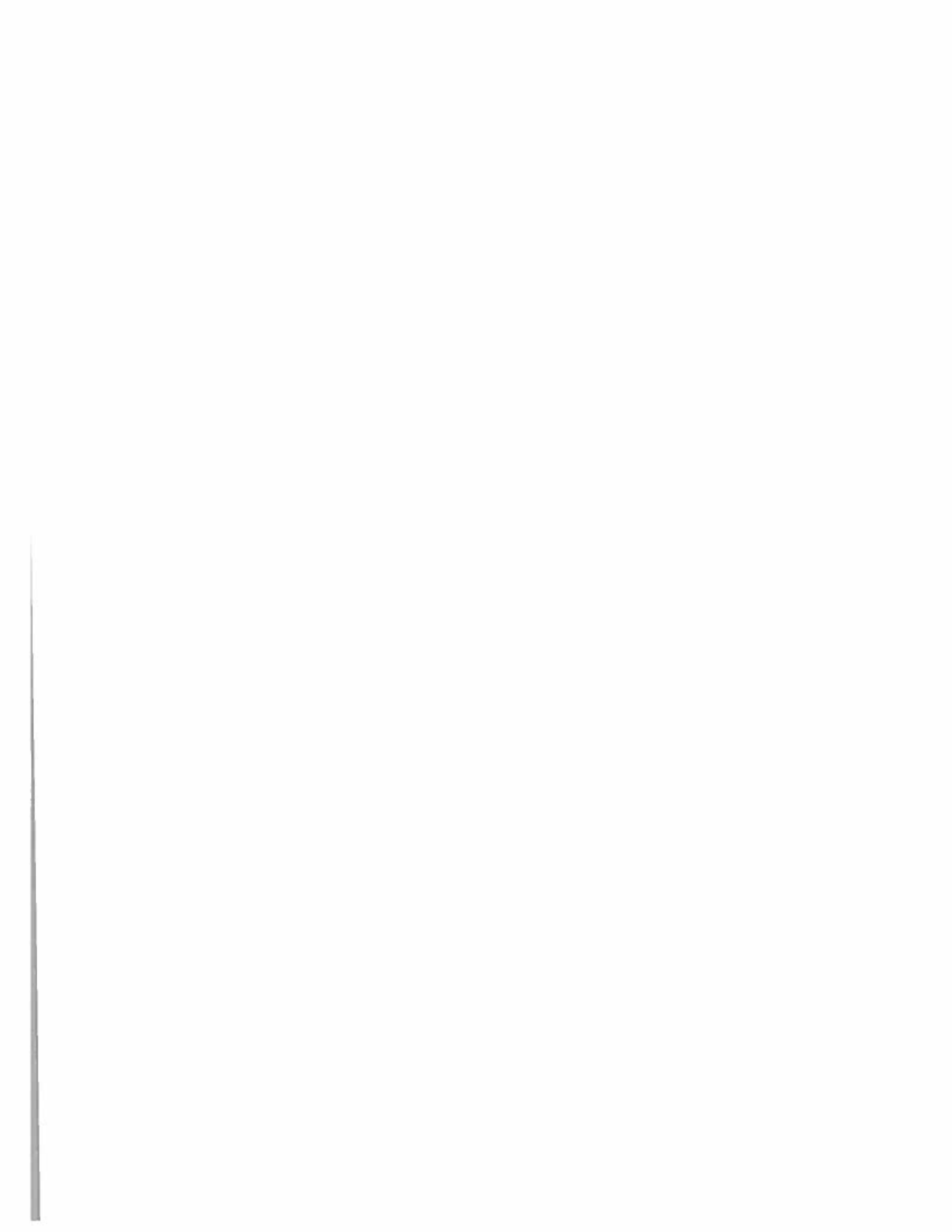
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Works not seen:

- [Anon.] *A Gazetteer of Dorset Place-Names: a Supplement*, Dorchester: Dorset Environmental Records Centre, 1998. 212 pp.
- Breeze, Andrew. "The Name of Sock Dennis and Old Sock, near Yeovil." *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 34 (1998), 248–50.
- _____. "The Name of the River Trusham, near Exeter." *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 38 (1998), 74–76.
- Coates, Richard. "Worgred, First Abbott of Glastonbury." *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 34 (1998), 175–78.
- Glover, Judith. *Sussex Place-Names: Their Origins and Meanings*. Newbury, Berks: Countryside Books, 1997. 160 pp.
- Mills, A. D. *Oxford Dictionary of English Place-Names*. 2nd ed. Oxford and New York: Oxford Univ. Press. xxxi, 411 pp.
- Robertson, Barbara. "Evercy: a Lost Place-Name in Wellow." *Notes and Queries for Somerset and Dorset* 34 (1998), 222–24.
- Whittock, Martyn. *Wiltshire Place-Names: Their Origins and Meanings*. Newbury, Berks: Countryside Books, 1997, 160 pp.

8. Archaeology and Numismatics

[Reviewing of works on archaeology and numismatics will resume with next year's issue.]



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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.

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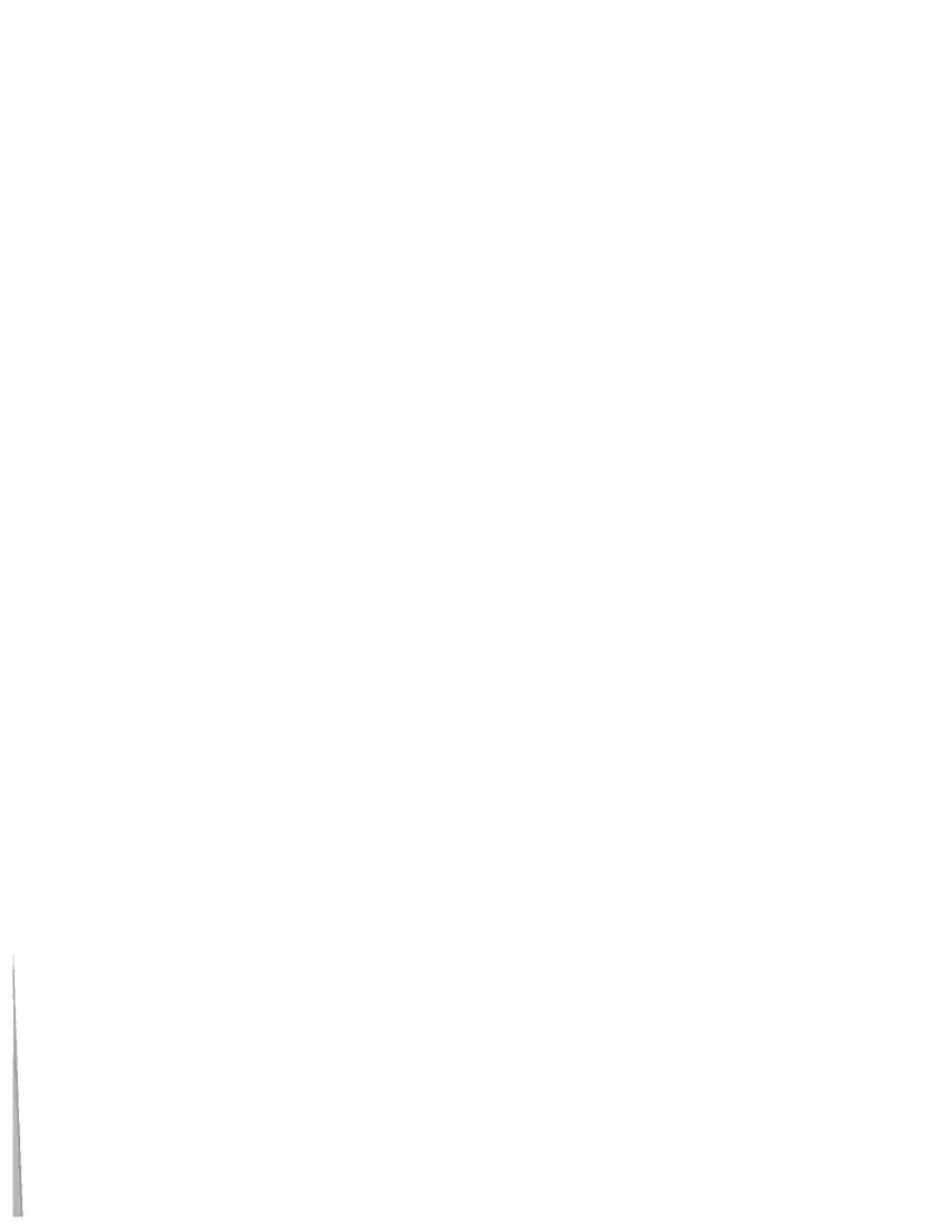
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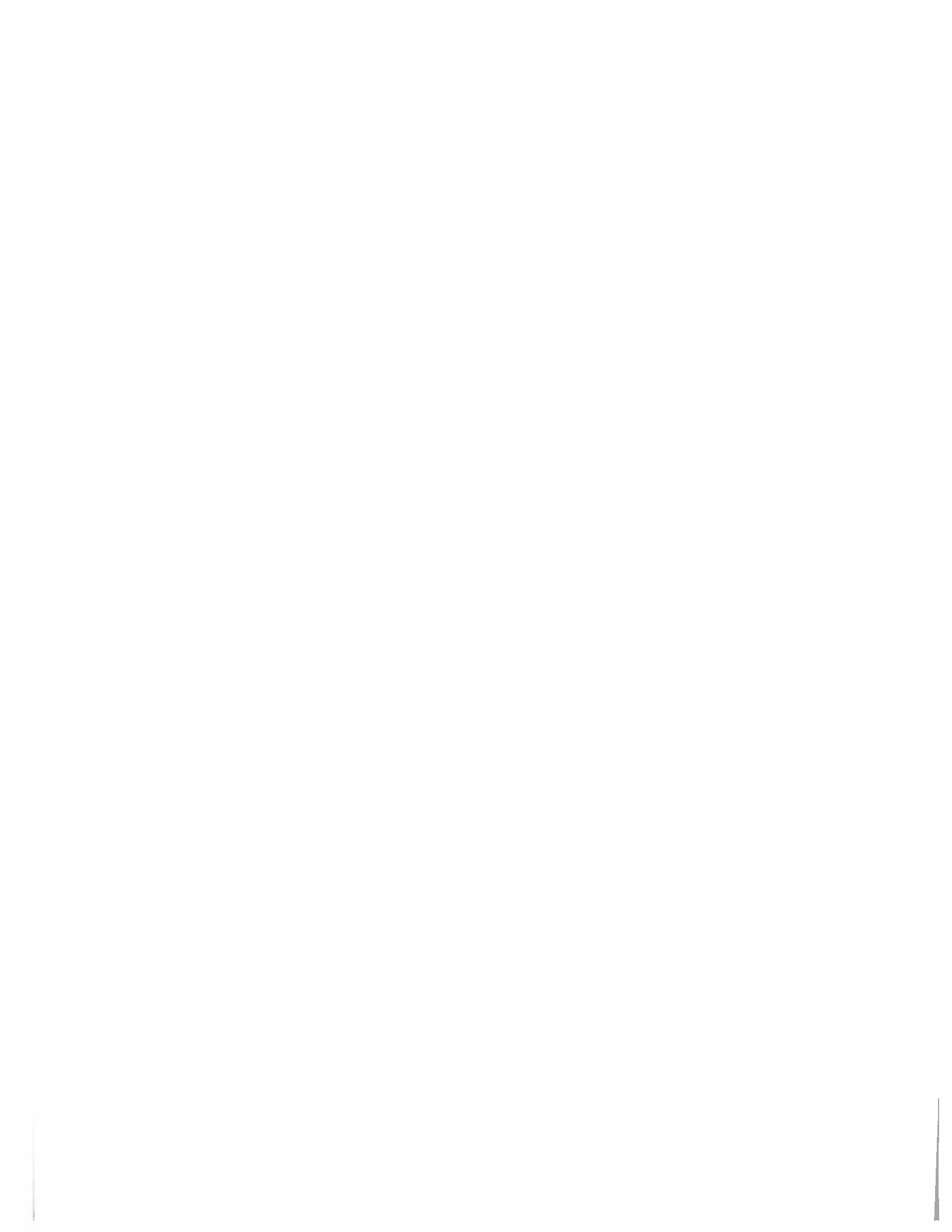
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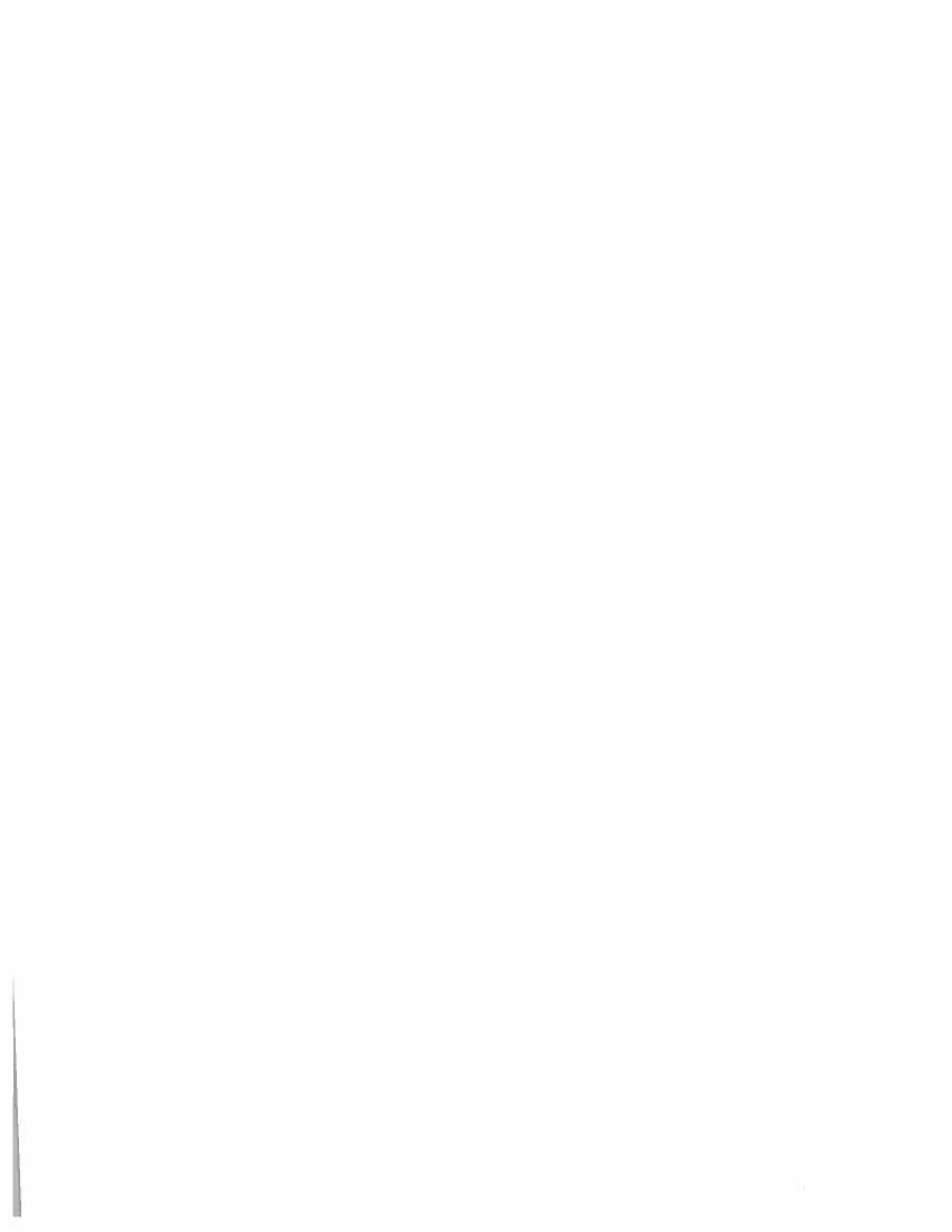
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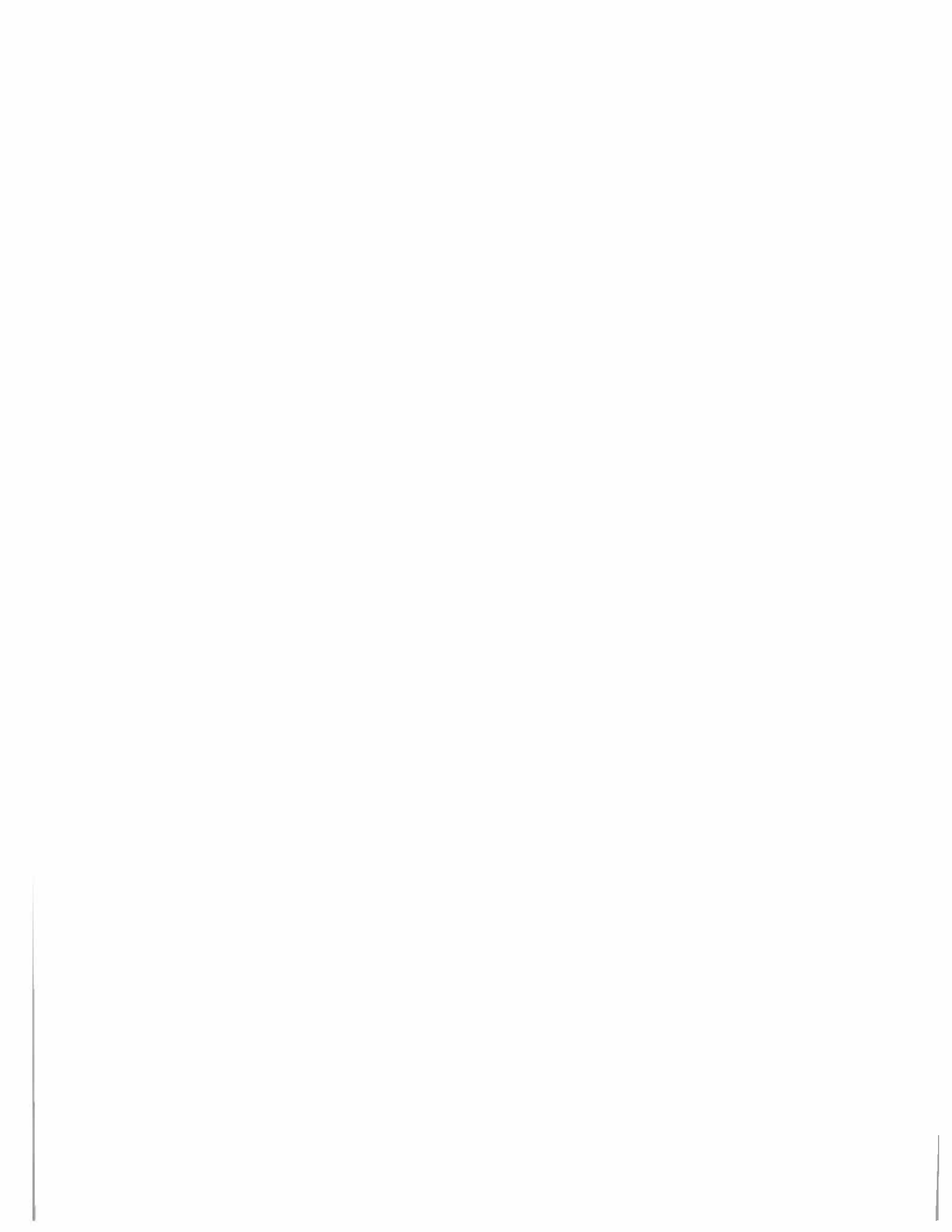
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