OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

1999

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Contents

Once again this year we must say several farewells. After many years of faithful service, Mary Richards of the University of Delaware is retiring as lead reviewer for Manuscripts and Illuminations; all readers will miss her clear and judicious contributions. Theodore H. Leinbaugh of the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, who has long graced these pages as Prose reviewer, has also left the Year's Work team. Farewell, finally, to Susan E. Deskis, who has reviewed *Beowulf* scholarship for the past two years and before that labored in the Individual Poems section.

We note one change of assignment and several arrivals. Nicole Guenther Discenza, who has been reviewing Individual Poems, has now taken over Prose. Kurt Goblirsch of the University of South Carolina is joining Kathleen Turner in Language. Eileen Joy of Southern Illinois University is taking Professor Discenza's place in Individual Poems. Lisi Oliver of Louisiana State University is joining Benjamin Withers in Manuscripts and Illumination. Mary Frances Giandrea of George Mason University is joining the History team. Finally, Elizabeth Coatsworth of Manchester Metropolitan University and Anna Gannon of the British Museum have taken over Archaeology and Numismatics.

We happily point out to readers that the History section, for which we have often apologized, is now nearly up to date. For this we must thank the tireless workers in that broad area: Bruce O'Brien, Mary Frances Giandrea and Christopher Snyder. The troubled Archeology and Numismatics section has now made a comeback thanks to Elizabeth Coatsworth and Anna Gannon; the unexpected defection of a third reviewer has unfortunately rendered that section shorter than we hoped. It is our wish that it will be brought up to strength next year.

This year is the last for the present editors of the Year's Work. We would like to thank our reviewers for their wise and (usually) timely contributions and their clean copy. We would like to thank our editor, our publisher, and, not least, our readers for their patience. Next year's issue of the Year's Work will be in the capable hands of Daniel Donoghue of Harvard University.

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, occasionally adding items from the previous year's list of "Works not seen." Dissertations, redactions, summaries, and popular works are occasionally omitted, and their absence in no way consitutes negative judgment. Comments and suggestions, as well as review copies of articles and books, may be sent to Professor Daniel Donoghue, Harvard University, Department of English and American Language and Literature, Barker Center, 12 Quincy Street, Cambridge, MA 02138.

1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

a. History of Anglo-Saxon Studies

John William Houghton's essay, "St. Bede among the Controversialists: A Survey" (*Amer. Benedictine Rev.* 50: 397–422), serves as an admirable starting point for this section on the history of our discipline since his essay underscores the enduring and compelling lure of the field. In his sweeping essay, Houghton reviews the uses (and misuses) of the works of the Venerable Bede by English and continental reformers and counter-reformers. Divided into two sections, Houghton's essay first reviews the period before 1800, focusing primarily on the enterprise of Matthew Parker and his circle in the sixteenth century and on that of Henry Spelman and Abraham Wheeloc in the seventeenth. Although the eighteenth century witnessed the advent of literary and philological interest in Anglo-Saxon texts, Houghton demonstrates that Bede was not immune from religious polemical (mis)use in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. Houghton closes his essay with a consideration of why Bede was so persistently used, more so than other Anglo-Saxon authors, in these controversies. He concludes that Bede's status as a doctor of the church (a title associated with him as early as the twelfth cen-

tury) granted him an authority unparalleled among Anglo-Saxon churchmen. Furthermore, Houghton points out the "universal" accessibility of Bede's spirituality (due in no small measure to the fact he wrote in Latin) meant that he did not become the exclusive property of linguists.

Five works (one a prodigious tome on Germanic studies in the Netherlands, another a collection of essays on the life and work of the scholar Franciscus Junius—reviewed below under "Essay Collections") this year are devoted to the contributions to our field by Dutch scholars. Kees Dekker's volume, *The Origins of Old Germanic Studies in the Low Countries* (Brill's Stud. in Intellectual Hist. 92. Leiden, Boston, and Koln: Brill, 1999), focuses on the work of one particular Dutch scholar, Jan van Vliet (1622–1666), as a means of establishing a framework in which to consider the broader topic of the study of Old Germanic languages in the Netherlands. Dekker begins his book with a chapter on the study of Old Germanic texts in the sixteenth century, followed by a selective biography of Van Vliet. Subsequent chapters describe and analyze Van Vliet's philological works and explore his use of source material. Two closing chapters relate the

work of Van Vliet to that of Franciscus Junius and frame the influence these two scholars had on succeeding generations of linguists, particularly in the eighteenth century. This impressive volume is rounded out by appendices which catalog Van Vliet's known correspondence and his printed works.

Stemming from her work at the University of Minnesota on a dictionary of etymology, Martha B. Mayou has produced an annotated list of the sources Franciscus Junius used in his *Etymologicum Anglicanum* ("The Sources of the *Etymologicum Anglicanum* (1743) by Franciscus Junius" *Dictionaries* 20: 90–150). Mayou's list presents a glimpse not only of the *modus operandi* of one of the most important Anglo-Saxonists of his day and but also of the state of philological and humanistics studies in the 17th century.

An entire issue of *LIAS* (number 25 for 1998) is devoted to the Dutch scholar Johannes de Laet. Two of the essays are reviewed here. In his essay, "The Correspondence of Johnannes de Laet (1581–1649) as a Mirror of His Life," Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. examines the life and work of the Dutch scholar through the lens of his correspondence (*LIAS* 25: 139–64). Although he admits that the correspondence "produces a rather incomplete image" (139), Bremmer produces a lively account of De Laet's life and the intellectual milieu of late-sixteenth and early-seventeenth century Leiden. We are left with a strong impression of De Laet as a man of wide intellectual scope whose interests ranged from Germanic and comparative philology to "geography, biology, medicine, theology, history, [and] contemporary politics" (162). De Laet's vigorous contacts included scholars, merchants, seamen, ecclesiasts, booksellers, many of whom lived in England, France, or Denmark. A concise accounting of De Laet's correspondents is presented in an appendix.

In his essay, "The Library of Johannes de Laet (1581–164)," Paul G. Hoftijzer attempts to gauge the size and composition of De Laet's library (*LIAS* 25: 201–16). Hoftijzer examines four principal bodies of evidence: catalogs of Leiden book sales and auctions; references to book collecting in De Laet's own books; references to book collecting in De Laet's correspondence; and most importantly, the printed catalog of the auction of De Laet's books shortly after his death. From these sources, Hoftijzer determines that De Laet's library was of "average size compared to other contemporary collections" (207). What is remarkable about De Laet's library, however, is the broad range of subjects and languages found among the titles. De Laet had books on subjects ranging from theology and medicine to geography and natural history. Able to read "Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Chaldaeic, Aethiopian," De Laet had numerous dictionaries and glossaries, in addition to books in modern languages such as French, Spanish, Italian, English, Dutch, and German (207–8). Above all, what emerges from Hoftijzer's essay is the portrait of a true "Renaissance" man, an academic scholar who is also an entrepreneur. As Hoftijzer remarks, "De Laet stands, one might say, at a crossroads of ancients and moderns" (216).

Mechthild Gretsch reappraises Elizabeth Elstob's life and scholarship in her two-part essay, "Elizabeth Elstob: A Scholar's Fight for Anglo-Saxon Studies" (*Anglia* 117: 163–200 and 481–524). What emerges from Gretsch's essay is a much clearer (and more rational) sense of the trajectory of the life and work of this pioneer of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. In Part I of her essay (pp. 163–200), Gretsch outlines the history of Anglo-Saxon studies in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and firmly places Elstob's intellectual development in the context of the principal scholarly concerns of the field. In her account of Elstob's life and work, Gretsch overturns some misconceptions about the deprivations of Elizabeth's early life in her uncle's house and stresses the role she played in assisting her brother William in his scholarly projects. Gretsch also describes in detail the works that Elstob published under her own name and the all-consuming project she never published, an edition of Aelfric's two series of *Catholic Homilies*. Part I concludes with a review of the intellectual milieu of the Anglo-Saxon circle of scholars centered at Oxford under the leadership of George Hickes. In Part II (pp. 481–524) of her essay, Gretsch surveys Elstob's scholarly methods (her editorial teachniques, translations and annontations, and her use of sources) by examining closely her edition of homily on St. Gregory and her unfinished edition of Aelfric's *Catholic Homilies*. Gretsch closes her essay with an assessment of Elstob's *Rudiments of Grammar* and its impassioned preface in defence of Anglo-Saxon studies. Elizabeth Elstob clearly played a compelling role in establishing the intellectual coordinates of Anglo-Saxon studies in the early eighteenth century, and Gretsch's reassessment of her life and scholarly achievements is of infinite value to anyone interested in the historical formation of our discpline.

In her essay, "Sir William Dugdale e il *Dictionarium Saxonico-Anglicum*" (*Linguistica e filologica* (Bergamo)10: 141–65), Paola Tornaghi explores the lexicographic debt owed Dugdale and his *Dictionarium* by Simonds D'Ewes and William Somner, whose own *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* was published in 1659. After a brief review of the historical and political rationales which spurred the rapid rise in the need for and production of Anglo-Saxon grammars, glossaries, and dictionaries, Tornaghi examines the lexigraphic works Laurence Nowell, John Joscelyn, Simonds D'Ewes, William Dugdale, and William Somner. She remarks on the similarities and continuities in the works and motivations of these great lexicographers. Dugdale's life is explored with attention to the social and cultural influences which led to his interest in lexicography. Torngahi closes with a description of the essential design features of his *Dictionarium*.

William Dugdale is the subject of another essay this year. In the essay, *William Dugdale and the Significance of County History in Early Stuart England* (Dugdale Soc. Occasional Papers 39. Stratford-upon-Avon: Dugdale Society in association with the Shakespeare Birthplace Trust), Jan Broad-

way considers Dugdale's role as the preeminent county historian in this period. Broadway argues that the interest of the gentry of the Tudor and early Stuart periods in county histories was part of the larger enterprise to "rediscover a self-consciously English national past" (12). Just as the Protestant reformers reinvented the Anglo-Saxon church as precursor of the Anglican church, so too did county historians examine Anglo-Saxon place-names and genealogies with an aim at establishing a symoblic, yet historically significant, connection with the Anlgo-Saxon past. Thus, the first county history, William Lambarde's *The Perambulation of Kent,* included an Anglo-Saxon alphabet and drew heavily on the Anglo-Saxon chronicles. And in the preface to *The Antiquities of Warwickshire,* William Dugdale cites evidence for his contention that the sub-divisons of counties into shires and hundreds predated King Egbert. Broadway reviews Dugdale's contributions and assistances to other county historians and concludes that he was not only "noticeably generous in his encouragement" (17) but also instrumental in the production of many other county histories.

The tumultous relationship of two Oxford dons is the subject of Stanley Gillam's essay, "Humfrey Wanley and Arthur Charlett" (*Bodleian Lib. Record* 16: 411–29). The extant correspondence is heavily one-sided, consisting of 71 letters from Wanley to Charlett and over 200 in the reverse. Gillam's examination of the relationship through the Charlett correspondence reveals a garrulous Master and his fluctuating regard, disdain, sympathy, and scorn for his protege.

b. Cultural History

In a sweeping consideration of the significance of ethnic identity in the formation of early modern British nationhood (*British Identities before Nationalism: Ethnicity and Nationhood in the Atlantic World, 1600–1800.* Cambridge: Cambridge UP), Colin Kidd examines "the presence and status of ethnicity within the value sytems of the intellectual elites—lay and clerical—who shaped and articulated the public identities of the British political nations" in the early modern era (6). The book consists of eleven chapters divided into three parts. In Part I, "Theological Contexts," Kidd uncovers the inconsistencies of pre-modern national myths of origin based on the Mosaic notion that all peoples are the offspring of Noah. Part II, "The Three Kingdoms," reviews ancient constitutional claims of political legitimacy among the early modern kingdoms of England, Scotland, and Ireland. Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be Part III, "Points of Contact," in which Kidd reconsiders the alleged historical antipathy of Celt and Saxon as an element of the early modern world view. Kidd's book is sure to find a place on the shelf of any reader interested in the role of ethnicity in the political discourses of the era preceding the rise of British nationalist and racialist ideologies in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

In their essay, "Viewing the 'Dark Ages': The Portrayal of Early Anglo-Saxon Life and Material Culture in Museums," Sam Lucy and Clare Herring consider another dimension of the use of the Anglo-Saxon past in the formation of English nationalism and national identity (*Making Early Histories in Museums.* Ed. Nick Merriman. London and New York: Leicester UP: 74–94). Beginning from the premise that the "way in which the Anglo-Saxon period is portrayed in many museums is a reflecton of an implicit political narrative" (75), Lucy and Herring examine the Anglo-Saxon displays at twelve English museums in an effort to determine "how museums might portray this period more accurately and effectively" (75). Citing the shortcomings and successes of the various Anglo-Saxon displays, Lucy and Herring offer several tentative conclusions. They suggest the increased use of multi-media information technologies, especially in the presentation of alternative "versions" of the past being represented or of the various arguments within a debate over some aspect of the historical period being represented (88). These technologies might also be used to provide "virtual links to other museum collections" (88). They also suggest more extensive use of visitor surveys or evaluations which might reveal areas for improvement. An Appendix includes details of the museums and the contents of their displays surveyed in the study.

c. Language and Linguistics

Stephen Pollington's *First Steps in Old English* (Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norf: Anglo-Saxon Books) is a revision and expansion of his 1997 text of the same name. This newly revised text features a programmed course in the grammar, vocabulary, and texts of the Old English period. Designed as the textbook for a self-paced course, the book is divided into five sections. Part One comprises the "Old English Course" which is divided into eighteen sections covering the parts of speech, cases, and verb forms and types. Each section includes a discussion of the point of grammar and translation exercises (both from and into Old English). Part Two presents a summary grammar, including a guide to pronunciation and glossary of grammatical terms. Part Three, "Old English Texts," consists of four translation texts: excerpts from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica,* from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, from Cockayne's edition of the Leechdoms, and from the laws of Ine. Each text is followed by notes (cross-referenced to appropriate sections of the Course) which explain the grammar and translation of the text. An additional sixteen texts (including a reprint of the four excerpts above) are included in this section. Puzzling is the author's decision to present some poetic texts "broken down into logical, manageable phrases" (157)(i.e., in an eclectic sentence-by-sentence prose form) while presenting others in their conventional poetic form. An audiotape featuring a reading in Old English of these texts is available for purchase. Parts Four and Five round out the book with an answer key to the exercises and a glossary. An in-

triguing element to Pollington's text is that he offers a "Correspondence Course" keyed to the textbook. It is presumed that correspondence with the author and his personalized annotations of written work will provide the student working on his own with the advantages of a "tutored" class.

In her essay, "Diachronic Syntax in the Poem of William Morris *Sigurd the Volsung* with Reference to His Use of Old English Linguistic Structures and Terminology" (*English Diachronic Syntax*. Ed. Maurizio Gotti. Collan bu 20. Milan, 1993: pp. 235–48), Edvige Schulte examines Morris's translations of Icelandic sagas in an attempt to demonstrate the extent of his reliance on Old English syntactic patterns and vocabulary. In the nineteenth-century poet-painter's quest for a renewal of the arts and language of his day, Schulte discerns two distinct but compatible phases: "1) making the past part of the present by using syntactic structures and words of Old English and of Norse origins in his written works; and 2) simplifying and clarifying the written language" (235). Focusing principally on his poem *Sigurd the Volsung and the Fall of the Nibelungs* (1876), Schulte demonstrates the degree to which Morris succeeded in his dual quest. She argues that, in *Sigurd* and his romances, Morris "incorporated semantic elements of OE origin and old syntagmatic structures... , relying heavily on a diction which was essentially simple, in spite of a studding of old words, compound words and alliteration, in a style where verbs and nouns are everything, while prepositional verbs and adjectives are nearly reduced to nothing" (236). The effect of this archaizing prosody, Schulte concludes, was to "make his lines more convincing in expressing the savagery of passions of the people of the ancient sagas" (247).

d. Research Resources, Print and Electronic

In her essay, "Fontes Anglo-Saxonici on the World-Wide Web" (*MESN* 41: 11–39), Rohini Jayatilaka provides a thorough introduction to the inspiration, aims, development, and present status of the Fontes Anglo-Saxonici Project. The Fontes Project, which is distinct in its aims and vision from the North American project known as Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture (SASLC), has created an electronic register, searchable on the World-Wide Web, of the written sources of Anglo-Saxon authors. In 1999, the database covered approximately 900 texts, of which 250 were in Old English and 650 were in Latin (12). At that time, about 900 source-texts had been identified and since then the Project has nearly completed the register of Old English texts and their sources. The database, which is freely accessible on the web through the Fontes Anglo-Saxonici home page (http://fontes.english.ox.ac.uk), "enables one to discover which texts were available in Anglo-Saxon England at different times, how well specific authors were known, or even specific parts of texts, and in what different ways they were used" (12). For the rest of her essay, Jayatilaka walks the reader through a search by "author of an Anglo-Saxon text" and a search by "author of a text used as a source." Jayatilaka also indicates how one can browse the three bibliographies associated with the database: Primary, Anglo-Saxon Texts, and Secondary. For anyone interested in source study, the Fontes Project and its searchable database are invaluable. Jayatilaka's essay is an excellent step-by-step guide to the process of searching this indispensible resource.

The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Anglo-Saxon England(Ed. Michael Lapidge, with John Blair, Simon Keynes, and Donald Scragg. Oxford: Blackwell) provides students and interested readers with a single handbook in which to discover a broad-range of materials relating to the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. The general approach of the entries is interdisciplinary, and each entry is followed by a brief bibliographic listing of relevant works. The Appendix, "Rulers of the English, c. 450–1066," by Simon Keynes is an impressive annotated list of kings of the seven major kingdoms, with sublists for the lesser kingdoms, of the Anglo-Saxon period. Despite the unruly character of the material and the obvious restrictions of the layout, Keynes brilliantly achieves his aim of conveying "some sense of the unfolding pattern of political development from the seventh century to the eleventh, and of the complications which sometimes interrupted, often impeded, and always enlivened the processes involved" (500). All in all, this volume will prove to be a handy reference for specialist and non-specialist alike.

Editors William Baker and Kenneth Womack have produced the third and final volume of the *Dictionary of Literary Biography* series on British book collectors and bibliograhers (*Pre-Nineteenth Century British Book Collectors and Bibliographers*. Dictionary of Lit. Biography 213. Detroit). The essays in this volume cover "the lives and works of thirty-nine individual collectors from the fourteenth century through the eighteenth centuries" (xv). Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists are the exceptional essays on early collectors and scholars written by colleagues working in the field today: Thomas James (Richard W. Clement); Robert Cotton (Thomas N. Hall); Robert and Edward Harley, First and Second Earls of Oxford (Richard Maxwell); John Selden (Sandra Naiman); Thomas Rawlinson (Robert Shaddy); Humfrey Wanley (Clare A. Simmons); Thomas Tanner (David A. Stoker and Michelle Kingston); and Matthew Parker (Kimberly Van Kampen). Each essay is comprehensive, averaging between eight and ten pages, and includes extensive bibliography. Each entry aims to give the reader a sense of the life, character, and work of the collector profiled. Particular attention is paid to the political, religious, social, and/or patriotic motivations of the individual collectors and the significance of their activities in the larger cultural enterprise of textual preservation and transmission.

Following on the heels of earlier surveys of the practice of teaching Old English at universities and colleges in North America ("A Recent Survey of the Teaching of Old English

and its Implications for Anglo-Saxon Studies" *OEN* 26.1: 34–45 and "North American Course Offerings in Old English" *OEN* 31.1: 28–35), Jonathan Wilcox has compiled and published a collection syllabuses for courses centering principally around Old English ("The Teaching of Old English: A Collection of Syllabuses" *OEN* 32.3:13–62). As Wilcox states, this collection of syllabuses is important as it may "serve both as a resource for new teachers and provide fresh ideas to existing teachers as well as serve as the raw material for further analysis of the way in which Old English is currently taught" (13). Although the syllabuses primarily represent introductory courses in Old English language, the vast range of approaches (from the programmatic to the paradigmatic) and instructional materials (from the Ur-text to the E-text) provides a glimpse of the vibrant and dynamic field of Old English language and literature instruction.

e. Bayeux Tapestry

Enthusiasm for the Bayeux Tapestry is well-attested this year by several essays and two books. David Hill, "The Bayeux Tapestry and its Commentators: The Case of Scene 15" (*Med. Life* 11: 24–26), reconsiders modern interpretations of the scene in which a priest touches the face of a woman who is ensconced beneath a decorated archway. The inscription, "UBI UNUS CLERICUS ET ÆLFGYVA," is seemingly unhelpful. The conventional interpretation, based primarily on a marginal nude figure beneath the scene whose demeanor mimics that of the cleric and on the phallic imagery of a nearby tower, has focused on some purported sexual scandal. Hill argues that this sexualized interpretation ignores the narrative unity of the Tapestry. In a brilliant application of the prinicple of Occam's Razor, Hill suggests that the scene does not represent a break from the narrative, but instead he links it to the previous scene (14) in which Harold is seen listening to William and pointing to the next scene (15). Hill argues that the two scenes together depict Harold's betrothal to William's daughter, Agatha. According to Hill, William is likely to have changed his daughter's name to Ælfgyva for this betrothal in a public gesture which would serve the dual purpose of honoring an important West Saxon royal name and, perhaps more significantly, underscore his own relation to the royal family of Wessex. William's aunt Emma was King Æthelraed's second wife and Edward the Confessor's mother. Hill points out that Emma changed her name to Ælfgyva when she married Æthelraed. Thus, Hill argues that scene 15 in fact depicts a priest going to the bower of the bride-to-be where he blesses her and the betrothal. Hill links the enigmatic inscription of scene 15 with that of scene 14 to read, "AD PALATIU(S) SUU(S) UBI UNUS CLERICUS ET ÆLFGYVA" ("to his palace where a priest and Ælfgyva"). Hill thus restores the narrative continuity of scene 15 with its two neighboring scenes (14 and 16) and rescues "an innocent betrothal scene" (26) from its scandalized position in recent criticism.

In another upheaval of the orthodox account, Andrew Bridgeford argues that Count Eustace II of Boulogne, instead of Bishop Odo of Bayeux, may have been the Tapestry's commissioning patron ("Was Count Eustace II of Bolougne the patron of the Bayeux Tapestry?" *Jnl of Med. Hist.* 25: 155–85). Pointing out that the case for the patronage of Odo is conjectural and that the traditional view ignores the prominence of Eustace in the Tapestry, Bridgeford makes a compelling case for the patronage of Eustace. Bridgeford first examines the evidence for Odo's patronage and determines that the body of evidence could apply equally well (and in some cases better) to Eustace. Bridgeford next explores the case for Eustace. He notes that Eustace's rebellion against the Normans and his attack on Odo's castle at Dover in 1067 make his prominence in the Tapestry particularly enigmatic. Why would a Norman patron, and Odo in particular, represent a rebel so favorably and prominently? Bridgeford plumbs the nature of the relationship of Eustace and Odo after the Dover attack. He suggests the plausible scenario that the Tapestry was commissioned by Eustace and given to Odo as a gift of reconciliation. Acknowledging that conclusive evidence for either patron is lacking, Bridgeford argues that his case for Eustace is "readily compatible with the political context of the Tapestry" and "provides an explanation for the prominence of both of these figures [Eustace and Odo]" in the Tapestry (184). Brdigeford's thesis is compelling and should provide the grounds for re-opening the seemingly closed case of the Tapestry's patronage.

In her ambitious study of the visual and textual "rhetorics" of the Bayeux Tapestry, Suzanne Lewis (*The Rhetoric of Power in the Bayeux Tapestry*. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press) explores "how the narrative as a whole operates as a complex cultural saga rooted in strategies of storytelling" (xiv). Arguing that the Tapestry's "most powerful rhetoric lies in its silences and empty spaces" (xiv), Lewis spends much of the book in an attempt to show how "the designer exploited this space of narrative uncertainty as a rhetorical strategy to pull the viewer into an active, complicit role in the process of representation" (36). Lewis concludes that the Tapestry "functions as the material, visible embodiment of an ideology, a network of values defining feudalism and absolute monarchy" (132), which "legitimizes Norman rule in England... and at the same time retains the dignity and honor of an English king, however discredited, slain in battle" (131). Lewis invokes a baffling (and in some cases mutually exclusive) array of theoretical approaches (references to semiotics and narratology, reader response criticism, deconstruction, film and performance theory, Foucauldian analysis, and genre studies abound) to support her thesis. Although many of her discussions of individual scenes (especially those which seem to rely less on "theory"; e.g. her analysis of the scene in which Harold holds a hawk while hunting with William at Rouen, p. 80) are insightful and compelling, the dazzling promises of

some of her critical approaches (which remain largely unful-filled) ultimately detract from her overarching argument.

f.   Norman Invasion and Anglo-Norman England

A new edition and translation of the "Carmen de Hastingae Proelio" has been produced by Frank Barlow (*The 'Carmen de Hastingae Proelio' of Guy, Bishop of Amiens*. Oxford: Clarendon). Barlow adopts with only minor revisions the Latin text established by Morton and Muntz in their 1972 edition. Although much controversy surrounded the appearance of this earlier edition, largely due to the editors' non-academic status, Barlow agreed with the previous editors' attribution of the poem to Guy, Bishop of Amiens. Much has changed in the field of editorial practice since 1972, however, and Barlow has elected to write a new introduction, translation, and subject notes for this edition. In his "Introduction," Barlow examines the 19th century discovery and reception of the poem, the provenance and relationships of the manuscripts, and the narrative features of the poem. Perhaps the most compelling aspect of Barlow's "Introduction," however, is his review of the "Controversy over the Authorship," in which he makes a persuasive case for the authorship of Guy, Bishop of Amiens. Barlow's prose translation is eminently readable and his subject notes are exhaustive. This edition, no matter what your position is on the various controversies surrounding the poem, establishes a stout standard of scholarship.

In a brief noted entitled, "A West-Saxon's Sympathy for the Danes during the Reign of King Aethelred the Un-dready" (*N&Q* 46: 309–10), Eric Stanley first draws attention to an article by David Dumville, "The *Beowulf*-Manuscript and How Not to Date It" (*MESN* 1998). Stanley restates Dumville's thesis that he (Dumville) would not date the manuscript any later than 1010. Stanley then assures us that Dumville's reasons for disagreeing with Kevin Kiernan's dating of the manuscript are "convincing." Kiernan, Stanley reminds us, has argued that the poem was copied into the manuscript sometime after 1016 since, in Kiernan's words, it is "highly unlikely that a poem so obviously sympathetic to the Danes could have been copied in Late West Saxon during the calamitous reign of Aethelred Unraed, from 978 to 1016" (309). To Dumville's rationale over that of Kiernan, Stanley next adds the evidence of an annal for 1014 in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. Stanely suggests that the Chronicle entry reflects a degree of West-Saxon sympathy for the Danish population of Lindsey after they have been summarily slaughtered by the forces of King Aethelred as a result of the inattentiveness of their king, Cnut. Stanley ends his note with his unnecessarily caustic opinion (itself simplifying) that "The ethnic sympathies of the Anglo-Saxons are not always readily comformable to the simplifying analysis of some modern Anglo-Saxonists" (310).

Rhona Beare once again revisits the barnacle goose riddle of 1065 in her note "Which of Godwin's Sons was Called a

Barnacle Goose?" (*N&Q* 46: 5–6). She reopens Frank Barlow's interpretation of this riddle, which he had considered in his *Life of King Edward* (London, 1962). Barlow believed that the riddle was damaging to the family reputation and that it referred to Swegn, eldest son of Earl Godwin, who had murdered his cousin. Beare argues that the riddle is intended as a compliment and therefore most likely refers to Harold and Tostig. Insofar as either of the brothers resembles a barnacle goose (*bernaca*), Beare reviews the myth of the barnacle goose and is convinced that the riddle must refer to Tostig since "bernaca" sounds like "Bernicia," the northern half of Northumbria. Tostig is after all the earl of Northumbria. Beare concludes that "Tostig is a barnacle goose because he is earl of Northumbria" (6).

In her article, "The *Vie Seinte Osith*: Hagiography and Politics in Anglo-Norman England" (*SP* 96: 367–93), Jane Zatta examines the origins, development, and proliferation of the cult of St. Osyth, who is a "pseudo-historical composite made up of three Anglo-Saxon holy women connected to the seventh and tenth centuries" (367). In a detailed analysis of the extant manuscripts, Zatta disputes A.T. Baker's criteria for his theory of a composite work by three separate authors, arguing instead the Anglo-Norman adaptations of the original Latin vita were purposeful. Zatta reads the Anglo-Norman verse life of St. Osyth against the backdrop of the political landscape of twelfth-century England, which she argues was "marked by a struggle between an institutional hierarchy and subject population that was struggling for independence and self-determination" (369). In Zatta's view, the *Vie Seinte Osith* "employs the authorizing conventions of the virgin martyr story to offer a strong criticism of the abuse of power by the episcopal hierarchy and give voice to the aspirations of the ecclesiastical *menus gents* for self-determination and autonomy" (371). Zatta examines the Anglo-Norman adaptations of the Latin original and argues persuasively that the poem and its gendered heroine reflect a "complex and comprehensive analysis of the rights, obligations, and limits of lordship" in twelfth-century England (376).

g.   Essay Collections

In his book, *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle* (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi), Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. has edited a fine collection of 12 essays covering many aspects of the life and work of this often overlooked Dutch scholar and early Anglo-Saxonist. Stemming from a conference at the University of Leiden in November of 1992, the contributions in this volume discuss Junius's work as an art-theoretician, as a Latin author and Germanic philologist, and as a reader of Sir Philip Sidney and Edmund Spenser. While many of the essays are reviewed elsewhere in YWOES, three merit attention here.

Philippus Breuker's contribution, "On the Course of Franciscus Junius's Germanic Studies, with Special Reference to Frisian" (*Franciscus Junius*, 129–57), is an updated version

of his1990 article on Junius's work in the field of Germanic linguistics. Breuker begins with a survey of the extent of Junius's work on Frisian. Mentions of Frisian in Junius's published works and in manuscripts abound, ranging from comments in etymologies and glossaries to manuscript annotations above individual words and transcriptions of whole sentences. Breuker presents a brief biographical account of Junius life and then presents a chronological survey of his philological studies in Frisian. An excerpt (with translation) comprising Junius's comments on the need for a new etymological dictionary of the Dutch language from the "Dedicatio" of his *Observationes in Willerami* closes out the essay.

Peter J. Lucas's contribution to this volume, "Junius, His Printers and His Types: An Interim Report" (*Franciscus Junius*,177–97), reviews broadly Junius's involvement in the printing profession, with particular attention to the "printing utensils" (the famous Junius types) Junius left to Oxford University on his death. Lucas examines the record of Junius's dealings with various printing houses in the Netherlands and England in an attempt to reconstruct the methodology and punchcutters Junius used in building his collection of Anglo-Saxon and early Germanic types. Lucas concludes that Junius most likely used Christoffel van Dijck as his punchcutter, but concedes that the matter is far from settled. Lucas's article should prove a solid foundation on which future research of this question can build. In an Appendix, Lucas lists the thirteen (excluding the Pica Saxon) types used in the publication of Junius's Caedmon. In many cases the list includes the Dutch names of the types.

Rolf Bremmer's contribution to this volume, "Retrieving Junius's Correspondence" (*Franciscus Junius*, 199–235), serves as a discursive introduction to a provisional checklist of Junius's correspondence and a bibliography of the annotated books, manuscripts, and transcripts at the University of Leiden. Bremmer's essay sheds light on much material relevant to the study of Junius and his contribution to our field. This impressive volume, *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, closes with editions by Sophie van Romburgh of two Junius documents, "Warrant for Isaac Vossius" and the scholar's "Will" (*Franciscus Junius*, 237–40).

In a collection of essays culled from a conference held at the University of Kent in September 1997 commemorating the fourteenth-hundred anniversary of the arrival of St. Augustine in England, Richard Gameson has produced a remarkably comprehensive volume which covers subjects from the historical contexts and significance of Augustine's mission to the theological and liturgical influence of Gregory the Great on the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons to Christianity (*St. Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England*. Stroud: Sutton.). Many of the sixteen essays in this volume are reviewed under the appropriate headings elsewhere in YWOES.

In a beautifully illustrated volume, *Northumbria's Golden Age* (Stroud: Sutton), Jane Hawkes and Susan Mills have collected thirty-four essays by an international cast of authors on all aspects of this Anglo-Saxon kingdom during the seventh and eighth centuries. The essays in this collection are subdivided into four sections: "Archaeology and History," "Material Culture," "Manuscripts," and "Bede." Interdisciplinary in their scope, these essays consider the latest archaeological and documentary research, the nature of state of the Northumbrian church and its relations with churchs in other regions of the British Isles, and a fresh appraisal of the work of the Venerable Bede. Many of the essays are reviewed in other sections of YWOES.

The twelve essays in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (Ed. Helen Conrad O'Briain, Anne Marie D'Arcy, and John Scattergood. Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press) cover the full range of J.D. Pheifer's medieval interests, from Old English glosses to riddles. A list of Pheifer's publications follows the Introduction by his daugher, Lucy Pheifer Shepard. The essays which cover Anglo-Saxon subjects in this volume are reviewed under subsequent headings of YWOES.

h. Varia

Colin A. Ireland has produced a fine edition and translation of a collection of Old Irish gnomic literature attributed to King Aldfrith of Northumbria, who ruled ca. 685–705, under his Irish name, Flann Fina (*Old Irish Wisdom Attributed to Aldfrith of Northumbria: an Edition of 'Briathra Flainn Fhina maic Ossu'*. Med. and Renaissance Texts and Stud. 205. Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies). Ireland's purpose in presenting this edition is two-fold: "First, it gathers together all maxims represented in the three recensions... and offers a fresh translation of each maxim with an analysis of its contents. Second, it seeks to demonstrate that these maxims represent a coherent text despite the varied contexts in which they have been preserved" (4). Ireland's extremely useful and comprehensive Introduction covers such topics as the "Varieties of Irish Wisdom-Texts," the "Manuscripts" and "Dating" of the various recensions, and the "Audience and Redactor" of the texts. The "Text and Translation" is followed by extensive Notes and Appendices, which include dipolomatic editions of some of the recensions. A "Glossarial Index" and "Index of Proper Names" round out this impressive volume.

In his magisterial review of the legendary history of King Alfred, "The Cult of King Alfred" (*ASE* 28: 225–356), Simon Keynes examines "Alfred's place in the mythology of English history" and the "extraordinary range of factors, operating in competition or in combination with each other" (352), by which that place was secured. From William of Malmesbury to John Spelman, from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to Dorothy Whitelock, Alfred's legendary persona served as a towering and malleable symbol for a widely divergent range of political, social, religious, and scholarly points

of view. Keynes' meticulous analysis of the convoluted process by which the cult of King Alfred developed is a steady step toward isolating the good King from a thousand years of legendary accretions. Keynes brings an impeccable order to the unwieldy history of this archetypal symbol of English nationhood.

In her consideration of the late fourteenth-century romance *Athelston* ("Romanticizing the Past in the Middle English *Athelston*" *RES* 50: 1–21), Elaine M. Treharne argues that the Middle English poet "succeeds in medievalizing a legendary king; but, in doing so, he does not engage in the creation of an idealistic monarch of bygone days as one might, perhaps, expect; rather, he demonstrates through his protagonist the human fallibility of the diveinely appointed ruler" (2). According to Treharne, the *Athelston*-poet depicts "an imaginary, hierarchic Anglo-Saxon society in which Church and king are made to co-operate in the provision of temporal and spiritual harmony" (2). Treharne examines contemporary chronicles and accounts of the historical King Athelstan's reign in an effort to establish a rationale for the poet's choice of Athelston as the eponymous hero of the poem. These contemporary accounts and selected post-Conquest writings suggest that the historical king's piety, justice, and posthumous fame made him a suitable hero for the poem. In the course of her article, Treharne reviews the manuscript context, the sources, and the setting of the Middle English romance. Treharne concludes that the plot of the romance "illustrates a resolution of concord, of justice operating through divine will, of Church and king co-operating" and that this "unity of the Anglo-Saxon state and Church... reflects a desire [on the part of the poet] to see a similar harmony in his own times" (21).

Peter J. Lucas explores the intriguing history behind the development and use of special type-designs to print Old English in his essay, "Parker, Lambarde, and the Provision of Special Sorts for Printing Anglo-Saxon in the Sixteenth Century" (*Jnl of the Printing Hist. Soc.* 28: 41–69). The first half of the essay examines the underlying propagandistic motivations of Protestant reformers to "present in authentic form older precedents for the litrg and doctrine being adopted in association with the new Book of Common Prayer and the establishment of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*" (42). In addition, Lucas discusses the technical process required to create these special types and explains the historical precedents for using such types to print languages that required supplemental symbols to those found in the roman alphabet. In the second half of the essay, Lucas provides a lengthy discussion of the three principal designs of Anglo-Saxon types produced in the sixteenth century. Illustrated with many examples, both in-text and as figures, Lucas establishes the essential differences between the strikingly similar Parkerian and Lambardian Anglo-Saxon Picas, concluding that they were probably based on the same model. Lucas then traces into the seventeenth century the use of the three Anglo-Saxon types through the history of the printing houses that owned them

and the books they published.

In a personal, and largely anecdotal, account of the history of the Scottish Borderlands, Alistair Moffat has attempted to unearth the story of King Arthur in the landscape surrounding his hometown of Kelso in the border country (*Arthur and the Lost Kingdoms*. London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson). Beginning with his interest in place names and toponymy, Moffat discovers Arthur "remembered by the land, in the fields, rivers and hills of southern Scotland, and by extension by the people who farmed, knew and named where they lived" (3). As a historian, Moffat puts on no airs; he unapologetically admits to being "an amateur, in the old sense of loving it" (3). He claims to "care nothing for academic reputation, the conventional wisdom or the weight of opinion" (3). Nonetheless, his deep love of the Border country, his keen ear for the voices of the land, and his common-sense approach to the convoluted history of the legendary King Arthur make this a charming and informative book to read.

Eva Crane and Penelope Walker, in an attempt to measure the extent and practice of English hive beekeeping in the Middle Ages, review the extant source material from the earliest references to the early thirteenth century with particular attention to the entries about honey and/or hives in the Domesday Book ("Early English Beekeeping: the Evidence from Local Records up to the End of the Norman Period." *Local Historian* 29: 130–51). The essay is divided into two broad categories, covering "The Documentary Evidence, excluding Domesday Book" and "The Evidence from Entries in the Domesday Book." In each category, the authors examine the extant written sources for evidence of the activities of beekeepers, the products of beekeeping (principally honey and beeswax), and the economic value of beekeeping to the crown or the lord of the manor. Two tables list the number of places honey renders were recorded and the number of hives by shire. Extracts of documentary references are printed in two Appendices. Crane and Walker have demonstrated that beekeeping was widespread in England in the Middle Ages, and that the primary product of this activity was honey, which served as a unit of economic remuneration. Other bee products mentioned in the documentary evidence include mead and beeswax.

In their essay, "*Beowulf* to *Lear*: Text, Image, and Hypertext" (*Lit. and Ling. Computing* 14: 223–35), Martha Driver and Jeanine Meyer discuss the inception, development, and recent history of the course of the same name they have taught at Pace University since 1996. Driver and Meyer begin their essay with a brief description of the programs and demographics of Pace University. Much to the advantage of instructors interested in using web-based technologies in their classes, all students at Pace University must take an introudctory course in computing (which enables them to create web pages) and a traditional sequence of courses in composition. The "*Beowulf* to *Lear*" course grew out of previous multimedia programs developed by Martha Driver, particularly one

based on Arthurian legends. For much of their essay, Driver and Meyer describe the rudiments of the course, the structure of the class and its assignments, their methods and rationale, and their assessment strategies. Clearly, the structure of the "*Beowulf* to *Lear*" class can be adapted to other courses in the humanities. This essay will prove a helpful starting point of reference for anyone contemplating the development of such a multimedia and web-based course.

Michael Gooch, in his essay "Saintsbury's Anglo-Saxon in Joyce's 'Oxen of the Sun,'" offers an insightful appraisal of the extent of critic and author George Saintsbury's influence on the Anglo-Saxon section of the "Oxen of the Sun" episode in Joyce's *Ulysses* (*Jnl of Mod. Lit.* 22: 401–04). As author of *A History of English Prose Rhythm* (1912), George Saintsbury was, according to Gooch, the "primary authority and source for 'Oxen,' providing commentary and examples of virtually every author or style that Joyce parodied" (401). To achieve the humor and ambiguity of his highly sophisticated parody, Gooch argues, Joyce uses "oddly ordered sentences—without the benefit of case—to befuddle us, and archaic words and phrases to amuse us" (402). Citing examples of Joyce's use of Saintsbury's Anglo-Saxon examples, Gooch illustrates his point that Joyce operates "[b]y derailing what readers have come to expect as the natural order of the sentence and by almost totally eschewing pucntuation" (403). Gooch makes abundantly clear that Joyce's manipulation of Saintsbury's Anglo-Saxon is essentially fourfold: 1) the final position verbs in clauses; 2) the placement of objects/complements, and occasionally verbs, before subjects; 3) the placement of modifiers; 4) the use of archaic diction and lack of punctuation (404). Gooch concludes that "Joyce's parody of Saintsbury's Anglo-Saxon, for all its humor, for all its rule-bending or rule-breaking tendencies, reads more like an homage than a sarcastic rebuke" (404).

The enduring fascination and compelling beauty of our field of study is attested by several works this year. Brian Patten has produced a rendition for children of the story of Beowulf and his battle with Grendel (*Beowulf and the Monster*. London: Scholastic Children's Books). In a bold and intriguing venture, Kevin Crossley-Holland and Lawrence Sail have edited a new volume of riddles inspired by the collection of riddles found in the tenth-century Exeter Book (*The New Exeter Book of Riddles*. London: Enitharmon). In a celebration of the form, these one hundred riddles extend a literary tradition found in the Rig Veda, the Bible, the Koran, in addition to the "mycel englisc boc" bequeathed to the cathedral library by Leofric, first bishop of Exeter.

In a slightly different spirit of inspiration from the Exeter Book, Bruce Gorrie has produced a modern version of "The Wanderer" ("The Wanderer from the Old English." *Agenda* 35.1: 54–57). Rendered in a Scottish vernacular, Gorrie's poem is an amusing rendition of the principal themes of the Old English poem. The elegaic lament of the wanderer who is on the "doon an' oot" is captured by the pithy line

"Aye, wer aw buggered when ye hink aboorit!" (54). Even the 'ubi sunt" motif is represented: "Whits happint tae the trams? Where's aw / the weans? Whits happint tae the pawnshops?" (56). The consolation of the closing section of the Old English poem is ironically rendered as a deathwish-of-sorts: "Bit ah wish a wiz deid tae, so ah cid at least / huv a bed in hivvin an' see ra boays again. / Ah might even go tae chaipil the morra, / ye nivvir know" (57).

David Scott, in an act of spiritual inspiration, has translated the Passion Prayers from the Book of Nunnaminster (*An Anglo-Saxon Passion*. London: Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge). In his "Introduction," Scott interweaves the musings (in italics) of a fictional nun who copied the twenty-four prayers of the Passion into the manuscript of the Book of Nunnaminster with the story (in standard font) of his own journey of discovery of these prayers. The prayers are nicely translated and they capture the personal, affective spirituality of the originals. Each prayer is followed by a meditation on the principal theme of the prayer.

As part of a year-long celebration of the sesqui-millenary of Augustine's mission, the Education Centre of Canterbury Cathedral sponsored a series of educational activities for school children ("597 and All That." *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* 92:25–27). For the *Cathedral Chronicle*, Rosemary Walters, Education Officer of the Centre, described some of the activities, which ranged from the "Augustine Trail," a walking tour from St. Martin's Church to St. Augustine's Abbey and on to the Cathedral; a Collective Worship day with children from nine local primary schools; to formal diocesan celebrations which included a visit by the Archbishop.

In "The Anglo-Saxon Who Took Hollywood" (*Wall Street Jnl* 11 January 1999, p. R53), Elizabeth Bukowski announces Larry Kasanoff's latest film project, a movie-version of *Beowulf*. Bukowski writes that the film is billed as a "techno-feudal sci-fi thriller" set in "a titanium outpost" about the year 3000. The film stars Christopher Lambert as Beowulf.

In an amusing commentary, "Cromwell vs King Alfred at Waterloo" (*British Archaeology* 47: 15), the editor of *British Archaeology*, Simon Denison, muses on the consequences of a profound lack of historical knowledge on the part of the general public. After recounting several humorous anecdotes, Denison concludes that "many people's knowledge of history in this country is a little on the vague side." Pondering on the reasons for this, he suggests that the solution must be education and he laments that the offerings in history in English schools are diminishing drastically. Invoking Levi-Strauss, Denison warns education ministers of the dire consequences of a society that has "no coherent sense of the past before [its] grandfather's time."

The prolific career of Rosemary Cramp is celebrated by Roger Norris in the Preface to a double number of the *Durham Archaeological Journal* dedicated to her by the

members of the Architectural and Archaeological Society of Durham and Northumberland (*Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15: v).

A tribute to the wide-ranging interests and considerable talents of Paul Taylor on his retirement from the University of Geneva was published by his friend Rudolfo Anaya of the University of New Mexico, Albuquerque ("Tribute to Paul Taylor." *Multilingua* 18: 281–99). A selected bibliography of Paul Taylor's publications follows the tribute.

Memorials for C.A.R. Radford, Kikuo Yamakawa, Christine E. Fell, Sonia Elizabeth Chadwick Hawkes Petkovic, and Karl Schnieder were published this year.

R.F.J.

Works not seen

Aurigemma, M. Giulia. "Le componenti letterarie dell'arazzo di Bayeux." *Storia dell'arte* 93–94 (1999 for 1998): 149–57.

Spetia, Lucilla. "… un faus franceis sai d'Angletere …" *Cultura Neolatina* 59: 129–47.

Yorke, Barbara. *The King Alfred Millenary in Winchester, 1901.* Hampshire Papers 17. Winchester: Hampshire County Council, 1999.

2. Language

a. Lexicon, Glosses

"*Wurd* in the *Heliand*: Fate in Old Saxon" (*International Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 4, 267–84) by Priscia Augustyn speaks to aspects of her University of California, Berkeley dissertation, titled "Fate, Soul, and Death in Germanic Culture: The Chrisitanization of Old Saxon." Linguistic and semiotic methods are employed. OS *wurd*, OE *wyrd*, and OHG *wurt* are generally interpreted as the Germanic *norns*, or fates, known primarily from ON Eddic texts like *Völuspá* and the *First Lay of Helgi Hunding's Bane*. Akin to the Roman *parcae* and the Greek *moirae*, the three sisters go by the names *Urd*, *Verdandi* and *Skuld*. The first is cognate with *wurd*, which seems to be a verbal abstract of the IE root **uert-* 'to turn' and represents the continuous cycle of life (Mittner 1955, 84); cf. the fates as spinners of life's thread. Following Rankin (1909–10), Augustyn argues for more concrete meanings of nominal compounds in Old Saxon, which would lead to an analysis of OS *wurdgiscapu*, cognate with OE *wyrd gesceap*, as 'the shaping of one's fate'. OS *giscapu*, in turn, goes back to IE **(s)kab-* 'cut with a sharp object'. This meaning would correspond to the usual role attributed to the third sister in the triad, who cuts the thread of life, spun and measured by the first two. The author sees other OS fate words as reflecting the same metaphor as *wurdgiscapu* and also supplies them with concrete meanings: OS *aldarlagu* 'laying out of a person's age', *metod* (derived from OS *metan*) as 'measure of one's fate'. Corresponding trios of female fates are also found through Bostock's (1955, fn. 4) alternate interpretation of *hera duoder* in the first OHG *Merseburger Zauberspruch* as 'great makers of fate' and in the *Schöpferlein* 'little shapers' known in the modern *Sprachinsel* of Gottschee.

In "Der Name der *ING*-Rune, urg. **engwaz* und tocharisch B *ekwe*" (*Sprachwissenschaft* 24, 447–52), Alfred Bammesberger argues for the correctness of the identification of the Proto-Germanic word and the Tocharian word with certain provisos. The name of the god/hero *Ing*, attested in the OE Rune Poem, also appears as the first element in *In-*gwine and the tribal name *Ingvaeones* of Tacitus. It may be derived, along with the Gothic letter name *enguz*, from the underlying form Proto-Gmc. **engwaz*, with raising of **e* to **i* before nasal + consonant. Parallel to the connection of the tribal patron **mann-* with the word for 'human', Bammesberger posits the meaning 'human' or 'man' for the word in question. The traditional etymology, which posits that **engwaz* goes back to the same IE root as Toch. B *eńkwe* 'man', may be retained if we follow E. Campinile's (1969) views on the Tocharian word. He posits that it is based on an adjectival derivative of **n̥ḱu-* 'death' that would originally have meant 'mortal'. Both the Gmc. and the Toch. word would be derived from the null-grade u-stem IE **n̥ḱ-u-* of the root IE **neḱ-*, the source of the Gmc. form being the normal Vr̥ddi derivative **enḱwó-*.

F. Beth's "The History of *dare* and the Status of Unidirectionality" (*Linguistics* 37, 1069–1110) uses the history of *dare* to argue that grammaticalization may not be unidirectional. *Dare* seems to support the non-unidirectionality of grammaticalization since it not only becomes an auxiliary, but also develops some main verb characteristics which it did not possess in OE. The third section of the article discusses the uses and meanings of OE **durran*, the OE preterite–present predecessor of ModE *dare*. From this discussion of OE and the developments into ME and ModE comes Beth's evidence for his position that grammaticalization may not be unidirectional. Beth argues that syntactic movement is the "synchronic characterization of the concept of grammaticalization."

A. Breeze's "Old English *lærig* 'shield rim' in *Exodus* and *Maldon*: Welsh *lloring* in *Culwch* and *Olwen*" (*Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 51, pp. 170–72) reinforces the claims that Welsh *lloring* must mean 'shield rim' rather than 'shield boss" as some Celticists, but not Anglicists, have interpreted it. Neither OE *lærig* nor Welsh *lloring* have this meaning. Breeze argues that Foster (1935) misinterpreted the meaning, following an error in BT, an error Foster would not have made had he consulted the 1921 supplement to BT. Celticists have continued to follow his lead. Breeze also remarks that OE *lærig*

was borrowed into Welsh about the same time as OE *targe* 'shield'.

Hubert Cuyckens' "Historical Evidence in Prepositional Semantics: The Case of English *By*" (*Thinking English Grammar,* pp. 15–32) reviews the development of *by* primarily as a marker of the passive, but begins with other meanings and clearly draws connections. Cuyckens then attempts to use the diachronic information to ground the sychronic networks of *by* at various stages in English. He connects the 'path' and 'proximity' senses of *by* to *by* as a marker of the passive agent. Some OE data is used to indicate the early uses of the 'path' and 'proximity' senses.

R. Dance's "The *Battle of Maldon* Line 91 and the Origins of *Call*: A reconsideration" (NM 100, 143–54) argues that E. Stanley's derivation of call from native words has some questionable aspects. He reviews Stanley's evidence and adduces more of his own. Dance finds no definitive evidence of either a Scandinavian origin of *ceallian* or a native one. *Call's* occurrence in written ME and its widespread use only in the 14th century seem to support a Norse borrowing. The fact that the semantic field is so common would lead us to believe that if 'call' were a native word, it would have been attested early and more often in OE before *Battle of Maldon*. The entire matter of how linguists go about deciding whether a word is native or imported is brought into question.

Klaus Dietz's article "Die Etymologie von ae. *drȳgan* 'trocknen'" (*Sprachwissenschaft* 24, 283–96) argues against Gillis Kristensson's (1971) view on the origin of the word. Contrary to the traditional view that derives OE *drȳgan* > ME *drie(n)* > NE *dry* and its baseword OE *drȳge* > ME *drie* > NE *dry* from WGmc. **drūγγi-*, Kristensson put forward the theory that the words in question come from WGmc. **drauγi-*, which also means 'dry'. The primary evidence is four North Midlands attestations of the surname *Dreyster* in Lancashire and Yorkshire about 1300, which would mean 'dryer, bleacher'. Dietz points out that the new view runs counter to the general orthographic reflexes of *au before *i/j*. In most OE manuscripts, including those from Northumbria, *au + *i/j* is most often written <e>, while the spellings for the words in question are typically <y>. Only in the southeast, in Kentish (Kentish glosses of MS Cotton Vespasian D. VI, the Blickling Homilies, the interlinear glosses of the Eadwine Psalter from Canterbury) and East Saxon (Essex/Middlesex copy of the West Saxon gospel translation in MS Hatton 38), do we find the spellings *drēge, drēgan,* but in these manuscripts <e> is the normal spelling of *ū + *i/j*. The MED further shows as the normal ME reflexes of *ū + *i/j* to be Southwest, Southwest Midlands *ȳ*; North, North-Midlands *ī*; Southeast, Southeast Midlands *ē*. Thus only in the Southeast, can *ē* represent *ū in addition to *au. Dietz posits that the <ey> spellings in the names, which are commonly written *Dristar* ~ *Dryestere* in Lancashire and Lincolnshire soon after 1300, are not uncommon (in the North and South) in place and personal names for *ī*. They could also reflect, as a reversed spelling, the monophthongization of *ei* (< *ē* + G) > *ī*, which started in the South and South Midlands at 1250 and reached the North about 1300.

"A Semantic Analysis of Emotion Terms in Old English" (*Studia Anglica Posniensia* 34, 133–46) is undertaken by Ma≈gorzata Fabiszak. Collocations, especially those with verbs, containing words denoting 'joy', 'grief', and 'anger' are analyzed following classical theories of semantics such as field theory (Trier 1931) and componential analysis (Coseriu 1967 etc.). The words selected from the *Old English Thesaurus,* according to their high frequency in the *Microfiche Concordance to Old English* include *bliss, bliþnes (bliþe), dream, gefea, glædness (glæd), liss, mirhþ,* and *wynsumnesse* for 'joy', *dreorignes, murcnung,* and *gnornung* for 'grief'; and *æbylg, grama,* and *iernes* for 'anger'.

Study of the collocational behavior of the words for 'joy' turns up a few basic conceptual metaphors: axiological UP IS GOOD (*blisse astigan, to gefea aspringan*), BODY IS A CONTAINER OF JOY (*mid blisse gefyllan, bliðe on breostum*), JOY IS THE AIM OF THE JOURNEY (*cuman to blisse, to mirhð siðian*), JOY IS A CONTAINER (*on blisse wunian, on wynsumnesse libban*), JOY IS A COMMODITY (*blisse gifan, dream agan*). Joy is found to be associated with light and music. A brief analysis of 'grief' words shows the two metaphors GRIEF AS OPPRESSOR (*gnornung þolian*) and GRIEF IS AN ENEMY (*hwæt bewearp þe on ðas care ɔ on þas gnornunga?*). The representation of words for 'anger' may either be from the perspective of the person experiencing anger or the one who is the subject of another's anger. ANGER AS FIRE (*grama ontendan*) ANGER AS OPPONENT (*ierre stillan*) are common metaphors.

Fabiszak finds that 'joy' words are often used in religious contexts, when social relations are built and maintained, or arising from perception-related pleasure). Joy may be accompanied by laughter. The only sources of grief identified are poverty and God's disfavor. Anger is found to be an oppressive, dangerous entity for the subject of the experiencer's anger, which results from the subject's actions. The author concludes that the results of her research confirm the social constructionist approach to emotions (Bodor 1997, Bamberg 1997), which claims that emotion expression is a means of communication aimed at securing the audience's reaction.

"The Influence of the Merovingian Franks on the Christian Vocabulary of Germany" (*Franks and Alamanni in the Merovingian Period: An Ethnographic Perspective,* ed. Ian Wood [Woodbridge: Boydell], 343–61, discussion 361–70) is Dennis H. Green's contribution to the third conference held at the San Marino Center for Interdisciplinary Research on Social Stress in September 1995. The author sets out to show that the expansion of Frankish Christian vocabulary in the context of missionary work of the Franks is best seen as part of their political expansion. Christian territory had been lost in northeastern Gaul in the wake of Frankish settlement in this area and also in South Germany due to penetrations of

the Alamanni. Green argues, following the historian F. Prinz, that the mission emanating from northern France was more the work of native Franks than the Irish. Irish missionaries like Columbanus, the founder of Luxeuil, were relatively few in number and left fewer traces in the terminology of the German Church than once thought (cf. Weisgerber 1952). The few proposed Irish loan words, loan translations, and loan meanings in German (either of Irish origin or Latin words transmitted through Irish), including OHG *glocka* 'bell', *salm, salteri* 'psalm, psalter', *pîna* (Lat. *poena*), *foresiht/forascauwunga* (Lat. *providentia*), *ginâda* (Lat. *gratia*), etc., are furthermore not found to be plausible for a variety of reasons. Only the earliest usage of the last term in Bavaria may have been influenced by the Irish mission.

Instead, Green finds Frankish vocabulary from three aspects of Church organization (baptism, clergy, monasticism) to have expanded to the low countries and England and to the east of the Rhine. The words, some originally of Greek rather than Latin origin, are attested in Old French, Middle Dutch, Old Frisian, Old English, Old Saxon/Middle Low German, and Old High German. They include the following, mostly loan words: Lat. *christianizare*/OE *cristnian*, but OHG *toufen* (loan meaning for Lat. *baptizare*), Lat. *fons*/OE *font*, Lat. *compater*/OE *gefædera*/OHG *gifatero* (loan translations) 'godfather', Lat. *presbyter*/OE *prĕost*/OHG *preste, prestre*, Lat. *parochia*/OHG *pfarra*, Lat. *custos*/OHG *custor* 'custodian', Lat. *domus* (*episcopalis*)/OHG *tuom* (NHG *Dom*) 'cathedral', Lat. *monasterium*/OE *mynster*/OHG *munist(i)ri*, Lat. *monachus*/OE *munuc*/OHG *munih,* Lat. *propositus*/OE *prôfost*/OHG *probost* 'superior in charge', Lat. *iunior*/OE *geongra*/OHG *jungiro* (loan meaning in the comparative form, applied to secular, ecclesiastical, and religious contexts). Not all of the items attributed to Frankish influence are attested in Old English but a striking number are. Discussion focussed on individual words and the possible influence on German vocabulary of the Anglo-Saxon and Gothic missions.

S. Halverson's "Image Schemas,MetaphoricProcesses,and the 'Translate' Concept" (*Metaphor and Symbol* 14, 199–219) mentions that the concept of 'translate' appears in OE *wendan* 'to turn' or '*awendan*',but the term 'translate' does not appear until the 14th century. The article is more on the development the modern day concept of 'translate' than on the etymology of the term and its synonyms and cognates. Halverson notes that the first sense of 'translate' in the OED becomes less common in English through time. Using image schemas, Halverson proposes that the four senses of 'translate' and their development of use or disuse arises from competing schemas.

W. Hüllen's "Hermeneumata, Latin-English Glosses,and Nominales" (*English Dictionaries 800–1700: The Topical Tradition*) discusses the Hermeneumata, presents a basic typological view of OE glosses, and contains sections on Ælfric's glossary, later glossaries, and the *Mayer Nominale*. Glossaries and glosses occur in four types: text dependent, collected glosses, alphabetical glosses, and topical glossaries. *Mayer Nominale* is of the last type and is discussed in some detail with its sections and classifications mentioned and explained. Hüllen notes, however, that the panoramic and almost encyclopedic nature of the *Mayer Nominale* is due to what was known about the world through teaching and reading, not what had been experienced by its compilers.

P. Lendinara's *Anglo-Saxon Glosses and Glossaries* reprints fifteen of her articles on Anglo-Saxon glosses. Lendinara was careful to leave the fifteen reprints, five of which make their first appearance in English, in their original format as much as possible, noting that editorial and formatting concerns of the present work were the chief reasons for any changes. The first chapter, "Anglo-Saxon glosses and glossaries: an introduction" is new and written specifically for this work. It discusses the different types of glosses and glossaries and provides an excellent introduction for the first time or inexperienced reader and a good review for the more experienced reader. Some of the original sources are difficult for some potential readers to locate. This collection is a welcome addition to the scholarship.

M. Ogura's "Brain-Language Coevolution in Lexical Change" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 20, 3–23) provides the not surprising conclusion that lexical change occurs because of competition among near synonyms. The twenty-one OE semantic fields used are listed in an appendix. More interestingly, after accepting the theory that language may not be innate, Ogura attempts to relate these lexical changes to the evolution of symbolic communication capacity in the brain.

D.W. Porter's "On the Antwerp-London Glossaries"(*JEGP* 98, 170–92) attempts to synthesize the scholarly material on the scribes' methods of compiling over 10,000 scholia, glosses, glossaries and any plan those scribes might have had for their construction. Porter considers one glossary from the Brussels manuscript and five from the Antwerp-London manuscript. In these he sees two hands, the second hand producing more than twice the number of entries in a single list as the first does in five lists. Porter concludes that work remains to be done in which scholars should reconstruct the contexts which produced the glossaries and attempt to ascertain the relationships which existed among the various scribes and schools as well as working with the specific words.

In "A Sub-sense of Old English FYRN(-)" (*NM* 100, 471–75) F. Robinson presents argues that allowing a sub-sense of OE fyrn which means "from an age before our present Christian age" makes the convergence of fyrn- and firen- in manuscripts understandable not only from an orthographic perspective but also from a semantic one. The contexts of these words, especially in Ælfric, must have suggested such a meaning to the native reader.

H. Sauer's "Animal Names in the Epinal-Erfurt Glossary"(*Text and Gloss*, pp.128–58) discusses the problems of classification of animal names and compares lists various animal names from Clark Hall and Epinal Erfurt. Most of the

animal names in EE are native and refer to native animals. The lists provide names going back to IE, Gmc., WGmc, and OE as well as Latin loans. Many of the animal names in EE still exist in modern English as 65 of them are listed in the Concise Oxford Dictionary.

T. Stewart's "The mind and spirit of Old English *mod* and *fer(h)*. The interactions of Metrics and compounding" (*Ohio State Univ. Working Papers in Ling.* 52, 51–62) discusses a small group of compounds attested in OE poetry and concludes that metrical concerns were more important to the poet than semantic ones when choosing and forming compounds. Stewart discusses the definition of "compound" and various motives for "compounding" in Germanic and OE before moving on to his case study words of *mod* and *fer(h)* in *Judith*. Based on these occurrences, Stewart concludes metrical considerations cause compounds to be used in poetry when simplex terms exist for the same ideas. This makes the place of compounds in the OE lexicon more ambiguous than originally thought. The creation and availability of compounds affords the OE poet more opportunity for creativity and self-expression.

b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Aspects

M. Akimoto and L.J. Brinton, in "The Origin of the Composite Predicate in Old English"(*Collocational and Idiomatic Aspects of Composite Predicates in the History of English* pp. 21–58) attempts to provide a more detailed discussion of the existence of 'composite predicates in OE than has been previously attempted.Composite predicates take the form of V + N + (P) and developed in ME and continued to increase in number in ModE.They are difficult to study in OE. Akimoto and Brinton use the most common 'light' verbs in OE 'do,' 'give', 'have', 'make' and 'take' as a beginning for searching for and explaining the composite predicate constructions in OE. Much of the middle of the article is devoted to listing various collocations of these light verbs with deverbal nouns. The five light verbs collocate with 86 different nouns. The collocations decrease in number in late OE because of borrowing from French and conflict between *(ge)don* and *(ge)macian* constructions.

"On Negative Raising in the History of English" (*Negation in the History of English* pp. 55–100) O. Fischer explains the factors she sees as having contributed to the rise of negative raising in English. In OE, no clear evidence of negative raising exists, and much of the article concerns itself with ME and ModE. Multiple negation and the morphological subjunctive in OE may be causes for the lack of NR in OE. Fischer spends about a page discounting possible occurrences of NR in OE and then turns to ME and ModE examples found in the Helsinki corpus.

N. Francovich Onesti's "Verb Syntax in the *Peterborough Chronicle* (1132–54)" (*English Diachronic Syntax*, pp. 89–109) uses the "Final Continuation" portion of the *Peterborough*

Chronicle to point out some syntactic aspects of the transition between lOE and eME. She considers 12 areas of syntax: word order, verbal nouns and moods, tenses and agreement, compound tenses, auxiliaries, the passive, auxiliaries and modals, types of subordinate clauses, aspect, causative constructions, special verbal constructions, and negation. In each section, differences between earlier sections of Peterborough Chronicle and the "Final Continuation" section are noted, but no explanations for the differences are offered.

Gwang-Yoon Goh, in "The Advent of the English Prepositional Passive: A Multi-faceted Morphosyntactic Change" (*Ohio State Working Papers in Ling.* 27, 143–169) uses the changes in the passive construction to argue that syntactic change occurs not through rule modification or addition, but through changes in the inputs to the rule. Prepositional passives were not available in OE because OE allowed no OPO constructions even though preposition stranding was allowed. The prepositional passive developed in later English as a morphosyntactic change. The *OPO constraint was lost. Goh, after discussing the lack of various kinds of prepositional passives in OE and the later development of those constructions, concludes that rule change is a result of syntactic change, not the cause of it.

Gwang-Yoon Goh makes predictions about "Case Government of Old English Verbs" (*Journal of English Linguistics* 27, 143–69) based on comparison with passive constructions using the same verbs. Old English verbs, particularly compound verbs consisting of preposition + verb, which are not common in Modern English, show variation in case assignment to objects. Various attempts based on a traditional approach involving grammatical relations have been unsuccessful in explaining the variation. Compound verbs of this type are transparent in meaning, since their meanings can be derived from the meanings of their parts; cf. *ymb-gan* 'go around', *wiþ-cweðan* 'refuse, contradict'. These verbs also behave compositionally in their argument subcategorization as well, with both the head and the prefix contributing to the argument structure. For example, *cweðan* takes the accusative and the dative (cf. *in leohte him þa word cwepað*, 'they will speak those words to him [dat] in glory', Christ 401) and *wiþ* takes genitive, dative, or accusative for its object, while *wiþ-cweðan* takes dative and genitive ditransitively *gif inc hwa ðæs wiþ-cwepe* 'if anyone contradicts you [dat] about that [gen]' (BlHom 71.1.).

Goh notes two important differences in the behavior of arguments in passivization: 1. Accusative NPs of active verbs become subjects of verbs in the so-called personal passive, while verbs with NPs in other cases receive the impersonal passive. 2. Unlike Modern English, only verbal arguments may be passivized in Old English, while prepositional arguments may not. The author argues that the less oblique an NP is the more easily it is passivized, thus the following obliqueness hierarchy: a. Nom (subject) < Acc < Dat # Gen, b. Verbal arguments < prepositional arguments.

For ditransitive compound verbs of the type in question, Goh predicts that the case selected for the inherited prepositional argument should be one that does not change the relative obliqueness of the two NP arguments; preserving the original (surface) case of the prepositional argument is not as important. This means that if a simplex verb subcategorizes for only dative and genitive, then it will not inherit the accusative through compounding, and the resulting preposition-verb compound will not take accusative even if the preposition can take accusative. This would explain why *wiþ-cweðan* takes genitive for the argument inherited from the preposition, rather than accusative or dative.

E. Haeberli and L. Haegeman's "Negative Concord and Verb Projection Raising in Old English and West Flemish" (*Negation in the History of English*, pp. 101–19) discusses the word order and syntactic parallels and differences between OE and West Flemish. West Flemish and OE, although somewhat similar superficially, show great distinction when it comes to how NC interacts with VPR. VPR restricts negative concord in West Flemish but not in OE. This difference according to the authors is the result of the category status in OE and West Flemish of the infinitival clauses.

A. Hübler's "Possessive Dative and Possessive Pronoun in Old English" (*English Diachronic Syntax*, pp. 67–75) reviews the use of the possessive dative with the possessive pronoun to determine why one of two forms, seeming interchangeable semantically, might be chosen over the other. Hübler concludes that the possessive dative is chosen when the thing possessed is more intimately or emotionally connected to the owner.

G. Jack's "Negative Contraction in Old English Verse" (*RES* 50, 134–54) argues that contracted negatives in OE may occur more often in unstressed positions and uncontracted negatives in stressed positions due to the strength of the negation being expressed rather than some syntactic conditioning factor. Jack spends part of the article arguing against Blockley's contention that contraction is syntactically conditioned. Contraction is linked in verse with stress and by extension with meter. The frequency tables in the appendix are particularly helpful since they provide a graphic representation of his comments and make the numbers behind the conclusion easier to follow.

A. van Kemenade's "Sentential Negation and clause structure in Old English"(*Negation in the History of English*, pp. 147–65) reviews the occurrence of *ne, na/no* as sentential negators in prose texts. After defining sentential negation as it occurs in OE and discussing multiple negation and clause structure, van Kemenade concludes that double sentential negation occurred earlier than previously assumed. The position of the primary sentential negator, *ne*, varies with the position of the finite verb, but the position of the secondary sentential negator, *na/no*, is fixed. If these conclusions are accurate, Kemende notes, then they support a "split Infl" hypothesis for Old English clause structure.

In "Syllables, Morae and Boundaries" (*International Journal of Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 4, 1–17), Yuri Kleiner discusses the problems of mora counting and segmentation in the Old Germanic languages with particular reference to Gothic. He proposes that the term *prosodic* be used for the units of segmentation other than phonemic ones, while *suprasegmental* should not be used in this sense. Instead it should be restricted to elements not yielded by segmentation (e.g., stress, tone). Unlike the modern Germanic languages, which either have complementary length or correlation of syllable cut, the Old Germanic languages seem to have been mora counting like Latin and Greek. The author takes Sievers' Law in Gothic as the starting point. Compare the alternation [iː] vs. [ji] in *dōmeis, wandeis* vs. *wasjis, stōjis*, the long vowel appearing after heavy complexes and semivowel + short vowel after light. If we divide these words into syllables according to Murray and Vennemann 1983, which that states "a group of marginal segments is divided between two nuclear segments in such a way that all segments but the last belong to the first syllable," then we divide *dō-(meis), wan-(deis)* vs. *was-(jis), stō-(jis)*. All of these words follow Prokosch's law, which holds that stressed syllables in Germanic tend to be bimoric, with the boundary falling directly after the second mora. Kleiner analyzes the complex *miki-(leis)* as (C)V̆CV̆, with two morae before the boundary. The intervocalic consonant *-k-* is syllable initial and hence prosodically inactive. So despite having two short syllables, *miki-(leis)* ends up being the prosodic equivalent of a heavy monosyllabic complex like *dōmeis* or *wandeis*.

In their article "Open Syllable Lengthening in West Germanic" (*Language* 75, 678–719), Aditi Lahiri and B. Elan Dresher defend the account of vowel lengthening in stressed syllables in these related languages as owing to the open syllable rather than as compensation for reduction or loss of vowels in final syllables. The authors begin by reviewing the situation in the other branches of West Germanic. In Dutch, the authors conclude that the change has regularly affected all vowels in open syllables, while the deletion of final schwa is an unrelated, morphologically determined change; which took place in forms with and without OSL. Further, vowel lengthening is present in MDu. doublets like *nāket/naect*, with and without schwa deletion. No paradigm leveling has occurred so that we find a regular alternation of long vowels in disyllabic plural forms and short vowels in monosyllabic singular forms, cf. *dak/daːken, staf/staːven, dal/daːlen*. A Dutch variety of lengthening of accented vowels before homorganic clusters (*r* + dental, cf. Du. *paard*, Ger. *Pferd*) called *rekking*, accounts for vowel lengthening in other instances. Otherwise the workings of OSL are transparent in Dutch.

In Middle High German, to the contrary, a number of processes have obscured the domain of OSL. Gemination of voiceless stops to fricatives intervocalically by the second consonant shift has closed formerly open syllables as in OHG *offan* 'open', *wazzer* 'water', *wehha* 'week'. The same happened

in MHG in sequences with *t, m* followed by *-er, -el* as in NHG *Himmel, Wetter*. One could also mention the greater frequency of West Germanic gemination in OHG compared to the related languages in this context. In German, at least in Middle and Southern varieties, there has been analogical lengthening of vowels in monosyllabic forms, as in Ger. *Bad, Tag, Hof*. It might also be pointed out that Low German and the North German variety of the standard go with Dutch in this regard and retain short vowels in monosyllables.

Dresher and Lahiri posit that Middle English OSL (MEOSL) was subject to the same rule as German and Dutch, but was interfered with by trisyllabic shortening (TSS; see next entry below) and paradigm leveling, which contrary to German, could work in either direction. Compare a few examples representative of the main OE nominal classes affected by OSL: OE *talu/tala* 'tale' (OSL in sg. and pl.,), *hwæl/hwalas* 'whale' (OSL in pl., analogical lengthening in sg.), *beofor/beoferas* 'beaver' (OSL in sg. and pl., TSS in pl., analogical lengthening in pl.), *hæring/hæringas* 'herring' (old long vowel in sg. and pl., TSS in pl., analogical shortening in sg.). As opposed to OE *beofor*, which got a long vowel in modern English, OE *ofen* 'oven', a noun of the same type got a short vowel. Before leveling, sometimes double forms existed in ME.

Statistics from the authors' data are found to be inconsistent with any version of the compensatory lengthening (CL) analysis of MEOSL. The version of this theory discussed at greater length is that of Minkova (1982, cf. 1985), which states that MEOSL operates unfailingly only when there is final schwa deletion in ME. Their general criticism is that Minkova's data gives a distorted picture, since it takes into account only the vowel length of all forms that survived past 1500, without sorting out the heterogeneous data. The authors argue, however, that ME prior to that date had great variation and declensional classes played a central role in the outcome of OSL. This version of the CL analysis would not cover the OE *beofor*-type without a final schwa. A number of factors are said to have inhibited lengthening: suffix *-ig* (cf. NE *body*), secondary stress on the second syllable (Lass 1992, 73), final voiceless obstruents (OE *ganot*-type). Other versions of the CL theory surveyed include M. Kim's (1993) article, which posits weakening to schwa to be a sufficient trigger of OSL, Ritt's (1994) probabilistic formula to predict OSL, and Bermúdez-Otero's (1998) use of presumed performance to account for certain forms. They might also have mentioned the views of Liberman (1992), who links OSL to a period of free apocope as one manifestation of a general functional compensation to the accented syllable for reduced phonological capabilities of unaccented syllables.

Dresher and Lahiri, following Lass's (1985) approach, propose a motivation for OSL connected to other aspects of West Germanic prosodic structure. They argue that OSL is an attempt to maintain and maximize the Germanic foot, present from the oldest stages of the language group. The model of the metrical foot used is that of the resolved and expanded moraic trochee $([\mu\mu(\mu)]\mu)$, where the head, indicated by square brackets, must dominate at least two morae. Heavy syllables are closed syllables and syllables with long vowels. Light syllables have short vowels. A light stressed syllable is resolved with the following syllable, regardless of the weight of that syllable. Also employed in the analysis is consonant extrametricality, which turns the form CVC# into the metrical equivalent of CV#. Instead of defooting final heavy syllables, they can now be treated the same way as final light syllables. This is only possible since the type with long vowels in final syllables is no longer present in attested stages of English. In this view, the only effect of OSL in Middle English is to lengthen vowels in the initial syllables with the structure ([LL]), that is, of the *tale*-type, forcing the second syllable into the weak branch of the foot, thereby maximizing the stressed foot. The following patterns were not changed: *stāne* ([H] L), *clavere* ([LL] L), *laverke* ([LH] L). The first of these was not changed since it already had a long stressed vowel and thus an optimal structure, while the latter two (trisyllabics) had no OSL due to the interference of TSS. OSL would have resulted in less optimal structures, either with a stranded syllable in ([H] L) L or a submaximal stressed foot and a dependent foot that is more complex than the head foot in ([H]) ([H] L).

On a related topic, Aditi Lahiri and Paula Fikkert discuss "Trisyllabic Shortening in English: Past and Present" (*English Language and Linguistics* 3, 229–67). This is the process whereby the vowel in a stressed syllable is shorted if two syllables follow, as in *sincēre–sincĕrity*. It is argued that TSS has been active throughout the history of English and was motivated, like OSL, by the preference for a maximal foot. TSS worked upon native words and Romance loans in late Old and early Middle English, as well as modern Romance borrowings. As was seen above (see preceding entry), TSS interacted with OSL, resulting in quantity distinctions in paradigms, which were later leveled out.

Older TSS worked mostly on inflected forms, at first only when the long vowel was followed by two consonants or a geminate (in closed syllables), later before single consonants (in open syllables), as in *cīcen – cīcenu, hēafod – hĕafodu, ænig – ænige*. It has been maintained, notably by Kiparsky (1968), that TSS amounts to the same process as closed syllable shortening (CSS), as in *brĕmblas, ĕnlefan*. Lahiri and Fikkert, however, argue that CSS was active earlier in the history of English (c. 1000 vs. 1100) and was dependent on the syllable, rather than on the prosodic structure of the word. It has been a matter of debate whether TSS was caused by the presence (Eckhardt 1936) or loss (Luick 1907, 1914, 328) of secondary stress in the words in question, as in ME *lávender, bútounes*. But the authors argue TSS is due to foot optimization after consonant extrametricality (see preceding entry above), as in **hēringas > hĕringas*, from OE (H) (H) (H) > ME (H) (HL) > ME ([LH] L), or **cīcenes > cĭcenes*, from OE (HL) (H)

> ME (HL) L > ME ([LL] L). For other cases like *cla-vere* ([LL] L), *laverke* ([LH] L) without final consonants, extrametricality is not required.

Later TSS operates only on words with Romance derivational suffixes, as in *chă.ste* – *chă.ste.te*, *văin* – *vă.ni.ty*, *săne* – *să.ni.ty*. Interestingly, the derived words were most often borrowed before the bases, which means they were borrowed as prosodic rather than as derived words. Quantity alternations were thus not apparent at first. For modern TSS, not only Kiparsky, but also Stampe (1979, 48–49), Myers (1987), Yip (1987), and Rubach (1996) view it as the same change as CSS, with and without recourse to stress-induced resyllabification. In the older and the modern periods, the authors posit that the borrowings were taken up under the same prosodic constraints of TSS and OSL governing native English words. Lahiri and Fikkert follow Prince (1990), who views TSS as trochaic shortening, resulting in a moraic trochee und syllable extrametricality. Although, they arguer that quantity adjustment results from foot optimization and prefer it to CSS accounts, they think Prince's formulation cannot account for earlier TSS, which resulted in an uneven trochee rather than a regular moraic trochee. Also, extrametricality does not necessarily trigger TSS, as it did not in Middle Dutch and Middle High German.

Using the doctrine of *littera*, rather than strictly linguistic concepts like grapheme and phoneme, Margaret Laing argues against the 'confused Norman syndrome' in "Confusion *wrs* Confounded: Litteral Substitution Sets in Early Middle English Writing Systems" (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 100, 251–66). After a comparison with other Southwest Midlands verse miscellanies (BL Cotton Caligula A ix; Jesus College Oxford 29, part II; Bodley Digby 86), the author gives a detailed analysis of the copying practices of the four scribes of Trinity College Cambridge B.14.39 (323). Each is categorized according to the writing system of the exemplar used, how difficult the system of the exemplar was to decode, his practices of reencoding, and the system of the resulting copy. Scribes B and C were found to have had an easier time decoding a relatively simple systems in their source manuscripts and produced disciplined and relatively economical systems in their copies. Scribes D and A, on the other hand, seem to have had a difficult time decoding complex systems in their exemplars and thus employed complex and prodigal systems in their copies. Like the Digby scribe all of the Trinity scribes make more use of French orthographic traditions than native ones, and like the Digby scribe, their language may be Herefords. The complexity of the systems used by D and A, resides in the fact that more than one *figura* (grapheme) corresponds to one *littera* in certain cases. Also one *figura* can correspond to more than one *littera* (abstract idea of 'the letter'). The difficult letters are *y*, wynn, thorn, and yogh. These complicated relationships have led editors, notably Skeat in 1907, to assume that scribe D was French-born, educated entirely in French, and imperfectly educated in English. Laing

proposes, on the contrary, that the writers of Anglo-Norman must have had English as their first language, but maintained an artificial competence in Anglo-Norman and often in Latin, arguing that the writing practices are not filled with errors, but reflect a mixture of spelling conventions and are systematic, albeit in an uneconomical way.

Maria Lima offers some work in progress in "Notes on the History of the English Modals of Necessity (*English Diachronic Syntax*, ed. M. Gotti [Milan: Guerini Studio], 77–87). She discusses the semantic-pragmatic aspects of *thurfen*, *need* and *must*. The author assumes that in the Old English period modals had not yet been grammaticalized, but the future members of the class existed in a more or less prototypical state. ME *thurfen* (OE *þurfan*) 'to be under a necessity or obligation, to need' was lost in the second half of the 15th century, probably due to confusion with the verb *dare* (since the final *f* was often left off in ME). It was replaced by *need* + infinitive. This originally open set verb, used in the impersonal with a pronoun as dative indirect object, came to be conjugated like preterite present verbs of the modal class and lost conjugational -*s* in its forms. NE *must* (OE *mot, most, moten* 'may'), whose preterite was already used for present in ME, was generally supposed to originally mean 'to find (have) room' in English, but already in some instances in OE had the meaning 'be allowed, be permitted'. It may come from the same root as Eng. *mete* 'measure' and be related to the Germanic concept of unchangeable fate being allotted to individuals (Standop 1957, 67–93). The author follows Visser's (1969, §§1963, 1797) idea that next to OE *sculan*, the other verb expressing obligation, *mote* may have been confined to the sort of obligations that were not the result of an order from another person.

In "OE and ME Incorporated Negation and the 'Negative Cycle'", Gabriella Mazzon (*English Diachronic Syntax*, ed. M. Gotti [Milan: Guerini Studio], 111–22) argues against applying the 'negative cycle' to the history of English negation. The rise in multiple negation (ne + V + not) and eventual decline of negation incorporated into verb forms (ne + V) is seen by some scholars (Jespersen 1917, Schwegler 1983, Kiparsky 1968) as part of a general trend in Indo-European languages. The 'negative cycle' starts with post-verbal reinforcement of the pre-verbal negation and results in the post-verbal negation becoming 'normal' or unmarked. French influence may have promoted double negation. Indeed, an examination of a prose sample of texts from the 10th to 15th c. indicates a decrease in verb-incorporated negation from 40% to 8% of the total sentence negations. A process of lexical diffusion (Tottie 1991, 440ff) ostensibly explains the shift from *ne*- negation to *not*- negation, with high frequency verbs retaining the older form of negation longer. The new negative particle was composed with a nominal element: ME *na* + *wiht* 'nothing', later contracted into *nawt/nouwght/naught* and finally *not*. By Shakespeare's time multiple negation supposedly was seen as indicating affirmation or as emphatic, apparently indicat-

ing the decline in this usage at this time (Brook 1976, 86). Yet Mazzon points out that multiple negation was in decline much earlier, with very low incidence already in the late 14th and early 15th centuries. It is also true that neg-incorporation was very widespread in OE, but not obligatory. The author's very limited sample indicates that a dramatic decrease in the use of incorporated forms for particular verbs about 1300 (in texts other than Chaucer) is related to other factors: confusion of *not, noot* < *ne* + *witan* with the spreading form *not* or the increasing use of *willan* only as a modal. Despite contraction, the negative element was evidently perceived as separate from the verb and the neg-incorporated forms were never lexicalized. The decline of neg-incorporation thus need not be explained as it has been previously.

"A History of the English Perfect Infinitive" (*Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 34, 91–121) is presented by Rafał Molencki. Although in present-day Standard English, the perfect infinitive is used to mark past time reference, anteriority or perfectivity, it was formerly used more commonly to mark counterfactuality. Although the first usages of both types go back to early ME, the non-counterfactual usages first become common in late ME. Sporadic examples of constructions with *habban* + uninflected past participles occurring in OE are taken to reflect the beginnings of grammaticalization of the perfect. At this point *habban* is still to be treated as a full verb of possession rather than an auxiliary. The first uses of the perfect infinitive occur after the (pre)modals, especially *mihte*, about 1200; cf. *Ich mihte habbe bet i-don, hefde ich þen i-selðe* (*Poema Morale* 13). Non-counterfactual uses at this time are rare; cf. *wepð and woneð ðat he æure was to manne iscapen, ðat he scolde swa michel habben misdon agean his sceppend, for hwat he ofearneð helle pine* (*Vices & Virtues* 1 63). Molencki posits a spread northward of the construction form the southwest Midlands and takes the appearance of phonetically reduced forms as evidence of grammaticalization as in *tabene* [= to have been] in Lydgate, *Siege of Thebes* 918 from the 15th century, when the construction becomes really common. At this time it was used especially to express an unfulfilled plan, as in *and he thought and supposed wel to haue torned her but he might not* (Caxton, *Knight of Tower* 45.21). The demise of the perfect infinitive in the 18th and 19th century to express *irrealis* is attributed to the misunderstanding on the part of prescriptivists of its role as a counterfactual marker. Finally, Molencki traces the rise of the construction in other usages: accusative + infinitive (late 14th c.), in nominative + infinitive (16th c.), as subject (17th c.), as adjective complement (15h c.), future perfect (19th c.).

In "Passivization in Old English? An Old Problem Revisited" (*Anglica Wratislaviensia* 35, 77–88), Ruta Nagucka surveys the research on the Old English Passive and adds some of her own views. The main question examined is whether or not the passive existed as a distinct syntactic category in Old English. Those who answer the question in the affirmative see close ties between active and passive sentences,

both syntactic and semantic; it is seen generally as a transform of the active. To this camp belong Mitchell 1985, Kilpiö 1989, Denison 1993, Allen 1977 and 1995, Lieber 1979, Estival 1989, despite differing theoretical approaches. Lightfoot (1979, 274–76), who claims that the transformational passive was first present in the early modern period, is seen as the strongest opponent of passivization in OE (see also Visser 1973, Traugott 1992, Lass 1987, and Nixon 1984). This view is also expressed by those who compare with the inflectional passives of Latin and Greek (Lyons 1968, Quirk and Wrenn 1958, Mossé 1952). Nagucka views the OE construction consisting of *beon/weorðan* + past participle, whether inflected or not, as a prototype of the later grammaticalized construction. She considers the past participle as an autonomous grammatical category. In addition to the lexical meaning of the participle, such concepts as state, completion, and perfectiveness were included its meaning. An agentive prepositional phrase is not required for the construction. "Temporal Relations Expressed byOld English Prepositional Phrases" (*Thinking English Grammar*, pp.79–88) also by Nagucka recognizes two groups of prepositions dealing with time in OE: a group which expresses conventional periods of time such as days of the week, seasons, time, and reign.The second group expresses termination points in events such as between X and Y, after X, before X. Prepositional phrases fill a cognitive role in expression not filled by their inclusion in verb morphology.Even though some consider prepositions redundant, they serve very pragmatic functions by personalizing time relations to the speakers and listeners.

T. Nakayama's "The Appositive Adjunct in the *Homilies of Ælfric*" (*Jnl of Eng. Ling.* 27, 40–48) argues that Callaway (1899, 1901) does not fully or accurately describe certain occurrences of the appositive in OE. Specifically, Nakayama cites three sets of circumstances which Callaway does not cover and for which a more exhaustive survey would account.1) Appositives without complements occur equally as often preverbally as postverbally. When used with complements, the occur after a finite verb. 2) Adjectives also qualify as appositives. From this he suggests we use the term "appositive adjuncts." 3) Preverbal appositives seem to show action "more vividly than coordinated finites" (p. 46).

M. Ogura's "On the Use of Negative *NA* and *NE* in *The Regius Psalter*" (*Neophilologus* 83, 133–143) argues that the use of na and ne in negative constructions found in the Regius psalter differs from their use other psalters, especially the Vespasian,Vitellius, and Stowe Psalters. Ogura reaches six general statements of her findings: The use of na as a negative adverb appeared in the Regius psalter and spread from there. *Na* + V was used more often than *ne* + V in some D type glossaries and superceded '*no* + V'.Contraction of negatives was not solely West Saxon, and uncontracted forms are not uncommon in West Saxon. Double negative constructions occur most frequently and primarily in West Saxon works. The *Regius psalter* has few separated prefixes or particles while

the Prefix/particle + *ne* + V construction was common in the Vespasian, Junius, Cambridge, and Lambeth psalters.

In "On MV/VM Order in Old English"(*Folia Linguistica Historica* 20 pp. 79–106), Masayuki Ohkado discusses the factors which might determine whether Modal + Verb (MV) or Verb + Modal (VM) order is used in OE subordinate modal constructions. The first order is more common in main clauses and the second order rare, while in subordinate clauses the two orders occur with about equal frequency. Using frequency data from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, sections of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, Apollonius of Tyre*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History, Blickling Homilies*, Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and Wulfstan's *Homilies*, Ohkado argues that "extra elements", that is any element other than subjects, modal verbs, and non-finite verbs, affect the choice of MV/VM order in subordinate clauses. The choice of MV order increases as the number of extra elements increase. Ohkado includes frequency charts for each of the works surveyed. Each chart shows the kind and number of the extra elements and whether the modal construction has an MV or VM order.

Peter Orton's "Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to Kuhn's Laws" (*Review of English Studies* 50, 287–303) speaks in favor of re-expressing the laws in syntactic rather than metrical terms. Hans Kuhn's (1933) two laws express regular correlations between word order within the clause and the distribution of metrically stressed and unstressed syllables in Germanic alliterative verse. Specifically, the laws refer to the position of what Kuhn called 'clause particles', which were defined solely based on metrical stress. This means that some words, like finite verbs, could be clause particles in some metrical contexts, but a stress word in others. The laws are stated as follows: 1. Clause particles must stand in the first dip of the clause, as proclitics either to the first or second stressed word. 2. Clause particles must stand in the clause opening. Orton finds a number of verses in the OE poetic corpus violating Kuhn's laws (specifically in *Gloria* I and *Beowulf*), some of which occur in repeated formulaic expressions. He thus argues that Old English poets and scribes were not aware of these laws, but they must be vestiges of certain very specific features of archaic Germanic syntax, presumably reflected in the North-West Germanic runic inscriptions analyzed from this point of view by Antonsen (1975). Oral formulaic poetry, being conservative, would tend to retain traditional style, but admit innovations if the poets and scribes were unconscious of the earlier history of the tradition in which they work. The laws may relate to the demarcation of direct speeches common in oral tradition. Translation of prose texts from Latin could have contributed to innovation.

"Meanings of the dative case in Old English" by Adam Pasicki (*The Dative II: Theoretical and Contrastive Studies*, pp. 113–42) is a short review of the dative case in OE which attempts to categorize the various meanings indicated by its use. Location is the most common and most concrete of the various meanings of the dative. However, even spatial rela-

tions may be abstract. In constructions concerning less concrete location or spatial relationships, the dative case may indicate time, hierarchy, obedience/submission, or comparisons. Dative recipients in the form of goals or experiencers receive discussion as do impersonal constructions, possessive datives, and instrumental datives. Instrumental datives make up the second meaning group, but are the least structured. Pasicki considers them a residual group of meanings. Most of the article concentrates on the various locative meanings.

S. Pintzuk's *Phrase Structures in Competition: Variation and Change in Old English Word Order* is a "slightly revised" version of her 1991 dissertation. Pintzuk makes it clear that no attempt was made to update the analyses, but argues that such updating is to a certain extent unnecessary since her conclusions are valid for the most part regardless of the type of theoretical or syntactic framework used. The publication of this often referred to work makes it more available for those wishing to have it at hand.

In "The Case of the 'Impersonal' Construction in Old English" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 20, 129–51), Hanna Pishwa proposes that not only morphological and syntactic factors led to the loss of this construction, but also semantic considerations and the fact that it was a relatively isolated phenomenon in the linguistic system of OE. In impersonal constructions of the type *him* (dat) *scamede* 'he was ashamed', there is no formal subject, which was optional in OE, and a verb in the third person singular, the most neutral person category. Sometimes the same verb could take a dative or nominative experiencer; cf. *he scamede*. The status of the preverbal argument, appearing in either dative or accusative, is syntactically unclear. Some view it as a pseudosubject or precursor of a subject (e.g. Seefranz-Montag 1983). It is widely agreed that the impersonal usage with an oblique experiencer represents the lack of control of the experiencer over the experience. Analysis from a number of points of view reveals that the oblique experiencer is a mixed category. In terms of semantic roles (Langacker 1991 and Dowty 1991), it exhibits one feature of an agent (sentience) and two features of a patient (causally affected by another participant, undergoes a state of change). With regard to degree of transitivity (Hopper—Thompson 1980, 252), constructions with an oblique experiencer also show characteristics of low transitivity (non-action, atelic, non-volitional, low potency of agent), but also high transitivity, in that the object is at least partially affected by the event or state. So categorization of the experiencer as agent or object is not clear. The oblique experiencer is also like a subject because of its topicality, which accounts for its preverbal position, but it also, unlike a prototypical subject, is dependent on the verb and of course exhibits an oblique case. The author attributes the demise of the impersonal construction with its oblique experiencer to its borderline status in Old English. The relatively small number of verbs, usually mental verbs, using this construction also contributed to the transfer from an oblique experiencer to a

nominal subject.

Matti Rissanen's "Aspects of the Development of the Noun Phrase in English" (*English Diachronic Syntax*, 35–54) draws data from the Helsinki corpus and focuses on the development of the article system, the pronominal uses of *one*, and the compatibility of premodifying elements in the English noun phrase. (39) Each of these sections is a general review of the changes within each element of the NP. Taken together, the sections illustrate the shift from syntheticity to analyticity in English. Rissanen's strong variationist approach calls for some frequency charting of various constructions. He provides these for the section on pronominal uses of *one* and the compatibility of the premodifying elements, specifically the occurrence of *this/that* with the possessive pronoun. Rissanen's second work of the year, "Isn't it? Or is it not? On the Order of postverbal subject and negative particle in the history of English" (Negation in the History of English, pp. 189–205) is a bit more specific than the previous one, but covers all periods of English with only a short section on OE. OE sentential negation occurred most frequently with *ne* as a preverbal particle. The order Subj + ne +V was possible as well. However, the most common unmarked order for OE was V +Subj+Neg Adv.Of 132 OE occurrences in the Helsinki Corpus, ninety-seven of them (all having a personal pronoun for a subject show this V+Subj order. The V + Neg Adv + Subj order occurs only eleven times and then only with a Noun or demonstrative pronoun as the subject. Twenty-four of the thirty-five occurrences of N or Dem Prn subjects show the same V+Subj order. This distribution remains relatively the same through ME. The negation pattern changes somewhat with the grammaticalization of *not*.

Jeremy J. Smith's textbook, *Essentials of Early English* (London: Routledge), is designed to be used for introductory courses in history of the English language, either as the primary text or ideally as an accompaniment to a standard text. It presumes little or no background and does not focus on internal or external history, but on the description of three important stages in the history of the language: Old English, Middle English, and Early Modern English. Structural descriptions of spelling and pronunciation, syntax, morphology, and lexicon for each period are paired with illustrative and annotated texts from certain variants: the language of King Alfred, of Chaucer, and of Shakespeare. Emphasis is consciously placed on the development of the standard rather than the diversity of language, which is appropriate for a beginning text, as is the normalization of OE material on the basis of early West Saxon. The intention is to give a solid foundation for advanced philological/linguistic or literary work with earlier stages of English in the tradition of the 'primer'. Included at the end of the book are an annotated bibliography for further reading, an OE glossary, and a thematic index. Also available is a software package of interactive exercises to accompany the OE component.

Toril Swan's "Old English Subject Modification and Ad-

verbalization" (*From Ælfric to the New York Times: Studies in English Corpus Linguistics*. 1997 pp. 149–59) contends that subject modifiers have become increasingly adverbialized in English even though they are essentially predicative. Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* serves as the source of the author's data. Swan included three elements in his study: "a) all forms which today would be rendered with a subject adjunct; b)all forms similar to Norwegian fre predicatives; c) generally, any item which in any way seems to modify the subject—excluding . . . attributive and predicative adjectives." (150) In Lives of Saints, 508 occurrences of these elements are found. In Ælfric, the -*lice* adverbs are the most common element. The data from Ælfric suggest that in OE subject modifiers and manner adverbs tend to occur pre-verbally and that the adverbial function of these sentence adjuncts was grammaticalized very early in English. The data from Norwegian suggest this was not the case with the other Germanic languages. Swan also suggests that the adjectival form may be the basic one and that the adverb forms ultimately derive from it.

Elizabeth Closs Traugott's "A Historical Overview of Complex Predicate Types" (*Collocational and Idiomatic Aspects of Composite Predicates in the History of English*, pp. 239–60) the concluding chapter of the work, provides a diachronic overview of the various aspects of composite predicates discussed synchronically in earlier chapters. Traugott discusses the aspects which have remained stable, e.g. a small class of verbs occur in CP constructions; CPs express greater deliberateness on the part of the subject. Other aspects such as the ranking of CP verbs and the number and types of nouns and combination types have changed through time.

In "Middle English Vowel Length and the Cluster <ng>: More on Quantity Changes before Homorganic Clusters" (*Thinking English Grammar. To Honour Xavier Dekeyser, Professor Emeritus*, ed. G. Tops et al. [Louvain: Peeters]), Jerzy We≈na reexamines the evidence for the sequence in question. Since the posited OE lengthening before the homorganic cluster ŋg, as in OE *lang, ʒeong, sting, hungor*, is not present in Modern English, it has been questioned whether there was lengthening at all. Many handbooks (Wright and Wright 1928, 38, Campbell 1959, Brunner 1965, Lass 1992, 72) call for lengthening before the velar cluster along with the labial and dental clusters, *mb, nd, ld*, in Old English, some allowing for reversal in Middle English. Others (Quirk and Wrenn 1957, 143, Jordan 1974, 43–44) consider the lengthening possible or incomplete. We≈na supports Berndt's (1960, 18–19) view that lengthening of high (*i, u*) and low vowels (*a > o*) occurred before ŋg, but that the length of low vowels was retained longer in the South and the Midlands, until the 14th c. A survey of Orm's spellings confirms lengthening of *a, e, i, u* in Middle English, although the spellings are inconsistent in this regard; cf. *bringeþþ* vs. *brinngeþ(þ)*. Spellings of other ME texts adduced from the *OED* also show variation, with digraphs such as <ou, oo, ee, ey, ei> being common. But digraphs in the ME, as well as

the early NE texts, are to be viewed with caution, since they often indicate lengthening where none could have occurred; cf. *drounke* with <ou>, which is either an error or may be derived from foreign words like *country, touch*. The author takes the spelling *tonnge* (Pallad. on Husb. i, 692, c. 1420) as evidence of shortening of the low vowel as late as the 14th c. dating of Berndt.

"Agentivity and the History of the English Progressive"by Debra Ziegeler (*Trans. of the Philol. Soc.* 97:1, 51–101) analogizes the development of the progressive aspect to the development of passive participles. The progressive, she contends, develops from a copula and participle expression which virtually lacks agentivity into the present day verb form. Ziegeler argues that the progressive is a result of lexical aspect and category reanalysis process rather than a simple form of grammaticalization. Agentivity is acquired during this process.

<div align="right">K.D.T.</div>
<div align="right">K.G.</div>

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3. Literature

a. General and Miscellaneous

Language, Poetic Form, and Performance

Bruce Mitchell's "*Apo koinu* in Old English Poetry?" *NM* 100 (1999), 477–97, is an unbated parry to the pointed thrust of E.G. Stanley's "'Ἀπὸ Κοινοῦ, Chiefly in *Beowulf*" (see *YWOES 1994*, p. 45). Mitchell contends that a syntactic element in verse—noun, adjective, verb, adverbial, or clause—may be intended to be construed twice, with both the preceding and the following material. For example, in *bugon þa to bence blædagande / fylle gefægon* (*Beowulf* 1013–14a), *blædagande* may be the subject of both *bugon* and *gefægon*. Stanley perceives such ambiguities as unintended. Mitchell catalogues and dismisses the categories of Stanley's counterevidence: poetic meter, element order in subordinate clauses, impressions conveyed by the modern language, and parallels in Old French. He then presents examples of enough different types of relevant constructions to build a taxonomy, distinguishing those types in which the common word, phrase, or clause (the *koinon*) is an inessential element of the syntax (all adverbial types) and those in which it is essential (the remainder). He is confident of his long-held view that belief in *apo koinou* constructions demands commitment to the principle that modern punctuation in Old English texts imposes modern syntactic presuppositions on them.

The point of E.G. Stanley's "Transverse Alliteration," *N&Q* n.s. 46 (1999), 484, is to correct R.W. Burchfield's definition of this term. Despite past usage in Old English studies, Stanley would have it apply now only to the pattern *baab*, and not to *abab*, which he terms "cross-alliteration."

The Poetics of Alliteration, by Alan T. Gaylord, published by the Chaucer Studio (Provo, Utah, 1999) under the auspices of the Southeastern Medieval Association, expands into the realm of Old English the reach of the program of readings of medieval verse that he has pursued these many years. The publication comprises a booklet of 46 pages and a compact disk, of each of which a small portion is devoted to Old English. In the booklet Gaylord gives in translation portions of Bede's account of Cædmon, with selected sentences of the Alfredian translation transcribed in contemporary orthography, and brief passages, similarly treated, from *Widsith* and *Beowulf*, along with a rudimentary account of their alliterative features. His reason for undertaking this project is that "the current interest in the poetics of alliteration almost totally ignores 'aural prosody,' which is to say, how the poetry sounds and feels, and what its formal aspects have to do with its themes, its meanings, and its total effects" (3). This is an unfortunate rationale, since the recordings are not a plausible performative reconstruction. Gaylord's readings are earnest and engaging, but there are some fundamental problems: the meter is disregarded, the pronunciation is wide of the mark, and the performance reproduces the mistranscriptions that

unfortunately plague the texts in the booklet.

Orality and Literacy

It is Continental poetry in German and Latin that is Ernst Hellgardt's real interest in "Anonymität und Autornamen zwischen Mündlichkeit und Schriftlichkeit in der deutschen Literatur des elften und zwölften Jahrhunderts. Mit Vorbemerkungen zu einigen Autornamen der altenglischen Dichtung," in *Autor und Autorschaft im Mittelalter: Kolloquium Meißen 1995*, ed. Elizabeth Andersen, Jens Haustein, Anne Simon, and Peter Strohschneider (Tübingen: M. Niemeyer, 1998), 46–72. But at the start there is a brief discussion of the names of three Old English *scopas*. *Widsiþ* and *Deor* are fictitious names because authorship is a concept foreign to the heroic oral traditions represented by the poems named after these singers. The names are thus designed to suggest figures who represent idealized *scopas*—though Hellgardt's argument is predicated on the mistaken impression that *Deor* means 'highly prized'. (*Deor* 'bold' is not the same as *deore* 'beloved'.) Cynewulf, however, represents a liminal figure, for in his runic signature in *Elene* he appeals to both oral and literate sensibilities, the runes requiring to be represented by their full traditional names when read aloud and at the same time demanding literate treatment as simply letters spelling out the poet's name.

Intertextuality and Culture Studies

At the outset Jennifer Neville foregrounds the epistemological problem at the base of her *Representations of the Natural World in Old English Poetry*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 27 (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999): the Anglo-Saxons had no such concept as "the natural world," and thus one is bound to wonder whether applying such a concept is not simply an exercise in ethnocentricity. She argues instead that she is not applying an anachronistic concept, since, like the Anglo-Saxons, she will not distinguish clearly between the natural and the supernatural. Thus she begins with the bland facts of "nature" in Anglo-Saxon times: the weather, disease, and English fauna. If the Anglo-Saxons were selective in their representation of natural phenomena in poetry—noting, for instance, deer, bears, and wolves but not most small mammals—it is because the ideological uses they made of such creatures were different from ours. For the same reason, it is culturally biased to patronize the early Middle Ages for their intellectual backwardness, as so many historians of science do, as if science and modernity were themselves free of ideological entanglements. If there is no coherent cosmology to be found in Old English poetry, it is because representations of the natural world there serve only ancillary purposes, in support of issues of more importance, which are taken up one by one in succeeding chapters: "the state of humanity and its position in the universe, the establishment and maintenance of society, the power of extraor-

dinary individuals, the proximity of the deity to creation and the ability of writing to control and limit information" (18). The point of references to nature, then, Chap. 2 explains, is always to comment in some way on human affairs. For this reason the creatures described in prose texts about wonders are given antisocial attributes in addition to physically monstrous features. Natural phenomena are portrayed as powerful, in support of the need to rationalize why there must be a superior power like God to govern the universe. More important, though, nature's potency highlights humanity's impotence. Nature is hostile, since it contrasts with humanity in its state of "perpetual siege" on earth. Still, nature in its adversarial role is never reduced to the simply demonic, though realization of our powerlessness against it does motivate the topos of exhortation to seek God, as for example at the end of *The Seafarer*. Nature symbolizes conflict, and thus it highlights the fragility of human society, the topic of Chap. 3. The parallel is particularly clear in the juxtaposition and similarities of the accounts of the creation of the universe and of Heorot near the start of *Beowulf*, the poem to which most of the chapter is devoted. The monsters, it has often been said, define society negatively by their oppositional roles, and yet the point is not that heroic society is a failure. Rather, human society, like humanity, is by nature weak and easily overwhelmed by the forces of nature. Nature, then, is "unnatural," in the sense that nature has none of the positive associations we associate with it now. Nature's destructive role as a foil to society-building is also evident in the natural imagery of poetry about exile, since the exile's condition is one of exclusion from society. Mention of the exile leads to a consideration of Nature's role in defining the individual, as discussed in Chap. 4. The chapter begins with an excursus, though, seeking evidence that the Anglo-Saxons were accustomed to thinking in terms of "humanity" and "society," lest the discussion turn anachronistic. Though the direct evidence is mostly negative, Neville's conclusion is that this merely reinforces the importance of nature, the chief, though indirect, means by which a sense of human community can be detected, however imprecise must be our understanding through such indirect means. Also imprecise is the representation of supernatural enemies (or "alien harmers"), which are only vaguely identified in Old English texts, though such disease-causing elves, dwarves, and other malevolent bogeys may still be thought of as of a piece with natural enemies of humankind like wolves and snakes. The struggles of Guthlac in the fens illustrate the saint as an opponent of the natural world, and Beowulf's continual triumph over natural adversaries, especially in his contest with Breca, is essential to characterizing him as an individual. Though Beowulf finally succumbs to a natural enemy, his death does not reduce his stature (and thus he is not an exemplum of pride and avarice), as his tomb continues his role by serving as a guide to mariners battling the elements. The argument of Chap. 5 is that the natural world helps to define God through his power over it. Literary emphasis on the spa-

ciousness of earth, sea, and the heavens is thus the result of the way they are used to define God's power. The treatment of God in verse is the product of an amalgamation of pagan and Christian attitudes, most evident in *Dream of the Rood* and in the account of God's wrath at *Genesis A* 47–64. This amalgamation was not complete, as classical ideas about cosmology never entirely supplanted native ones, which in turn never formed a coherent whole. No poem directly addresses the paradox of nature's being both hostile to humanity and a representation of a benevolent God's power, though several do attribute human afflictions to God's wrath. "Thus, the natural world is *sometimes* expected to be an ordered, harmonious reflection of God's design (and thus his power), and *sometimes* the hostile incursions of the natural world are ascribed to God, but more often the natural world is depicted as possessing a power and a will independent of God, and demonstrations of God's power take place either in opposition to or in conjunction with this semi-autonomous agent" (177). Chap. 6 takes up the question whether the literary uses of nature in Old English poetry are of a self-conscious kind. Although there is no direct evidence, Neville perceives indirect evidence in the different ways that nature is employed in wisdom literature. There it is not always simply humanity's adversary but a tool employed to this genre's own ends. It is frequently used there as a means of testing and celebrating human knowledge, and thus wisdom literature often exerts power over nature by containing it in words. The brief concluding chapter asserts that references to the natural world do not conform to a single purpose, yet neither are they random, since they consistently lend thematic significance to poems and are not simply decorative. The book includes a partial bibliography of works cited and an index.

Hugh Magennis' article "Food, Drink and Feast in Old English Poetry," noted in *YWOES 1997* (p. 32, to which the reader is referred for a summary), seems to form the basis for most of the first chapter of his *Anglo-Saxon Appetites: Food and Drink and Their Consumption in Old English and Related Literature* (Dublin: Four Courts, 1999). The chapter is rounded out by an addition, a short consideration of *Waltharius*, arguing that although this poem, unlike Old English verse, is not reticent about mentioning food, this is because of the influence of classical epic. The remaining three chapters are summarized in the introduction to the book (11–16, at 15–16) with more concision and authority than I could match:

> The second chapter discusses the eating that there *is* in Old English poetry, and who does the eating. Beginning with images of eating in *Beowulf*, this chapter goes on to consider socio-anthropological issues concerning anxieties about eating. It studies the imagery of wolves and other ferocious animals in Old English poetry, and gives attention to the vocabulary of eating, exploring particularly the use of the eating verbs *etan* and *fretan*. A key focus for the concerns of

the chapter is provided by the threatening figure of Grendel in *Beowulf*, whose grotesque eating has connotations of cannibalism as well as of monstrosity.

Chapter three shifts the perspective to the poetry and prose of Christian teaching. This chapter starts with a detailed examination of the didactic poem *The Seasons for Fasting*, using that text to provide a way into a consideration of Christian teaching and preaching about gluttony and drunkenness in Anglo-Saxon England. One vernacular composition, the Old Saxon gospel poem the *Heliand*, is seen to treat drinking and even drunkenness more indulgently, presumably influenced by secular tradition. There is also a common motif of increase of wine and water-to-wine miracles in saints' lives, suggesting that a more favourable attitude to drinking was possible for religious writers in certain circumstances. But the overwhelming message of the literature of Christian teaching is to do with controlling and regulating earthly appetites, of which excess in eating and drinking was regarded as a particularly dangerous manifestation. This message is shown to be driven home with notable urgency in 'soul and body' and other *memento mori* literature popular in Anglo-Saxon England.

The final chapter is also concerned with images of food and drink in religious literature, but deals not with literal but with metaphorical and spiritual applications of the imagery. One such application is evident in figures of bitter drinks, which were widely exploited in early medieval literature, including Old English. Good spiritual drinks are also referred to by early medieval writers, though it is notable that there is little enthusiasm for this idea among vernacular writers, especially where such imagery has associations of spiritual drunkenness. The Old English text that makes the most sustained use of a theme of spiritual food and drink is *Andreas*, which is discussed in detail in this chapter. *Andreas* is significant too in that it gives developed treatment to the theme of cannibalism.

In this final chapter, Magennis also considers Robert Boenig's analysis of *Andreas* as an expression of early medieval eucharistic debate, and he finds that although the poem has eucharistic overtones, it will not sustain as pointed a eucharistic reading as this. These positive, eucharistic associations of food are actually the less usual ones in religious prose and verse, where eating and drinking are more often simply kinds of excess. In compositions evincing more secular interests, however, drinking is almost always a communal activity, and it is often drained of physical connotations: references are usually to the idea of drinking rather than to the physical act (because of its significance as a ritual of community), and the verb *drincan* is usually employed intransitively (because drink itself and its effects are less important than the social significance of drinking).

As a work written from a cultural studies perspective,

Clare A. Lees's *Tradition and Belief: Religious Writing in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, Medieval Cultures 19 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1999) is unusual, and Lees highlights the differences throughout, beginning even before the table of contents. The discipline of culture studies has tended to neglect the power of tradition, being in this respect like literary history, which "privileges the unique and the new, the emergent over the archaic and dominant, and assigns little value to those genres that are both popular and persistent" (x). The concerns of the discipline have also been largely presentist ones (a charge that Lees has leveled before: see *YWOES 1997*, p. 27), and Lees adopts the ambitious aim "to direct the focus of cultural studies toward the analysis of historical cultural processes" (viii). Most striking of all is the book's continual appeal to the literary qualities of homilies and saints' legends, regarding Old English literate productions not simply as texts but as "aesthetic works"—despite the fairly firm line she draws between her aims and the aims of literary critics. Lees restricts the field of inquiry to vernacular religious writing (with special emphasis, naturally, on Ælfric and Wulfstan) because her interest is in the popular, and she disclaims any interest in source analysis, despite her emphasis on tradition. Poetry is excluded, regardless of her belief in the artificiality of the distinction between religious prose and verse, because she feels the prose has been neglected. These issues, already laid out in brief in the preface, are explored again in the introduction, where they are supplemented by a *Forschungsbericht* of work of the past twenty years on medieval belief in relation to Judaism and Islam, gender, and cultural materialism. The first chapter follows, and it is best summarized by Lees herself (x):

> Chapter 1 argues that cultural theories of tradition as dynamic and changing historical processes informed by specific ideologies clarify what is meant by the term *tradition*. At the heart of these processes are the ways in which tradition maintains its dominance in both literary and social spheres by incorporating change within it, *according to tradition-dependent rules*. This powerful ideology represents itself as universal, but is in fact highly selective. The process of tradition-formation is vital to an understanding of performative genres like preaching, whose purpose is to intervene in the world in specific ways and whose vehicle of intervention is a specific form of language. Sermons, homilies, and saints' lives are thus amenable to sociocultural and to literary analysis, and must be analyzed in terms of their traditionality in both spheres. It is, in fact, traditional works and not new, original, often canonical works that challenge the assumptions of conventional historiography and literary history.

Lees argues that vernacular religious prose has been neglected in literary scholarship because of its derivativeness—its dependence on Latin sources—and its didacticism. That is, it is precisely the features of tradition and belief that have led to its neglect. She counters this dismissive attitude toward religious prose in Chap. 2, in which she describes an aesthetic system to be perceived in the works of the period by its focus on the ideology of origins and transcendence implicit in salvation history. The aspects of that history that serve as commonplaces of religious prose—Creation, Fall, and Redemption—are continually repeated because of the performative nature of belief, demanding perpetual reiteration in the form of worship. She cites some examples of references to origins in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*, but her evidentiary focus is on his *De falsis diis*, in which iterated references to favorite themes, particularly the Trinity and the power of the Creator, themselves constitute an aesthetic mode of belief predicated on repetition. Wulfstan's radically shortened version is a "productive misreading" that lacks the balance of Ælfric's sermon. While Ælfric's real subject is the true God, Wulfstan is interested chiefly in the pagan gods, and he excises the framework of references to salvation history that mold Ælfric's work.

The third chapter comprises three studies anent conventional ideas about time in vernacular homilies and hagiographies. Secular history, both past and present, plays a minor role in homilies because to the homilists it seems insignificant except insofar as it elucidates salvation history. Thus, the first study catalogues references to such contemporary events as the tenth-century revival of monasticism and the Viking raids, locating very few. Special attention is lent Blickling homily XI and Vercelli XI, along with the English prefaces to Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. The second study argues that, in his *Lives of Saints*, Ælfric employs history as a source of moral doctrine. He situates the history of the English Church and its saints within the larger expanse of Christian history, thus inviting his audience to contemplate larger issues than their particular historical circumstances. The third study argues that the usual reading of *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos* as historical evidence distorts our understanding of it, since Wulfstan's purpose is to contrast an idealized past, when Englishmen lived devoutly and peacefully, with the degenerate present.

In Chap. 4 Lees responds to the claims of R.I. Moore that a persecuting society was formed across much of Europe in the period 950–1250, and of Colin Morris (and others: cf. the article by Peter J. Lucas summarized below) that the twelfth century marks the rise of the modern subject. She identifies features of late Anglo-Saxon homilies that lay the groundwork for the rise of both a persecuting mentality and the invention of subjectivity of the modern sort. The mechanism is didacticism, the aim of which is to create a cohesive Christian society by defining the subject in opposition to the unbelieving other—Jew, heathen, or heretic—however abstractly or ideologically defined. Identity is also conferred by the relationship between teacher and learner imposed by the moral obligation of each to fulfill this role, and by homiletic notions about family, marriage, identity, and body that mirror

Anglo-Saxon cultural constructs rather than Christian universals. Traditional belief is thus at base profoundly implicated in the construction of the self.

Chap. 5 focuses on one aspect of that construction, gendered identity, in Ælfric's lives of female saints. The ideal of chastity is the chief vehicle for this exploration of how saintly women are defined as being at once both female and non-female. Lees finds that Ælfric conceives of chastity as a variety of gift, or sacrifice-as-offering, analogizing the "narrative movement of the female saint from social to spiritual rewards" (xiii). Lees's ultimate view of Anglo-Saxon women's social position (*contra* the late Christine Fell's) is that from the perspective of religious ideology, these women were no better off than their Anglo-Norman sisters. The brief Conclusion portrays the book as a challenge to current models of cultural studies and the individual chapters as invitations to further research. The book includes a bibliography of primary and secondary sources and an index.

Paul Cavill's *Maxims in Old English Poetry* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer, 1999) offers strong opinions and frequently acute analyses of Old English apothegms and scholarship about them. After a brief introduction devoted chiefly to explaining what is wrong with prior studies of Old English maxims (chiefly, they are condescending about sententiousness), Chap. 1 begins by characterizing maxim-using Anglo-Saxon culture as "pre-theoretical," in opposition to the "theoretical," maxim-disdaining world view of the post-Enlightenment period—an unfortunate and self-defeating choice of terms, I think, for a distinction in societal attitudes that is nonetheless real, since clearly modern academics, at least, have little regard for sententious expression. (One should be careful, as well, not to generalize this low regard to all of modernity: in Iceland and China, for example, aphoristic expressions are still a staple of ordinary conversation.) In this chapter Cavill lays out the nature and functions of maxims ("sententious generalisations") and gnomes (the "linkage of a thing and a characteristic," as in *winter byð cealdost*) in Old English. Maxims serve an organizing function (i.e. they are nomic in addition to being gnomic), grouping ideas into categories and, especially in prose, cataloguing "trade rules, which define and categorise the functions, qualities and practices of people in different social roles" (14). In narrative literature they serve to characterize protagonists and explain their motives, in addition to marking important narrative junctures.

In Chap. 2 Cavill compares maxims in Old Norse literature, as well as in runic, Old Saxon, and Old High German texts, and he finds that although similarity of phraseology is infrequent, the functions served by maxims in these languages are similar to those in Old English. He is cautious, though, about asserting a "common inheritance of the northern Germanic races." The third chapter is devoted to defining the form, the first part of it to detecting faults in others' definitions and classifications, particularly those that rely on distinctions in the gnomic verb (e.g. *is* vs. *byþ* vs. *sceal* vs. *scyle*).

Cavill reasserts the definitions of "gnome" and "maxim" given above, and he demonstrates that a notion derived from formulaic theory, Anita Riedinger's idea of a "set," is a useful and accurate way to describe maxims, given their relative fixity of form and flexibility of content. The next chapter is devoted primarily to distinguishing maxims and gnomes from proverbs, which are frequently metaphorical, while at least in Old English, maxims and gnomes generally are not. The reasons for this also militate against associating them with riddles. Yet maxims may become as fixed as proverbs, and the rhetorical functions ascribed to them in Chap. 1 suggest that they were regarded as a discrete form serving specific, recognizable purposes.

Chap. 5 examines a gnomic formula of the type *wa bið þæm ðe sceal / of langoþe leofes abidan* and *Dol biþ se þe him his dryhten ne ondrædeþ* and finds that although it is a native type, it is used for eschatological purposes. Its use at the close of *The Wanderer, The Seafarer*, and the account of the Danes' idolatry in *Beowulf* is typical of its use in other contexts, and on that basis there is no reason to regard these passages as interpolated. Chap. 6 offers a theory of the social functions of maxims, along the lines particularly of the rhetorical theory of folklore proposed in a 1968 article by Roger D. Abrahams. The greater part of the chapter, however, is devoted to an analysis of five maxims in *The Battle of Maldon*. Cavill finds that by putting them into the mouths of two old and experienced warriors and one *ceorl*, Dunnere, the poet lends them proverbial and traditional status. This suggests that even if the men were not expected to die by their lord, they were expected to avenge him, heedless of their own safety.

In Chap. 7 Cavill deals with the question whether Old Englsh maxims evince any signs of preserving pagan ideas. He focuses on two passages in particular: (1) *Andreas* 458–60 is often asserted to be a Christianization of *Wyrd oft nereð / unfægne eorl þonne his ellen deah* (*Beowulf* 572b-73), substituting *lifgende god* for *wyrd*. Cavill sees no reason to regard the reference to *wyrd* as in any sense pagan, and yet he believes the passage in *Andreas* "is, if not a Christianisation, then a spiritualisation." (2) The meaning of the stanza about Ing in *The Rune Poem* may not have been understood by the poet, who was simply recording inherited lore. Cavill finds no real evidence for bits of paganism preserved in Old English maxims. In the final chapter Cavill examines the *Maxims* poems and rejects most of the claims advanced by other scholars about purpose and structure. His own views are more conservative: "I believe that they *are* four poems, collections of sayings compiled and elaborated by the poets; they are poetic and purposive; they explore particular themes, they have elements of structure; finally (*contra* Shippey, above), I believe that they quite deliberately tell us about 'the natural and familiar assumptions' of the Anglo-Saxons" (157–58). He examines their style, perceived use of sources, structure, and themes, and he concludes that they represent a kind of socialization, being "educational in the sense of presenting what

everybody knows" (183).

The brief Conclusion (184–85) summarizes the chief findings of each chapter. There are also convenient summaries at the end of most chapters, and the book includes a bibliography and three indices, of general topics, scholars cited, and texts.

Another book by Cavill, *Anglo-Saxon Christianity: Exploring the Earliest Roots of Christian Spirituality in England* (London: Fount, 1999), as the title implies, is not written for scholars but for English Christians in search of possible spiritual roots in the Anglo-Saxon period. It is of some interest to an American reader unfamiliar with current trends in English spirituality that the book seems to be designed in no small measure in reaction to a rising tide of Celticism. The jacket verbiage begins, "Celtic spirituality was not the only form of early Christianity in the British Isles," and it adds, "For all who appreciate Celtic spirituality, here is a fresh and alternative source of nourishment and inspiration." The author himself at the outset characterizes contemporary English spirituality as "a world of sentimentality and 'Celtic' tea towels, manuals of knotwork and do-it-yourself theology" (xi). Cavill sees Anglo-Saxon faith as pragmatic and conciliatory in its essence. "It saw no significant distinction between spirituality and involvement in the world. It was a humane, life-affirming, conscientious and spiritual faith, able to acknowledge differences of opinion while respecting the achievements of, and giving value to, those who held different opinions. In its grasp of the notion of the unity of all Christians in Christ, it resolved some of the problems of secular tribalism. And in these days of renewed secular and religious and indeed Christian tribalism, the Anglo-Saxon church gives a lead in its assertion of true unity and unity in truth" (14). The method of the book is to interpret salient texts, such as Bede's account of Cædmon, *Beowulf*, and *Dream of the Rood*, along these lines—sometimes through imaginative reconstruction of historical circumstances (as with Bede's account of the conversion of Edwin), though Cavill provides translations of the texts he examines in an appendix for the sake of those who might disagree with his interpretations.

The first chapter of Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's *Of Giants: Sex, Monsters, and the Middle Ages*, Medieval Cultures 17 (Minneapolis: Univ. of Minnesota Press, 1999) is devoted to Old English texts, chiefly *The Wanderer* and *Beowulf*. At the start, Cohen examines the *Donestre* of *The Wonders of the East*, monsters which know all languages and ensnare travelers by conversing with them familiarly to gain their trust, then devour their victims, all but the head, over which they sit and weep. Cohen sees the *Donestre* as an emblem of the "extimacy" of identity: "its inescapable self-estrangement, the restless presence at its center of everything it abjects in order to materialize and maintain its borders" (4). This self-estrangement is in turn an analogue to the history of Anglo-Saxon England, which is a "narrative of resistant hybridity, of small groups ingested into larger bodies without full as-

similation, without cultural homogeneity" (4). Indeed, the persistent argument of the chapter is that "the monster became a kind of cultural shorthand for the problems of identity construction, for the irreducible difference that lurks deep within the culture-bound self" (5). The *enta geweorc* of *The Wanderer* illustrate the alterity of giants, since wood was the normal architectural material of the Anglo-Saxons. Unlike Grendel, the giants of this poem are written across the landscape—a landscape analogous to Lacan's geography of the unconscious—embodying alienation and loss, which are the Wanderer's theme. Grendel and the Wanderer in fact have much in common, as they are both versions of the *wrecca*, and the former's lair resembles the latter's sought-for hall. Cohen's own summary of the chapter (xvii–xviii) is more abstract:

> [The chapter] examines the relationship between the extimacy of the giant and the construcon of the category "human" in Anglo-Saxon culture. Although it is difficult to speak in large terms of such a long and varied era in insular history, the giant provides the tentative vocabulary toward a metalanguage for understanding a persistent cultural fascination that collects the period into a loose unity. Because Anglo-Saxon England was continuously faced with challenges to its integrity and self-definition, the hybrid body of the monster became a communal form for expressing anxieties about the limits and fragility of identity. Old English elegy, heroic poetry, and scriptural exegesis alike suggest that the giant gained a particular ascendancy as an embodiment of what it means to be human in a world where the body and subjectivity are under constant threat of dissolution, where history insists that every solid structure break into ruins. The giant is a foundational monster: from his body, the earth is fashioned and the world comes into being. At the same time, the giant menaces any architecture of meaning that humans erect, including language. The giant is at once abjected from human signification and installed deep within the structure of subjectivity, as both its limit and its history in eternal return.

The chapter is sadly marred by some faulty translations and the persistent confusion of Old Norse gods and myths with early Anglo-Saxon beliefs.

Old English literature plays a small role in "The King, the Foreigner, and the *Lady with a Mead Cup*: Variations on a Theme of Cross-Cultural Contact," by Margaret Bridges, in *Multilingua* 18 (1999), 185–207. The italics in the title refer to the 1996 book of that name by Michael J. Enright, tracing the evidence over more than a millennium for a cross-cultural liquor ritual with a woman at its center—an argument that Bridges relies upon in her analysis of a recurrent feasting episode involving a Celtic king, a Germanic warlord, and his daughter Rowena, in the British histories of Nennius,

Geoffrey of Monmouth, and Laȝamon. Bridges sees the feast as "the occasion for representing linguistic diversity as well as transgressive desire for the other, which ultimately leads to loss of sovereignty" (185). *Beowulf* is invoked several times as an aid to the interpretation of the scene in Laȝamon's *Brut* (194–96).

The cycle in the title of Peter Dendle's "Demonological Landscape of the 'Solomon and Saturn' Cycle," *ES* 80 (1999), 281–92 (evidently drawn from his doctoral dissertation: see below), comprises the two poetic dialogues (*Solomon and Saturn I* and *II*), the prose Pater Noster dialogue that connects them, and the *Prose Solomon and Saturn*, though the article is actually concerned only with the first poem and the first prose piece. In *Solomon and Saturn I*, Dendle argues, the conflict between the demons and the letters of the Pater Noster is not particularly Prudentian. The demons are not allegorized as psychological menaces (as one might have expected in a monastic text) but are portrayed as natural ones, for example as serpents that bite cattle. Great emphasis is lent the mayhem that each letter wreaks on its opponent, so that the metaphorical and didactic import of the conflict is downplayed in favor of its more physical aspects. The interpolated prose takes up the topic of the diverse appearance of the demonic broached at the close of the first poem. The fifteen forms assumed by the devil, though perhaps seemingly random, when taken as a whole constitute "a cosmological cross-section of the entirety of Creation." They suggest, again, not "conscious and cunning spiritual seducers" but "natural evils of sword and fang," while the forms assumed by the Pater Noster are designed to provoke awe. Upon his defeat, the devil does not turn immediately to hell but passes through an ecological cycle, entering into a living creature and being expelled into the environment. What is most remarkable is how the theological and folkloristic conceptions of the devil characterize these texts' conception of the demonic with such apparent ease.

Keith Glaeske's copiously documented article "Eve in Anglo-Saxon Retellings of the Harrowing of Hell," *Traditio* 54 (1999), 81–101, is devoted chiefly to surveying and seeking an etiology for the form that Eve's participation takes in Anglo-Saxon accounts of the Harrowing. The texts examined are the *Old English Martyrology*, Blickling Homily VII, a homily *De descensu Christi ad inferos* in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 121, *Christ and Satan*, and six homilies in which she appears at the Harrowing but does not act. She also makes appearances in the *Evangelium Nicodemi* and a Latin Harrowing drama preserved in the ninth-century Book of Cerne. The form of her participation ranges from silent presence to the status of chief speaker among those in hell, and a theme that runs through the instances in which she speaks is her reference to Christ's mother as being of one flesh with her. Glaeske points out that there is no patristic source capable of accounting for the similarities among these treatments of Eve, and her role in the *Evangelium Nicodemi* is too minor. Thus it would appear that the source is an insular tradition, either a lost Latin text older than the account in the *Evangelium Nicodemi* or a theme originating in vernacular literature.

Gabriele Knappe's "Rhetorical Aspect of Grammar Teaching in Anglo-Saxon England," *Rhetorica* 17 (1999), 1–35, is self-described as "a further elaboration and clarification of ideas on the rhetorical aspect of grammar teaching" developed in her 1996 book, *Traditionen der klassischen Rhetorik im angelsächsischen England*, summarized in detail in *YWOES 1996*, pp. 30–31 (where the author's name was inexcusably misspelt by the present reviewer), and her 1998 *ASE* article based on that book. As I cannot discern differences between the content of this article and parts of the book, aside from updated references, I cannot improve upon the summary furnished by the abstract: "In the Christian society and culture of England before the Norman Conquest literary education was centred on grammar. The extant texts reflect an educational system which by no means neglected rhetorical education—but the classical *ars bene dicandi* was apparently basically unknown. Anglo-Saxon England thus provides a test case for the continuation and elaboration of alternatives for classical rhetorical teaching. It is argued that, besides the influence of pedagogical considerations and Germanic poetical devices, the background of Anglo-Saxon rhetorical strategies is to be sought in an extended grammatical curriculum. Instruction in the *praeexercitamina* may have been included in this curriculum. The figures and tropes contained in the grammars for the purpose of text interpretation were certainly studied, and they were also employed in the production of literature. Of utmost importance was the creative use of rhetorical techniques which were deduced from model texts by way of grammatical *enarratio*."

Seth Lerer, in "Old English and Its Afterlife," in *The Cambridge History of Medieval English Literature*, ed. David Wallace (Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999), pp. 7–34, offers a fairly close reading of some texts transitional between the Old and Middle English periods, to discern the influence of Old English literature as Anglo-Saxon culture grew ever further out of reach. Lerer sees poets of the century and a half after the Conquest as deploying devices of meter, diction, and genre to address "problems of social control, political conquest and scholarly nostalgia" (18). The prose of the annal for 1087 in the Peterborough Chronicle is Boethian in theme and homiletic in tone in its lament for the sorry state of England under William, and to that extent it looks back to Old English literature for its inspiration. But the *Rime of King William* in the same entry "mimics the imposition of a Norman verbal world on the English linguistic landscape" (18) by its appropriation of a Continental verse form and Norman vocabulary. *Durham* is similarly syncretic, but of English and Latin traditions, producing a reaffirmation of Anglo-Saxon literature and religion. Poems in the Worcester tradition of a century later—*The First Worcester Fragment, The Soul's Address to the Body*, and *The Grave*—instead bespeak the mood of a conquered world, and if the contemporary love

lyric copied into the margin of BL, MS Royal 8. D. xiii is read in this context, it may be perceived not as a radical departure leading into the rich Middle English tradition of love lyrics but as a vital link between that corpus and the earlier elegiac tradition of Old English. A comparison between the anti-quarian *Brut* of Laȝamon and *The Owl and the Nightingale* suggests that the latter marks a clean break, with its Conti-nental form and playful mood—but most particularly because it is the first English poem to be written out in manuscript like Latin and French verse, each verse line given a separate manuscript line. It would thus seem to announce a new atti-tude toward vernacularity. Yet this poem, too, shares cultural and intellectual concerns with Old English literature.

In "The Language of the Loner: From Splendid Iso-lation to 'Individual' in Early English Poetry?" in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, ed. Helen Conrad O'Briain, Anne Marie D'Arcy, and John Scattergood (Dublin: Four Courts, 1999), 102–118, Peter J. Lucas's purpose is to dispute the claim of Colin Morris, Sir Richard Southern, and Caroline Walker Bynum that the "individual" or the "self" was discov-ered in the twelfth century, since Old English poetry contains evidence to the contrary. He considers three aspects of the in-dividual, the first at the greatest length, by far: "First, there is the solitary individual, for which I use the word 'loner', one who is alone in relation to the social group to which he or she belongs. Secondly, there is the individual in the sense of someone with an emotional consciousness capable of expression, showing what has been called 'emotional charac-terisation'. Thirdly, there is the individual in the sense of a person who shows mental and spiritual development" (105-106). All three aspects of the individual are evident in Old English verse, as Lucas aims to show by means of evidence drawn from a variety of texts, with particular attention to *The Wanderer, The Seafarer, Beowulf,* and *Guthlac A.* The combined evidence, he finds, evinces many of the qualities of individuality that historians seem to believe arose only after the Anglo-Saxon period.

Despite the title of Christina M. Heckman's article "The Sweet Song of Satan: Music and Resistance in the Vercelli Book," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 15 (1999), 57–70 (published by the Illinois Medieval Association), the greater part is de-voted to Bede's story of Cædmon's miraculous gift of song. Heckman reads the story as an account of how undisciplined secular music is brought under ecclesiastical regulation and made safe for the ideological purposes of the Church. Yet music by its nature bears a subversive potential that can never be entirely tamed—a potential most clearly expressed in Ver-celli homily X, in which Satan by means of his harp draws listeners away from the recitation of the gospel. I should say that I am translating here, since the argument is couched in the fairly jargonish critical terms of John Shepherd and Pe-ter Wicke, whose theories about music and culture serve the requisite function of theoretical framework—unfortunately,

in my view, since Heckman's ideas are more interesting than theirs.

D.C. Anlezark's 1997 Univ. of Oxford doctoral thesis, "Representations of Noah and Abraham in Old English Lit-erature," *Index to Theses* 48 (1999), 1612, finds that Noah was regarded as a literal and historical ancestor of the Anglo-Saxons, while Abraham was considered an allegorical father, since the English perceived themselves as having replaced the Jewish people as his legitmate heirs. The final chapter dis-cusses how Abraham's relationships with Sarah and Hagar were problematic for an Anglo-Saxon audience. In his 1998 Univ. of Toronto doctoral dissertation, "The Role of the Devil in Old English Narrative Literature," *DAI* 59A (1999), 4423, Peter Jonathan Dendle points out that the devil is si-multaneously bound in hell and roaming the earth, the lone chief of demons and the totality of them, and both an indi-vidual and a symbol of evil, and these contradictions afford opportunities for literary exploitation and for encoding cul-tural anxieties. Texts discussed include *Solomon and Saturn I*, Alfredian prose, prose homilies and saints' legends (espe-cially Ælfric and the *Life of Margaret*), and the poems *Juliana, Elene, Andreas*, and *Guthlac A.* The 1999 Loyola Univ. of Chicago doctoral dissertation of Stephen John Harris, "Iden-tity in Anglo-Saxon Literature: Ethnogenesis from Bede to Geoffrey of Monmouth," *DAI* 60A (1999), 418–19, exam-ines literary accounts of ethnic origins as evidence for the claim that secular identity in the period 725–1160 was chiefly ethnic. There are chapters devoted to Bede, the Old Eng-lish Orosius, *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae*, and *The Battle of Maldon*. Michael Eugene Matto, in his 1998 New York Univ. doctoral disser-tation, "Containing Minds: Mind, Metaphor, and Cognition in Old English Literature," *DAI* 59A (1999), 3447, examines exhaustively the metaphor of the mind as a container (e.g. *wordhord*) as a key to understanding Anglo-Saxon alterity. In "The 'Legacy' of the 'Remnant': Old English and the Ju-nius Cycle" (1998 Univ. of Manitoba doctoral dissertation), *DAI* 59A (1999), 4137, Phyllis Carole Portnoy examines the motif of the *laf* in the poems of the Cædmon Manuscript, seen collectively as an epic of salvation history and a liturgical celebration of the Easter vigil. This usage is compared with that in *Beowulf*, in which the *laf* recurs as a topos of doom. Just one chapter is devoted to Old English literature in Gavin T. Richardson's 1998 doctoral dissertation from the Univ. of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign, "Truth is Trickiest: The Ex-ploitation of Proverbial Authority in Medieval English Lit-erature," *DAI* 59A (1999), 4137. Richardson examines "the proverb as locus of conflict in Old English literature, demon-strating how authors repeatedly emphasize its malleable and potentially deceptive nature, suggesting that even the foolish and malevolent are capable of mimicking the tongue of the wise." There is also a chapter devoted to Laȝamon's *Brut.*

Gender Studies

In a 1998 Ohio State University doctoral dissertation, "Ruling Women: Popular Representations of Queenship in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *DAI* 59A (1999), 3001, Stacy S. Klein argues that ideals of queenship expressed in literature of the late ninth century through the early eleventh are designed both to praise queenly virtues and to prescribe limits to queens' power. The texts examined (described as vernacular writings composed in Wessex) include the Chronicle, Asser's life of Alfred, *Elene*, and Ælfric's treatment of Jezebel and Esther.

R.D.F.

b. Individual Poems

Genesis A

Scott Norsworthy, whose noteworthy dissertation I reviewed here last year, goes environmental in "The Un-Green Earth in *Genesis A*" (*N&Q* 46, 171–73). The lines in question are 116b–17a—*folde wæs þa gyta / græs ungreen*—which Norsworthy translates as "the ground was not as yet green with grass." The aim of his essay is to bring forward an overlooked biblical verse for the image of the un-green earth. The verse is a variant reading of the Old Latin version of Gen. 2:5, which says that as yet the earth lacked vegetation: "Where the Vulgate reads *virgultum agri* (plant of the field) and *herbam regionis* (herb of the ground), the Old Latin gives *viride agri* (green of the field) and *fenum agri* (grass or hay of the field) respectively. ... Thus the poetic description of the earth as *græs ungrene* incorporates references in the Old Latin version of Genesis 2:5 to grass, the colour green, and the lack of both on the earth at the beginning of Creation" (171–72). As provocative as the image itself is where *græs ungrene* springs up in the poem. At lines 116b–117a, Norsworthy notes, one would expect the poet to translate literally Gen. 1:2, in which, in the first account of creation, the new world is said to be simply *inanis et vacua*, yet the poet skips a chapter ahead, to the second account of creation, to bring in reference to green plants. Norsworthy finds precedent for the poet's linking the two verses in a theological tradition in which Gen. 1:2 and 2:5 are seen as complementary. "In view of the exegetical and liturgical authority behind the reading of both narratives as a single, unified history, it seems likely that in lines 116b–17a the *Genesis A*-poet—who was not only translating but also arranging and inventing—was also beginning to harmonize the heterogeneous biblical accounts of Creation" (173).

In "Old English *græs ungrene* in *Genesis A*, line 117a" (*N&Q* 46, 427–28), Alfred Bammesberger worries over Norsworthy's translation of *folde wæs þa gyta / græs ungrene* as "the ground was not as yet green with grass" (as above) or "The earth was still un-green with grass" (later in Norsworthy's paper). The translations imply that *ungrene* is a predicate adjective modifying *folde*, but this raises the question of how to construe *græs*. "An emendation to dative (instrumental) *græse* is not probable at all," asserts Bammesberger. "It is likely that *græs ungrene* functions as the complement of *folde wæs*...: We would then translate 'the earth was still grass ungreen (=ungreen grass)' " (428). Bammesberger observes that in this construction *græs ungrene* would be a predicate nominative after the link verb *wæs* (my terminology) and that the construction is well attested in OE. No one will doubt the syntax. I doubt the sense. "The earth was still grass ungreen" is an odd notion, equating the earth with grass, a notion not supported by either Gen. 1:2 or 2:5. Norsworthy makes more sense in taking the passage to mean "the earth was still un-green with grass." I would explain *græs* as an instrumental accusative (see Krapp, ASPR I.162, citing Grein)—a possibility Bammesberger rejects without saying why—or, more likely, as an instance of elision, in which *e* of *græse* has been absorbed by the following *u*: edit the half-line as *græs' ungrene*.

Horst Richard Paul Battles takes up "The Art of the *Scop*: Traditional Poetics in the Old English *Genesis A*" (Diss. University of Illinois, 1998). In chapter one, "*Genesis A* and the Traditional Art of Old English Religious Poetry" (1–46), he declares that the Church condemned the content of secular verse yet sought to use the medium to promote her mission. That meant she had to transmute the poetic tradition from secular to religious. The aim of his study, says Battles, is to identify which traditional elements OE religious poets employ, to investigate how a knowledge of traditional elements can enhance our understanding of religious verse, and to explore "the manner in which traditional elements transform the very stories they are used to narrate" (45). Chapter two is devoted to the traditional *theme*, by which Battles means a set of elements that help construct a narrative scene. After reviewing scholarship on the technique, Battles examines *Genesis A* in light of four themes: 1) "The 'Traditional Opening' Theme" (conspicuous by its absence in the poem), 2) "Sleeping After the Feast," 3) "Ancestral Memory and the 'Migration' Theme," and 4) "The Germanic Connection: 'The Traveler Recognizes His Goal.' " In the next chapter, "Traditional Rhetoric: The Echo-Word" (168–240)," Battles distinguishes the Germanic rhetorical tradition from the Latin, defines various categories of the echo-word (literal, etymological, balanced, iterative), discusses echo-words in selected OS and ON as well as OE poems, and examines the echo-word in *Genesis A*, which entails comparing the poetic text with its scriptural source. In the fourth and final chapter, "Traditional Rhetoric: Ring Structure" (241–305), Battles surveys scholarship on ring structure from the *Iliad* through *Beowulf* and from *Beowulf* through the OS *Genesis* and *Heliand*, then takes up ring structure in *Genesis A*, stressing the role of tradition in the individual poet's talent. The many remaining pages (306–93) are devoted to a "Conclusion," various appendices, and a bibliography.

The dissertation is a mottled glory. The mottles. First, there is a rich array of errata—typos, mistranslations, faults of

scholarly form—throughout. Second, in the opening chapter Battles shows no evidence of knowing that the challenge faced by Anglo-Saxon Christians is revealingly analogous to that earlier faced by Latin Christians: to baptize a secular poetic tradition for spiritual ends. Both groups replaced pagan subject matter with Christian while retaining traditional poetic technique. Third, the opposition Battles sets up in the first chapter between secular OE verse and Christian OE verse bears little direct relationship to the three following chapters on poetic technique, poetic technique being neither pagan nor Christian. The glory. The second chapter adroitly surveys thematic scholarship and pointedly challenges the "hero-on-the-beach" as a genuine theme. The third chapter develops tenable criteria for deciding whether a poet is deliberately employing echo-words and presents a sensitive discussion of the applied technique. The fourth chapter deftly analyzes ring structure as an epitome of modular composition in OE verse, that is, composition in self-contained units, and as doing in large what themes and type-scenes do in small. Three excellent chapters. Yet their excellence is qualified by the fact that half the discussion is given to poems other than *Genesis A*, the putative focus of the work: this cannot be the dissertation its author originally wanted to write. A weirdly wonderful and wonderfully weird creature, this beast of Battles.

Genesis B

Chiara Staiti confides that "La *Genesi B* e il sesso degli angeli" (*Linguistica e Filologia* 10, 187–217, ill.) was born from discussions with her brother, Nico, an art historian. Pleasingly, she dedicates the essay to him in honor of his fortieth birthday. (This recalls Earl R. Anderson's dedicating an essay a dozen years ago "to my son, Daniel": *ES* 68 [1987], 1–23.) Staiti challenges A.N. Doane's argument that the first Junius 11 artist was influenced by the translator's use of OE *gal* 'lust' in rendering (presumably) OS *gel* 'exaltation.' Doane's evidence is that in two pictures in the context of *Genesis B* 327b, *hie hyra gal beswac*, the artist portrays some of the fallen angels with explicit male genitalia although elsewhere in the illustrations nudes are neutered ("Interdialectics and Reading in *Genesis B*," *Of Pavlova, Poetry and Paradigms*, ed. Laurie Bauer and Christine Franzen [Wellington, 1993], 112–22; reviewed in *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 34). Staiti attacks on various grounds. First, she doubts that OE *gal* means simply 'lust.' Assigning the word a wide semantic range from lust to pride comparable to OE *wlanc*, Staiti takes *gal* at line 327b as indicating the evil angels' "superbia." (I wish she had said 'gall.') Second, she asserts that the set of pictures illustrating *Genesis* was not created *ex novo* for Junius 11 and that the depiction of genitalia may have originated to illustrate a narrative of the fall other than that in *Genesis B*. Staiti observes, third, that there is a revered tradition in which nudity is seen as reflecting the evil angels' loss of celestial glory, naked humiliation being part of their hellish punishment, and that there is no reason to see the genitalia in the present pictures as anything more than that. Fourth, she contends that the two illustrations, one on p. 16, the other on p. 17, are not well coordinated with the half-verse on p. 18 (*hie hyra gal beswac*) they purportedly illustrate. Staiti's third argument seems strongest. For my part I note that there appears to be but one fallen angel with exposed genitalia in the picture on p. 16 and but two (or perhaps just one) in the picture on p. 17. An artist itching to etch the lust of the lost would hardly be so bashful about it. It remains true, however, that this artist had good reason to be bashful. "[T]he nudes," Charles R. Morey declared a while ago in "The Illustrations of *Genesis*" (Charles W. Kennedy, *The Cædmon Poems Translated into English Prose* [London, 1916], 178), "are perhaps the worst in Christian art."

Exodus

Dorothy Haines sets her hand to "Unlocking *Exodus* ll. 516–532" (*JEPG* 98, 481–98). The poet says that Moses addressed the Israelites after they crossed the Red Sea and specifies that everything Moses told them on that journey can be found in Scripture. The poet then remarks that "if the interpreter of life, bright in the breast, the body's guardian, will unlock the great benefit with keys of the Spirit, the mystery will be explained, counsel will go forth." Or so I translate lines 523–26. Here is the original:

> Gif unlocan wile   lifes wealhstod,
> beorht in breostum,   banhuses weard,
> ginfæstan god   Gastes cægon,
> run bið gerecenod,   ræd forð gæð;

(from Irving's edition, 1953, as modified by his "New Notes," *Anglia*, 1972). *Lifes wealhstod* is usually taken as "the intellect responsive to and responsible for spiritual interpretation" (as I put it in *ELN* 15 [1977], 85). Haines contends that *lifes wealhstod* is to be identified, rather, as Christ. She supports the contention, first, by citing scriptural passages in which Christ is said to explain the Old Testament in light of the New (e.g., Luke 24:27, 24:44–45) and, second, by citing comments on these scriptural passages by such gentlemen as Ambrose, Augustine, Bede, and Ælfric. Haines also argues that *wealhstod* can well be translated as "mediator," that *banhuses weard* is an appropriate term for Christ as head of the church, and that her interpretation smoothes out some otherwise rough places in the larger passage. A daring argument arguably correct.

What makes me uneasy, however, is that *Gif unlocan wile* makes the task of unlocking Scripture sound conditional, as though the *lifes wealhstod* may or may not choose to do it—more appropriate for the unstable human will (cf. line 7b) than for Christ; that *banhus* 'bone-house' is a very concrete term for "body" and jars as an image for the *corpus* of the church, of which Christ is the head; that Christ would

hardly need to use the *Gastes cægon* 'keys of the Spirit' to unlock Scripture but would act on his own authority (Haines's interpretation, "keys of the spirit," with lower case *s*, does not quite answer the objection); and that the Holy Spirit, not Christ, traditionally has the role of guiding the post-Ascension church to truth. Haines refers to the poet's "well-known propensity for learned riddling" (497). Perhaps he is up to his old trick of juggling shadows in the shadows and that the passage in one way refers to Christ (although I would consider the Holy Spirit a better bet) and in another to the spiritual intellect.

Lines 135–53 in *Exodus* begin by focusing on the Egyptians' pursuit of the Israelites, then shift focus to the origin of hostilities between the two nations. In 1975 John F. Vickrey (called Joseph Vickrey in the book under review below, 43, 64) published on essay on the passage entitled " 'Exodus' and the 'herba humilis' " (*Traditio* 31, 25–54). In concluding my review of the article for YWOES, I asserted, "Although some of Vickrey's points (including his main one) are open to question—in part because of the large loss of text between lines 141–42—he does appear to have identified correctly the poet's literal and figural frame of reference" (*OEN* 10.1 [1976], 66). For a few years after I read Vickrey, I would gaze at the passage at odd hours, wondering the while. I thought—and think still—that Vickrey assembled about half the puzzle. I believe I can assemble more of it but am still not able to put it all together.

A scholar now arises, Bryan Weston Wyly, who employs the passage as the focal point and the point of departure for a book on the poem, *Figures of Authority in the Old English 'Exodus,'* Anglistische Forschungen 262 (Heidelberg: Winter), a revised version of his 1996 Cambridge doctoral thesis. Chapter one (1–29), "Reading 'Exodus,' " briefly treats of codicological matters, then considers the question of date, on which Wyly agrees with R.D. Fulk that the poem was composed before 825 but disagrees with Fulk on some details. After rejecting figural interpretations of *Exodus* because the "methodology has led to impasse" (18), he says his semantic study—wherein the narrative conflict is envisioned as a lawsuit, with the Egyptians and Israelites making quasi-legal claims against each other—will shine bright light into the poem's dark corners. To define the conflict, he takes up lines 144–47 and proposes to emend the manuscript reading at line 145b, *ymb an twig*, to *ymb' andwege* 'about the high seat,' a reflection of ON *pndvegi*. Two pages after proposing *ymb' andwege*, the most conjectural emendation in the history of the crux, Wyly faults Peter J. Lucas's discussion of scribal error in *Exodus* as "riddled with conjectural emendations" (29).

Chapter two (31–105), entitled "morðor fremedon" after line 146b, first focuses on lines 135–41, in which Wyly sees the poet as employing amphibole, that is, describing a scene in terms applicable to the Egyptians from one perspective and equally applicable to the Israelites from another. Wyly is not the first to note this feature in *Exodus* (see my concluding

remarks above on Haines's article) but is the first to give it a formal name, and he makes a plausible point here and there in discussing lines 135–41. He now turns to earlier lines in the poem. His analysis of lines 8–32 seems to me the most rewarding part of the book (65–70). In discussing the tenth plague, lines 33–53, he struggles, like everyone else, with such terms as *ingere, seledreamas, manscaðan, laðsið,* and *leodhata.* Linger a moment on *mansceaðan.* The wordplay Wyly detects in the first element—*man* with a long vowel meaning 'evil', with a short vowel meaning 'man', each equally suited to the context (82–84)—is not new. I made the case earlier in *"Mansceaðan:* Old English *Exodus* 37" (*Neophilologus* 66 [1982], 145–48). One weakness in Wyly's work is his sketchy acquaintance with earlier *Exodus* scholarship, of which my own may serve as a convenient example: of my sixteen publications on *Exodus* before 1996, he gives no evidence of knowing any.

In the third chapter (107–213), entitled "wære fræton" after line 147b, Wyly seeks to understand "the decision-making process" of Egypt and of Israel (107) and explores the military, political, and societal organization of each. For half the chapter he pursues two nouns describing the Egyptians, *ingemen* (190a) and *hægstealdmen* (192b). The treatment is so self-indulgently digressive—and so stunningly erudite—it has to be read to be believed. What cannot be believed even when read is the story Wyly concocts to explain why the Egyptians set out after the Israelites. He asserts that, in the poet's view, the power structure in Egypt was predicated on a cultic ruling class whose status depended on inheritance, inheritance that could not be passed on without funeral rites, funeral rites that could not be enacted without sacrificing livestock, livestock that could not be sacrificed because they were dead from the tenth plague. The Egyptians come after the Israelites intending to slaughter them in place of their animals.

The next chapter (215–291), entitled "wrohte berenedon" after line 147a, compares and contrasts Moses and the Pharaoh as leaders. This prompts Wyly to explore at length various nouns applied to Moses—and to embark on another dazzlingly learned chapter-dominating digression, this time on *frea* and *frigea.* Wyly disputes "the alleged synonymy" of the terms (235), finding that the first connotes a national leader and the second a domestic leader with a sacral role, like Moses. In considering *regnþeofas* 539a, Wyly speculates that the poet associated the Pharaoh with pre-Christian political leaders who tried to maintain their control after death through cultic worship. Near the end of the chapter he proposes the juridical ordeal as a revealing interpretive paradigm for the poem. The specific ordeal he has in mind is crossing the sea: the Israelites succeed while the Egyptians die in the effort, showing that the god of Moses is more powerful that the god of the Pharaoh. Wyly attempts to support the point by conjuring up an ON sea myth.

In the final chapter (293–304), " 'Exodus' and the Figure of Authority," he summarizes his approach and speculates on

the poem's date. He sees *Exodus* as originating in early Christian Northumbria but as having been copied by a West Saxon scribe, perhaps associated with Aldhelm, before the end of the seventh century.

Wyly's seventh-century dating of the poem at first perplexed me in view of his heavy reliance on late ON evidence, but I came to see why he needs an early date. An early date helps make more believable his claim that the *Exodus* poet draws on the old religion in depicting the conflict between Israel and Egypt. But to think of the *Exodus* poet as writing within a few years of Cædmon is implausible. More implausible still is Wyly's overall atavistic argument, which reenacts nineteenth-century German philologists in their search for Anglo-Saxon paganism. Like them, this brilliant linguotechnie readily ranges the pan-Germanic world for words with the palest echo of religious sense, orchestrates the echoes, and proclaims a pagan hymn—if not a full-blown religion. And Christianity? Too large for him to see. At line 12a the poet says of Moses, *He wæs leof gode*. Wyly translates, "he was beloved by a god" (220). Is there any justification for inserting "a," as though the Christian poet somehow believed in a pantheon? Little wonder that Wyly, who beholds so simple a half-line with an uncomprehending eye, cannot comprehend the complex nature of patristic typology in its literary application, the key, as Vickrey stressed a quarter of a century ago, to understanding lines 135–53. What *Figures of Authority in the Old English 'Exodus'* fails to fathom in the Old English *Exodus* is the figure of authority of Christian *figura*.

Judith

In "Bloody Signs: Circumcision and Pregnancy in the Old English *Judith*" (*Exemplaria* 11, 285–307), Susan Kim says that *Judith* is a fragmentary poem not simply because of textual loss but because it centers on the two fragments of Holofernes's body and that "the critical focus on its original length reproduces rather than reads the poem's anxiety" (286). She says that the beheaded head is taken by Judith as one sign and his torso is taken as another by the Assyrian warrior who discovers it. She says that, in the beheading scene, "The graphic emphasis on the two strokes of the sword . . . may suggest not simply castration [as others have argued], but also the two cuts of circumcision" (292). She says that Judith's taking the bed canopy in the Vulgate version "can be read as a figure for the foreskin in Judith's castration-circumcision of Holofernes" (293) and that Judith's not taking the canopy in the OE poem "suggests that the circumcision metaphor is being both presented and resisted" (295). She says that the nature of the resistance is clarified by the fact that in the poem (unlike in the Vulgate version) Judith accepts Holofernes's armor as booty. Judith's acceptance of the armor, she says,

> suggests that Judith does not divorce herself from what remains of Holofernes, and explains why she does not take the canopy when she takes Holofernes's

head. The *fleohnet* is not just the veil which prevents access to true interpretation. It is also the crux of a metaphor for generating and interpreting language, one which does not negate, but runs counter to the exclusive binarism of the circumcision metaphor. (296)

She says that the lack of emphasis on Judith's chastity in the OE poem makes possible an "escape" from the binarism of "abstinence/debauchery" and of "circumcised/impure" because "it opens the possibility, speculative though it may be, of the active and inclusive engagement of Judith's (female) body in the generation and interpretation of signs" (298). She says that John P. Hermann is right to compare Judith, twice called *wundenlocc* in the decapitation scene (77b, 103b), to the *wundenlocc* woman in the highly sexual "onion" riddle (riddle 25) because "the sexualized context of [the beheading] episode can also be literalized as intercourse, in terms very like those of the Riddle, and finally as a perverse sort of impregnation" (300). She says that the bed canopy functions, "like pubic hair, both to mark and to obscure a sexual site" (301) and that the bagged head evidences Judith's "sexualized encounter, the outcome of a symbolic pregnancy" (301). She says that in showing the head to her people Judith "demands that the Bethulians read the sign with the meaning she has assigned to it. At the same time, however, through the visible literalness of the sign, she disallows that reading" (305). And she says that

> Judith's revision of the relationship to the fleohnet is a revision of the relationship articulated through the body to the process of using and generating language. Although Judith does not transform the severed head, or wholly alter the terms of this relationship, in the literalization and collapse of the metaphors of circumcision and pregnancy, she still presents the instant of reading "clearly" which demands its reconception. (307)

Paris Psalter

Paul Cavill's "Children and the Rock: The Ending of the Old English Metrical Psalm 136" (*English Studies* 80, 89–105) is a response to M.J. Toswell's "The Translation Techniques of the Old English Metrical Psalter, with Special Reference to Psalm 136" (*English Studies* 75 [1994], 393–407), in which Toswell faults Cavill's analysis of 136:9 in a 1985 essay. Here, as presented by Toswell, are the two lines in question, to which she appends a version of the Latin source:

> 9 Eadig byð se þe nimeð   and eac seceð
>   his agen bearn   on þone æþelan stan.
> 9 Beatus qui tenebit & allidet paruulos tuos ad
>   petram.

Cavill apportions discussion in "Children and the Rock" under four headings. Under the first, "The Text," he maintains four points: that MS *seceð* should be emended to *seteð*, that the poet likely used a Latin text of the psalm in which *suos* occurred rather than *tuos*, that *æþelan* is not an empty word used to make alliteration but claims full semantic force, and that the syntax of 136:9 reflects that of "gnomic formulas" elsewhere in OE verse. Under the second heading, "The Poet's Use of Language," Cavill contends that the poet departs from the literal sense of the Latin source by introducing ambiguity and contrast and by progressively lightening the dark content of the original lines. Under the third heading, "Towards Interpretation: Themes and Formulas," he argues that the poet deliberately takes leave of the Latin because a literal translation "might mislead the more militant among his audience into thinking that paddling in the blood of one's enemies and dashing their children's brains out had divine sanction for Christians" (102). Under the final heading, "Conclusion," Cavill gracefully bows to Toswell's scholarship on the *Paris Psalter* but insists that his interpretation of the passage is "plausible" (105). It more than plausible. It is rock solid.

Christ III

Pondering "Prophecy and Parable in Medieval Apocalyptic History" (*Religion and Literature*, 31.1, 25–45), James W. Earl focuses first on *Christ III* as his "presenting case" (31) but ranges far beyond. Earl quotes Albert S. Cook's frustrated analysis of *Christ III*'s construction—which Cook thinks desultory and repetitive—and maintains that the madness in the poet's method arises from "a non-linear vision of history in which events are viewed in patterns other than chronological" (26). Medieval Christian historians, says Earl, sometimes sought to stand outside history, striving to see at once history past and history future. Such dual vision characterizes apocalyptic literature and related genres. "[M]edieval end-of-world literature," argues Earl, "has three distinct roots in the Bible, in three distinct literary genres: prophecy, parable, and apocalypse" (29). Earl concentrates on prophecy and parable. He notes that biblical prophecy often appears as chaotic. "If *Christ III* seems repetitious, what would Cook say about Isaiah?" (32). Taking up *Beowulf*, Earl quotes Klaeber's quotable characterization of the poet's "rambling, dilatory method" with its "forward, backward, and sideward movements" (33). Earl devotes detailed attention to the interlace style in *Beowulf* and suggests that it was written, like *Christ III*, by a poet familiar with the "rambling and dilatory prophetic books of the Bible" (34). Noting that parables are "strongly associated with eschatological themes; and in the Middle Ages eschatology seems to conjure up parables by association" (37), Earl discusses the parable with which *Christ III* begins—the Second Coming will come like a thief in the night—as well as parables elsewhere in OE literature. What makes prophecy and parable "so appropriate to apocalyptic themes?" Earl asks Earl (43).

Earl answers:

> Both genres suspend the usual logic of worldly history: one suspends the structures of time, the other the structures of logic. Both are disorienting—or, we might better say, *orienting*, in the sense that they lead the audience to view the world from an apocalyptic perspective outside the mundane orders of this world. (44)

Earl makes a more powerful case for the influence of biblical prophecy on OE apocalyptic literature than for the influence of parable. I would also strongly distinguish the interlace pattern in *Beowulf* from the pattern of thematic recurrence in *Christ III*. And I wonder whether simple human nature might explain much apocalyptic (dis)organization. In speaking we repeat, digress, regress, repeat, loop back, leap ahead, repeat, back and fill, and shilly-shally—all without apocalyptic pressure. Some artists create art like that.

Solomon and Saturn *and* Resignation

Daniel Paul O'Donnell in "*Hædre* and *hædre gehogode* (*Solomon and Saturn*, Line 62b, and *Resignation*, Line 63a)" (*N&Q* 46, 312–16) notes that "dictionaries distinguish between two poetic adverbs": *hædre*, with long *æ*, meaning "brightly," and *hædre*, with short *æ*, meaning "anxiously." He argues that the short-ash form is but an ashen ghost of the bold long-ash form. Supporting *hĕdre* 'anxiously' (as against the amply attested *hēdre* 'brightly') are but two bits of anxious evidence. First, at *Solomon and Saturn* 62b, A text, *hædre* occurs in conjunction with incendiary imagery, in which the sense "brightly" well suits the context. Saturn says, "at times a *fire* rises up in me, my mind wells *brightly* [not "anxiously"] near the heart" (313; O'Donnell's italics, my brackets). O'Donnell contends that the B text reading, *hearde* 'vigorously'—evidently introduced by a scribe who missed the metaphor—douses the poet's poetic fireworks. The second piece of evidence lexicographers have cited for *hĕdre* 'anxiously' appears at *Resignation* 63a in the phrase *hædre gehogode*, which prompts O'Donnell to take up in turn the seven other times *gehogian* / *gehycgan* occurs in the poetic corpus, finding that the verb can mean "to resolve, decide, intend." Finally, O'Donnell analyzes the immediate and overall context of *hædre gehogode* in *Resignation*, asserting that the phrase, in reference to the soul, means "brightly resolved" at least as well as "anxiously oppressed." O'Donnell concludes, reasonably, that "only one adverb, *hĕdre*, 'clearly, brightly' was known in Old English" (316).

Physiologus

In "Beasts and Baptism: A New Perspective on the Old English *Physiologus*" (*Neophilologus* 83, 461–77), Andrea Rossi-Reder reads the *Physiologus* as an Easter triptych. After noting that the poem comprehends the three realms of the material

world—earth (panther), sea (whale), and sky (bird)—Rossi-Reder remarks:

> To stress the relation of his cosmology to Easter, the poet encompasses in the scope of the poem Christ's three day journey from earthly death, to the harrowing of hell, and finally to heaven, the events of Good Friday, Holy Saturday, and Easter Sunday. "Panther" symbolically tells the story of Christ's death, harrowing of hell, and resurrection, and presents Christ as the exemplar for Christians. The whale account deals with a symbolic journey to hell, the journey undertaken by sinners, who do not follow the model of Christ. Their journey is anti-baptismal because these persons enter the unconsecrated waters and are drowned instead of saved. The bird fit, describing the Last Judgment, when both the saved and the damned will come together for one last time, synthesizes the two preceding fits. (467)

Rossi-Reder persuades me that the poet aimed to compose a tripartite poem possessing "carefully planned thematic unity" (461) and that what is lost from the Exeter Book is only a large section from the third part—not hundreds of lines from a multifarious work. (See also Michelle C. Hoek, "Anglo-Saxon Innovation and the Use of the Senses in the Old English *Physiologus* Poems," *Studia Neophilologica* 69 [1997]:1–10.) Supporting the point, she points out, is the fact that an Anglo-Latin *Physiologus* (in CCCC MS 448) is trinary as well, with entries on the lion, unicorn, and panther (474). But I am not persuaded that the OE *Physiologus* dovetails with the Easter Triduum. I see nothing particularly liturgical about it. Christians at Easter are bidden to die and rise with Christ (panther), eschew evil (whale), and contemplate the Second Coming (bird): true. It is equally true, however, that Christians are bidden to die and rise with Christ, eschew evil, and contemplate the Second Coming throughout the church year. The whale is the fly in the ointment. If we knew that the OE *Physiologus* is in fact an Easter poem, we would be obliged to conclude that the lines on the whale are an ironic inversion of Easter baptism and of the harrowing of hell. But we do not know that the poem is an Easter poem. Rossi-Reder does, however, write a riveting essay. May we soon see more of the University of Connecticut dissertation (475, n. 13) from which the present piece springs.

Ruin

In " 'The Rune'. Proposta di rilettura" (*Linguistica e Filologia* [Bergamo] 4 [1997], 25–48), Maria Grazia Cammarota argues that the *Ruin* does more than describe a ruin: the poet meditates on earthly transience and intimates a Christian solution, the hope of eternal life. The poem, as Cammarota sees it, is structured on implied antithesis. Ruin implies restoration; the ruined City of Man implies the restored City of God. Pregnant diction permeates the poem. The poet begins, *Wrætlic is þes wealstan* (1a). He does not say the wall-stone was wondrous but *is* wondrous. *Wealstan* suggests Christ—called by the very term in *Christ I* (2a)—the cornerstone of the church. Similarly, the *Ruin* poet's *eorcanstan* (36b) recalls Christ the *earcnanstan* in *Christ III* (1195a). (Cammarota also finds other vital similarities between the *Ruin*, on the one hand, and *Christ I* and *Christ III*, on the other.) The fall of this too human city represents the fallen human condition. The references to lost hall joys do not, however, remind us only of Eden's lost joys; they call to mind by contrast the joys of heaven. The succession of kingdoms in the poem points to the kingdom without end. Reference to the city's dead builder evokes the thought of Christ, the true builder of God's city. The poem does not smolder with dark and tragic sense; it glows with implicit praise of Christ, the precious stone chosen by God to ransom the human race, the cornerstone on whom is founded the Lord's temple. Cammarota's reading is the most hopeful reading I have read of the *Ruin*. I hope she is right. Otherwise I am inclined to read the work through the eyes of Ozymandias.

Menologium

Pauline Head, in "Perpetual History in the Old English *Menologium*" (*The Medieval Chronicle*, ed. Erik Kooper, Costerus n.s. 120 [Amsterdam and Atlanta], 155–62), considers the "methods by which time is shaped and characterized" in the poem (155). One means of linking annual events is to employ chronological and quasi-logical wording. For example, the poet says that if you know the date of the Finding of the Cross, you will know likewise—*swylce*—the date for the beginning of summer six days later. Seemingly innocent adverbs insinuate causality:

> The implication of *swa* or *swylce* ... extends further to suggest: '*Because* that feast occurred, summer will unfold.' Mental links describing chronological connections between natural and liturgical seasons are projected, through language, as logical associations existing in the world. Through this linguistic process, comprehension configures the world as a text with a narrative structure, with the logic of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* (after this, therefore because of this) transforming consecution into consequence. (156)

Another means linking annual events is the "montage" of verb tenses in which past events are celebrated as though present and natural time is tied to liturgical: St. Martin died in history but lives in the liturgy to die anew each winter. Time is also localized as a place, whereby months and seasons pass through the "town" in which dwell speaker and audience. Such a perspective, Head says, is metaphoric, implying a plotted story—here the Christian story, the story of Christ—rather than metonymic, in which the only nexus between

events is chronological contiguity. Following the *Menologium* in Cotton Tiberius B. i are *Maxims II* and the C-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Like a preface, the *Menologium* gives the *Chronicle*'s inconclusive conclusion a context. "The *Menologium* implies that the story of the *Chronicle* will eventually be complete because the time frame of Christianity is structured according to resolution" (161).

Speaking of cycles and seasons, time and tide, beginnings and endings:

Vale, mi Lector benevole

In the late fourth century an old Roman soldier, back from a far-flung province (Britannia, I suspect), asked a barkeep at Rome for the new drink called a martinus. "Martinus? Don't you mean martini?" asked the barkeep. "Look," replied the soldier, "if I wanted more than one of the things, I would have said so."

In 1975 Professor Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., asked if I would like to help him for a year on his section of YWOES (back then called "Old English Poetry Exclusive of *Beowulf*"). Before long the martinus turned martini, and after twenty-five-years I now declare my thirst thoroughly slaked. Sincere thanks to all the scholars alongside whom I have toiled in this section over the years: Joe Trahern, William Stoneman, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, Jonathan Wilcox, Susan E. Deskis, David F. Johnson, Nicole Guenther Discenza, and Eileen A. Joy. Thanks as well as to the editors of YWOES who have patiently borne with me: the late Rowland L. Collins, Joe Trahern, Peter S. Baker, and R. D. Fulk. I have named Joe Trahern on both lists. I owe him a double debt of gratitude for his kindness to and encouragement of a young scholar and for his camaraderie then and thereafter.

J.R.H.

Charms

Readers of Willy L. Braekman's "Notes on Old English Charms III: *corn on þa fet*" (*Neophilologus* 83, 623–36) will receive an education in diseases of horses' feet and gain an important medical context within which to better understand a neglected horse charm found in MS. Harley 285 that Grattan and Singer once titled "Gibberish veterinary charm" (G-S CLXIII; Storms 75). According to Braekman, this charm has received less attention than it deserves because "the nature of the disease it is said to cure has not been properly understood," and also because "the charm contains a series of magic, apparently nonsensical words but without any indication what is to be done with them" (623). By comparing the OE charm with three similar Latin magical texts, one of which is contemporary with the 10th-century OE charm (the other two date from the 12th century), Braekman believes he can define the disease more precisely, supply the ceremony meant to accompany the magical words, and make some progress toward understanding the "nonsensical" text. Braekman points

out the illogic of Bosworth and Toller's definition of the OE "corn" as "a hard *or* cornlike pimple, a corn, kernel on the feet" (624) since horses have hooves. It initially appears that each of the four parallel charms is directed toward different equine ailments, but through a close linguistic analysis and by drawing upon a wealth of modern German, English, French, and American veterinary texts, Braekman convincingly shows how the OE "corn" and the seemingly unrelated horse maladies mentioned in the Latin texts are all bound up together as either symptoms and/or causes related to "lameness in a horses' feet" (631). Because one of the parallel 12th-century Latin texts provides fairly detailed instructions on how to administer the charm, and because some of these are seen by Braekman as conversant with instructions provided in two other OE charms (Storms 13 and 43), as well as with certain pagan rituals found in Icelandic literature, he assumes that these would have applied to the OE charm as well. Finally, Braekman includes charts that provide a word-for-word comparative breakdown of the "nonsense" words in each text, illustrating a clear relation between the four texts, and he then suggests how some of these words could be emended to make more sense. Braekman concludes with a provisional emended Latin version of the charm that assimilates the four parallel texts, although it has to be noted that no sensible translation, even with Braekman's assistance, is yet possible, thereby leaving open a breach into which other scholars may readily leap.

In "Stratégies de double dans deux conjurations magiques de l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne" (*Magie et illusion au Moyen Age*; Sénéfiance 42; Aix-en-Provence; pp. 339–50, ill.), Anne Mathieu examines two OE metrical charms, *Against a Wen* (ASPR 6, no. 12) and *For Theft of Cattle* (ASPR 6, no. 9), in order to delineate what she terms "'strategies of the double,' techniques of dividing into two and pairing which permit the magician to get the better of his adversary" (341; translations are mine). Mathieu asserts that these two charms have not received the attention they deserve because they contain too many obscure allusions, although the three cattle-theft charms from CCCC 41, which include one of the two charms Mathieu examines, *have* received some serious attention lately. To cite just two recent examples, see Heather Barkley, "Liturgical Influences on the Anglo-Saxon Charms against Cattle Theft," *N&Q* 44, 450–52 and Stephanie Hollis, "Old English 'Cattle-Theft Charms': Manuscript Contexts and Social Uses," *Anglia* 115, 139–64 (both reviewed in *OEN* 32.2 [1999]). It is Mathieu's purpose to look at the ways in which the two charms might have functioned within the context of a larger body of Indo-European magic literature and to pinpoint some of the unique symbols and images that OE literature, in particular, would have contributed to that larger oeuvre, thereby demonstrating "the richness of Anglo-Saxon magic philosophy" (341). In this respect, her essay is similar to Lois Bragg's "The Modes of the Old English Metrical Charms—the Texts of Magic," published

in *New Approaches to Medieval Textuality*, ed. Mikle Dave Ledgerwood; New York: Peter Lang, 1998; 117–40 (reviewed in *OEN* 33.2 [2000]). Mathieu believes that the two charms, although using imagery unique to their respective purposes, also draw upon a larger bank of Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian symbolic figures, and she deftly draws comparisons between the concrete images of the two charms and congruent images found in *Beowulf, Elene*, Eddic saga, skaldic verse, Swedish charms, the Creation riddle (Krapp-Dobbie 40; Williamson 38), and—perhaps stretching a bit too far beyond the tenth century—*The Owl and the Nightingale*. To illuminate some of the more puzzling imagery in *Against a Wen*, Mathieu also consults Anglo-Saxon medical and botanical literature. Finally, Mathieu draws parallels between the magical invocations of dessication and reduction utilized in both charms. Scholars interested in the two charms' literary, figurative, and symbolic aspects, as well as in their possible connections to a larger corpus of Indo-European magical literature, will find this article decidedly worthwhile, although it should be mentioned that, other than a brief reference to H. Bächtold-Stäubli's *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* (Berlin, 1929–30), Mathieu does not discuss any texts from that larger corpus.

Deor

In *Homer's Traditional Art* (University Park: Pennsylvania State Univ. Press; xviii, 363 pp.), John Miles Foley devotes only the Afterword—"'*Deor*' and Anglo-Saxon Sêmata" (263–70)—to OE poetry; nevertheless, his study of the relationship between oral tradition and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is a valuable comparative resource for scholars interested in recent debates over the relationship of Anglo-Saxon poetry to oral tradition, and especially for those whose work has been influenced by the labors of A.N. Doane, Eric Jager, Seth Lerer, John D. Niles, Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, and Carol Braun Pasternack. As Niles once asserted that *Beowulf* is "a tertium quid: a unique kind of hybrid creation that came into being at the interface of two cultures, the oral and the bookish, through some literate person's prompting ("Locating Beowulf in Literary History," *Exemplaria* 5 [1993], 105), so Foley asserts that "the supposed 'Great Divide' of orality versus literacy does not exist" (xiii) and the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* are "oral-connected works of verbal art"(xiv). This verbal art requires a "special poetics" that recognizes "special idiomatic meaning encoded in the poetic language" (xiii), and it is Foley's main purpose to formulate and explicate this poetics in relation to specific features of Homeric epic. In addition to fleshing out a theory for the traditional *sêmata*, or "graphic signs," of Homeric poetry, Foley undertakes a comparison of Homer with South Slavic epic to demonstrate how both the archaic Greek and South Slavic epic languages "encode traditional referentiality" and "tap into networks of implied meaning for the fluent audience

or reader," while also allowing the poet to register a unique and creative "way of speaking" (8). In his brief Afterword, Foley describes *Deor* as "a third witness to the referential and artistic importance of traditional oral sign-language" (9). In his translation of the poem (based on Malone's 1966 edition), he highlights particular phrases, such as "secgan wille," that he has identified as traditional *sêmata* within the OE poetic corpus. Making the point that has, perhaps, been made in almost all critical studies of the poem, he asserts that *Deor* initially "makes little sense ... because it depends so crucially on traditional referentiality," but the informed hearer or reader would "get behind the signs, expanding the lyric abbreviations to their full narrative complexity" (265). Foley differentiates between *sêmata*, such as "þæt wæs grim cyning" (l. 23), that represent traditional idiomatic phraseology, and the poem's refrain, "þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg," which functions as an "indexical sign—not across the poetic tradition but within the single poem" (269). Therefore, the poem combines traditional mythological and legendary cues with traditional idiomatic themes (i.e., the theme of exile), and because of its instances of unique phrasing, it also fuses the individual and local moment with the traditional poetic register, giving rise to a new verbal art. Foley's delineation of how *Deor* functions as verbal art will probably not be news to most scholars of the poem, but his book as a whole will be helpful for any scholar working the puzzle of where, when, and how the oral tradition and textuality might have interacted in Anglo-Saxon culture.

The Husband's Message

In "Runes and Readers: In and Around 'The Husband's Message'" (*SN* 71, 34–50), Lois Bragg comes not to praise nor to bury previous scholarship on the enigmatic Exeter Book poem, but to part from it—or, as she herself states the case, "The present essay breaks with modern focus on identification of the runes and the speaker. Instead, it adduces up-to-date runology as a basis from which to speculate on the practical functions of tenth-century Anglo-Saxon runic literacy and on how the post-Alfredian Anglo-Saxons themselves viewed the runic alphabet" (35). In Bragg's view, the Exeter Book's public would have viewed the runes in the "The Husband's Message" as fossils of a pre-literate age, and she sees the poem as furnishing evidence of "late Anglo-Saxon interest in the runes both as a bookish exotic alphabet available for cryptographic glosses and subscriptions, and as an ancient epigraphical tradition that had its roots in Germania and flourished in England during the sixth and seventh centuries" (35). The single raised points separating the five runes in the poem have traditionally led scholars to read the runes as logographs, but it is Bragg's assertion, based on a very thorough survey of OE writing, that broad acceptance of this assumption indicates a serious "disregard for the fundamental principles of the runic writing system," one of which

is that "runic writing is alphabetic writing" (36). Bragg does not go so far as to say logographic use of runes did not exist at all in OE writing, only that its use was "far less extensive than one would think from reading the received scholarship" (36). Bragg then turns her focus to how runes were meant to function in late Anglo-Saxon manuscript contexts, where she locates two main instances of occurrence: tables of cryptographic systems and ludic alphabets. Bragg provides examples of these occurrences in order to demonstrate that the public of the Exeter Book would have seen the runic passage in "The Husband's Message" as "bookish alphabet play and would have attempted to decipher it by the usual methods: reordering the letters or identifying the substitution system (alphabetic or gematria) that created s r ea w m/d" (39). More important to Bragg than decoding the actual message is ruminating on how the original audience of the Exeter Book "would have conceived of the function of the runes in the legendary world of the world," and therefore, on what they would "have imagined the characters in the poem to have been doing" (41). Adding more layers to an already dense and wide-ranging article, Bragg turns her attention to refuting the idea—accepted by many scholars of the poem—that the characters of the poem are communicating by rune stick (Old Norse *rúnakefli*), and she asserts that all evidence is against the idea that "communication by rune stick was known to the author or public of 'The Husband's Message'" (42). According to Bragg, the "putative rune stick ... appears to be a creation of modern scholars expecting to find functionalism and retrojecting an anachronistic writing device from the Middle Ages onto the Anglo-Saxon period" (45–46). Ultimately, the readers of the Exeter Book would have "imagined legendary Germania to have been a society that used runic writing for encrypting messages—in short, a society just like theirs" (46), and thus the poem contains at its core a deep anachronism of its own. Although Bragg is occasionally prone to absolute statements that close off the middle way of critical debate, such as "[there is] nothing in the text of the poem suggesting a rune stick" (42), her article is clearly important for our understanding of "The Husband's Message" in particular, and of the use of runes in OE manuscripts in general.

In "Le rune ne *Il messagio del marito*" (*Linguistica e filologia* [Bergamo] 10, 167–85), Teresa Fiocco provides a fairly detailed overview of more than a century's worth of previous scholarship on the reading of the five runes in the poem, and she also provides the background to the debates over whether the last rune, ᛗ in Krapp and Dobbie's edition, should be read as the rune for "d-dæg" or for "m-mann." Demonstrating the instability of the representations of both runes in Scandinavian *fuþarks* and OE manuscripts outside of the Exeter Book, Fiocco ably makes the case for "d" being just as probable as "m", and she reads the five runes as an alphabetic anagram that spells OE "sweord," a solution first proposed by W.J. Sedgefield in 1922. Whereas for Sedgefield "the word itself refers

to a solemn oath that the husband makes on the weapon to seal the promise exchanged with his wife," for Fiocco it "denotes a phallic symbol" (175; translations are mine). Fiocco wants to emphasize the poem's joyous, earthy, and intimate nature, and her argument hinges on two suppositions: first, that we understand that what is commonly accepted as the opening line of the poem, "Nu ic onsundran þe secgan wille," stresses "the secrecy of the message" (176) and also makes clear that the message itself is contained only in the cryptic runes themselves, and second, that the use of "sweord" as a phallic symbol is not unheard of in OE poetry. Fiocco's support for this latter assertion is the Exeter Book Sword riddle (Krapp-Dobbie 20) where, according to Donald Kay, the explicit solution of "sword" that seems obvious in the first part of the riddle gives way in the last part to the implicit solution of "phallus" ("Riddle 20: A Reevaluation," *Tennessee Studies in Literature* 13 [1968], 133–39). It strikes this reviewer that Kay's essay does not, by itself, provide a strong basis for reading the runes in "The Husband's Message" as an encryption of "phallus." But as Jake said to Brett in Hemingway's *The Sun Also Rises*, "wouldn't it be pretty to think so?"

Riddles

In "RIDDLE 8: A Problem of identification or a problem of Translation" (*Med. Life* 11, 22–23), David Hill proposes "starling" as the solution to a riddle (Krapp-Dobbie 8) that most editors have agreed refers to a songbird, although the specific songbird in question has been identified variously as "jay," "wood-pigeon," "jackdaw," and "nightingale," among other possibilities. By placing Krapp and Dobbie's text of the riddle alongside translations by Kevin Crossley-Holland (*The Exeter Book Riddles*; Harmondsworth, 1979) and Williamson (*A Feast of Creatures: Anglo-Saxon Riddle-Songs*; Pennsylvania, 1982), Hill shows that modern poetic versions take too many liberties with the original language—liberties most likely inspired by assumptions regarding the bird in question. On the basis of having spent his childhood in West Somerset where he knew many bird calls, Hill feels certain that Krapp and Dobbie's "jay," due to its "unmelodious 'whooshing'" call, is simply unlikely, but Williamson's "nightingale" strikes Hill as "the most likely member of the thrush family" (22). Nevertheless, Hill asserts that to "attempt to find the bird described we need a literal, word-for-word translation" (22) and that modern translations stray too far from the language of the OE original. Hill next provides a literal translation of the poem and then goes through it line by line in order to show how the riddle describes, in very precise language, the physical features, habits, and vocal capabilities of the starling. Admitting that "the starling was comparatively rare in this period and only began to assume its present numbers in the twentieth century" (23), Hill supplies an excerpt from the Welsh *Mabinogion* which indicates that, as early as the second half of the eleventh century, "the idea of a pet

starling was not surprising" (23). Albeit Hill does not acknowledge some of the linguistic cruces in the riddle, such as the OE hapax legomenon "heafodwoþe," that continue to vex scholars, and therefore leave some of the characteristics of the songbird in question open for further debate, his essay nevertheless represents a nice bit of ornithological detective work.

Although Carter Revard, a poet and essayist, briefly touches upon the Swan riddle (Krapp-Dobbie 7) in his essay, "Beads, Wampum, Money, Words—and Old English Riddles" (*Amer. Indian Culture and Research Jnl* 23.1, 177–89), his article is of more interest to the budding poet wishing to experiment with OE alliterative verse than it is to the scholar interested in puzzling out Old English riddles. Revard's essay is impressionistically meditative, agile of thought, wide-ranging, witty, and impossible to summarize. After ruminating on the ways in which different forms of exchange—beads, *wampum*, coins, and paper money—all participate in mystified systems of credit and finance, Revard turns to the ways in which words, similar to units of financial exchange, are used by us "to make some beautiful things of real value, helping each other see the mysterious inwardness of everyday things" (181). He encourages his readers to consider themselves part of a "phantom community of readers" (181) that stretches across cultural borders and through space and time—hence, his desire for his audience to consider the Exeter Book riddles, since they would have been written by those whom Revard considers "elders" in a multinational, multi-generational community of writers and readers. But why OE riddles, in particular, as an important place to stop along the space-time poetic continuum? Because Revard believes that "there is common ground between Old English riddles and American Indian songs or chants celebrating mysterious and powerful beings and relating individual and tribal history to medicine beings" (187, n. 7). More specifically, via his translation of the Swan riddle (no OE edition specified), Revard wants to demonstrate both the alterity of its poetic meter and the ways in which OE poetry displays "the nimbleness and grace needed in all mental acts as we divorce or marry ideas and things" (182). Revard then encourages his readers to experiment with this poetic form in order to "try to understand the human culture in and around you" (186). This essay will shed no new light into the nooks of serious OE riddle scholarship; however, it is always a good thing when OE poetry is being discussed in contemporary cultural contexts as something which is not only valued but also enjoyed.

Continuing in his indefatigable quest of the past decade to publish small-press editions of Anglo-Saxon poetry rendered into modern verse, Louis J. Rodrigues has now published a second edition reprint of his broad selection of the Exeter Book riddles, *Sixty-Five Anglo-Saxon Riddles* (Felinfach: Llanerch Publishers, 1998). The main changes from the first edition are that there are now no accompanying illustrations, riddle solutions are no longer indicated in the design of

the initial letters of their renderings but are suggested instead in the endnotes (128–35), five new riddles have been added, and the riddles are no longer grouped by category but appear in the same order and under the same numbers as they do in the Krapp and Dobbie edition (not counting those riddles Rodrigues has chosen to exclude, likely due to their severely damaged or overly enigmatic condition: Krapp-Dobbie 3, 18, 20, 40–41, 53, 59, 60, 63, 67–69, 71–73, 77–79, 81–84, 87–90, and 92–95). Rodrigues prints the OE versions and their modern verse translations on facing pages, with folio and line numbers listed on both. In addition, he includes a brief introduction (9–12), clearly intended for a non-scholarly audience, explaining the riddles' roots in ancient world traditions, and more specifically, in the Latin tradition, and broadly outlining the riddles' placement within the Exeter Book, their styles and metrical language, and some of the ways to discern the clues to their solution. Also included are endnotes in which Rodrigues shares his solutions to the riddles as well as those suggested by other scholars, and a select bibliography grouped by Bibliographies, Editions, Translations, and Critical Studies (137–44). Finally, he includes in an appendix a facing-text translation of the Northumbrian *Leiden Riddle*, an eighth-century prototype of the Exeter Book Mail Coat riddle (Krapp-Dobbie 35), thereby giving students an opportunity to see the development and transmission of the OE riddling tradition over time. For the graduate student or scholar interested in serious OE riddle scholarship, this book will not supplant other editions or studies, such as Williamson's *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* (Chapel Hill, 1977), but it should prove useful to the teacher of OE poetry in translation who is interested in having students see renderings of the riddles that retain the stress and alliteration of the OE originals while also achieving a certain modern lyricism. Although Rodrigues is a dexterous and artful poet, his translations do not surpass the lush and graceful lines of Williamson's in *A Feast of Creatures*.

In "Eating the Book: *Riddle 47* and Memory" (*Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer*, ed. Helen Conrad O'Briain, Anne Marie D'Arcy, and John Scattergood; Dublin: Four Courts Press; 119–27), John Scattergood compares the Bookworm, or Bookmoth, riddle (Krapp-Dobbie 47) and Symphosius's Riddle 16, *Tinea*, in order to counter Williamson's assertion that the two riddles little resemble each other in form or emphasis, and to suggest that "both Symphosius and the Old English poet wished to call up associations with a set of ideas relating to classical and medieval theories about reading, memory, and writing" (120). If the poems are not read in relation to these ideas, Scattergood argues, they lose much of their wit. In order to explicate what these classical and medieval theories about reading, memory, and writing were, Scattergood references appropriate passages from such authorities as Seneca, Quintillan, Cicero, the Bible, Jerome, Augustine, Gregory, Bede, and John of Salisbury—

altogether, an impressive gathering of Judeo-Christian, classical, and medieval theoretists on the subject. Scattergood wants to demonstrate that in this theoretics the following tropes were predominant: reading and memory were forms of digestion that empowered the reader, silence and darkness were necessary for "ruminative thought leading to composition" (123), books were "heuristics for oral recall" (124), and book letters were "signs of voices" (125). Therein lies what Scattergood terms the "central comic irony" of the two riddles, for the worm's eating "in þystro" ("in darkness" in the OE version) "produces nothing" and "rumination is without effect" (123). The worm is not a thief (in the OE poem, "þeof" and "stælgiest") because it stole from its neighbors, as Williamson surmised (*The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*, 286), but because it destroyed "the cues to memory, and hence memory itself" (127). Because book letters are only "signs of voices," the worm cannot "in any literal sense eat the 'word' or 'cwide' or 'wordum'," but it *can* "eat the signs of these things, the cues which enable them to be recalled in memory and re-presented" (126), and therefore "the thieving worm represents a serious threat to literary culture" (127). Scattergood's article represents a skillful fleshing out of ideas first hinted at by Fred Robinson in his 1975 essay "Artful Ambiguities in the Old English 'Book-Moth' Riddle" (reprinted in *The Tomb of Beowulf and Other Essays on Old English*; Oxford, 1993; 98–104), which influenced Williamson to conclude that the author of the OE riddle is "less concerned with the paradox of the illiterate worm than he is with the mutability of songs as they pass from the traditional *word-hord* of the *scop* into the newer and strangely susceptible form of the literate *memoria*" (*The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*, 285).

In her essay "*Hwa mec raere? ... Hwa mec staeðþe?*: The Quest for Certainty in the Old English Storm Riddle" (*Med. Perspectives* 14, 255–72), Edith Whitehurst Williams sees in the "Storm Riddles" (Krapp-Dobbie 1–3) not merely "puzzles to be solved," but "the possibility of a profound contemplation of the identity of the 'true' god in a period of religious transition" (255). Reading the first one hundred and four lines of the Exeter Book riddles as one composition, Williams is less concerned with haggling over what type of "storm" or "storms" is being described than she is in setting aside what she sees as the commonly-held assumption that "the power referred to [throughout the riddle] is the Christian god." Instead, she wants to examine allusions within the riddle "which could point to one or other of the Nordic gods, with the repeated ["who"] question raising the possibility of a reference to Christ, thus unifying the poem," but also revealing "the deep sense of conflict that the [riddling] persona is struggling with" (256). Whereas Williamson reads the various storms in the riddle as all resulting from "the wind as a scourge" (*The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*, 130), Williams instead reads an Anglo-Saxon depiction of demonic Norse gods locked in battle who can finally be subdued only by the Chris-

tian god's power of "stillness." Therefore, the riddle represents religious ideology in flux during a time of great transition in England, when the older Germanic religions were being supplanted by the new Christian missions. Central to Williams's argument is the assumption (supported by historical scholarship) that although Christian conversion of the Germanic tribes in England was achieved "with remarkable rapidity" (257), there was not for a long period of time afterwards "unanimity of belief throughout the island, nor ... consistency" (258). Following the assumption that, "for the Anglo-Saxon Christian, the pagan gods were not figments of fancy, but very real entities ... bent on waging their war against god and man" (258), Williams provides an extremely close reading of the both the diction and narrative content of the "Storm Riddle" (based on Williamson's edition) in order to highlight close resemblances with passages of Norse gods battling each other in the *þrymskuiða* and the *RagnaRök* of the *Edda* and in Snorri's *Prose Edda*. In Williams's reading, "every storm scene creates a picture which can be found as an analogue in the Eddic literature," and in the same way, "each scene of quiet creates a picture which evokes that of Christ calming the tempest on the Sea of Galilee as it is given in the Gospels of Matthew, Mark, and Luke" (268). Williams's argument is an expansion of ideas raised in her earlier essay, "The Relation Between Pagan Survival and Diction in Two Old English Riddles" (*PQ* 54 [1975], 663–70), and while it may attribute more ideological complexity and Norse influence to its subject than some scholars will be willing to admit is there, her argument is carefully measured and worth ruminating upon.

The Seafarer

In "*The Seafarer*: a Heavenly Blueprint for an Earthly Community" (*In Geardagum* 20, 65–73), Donna Schlosser agrees with most critics who see in *The Seafarer* a depiction of "human existence as a conflict between worldly and spiritual values" (65), but rather than seeing the mariner's final departure as a journeying into eternity, Schlosser wants to help him keep his feet on the ground. More specifically, she wants to refine our understanding of what most scholars take to be the poem's depiction of spiritual discord by focusing upon "the poem's pattern of progression from conflict to resolution" in order to examine "the poet's blueprint for a heavenly community on earth as a resolution to the seafarer's rejection of both communal life ashore as well as solitary life at sea" (65). Further, Schlosser contends that "the seafarer cannot rest contentedly on ocean or land until he has rallied a group of Christian souls to join him in building an earthly community that conducts itself according to a code of heavenly ethics" (65). Congruent with most other studies of the poem, Schlosser detects a thoroughly homiletic intent, but instead of shoving the sailor back out to sea or into eternity as either a real or spiritual exile, she places him at the drawing-board

of a new society. Through a close reading of the poem (based on W.S. Mackie's 1934 EETS edition), Schlosser points out the ways in which the poet sets up the seafarer's conflicting desires for ultimately inadequate refuges both on land and at sea in the first half of the poem, and in the second half "presents the seafarer as a figure of opposition against the communal convention of acquiring riches" (70) and also as a code-bearer who describes to his audience a new Christian communal identity. The poem begins, then, with an individual conflict and then builds toward a hortatory address. Schlosser concludes her essay with the provocative statement that *The Seafarer* "documents the human effort to replace physical combat with mental engagement" and thereby "captures an image of Anglo-Saxon culture in transition from disparate Anglo-Saxon tribes into a single union of tolerant individuals" (73).

The Seafarer and The Wanderer

"From Exile to Pilgrim: Christian and Pagan Values in Anglo-Saxon Elegaic Verse" (*English Literature, Theology and the Curriculum*, ed. Liam Gearon; London: Cassell; 63–84), written by Graham Holderness, is a "case study" in a volume of essays dedicated to exploring "the relationship between theology and the different, ostensibly secular, academic disciplines" (book frontispiece). To that end, Holderness aims to explore the patterns of syncretism of English Christianity with native religious culture in the art of the Anglo-Saxon period through close readings of both *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, and his essay will prove insightful to a general audience interested in the long historical view of such. Following John D. Niles's assertion that Anglo-Saxon paganism "did not die with the Conversion, but rather lived on in the form of . . . deep-set patterns of belief" ("Popular belief and pagan survival," *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Malcolm Godden and Michael Lapidge; Cambridge, 1991; 140), Holderness believes that these "patterns of belief" are best located in poetry, "where most cultures are likely to encode their deepest anxieties and longings" (66), and it is in the OE elegies, more specifically, that Holderness believes "the complex interrelations of pagan and Christian values may most clearly be discerned" (67). Holderness views *The Seafarer* as very similar to *The Wanderer* insofar as "the apparently contradictory impulses and incompatible ideas we find in it are all part of a single, complex account of a deep spiritual crisis" (73), but he also sees *The Seafarer* as offering a more robust formulation of "a spiritual aspiration which offers to lift the soul free from the tangling complexities of a miserable and unpromising world" (73); nevertheless, the poem "still remains to some extent poised between two worlds" (77). Likewise, while Holderness believes that "*The Wanderer* is more equivocal, less secure in its command of Christian doctrine, than is *The Seafarer*," neither elegy "displays any radical doubt as to the unique and irresistible majesty and

might of the Christian God" (81). Ultimately, the poems take a somewhat affectionate leave of what Holderness terms the "physical culture of paganism, which entailed a tender care of the body" (81) and turn toward "the rigorous asceticism of early monastic Christianity" (82), but *The Seafarer*, in particular, also demonstrates that this "taking leave" of paganism did not represent a complete sundering, for in that poem we can detect, "superimposed on the traditional view of the natural world as forbidding and inhospitable compared with the warmth and security of human settlement, a proto-mediaeval expression of the seasons as a grammar of Christian death and resurrection," and therefore, "where the poem is at its closest to the heart of Christian mystery, the Anglo-Saxon imagination returns to the sacred groves previously sanctified by worship of the old heathen divinities" (82). Old bottles, new wine.

The Wife's Lament

Continuing the trend this year to analyze OE poetry in terms of its reflection of the negotiation between residual and emergent belief systems in Anglo-Saxon England is Robert Luyster's "The Wife's Lament in the Context of Scandinavian Myth and Ritual" (*PQ* 77 [1998], 243–70). While Luyster does not want to argue "for the historic perpetuation of specific Scandinavian deities or rituals as such in *The Lament* as we have it, or necessarily in Anglo-Saxon England," he does want to argue that "for some centuries England continued in its oral traditions to transmit (as with *Beowulf*) literary relics of its cultural, religious and historical past that were increasingly obsolescent and misunderstood, but still of passing interest and some limited (though declining) social relevance" (260–61). Unlike most current scholarship that seems to be in general agreement that the narrative persona of *The Wife's Lament* "is a living mortal woman whose lord, a man of rank and power, has deserted her" (263), Luyster wishes to pursue what he terms a "more radical" spin on A.N. Doane's suggestion, expressed in his essay "Heathen Form and Christian Function in 'The Wife's Lament'" (*Mediaeval Studies* 28 [1966], 77–91), that the speaker of the poem be regarded as a "minor Germanic deity, expressing her anguish at the conversion to Christianity of a related priest-chief" (243). Luyster admits that Doane's thinking on the poem has already led at least one other scholar, Peter Orton, to the "more radical" conclusion Luyster has in mind—that the story in the poem "may be derived from a myth about an abandoned fertility goddess or *Terra Mater* who weeps (like Freyja) for a departed husband or lover" and that the mythological basis for the couple "was probably a divine pair, parties to a hierogamy" ("*The Wife's Lament* and *Skírnismál*: some parallels," in *Úr Dölum til Dala: Guðbrandur Vigfússon Centenary Essays*, ed. Rory McTurk and Andrew Wawn; Leeds Texts and Mongraphs: New Series 11, 1989; 231). Luyster wishes to improve on Orton's argument in three ways: first, he wants to "supply even

more cogent and ample reasons for accepting Orton's correlation between the two narratives" (243); second, whereas Orton was hesitant to identify the Wife "as either an actual Germanic Great Goddess herself, Freyja, or some personification or equivalent thereof," Luyster plans to demonstrate the validity of just such an identification and to supply "more specific candidates for Orton's 'divine pair' and the content of his 'hierogamy' " (244); and third, whereas most commentators on the poem, Orton included, have shared the view that "the situation of the lord is irredeemable and the Wife hopeless regarding his return" (262), Luyster asserts that the "general mythic framework of Germanic fertility goddesses" (261) dictates that we understand the Wife to be "waiting strongly" for her lord's triumphant return, which also heralds the return of spring, "an occasion fraught with … erotic overtones for all concerned, the cultic 'parties to a hierogamy' " (260). Luyster compiles an impressive amount of evidence from Scandinavian mythology and Eddic literature, other OE poems such as *Beowulf* and the *Rune Poem*, anthropology, and Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon material culture in order to argue the following: the Wife is Freyja, or the Weeping Goddess of Scandinavian mythology (and hence, also, of Eddic saga); her abode is not a cave or sunken-featured building or *souterrain* but is, rather, a grave under an oak tree in a sacred grove (a conventional site for Germanic cultic activity); this *eorðscæf* (lines 28b, 36b) functions, not as a grave in the conventional sense, but as an "interface between the land of the living and the world of the dead below" (252); and her "lord" is Freyr or Baldr, who must return from the land of the dead and reconsummate his marriage with the Goddess Freyr (or Wife, in the context of the poem). Luyster concludes with the provocative assertion that

> in it origins the essential imagery and narrative of *The Lament* may well have evolved in a ritualistic context, possibly associated with the annual Midsummer's Day festival (at Uppsala and elsewhere), designed to confirm and revivify various versions of the Scandinavian fertility god and his human embodiments. It could well have been the responsibility of the mythic wife or the cultic priestess by her lamenting to weep the Lord "back from Hel," as in the case of Baldr … and then to engage him in ritual intercourse, as the prelude to a more general erotic festival of social and natural invigoration. (260)

Luyster's argument is both striking and thoroughly compelling.

E.A.J.

Works not seen

Mathieu, Anne. "La poésie au service de la magie: à propos de deux charmes métriques de l'Angleterre anglo-saxonne." *L'Articulation langue—littérature dans les textes médiévaux anglais.* Ed. Colette Stévanovich. Nancy, 1999. II, 71–91.

Battle of Brunanburh

Andrew Breeze revisits the question of whether the early Welsh form *cattybrunawc* (in a twelfth-century poem on St. David) is in fact an allusion to *The Battle of Brunanburh*, as posited by Max Förster but rejected by Alistair Campbell in his edition of the poem ("*The Battle of Brunanburh* and Welsh Tradition." *Neophilologus* 83 479-82). Breeze's analysis of the linguistic evidence leads him to side with Förster, and to conclude that the form should be interpreted as *cad Tybrunawc,*' the battle of *Tybrunawc*, the battle of the "Streamy House" (= Brunanburh)' A similar form occurs in a tenth-century Welsh poem, and together they provide witness to the fame of this battle beyond England.

Patrizia Lendinara traces the fate and nature of references to the battle of Brunanburh in histories and romances post-dating its brief panegyric celebration of Æþelstan in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* ("*The Battle of Brunanburh* in Later Histories and Romances." *Anglia* 117, 201-35). Æþelstan's victory over the Danes and Scots was the most famous event of his reign, an event that "fired the imagination of the English writers, who continued to narrate the fight between Æþelstan and Olaf for centuries, in Latin, French and English, expanding on the bare kernel of the battle fought in 937, somewhere in the north of England, and reshaping the narrative to suit the tastes of ever new audiences" (202). Lendinara first surveys the writers of the twelfth century, and notes that the turning point in the use and adaptation of the story of the battle by English writers came with William of Malmesbury, who expanded the account of Æþelstan's life with a number of episodes. The overall effect of this expansion was to obscure the relevance of the battle of Brunanburh, a tendency that was to be perpetuated by later chroniclers (206). Many of the later writers surveyed here added details uncharacteristically missing in the Old English account of the battle, aware as they were that their audiences expected precise details (210). An addition common to all of the Latin chronicles is "the insistence on the opposition of Christians and pagans. The role of champion against the pagans was probably given to Athelstan as a result of his taking over the role of Charlemagne" (211). Lendinara also surveys the accounts of the battle in Celtic sources ('The Losers' Voice' [212-14]) and in Old Norse saga ('An Icelandic Tale' [214-16]) and contrasts these treatments with the absence of any mention of the conflict in the Middle English romances of the Matter of England (The Silence of the English' [216-17]). She turns next to the Norman perspective, which pays passing notice to the battle in a variety of chronicles and texts that treat the period in question. The rest of Lendinara's discussion focuses on the links between the battle of Brunanburh and the English and Danish heroes Guy of Warwick and Havelok the Dane. Guy, she posits, gradually usurps the place and role of Æþelstan. "All the threads of the story have come together, and the mere juxtaposition of the Havelok and Guy episodes, which follow

one another in the chronicle of Henry Knighton, shows how, by the end of the fourteenth centruy, the memory of a momentous battle fought for the possession of England was still alive" (235). A thorough and enlightening treatment of the later literary history of Æþelstan's victory of 937.

b..1 Battle of Maldon

Giuseppe Brunetti offers Italian-speaking students of the poem a new resource in La battaglia di Maldon. Eroi e traditori nell'Inghilterra vichinga (Biblioteca medievale 8. Milan and Trent: Luni, 1998). The book begins with a comprehensive introduction (7-58) covering the cultural, historical and literary backgrounds of Viking-age England. This is followed by a bibliography and bibliographical notes concerning the editions found in the volume, which, contrary to what the title might lead one to believe, include The Battle of Brunanburh and selections from the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (979-1020), as well as The Battle of Maldon. Each one of the three aforementioned texts is then presented in line-by-line enface text and translation, followed by comprehensive explanatory notes touching on issues of language, context, and interpretation. Two appendices contain further extracts from the ASC (entries for 993 and 1001 in MS A, and the entry for 755, also from MS A). An index of persons, placename and subjects rounds off the volume. By all appearances this is a most serviceable edition that should benefit its intended audience greatly.

Carole Hough suggests a solution for a crux at line 212 of the poem previously assumed to have been a transcription error and thus emended by its more recent editors ("The Battle of Maldon Line 212." NM 100, 245-50). David Casley's transcription reads ge munu þa mæla þe we oft æt meodo spræcon, which is usually emended to something like the following: Gemunaþ þara mæla þe we oft æt meodo spræcon (Hough gives examples from nine different editions), though in total there seem to be at least five variants. One of the chief problems is the accusative modifier þa accompanying what looks to be a genitive plural form mæla. Taking a fresh look at the word boundaries in this line and elsewhere in Casley's transcription, Hough builds a very strong case for understanding Casley's mæla þe as the single, otherwise unattested lexical item mæleþe, the regular accusative singular form of a feminine noun *mælaþu. The unattested status of this proposed form is no great obstacle, given the high number of hapax legomena in the poem (Gneuss identifies no fewer than 16) (247). "Bearing in mind that the simplification of consonants in late Old English spelling patterns not uncommonly leads to a reduction of double ll to single l, an OE *mæl-(l)aþu may reasonably be postulated if the suffix -laþu is recorded elsewhere in combination with a word for either 'speech' or 'time', the two alternative interpretations previously proposed for OE mæl in The Battle of Maldon line 212a" (246). It may, because it is: freond-laðu, word-laðu and neod-laþu are all at-

tested elsewhere, and word-laðu in particular parallels *mælaþu directly in form and context. The result of Hough's fresh consideration of word boundaries in the transcription of the poem is a new reading, satisfactory in every way:

> Gemunu þā mǣlaþe. Wē oft æt meodo sprǣcon.
>
> [I remember the discourse(s). We often spoke over mead ...]

In "Spectamur agendo: the Universality of the Battle of Maldon" (Text and Gloss. Ed. Conrad O'Briain, D'Arcy, and Scattergood, pp. 182-205), Gerald Morgan explores the universal experience of the soldier as reflected in Old English battle poetry, especially Brunanburh and Maldon. Divided into three parts, the article looks first at the contrast between poetic skill and style in Maldon and the nature of its message, which in Morgan's view transcends the imperfections of form. "The difference between the Beowulf-poet's mastery of verse technique and the limitations in this respect of the Maldon-poet is at once and everywhere apparent, and even the Battle of Brunanburh is a more obviously polished poem" (183-84). A detailed yet largely sympathetic critique of the poet's shortcomings ensues, and Morgan is careful to emphasize how strikingly effective the poet's verses are despite their metrical failures. For example, "The lines constructed around the three defenders of the causeway are, irrespective of all metrical considerations, among the most powerfully heroic in the whole poem ..." (185). In the second section (190-96), Morgan turns to the theme of the universal experience of war as expressed in Germanic heroic poetry, in particular how there exists in poems like Maldon and Brunanburh a much narrower divide between poetry and history (192). His aim in this section is best expressed in the following statement: "The common background to all these examples, whether near or remote, is the experience of war, and it brings these great moral issues of courage and loyalty into play in a a peculiarly intense and sharply defined way. ... If we are to comprehend the moral and imaginative scope of these poems, then we must come to terms (at second hand, if not at first) with the defining experience of war" (192). Soldiers are better equiped to do this than scholars, he admits, "But the poet's task is not to make a military assessment, but a human reckoning. The Battle of Maldon is not an account of a battle, but a commemoration of those who died in battle" (196). The battlefield is a great proving-ground of men. Byrhtnoth passes the test because of his defiance in the face of certain doom, a characteristic shared by the poet in "his capacity to dress defeat in the robes of victory" (197). Sprinkled with references to other great and bloody battles, Morgan's study is both a close reading of the poem and a celebration of the poet's expression of "defining experience of war."

Gerald Richman highlights some compelling similarities between The Battle of Maldon and the Melia debate in

Thucydides' *Peloponnesian War* ("Thucydides and *The Bat-tle of Maldon*," *In Geardagum* 20, 111-23). Offered not as a source, but rather as a "classical analogue and mutually illu-minating gloss to the Old English poem" (111), Richman argues suggests that the Melian dialogue "highlights the con-flict between common sense and the heroic that leads the poet of *The Battle of Maldon* and some literary critics to blame Byrhtnoth" for the defeat of the East Saxons. His summary of Thucydides' text and comparison with the Old English poem does indeed illustrate the closeness of a variety of nar-rative parallels. The Athenians' actions and attitude mirror those of the Vikings, they attempt the same kind of 'divide and conquer' tactics employed by the Vikings: "[T]he Viking herald seeks to turn the poor common soldiers against the rich leader who could choose to pay tribute... and save his troops" (114). A discussion of this and several other similari-ties is followed by a brief treatment of the differences between the two texts. In *The Battle of Maldon*, for example, abstract ideals such as democracy and justice do not fall victim to de-feat, as they do in Thucydides (121). "Also, the Old English poem celebrates the values—the honor—of the losers that the Melian debate challenges" (121). Again, Richman makes no claim whatsoever for any direct connection between the two texts, but rather that "English history of the time and the analogous situation in the Thucydides' "Melian Debate" provide an alternative perpsective on the actions and values of the poem" (121).

Dream of the Rood

Alfred Bammesberger tackles the ambiguity in line 19A of the poem ("*Earmra aergewin* (*The Dream of the Rood* 19A." *NM* 100, 3-5). The difficulty lies in how to construe *earmra*: is it the nom. sg. masculine of the comparative *of the adj. earm* ('poor, wretched') or the genitive plural of the same adjective? But the noun it modifies is neuter, and one would expect to find *earmre* in that case. Thus it is usually considered the gen. pl. of an adjectival noun, which forces us to render the line 'the former struggle of wretched ones'. Bammesberger rightly points out that this is a less than satisfactory translation, as it is unclear who these plural 'unfortunate ones' might be. His solution is to assume an older form of neuter *n*-stem, end-ing in -*ae*, appeared in the original version of the half-line (*earmrae aergewinn*). Bammesberger thus posits a weakening of the original ending, rather than the necessity of 'violent' emendation from -ra to -re. If one indeed prefers the read-ing for these lines Bammesberger suggests ('however through that gold I could perceive the most wretched former struggle, (namely) that it first began to bleed on the right side'), his solution is elegantly appealing.

Robert Boenig's illuminating little article, "Pseudo-Dionysius and *The Dream of the Rood*" (*Studia Mystica* 19 (1998), 1-7) first provides an overview of the writings of Pseudo-Dionysius, knowledge of them among the Anglo-Saxons, and his putative influence on their writing. Boenig's chief aim is to revisit the possibility of a pre-Conquest advent of Pseudo-Dionysian spiritual theology. Weighing the evi-dence, he concludes that *The Dream of the Rood* shows traces of this theology, "ones that suggest an earlier entry of those ideas than has been so far allowed" (1). It may be oblique, Boenig admits, but discernable nevertheless. "As Pseudo-Dionysius posits a language that simultaneously affirms and denies concepts about God, so does the *Dream*-poet both affirm and deny concepts about the Cross" (4). In Pseudo-Dionysian theology, "neither the affirmations nor the denials are privileged" (5), they do not occur in temporal succession. In *The Dream of the Rood*, the Cross is simultaneously a gal-lows and a gold-bedecked relic, sometimes one, sometimes the other. The defeat of the Cross is at one and the same time its victory, and Boenig claims that the "very fabric of *The Dream of the Rood*, in other words, is Dionysian" (6). He focuses in on the poet's use of the term *reordberend* as a concept of distinctly Dionysian valence: "Experiencing the si-multaneous affirmations and denials, the Dionysian visionary must fall silent. If, in other words, those who bear speech fall silent and a Cross speaks, we inhabit a very Dionysian uni-verse, where our mental categories fall away before a vision of the impossible, the ineffable atonement" (7).

In "*Araered* in *The Dream of the Rood*, and the Gospel of St. John" (*ELN* 36.4, 1-4) John Flood explores the possibil-ity that the poet is exploiting an added, nuanced connotation of this verb that comprises more than merely "raised up" or "set up." Could the poet also have meant to evoke the sense of "to promote to a higher rank, exalt in dignity"? Flood sug-gests that the meaning of the passage in which it is found is enriched by this ambiguity, and moreover raises new ques-tions about the poem's sources. He adduces John 3:14 (and the Son of Man must be lifted up as Moses lifted up the ser-pent in the desert). In both the Greek and the Latin versions the corresponding verbs may be used in what Flood terms the material (physically lifting up of the Cross) and the nonma-terial (the Cross is exalted in dignity) senses of "to raise." In support of this reading he argues underlying affinity of the poem with John's Gospel, "with its so-called 'high' christol-ogy that emphasizes Jesus' glory" (2). Flood's case is a sug-gestive one, "that the poet of the *Dream* was consciously or unconsciously influenced by the style, vocabulary and possibly the theology of John's Gospel" (3).

In another absolute gem of a note, ("*The Dream of the Rood* Line 31." *ANQ* 12.2 , 3-4) Carole Hough dispels the ambiguity inherent in the b-verse of line 31, *heton me heora wergas hebban* (which renders either "they commanded me to raise up their criminals" or "they commanded their criminals to raise me up"). "Either makes sense within the narrative structure, and scholars are divided between the new readings" (3). The difficulty is that the pronoun 'me' could legitimately serve as subject or object, as the two possible translations sug-gest. Hough resolves this crux by an appeal to stylistic con-

siderations. She notes that successive half-lines begin with a plural preterite form, that the emphasis on verbs in the poem is an idiosyncratic feature of the *Dream of the Rood* poet, and that this pattern contributes greatly to the effect of violence inflicted on the passive cross. "It would be unnecessary and inappropriate for this closely structured sequence to be interrupted in line 31b by a contrasting syntactic pattern with *heora wergas* as the object of the initial verb."

Leslie Stratyner claims oral derivation (admittedly not in performance) for *The Dream of the Rood* in "The Battle with the Monster': Transformation of a Traditional Pattern in the *Dream of the Rood*" (*Oral Tradition* 12 (1997), 308-21). Stratyner sees the poem as straddling the worlds of textuality and orality, which clears the path for reading a "transformed" oral pattern in the work. It does not "obviate the need for other readings, except perhaps those that view orality as a bacillus stamped out by intertextuality, as if the mere existence of literacy eviscerates all connection to the preliterate world" (309). Stratyner attempts "to show how the Rood poet drew upon the 'Battle with the Monster' sequence as a strategy for the poem's composition" (309). Citing studies by Lord and Foley, Stratyner provides a definition of the pattern: Arming, Boast, Monster's Approach, Death of the Substitute, and Engagement (not necessarily in that order). The pattern was first codified by Foley based on *Beowulf*, and with this essay Stratyner refutes his assertion that it is found in only one poem of the Old English corpus: "I would suggest that the pattern that emerges in Foley's discussion of the sequence in *Beowulf* is one startlingly close to the pattern of conflict that emerges in "The Dream of the Rood." What ensues is an examination, element by element, of the Battle with the Monster sequence. On the whole it is relatively tightly argued and at times ingenious, though on balance this reader remains less than convinced. Stratyner admits, for example, that "The monster's Approach is perhaps the most difficult to discern" (311). Who is the monster? Who approaches whom? As Stratyner reads it, the conflict is between the Cross and Jesus, not the agents of the crucifixion, the Romans. This interpretation of the approach of these dual monsters as an identifiable element in the sequence is bolstered, according to Stratyner, by the variations on the Boast and Arming topi present in the poem. Here lines 37b-38 (*Ealle ic mihte/feondas gefyllan, hwæðre ic fæste stod*) serve as the Boast, yet it is inverted by the Cross's refusal to act on it. Likewise we find an inverted Arming in Christ's disrobing at ll. 39-40a. The crucifixion itself is the Engagement, on the assumption that Christ and the Cross are indeed at battle. The Substitute—the figure or figures who perish before the hero's battle, like Æschere and Hondscio in *Beowulf*—is paradoxically once again the Cross (it is not allowed to avert the death of Christ, and is later buried in a deep pit afterwards, thus perishing. 315). Stratyner's conclusion: The Rood poet offers us a web that interweaves patterns found in oral-formulaic narrative with the story of the crucifixion. The central Christian

symbol is accorded its meaning through the lens of the traditional paradigm. From the audience's perspective it is reverence rooted in traditional referentiality" (319)

In "Dual Perspectives in *The Dream of the Rood*" (*Publ. of the Mississippi Philol. Assoc.* pp. 1-6), Harksoon Yim claims that two forms of heroism inform *The Dream of the Rood*: the Christian heroism of the martyr, and the Germanic heroism of the warrior. If the reader keeps these in mind, then the potential discrepancies between the poem and the gospel narrative, which according to some do "some violence to the doctrine of Christianity" (5), become less problematic. We are meant, Yim reasons, not only to see Christ portrayed as a Germanic hero, but the Cross as a Christian martyr, as well. The personified Cross, then, embodies the new Christian heroism, "the personality separated from worldly ways and joined to Christ" (4). The tree cut down in the forest, suffering agony next to Christ, resisting the urge to exercise his power becomes a co-martyr with Christ. This perspective had the power to convey Christian doctrine to a Germanic audience: "the faithful who serve their Lord by enduring suffering for Him will be rewarded with eternal life and glory" (5).

<div align="right">D.F.J.</div>

c. *Beowulf*

Text, Language, Meter

Johan Gerritsen poses the question, "What Use are the Thorkelin Transcripts of *Beowulf*?" in *ASE* 28 (1999), 23–42. His answer may prove disappointing to those who were hoping for further information from these two late-eighteenth-century transcripts of the sole extant copy of the poem in British Library Cotton Vitellius A.xv. The Thorkelin A transcript, made by Thorkelin's anonymous amanuensis, can be used to supplement gaps in the Cotton Vitellius manuscript, including a few suppletions to that transcript made in the first fifteen pages by the amanuensis himself. This transcript A records the *graphic* form of the manuscript exemplar as it appeared to the amanuensis. The original text of the Thorkelin B transcript, made by Thorkelin himself, can also be used, but without his subsequent suppletions. This transcript B records the *linguistic* form of the exemplar as it appeared to Thorkelin at the time of his copying and afterwards. However, Gerritsen stresses that Thorkelin was an antiquary and historian, not a philologist, who was imperfectly learning to read the language of the manuscript as he went along. Gerritsen enjoins strict protocols in determining what these two transcribers were likely to have seen in their exemplar, but concludes that "[t]o a very large extent, this will merely mean duplicating Zupitza" (p. 42; cf. Julius Zupitza's 1882 facsimile and transliteration of the manuscript in *Beowulf*, 2nd ed. with intro. by Norman Davis [1959; rpt. London: EETS, 1967]).

With regard to the language of the poem, Alfred

Bammesberger asks, "In What Sense Was Grendel an *an-geng(e)a*?" *N&Q* 46 (1999), 173–76. Following Trautman (1912), he suggests that the term on lines 165a and 449a, usually translated as "lone" or "solitary walker," is better understood as "attacker," the noun concomitant of the verb *onginnan* "to attack" and parallel in construction to another noun referring to Grendel on line 1776b: *ingenga* "invader." In "*Beowulf*, line 600a: OE *sendeþ*, *N&Q* 46 (1999), 428–30, Bammesberger interprets this form not as an intransitive use of the verb *sendan* "to send on, dispatch," but as a variant of *sændeþ*, metathesized from *snædeþ* "cuts up." Frank Battaglia explores the meaning of the word "*Sib in Beowulf*," *In Geardagum* 20 (1999), 27–47. He stresses its primary sense of "kinship" over its developed senses, "relationship" or "peace." In particular, *sib* in the poem indicates membership in a militarized kindred united by a king who is conceived as the son or direct descendent of a war-god.

Jacqueline Stuhmiller, in her essay "On the Identity of the *eotenas*," *NM* 100 (1999), 7–14, undertakes to explain the confusion between *eotenas* 'giants' and *Eotan* 'Jutes' in *Beowulf*. These two words are perfect homonyms in their genitive plural form, *eotena/Eotena*. She concludes that this confusion is deliberate on the part of the poet who wishes to establish a symbolic association between the ruthless monsters who haunt Heorot and the ancient tribal enemies of the Danes. Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., "Bad Breath at the Barrow (*Beowulf* 2288a: *Stonc ða æfter stane*): the Implications of a Homiletic Perspective," *In Geardagum* 20 (1999), 7–26, argues that the verb *stincan* here bears its usual meaning, "to stink, emit a smell, rise up like smoke," thus activating a complex of images and ideas familiar from Old English homilies associating sin, evil, dragons, sulphurous breath, and hell.

In 1998 Stanford University produced two dissertations on the meter of *Beowulf*, under two different directors, both using a recent development in linguistics, optimality theory, in their analysis. Michael Glen Getty's "A Constraint-Based Approach to the Meter of *Beowulf* (Old English, Alliterative Meter, Optimality Theory, Poetry)" (*DAI* 59A, 3801) concludes that the meter of *Beowulf* is essentially regular: supposed irregularities result from an attempt to accommodate a wide range of phonological elements into the poem's deeply constrained metrical system. Chang Yong Sohn, in "The Metrical Structure of *Beowulf*" (*DAI* 59A, 2955), agrees. He demonstrates that the degree of metrical complexity (or irregularity) in certain verse types is clearly correlated to the extent to which these types violate a gradient of ranked constraints, as well as to their frequency in the corpus of the poem.

Conversely, and perhaps a little unusually, *Beowulf* was also used for the contribution it might make to linguistic theory in two studies. Robert Payson Creed, in "The Invention of the Syllable: Reflections of a Humanist on the Biology of Language," in *The Biology of Language*, ed. Stanislaw Puppel (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1995), pp. 61–71, draws upon his experience of the prosody of the poem to stress the significance of the syllable in the development of human speech and cognition. In his prior work on *Beowulf* (1966, 1990), Creed emphasized the importance of "stem" or "content syllables" over "linking" or inflectional syllables (case or conjugational endings, prepositions, etc.). He imagines the very first syllables to have been created from the combination of two preexisting utterances in our hominid ancestors' repertoire, each indicating a response to different stimuli (e.g., predators, water sources, etc.). Creed speculates that this technique of meaningful syllable production drove development of key portions of the brain. In *Linguistic Attractors: the Cognitive Dynamics of Language Acquisition and Language Change* (Amsterdam/Philadelphia: John Benjamins, 1999), David L. Cooper analyses the use of case both in *Beowulf* and in Ælfric's homilies ("Attractor Dynamics in *Beowulf*," pp. 206–41). Cooper accepts without discussion a seventh-century date for the composition of the poem; the prose sermons were composed in the last decade of the tenth. His method of analysis registers a case system which had changed significantly between the composition of *Beowulf* and Ælfric's prose, especially in the accusative, as well as "extensive differences" in the word order of clauses (p. 206).

[Certainly one of the most significant events in the history of *Beowulf* studies is the appearance of the *Electronic 'Beowulf'*, edited by Kevin S. Kiernan *et al.*, published jointly by the British Library and the University of Michigan Press. At $150 it is pricey, but costs far less than a printed book (or rather, a set of printed volumes) with the same content would; for on the two-disk set you get facsimiles of the entire "Nowell Codex" (containing *Beowulf*, *Judith* and the prose wonder-tales), the "Southwick Codex" (the twelfth-century manuscript with which the Nowell Codex is bound, containing Alfred's version of Augustine's *Soliloquies*, the prose *Solomon and Saturn* and other texts), the two Thorkelin transcripts, and copies of Thorkelin's edition belonging to Conybeare and Madden. These are accompanied by a diplomatic transcription of *Beowulf* and a simple but serviceable edition with full parsed glossary.

The facsimile is the heart of this publication. The images are JPEGs, and thus not of the same quality as the original digital photos taken by the British Library; but they can be magnified up to 3x with no apparent loss of quality (on my screen at least; results may vary on different hardware). If the quality of the images on the main disk does not satisfy, the whole facsimile is repeated on the supplementary disk at double the resolution. (Though the supplementary disk makes these images available via your browser, you should really load them into an image editor to do them justice.) When viewed using the software included in the package (which requires that you install an appropriate browser and a Java Runtime Environment), sections of the manuscript for which commentary is available are highlighted, and clicking on the highlighted areas displays commentary and, frequently, an ultraviolet image which can also be enlarged. Features annotated in

this way include damaged passages, faded or rubbed patches, erasures, and much else that will be of interest to readers and textual scholars.

The edition and transcript are exceedingly simple compared with some contemporary e-texts. There is no commentary on the edition, and the text is rarely linked to the glossary (see below): words must be looked up the old-fashioned way. Both text and transcript are displayed as web-pages, but the original SGML file from which the web-pages are derived is also included on the disk (in the "search" directory) for those who are interested in such things.

Those who are acquainted with Kiernan's scholarship on *Beowulf* (and what informed reader is not?) will be unsurprised to find that he is exceedingly reluctant to emend the text. Whatever readers think of this editorial conservatism, all will wish for more in the way of discussion and apparatus to explain the thinking behind the editorial choices here. The rare links in the text take us not to discussions of textual cruces, but rather to the glossary, where, curiously, manuscript readings and the editorial decisions of other editors are recorded with cryptic brevity.

The software that accompanies the edition includes a sophisticated search engine. Those who are intimidated by complicated dialog boxes should overcome their fear and play with this facility, which allows one to search for words and word-fragments, alliterative patterns, SGML elements and their contents (for the techno-savvy), and various combinations.

The software that accompanies an electronic edition must inevitably go stale. Version 1 of this package required Netscape 4.5 and an early version of Java. Now Netscape, having advanced to version 7.1, has become moribund, and Java has advanced far beyond where it was in 1999. Purchasers can, without charge, upgrade to a version that uses more up-to-date software; but the problem of rapid obsolescence remains. Indeed, the basic design of this software—a Java applet running inside a browser—is now dated, and may soon prove to be impractical. Fortunately, the data files that make up the work itself—the images and texts—because they conform to non-proprietary technical standards, are unlikely to become obsolete anytime soon. In some future rewrite, the software programmers who produced the present admirable package would also be well advised to look carefully at standards-compliant, non-proprietary solutions and so at least slow down the obsolescence of their work.

The *Electronic Beowulf* is a rich package, and one can only applaud the energy and dedication of those who contributed to it and the generosity of the publishers in making it available at a reasonable price.

P.S.B.]

Sources and Analogues

R. Mark Scowcroft, "The Irish Analogues to *Beowulf*," *Speculum* 74 (1999), 22–64, believes that the poet used as his source for the Grendel episode a coherent oral narrative which is represented by the Irish folktale, "the Hand and the Child." Such a narrative may be considered a distinctive variant or subtype of the Bear's Son folktale (Aarne-Thompson 301) and must also be a source, possibly through the poem itself, of the fourteenth-century Icelandic *Grettis saga*.

Joseph Harris, in "The Dossier on Byggvir, God and Hero. *Cur Deus Homo*," *Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 55 (1999), 7–23, accepts Franz Rolf Schröder's view ("Mythos und Heldensage" [1955]) that myths about gods influence legends about men, in part by inspiring the formation of heroic analogues to the divine figures who populate sacred narrative. Harris joins Fulk (1989) in seeing such a divine formant in Byggvir, who appears the Old Icelandic poem *Lokasenna* as a *bygg*- or barley-god related to the Finnish grain-divinity *Pekko*. Byggvir is represented in *Lokasenna* as both god and thing (that is, a barleycorn and/or the ale brewed from it) through a kind of sacred punning. Harris notes that *Byggvir* is etymologically equivalent to *Beow*, the son of Scyld Scefing in *Beowulf*, assuming that the "Beowulf" written on line 18a of the manuscript is a scribal error for "Beow" provoked by its similarity to the name of the Geatish hero mentioned later in the poem. Harris hears an echo in this line of the same kind of *double entendre* found in the Norse poem: *Beow wæs breme—blæd wide sprang* "Beow was celebrated—(his) glory spread far and wide" or "Barley was celebrated—(its) fruits flourished far and wide." This possibility suggests a new interpretation of the hero Beowulf's name, which Harris analyses not as the kenning "Bee + wolf" or "Enemy of Bees = Bear," but as "Beow + wolf," on the model of other theophoric lupine names in Old English (*Tiuwulf* 'Tiw + wolf') and Old Norse (*Þólfr* 'Thor + wolf' or *Ingólfr* 'Ing-wolf').

Paul Wilkinson, "Finding Beowulf in Kent's Landscape," *Brit. Archaeol.* 39 (1998), 8–9, ill., locates the hero's foreign adventure in the first half of the poem not in Denmark, but on the Kentish Isle of Harty in the estuary of the Swale River. This island was called *Hart Londe*, we are told, in the fifteenth century and *Heorot* in the eleventh, "the same name as Hrothgar's hall in the poem" (p. 8). Wilkinson does not note that, as a common noun, *heorot* means "hart, stag," nor does he consider the possibility that Harty may have been named for its deer population, like nearby Sheppey (from OE *Sceapig* "Sheep Island") for its sheep. G. Storms uses a similar geographical speculation to explain the presence of so many Scandinavians in the Old English poem: "How Did the *Dene* and the *Geatas* Get into Beowulf?" *ES* 80 (1999), 46–49. He identifies the objective of Hygelac's sixth-century attack near the Rhine mouth as the old Roman town of Noviomagus, now modern Nijmegen (the author's own hometown) in

Holland. He imagines that the Geatish king's raiding party had been "joined by a considerable number of young Danes in search of plunder and adventure" (pp. 46–47). With retreat blocked to the north, south and east, the surviving attackers fled directly west across the sea to settle in East Anglia, where their descendents in the next century preserved in *Beowulf* a memory of the raid and of other glorified deeds of their noble ancestors.

Criticism

In "The Language of Paganism in *Beowulf*: a Response to an Ill-Omened Essay," *Multilingua* 18 (1999), 173–83, Fred C. Robinson critiques Christine Fell's "Paganism in *Beowulf*: a Semantic Fairy Tale," collected with other studies in *Pagans and Christians: the Interplay between Christian Latin and Traditional Germanic Cultures in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. T. Hofstra *et al.* (Groningen: Forsten, 1995), pp. 9–34. Fell had argued that the putative paganism of the characters in *Beowulf* is based upon a misinterpretation of key terms in the poet's lexicon: for example, *hæl sceawedon* in line 204b, normally taken to mean, "they observed omens," should be translated simply as, "they said farewell." Robinson definitively undoes this suggestion, as well as several others, in particular Fell's unexamined assumption that a respectful interest in pagan belief and practice on the part of the poet would necessarily imply that he and his audience were pagans themselves.

Jos Bazelmans, in "One for All, All for One: the Old English *Beowulf* and the Ritual and Cosmological Character of the Relationship between Lord and Warrior-Follower in Germanic Societies," in *Method and Theory in Historical Archaeology*, ed. Guy De Boe and Frans Verhaeghe (Zellik, 1997), pp. 51–53, summarizes the argument of his Diss. Univ. of Amsterdam (1996), which D. Johnson has translated as *By Weapons Made Worthy: Lords, Retainers, and Their Relationship in 'Beowulf'*, Amsterdam Archæol. Stud. 5 (Amsterdam: Amsterdam Univ. Press, 1999), xiii, 206 pp.; ill. Bazelmans draws upon the comparative work of Marcel Mauss and Louis Dumont on the function of gift exchange in the construction of identity in non-modern societies. In the Germanic society depicted in *Beowulf*, the worth and status of aristocratic males is constituted by valuable gifts, especially fine weapons, from lord or king to warrior-follower. This formal and long-term relationship (*Gefolgschaft*) culminates in the death of the lord, when the society organized around his war-band constructs him as a worthy ancestor by investing his tomb with reciprocal gifts of weapons and other luxury goods. Bazelmans thus sees the poem not so much as an elegy for a dead hero and his doomed people, but as the paradigm of an archaic but stable social "economy" in which the protagonist moves through the customary life-cycle from untried youth to mature warrior to worth-granting king to official ancestor, each stage of his development marked by the transfer of expensive military equipment.

In "Tolkien, *Beowulf* and the Lords of the Ring" *Germanic Notes and Reviews* 30 (1999), 1–4, H. Barkley joins Bazelmans in seeing the exchange of valuables—this time the neck-ring of the Brosings—as the "symbol of the cyclical themes of the poem—youth to age, warrior to king, life to death": "Beowulf is almost as much a genealogy of the necklace of the Brosings as it is a tale of the arc of the life of the hero" (p. 3). In fact, Barkley sees a cryptic "alliterative symbolism" (p. 2) in the ring's transfer from "Wealhtheow to Beowulf to Hygd to Hygelac to Beowulf to Wiglaf—W B H H B W" (p. 3), a pattern which the literate poet carefully designed to signify the balanced harmony of the whole cycle of life.

Of related interest is Tomoaki Mizuno's "The Magical Necklace and the Fatal Corslet in *Beowulf*" *ES* 80 (1999), 377–97. Here, the neck-ring and mailshirt given Beowulf in Denmark are interpreted as of ambivalent intent, as sincere recompense for the hero's service, but also bearing something of the competitive hostile will or malice of the Danish rulers, Hrothgar and Wealhtheow, toward the eventual recipients of these gifts, the Geatish rulers Hygelac and Hygd. Mizuno sees these two treasures as seeds of discord in the Geatish royal family and the necklace in particular as a token of sinful love between the hero and his queen Hygd. Hygelac is doomed when he jealously and greedily appropriates this treasure from his young wife and wears it into battle. Beo-*wulf*, as nephew of the Geatish king, effectively replicates the treachery of Hroth-*wulf* = Hrothulf, the nephew of the Danish king, both princes emerging as the "wolves" in the fold of their respective royal families. Beowulf himself is thus a highly "ambivalent character" (p. 397), both a glorious hero and a treacherous usurper, just like those other Indo-European heroes (as per Georges Dumézil [1970]) Indra, Heracles and Starkaðr.

In "Hands across the Hall: the Legalities of Beowulf's Fight with Grendel," *JEGP* 98 (1999), 313–24, David D. Day argues that Hrothgar has transferred to Beowulf legal *mund* "possession, protection" of Heorot in order publicly to legitimate the hero's guardianship of it against its nocturnal claimant Grendel. Since the primary meaning of *mund* is "hand," Day sees a fierce pun in the fact that Grendel's illegal *mund* is wrenched from his grasp by a hero legally empowered to confiscate the outlaw's own literal hand and arm. William Nelles, "Beowulf's *sorhfullne sið* with Breca," *Neophilologus* 83 (1999), 299–312, similarly focuses upon implications of one word in the poem: why does Unferth call Beowulf's youthful adventure with Breca "sorrowful"? Nelles suggests that the poet understands Breca to have been killed somehow in the contest, possibly by drowning or monster-attack during that night-storm which Beowulf describes, whence the sea bore Breca's body to shore among the Heatho-Ræmas in the morning.

Many different theoretical approaches to the poem were adopted in 1999. David Sandner, in "Tracking Grendel: the

Uncanny in *Beowulf*," *Extrapolation* 40 (1999), 162–76, uses Freud's 1912 theory of the uncanny as the return of the repressed to suggest that the mysteriously human monster Grendel represents a nightmare recurrence of the Christian poet's unconscious "desire for the lost culture of the Anglo-Saxon heroic world in all its bravery and hopelessness, in all its ritualized violence" (p. 175). Kurt W. Harris uses reader-response theory in "Internal Dissension: Retextualizing the *Beowulf* Poet and His Audience," *ELN* 37.1 (1999), 1–15, to determine the implied Narrator and Narratee of the poem. He concludes that "the Narrator wishes to provide some degree of moral guidance for his Narratee" and "possesses not only a historical and Biblical store of information which he can access to support his narrative," but "is also perceptive enough to recognize his Narratee's strengths (historical knowledge) and weaknesses (moral and/or Biblical knowledge)" (p. 11).

Thomas A. Prendergast, "'Wanton Recollection': the Idolatrous Pleasures of *Beowulf*," *New Lit. Hist.* 30 (1999), 129–41, explores the ambiguity of a poem which explicitly condemns the obsessive recollection of past injuries as perpetuating a cycle of violence in human society while it also clearly celebrates violence performed for good by human kings and heroes. Prendergast believes that the Anglo-Saxon audience of *Beowulf* was capable of enjoying poetic recreations of violence while thoughtfully contemplating the poet's thematic observations on this deplorable force in human affairs. These theoretically sophisticated Anglo-Saxons thus avoided a postmodern or neo-Marxist suspicion of aesthetic pleasure without succumbing to a modernist or New Critical fetishization of the artistic text for its own sake. Scott DeGregorio, in "Theorizing Irony in *Beowulf*: the Case of Hrothgar" *Exemplaria* 11 (1999), 309–43, adopts the "dialogic" or "polyperspectival" approach of Mikhail Bakhtin (1981) and Linda Hutcheon (1995) to demonstrate the open-endedness of the poem's ambiguous characterization of Hrothgar. DeGregorio sees an ironic tension between the plot, which represents the king in a rather weak or negative light, and the panegyric epithets which are consistently applied to him. This contradiction is left unresolved by the poet, according to DeGregorio, "meaning not one thing, but many simultaneously" (p. 342). Glenn Wright takes a more precise and systematic approach to irony in the poem in "*Gefeng þa be eaxle—nalas for fæhðe mearn*: Getting to Grips with Beowulfian Litotes," *In Geardagum* 20 (1999), 49–63. Wright accepts the 94 instances of litotes in *Beowulf* identified by Bracher (1937) as a kind of verbal irony defined as "the assertion of a thing through the denial of its opposite" (pp. 49, 54). But Wright is especially concerned to chase out certain humorous uses of this device, most evident in cases of what Jespersen (1966) called "incomplete negation" (Wright, p. 58). For instance, the summary description of Grendel's mere in line 1372b—*nis þæt heoru stow* "no pleasant place, that" (Wright's translation)—"creates an opportunity for humor ... by coyly withholding the full

negation logically demanded by the state of affairs" (p. 59). In such uses of irony, Wright finds neither the open-ended multivocalism invoked by DeGregorio nor "merely the stylized voice of a poetic tradition" (p. 58), but a sharply calculated comic effect.

In "The Masculine Queen of *Beowulf*," *Women and Lang.* 21.2 (1998), 31–38, Mary Dockray-Miller uses Judith Butler's theory of gender as social performance (1990, 1993) to argue that masculinity is constructed in *Beowulf* not as a natural biological category, but as the achieved social role of coercive power over others. In these terms, the queen Modþrýðo "is ultimately masculine since she wields power in the same way that Beowulf does," (p. 31), that is, through violent action. In spite of her changed behavior when later married to Offa, we are not to see Modþrýðo as a "passive peace pledge" or a "tamed shrew," but as a man—that is, a masculine person—of action (p. 36). Richard M. Trask also takes up the subject of tough girls in attempting to explain "Why Beowulf and Judith Need Each Other," *In Geardagum* 20 (1999), 75–88. While insisting that "Beowulf is all man, Judith all woman: both halves of the human spectrum in their own time" (p. 77), Trask notes many parallels between the two protagonists, arguing that their poems "function in tandem" (p. 87) to complete the manuscript Cotton Vitellius A.xv. Judith is Beowulf's "alter ego in female spirit" (p. 88) whom Scribe B lets "finish what Beowulf had begun—thus achieving the lasting final victory that earthly endurance aspires to" (p. 87).

Two dissertations use *Beowulf* as part of their discussion of orality and literacy in medieval literature. Jonathan Paul Watson, in "'Odinn's Storm': a Case Study in the Literary Reception of Old and Middle English Oral-Derived Verse (Alliterative Verse)" (Diss. Indiana Univ., *DAI* 59 A [1998], 3448), explores the oral-literate continuum of the English alliterative tradition. Watson terms the formulaic repertoire of oral poets "Odinn's Storm" and traces its decay, retrenchment and dynamic transformation through six centuries of development from Old to Middle English poetry. In the second chapter of "'Ye Bok as I Herde Say': Orality as Rhetoric in Medieval and Modern Discursive Contexts (Structuralism, *Beowulf*, *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*, *Nibelungenlied*)" (Diss. Univ. of Tennessee, *DAI* 59A [1997], 2963), Melissa C. Putnam Sprenkle argues that the literate poet of *Beowulf* employs a particular rhetoric of epic orality, as distinct from that of popular or conversational orality used by the other literate authors she treats. While not focused upon issues of orality per se, Keith Preston Taylor, in "Fusing Traditions: the Epic Conventions of Anglo-Saxon Poetry and *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*" (Diss. Univ. of Tennessee, *DAI* 60A [1998], 2021), believes that the generic expectations and themes of Old English heroic poems like *Beowulf* are as important a context as continental medieval romance in understanding the late-fourteenth-century alliterative poem *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*.

John D. Niles produced the fullest and farthest ranging study of what *Beowulf* can tell us about the nature of traditional orality in *Homo Narrans: the Poetics and Anthropology of Oral Literature* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1999), [vii], 280 pp., ill. To his knowledge of the Old English poem, Niles adds his field experience of traveling storytellers in Scotland and a broad familiarity with other traditions of spoken narrative. He identifies six complementary social functions of oral-traditional storytelling: (1) the *ludic* or entertaining aspect of stories allows them "to bear effortlessly a heavy cargo of meaning" (p. 70); (2) the *sapiential* or pedagogical function teaches the parts and illustrates the principles of the world of that tradition; (3) the *normative* reinforces a culture's system of social value; (4) the *constitutive* creates a "heterocosm" in the minds of its auditors which organizes reality into symbolic categories, such as "inside and outside, now and then, here and there, us and them, male and female, young and old, free and unfree, safe and risky, the rulers and the ruled, the public and the private, the holy and the unholy, the clean and the unclean, the just and the unjust, and so on" (p. 78); (5) the *socially cohesive*, which constructs a sense of ethnic or other form of group identity; and (6) the *adaptive*, where stories are used to dramatize conflicts of value in order to adjust or transform cultural priorities and ideals in changing social circumstances.

Niles illustrates every one of these functions with examples from *Beowulf*, often finding fresh answers to old questions which have exercised critics of the poem. With regard to function five, the socially cohesive, he argues that *Beowulf* is an act of "creative ethnicity" (p. 137), a reimagining of relations between the hero-peoples of the past in order to create sense of common descent among the various groups living under West Saxon rule "south of Hadrian's Wall and east of Offa's Dyke" in the tenth-century (p. 142). Niles thus dates the composition of the poem "not earlier than the reign of Alfred [871–99] and . . . probably not earlier than the reign of his grandson Athelstan, who was chosen king by both Mercians and West Saxons in 924 and whose prosperous rule, like that of his successors up to the time of Æthelred (978–1016), seems to have been based on a policy of integration of ethnic Angles, ethnic Saxons, and ethnic Danes at all levels of society" (p. 140).

In terms of the adaptive function of oral narrative, Niles continues the argument of his earlier book, *'Beowulf': the Poem and Its Tradition* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard Univ. Press, 1983), that the poem is the site of an extremely successful new cultural formation in which "Germanic culture and Christian faith" were combined "into a single system of thought and ethics" (*Homo Narrans*, p. 142). In terms of its actual composition, Niles sees *Beowulf* as an "intervention" in an oral tradition of poetic performance. This event was either sponsored by a collector from outside the tradition "for the express purpose of generating a fine written text" or conducted by an insider—the poet himself—who knew how to write and staged a special "self-dictation" (p. 93). In both cases, a single gifted poet or "strong tradition-bearer" (p. 15) transformed the resources of his oral tradition into an outstanding new poem, one which is "longer, more complex, more fully elaborated, and more clear and self-consistent in its narrative line than a typical oral performance would be, for it is the result of a purposive effort to obtain a text that literate people will read and value" (p. 106).

Josephine Bloomfield argues, in "Benevolent Authoritarianism in Klaeber's *Beowulf*: an Editorial Translation of Kingship," *Mod. Lang. Quarterly* 60 (1999), 129–59, that our notion of Anglo-Saxon kingship has been significantly influenced by Friedrich Klaeber's own ideal of benevolent monarchy formed during his upbringing and education in nineteeth-century Germany. In particular, she finds an intrusive attribution of unilateral kindness or grace in Klaeber's glossing of adjectives referring to God and king in his 1950 edition of the poem. Bloomfield believes a less hierarchical model of reciprocal benefit is more appropriate to Anglo-Saxon conceptions of the relation between god and man, lord and thegn. She thus finds the "voluntary benevolence" attributed in Klaeber's glosses to Hrothgar, Hygelac and Beowulf to be "unlikely" (p. 158), a projection of his own implicitly held political ideals. Pauline Julia Alama similarly examines the biases which nineteenth-century translators of *Beowulf* brought to their work in "From Curiosity to Canon: Nineteenth-Century Translations of *Beowulf*" (Diss. Univ. of Rochester, *DAI* 59A [1998], 3463). Alama stresses a different point from Bloomfield, that however influenced by their own preconceptions and prejudices, these translators took very seriously the ideal of a faithful rendering of the poem into Modern English, a devotion to accuracy which often even undermined their pet theories and predilections.

Edward B. Irving, Jr., *A Reading of 'Beowulf'*, rvsd ed. (Provo, UT: Chaucer Studio, 1999), x, 262 pp., is a student paperback reprinting of his 1968 Yale Univ. Press monograph with an appreciative preface by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (pp. v–viii), a brief bibliographical essay on more recent scholarship by Don W. Chapman (pp. 247–59) and a new short index absent from the original.

Both Robert F. Yeager, "Why Read *Beowulf*?" pp. 20–22, and Richard Carter, "The Electronic *Beowulf*," p. 23, contributed short evocative pieces to *Humanities* 20.2 (1999), an issue devoted to different medieval programs and projects supported by the National Endowment for the Humanities. Jeff S. Dailey offers some suggestions for writing instructors in "Dealing with Dragons: Using *Beowulf*," in *Classics in the Classroom: Using Great Literature to Teach Writing*, ed. Christopher Edgar and Ron Padgett (New York, 1999), pp. 83–93. Assigning translations of *Beowulf* will not only inspire critical essays and creative imitations, it can also provide an opportunity to encourage students to experiment with alliteration, dialogue, litotes, and metaphor in their own writing style.

Translations and Translation Studies

"Poetry is what is lost in translation," Frost once said, and Seamus Heaney describes how he tried to keep that from happening in "The Drag of the Golden Chain," *Times Lit. Suppl.* 12 November 1999, pp. 14–16, and in the Introduction to his own new verse translation of *Beowulf*, first published in its entirety in England (London: Faber and Faber, 1999), xxx, 106 pp. Heaney says he tried to slip the golden chain of "a resonant original" in order to find "the utterly persuasive word" in a new idiom ("Drag," p. 14). His inspiration was St. Jerome, who rendered the Greek and Aramaic of Scripture into a Latin that was "pre-Babel" in its purity, power and unmediated availability to all readers and hearers of that language. To find this authenticating voice in modern English, Heaney turned to the speech of his country relatives in northern Ireland, in particular the weighty and deliberate utterance of his "big-voiced" uncles. He had first studied Old English as an undergraduate at Queen's University, Belfast, and discovered there certain words in the language of the poem, like *thole* "to suffer," that were still used by his family back home.

In the early 1980s Heaney accepted an invitation from the editors of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature* to replace E. Talbot Donaldson's prose translation of *Beowulf* with a new poetic rendering of his own. Not every one will agree that the poet's experiment with Ulsterisms in this new version is a complete success, but most will find some passages that leap alive for them, like the lay of the Fight at Finnsburh sung by Hrothgar's scop in Heorot. Here Heaney shortens and intensifies his line in verses that are taut, supple and lexically unselfconscious, like his own best lyrics. Unfortunately, by his own admission, the poet flagged in the larger enterprise. He let the project lapse until Norton found Alfred David to help him with the Old English. There are some flats in this final product, many readers will find, and we can sympathetically recall that Alexander Pope had faced similar obstacles in finishing his *Odyssey*.

R.M. Liuzza's *Beowulf: A New Verse Translation* (Peterborough, Ont./New York: Broadview, 1999), 248 pp., is distinguished by its paneless view into the world of the poem. Liuzza eschews extratextual effects, providing a lucid, fresh, readable rendering of the most direct meaning of the words of the original, one which captures both their stark clarities and fraught ambiguities neatly and comprehensibly. If some of the dark urgency of the Old English poem still evaporates in retelling, Liuzza's faithful rendering in a lightly alliterative four-stress line points to it presence. And Liuzza supplies an unusually full and useful scholarly apparatus: a substantial up-to-date introduction, neat foot-of-page notes, a glossary of proper names, genealogical charts, a summary of the Geatish-Swedish wars, a generous bibliography, and five further appendices which contain, in translation, key passages from many sources featuring characters mentioned in *Beowulf*, analogues to themes and events in the poem, attitudes toward Christians and pagans, other cultural contexts, and a comparison of twenty translations of the Danish coastguard scene ranging in publication date from 1805 to 1991. And you get all this for $7.95.

Not to be outdone by its competitors, Oxford University Press dusted off and reissued Kevin Crossley-Holland's 1968 translation in *Beowulf, the Fight at Finnsburh*, with a thoughtful new introduction and notes by Heather O'Donoghue, a map and genealogies (Oxford/New York, 1999), xxxviii, 128 pp. Crossley-Holland's is a close, rather conventional free verse rendering, fine for college courses, but with somewhat skimpier contextual aids than those found in Liuzza's Broadview version.

Pétur Knútsson, in "Intertextual Quanta in Formula and Translation," *Lang. and Lit.: Jnl of the Poetics and Ling. Assoc.* 4 (1995), 109–25, analyses Halldóra B. Björnsson's translation of *Beowulf* into modern Icelandic, *Bjólfskviða* 'The Lay of Bjólfur' (1983). He finds only a very few short passages that show a word-for-word replication of cognates in the two languages, but discovers that the lexicon of most sections reveals almost 50 percent cognation, that is, the Icelandic cognate of an Old English word present in the original passage is used somewhere in the translation of that passage (pp. 110–11). Knútsson points out that this level of cognation was possible because Björnsson used the archaic diction of "a poetic tradition which flourished in Iceland until well into the [20th] century" (p. 111). Björnsson also employed "a distinctive admixture of non-cognate correspondences which nevertheless contains a degree of formal similarity [to stylistic effects in Old English verse]—in other words the non-cognate reflex in the translation 'echoes' the original" (p. 112). For instance, Icelandic *silfri* "silver" is used to render OE *sinc* "treasure, as is *-gandur* "steed" *-genga* "walker." Knútsson call this echoing technique "quasi-cognation" (p. 112), the extent of which is quantifiable when translation and original are closely compared.

C.R.D.

d. Prose

John Howard Achorn studies translations of the *Historia Apollonii regis Tyri* from Old English to Shakespeare's *Pericles* in "A Study of 'Apollonius of Tyre': Three English Adaptations of an Ancient Greek Romance" (Diss. Univ. of Toronto, *DAI* 59A, 4432). According to the abstract, he finds all the versions "restorative": the Old English romance in particular adds Christian elements and emphasizes the role of Providence, yet it is subversive in supporting women's rights over patriarchal traditions and institutions.

In "Reinventing the Gospel: Ælfric and the Liturgy" (*MÆ* 68, 13–31), M. Bradford Bedingfield considers how dramatic liturgies inspired Ælfric to diverge from Scripture in three of his translations. For the Candlemass pericope, Ælfric displaces Mary to let Simeon carry the baby Jesus

into the temple. Ælfric underscores Simeon's role because the Candlemass liturgy includes a procession with candles in which the participants identify with Simeon and carry candles into church to accept the light of Christ symbolically. In the pericope for Palm Sunday, Ælfric's unique collation may reflect liturgical use of collated readings. Ælfric's translation also emphasizes how the crowd split around Jesus and explains the significance of the divided procession churchgoers would enact that day. Finally, for Easter, Ælfric conflates different Gospels for an unusual identification of the women at the tomb, and he ascribes the finding of the shroud to the women, not the apostles. The *Regularis concordia*'s *Visitatio sepulchri* may have inspired this change: it calls for three robed figures to play the roles of the women who discovered the resurrected Jesus and display the shroud to the congregation. Ælfric's overriding concern is that both clerics and laity in his audience understand Scriptural narratives and relate their lives to them, and his translations alter Scripture for this purpose.

Anne Berthoin-Mathieu treats blood and magic in "Le sang et la magie dans l'Angleterre du Xᵉ au XIIᵉ siècle" (*Le Sang au Moyen Age. Actes du quatrième colloque international de Montpellier Université Paul-Valéry (27–29 novembre 1997)*, Montpellier, 1999, pp. 11–18). Bloodletting played a major role in Anglo-Saxon medical practice, often with an element of magic involved. One recipe in the *Leechbook* follows the bloodletting by ceremonially pouring the blood into a river and spitting before returning home by another path; sympathetic magic transfers the disease to the river, and other precautions preclude its return. More recipes and charms are designed to stop the flow of blood, including formulas to be recited or written over the patient, sometimes in the form of a cross. Some even use Greek inscriptions, poorly copied from Eastern sources that may have included gnostic amulets. Berthoin-Matthieu concludes that Anglo-Saxon magic was syncretic, borrowing from a variety of sources.

John R. Black offers a facing-page "mini-edition" with a translation of "Ælfric's *De populo Israhel*" (*Allegorica* 20, 93–119). In a brief introduction, Black notes that while the text has Scriptural and patristic sources, Ælfric reshaped the material into his vernacular homily, which Black dates ca. 998–1005. He follows Gatch in linking this sermon to Lenten readings for Night Office or in the refectory, and notes that the theme, "Against Murmuring," fits admonitions against complaining in The Rule of St. Benedict. The rhythmical prose work preaches unity and faithfulness to God; the failure of these values brought disaster on the Israelites, and perhaps brought the Vikings on the Anglo-Saxons. The edition is based on Pope's 1968 edition, while Black's translation seeks to balance literal closeness to the Old English, including some imitation of rhythm and alliteration, with Modern English clarity.

Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., surveys "The Reception of the Acts of John in Anglo-Saxon England" (*The Apocryphal Acts of John*, Studies on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles 1, Kampen, The Netherlands: Kok Pharos, 1995, pp. 183–96). Bremmer finds Anglo-Saxon knowledge of the Acts of John soon after the conversion around 600, whether they were introduced by Irish missionaries or by Theodore and Hadrian. Bede disapproved of Pseudo-Abdias's *Historiae Apostolicae*, and Anglo-Saxons definitely knew Pseudo-Mellitus's *Passio Johannis*; Isidore of Seville's *De Ortu et Obitu Patrum* may also have been in use. Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* is the first English work to borrow from the Acts of John, but then interest in these apocryphal Acts died out until the Benedictine Revival in the mid-tenth century. Between the mid-tenth and the mid-twelfth centuries, the Acts were used by anonymous Latin homilists, the Cotton-Corpus legendary, and Ælfric. Bremmer concludes by offering a modern English translation of Ælfric's Homily on the Assumption of St. John the Apostle (27 December).

Mary Clayton considers "Ælfric's *Esther*: A *Speculum Reginae*?" in *Text and Gloss: Studies in Insular Learning and Literature Presented to Joseph Donovan Pheifer* (ed. Helen Conrad O'Briain, Anne Marie D'Arcy, and John Scattergood, Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts, pp. 89–101). Stuart Lee suggests that *Esther* calls Anglo-Saxons to fight Vikings, yet Ælfric omits the most appropriate passage for such a purpose, the Jews' massacre of their enemies. Instead, Ælfric develops Esther's role as the good queen and intercessor who reveals Hanan as a bad counselor, saving the Jews and converting King Ahasuerus. Clayton suggests that Ælfric had in mind the St. Brice's Day Massacre of November 1002, when King Æthelræd commanded that all Danes in England be killed. How many actually died is unknown, but the violation of the church's right of sanctuary in Oxford, the murder of innocent people, and the Viking reprisal that followed all gave Ælfric reason to condemn it. A further indication of Ælfric's position may be one of his few additions to the revised second series of *Catholic Homilies*, which tells of Bishop Ambrose barring Theodosius from church until he did great penance for a massacre. Six months before the St. Brice's Day massacre, Æthelræd married the Norman-Danish Emma—as the Persian Ahasuerus married the Jewish Esther. Clayton concludes that *Esther* may be a veiled mirror for queens, indicating that Emma should henceforth guide her husband away from bad counselors and towards conversion. Anticipation of a court audience could explain specific details in the text and the lack of overt commentary on the moral of the story.

Brenda Danet and Bryna Bogoch's "Orality, Literacy, and Performativity in Anglo-Saxon Wills" (in *Language and the Law*, ed. John Gibbons, London and New York, 1994, pp. 100–35) examines all 62 extant Anglo-Saxon wills as evidence for the transition from orality to literacy. Legal acts originated as oral rituals; since wills could record binding oral ceremonies, they were transitional documents with what Ong termed "oral residue." Anglo-Saxon wills were often irrevocable and bilateral (requiring Church action in return for gifts).

They self-consciously referred to the act of writing but did not require standard language, and they varied person, tense, and narrative stance. Wills invoked curses and witnesses to guard against destruction or tampering; they did not simply witness oral actions but had their own performative force. The clear organization of many wills indicates a drafting process. Yet they are highly dependent upon context, omitting dates while referring to people or property in ways useful only to local contemporaries, addressing recipients as if they were present, and offering evaluative or qualifying remarks. Danet and Bogoch conclude that wills mark steps along the road from records of ceremonies to the autonomy and legal force of modern documents. They recommend comparative studies and briefly review video wills, a medium in transition that demonstrates "literate residue" as well as innovation.

Kathleen Davis's "National Writing in the Ninth Century: A Reminder for Postcolonial Thinking about the Nation" (*Journal of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 28 (1998), 611–37) reads Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral Care* against recent work placing the birth of nations in the Enlightenment. Davis argues that Benedict Anderson (*Imagined Communities*) and others uncritically accept modern Western nations' own stories about themselves when they do not recognize earlier or non-Western nations. Alfred's Preface employs the rhetoric of nationhood, setting English speakers apart from a broader Latin culture, placing his program into a Christian tradition of translation, and treating English as a language as legitimate as Latin. Davis argues that Alfred could not stand outside his setting to manipulate national rhetoric consciously, nor did he recognize spiritual/political and ideal/real as dichotomies. His term *Angelcynn* unites people and place in a word, and mentions of rivers but no kingdoms present a landscape unified by language instead of divided by politics. Both remembering and forgetting shape this England: the Preface recollects a unified land with its own culture and foreign relations but no apparent internal wars. While the Preface constructs the past, the translations themselves model social relationships for the present and construct a canon for English. The Preface is also performative: written in legal language and sealed with an *æstel*, it commanded its own copying. As evidence of the Preface's impact, Davis points to English square minuscule, which dominated tenth-century writing in both languages and hence unified writing throughout England and made Latin and English visually equivalent. Davis concludes that medievalists have much to contribute to the varied field of postcolonial studies by questioning assumptions about the timing and definition of nation-building.

Edwin Duncan explores "Fears of the Apocalypse: The Anglo-Saxons and the Coming of the First Millennium" (*Rel. & Lit.* 31, 15–23; correction 79–80). Wulfstan's apocalyptic *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, written in 1014, treats the coming of the Antichrist as imminent; was this just rhetoric? Scholars now reject the theory of a general millennial panic,

for the Church officially ignored or calmed millennial fears. Yet several texts near the millennium, especially Wulfstan's early homilies, reveal deep concern. Wulfstan became Bishop of London, so obviously his homilies did not seriously violate Church expectations. Ælfric and the Blickling homilies also point to the final days. Indeed, between famines and Viking raids, circumstances around the millennium looked dire, and fear both provoked and was fueled by large pilgrimages to Jerusalem. Anxiety continued after 1000 because the coming of the apocalypse could be reckoned as a thousand years from Christ's passion as well as his birth. Duncan concludes that while Anglo-Saxons were not paralyzed with fear, homilists addressed sincere concern about the coming end.

Mark Griffith addresses the question "How Much Latin Did Ælfric's *Magister* Know?" (*N&Q* 46, 176–81). In his Preface to Genesis, Ælfric mentions his former *magister* who knew "be dæle Læden" but had trouble comprehending the great difference between the Old and New Testaments. The standard translation of "be dæle" has been "some" or "a little." Yet one would not expect to find a poor Latinist at Æthelwold's Winchester, where Ælfric was educated, and later the Preface contrasts the *magister* with priests poor in Latin. Griffith argues that Ælfric chose *magister* instead of the more common *lareow* to indicate respect—and to denote a teacher who speaks Latin with novices. Griffith also quotes passages from Wulfstan and Ælfric where sinners must cease their misdeeds "be dæle"; it makes no sense for them to stop wrongdoing "a little." Griffith concludes that in all three passages, "be dæle" is understatement for "completely"; Ælfric (and Wulfstan) may be adapting the poetic technique of understatement to appeal to the laity. Even a learned *magister* may struggle to comprehend the spiritual import of Scripture.

In "*Heo man ne wæs*: Cross-Dressing, Sex-Change, and Womanhood in Ælfric's Life of Eugenia" (*Mediaevalia* 22 (1998), 113–31), Alison Gulley examines Ælfric's alterations to the traditional story of the cross-dressing saint. Ælfric presents Eugenia's philosophical education as assisting rather than impeding her conversion (as it did in the Latin *Vitae patrum*) and omits entirely Eugenia's rejection of a suitor. Where the Latin life depicts Eugenia's male dress as a renunciation of femaleness, Ælfric's treats the disguise as a practical means to baptism. Thus in the Latin, Eugenia "becomes" a woman when she reveals her sex and plays Mary to Melantia's seductive Eve. In the Old English text, whose audience would include women, Eugenia remains a woman throughout, while Ælfric avoids citing Eve and Mary, and he lessens criticism of Melantia. Finally, after revealing her sex, Ælfric's Eugenia goes on to found a convent, continuing the work she had done in masculine disguise. Her conversion and martyrdom, rather than any specific renunciation of education, sex, or gender, mark her sanctity for Ælfric.

Dorothy Ina Haines focuses on homiletic literature in "Rhetorical Strategies in Old English Prose: A Study of Three Dramatic Monologues" (Diss. Univ. of Toronto, *DAI*

60A, 122). According to the abstract, "The Soul's Address to the Body" uses imagery of the soul and body's intimacy to dramatize moral choices. "Christ's Address to the Sinner" employs legal rhetoric in a list of Christ's works reminiscent of liturgical and confessional texts. The "Sunday Letter" employs Old Testament prophetic rhetoric to exhort listeners. Haines reviews sources, manuscript contexts, and Middle English analogues in the course of her study.

Tadao Kubouchi's *From Wulfstan to Richard Rolle: Papers Exploring the Continuity of English Prose* (Cambridge: Brewer) reprints papers from over two decades, including several of interest to Anglo-Saxonists. The foreword urges a return to the manuscripts with the help of electronic texts. Item 3, "A Note on Prose Rhythm in Wulfstan's *De Falsis Dies (sic)*" (33–46) compares Wulfstan's homily with its primary source, Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*. A two-stress rhythm dominates Ælfric's passage, with alliteration joining pairs of two-stress phrases. Wulfstan also uses primarily a two-stress rhythm, but he uses alliteration more within each phrase instead of between phrases. Wulfstan's alterations and additions produced many more one-stress and three-stress elements, and punctuation tends to emphasize individual elements more. Kubouchi concludes that Wulfstan aimed his version at a less sophisticated, more Scandinavian audience than Ælfric; his reworking values clarity over rhythm. Kubouchi's Appendix A (149–68) offers a diplomatic edition of Wulfstan's version alongside the six manuscripts of Ælfric's, noting original line breaks and punctuation.

Three items treat the question of when the order Subject-Object-Verb (S . . . V) passed from use, especially in the case of Subject-Noun Object-Verb (SOnV). In Item 4, "Manuscript Punctuation, Prose Rhythm and S . . . V Element Order in late Old English Orally-Delivered Prose" (47–61), Kubouchi compares manuscripts of Ælfric and Wulfstan's versions of *De Falsis Diis*. Wulfstan keeps SOnV clauses but usually adds elements or pointing so that a pause precedes the verb, emphasizing the noun for clarity. Pointing in late manuscripts of Ælfric's version produces the same effect. Kubouchi concludes that by around 1200 this construction was considered archaic and difficult. In item 9, "The Decline of the S.Noun O.V. Element Order: The Evidence from Punctuation in Some Transition-Period Manuscripts of Ælfric and Wulfstan" (97–108), Kubouchi notes that the manuscripts examined in Item 4 were all from Worcester. Using four manuscripts of Ælfric's "First Old English Pastoral Letter for Wulfstan," Kubouchi reaffirms the shift and adjusts the date, concluding that the SOV order was archaic in main clauses by the mid-eleventh century. As they copied the text, scribes added punctuation and sometimes changed word order to avoid confusion. Item 10, "What is the Point? Manuscript Punctuation as Evidence for Linguistic Change" (109–17), explains marks of punctuation in use in England between the eleventh and thirteenth centuries. After investigating evidence from *Ancrene Wisse* as a *terminus ante quem*

for the change in the SOnV order, Kubouchi returns to Ælfric and Wulfstan to find a *terminus post quem* in between the mid-eleventh and mid-twelfth century.

Item 6, "Texts of 'Be Cynestole' in Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*" (75–80) offers a semi-diplomatic edition of this passage on the three-fold division of labor. He presents both the version by Ælfric (Wulfstan's source) and the three Wulfstan manuscripts. Kubouchi calls attention to the closeness of Nero A. i and Junius 121 and the more informative punctuation in Nero A. i, which, he believes, emphasizes the homiletic nature of the piece.

Item 8, "Early English Electronic Texts Produced in Japan, META Project of the Centre for Medieval English Studies, Tokyo, and a Case for a Corpus of Diplomatic Parallel Manuscript Texts," gives a brief history of electronic text projects in Japan, an overview of projects there and around the world, and an exhortation to further production of electronic diplomatic texts. Kubouchi presents two examples of the usefulness of such editions for easily spotting shifts in syntax among manuscripts of different dates.

Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing open "Before History, Before Difference: Bodies, Metaphor, and the Church in Anglo-Saxon England" (*The Yale Journal of Criticism* 11 (1998), 315–34) by noting that the large body of Anglo-Saxon Christian didactic literature assumes a self that can be shaped, offering rich material for cultural history, although many cultural historians ignore it. They probe the roles of body and gender as both real referents and metaphors in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* and Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. Aldhelm dedicated his tortuous Latin text to the intellectual women of Barking and established for them a new category of virgin, the formerly married. Amid his complex, shifting imagery, the only constant lies in the repetition of narratives detailing torture and exposure of female virgins' bodies. These excessive texts offer constantly shifting gazes, not the single controlling gaze modern theory might predict. Judith Butler's notion of "citation" in forming identity and gender aids understanding: Aldhelm's texts simultaneously recall the real bodies of his seventh-century readers and seek to discipline them through reiteration. Ælfric's Old English *Lives*, however, are dedicated to male lay patrons. His simpler, less graphic texts stress the saints' resolution, not bodies or tortures. Male and female lives are grouped together by themes, encouraging readers to identify with both sexes and making saints metaphors, even icons. Textual violence against women is much greater in Aldhelm's texts, from the seventh-century age of female power and presence, than in Ælfric's, from an era of female enclosure fostered by the Benedictine Reform. Further study could reveal whether this is a trend. Lees and Overing affirm the need to examine "the rhetoric of belief" (328) and to place textual metaphorics within the historical contexts of production and consumption. In closing, they note that the common assumption that gender, sex, and body played little role in Anglo-Saxon England does not hold.

M.A. Locherbie-Cameron provides "Ælfric's Old English Admonition to a Spiritual Son: An Edition" (Thesis, Univ. of Wales at Bangor, Index to Theses 48, 1591–2). The abstract outlines a critical introduction which attributes the anonymous Old English translation of *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem* to Ælfric. It also surveys the paleography, dialect, style, and structure of the base manuscript (Hatton 76A) and examines its two transcripts as well as known manuscripts of the Latin text before concluding that the extant text is more complete than previously thought. Notes, a glossary, and a full commentary (including source identification) accompany the edition. Appendices offer a transcript of part of Bodley 800, the Latin manuscript Locherbie-Cameron judges closest to the source; a handlist of manuscripts which include part or all of the Laitn text; and an analysis of accent marks.

Brian James McFadden surveys a number of Old English, Anglo-Latin, and Middle English texts for "Narrative, the Miraculous, and the Marvelous in Anglo-Saxon Prose" (Diss. Univ. of Notre Dame, *DAI* 60A, 736). According to the abstract, McFadden draws upon the work of Paul Ricoeur and David Williams and argues that modern distinctions between marvel and miracle texts conceal important unities: these narratives help readers to construct identity and understand God even as the marvelous disrupts narrative. McFadden delves into the vocabulary of the marvelous and then explores how individual texts address contemporary concerns.

Melinda J. Menzer's "Ælfric's *Grammar*: Solving the Problem of the English-Language Text" (*Neophilologus* 83, 637–52) re-examines the place of the *Grammar* in Ælfric's canon. Scholars emphasize Ælfric's homilies, but the *Grammar*'s great popularity among Anglo-Saxons suggests the latter's importance. Ælfric famously feared that English readers will fall into error because they think that recognizing words means that they fully understand the text. To solve this problem, Ælfric teaches not just Latin but English grammar, for grammar, in the Middle Ages, included all levels of textual interpretation. Like Latin, English is a language, or set of signs, that requires interpretation. The *Grammar* trains readers to understand texts through dividing and analyzing words and passages. Grammar teaches *andgit* ("understanding"), which in turn improves a reader's *andgit* so that he or she may unlock the *andgit* of a text, whether English or Latin. Ælfric's *Grammar* is not tangential but central to his mission: to increase knowledge and understanding of Christian learning among his audience.

Christopher Nugent treats Alfred and Ælfric in "Literacy, Translation and Vernacular Authorship from Alfred to Chaucer" (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Rochester, *DAI* 60A, 1124). Early medieval translators sought to provide access to Scripture for vernacular readers while deriving authority from the source text, but by Chaucer's time, Cicero's model of translation as rhetorical contestation dominated. Alfred's prefatory letter to the *Pastoral Care* unites Alfred's roles as king and translator, commanding bishops who already acknowledge Alfred's rule. The Preface to the Laws goes further, appropriating Scripture to authorize innovative lawgiving by creating an illusion of continuity between ancient Israel and ninth-century Wessex. Ælfric faced a very different situation as the Benedictine Reform's strong alliance of church and state left the non-noble Ælfric outside both religious and secular power. Ælfric's prefaces ground his vernacular works in personal relationships with and commands from lay patrons as well as in institutional authority.

Aideen O'Leary argues against claims by scholars such as Clemoes and Cross that Ælfric avoided apocrypha as heretical in "An Orthodox Old English Homiliary? Ælfric's Views on the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles" (*NM* 100, 15–26). While Ælfric never uses the word "apocryphal," he often refers to "passions" or "lives" of apostles that are not in the New Testament. In one homily, Ælfric makes explicit use of such a text attributed to Abdias. Elsewhere his information on the births and deaths of apostles clearly derives from such sources, which circulated both individually and in collections such as the Cotton-Corpus Legendary. Ælfric quotes Augustine's objection to a specific episode in his preface to the Passion of Thomas and omits that episode, but he does translate the Passion. O'Leary concludes that while Ælfric followed authorities' objections to specific passages, he generally welcomed apocryphal acts because they offered information not available from the New Testament.

In "Anti-Judaism in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*" (*ASE* 28, 65–86), Andrew P. Scheil explores the combination of typology and anthropology by which Ælfric explicates Jewish behavior. In Ælfric's typology, based on Augustine's, Old Testament Jews are virtuous within the confines of the Old Law, but also carnal, incomplete, and located in the past. Christians are spiritual, complete, and contemporary. Nevertheless, Jews had the power to kill Christ and hide the cross from Christians. Ælfric paradoxically presents their actions both as freely chosen sins and as part of God's plan. He also explicates unfamiliar customs such as dietary laws. His anthropological readings highlight Jewish virtue, yet his typological readings condemn Jews: his explanation of Eleazar's resistance to pork forced upon him by persecutors emphasizes Eleazar's courage, yet Ælfric then reads the unclean meat as a symbol of the Jews' lack of understanding. The Jews lose their identity as a people and become a vehicle for representation. In the Old Testament, especially Maccabees, they literally fight for God, but in the New Testament, they betray Christ. Ælfric's typology ultimately serves his own conception of society. In place of the literal battles of the Old Dispensation, now spiritual combat fulfills the highest duty to God. Thus the *bellatores* of Ælfric's society provide an incomplete, though necessary, service, analogous to Old Testament Jews. Now *oratores* must not take arms but wage heroic spiritual battles. Scheil concludes that for Ælfric, "Jews are both an unsettling variable and a useful rhetorical bludgeon" (86). While Ælfric feared that Jewish customs could cause confusion if misunderstood,

his typological interpretation provided a model for contemporary society.

Scheil turns to an anonymous life in "Somatic Ambiguity and Masculine Desire in the Old English Life of Euphrosyne" (*Exemplaria* 11: 345–61). Euphrosyne's life lacks the pyrotechnics typical of virgin *vitae*; she reveals her sex quietly before a peaceful death, appropriately for "an emblem of somatic ambiguity held in continual suspension" (347). To become a monk, Euphrosyne adopts the identity of Smaragdus, a eunuch. Conflicting readings surround this status: some Scriptural texts bar eunuchs from orders, while others embrace them. Eunuchry makes Smaragdus's maleness more believeable while creating tensions: tempted by Smaragdus's beauty, the other monks become angry at the abbot for accepting him and isolate Smaragdus. Their anxieties can be read as heterosexual desire, homosexual desire, or fear of the liminal nature of the eunuch. Smaragdus's appearance suggests that masculinity can be lost, leaving men undifferentiated from women. His appearance thus foregrounds the homosocial nature of the monastery, and the monks respond by redirecting threatening erotic desire into anger. The *Life* presents male desires, fears and transformations, while Euphrosyne remains static. Scheil concludes that hagiography must be read 'against the grain'; theological readings should be complemented by interpretations that illuminate ideological tensions underlying a given text.

Donald G. Scragg addresses the anonymous traditions upon which Ælfric and Wulfstan drew in *Dating and Style in Old English Composite Homilies* (H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lectures 9; Cambridge: Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic). Both the Macarius homily (in CCCC 201) and Vercelli IV ultimately derive from the same Latin source. Yet both rely on a text that already existed in the vernacular, pointing to a tradition that predates the the Vercelli book (970s) by a decade or more. The Macarius homily has a shorter opening; Vercelli expands it by repeating ideas with short phrases or nearly-synonymous doublets, a style associated mainly with Wulfstan. Scragg argues that Wulfstan did not originate the style but merely used an established mode, and that other compilers also combined "scissors-and-paste" with elaboration. Scragg then finds this hybrid method in a series of Wulfstanian homilies in Cotton Tiberius A.iii. Here expansions rely heavily upon phrases and passages from known Wulfstan homilies. Indeed, the repetition of phrases is so dense that Scragg rejects attribution to Wulfstan himself in favor of ascription to a thorough Wulfstan imitator who used his phrases and methods. Scragg concludes that the vernacular homily tradition existed well before the Vercelli Book was made, and that its practitioners did not blindly cut-and-paste but elaborated their material as well.

Deborah VanderBilt explores "Translation and Orality in the Old English *Orosius*" (*Oral Tradition* 13 (1998), 377–97). First, she notes that though the anonymous Old English translator cuts the prologue, epilogue, and much of the polemic from Orosius's *History*, he often retains "cwæð Orosius" ("Orosius said") tags even as he mixes his own voice with Orosius's. He treats Orosius as an *auctor*, silently removing material from the *History* and adding it from other Latin sources, for his idea of *auctoritas* encompasses both the individual text and the whole technology of Latin literacy, allowing him to associate all these materials. Second, VanderBilt finds that some of the Old English elaborations have clear roots in oral tradition. The translator adds to Orosius's description of the fall of Babylon a dramatic narrator and the poetic theme of the ruined city; likewise, the translator elaborates on Alexander's bravery by praising his "thanes." Finally, the oral notion of authority allows the translator to include the separate, and stylistically very different, voices of Ohthere and Wulfstan narrating their travels without a sense of disjunction from the rest of the text. VanderBilt describes the translator's method as stringing beads: each of the events of the source text, and the added narratives, become equal to each other. In conclusion, she notes that the translator felt freer to transform the text than any scribe felt to transform the Latin *History* in copying it; the concept of a text was more flexible in the vernacular.

E.G. Whatley provides a detailed introduction to "Late Old English Hagiography, ca. 950–1150" in *Hagiographies: historie internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550* (ed. Guy Philippart, Turnhout, 1996, II, pp. 429–99). Following Mary Clayton, Whatley asserts that Carolingian homiliaries supplied preachers in England as well as the Continent with hagiographical narratives. The Blickling and Vercelli books are the only extant collections from the late tenth century, and Whatley suggests that Ælfric's prodigious output of lives either filled a lacuna or replaced less orthodox, less sophisticated collections that do not survive. Ælfric's two series of *Catholic Homilies* provided preachers with narratives and exegesis on readings of the saints' days, while *Lives of Saints* dedicated hagiographical narratives in rhythmic prose to two important lay patrons. Many anonymous lives were composed around and after the time of Ælfric, but Ælfric's remained popular for decades. Despite clerics who could not or would not read English after the Norman Conquest, vernacular lives continued to be used until the late thirteenth century, when language change made them incomprehensible.

Vernacular homilies served political purposes, helping to spread the ideal of an ordered society in which church and crown cooperated. Ideology is obvious in Wulfstan's homilies, but Ælfric's also frequently refer to social, political, and even military matters and feature feast days favored by the crown. Increasing vernacular literacy encouraged a trend away from oral verse towards written prose. Latin literacy remained low in England, so most clergy needed vernacular texts, which then tended to stay very close to sources. Whatley concludes with lists of anonymous and Ælfrician texts to be used in conjunction with Cameron's list in *A Plan for the Dictio-*

nary of *Old English* and Ker's *Catalogue*. An appendix reviews scholarship on Ælfric's Latin sources, especially Zettel's work connecting Ælfric's versions to a hypothetical Latin legendary resembling the English *Cotton-Corpus Legendary*. Zettel found that Ælfric stayed closer to his sources than previously thought and calls for the use of manuscripts in source study. Yet Whatley also cautions that in the absence of an extant Latin collection, Zettel's work remains speculative. Whatley concludes that Ælfric did rely upon Continental collections and that Zettel and others have laid a strong foundation for current work, especially in *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*.

Benjamin C. Withers investigates how four eleventh-century manuscripts guided Anglo-Saxon readings of Genesis in "Unfulfilled Promise: The Rubrics of the Old English Prose Genesis" (*ASE* 28, 111–39). Major headings divide Genesis into biographies of Noah; Abraham; and Joseph, usually considered a less crucial figure. Rubrics for Noah and Abraham employ formulaic legal language, but Joseph's avoids it. Previous rubrics marked the moment of a direct oral promise; now Joseph must rely on a covenant already made.

So too Anglo-Saxon readers encounter God through a text and rely on an ancient promise. While Joseph dies in exile and does not see his family inherit the Promised Land, both the rubrics and the paraphrase of Genesis counteract this apparent failure of God's promise by pointing to its later fulfillment in Joshua and in Christians. By dividing Genesis into a series of biographies, the rubrics present the patriarchs' lives much like saints' lives. Providential history runs through the lives of patriarchs, saints, and each contemporary Christian reader. Withers concludes that the rubrics target an audience of novice monks and laity who shared both temporal interests and a desire for salvation through the "bookly lore" these manuscripts offer to readers and hearers.

N.G.D.

Work not seen

Berthoin-Mathieu, Anne, "Plantes combattantes et héros guérisseurs dans le charme vieil-anglais des 'Neuf Plantes,'" *L'Articulation langue-littérature dans les texts médiévaux anglais*, ed. Colette Stévanovitch (Nancy: 1999), I, pp. 151–74.

4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

a. General

Michael Lapidge, "The Edition of Medieval Latin Texts in the English-Speaking World." *Sacris Erudiri* 38 (1998–99), 199–220. Where does the editing and publishing of medieval Latin stand in Britain and North America at the turn of the millennium? Here the master Anglo-Latinist gives an assessment of the state of the field, at once a survey and an important position paper from an influential scholarly voice. Lapidge begins with a narrative history of the most important series of medieval Latin texts, *Oxford Medieval Texts*, *Scriptores Latini Hiberniae*, *Auctores Brittanici Medii Aevi*, *Classical and Medieval Logical Texts*, *Cambridge Medieval Classics*, *Henry Bradshaw Soc. Publications* and *Toronto Medieval Latin Texts*, with a consideration of aims and audiences, of publishers and general editors. (The *Corpus Christianorum* series is also cited as a benchmark of quality against which other series may be measured.) Lapidge continues with an unflattering evaluation of contemporary scholarship, characterized as it is by a sparser and less sound knowledge of Latin in comparison to that of earlier days. The low estimation of contemporary Latinity is not left to the imagination; elementary mistakes from scholarly papers serve as examples, and names, some well known, are named. In addition to declining Latinity, there is also a problem in the low status of scholarly editing, once considered a sublime skill and still respected in Europe, but by and large despised in North American English departments. Theorists also receive a few blows, some eminently deserved. Nancy Partner, for example, on trivial grounds managed to fault Marjory Chibnall's masterful multi-volume edition of

the writings of Orderic Vitalis.

Lapidge's grand summation: that the editorial task is "to recover ... what the author wrote, and to represent the author's words for the modern reader"; that in the face of ever declining Latinity, editors and their editions will get no respect; and that as a result translated texts and bilingual texts will grow in importance, while the fate of series like *Corpus Christianorum* will hang in the balance. One can see here some of the thinking that lies behind the editorial policies of the new *Anglo-Saxon Texts* series, of which Lapidge is one of the general editors.

Philip Pulsiano's "Blessed Bodies: the *Vitae* of Anglo-Saxon Female Saints," *Parergon* n.s. 16.2, 1–42, looks to see what makes *Lives* (both pre- and post-conquest) of Anglo-Saxon female saints different from those of males, specifically relating to the saints' bodies as "source of sanctity and power but also as the locus of sexuality and violence." Most striking is a morbid interest in sexual violence within the lives: Saints Lucy, Dorothy, Wulfhilda, Ebba and many others are threatened with rape, enforced prostitution, forced marriage and so on. The *Vitae Æthelthryth*, who remained virgin through two marriages and an attempted post-mortem molestation, is singled out: "Of all the Anglo-Saxon female saints, ... Æthelthryth's remains most persistently present." Pulsiano observes that Ælfric makes Æthelthryth a model of chastity for both sexes.

Much of Ian Wood's "The Use and Abuse of Latin Hagiography in the Early Medieval West," *East and West: Modes of Communication*, ed. Evangelos Chrysos and Wood (Lei-

den, Boston, and Köln, pp. 93–109) addresses Continental texts and modern editors and scholars of them, but there are as well significant observations about Anglo-Saxon hagiography. Writing from a historian's perspective, Wood sees the hagiographic genre as a "multiplicity," varying by time, geography, form, and rhetorical purpose. As one example among many, Alcuin's *Life of Willibrord* may hide a latent political message, a criticism of Charles's forced conversion of the Saxons. In the author's view, it is only attention to the contexts of composition and reception that can bring such interesting historical information to light. Thus, an explanation for the sudden popularity of hagiography in eighth-century Northumbria: "Hagiography had suddenly and dramatically become a forum of debate in Anglo-Saxon England." Inattention or error, on the other hand, can conceal political subtexts or shared themes, or, worse, produce misleading analyses that have no real basis in the primary texts.

Pettinger, Michael Francis. "Sodom: the Judgment of the Pentapolis in the Christian West to the Year 1000." Diss. Univ. of Washington. *DAI* 59A (1998), 2014. "This study . . . describe[s] the way in which Christian writers appropriated the moral structure of judgment, condemnation and rescue which underlies the biblical account [of Sodom]. Focusing on Anglo-Saxon and Carolingian writers who inherited and preserved the works of earlier writers, this dissertation identifies four specific types of discourse in which Sodom was likely to appear. . . . The final chapter compares the use of Sodom in two rhetorical traditions—the sermons of the officially sanctioned Rogationtide observances and the often condemned, and often copied, 'apocryphal' Sunday Letter—in an attempt to find the destination between 'authorized' and 'unauthorized' uses of the destruction of Sodom."

b.   Early Anglo-Latin, Exclusive of Bede

Aidan Breen, "The Exegesis of Exodus 12:38 in the Canterbury Glosses," in *Text and Gloss*, ed. Conraid O'Briain, D'Arcy, and Scattergood, pp. 68–72; Helen Conrad O'Briain, "The Harrowing of Hell in the Canterbury Glosses and Its Context in Augustinian and Insular Exegesis," in *Text and Gloss*, pp. 73–88. These two articles deal with the gloss on Exodus 12:38 from the so-called Canterbury biblical glosses, attributable ultimately to the seventh-century Canterbury school of Theodore and Hadrian (edited by B. Bischoff and M. Lapidge [Cambridge: C U Press, 1994]). The gloss in question is a particular puzzle, strangely equating, in a figurative sense, the Egyptians of the exodus with Christ's harrowing of hell. Aidan Breen notes the evident corruption of the text. He finds the lemma of the gloss to occur in an entirely separate verse, Numbers 11:14, and traces such possible patristic sources as Origen and Cassian. "The elements of our gloss cannot be located in any single source."

Looking at the same gloss, Helen Conrad-O'Briain traces the doctrinal history of Christ's harrowing of hell. That his-

tory she describes as a controversy over whether the harrowing actually occurred—some sources, apocryphal and scriptural, supporting a popular belief that was strongly affirmative, Augustine and after him Bede representing the opposite negative opinion. Bede's restrained rejection of the doctrine (In *Epistolas VII Catholicas*, ed. D. Hurst) may reflect a diplomatic respect for Theodore's teaching.

Gerald Browne, "Two Notes on the Canterbury Biblical Commentaries," *Illinois Classical Studies* 23 (1998), 139–40, explicates two problematic items in the Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School. In one item, chance phonetic similarity may have produced an erroneous pairing of lemma and gloss; in the other, a word may have been lost from eyeskip. In a second article, "Quomodo auctor Psalterii Vercellensis Bedae Collectione Psalterii usus sit," *Illinois Classical Studies* 23 (1998), 141–46, Browne supplements and corrects the sourcing notes to P. Salmon's edition of the Vercelli Psalter (Turnhout, 1977) via an extensive comparison with the *Collectio Psalterii Bedae Venerabili adscripti*, which he has edited for Teubner.

In *Aldhelm of Malmesbury and the Irish* (Proc. of the R. Irish Acad., C 99.1. Dublin: Royal Irish Academy, 22 pp.), G.T. Dempsey argues for a substantial Irish influence during Aldhelm's formative years, prior to his entering the Canterbury school of Hadrian and Theodore. The problem with the thesis, as Dempsey freely admits, is the scarcity of supporting evidence. Yet strict reliance on such a fragmentary record, says Dempsey, will of necessity ignore a lot of history: indeed the existence of Aldhelm himself is sparsely documented outside the pages of his own works. The method is therefore largely inferential. Hibernian influences are found, for example, in Aldhelm's composition of rhythmical verse, in his citing of the seven components of the Isidorean school syllabus (the trivium and quadriuvium), and in his reliance on Isidorean etymology. The vehicle by which Irish learning was conveyed will have been one Maildubh, supposedly Aldhelm's early master at Malmesbury. Aldhelm's hostility to Irish learning, expressed in the letters and elsewhere, will reflect the contempt of long familiarity and the sentiments of a student who has outstripped his masters. See below for Herren's analysis, both broader and more detailed, of general Irish influence on the English ca. seventh to eighth centuries.

John Christopher Eby, "The Petrification of Heresy: Concepts of Heterodoxy in the Early Middle Ages." Diss. Univ. of Washington. *DAI* 59A (1998), 2141. According to the abstract, this dissertation studies the gelling of the idea of heresy in the writings of the Anglo-Saxon authors Bede, Boniface and Alcuin, and of Alcuin's student Hrabanus: "Heresy . . . became an identifiable phenomenon with typologically consistent characteristics that helped men like Bede and Boniface comprehend their diverse and ambiguous religious environments." The evolution of the concept of heresy was accompanied by, on the one hand, a "direct affiliation with the See of St Peter," and, on the other, a view

of pagans, Jews, and heretics as "a diabolical community in opposition to the congregation of the faithful."

Everyone knows about the brilliant and influential Alcuin, but he was not the only scholar and thinker to cross the channel. In "The English and the Irish at the Court of Charlemagne" (Butzer et al. I, 97–123; see below, p. 66), Mary Garrison surveys the less famous Insular scholars attracted to the patronage of the imperial court, more specifically "their characters, writings, and activities" (98). These include, in addition to men in Alcuin's immediate circle, the Irish Clemens Scottus, teacher and grammarian, the Anglo-Saxon Candidus or Witto, logician and theologian, the polymath Dungal, the obscure Cadac-Andreas and Cathuulf, and other even less well known or anonymous figures. Garrison has an interesting take on the relatively dark obscurity of these men—it is entirely typical of the age. The unusually well documented career of Alcuin is an unrealistic benchmark against which to judge others.

Hans-Werner Goetz, "Beatus homo qui invenit amicum. The Concept of Friendship in Early Medieval Letters of the Anglo-Saxon Tradition on the Continent" *(Friendship in Medieval Europe,* ed. Julian Haseldine. Stroud, pp. 124–36) studies the subject of friendship by searching key terms *(amicus/amica, amicitia,* etc.) in the letters of Boniface and Alcuin. He concentrates on four narrowly defined questions. What is a friend? A member of the writer's circle, but of either sex and of varying social status. "With regard to the contents of *amicitia,* what is meant by a 'friend,' and what is meant by 'friendship'"? The word "friend" most often falls within the semantic fields of "love and kinship." "Friendship" has usages both political and personal, the personal being that used more commonly by the letter writers, who consider friends a social necessity. How are friends made? In contrast to modern ideas, medieval friendships are quasi-formal relationships instituted with a formal acknowledgment of the parties involved. What is expected from a friend? "The overriding characteristic of friendship seems to be "faithfulness" *(fidelitas);* the expression *fidelis amicus* occurs frequently." Goetz's conclusions state that friendship is reserved for a small group, that it is highly valued, that it is related though not identical to kinship and love, that it is formally recognized, that it endures for the life of the friends, that it requires mutual obligations, that it is a practical necessity, and that old friendships are considered the most characteristic and best.

Covering some of the same ground as Dempsey (above), Michael Herren, "Scholarly Contacts between the Irish and the Southern English in the Seventh Century," *Peritia* 12 (1998), 24–53, broadly surveys evidence for Irish influence on early English scholastic culture. The scope of the study, "approaching a *status quaestionis,*" is comprehensive. Herren exploits two sorts of evidence, coming either from statements by contemporary English writers (mainly Bede and Aldhelm) or from texts such as poems, scholia and glossaries. Chronologies, hypothetical and otherwise, are offered, for example, for

Fursa in East Anglia and in Gaul, for Cellanus in Peronne, for Maeldub in Malmesbury; a possible sequence of Aldhelm's studies prior to his studying at Canterbury is established, and the general question of the extent of Irish learning, Aldhelm's hostility to it—which is claimed to be popular among the English—is addressed. Moving to the question of textual evidence, Herren infers that, before the synod of Whitby, Irish was one of the primary school languages, but that instruction in Latin subsequently advanced to the point that English students were rapidly able to communicate with the non-English speaking Hadrian and Theodore and to make rapid progress in higher studies. Moving to the question of Irish evidence in texts, Herren is interested in those written by Irish authors (e.g., "Altus Prosator") or influenced by them (the early Latin-Old English glossaries), and those transmitted from an Irish milieu (e.g., Virgilius Maro, Orosius, Isidore). Finally, "Anglo-Saxons of the later seventh century ... were the direct heirs of Hiberno-Latin techniques of versification." "Scholarly contacts between the Irish and southern English were rich and manifold."

Michael W Herren's "Literary and Glossarial Evidence for the Study of Classical Mythology in Ireland A.D. 600–800" (Conrad O'Briain, D'Arcy, and Scattergood. pp. 49–67) supplements a paper in *ASE* 27. Here Herren catalogs the sources for Classical mythology available to pre-Carolingian Irish scholars. He shows that their knowledge was rarely direct but was mediated, as was knowledge in many other disciplines, by late interpreters of classical literature such as Isidore and Macrobius. A second impetus toward the study of mythology was the frequent mention of pagan gods and heroes in the quotations of grammarians such as Priscian and in the allusions of Christian poets such as Orosius. Here scholia and glosses aided readers whose biblical and Christian background left them in the dark concerning antique paganism. Ancillary texts such as commentaries and glossaries testify to an intense interest Irish readers had in understanding and cataloguing the personages of mythology. Herren concludes with a stimulating analysis of Irish school culture: expanding on a base of late classical commentary, the Irish for example assembled entries to produce something of a reference encyclopedia of mythological names (55–56, 59–60), and further exploited this knowledge by incorporating elements of classical myth in their original literary productions

Allan B.E. Hood, in "Lighten Our Darkness—Biblical Style in Early Medieval Britain and Ireland," *Early Med. Europe* 8 (1999), 283–96, reviews four recent books by David. R. Howlett (*The Celtic Latin Tradition of Biblical Style, The English Origins of Old French Literature, British Books in Biblical Style,* and *Cambro-Latin Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship*). Hood summarizes rather than evaluates Howlett's ideas of a "Biblical Style," "characterized by clearly defined stylistic and structural principles which are found in Biblical texts" and he gives Howlett's ten rules and five adjuncts. Hood praises Howlett as an energetic and pro-

lific scholar, and remarks that his study of, for example, St Patrick and Gildas has strongly influenced scholarly opinion. Hood is quite straightforward about the controversial nature of Howlett's theories, and he himself adds his own reservations: that medieval writers themselves betray no awareness of such a mathematical style, that there are no extant treatises which conveyed the basic tenets of the style, that Howlett's analysis is applied to works that seem to have little or nothing in common. Nevertheless, Hood is a reviewer more charitable than some and he emphasizes the plausibility of the ideas for a culture where, for example, the Latin acrostic was ostentatiously cultivated. And though he declines to take on the job himself, he calls for systematic testing of the theory. A capital idea.

David Howlett's "Hellenic Learning in Insular Latin: an Essay on Supported Claims" (*Peritia* 12, 54–78) hypothesizes that Insular scholars before the age of Charlemagne could "read and write with varying degrees of competence the language of texts that made early Insular scholars consider Greek one of *tres linguae sacrae*—Septuagint, New Testament, creeds, and liturgy." He supports this idea by citing the following evidence: direct statement by medievals such as Bede; the occurrence of Greek words written in Latin script in a seventh-century Irish text, in Columban's *Epistula* V, in the gospel text in Durham Cathedral Library, MS A.II.10, in a macaronic poem and elsewhere in the Antiphonary of Bangor, and in a poem by the seventh-century writer Moucan; the occurrence of Latin words written in Greek script in three manuscripts (including the Lord's prayer in the Book of Armagh); and by Greek words written in Greek script in six texts. Howlett finds further support for his theory in the purported knowledge of Greek phonology implicit in seventh-century developments of the runic alphabet, and to this evidence he adds that derived from indices of modern editions of Insular texts (e.g., Columban, Virgilus Maro, etc.). Also cited are many neologisms which are Latinized Greek loans (68–71), some from the seventh-century Canterbury school, and Howlett cites the Biblical Commentaries of that school to demonstrate the important role played by Greek in biblical exegesis. Howlett's signature mathematical analysis is performed on a number of texts (72–76), and finally he takes a look at the knowledge of Greek implicit in Virgilius Maro. The conclusions are quite sweeping—that knowledge not only of Greek but also of Hebrew, and by women as well as by men, was common. Concerning the claims at least for Hebrew, it's worth recalling the valuable principle that extraordinary claims call for extraordinary proof. For contrast one might compare the circumspect caution of Herren (cited above) in dealing with the question of Greek.

In a popular article, David Howlett, "Literate Culture of Dark Age Britain." *Brit. Archaeol.* 33 (1998), 10–11, ill., defends the high state of Latin learning in sub-Roman Britain. He cites several inscribed texts as evidence.

In sourcing Bede's commentary on the Apocalypse ("Au-gustine and Gregory the Great in Bede's Commentary on the Apocalypse." *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, pp. 396–405), Thomas W. Mackay traces numerous passages back to Gregory and to Augustine. Gregory is found to have been used by Bede directly, while his use of Augustine was sometimes direct, sometimes indirect. The analysis uncovers details of Bede's methods: "He would take notes ... for some time. ... But his own writing ... would rest primarily on one or two sources, with the other evidence inserted appropriately" (404).

Rob Meens's "Questioning Ritual Purity: the Influence of Gregory the Great's Answers to Augustine's Queries about Childbirth, Menstruation and Sexuality" (*St Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England*, ed. Gameson. pp. 174–86) describes an early custom of the Anglo-Saxon church, the prohibition on participation in church and communion for menstruating women and new mothers, and for those of either sex who had recently had intercourse. Hypothesizing that the custom was an inheritance from the British church rather than from paganism, Meens outlines Gregory's rejection of the idea in the *Libellus responsionum* and Theodore of Tarsus's general acceptance of it in his penitential. Meens then follows these two competing doctrines across the centuries, to the Carolingians, to Gratian and his followers ca. twelfth century and after, and to the ultimate rejection of ideas of ritual sexual impurity in the early Renaissance.

Éamonn Ó Carragáin's "The Term *Porticus* and *Imitatio Romae* in Early Anglo-Saxon England" (Conrad O'Briain, D'Arcy, and Scattergood. pp. 13–34) is a straightforward word study of the term *porticus*, "whether and in what ways early Anglo-Saxon clerics understood [this] architectural term, and how well they adapted the Roman meanings of this term to their own ... buildings" (13). The dominant classical meaning, Ó Carragáin shows, was that of a covered walkway, while for the Anglo-Saxons the word referred most often to an interior element, "a side chamber." The interesting question pursued here is the degree to which Roman usage infiltrated Anglo-Latin (especially that of Northumbria in the age of Bede). Knowledge of Roman architecture, reinforced by familiarity with such late classical sources as Isidore and Cassiodorus, made accessible to Bede and others the classical values of the word, and Ó Carragáin finds it likely that a covered walkway recently discovered at Wearmouth may have been a *porticus*. On the other hand, Ó Carragáin also uncovers many continental precedents referring to interior elements as *porticus*, to the effect that no neatly exact contrast between Anglo-Saxon and continental uses is possible.

Thomas O'Loughlin, "The List of Illustrious Writers in the Pseudo-Bedan Collectanea." *Text and Gloss* (Conrad O'Briain, D'Arcy, and Scattergood, pp. 35–48). The pseudo-Bedan *Collectanea* is a curious compilation of riddles, aphorisms, numerological poetry, and patristic learning. Here O'Loughlin compares its catalog of illustrious writers with

similar lists from other authors, in order to determine what can be said about the vexed question of date and place of origin. The *Collectanea* is found to make its original contributions, especially the detailed treatments of Eusebius and Julius Africanus, but O'Loughlin's conclusions are mainly negative: the text may be either continental or Insular, and date from "any time during the seventh or eight centuries." Interested readers will find the question of origin discussed at some length in the 1998 edition by M. Bayless and M. Lapidge (reviewed in *YWOES* 1998).

There can be few who will be surprised to hear that Aldhelm's enthusiasm for virginity proceeds from a base in patristric thought, but Sinead O'Sullivan (in a couple of articles with considerable overlap) spells out the intellectual and textual debts with specifics ("The Patristic Background to Aldhelm's *De virginitate*," *Milltown Stud.* 37 (1996), 56–64; "Aldhelm's *De virginitate*—a Patristic Pastiche or Innovative Exposition?" *Peritia* 12 (1998), 271–95). A few examples will serve. The idea of marriage as a spiritual death is traced to Gregory of Nyssa, the extended metaphor of virgins as roses from Jerome (1996: 62); the metaphor of virgins as bees has an analog in Ambrose (1998: 292). The whole question of dependency on the fathers is much more fully elaborated in the later study, which illustrates the conventional nature of Aldhelm's work by showing that many specific points of the *De virginitate* find resonance among the fathers. Perhaps the most important of these is a threefold division where virginity is superior to the nevertheless laudable states of chastity and marriage. In this regard, however, O'Sullivan argues that Aldhelm is not just a copycat but that his ideas mesh with the messy realities of Anglo-Saxon politics, since succession controversies produced so many unmarried aristocratic women, especially widowed nuns.

Mark Stansbury, in "Early-Medieval Biblical Commentaries, Their Writers and Readers," *FS* 33, 49–82, offers a useful primer to the study of biblical commentaries. He traces the pre-history of these commentaries to early Latin works of pagan antiquity (e.g., Pliny) through the late Classical (Macrobius), a transition marked by a shift toward scribal culture and away from the oratorical tradition. The earliest Biblical commentator, Jerome, in many respects parallels his contemporary Macrobius in that his commentary is intended for use by an individual in private study without the benefit of a tutor. This same trend can be traced to patristic authors (Cassiodorus and Gregory the Great), to Bede, and subsequently through the Carolingian commentators. Of most interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be the pivotal role ascribed to Bede: where there existed a loose tradition of borrowing from earlier commentators, Bede introduced a regular and formalized practice. Like his predecessors he too borrowed from "the best sources," but as he constructed commentaries by stringing together excerpts, he acknowledged his sources via a system of marginal signs. These individual excerpts clarified given biblical verses, but they in turn became the subject of

Bede's analysis. His subject became not just the bible but also earlier patristic comment on it—the text and the metatext at once. Bede's tradition, with its shorthand marginal citation, was inherited by the Carolingians Hrabanus, Smaragdus and others.

Benedicta Ward, trans. *Christ within Me: Daily Readings from the Anglo-Saxon Tradition*. London: Darton, Longman and Todd, 1999. xii, 67 pp. This small volume is for participants in, rather than students of, the Christian religion: "I have selected material for prayer and meditation from Latin and Anglo-Saxon writings which have survived from sixth, seventh and eight centuries in England." The excerpts are a nicely varied mix. Bede is well represented, as one would expect, but poetic texts both vernacular and Latin are also found, as well as hagiography, *liturgica*, letters, etc. The collection ends appropriately with "A Prayer for the Compiler of this Book."

Paolo Zanna's "Lecture, écriture et morphologie latines en Irlande aux VIIe et VIIIe siècles." *Bulletin Du Cange / Archivum Latinitatis Medii Aevi* 56 (1998), 179–91, is a study drawn in part from his doctoral thesis (cited only by title). Zanna conducts a linguistic investigation of a group of Hiberno-Latin manuscripts in order to discover what they tell us about the Latin of their authors and/or scribes. A number of linguistic features, novel and to some degree consistent, turn up. In spelling, c and qu are found to be interchangeable, and in verb inflection, substitutions of thematic vowels are evident, phenomena which Zanna takes as evidence for the influence of spoken language on scribal performance. An analysis of scribal error uncovers an interesting pattern of letters added or deleted at points of word juncture, something which is ascribed to "lecture à haute voix." Scribal performance is described as inconsistent, resulting from a tension between spoken forms and those transmitted by grammatical texts. The second part of Zanna's study addresses scholastic colloquies as evidence for classroom activity, though a twenty-year-old study by Dionisotti is the only secondary literature cited.

c. Bede

For Bede's *De temporum ratione*, see the review of Wesley M. Stevens, p. 67. For his geographical writings, see review of Lindgren, p. 67. For Bedan writings on heresy, see also the review of Eby, p. 60. For translations of prayers see review of Benedicta Ward, p. 63.

The straightforward thesis of Gerald Bonner's "Bede: Scholar and Spiritual Teacher" (*Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills. pp. 365–70.) is "that Bede is to be seen primarily as a priest and only secondarily as a monk." The proof lies in Bede's overarching concern for the pastoral care of souls. A commonality of purpose—spiritual instruction—links the scholar-priest's writings, whether they be textbooks, works of edification, or biblical commentaries.

The succinct argument by Bonner (above) is supported in detail by Scott DeGregorio's "The Venerable Bede on Prayer and Contemplation" *Traditio* 54 (1999), 1–39. DeGregorio selectively reads the commentaries and homilies to discover what they say about prayer. His aim is to uncover Bede's "occupations and aims as a spiritual writer"; his conclusion that Bede's "overriding subject" was "theology as praxis," the simple practical business of leading a Christian life. DeGregorio echoes Bonner in emphasizing Bede's role as a teacher most deeply interested in the care of souls. The method deserves some comment. Bede's original words are of course analyzed, but, since the works are so often derivative, Bede's characteristic adaptation of patristic sources such as Gregory and Cassian is also marshaled as evidence. Bede's principle of selection is driven by real-life concerns. The abstract and theoretical caviling of the fathers is often passed over in preference to more concrete issues—a tendency which DeGregorio establishes as a Bedan hallmark. This instructive paper is carefully and densely documented.

According to George H. Brown, "The Church as Non-symbol in the Age of Bede," *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, pp. 359–64, "in all the Northumbrian writings of the eighth century, in all the thousands of references to church as an assembly of Christians or the building in which they worshipped, there is no symbolic treatment of the church building whatever." Brown finds this Insular literalness to be a sharp contrast to the pervasive metaphorical treatments of the Carolingian and later ages affected by Greek allegorical exegesis.

In "Royal and Ecclesiastical Rivalries in Bede's History," *Renascence* 52.1 (1999), 139–40, George Brown analyzes Bede's narrative from the anthropological vantage point of René Girard, i.e., the subversion by Christianity of "ancient human drives," in this case "the workings of violence, sacrifices, and taboos in early Germanic societies." The *Historia* offers an embarrassment of examples of social mayhem and violent rivalry, while its presentation of Christian domestication of the rancorous Anglo-Saxons is quite modest. Even royal martyrs like Edwin and Oswald are honored not for personal sanctity but for the mere fact of being killed by pagans. The same rude Anglo-Saxon ethic obtains among the religious: Brown's closing comparison of Wilfrid and Cuthbert shows Wilfrid sharing the contentious nature of his people and class. Only Cuthbert is capable of Christ-like humility.

Gianni Caputa, "Lineamenti di teologia liturgica nelle omelie di san Beda il Venerabile." *Ephemerides Liturgicae* 110 (1997), 116–31, finds traces of Bede's youthful interests in liturgy reflected in the mature homiletic works. The close organization of the homilies according to liturgical readings, the direct liturgical style of the works, and their simple linear division reinforce this impression.

Paul Cavill, "Some Dynamics of Story-Telling: Animals in the Early Lives of St Cuthbert," *Nottingham Mediaeval Studies* 43, 1–20, compares the animal stories, especially those about birds and otters, in Bede's prose *Life of St Cuthbert* with those in its major source, the anonymous *Life*. He concludes that "for Bede ... nature has to be measured and controlled and subdued. Bede's animals are more functional, more overtly moral and theological, more bit-part actors, less natural and central. ... Bede sacrifices the real animals for his moral and symbolic purpose and his doctrinal emphasis." The shift in emphasis will in part reflect the contrast between Anglo-Saxon and Celtic spirituality since the realistic animals in the anonymous *Life* represent Irish notions about a holy natural harmony.

In "Suffering and Sanctity in Bede's *Prose Life of St Cuthbert*," *Jnl. of Theol. Stud.* 50, 102–16, W. Trent Foley examines the three lives of Cuthbert—in chronological order the anonymous prose *Life*, Bede's poetic *Life*, and finally Bede's prose *Life*—and discovers that depiction of suffering, whether social in the form of ostracism or physical in the form of bodily disease, increases incrementally from the earliest to the latest. Why should this be true? Foley suggests three reasons. The first is theological. Where the anonymous *Life* had flirted with heresy by making Cuthbert a sort of superman, Bede, perhaps following the influence of Gregory, added a large degree of suffering to render the saint more Christlike. The second reason is liturgical. The saint's day fell invariably during Lent, so a more austere narrative was more suitable to the necessary readings and meditations that accompanied the saint's commemoration. The final reason is apologetic. The anonymous *Life of Cuthbert* had already been countered by Stephen's narrative of Wilfred as a persecuted religious, so in the prose *Life* Bede, with a counter-move of his own motivated by personal or political opposition to Wilfred, expanded the episodes of saintly suffering with which he had already embroidered the poetic *Life*. W. Trent Foley and Arthur G. Holder offer a collection of Bedan exegesis and explication in *Bede: A Biblical Miscellany*, a volume in the series *Translated Texts for Historians* Liverpool U P). The book includes a preface by Benedicta Ward (reworked from her Bede biography reviewed in *YWOES* 1998), a general introduction by Foley, and six primary texts, each of which is supplied with its own introduction (three by Foley and three by Holder) and notes. A select but generous bibliography and indices to biblical and to patristic/classical sources round out the volume. For the intended audience of historians who know Bede via the *Ecclesiastical History*, Foley's general introduction points out the centrality of biblical study to Bede's thought and oeuvre. The individual introductions reinforce this theme while pursuing such important questions as sources and the doctrinal and social contexts of Bede's composing. The contents include the following: *On the Holy Places*, *On the Resting-Places*, *On What Isaiah Says*, *On Tobias*, *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings*, and *On Eight Questions*. The introductory material is commendably direct and concise, the translations plain and clear. Those with limited Latin, but also those with limited time and energy will welcome this user-friendly text

which conveniently assembles these six important specimens of Bede's work.

In a groundbreaking study, Christopher Grocock ("Bede and the Golden Age of Latin Prose in Northumbria" in Hawkes and Mills, *Northumbria's Golden Age*, pp. 371–82) analyzes Bede's skills as a Latin stylist in the *sermones* and in the *Historia*. Important general considerations include the linguistic context in which Bede composed (a multilingual environment with many monolingual and non-literate members) and the more important patristic influences (foremost among them Augustine, whose novel incorporation of biblical style demarcates an age of medieval Latin quite distinct from that of the Classical). The heart of Grocock's paper, however, is the exposition of Bede's major stylistic features—syntactical and morpho-lexical preferences (clauses per sentence, types of subordinate clauses, words per sentence and per clause, verb placement), preferred forms for clausulae and cursus, and most frequent conjunctions and particles used for textual coherence. Bede's style is frequently praised for its clarity and simple elegance. This is an opinion which Grocock enthusiastically endorses but which he also clarifies and explains in a most concrete way. Specifically, Grocock uses tallies for individual syntactic features to compare frequencies in Bede with Augustine on the one hand and hisperic writers such as Gildas on the other. Bede's rhetorical aims, especially the didactic, are considered, as well as his use of varying stylistic registers. Occasionally data are reported without comment or analysis (e.g., frequencies of conjunctions and particles), but even here Grocock offers a baseline which may prove valuable for future work.

Anna Maria Guerrieri, in "Modelli di santità nella Historia Ecclesiastica di Beda." *Rivista di cultura classica e medioevale* 41, 245–63, finds Bede's *Historia* to advance a religious aim. The vignettes such as that of Caedmon, but especially those pertaining to the social elite, work as *exempla* which model for an Insular audience sanctity and Christian humility.

Joyce Hill's 1998 Jarrow lecture *Bede and the Benedictine Reform* (Jarrow: St Paul's Church, 26 pp.) examines Bede's commentaries and homilies with a sweeping scope. Hill looks backward to Bede's patristic sources and shows the author's great pride in his own unoriginality. Derivative was what he aimed to be, and so his debts were clearly acknowledged as a badge of orthodoxy. And she looks beyond Bede to see how his Carolingian and Anglo-Saxon successors prized just this same quality of solid reliability; the stamp of Bede removed any hint of heresy. A couple of observations stand out—the medieval mindset, so different from our own, regarding the legitimacy of close, even verbatim, use of sources, and the great popularity of Bede as a source in his own right from the time of Charles. So great was this popularity among the Carolingians that by the time of the tenth-century Benedictine reform many permutations of Bedan texts were available: "The importance of Bede is such that he is exploited with some variation by more than one authoritative intermediary,

so that Ælfric was able to make choices between variations of Bedan material, already liturgically selected and sorted."

Arthur Holder makes an important contribution to Bedan studies in a concise five pages, ("(Un)dating Bede's *De Arte Metrica*," Hawkes and Mills, pp. 390–95). A corpus search proves that the word *conlevita* in the dedication to *De arte metrica* means nothing more than "deacon who is my colleague in the ministry of Christ" (395). The important upshot is that the treatise need not be considered a minor work of Bede's youth but may well be a mature product of his later years. An exemplary and convincing piece of scholarship.

Karl Kottman's subject, "Islands of Time Before: the Miraculous Translation of Californian," *Amer. Indian Culture and Research Jnl* 23.4, 115–26, is Pablo Tac, a Native American of Baja California, who in the early nineteenth century wrote a grammar of the Californian language known as Luiseno and who also composed original Christian poetry in that language. Kottman edits and translates into English a previously unpublished poem. Though the topic is far from Anglo-Saxon studies, Kottman's interpretational paradigm is provided by Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*. Not only was Catholicism in California conveyed, as it was to Anglo-Saxon England, by Roman missionaries, but Luiseno and English are compared for their pagan literatures, and Tac's literary devotional efforts are equated to those of Caedmon. "Caedmon's English and Tac's Californian ... bring the beauty of 'barbarian' speech ... to the 'educated foreigner.'"

K.L. Maund's "Sources of the World Chronicle in the Cottonian Annals." *Peritia* 12 (1998), 153–76, a study of the Irish historical text known as the Cottonian Annals, seeks, among other things, "to identify the sources used." Among these are the historical writings of Bede (165, 168, 170 et passim).

Paul Meyvaert, "In the Footsteps of the Fathers: the Date of Bede's *Thirty Questions on the Book of Kings* to Nothelm." *The Limits of Ancient Christianity*, ed. William E. Klingshirn and Mark Vessey. Ann Arbor, MI, pp. 267–86, examines internal references in the Bedan corpus in order to establish a chronology. Comparisons of textual dependency between treatises allow Paul Meyvaert to date the *Thirty Questions* rather closely, to give a range of dates for other works, and to specify when Bede realized his monastery's one-volume Bible had belonged to Cassiodorus: "Since the *Thirty Questions* can be neatly situated during the composition of books 1 to 3 of the *Commentary on 1 Samuel*, the date of 715 is an acceptable one.... We lack firm data that would allow us to fix the years during which Bede was composing the *De tabernaculo* and the *Commentary on Mark*.... All we can confidently say is that some time between 715 and 731, and possibly much closer to the earlier than the later date, Bede discovered through continued perusal of Cassiodorus's *Commentary on the Psalms* that the latter had formerly possessed Wearmouth-Jarrow's ancient pandect...."

"Source-marks in Bede's Biblical Commentaries,"

Hawkes and Mills. pp. 383–89. As several writers on Bede have remarked (e.g., Joyce Hill in the above section; see also Stansbury's article reviewed there), in the *Commentary on Luke* marginal symbols indicate patristic sources. Mark Stansbury is here interested in a couple of questions: what moved Bede to begin this system, and what models were available to him. As for motivation, the best guess is that it was criticism of the earlier *Commentary on Acts*, which similarly borrowed freely from patristic literature but without acknowledgment. The marginal signs would both free Bede from any charge of theft and also establish the impeccable orthodoxy of his content. As for models, several manuscripts of Insular provenance offer prototypes for Bede's citation system: a copy of Cyprian's letters, a manuscript of Ambrose, of Primasius (385–86); but especially there is a manuscript of Cassiodorus's commentary on the Psalms which Bede may have read and imitated.

Faith Wallis's *The Reckoning of Time*, volume 29 in the Translated Texts for Historian Series (479 pp., Liverpool UP, 1999), is a welcome modern English version of Bede's *De temporum ratione*. Yet Wallis's book is much more than just a lucid translation of a difficult technical treatise (in C.W. Jones's edition). Her general introduction is very full indeed, offering as it does an account of the work itself, of the work as a part of Bedan corpus, of Bede's huge influence on subsequent scientific and computistical studies. Wallis's analysis of the text extends to a discussion of the manuscript transmission and even of the glossing traditions. A glossary conveys the meaning of Latin technical jargon in modern English. It is hard to imagine a better introduction to this difficult text. Wallis's work is sure to become the standard entree to the subject.

d.　The Later Eighth and Ninth Centuries, Exclusive of Alcuin

P. Butzer et al., eds., *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken. 1200 Jahre Kultur und Wissenschaft in Europa / Charlemagne and His Heritage: 1200 Years of Civilization and Science in Europe.* Papers from the Colloquium Carolus Magnus … Aachen, March 19–26, 1995. Turnhout: Brepols, 1997–98. 2 v. ill. [title of v. 2 varies]. This work may be seen as an outgrowth and extension of the Fourth Alcuin Symposium of 1991, the proceedings of which were published as *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times* (P. Butzer and D. Lohrmann, eds.). The present two-volume collection brings together 55 papers on the subject of the Carolingian renewal, most of them originating in the 1995 Aachen colloquium on Charlemagne. The scope is quite general: the ramifications, in terms of intellectual history, of the establishment of Western Europe's first capital since the fall of Rome. Volume I (557 pp) "elucidate[s] the intellectual world under Charlemagne …, important aspects of the literary and judicial sphere, … the development of the church and

monasteries, and the scientific underpinnings of their construction history and technological interpretation." In addition, natural science receives its own section, as does the subject "Precursors and Models." Volume II (571 pp) is devoted exclusively to the history of mathematics. The collection has neither cumulative index nor bibliography. Volume I offers on its endpapers detailed maps of Western Europe and of "The Carolingian Heartland." For Anglo-Saxonists, Alcuin will be the primary interest of the collection, but the lesser known English and Irish are considered as well.

Roger Collins, "Charlemagne and His Critics," *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920).* ed. Régine Le Jan. Lille, 1998. pp. 193–211. How far did Charlemagne's personal behavior fall short of the high standards he set for his subjects, and how free were clerical and noble retainers to comment on those failings? Roger Collins's interesting analysis ranges far beyond our period and place, but his paradigm of courtly criticism is furnished by Alcuin's gingerly (or perhaps healthily circumspect) treatment of Offa king of Mercia. Just as Alcuin was able to overlook, until the king's death, the bloodthirsty measures employed by Offa to ensure the succession of his son, so those at the imperial court were able to avoid directly noticing such inconvenient matters as Charles's several illegitimate children. When after Charles's death such censorship, self-imposed or not, was relaxed, it was likely in order to advance the political agenda of his heir, Louis. Yet as Collins shows, the strategy backfired in that Louis eventually became a target, and a vulnerable one, of the same type of criticism he himself had unleashed.

Louis Holtz's nuanced biographical study of Lupus of Ferrieres (based in large part on the *Letters*) ("L'humanisme de Loup de Ferrières." *Gli umanesimi medievali.* Ed. Claudio Leonardi. Florence, 1998. pp. 201–13) depicts Lupus as a product of his times, an exponent, prominent but not unique, of Carolingian literary culture. Two aspects of Lupus's career are particularly underlined, his combining of active engagement in contemporary affairs with more bookish study, and his conception of wisdom, *sapientia*, as the driving aim in his scholarly pursuits, whether philological or philosophical. The overlap with Anglo-Saxon studies is slight: Lupus was self-consciously aware that he was the intellectual heir to Alcuin (via his immediate master Hrabanus Maurus, perhaps the most important of Alcuin's many protégés). In that light, it is interesting that two generations after Alcuin Lupus maintained friendly connections with York Cathedral and its library, writing there to obtain a manuscript of patristic literature.

J. Michael Joncas, "Mystic Veiling of the Head of One Newly Baptized: a Baptismal Ritual in the Carolingian West?" *Ecclesia Orans* 16, 519–46, carries out an experiment in historical liturgiology—his goal, to discover textual evidence for the practice of veiling the head of the newly baptized infant. Prior to the ninth century, the veiling is attested in three sources only, in a sixth-century letter, in a letter by

the Anglo-Saxon scholar Alcuin, and in a baptismal ordo in the late eighth-century Stowe Missal. Joncas surmises that the veiling was a late Roman ritual widely propagated by the adoption of Roman liturgical texts under Charlemagne.

In "Vestiunt silve tenera ramorum: la versione veronese e la versione cantabrigiense" (*Atti del XXI Congresso internazionale di linguistica e filologia romanza*. Ed. Giovanni Ruffino. Tübingen, 1998. pp. 251–63), Patrizia Lendinara analyzes the text of "Vestiunt silve tenera ramorum," a Latin poem which exists in two quite different forms (one in CUL Gg.5.35—the Cambridge Songs manuscript of the eleventh century—and one in Verona, Biblioteca Capitolare LXXXVIII, which Lendinara would date to the eighth or ninth century). A close codicological examination and comparison with related manuscripts establishes the priority of the Veronese version over the previously preferred Cambridge version.

Uta Lindgren, "Geographie in der Zeit der Karolinger" (Butzer et al. I, 507–19), reviews important eighth to ninth century texts on cosmography/geography. Among the post-classical developments relating to Anglo-Saxon studies she highlights the exploration of the Vikings; in terms of written geography, the works of Bede are foremost (the early *De natura rerum* as well as the familiar description of Britain in the opening of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*). Also worthy of mention are the literary geography of the pseudonymous Aethicus and the writings of the Irishman Dicuils.

Janet L. Nelson's "La cour impériale de Charlemagne," *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. Régine Le Jan. Lille, 1998, pp. 177–91, is a vivid picture of the imperial court at Aix la Chapelle, a place alive with international visitors, a crowd of courtiers, litigants and lobbyists, where the extended royal family works and relaxes. Alcuin's letters are an important source for Nelson's account of the untidy personal relations of the extended royal family. Among others, letters to Gondrada and to Gisela are cited; Alcuin urges good conduct. We find that female religious are rather often at court, rather surprisingly, given the generally low standards of sexual morality practiced, with lovers and illegitimate children being open secrets at the highest level. In an ironic note, the reader learns that one of Alcuin's students, Angilbert, became a figurative father, abbot of St Riquier, and literal father of a child by Charles's daughter Bertha. More than anything the court is a place that revolves around the emperor, and the prime question is the succession amid the rancorous competitors and quotidian uncertainties. For Anglo-Saxonists of course it is Alcuin who offers the prime interest, and the article is useful for depicting in a concrete way the environment in which he emerged as an important figure and where his personal and political influence was so important.

In "Das irische Erbe der Karolinger" (Butzer et al. I, 79–96) Michael Richter hypothesizes that, despite their relative absence at court, the Irish did play a considerable, if often underappreciated, role in the renaissance of learning carried out under Carolingian auspices. Richter contends that in the Ireland of the early Middle Ages learning played a greater role and was more highly prized than in any other region of Europe, whether because of its peculiar geography or historical circumstance. Richter calls the reader's attention to the positive consequences of the absence of Roman institutions in early Ireland, notably a dual system of learning, one native and one imported. It is probable that Latin Christianity, in order to gain acceptance, had to find its footing as a distinguished field of learning; hence, the exceptional level of erudition among Irish clerics professing Latin Christian learning. The out-migration of Irish clerics may, in fact, have been an affirmation of imported Christian values in the face of traditional Irish learning. Despite the attempt on the part of emigrant Irish clerics to escape the influence of the institution of Irish learning, that very influence was making its presence felt across Europe as men from all parts flocked to Ireland to deepen their understanding and learning of Christian Latin culture. And if one were to map out those areas into which that influence was being extended, through the founding of monasteries, through the influx of Irish men of learning and through the return of those who went to Ireland to extend their knowledge, one would find that that area roughly coincides with the *limes* of the future Carolingian empire. (Reviewed by Thomas Miller.)

Raffaele Savigni. "Sapientia divina e sapientia humana in Rabano Mauro e Pascasio Radberto." *Gli umanesimi medievali*. Ed. Claudio Leonardi. Florence, 1998. pp. 591–615. In this essay Savigni examines how notions of wisdom and philosophy developed during Carolingian times and after. While his focus is on the later Continental writers named in his title, Savigni reaffirms the crucial pivotal role played by Alcuin in this process, specifically the syncretism of classical and Christian philosophy which views the search for knowledge as a moral quest leading to salvation.

Wesley M. Stevens's lengthy article "Astronomy in Carolingian Schools" (Butzer et al. I, 417–87, ill) may be considered something of a state-of-the-art assessment of the Carolingian science of astronomy. It ranges far beyond our limits of time and geography, yet Anglo-Saxon contributions to these fields are fundamental to an understanding of Continental thought and practice. Stevens illustrates how the computus texts of Bede provided a departure point for Carolingian scholars like Heiric and, eventually, Abbo of Fleury. And Bede himself was elaborating an Insular branch of astronomy: he had acquired his astronomical learning from Ceolfrith (426), and he had taken up and refined the astronomical work of Aldhelm (445). Stevens's close reading of *De temporum ratione* turns up a new persona for the multi-faceted Bede, that of experimental scientist; he describes an observatory, in the form of a large sundial "laid out on the earth with spaced lines by which one expected to sight the Sun in the East on the correct day of equinox" (429). If Bede's

calculations were incorrect (they were), Stevens's own personal experience in duplicating Bede's methods excuses those errors: unaided observations at a high northern latitude, in often uncooperative weather, have a large margin of error.

e. Alcuin

For Alcuin's writings on heresy, see the review of Eby, p. 60. For his letters as evidence for court life see the review of Nelson, p. 67. For his contributions to philosophy see the review of Savigni, p. 67.

R. Borndörfer, M. Grotschel and Andreas Lobel study the transportation problems from Alcuin's *Propositiones* (Butzer et al. II, 379–409; for the *Propositiones*, see the review of Singmaster below). Example: A man must transfer a wolf, a goat, and a bunch of cabbages one at a time across a river. The authors say, "such problems already display all the characteristics of today's large-scale real transportation problems. From our point of view, they could have been the starting point of combinatories, optimization and operations research. ... We also provide the reader with a leisurely introduction in to the modern theory of integer programming."

W. Obserschelp treats Problem 52 of Alcuin's *Propositiones* (Butzer et al. II, 411–22). The problem poses a question about how much grain a camel can transport when its own consumption of grain is constant. The problem is known under a modern incarnation as the "jeep problem," which substitutes a jeep for the camel and gas for grain. In addition to giving the mathematical solution, the author points out that the occurrence of the camel may indicate an Arabic origin.

Anglo-Saxonists who recognize Alcuin as theologian and teacher of the liberal arts may be surprised to learn of his pre-eminence in the field of mathematics. David Singmaster ("The History of Some of Alcuin's Propositions" in Butzer et al. II, 11–29) analyzes the *Problems to Sharpen the Young* (*Propositiones ad Acuendos Juvenes*), an anonymous text generally assigned to Alcuin. The *Propositiones* are logical word-puzzles of great significance because as "the earliest collection of mathematical problems in Latin" they represent the earliest Western anticipation of Renaissance logic. Example: "How many furrows has a man made in his field, when he has made three turnings at each end of the field?" Singmaster explores the origins of these brain teasers—some are classical, some have analogs as far apart as Africa and China, and some are entirely novel.

Michael S. Driscoll, *Alcuin et la pénitence à l'époque carolingienne*. Liturgiewissenschaftliche Quellen und Forschungen 81. Münster: Aschendorff. vii, 237 pp. ill. Driscoll is a Catholic interested in the present-day crises of the faith concerning the theology and practice of penance. Here he approaches the question by examining the similar crisis during Alcuin's day. Many readers of the *YWOES* will not share Driscoll's religious perspective, but we may all profit from his careful monograph on the subject. Following a general con-

textualizing introduction that stresses the sophistication of Northumbrian monastic culture and casts Alcuin as the intellectual heir to Bede and Boniface, the book is arranged in five sections: (1) a biography of Alcuin; (2) a historical consideration of confession and penance, whether Continental or Insular, private or public; (3) a treatment of Alcuin's spirituality (beginning from the Anglo-Saxon penitentials and manuals of prayer and proceeding to the Carolingian developments); (4) an examination of Alcuin's theology of penance, drawn largely from the *Ad pueros Sancti Martini*; and (5) a short general conclusion which revisits the major points of the study and which addresses in particular important terms in the semantic field of confession and penance. An appendix presents a critical edition of the *Ad pueros*, along with a codicological study of manuscripts containing that text.

Michele Camillo Ferrari, "Dum profluit est lutulentus: Thiofrido, Alcuino e la metrica della *Vita s. Willibrordi*," *Gli umanesimi medievali*, ed. Claudio Leonardi. Florence, 1998. pp. 129–41, ill. In this essay, Ferrari examines the *Vitae Willibrord*, in verse and prose, of Theofrid, abbot of Echternach (d. 1110) and the debt to the *Lives* composed by Alcuin. It is interesting that even during the twelfth-century revival of Classical learning, at a time when ancient pagan texts were being recovered and annotated at Echternach, Theofrid still followed Alcuin as an authority, and despite reservations held him up for praise as a Latin stylist. Nor was Alcuin an authority only for the content of Theofrid's hagiographic work, since Theofrid also followed the Anglo-Saxon tradition of "double" lives, in verse and prose.

In "Alcuin et la renaissance des arts libéraux" Louis Holtz offers a sensitive assessment of Alcuin's thinking on education and the seven liberal arts (Butzer et al. I, 45–60). Discussion proceeds from three textual bases corresponding roughly to the early, middle, and later phases of Alcuin's career: (1) the poem on York, (2) official documents (the *Admonitio generalis*, *Epistola generalis*, and *Epistola de litteris colendis*), and (3) educational texts (*Disputatio de vera philosophia* along with the pedagogical works the *Grammar* and *Rhetoric*). The York poem shows Alcuin to have profited from a rich background of Insular learning where the subjects of the trivium and quadrivium were fleshed out with pagan and patristic sources. Holtz observes that Alcuin's schooling at York was also exceptional for having a strong scientific component. In a stark contrast, the writings of Alcuin's middle years are found to betray a concern for basic literacy and elementary education, a modest curriculum designed for the minimal goal of copying and reading scriptural texts accurately—evidence for the backwardness of Continental culture. The educational works of the final years meanwhile encapsulate an ideal of learning guided by the seven liberal arts. Holtz calls for new and careful editions of Alcuin, noting that the present editions are particularly inadequate in their treatment of sources.

Wolfgang Kirsch's "Alkuins York-Gedicht (C. I) als Kunstwerk" (*Gli umanesimi medievali*. Ed. Claudio Leonardi.

Florence, 1998. pp. 283–95) addresses Alcuin's York poem as a literary work standing at the intersection of several traditions. He traces the poem's textual borrowings from Bede and demonstrates Alcuin's strategies of adaptation through reliance on the rhetorical tactics of *abbreviatio* and *amplificatio*. Kirsch further observes that the reception of the poem is colored by the Classical and Christian traditions and even by the secular Latin verse of the Carolingian age.

Gordon Leff opens Volume II of Butzer *et al.*'s *Charlemagne and His Heritage: 1200 Years of Civilization and Science in Europe* (see the previous section) by giving a general appraisal of Alcuin's career, in three phases, as student and then canon at York, as scholar-in-residence at the Carolingian court, and finally as abbot and elder philosopher at St Martin's at Tours ("Alcuin of York ca. 730–804)."

The idea of an information explosion may not be entirely new. Library scientist Rosella Dini, "Il catalogo di Alcuino. Alcune riflessioni sulla catalogazione di livello minimo." *Il linguaggio della biblioteca: scritti in onore di Diego Maltese.* Florence, 1995. I, 327–58, begins her discussion of the ideally efficient library catalog with reference to Alcuin's York poem, which spares readers the tedium of a long list of authors and works. Alcuin's considerate brevity inspires her to name short-title cataloguing after the Anglo-Saxon master.

Paul E. Szarmach, "A Preface, Mainly Textual, to Alcuin's *De ratione animae.*" … *The Man of Many Devices, Who Wandered Full Many Ways …: Festschrift in Honor of János M. Bak* (ed. Balázs Nagy and Marcell Sebok. Budapest, 1999. pp. 397–408). In a concise four pages, Paul Szarmach thoroughly covers the fundamentals for an eventual edition of Alcuin's work on the soul and psychology, *De ratione animae. DRA* is noteworthy for its popularity throughout the medieval period, and Anglo-Saxonists will find particularly interesting its possible influence on OE works, both poetry and prose (e.g., *Seafarer* and a probable Ælfrician homily). Szarmach surveys existing editions and evaluates the state of the scholarship. Concerning the former area, for example, one is surprised to learn that the eighteenth-century edition in Migne is much to be preferred to that of Dummler in the MGH. Concerning the latter, the dominant impression is that a good deal of work remains to be done: "An updated edition, building on and extending previous scholarship will … contribute to a revived and renewed appreciation of a brief, but not minor, text outlining early medieval thinking on the soul and mind."

In the article "Alkuin's Bestimmungen der Philosophie in der Schrift *Disputatio de vera philosophia,*" Hans-Joachim Werner considers the multitude of relational dualities inherent in Alcuin's *Disputatio.* Given that Alcuin's treatise is to be understood as a model for promoting educational reform, Werner looks to that moment within the text when the student remarks to his teacher: "Audivimus saepius te dicentem, quod philosophie esset omnium virtutum magistra" ('We have often heard you say, that philosophy is the master/teacher of

all virtues'). The phrase 'onmium virtutum magistra,' a direct borrowing from Boethius's *Consolatio*, refers, in the first instance, to the relation between philosophy and philosopher. Werner examines the phrase in the context of the *Disputatio* in order to consider what it reveals to the reader about the relation between pupil and teacher in Alcuin's educational model.

Citing as evidence his use of the commonplace definition of philosophy as 'divinarum humanarumque rerum scientia' Werner demonstrates that Alcuin conceived of Philosophy as teacher of both worldly (*saecularis sapientia*) and spirtual (*coelestis sapientia*) wisdom. What distinguishes Alcuin's understanding of philosophy from that of earlier treatments is the perception that divine wisdom is something innate to human intelligence. A distinction between the intelligence of the mind ('Naturale itaque est mentibus humanis scientiae lumen' - Naturally the light of wisdom is in the human mind) and of the intelligence of the heart ('animi vero nostri naturam esse intelligimus in corde' - But we understand that the nature of the soul is in the heart) is critical to Alcuin's purposes. Philosophy is the 'master of all virtues;' those of the heart, divine, and those of the mind, worldly. For the pupil, philosophy occurs in two instances of representation; in abstract form, instructing from within the heart, and in the concrete presence of the teacher. Philosophy is at once the critical guide to intelligence present within the human heart and the external, hortatory guide to human intelligence, within Alcuin's model of education, in the person of the teacher. (Reviewed by Thomas Miller)

f. The Tenth Century and Beyond

For Bede's influence on the Benedictine reformers, see the review of Joyce Hill, p. 65.

J.E. Cross and Andrew Hamer, eds. *Wulfstan's Canon Law Collection.* A-S Texts 1. Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Brewer, x, 183 pp. In this inaugural volume of the *Anglo-Saxon Texts* series (Orchard and Lapidge, general editors), Cross and Hamer edit, translate, and analyze the canon collection traditionally known as the *Excerptiones Ecgberhti.* Regarding content, such collections typically contain a very mixed bag of church rules, and this one is no exception. The more coherent shorter version of the text has discrete sequences of items addressing, for example, procedural questions, ordination of clerics, the extent of episcopal authority, marriage, clerical dress, excommunication, and so on. The book presents several noteworthy discoveries. The authors' researches explode the spurious attribution to Egbert and affirm earlier work linking the collection to Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York. More importantly however, many uncertainties surrounding the text are cleared up. The canons are found to fall into two recensions, a shorter one which is closer to the common source, and a longer one which has many changes and additions. The connec-

tion with Wulfstan is shown not only from the manuscript settings—the text appears in manuscripts of his "commonplace book"—but, even more immediately, by the presence of Wulfstan's characteristic style of elaboration in the additions of the longer recension. This the authors attribute to the hand of Wulfstan himself or to members of his immediate circle.

The authors likewise clear up the relationship of the collection to the letters of Ælfric. Fehr and others previously saw the textual overlap to indicate Ælfric's direct use of the collection as a source. But, as the authors show, the borrowing was most probably in the opposite direction, with the compiler of the collection using Ælfric as a source. In this respect, the fact that Wulfstan was a recipient of Ælfric's letters strengthens the tie to Wulfstan's circle.

A word about the admirably efficient edition. Both recensions are edited from all extant manuscripts, with a base manuscript furnishing a foundation and variants reported in an apparatus. Each item in the collection is given in a discrete block of text. First come folio references, then the Latin text (with italics indicating text that has been sourced), then the textual apparatus and then the notes, which give sources and cross references between related items, whether between the recensions or within a given recension, and finally the English translation. The resulting page is of course cluttered, but generous use of white space makes the layout more eye-friendly than it might otherwise have been.

Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform*. Cambridge Stud. in A-S Eng. 25. Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, xii, 471 pp. The Benedictine reform movement began at mid tenth century and was the major influence on Anglo-Saxon literary culture up to the Conquest. This book is an investigation surrounding Aethelwold, arguably the most dynamic and important of the reformers, who as teacher and mentor propagated the Benedictine movement via students like Ælfric and Wulfstan of Winchester. The book is most praiseworthy in its aims. Beginning from a base of close linguistic analysis, it consistently goes beyond the particular, and philology is put to the service of cultural history. Gretsch seeks not just to document but to understand and explain such important topics as the development and standardization of the vernacular, especially the establishment of the Winchester vocabulary.

The starting point for Gretsch's investigation is Aethelwold's OE translation of the Benedictine *Rule*, a subject that she knows intimately, having worked on it for several decades. Her first order of business is to build a bridge from the known to the unknown—a perceptive appreciation of the innovative stylistic qualities of the OE *Rule* leads her to the English gloss of the Royal Psalter, where she finds the same qualities in embryonic form—convincing evidence for Aethelwold's authorship. Proceeding primarily on the basis of word choice, Gretsch's sophisticated philology puts flesh on dry bones and brings them to life: her description of the Royal glossator is

a priceless picture of an Englishman quite consciously experimenting and shaping his language as a sensitive vehicle for the communication of refined and nuanced ideas. One might compare him in a small way to Plato and Aristotle's shaping of Greek into a medium for philosophical exchange. Thus Gretsch's examination of the psalter gloss sketches a fascinating and crucial step in the history of English.

A second discussion would assign, directly or indirectly, significant parts of the corpus of Aldhelm glosses to Aethelwold as well. Gretsch builds a very large structure from this foundation: Aethelwold as young man studying with Dunstan would have developed a taste for Aldhelm's *opus geminatum*, the *De Virginitate*, and would have been primarily responsible for the boom in Aldhelm studies in the tenth to eleventh centuries. The corpus of glosses, preserved in several manuscripts but especially Brussels, RL 1650, would have resulted, if not from Aethelwold's pen directly, then from his immediate circle, a sort of 'Aldhelm seminar,' conducted by Aethelwold for his more advanced students. And the taste for Aldhelm's extravagant hermeneutic Latin, Gretsch argues, will have colored Aethelwold's preference for rare and poetic vocabulary in English. This section of the book is more speculative, and for one wishing to play the skeptic there are many objections available: that the transmission history of the Aldhelm glosses is hugely complex; that, as Gretsch acknowledges, comparing the occasional glosses to Aldhelm with continuous or almost continuous glosses presents many problems of method; that, despite Gretsch pp. 154 ff., the Brussels glossators had a close copy of the Corpus glossary (the exemplar to Ker no. 2 art. c) which might have contributed some early Aldhelm glosses; that the label "hermeneutic" has always applied to Latin and that the concept of hermeneutic English is a new idea requiring much more definition and illustration. So it will be interesting to see how well Gretsch's ideas, which are quite bold, hold up across time.

"Wulfstan's Commonplace Book" is the collective name for a group of loosely related manuscripts containing *liturgica*, etc. In "A Liturgical Miscellany in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190," *Traditio* 54 (1999), 103–40, Christopher A. Jones extends his study of an important member of the group, CCCC 190, by editing and analyzing a liturgical compilation which it uniquely preserves. (Jones's "Two Composite Texts from Archbishop Wulfstan's 'Commonplace Book' ..." *ASE* 27 (1998), 233–71 was reviewed in *YWOES* 1998.) The text in question is an unfinished and largely unstudied "mixture of liturgical exposition and prescription." It has three parts, a commentary on the mass, a second, incomplete commentary on the divine office, and "excerpts of commentary on the liturgical calendar from Christmas through Quinquagesima Sunday." The text is a difficult one, only sporadically coherent and without evidence of authorship or place of origin, but Jones probes his material to find several noteworthy points—a use of unusual sources (including, for example, the ninth-century *Musica disciplina* of

Aurelianus), a possible origin among Wulfstan's circle, and, in terms of cultural history, a possible interpretation of the text as representing an Insular assimilation of the contemporary reforms occurring on the continent.

In "The Office of the Trinity in the Crowland Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296)," *ASE* 28 (1999), 185–200, Barbara Raw details the liturgical items comprising the feast of the Trinity in the cited manuscript. While there are many correspondences to other Anglo-Saxon sources, especially the Leofric Collectar and the *Portiforium Wulfstani*, the general picture is one of variety, evidence for a "fluidity of liturgical texts the late eleventh century and the wide range of prayers in honour of the Trinity available at this time."

M. Kobialka (*This Is My Body: Representational Practices in the Early Middle Ages*. Ann Arbor: Univ. of Michigan Press, 1999. ix, 313 pp.) is a post-modernist who will analyze medieval drama. The Anglo-Saxon text he sets out to examine (pp. 35–99) is *Quem Quaeritis*, the liturgical performance depicting the scene at the sepulcher of the risen Christ, described in the Easter service of the reform conseutudinary *Regularis Concordia*. *Quem Quaeritis* holds a privileged place in histories of medieval drama as the earliest true dramatic text, and it is from this perspective that Kobialka approaches it. His densely written thirty-three page first chapter (perhaps representing two dissertation chapters?) combines a review of the literature with an introductory discussion of his thesis. The language is archly jargonian and thoroughly resists paraphrase, so let me quote directly:

> Quem quaeritis?
>
> ... Surrexit sicut praedixerat. The words enunciated a complex assemblage of practices that revealed a singular mode of effectivity and action. This mode of effectivity and action, as the four chapters of this book will indicate, was changeable and produced different spaces where the exchange between the angel and three Marys as well as other exchanges were used to invoke what was to be seen/heard, where it was to seen/heard, and finally, how it was to be seen/heard. The words and the actions had no other recourse but to link themselves onto and implicate the status of the reality of which spoke, or to express, with the help of representational practices, the complex theological thought and the institution that produced only this—and no other—social, institutional, and conceptual place where the body was to be seen.

Kobialka's Chapter II, "*The Regularis Concordia*," offers a semantic study of the word *concordia*, an analysis of the consuetudinary itself, along with a narrative of the Benedictine reform and of its three leaders Dunstan, Aethelwold, and Oswald, and a psychological examination of the monastic mentality ("The process of examining a thought in itself ... turned a monk into a cipher that needed to be deciphered and interpreted at all times ... "). Puzzling.

Edward Pettit ("Anglo-Saxon Charms in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Barlow 35." *Nottingham Med. Stud.* 43, 33–46) presents the first edition of a seven-line Latin charm entitled, in Old English, "Wið blodryne" (Against Bleeding). The text is quite corrupt, and most of the effort goes toward recovering original readings, a task aided by reference to Icelandic, Old English, and Anglo- Latin analogs. The author conjectures the text to be a conflation of two originally distinct charms, the first an amuletic formula in the shape of a cross, the second an incantation for the protection of a cow. "Despite their brevity and corruption these charms are ... worthy of the attention of students of Anglo-Saxon England and its medicine."

R.W. Pfaff, "The Sample Week in the Medieval Latin Divine Office." *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*. Ed. R.N. Swanson. Stud. in Church Hist. 35. Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1999. pp. 78–88. Liturgiologist Richard Pfaff concisely examines two eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon manuscripts which potentially record initial steps toward development of the breviary (London, BL Harley 863, associated with Leofric bishop of Exeter, and CCCC 391, associated with Wulfstan bishop of Worcester). The common feature shared by the two manuscripts is a liturgical "sample" week, i.e., a model or template capable of adaptation for the long stretches of the year falling outside the periods of the major celebrations. Two later manuscripts studied by Pfaff show further developments along the same line, one of them (BL Royal 2 A.x.) being "thoroughly usable."

g. Post-Conquest Anglo-Latin

In "Cults of Irish, Scottish and Welsh Saints in Twelfth-Century England," *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (ed. Brendan Smith. Cambridge, 1999. pp. 67–86), Robert Bartlett examines saintly cult as a symptom of a general twelfth-century British unification. Specifically, the subject is the assimilation of Celtic religious history (much of it manufactured) by the Anglo-Normans. For example, some saints culted in England in the twelfth century are supplied with Celtic backgrounds—pre-Conquest saints such as Modwenna, Bega, and Cuthbert receive entirely new Irish childhoods. What is interesting from the standpoint of Anglo-Saxon studies is the important role of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* both as a source for detailed information about the Anglo-Saxon and Celtic past and as a shaper of twelfth-century taste, particularly regarding the sanctity of the pre-Conquest Irish. This chapter in Anglo-Norman antiquarianism owed much to him, the twelfth century being "the great age of copying for the *Ecclesiastical History*."

Lorenzo Valgimogli's "La tradizione esegetica negli Argumenta dello Pseudo-Beda (PL XCIII)." *Filologia mediolatina* 5 (1998), 95–147, describes and sources the cited Psalm commentary, which in Heerwagen's 1563 edition was spuriously

attributed to Bede. The three-part items in the commentary (*argumentum*, statement of subject, *explanatio*, a brief comment, and *commentarius*, a longer exegesis) are traced to a variety of sources from early to high medieval, a winnowing that permits the author to identify the compiler's original contributions to the text.

D.W.P.

Not Seen

Jacobi, Klaus. "Alkuin-Dialoge aus dem Schulunterricht." *Gespräche lesen. Philosophische Dialoge im Mittelalter*. Ed. Jacobi.

ScriptOralia 115. Tübingen, 1999. pp. 55–61.

Jullien, Marie-Hélène, and Françoise Perelman, comp. *Clavis Scriptorum Latinorum Medii Aevi. Auctores Galliae 735–987, II: Alcuinus*. Corpus Christianorum, Continuatio Mediaeualis. Turnhout: Brepols, 1999.

Szerwiniack, Olivier; Florence Bourgne, Jacques Elfassi, Mathieu Lescuyer, and Agnès Molinier, trans. *Bède le Vénérable. Histoire ecclésiastique du peuple anglais,1: Conquête et conversion*. La Roue à Livres 36. Paris: Belles Lettres, 1999.

5. Manuscripts, Illumination, Charters

David Dumville's appropriately titled *A Palaeographer's Review: The Insular System of Scripts in the Early Middle Ages* (Kansai University Press), takes as its starting point Julian Brown's *A Palaeographer's View* and goes on to range through the scripts of the British Isles in the early Middle Ages, discussing (and often amending) the analyses of E.A. Lowe, Julian Brown, Malcolm Parkes and Julia Crick. This is not, Dumville points out, "a manual of early Insular palaeography—that remains a significant desideratum—but a discursive enquiry, built on Julian Brown's contribution, into some major issues which are currently troublesome to those concerned with this subject," (p. ix). Many of these issues have to do with the dating and location of specific manuscripts. "Julian Brown in the Jarrow Lecture for 1971 gave a large hostage to fortune in this regard: he said that 'to be wrong about Kells ... is to be wrong about Insular palaeography'. There was nothing wrong with Brown's palaeography; it was his weakness as a historian and his fixation on Lindisfarne *ca* 700 which were to lead him badly astray" (p. 63). Dumville thus examines Brown's arguments for the dating of early manuscripts with an historian's eye, and finds himself in disagreement over, for example, the *Cathach*, which "it is not unthinkable ... originated at Bobbio and was imported into Ireland during the course of the early middle ages" (p. 29), the Book of Kells, which Brown's dating of "before the middle of the eighth century" is too early by half a century, and the Lindisfarne Gospels, whose Lindisfarne origin and dating to *ca* 690 x *ca* 735 "may now be considered as under challenge" (p. 79). Two particularly useful sections in this wide-ranging and scholarly discussion are those on "Chronology" in which Dumville lays out the fixed historical points around which we might build a framework of palaeographical development, and on "Brittany," whose manuscripts were not addressed by Brown. It is a shame that this interesting monograph is not accompanied by illustrations.

In "Searching for the roots: the origins of Carolingian miniscule," *Letter Arts Review* 15/2:32–9, Stan Knight describes precursors to or early versions of Carolingian minis-

cule in two manuscripts from Corbie (Berlin Staatsbibliothek MS Theol. Lat. fol. 354 and BN Lat. 13174, fols. 136, 138), as well as in a dedicatory poem in a manuscript commissioned by Charlemagne for the baptism of his son Pippin, written by a scribe named Godescalc in 781–3 (BN Nouv. Acq. Lat. 1203). On the basis of these, Knight opines "that Carolingian miniscule was a modification of the ancient and serviceable half-uncial script, incorporating certain features gathered from other current scripts, and that the Abbey of Corbie led the field in this vitally important calligraphic development" (p. 38); and further, "that neither Alcuin nor Charlemagne could have been involved in the 'invention' of Carolingian miniscule. Long before Alcuin arrived in Tours in 796, Carolingian miniscule was already well-established at all the main centers of writing in France. It was in existence prior to Charlemagne's Edict of 789 [in which he] called for the use of a clear and legible script" (p. 37).

Searching for scribes rather than scripts, it seems a shame to reveal the answer to Catherine Cubitt's Holmesian undertaking of "Finding the Forger: An Alleged Decree of the 679 Council of Hatfield," *EHR* 114: 1217–48. This document, of which we have only a 12th-century copy, "purports to be a decree of the Council of Hatfield, and is dated to the year 680 ... [Its primary purpose] is to define the separate areas of authority belonging to the archbishoprics of Canterbury and York." Cubitt begins by demonstrating that the document must be a forgery on the basis of its own dating (the council in fact took place in 679) and "discrepancies between the decree and contemporary diocesan organization" (1222). On historical grounds she argues that a likely period of composition would be during the Lichfield crisis of the late eighth and early ninth centuries, during which time the seat of the southern archbishopric was unsettled. She then demonstrates that the style of diplomatic, vocabulary, and grammatical error are all typical of documents produced under (or by) Canterbury's Archbishop Wulfred, and links the Pseudo-Hatfield with his "dispute with the Mercian kings, and in particular to his restoration in 822" (1243). Cubitt includes in an appendix

an edition and translation.

Similar detective work characterizes "The Scribe of the Paris Psalter," *ASE* 28:179–183, in which Richard Emms postulates that the *Wulfwinus scriptor frater noster* mentioned in the martyrology and obit book of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, is the same as the *Wulfwinus cognomento Cada* named in the colophon to the Paris psalter, thus adding to previous arguments claiming Canterbury as the provenance of this manuscript. Comparing it to the Old English Illustrated Heptateuch, Emms suggests that "the Paris psalter could be seen as fitting into a pattern of producing illustrated vernacular manuscripts for lay patrons – possible as commercial ventures" (p. 182). Emms is responsible for one of the best verbal images of the year, when he describes the long, thin manuscript as being copied by a man with the byname *Cada*, denoting "a stout lumpish person"—offering us "a glimpse of a squat figure writing on very tall, thin sheets of paper" (p. 181). Continuing the focus on the Canterbury scriptorium, Michael Gullick traces chronologically "The scribal work of Eadmer of Canterbury to 1109," *AC* 118:173–89 as "a first step to understanding manuscript production at Canterbury between 1070 and 1130," and goes on to conclude that "[t]he evidence of all the Christ Church manuscripts made between 1070 and 1130 suggests that an intense period of post-Conquest book production, which continued until at least about 1125, was under way by at least the mid-1080's. The earliest manuscripts are from the scribal point of view, generally of much higher quality than most of the manuscripts produced a little later, in the early twelfth-century, when more manuscripts were being produced by more scribes" (p. 187). An appendix adds a table enumerating late-11th or 12th century English manuscripts of Augustine.

Barbara Beall's "The Codex Amiatinus and the Significance of a Production Error," *Manuscripta* 40 (1996), 148–56, discusses the implication of irregularities in the columns surrounding the canon tables on the rectos of fols. 798 through 801. She suggests that "the misjudgment ... would have happened ... only once," as "the experience would have been applied to the production of subsequent pandects" (p. 152). It thus seems likely that this codex was not commissioned by Ceolfrid specifically to have been taken as a gift with him to Rome in 716, but rather that it represents the first of the three pandects produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow, and that it can be dated "closer to 688 when Ceolfrid first assumed his position of abbot of Wearmouth and Jarrow" (p. 152). Moving (both historically and currently) to the continent, Michele C. Ferrari in "Der älteste touronische Pandekt, Paris, Biliothèque Nationale de France lat. 8847 und seine Fragmente," *Scriptorium* 53, 108–14, gives an overview of the creation of pandects in Tours at the time of Alcuin, and then follows the fate of the oldest of these complete Bibles from its gift to Kloster Echternach by Alcuin through its partial dismantling in the middle of the 15th century to produce single volumes of Biblical books, and on to the tracing of the extant

individual fragments. This article is immediately followed by Rainer Nolden's "Zu den ältesten Echternacher Bibelfragmenten und zum Einband einer Echternacher Handschrift in der Stadtbibliothek Trier," *Scriptorium* 53, 114–6, in which he points out that fragments of this bible were used as endpapers for a later, wood-covered book. On the basis of dendochronology and sap patterns, it can be established that the Trier manuscript was rebound at the end of the 15th/beginning of the 16th century, using as endpapers pages from this oldest Tours Bible; Nolden suggests that one might look in Echternach books of the early 16th century for more such 9th-century fragments.

Christopher D. Verey's "Lindisfarne or Rath Maelsigi? The evidence of the Texts," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, pp. 327–35, includes the Echternach gospels as one of four manuscripts likely belonging "to Northumbria in its 'Golden Age' ... each to a lesser or greater degree connect[ing] to Lindisfarne." Verey claims that Durham A.II.16, the centerpiece of his discussion, is "almost certainly of Northumbrian origin"; the parallels between Mark in this text and the Durham and Cambridge-London Gospels "reinforces the Northumbrian identity" of Durham, and the "parallels in script and ornament, as well as the textual affinities" between Durham and Cambridge-London argues for "a closely similar background" for these two manuscripts. (Durham A.II.16 he believes to come from the same tradition, but not as closely linked as the other two.) Similar features of script and ornament characterize the Echternach Gospels, and this, "coupled with the close textual relationship with A.II.16, would also, reasonably, point to Northumbria as the likely origin of the Echternach Gospels" as well (citations from p. 334). Joanna Story's fascinating look at 12th-century northern historical practice in "'Concerning the Bishops of Whithorn and Their Subjection to the Archbishops of York': Some Observations on the Manuscript Evidence and Its Links with Durham," *Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15:77–83 examines a later Durham text. Two versions of annalistic entries concerning "the argument that the bishops of Candida Casa ought to be subject to the Archbishop of York" (from the translation Story provides in an appendix, p. 87) provide 8th-cenury evidence linking Whithorn to the English archbishopric, as opposed to giving it separate standing as a Scottish see. The text is contained in two manuscripts, BL Additional MS 25014 from the later 12th century, and Vatican, MS Reg. Lat. 694, copied in part around the turn of the 13th century. The latter seems to have been copied from the former; amid a shared general confusion of letter shapes, the most egregious is the rendering of *Cynewulf* as *Sinepul*, implying that the first copyist may have misread the Anglo-Saxon square-miniscule of his exemplar. Given these problems, Story assumes that "it is most unlikely that [the scribe of the BL manuscript] had been responsible for the translation of annals from OE into Latin, but probably instead that he had been set to copying an exemplar of the Whithorn text

already in Latin ... [This text] provides scarce evidence for the continued existence in northern England of a copy of the Northern Recension of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, or a variant of it, now lost ... The type of historical problem which this text encapsulates was just the sort of intellectual challenge that Durham's archive was well placed to resolve, and which its scholars relished" (pp. 86–7).

Texts for which the Celtic connection is unambiguous are provided in J.E. Cross's "On Hiberno-Latin Texts and Anglo-Saxon Writings," in *The Scriptures and Early Medieval Ireland* (Turnhout, 1999: 69–79). This is essentially an enumeration of "copies or extracts of Hiberno-Latin texts in Latin manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon England" (p. 77). It is accompanied by discussion of some points raised by the use of Irish material in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts: the listing of St. Patrick's mother's name as *Contablata* (as opposed to the *Concessa* found in Muirchú's *Vita*), and the inclusion of a miracle associated with St. Columba which appears nowhere in the Irish material, namely, a married couple whose house was saved from general destruction by fire due to their having spent the night discussing the saint. "Invocation of saints," Cross tells us, "was good fire insurance in the Middle Ages" (p. 78). Lawrence T. Martin similarly finds "an Irish tradition of Biblical exegesis" (p. 161) in the (probably) early 9th-century Verona Homily collection which he, following Martin McNamara, calls the *Catechesis Veronensis*: this consists of eleven pieces concerning the liturgical year from Christmas to Pentecost. Martin finds in the lemmata affinity "with the Irish tradition of either the Vulgate or the Vetus Latina scriptures" (p. 154); further, some passages seem to draw on a quasi-contemporary anonymous Irish commentary on Luke's gospel for which another non-classical source is Bede's *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*. There are also several phrases typical of early Irish tradition, among them *principes et predicatores ecclesiae*, which "perhaps reflects the inner structure of the Old Irish Church, where the abbot or abbot-bishop was known as *princeps ecclesiae*"; or *familia Christi*, which "may be a reflection of ... Irish monastic tradition, where those affiliated to a monastery were conceived of as belonging to its *muinter* or *familia*" (pp. 158–9). The "motif of three suns seen simultaneously near the time of Christ's birth" probably dates from "a lost collection of portents made in either Ireland or England" since it appears elsewhere both in an 11th-century poem by Bishop Patrick of Dublin, who "had ties with both countries," and in the *Old English Martyrology*, which "is known to have been influenced by Irish texts"; the fact that this earliest medieval attestation is in a text heavily influenced by Irish exegetical tradition would seem to "tilt the balance" of evidence for its origin to Irish influence (p. 160).

Moving to manuscripts originating in the south, Joyce Hill in "Anglo-Saxon Scholarship and Viking Raids: The Exeter Book Contextualized," *Filoloski pregled* 25.1:9–28, weighs in on the debate about the traditions of scholarship under Bishop Leofric and the origins of the Exeter Book. Her contention is "that Leofric transferred the see not so much because Crediton had been ravaged when Exeter had not – as he skilfully implies in his letter to Pope Leo – but because, as a cleric trained in Lotharingia, he saw Exeter, as a former Roman civitas and still a fortified 'city,' as a more suitable place for an episcopal see than Crediton, which was a mere villula." She concludes that "contrary to Conner, the Exeter book did not originate at Exeter, and that there was more discontinuity at Exeter, prior to Leofric's arrival, than Conner believes" (p. 9). David Porter takes a look at glosses to Priscian fragments in "The earliest texts with English and French" *ASE* 28:87–100; these are contained in Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum 16.2 + London. BL, Add. 32246, and Paris, BNF, nouv. aqu. lat. 586. He argues that both descend from a common original, with an intermediate exemplar before Antwerp-London. These glosses are primarily in Latin; however, the Paris manuscript has Latin *detestor* glossed by French *desmentirs*, and there are at least eight French words in drypoint. Demonstable similarity between the glosses "argues for the involvement of the Paris scribe in the a-order glossary of Antwerp-London" (p. 105). Porter postulates that this scribe may be the Frenchman Herbertus who appears in (and may have written) the dialogue on London fol. 1 requesting Abbot Wulfgar to supply him with winter clothing; presumably he was in Abingdon in the position of both scholar and teacher.

For a more modern look at grammatical analysis, Tadao Kubouchi's collected writings, *From Wulfstan to Richard Rolle: Papers Exploring the Continuity of English Prose* (Cambridge: Brewer) contain three essays germane to this section. In "What is the Point? Manuscript Punctuation as Evidence for Linguistic Change" (pp. 109–17), Kubochi postulates that the points surrounding pre-verbal noun clauses in some manuscripts of *Ancrene Wisse* are used to set off clauses that were seen as grammatically difficult, and that this usage can be traced back as far as some manuscripts of Wulfstan, indicating that the change in word order to post-verbal object was well underway at this time. In "Manuscript Punctuation, Prose Rhythm and S ... V Element Order in Late Old English Orally-Delivered Prose" (pp. 47–61), he presents similar evidence for a late manuscript of Ælfric's *De Falsis Diis*, and compares this to Wulfram's version of *De Falsis Deis*, in which "the pause or the boundary of a rhythmical phrase unit falls after the pre-verbal object or the headword in a pre-verbal prepositional phrase ... [The scribe] indicates by his punctuation that the reader or preacher is to be especially reminded to pause there and thereby to put a heavier stress on the important element immediately preceding the punctuation , along with the following verb" (p. 60). Mary P. Richards in *YWOES* 1997 has already discussed "The Decline of the S. Noun O.V. Element Order: the Evidence from Punctuation in Some Transition-Period Manuscripts of Ælfric and Wulfstan" (pp. 97–108).

In his brief overview of "Anglo-Saxon Charters," *Brit. Acad. Rev.* 1998–99, pp. 22–24, Simon Keynes provides an introduction to Anglo-Saxon charters and the history of scholarship. He then discusses in general terms the layout and purpose of the edition in progress; more complete information is available at the website http://www.trin.cam.ac.uk/chartwww. A look at some specific charter terminology is provided by "Friends and friendship in Anglo-Saxon charters" in *Friendship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Julian Haseldine (Stroud, 1999), pp. 106–123, in which Julia Barrow analyzes the use of the terms *amicus, amicitia, amicabiliter, freond* and *freondlice* in charters of Anglo-Saxon England ranging from the eighth to the eleventh century. She concludes that this practice "emerges in charters connected with the kings of Mercia and the archbishops of Canterbury ... and seems to be linked with the political insecurity of the early ninth-century Mercian kings, who needed to re-establish good relations with the church of Canterbury after the failure of their attempt to set up a rival metropolitan see" (p. 113). Later Wessex charters feature these terms less frequently, perhaps due to greater political stability. In the tenth century, following law codes in which the terminology of friendship was employed for "asserting royal political authority" (p. 113), such expressions in charters and writs were used to demonstrate a special status of close connection to the king. An appendix includes a list of Anglo-Saxon charters (excluding writs) containing words meaning friends and friendship; this appendix gives the Birch and Sawyer listings, and includes the lines containing the friendship terms.

Della Hooke's *Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds* (*Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* 10; Boydell, 1999) should win this year's Palme d'Or for books written about Warwickshire Charters. Most of the documents are in Latin with the boundary clauses largely in Old English, and it is the detail presented in the boundary clauses which this study examines. Hooke and her band of cohorts have tramped the landscape in an effort to equate the Anglo-Saxon names with extant modern features to provide data for the following purposes: 1. it is from such material that maps of pre-Conquest England can be made; 2. features that can be located in the modern landscape can help determine more precisely some Old English terminological usage; 3. land-use terms can define the function of the land in Anglo-Saxon times; 4. animal and plant names can give an idea of flora and fauna. The format of the volume is to give the heading (with Sawyer number), description of contents, listing of manuscripts, authenticity per Sawyer and later commentators if available, boundary lists printed and translated, ditto for additional rights and endorsements if applicable, and finally some notes. The best of these entries contain topographical maps with Roman roads, parish boundaries, rivers/streams and geographical features such as forests. Typical of the notes to the boundary clauses is this citation from a grant at Oldberrow by Cenred of Mercia to Bishop Ecgwine (S79): "'That is first from

Ulla's spring to *Osland* mere (or boundary)'; the boundary begins near the south-eastern corner of the present-day parish boundary where a major spring breaks out on a small tributary stream of the River Alne. Today this has been harnessed to supply water to a neighbouring farm. The name Ulla is also found in that of the adjacent parish of Ullenhall and may be either a reference to Old English ūle, 'an owl', or a similar personal name. No mere has survived modern drainage, but the land at the south-eastern corner of the parish is flat and low-lying. The name of the mere, if such it was, cannot be reliably translated but ōsle was Old English for 'blackbird'" (p. 31). The only charter photographically reproduced is S898 (Cot. Aug. ii.22), a grant of land by Æthelred at Long Ichtington and Arley.

David Howlett's *Sealed from Within: Self-Authenticating Insular Charters* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 1999) claims that authors of early insular charters certified their authenticity by elaborate use of elements of Biblical style: patterns of reiteration, symmetry, mathematically-based placement of words, rhythm and deliberate placement of capital letters and punctuation marks. He first examines the "oldest extant charter with a sustainable claim to authenticity and integrity" (13), namely, a grant of land by Hloþere of Kent to Abbot Beorhtweald and his monastery at Reculver in 679 (Sawyer 8). Dividing the charter into nine text sections (the square of the trinity), he demonstrates parallel wordings in each of these sections. Two identical clauses do not participate in these sections: the first "is the ninth line from the beginning of the charter; the latter is in the ninth sentence and in the ninth line from the end of the charter; both lines contain nine words" (18). Among further examples which he adduces is the fact that the charter "begins with a reference to Jesus Christ, Whose ministry began when He was thirty years old. From the beginning to the first mention of the name ... there are thirty letters. Jesus lived on earth for thirty-three years and had twelve disciples. The charter occupies thirty-three lines of prose followed by twelve signs manual" (p. 20). Howlett then investigates in similar detail a grant by Eadric of Kent to St. Peter's in Canterbury in 686 (S9) (containing "the earliest example yet known of Anglo-Latin rhyming rhythmical prose" (p. 24)). Following these two analyses, he rejects as suspicious a 15th-century copy of a charter recording a grant by Hloþere to the abbot and monastery of St. Peter in Canterbury in 675 (S7), both on linguistic grounds and on the fact that it does not match the numerological layout demonstrated by the two other Kentish charters, which "were tightly composed in fixed forms specifically to guard against the sort of alteration the third text underwent" (29); Howlett's system would provide a further metric for judging authenticity of charters (hence the "self-authenticating" of the subtitle). Howlett suggests that, in some cases, numerological examination may even aid in dating, as in a grant by Æthelræd, an East Saxon layman, to Æthelburh, Abbess of Barking (S1171): "Sawyer dates this charter to the period

'685x694, probably 690x693'. Keynes dates it to the period 676x696 … One might infer from the numbers of syllables and crosses, 1+529+148+9 a date of 687" (p. 47). This type of authentication, unique to early insular charters, is replaced in the post-Conquest period by the use of seals. Howlett postulates that "Anglo-Latin diplomatists may have learned some elements of their craft from a Cambro-Latin tradition" (p.74), and links the charters stylistically to "the literary elegance of learned works from the school of Theodore and Hadrian [which are] composed in the same Biblical style … In these early English charters we see clear signs of a linguistic and literary tradition of immense importance, not only for the study of Insular diplomatic practice, but for the intellectual history of Europe" (p. 59). In all, Howlett examines 12 Anglo-Saxon charters ranging from the reign of Hloþhere to that of Alfred (the others are S11, 13, 14, 15, 156, 21, 65, 346). He then performs similar analysis on 5 Welsh charters, the oldest extant Cornish charter, 2 Irish charters, 3 Scottish and finally one Hebridean; dates of the Celtic charters range from 820x840 to 1124.

Anton Sharer's "The Gregorian Tradition in Early England," in the wonderful volume *St. Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson (Sutton), pp. 187–200 looks at the "nachleben" of Gregory in the Anglo-Saxon territories to the time of Alfred. Pertinent to this section is his postulation that several early charters draw formulae from Gregory (for example, echoes of his "donation charter for his monastery of St Andreas in Clivo Scauri, dating from 587" (p. 190–1) can be found in a diploma recording a grant from Hodilred, a member of the East Saxon royal family, to Hildilith, abbess of Barking in Essex ca. 687 (S1171); he cites three others from southern England showing similar traces (S1165, S1181, S235), and tentatively suggests that they may owe these features to the work of Bishop Earkonwald of London. Furthermore, the uncial of Hodilred's charter could possibly be motivated by Roman, or specifically Gregorian connotations associated with this script. Scharer cites as further manuscript evidence of the reverence in which Gregory was held in the 8th century the historiated initial (presumably) of the pope that begins Book II of the St Petersburg Bede. That this cult continues into the later 8th century is shown, among other things, by the fact that "the oldest manuscript transmitting the acta of the council of 'Clofesho,' namely London, BL, Cotton Otho A.I, of which only fragments survive, has a strong Gregorian flavour. This episcopal 'handbook' dating from the second half of the eighth century also included an abridgement of Gregory's *Regula Pastoralis*" (p. 194).

S.D. Thompson's 1997 Manchester dissertation is entitled "External characteristics of the original Anglo-Saxon royal diplomas." The abstract states that the aim is "to make a detailed palaeographical study of all the extent [sic] apparently original Latin royal diplomas … The physical makeup, textual layout and script of each have been closely examined,

the questions of where and by whom they were produced and whether there is evidence of an Anglo-Saxon royal chancery have been addressed, and a survey of the development of handwriting before 1066 has been included … The resulting information was then used to analyse ten diplomas, four which may be considered typical of their time (s.vii–viii, s.x and s.xi) and six concerning whose authority doubt has been expressed. Of these latter it appeared that four were probably written at the assumed data [sic] and the other two probably not."

The comparison between Latin and vernacular texts of the same wills is the focus of Kathryn A. Lowe's "Latin Versions of Old English Wills," *Jnl. of Legal Hist.* 20/1:1–23. Beginning with mentions of wills in other, longer documents, such as chronicles, Lowe then examines in detail 7 lengthier linguistic pairings (S1511, 1488, 1513, 1532, 1517, 1497 and 1530, the bequest of Thurstan, for which she provides transcripts of the vernacular and three Latin versions, including the previously unedited Canterbury Register P). This study analyzes "the way scribes dealt with vernacular material, from full and accurate translation to the shortest of summaries recording only the disposition of property to a particular foundation, … [demonstrating] how witness-lists may be truncated, and how personal bequests, manumission of slaves and complicated agreements concerning the transfer of property and payment of rent may be summarised or omitted altogether … [I]t seems that each scribe felt free to modify his material as he copied it within the broad parameters of the concerns of his foundation and his own ability and shifting levels of interest. While patterns in translation techniques and copying methods may perhaps be seen from manuscript to manuscript, generalization on the basis of such patterns is therefore unsafe" (p. 20). In "William Somner, S1622 and the Editing of Old English Charters," *Neophililogus* 83:291–7, Lowe assesses "the editorial technique of William Somner (1598?–1699) … [focusing] on a vernacular charter (S1622) which Somner only edited in part, and which is not witnessed elsewhere … The charter, datable to AD 805x822 … is one of the earliest charters in Old English, and contains some interesting pronouncements on the alienability of bookland" (p. 291). Following an interesting analysis of transcription errors in Somner's text and the probable reason for them, Lowe presents an emended text and a new translation of the extract based on her changes.

In "Unfulfilled promise: the rubrics of the Old English prose Genesis," *ASE* 28:111–139, Benjamin Withers demonstrates that "by echoing the verbal formulas found in wills, [these rubrics] stress the text's accurate and valid presentation of past events. Structurally, the rubrics recast Genesis into a series of saints' lives, and thereby appropriate the ancient Hebrew stories for the contemporary Christian reader" (p. 135). Withers gives particular emphasis to the rubrics to the story of Joseph, who "had special importance to Anglo-Saxons" because "he was the first patriarch to receive the promise

of the covenant without speaking directly to God" (p. 118); thus, "as God speaks through the life of Joseph, he essentially rereads the original covenant which he made to Abraham" (p. 126). Ursula Lenker looks at New Testament rubrics in "The West Saxon Gospels and the gospel-lectionary in Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 28:171–178. Lenker provides evidence that, in England as in on the continent, there must have been a development from "marginal ... notes to capitularies, lectionaries and finally missals" (p. 157). On the basis of linguistic and manuscript evidence for the gospels, she argues that "the combination of the Old English text with the Roman pericope system most probably originated in a centre in the south-western area in the late Old English period, presumably Exeter at the time of Bishop Leofric" (p. 149). But these rubrics do not imply the use of the vernacular gospels as a lectionary, but rather that "the combination of the vernacular with the liturgical system" allows a homilist to use "the text of the WSG for the translation of the gospel of the day into Old English, a feature with which almost all exegetical homilies in the vernacular begin" (p. 173).

The quotidian use of psalms is the focus of George Hardin Brown's "The Psalms as the Foundation of Anglo-Saxon Learning," (*The Place of the Psalms in the Intellectual Culture of the Middle Ages*, ed. Nancy van Deusen (Albany: Suny Press), pp. 1–24). Brown surveys the ways in which the glossed psalters of Anglo-Saxon England served as "educational primers[s]" (3), including the word-for-word glosses of the Vespasian Psalter, the "syntactical gloss" provided by the dotting underneath the Latin words of the Lambeth Psalter, the grammatically-feminized glosses of Salisbury Psalter K, and ending with the Edwine Psalter, with its combination of Gallican/Latin, Romanum/Old English and Hebraicum/Anglo-Norman psalter glosses. Another text possibly made for a woman is edited by Barbara Raw as "The Office of the Trinity in the Crowland Psalter (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Douce 296), *ASE* 28:185–200. In her edition Raw silently expands "manuscript abbreviations and cues for well-known texts" (p. 192); the apparatus contains analogues and secondary references. In the prolegomena she points out that "the office in Douce has only a single nocturn, raising the possibility that if was intended for private recitation" (p. 190), and further that "the use of feminine forms ... suggests that the office may have been put together for private use by a woman" (p. 191). And wrapping up the feminine side, Mary Jane Morrow's Duke dissertation focusses on *The Literary Culture of English Benedictine Nuns, c. 1000–1250*; in her abstract she describes this as "a study of ten extant Latin manuscripts, dated from the early ninth through early thirteenth centuries, which belonged to four English Benedictine nunneries, Shaftesbury, Wilton, Wherwell, and Winchester ... [These manuscripts] contain grammatical constructions showing the expectation of female Latin readers in texts commonly circulated among Benedictine monastic houses. The books' contents, which include the Psalms, litanies, prayers, creeds, calendars, and commentaries, were crafted for women's use in the non-sacramental rituals of Benedictine monastic practice ... The aristocratic women of these communities themselves sustained orthodox Benedictine practices through their reading and comprehension of Latin liturgical and devotional texts."

A somewhat fragmented religious text is presented by Christopher Jones in "A liturgical miscellany in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 190," *Traditio* 54:103–140; namely, the "mixture of liturgical exposition and prescription" (p. 103) contained in CCCC 190 fols. 143–151. The *Expositio officii* is contained in the Latin section of the manuscript, and is fairly (or unfairly) corrupt, containing errors of spelling, inflection, presentation of proper names, and even ordering. Following analysis of the content of individual parts (see Section 4 for further discussion), Jones asserts that "the impression of an inchoate project surviving only in one Anglo-Saxon manuscript and the hint of sources chosen, in part, for their very novelty or foreignness would merge in the hypothesis that an Anglo-Saxon compiler, active not much earlier than the date of the manuscript, bequeathed us the excerpts in their present form" (p. 121), and puts forward the further theory that the material "belongs to the same milieu as most of the other texts compiled in the 'commonplace book'— namely, to the circle of Archbishop Wulfstan and his *familia*, whether at York or Worcester" (p. 128). The edition is "only a lightly edited transcription" (p. 128), although Jones has followed modern practice in capitalization and punctuation, and silently expanded abbreviations. The *apparatus fontium* contains identifiable sources and analogues. Perhaps more genuinely useful to an Anglo-Saxon cleric were the examples R.W. Pfaff draws of "The 'Sample Week' in the Medieval Office" in *Continuity and Change in Christian Worship*, ed. R.N. Swanson (Boydell), pp. 78–88; what is referred to here is a template for "laying out the contents of the daily office when there is no seasonal necessity," such as Christmas or Easter (p. 79). Pfaff's first example is drawn from the section of the Leofric Psalter beginning on fol 117 that delineates a week's service characterized by its non-specificity (weekday lessons from the epistle to the Romans, patristic lessons on the immutability of God eventually traceable back to Gregory, and a Sunday homily from Bede). Pfaff compares this to a similar layout at the end of the *Portiforium Oswaldi* (actually of Wulfram), which again has a "template quality" (p. 83); "thought has been given towards supplying a complete format, but the thrust of the contents is strongly towards a sample rather than a usable segment of the whole" (p. 84). MS 1 of St. Paul's Cathedral, London, dating from about 1200, seems to have served a similar purpose, showing a continuity in the way of laying out a breviary, and an even more usable service is provided in the St. Alban's breviary BL Royal 2 A.x. Delineation by the day rather than the week is the topic of Carla Morini's "*Horologium* et *dægmæl* nei manuscritti anglosassoni del computo," *Aevum* 73:273–93, in which she dis-

cusses the enumerations of the hours in the day, and the way these were tracked in Anglo-Saxon England. Morini presents various Anglo-Saxon glosses on Latin terminology for *horae tertia*, *sexta* and *nona*, and describes various manuscripts that contain a *dægmæl*, either free-standing or as part of a computus. She concentrates the end of the discussion on BL Harley 3271, fol. 92v, which has the heading *wegferendra manna dægmæl*; these travelers she takes to be monks traveling outside the monastery on business for the community (and thus possessed of a handy parchment watch to take with them?).

An edition particularly useful to literary scholars is provided by Paul Szarmach's "A Return to Cotton Tiberius A. III, art. 24, and Isidore's *Synonyma*," in *Text and Gloss*, ed. Conrad O'Briain, D'Arcy and Scattergood, pp. 166–81. This text based on Isidore's *Synonyma*, from a mid-eleventh-century Latin and Old English miscellany, is primarily known for its riff on the *ubi sunt* theme. Following codicological discussion, Szarmach provides an edition accompanied by textual notes and the Latin of Isidore.

This year's Edgar in the category of Anglo-Saxon glosses to Aldhelm should go to Mechthild Gretsch's *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge University Press), which uses a skillful intertwining of linguistic, historical and codicological clues contained in the continuous interlinear psalter gloss of London, BL Royal 2.B.V and the interlinear and marginal glosses to Aldhelm's *De viginitate* of Brussels, Bibliothèque Royal, 1650 to demonstrate convincingly that these two texts were produced either by Æthelwold himself or by those in his circle, and that both are linked to Æthelwold's Old English version of the Benedictine Rule. In substantiation of this claim, Gretsch presents a range of evidence that all three works seem to have arisen out of a period ca. 939–c. 954 when Æthelwold, together with Dunstan, was studying at Glastonbury; the Benedictine reform thus predates by many years close contacts with reformed monasteries on the Continent. The discussions germane to this section begin with analysis of the manuscripts and textual recensions, and affiliations of the extant Anglo-Saxon psalter glosses and Aldhelm glosses. Following extensive lexical discussion of the two purported Æthelwold texts and an historical examination of Æthelwold's intellectual development, Gretsch turns to the manuscript evidence linking Æthelwold to the Aldhelm glosses. This is a fascinating exercise in tracing the provenance, journeys and usage of some important 10th-century manuscripts. She begins with Rawlinson C. 697 (which contains the *De virginitate* and the *Enigmata* with glosses and annotations by various hands from the 10th century onward), concluding that it was "arguably imported by one of King Alfred's helpers, thereby perhaps testifying to an interest in Aldhelm's works in the context of Alfred's educational programme. On account of the Æthelstan acrostic, the book still seems to have been connected with the royal household in the 920s and 930s. That it was closely studied is revealed by its glosses and annotations (some

of these possibly by Dunstan, others, perhaps, pointing to a glossator in Royal 7. D. XXIV) ... All this suggests that Rawlinson C. 697 was studied over an extended period in various important Anglo-Saxon libraries after it had travelled to England from the northeast Frankish scriptorium where it was written" (p. 369). She similarly scrutinizes CCCC 183 (containing, among other things, Bede's prose and metrical Lives of St. Cuthbert and a glossary to the metrical *Vita*); BL, Royal 7. D. XXIV part ii, fols. 82–168 (containing Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* and Aldhelm's letter to Ehrid); and BL, Cotton Cleopatra A. iii (containing Latin-Old English glosses to Aldhelm). As a group, these "afford us a precious glimpse of some of the intellectual activities that were going on during Æthelwold's and Dunstan's formative years ... [they permit us] to understand vernacular Aldhelm glossing as part of these intellectual activities and to see how, once such glossing had been undertaken on a larger scale, it was handled in a scholarly fashion: the glosses were culled from glossed manuscripts of Aldhelm's works to form first-stage glossaries ... then recast and incorporated in alphabetical glossaries ... and, in both forms, rapidly disseminated to various centers" (p. 370). Gretsch then adduces evidence from later manuscripts to support the hypothesis of "an intrinsic interest in, and a strong tradition of, vernacular Aldhelm glossing in centres connected with Æthelwold: a tradition which apparently was carried on for several generations after that great master had first instituted it in his foundations" (pp. 379–380).

The earliest surviving fragment we have of Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*, a bifolium fragment used at some point as binding material, is reproduced and analyzed by Rebecca Rushworth in "A Cambridge Fragment of Aldhelm: CUL MS Add. 4219," *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibiographical Society* 11:449–62. She notes several insular features, namely, that the ruling of the pages followed the folding, the membranes were arranged "with hair-side always facing outwards and flesh inwards" (p. 452), ascenders and particularly minims are often wedged, and many characters have insular forms; "on the other hand, the use of clubbed ascenders is a Continental symptom" (pp. 457–8). She concludes that this fragment "seems to have been written in the late years of the eighth century or the early years of the ninth at a German center under Insular influence ... The text holds a few variants not noted by Ehwald and awaits a secure place in the transmission of the prose *De virginitate*" (p. 462). A further look at Anglo-Saxon influence on the continent is provided by "Bede's *VIII Quaestiones* and Carolingian Biblical Scholarship," *RB* 109:32–74, in which M. Gorman postulates that the preservation of these answers to questions posed by Nothelm is perhaps due to efforts made at monks at St. Amand in the 12th century to "have on hand a complete collection of Bede's exegetical treatises for spiritual reading" (p. 38). No contemporary manuscripts remain to us, and this is one of few texts not included in Bede's own list of his works.

Gorman argues for its authenticity on the basis of similarities to the *XXX Quaestiones* in matters of chapter headings, syntax, opening phrases and vocabulary. He goes on to discuss its prolific use in Carolingian scholarship (where citations are often marked by a B in the margin), then extends the annotation of scholarship into the 20th century. He finishes by lamenting the lack of a modern edition of this, as of almost all Bede's exegetical works. An appendix gives the Latin text, although I was unable to find a mention as to which manuscript this was taken from or to which manuscripts the variants refer.

Nick Holder's "Inscriptions, writing and literacy in Saxon London," *Transactions of the London and Middlesex Archaeological Society* 49:81–97) catalogues inscriptions and written texts of London during the Anglo-Saxon period, and discusses the clues they may provide us as to contemporary literacy. He postulates that "there was a limited level of secular literacy both in the roman and runic scripts in 8th-century London. By the later Saxon period the roman script clearly predominated ... The archaeological context of many of the inscribed objects suggests a fairly ordinary social status for those who carried out the inscriptions or those who owned them ... [in some cases] a professional literacy where artisans are practicing inscriptions ... [in others] an aspiration to literacy rather than an actual ability to read and write" (p. 92). Only titularly connected with the field of inscriptions, Patrizia Lendinara's "Un'iscrizione di Vercelli nell'Inghilterra anglosassone," examines sources that are fragments or partial recreations of the collection of epigrams ascribed to Milred, Bishop of Worcester in the mid-eighth century, ranging from a manuscript bifolio (currently at Champagne-Urbana) probably dating from shortly after Milred's death in 774x5 to the printing in the mid-16th century in the *Collectanea* of John Leland (whose notes can still be seen on the bifolio). From these, Lendinara reconstructs the contents of Milred's collection, and the possible origins of individual epigrams, either brought from the continent by Anglo-Saxon pilgrims or originally composed in the British Isles. Italian models were used by contemporary authors such as Bede and Cuthbert, and Milred's collection testifies to the ties the early Anglo-Saxon church felt to Rome. Indeed, the Vercelli funereal inscription of the title appears not only also in Leland's collection (presumably following Milred), but also in a Vatican library manuscript.

This year's installment of *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* (Tempe, AZ: Medieval and Renaissance Texts & Studies, 1997) contains *Latin Manuscripts with Anglo-Saxon Glosses*, described by Peter Lucas, A.N. Doane and I.C. Cunningham. The following are included in this volume: Cant, Add. 20, a fragment of a bifolium of the *Bilingual Rule of Chrodegang* [Ker 97, Gnuess 206] from the 2nd half of the 11th century; Cant., Add. 25, a late 10th-century fragment of 2 adjacent bifolia of Wærferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, [Ker 97, Gneuss 207]; Cant.,

Add. 32, a fragment of an early 11th-century Anglo-Caroline version of Gregory's *Dialogues* with Old English glosses perhaps drawn from a previous manuscript [Ker 97, Gneuss 200]; Dub., TC 114 (A.4.2.), Clement of Llanthony's *Concordia quattuor evangelistarum*, [Ker 152]; Dub., TC 174 (B.4.3.), a compilation by several hands of Lives of Saints whose days primarily fall in September to December (which we know to have been in Salisbury in the late 11th century, as a note says "of searbyrig ic eo<m>," [Ker 103, Gneuss 215]; Dub., TC 492 (E.2.23), a manuscript perhaps written at Bury St. Edmunds (as it is the same hand as Cambridge, Pembroke College 72, 1) containing Bede's *Historia*, Cuthberth's *Epistola de Obitu Bedae*, a short tract on the progress of Christianity in England and *Notationes De Santis qui in Anglia requiescunt* [K104]; Edinburgh, Nat. Lib., Advocate's MS 18.7.7, a probably late 10th-century manuscript belonging to Thornley Abbey of Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale* with OE glosses of the late 10th and 11th centuries; BL, Cotton Domitian i, of which the first part is "an 11th-century Anglo-Saxon Latin compilation of school texts" (p. 35) including selections from Isidore, Abbo, Priscian and Bede with OE glosses, as well as a recipe and book list (the 2nd half is "a 13th-century Latin compilation of materials of Welsh origin and interest" (p. 35)) [Ker 146, Gneuss 326]; BL Cotton Tiberius A.v, which used to be part of TCD 114 (see above—this manuscript was dismantled in the 16th century), a grabbag of items in which there is some Anglo-Saxon interest, including Bede's death song and Pseudo-Bede *De Quindecim Signis*, [Ker 152]; BL, Poyal 7 C.iv containing Defensor's *Liber scintillarum* with a continuous OE gloss [Ker 256; Gneuss 470].

Two useful catalogues were published this year. Birgit Ebersperger's *Die angelsächsischen Handschriften in den Pariser Bibliotheken, mit einer Edition von Ælfrics Kirchweihhomilie aus der Handschrift Paris, BN, lat. 943* provides the first complete collation and description of manuscripts and fragments currently in Paris libraries (the Bibliothèques Nationale, Sainte-Geneviève and de l'Arsenal) that came into being in England or were at least temporarily in English possession during the Anglo-Saxon period. Some of these crossed the channel in the 8th century with Anglo-Saxon missions; some were given as gifts as the 10th-century monastic reform established close ties between insular and continental monasteries; some were taken to Normandy either in the 9th century as Viking booty or post-Conquest as prizes of invasion; and still others probably reached the Continent as a result of the dissolution of the monasteries in the 16th century. Entries give the library number; the main text(s); a description of binding and manuscript; the date, origin and provenance as far as it can be determined; a description of scribal practice(s); a listing of contents with some information as to recensions, transcriptions and editions; and finally a description of decorations. This is accompanied by helpful and thorough listings of secondary literature. In all, there are 28 MSS. from the BN, 1 from Sainte-Geneviève, and 1 from the Arsenal. The

appendices list 6 Irish MSS. from the BN; 13 MSS. from Echternach at the BN which demonstrate Anglo-Saxon influence (as Willibrord in the 8th century had brought trained parchment preparers, scribes and decorators with him from England); and 4 MSS in the BN from Fleury which similarly show Anglo-Saxon influence due to its connections across the channel in the 10th century (for example, Oda, Archbishop of Canterbury and his nephew Oswald Archbishop of York were both trained at Fleury). The final appendix lists manuscripts previously falsely designated as Anglo-Saxon (as insularly-trained scribes working in continental monasteries could produce manuscripts that look Anglo-Saxon, but in fact never graced the shores of England). The second section of this volume contains an edition of an Ælfric homily based on Bede's commentary to Luke 19, 1–10, which is one of two sermons contained in Paris, BN, lat. 943. Ebersperger believes the manuscript originated in Christ Church, Canterbury, but must have been in Sherbourne by the end of the 10th century; the two sermons date from this period. In the early 11th-century the MS went to France, and was replaced by London, BL, Cotton Tiberius Ci. The text is a rite of consecrating a church; it probably dates to 1002x5. The material comes from Luke: the healing of the blind on the way to Jericho, the entry into Zachäus, and the episode of Jesus and the female sinner. It finishes with a metaphor of building a house. Following descriptions of manuscript, recension and dialect, Ebersperger presents a well-laid-out facing-page edition with Old English on one side and German translation and sources and analogues on the other. This is accompanied by an apparatus containing textual variants and commentary.

Richard Gameson's catalogue of *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England* (c. 1066–1130) (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press for the British Academy, 1999) provides an extremely valuable (although, according to the author, still preliminary) inventory of "the surviving manuscripts which were written in England, or acquired by English collections, during the sixty years after the Norman Conquest" (xii). The period comprises roughly the three generations following the invasion, although both beginning and ending dates are flexible, depending on factors such as date of commission or inception. The entry for each manuscript includes item number, shelf mark, textual content, decoration, date and provenance, where the latter means the medieval provenance (not necessarily the place of origin), with occasional extra information at the bottom of the content section. Over 900 manuscripts written in England or acquired by English collections survive from the period covered here; this constitutes only a fraction of the original number. The flowering of acquisition and production is in large part due to the new upper social stratum. Older monastic houses had new library needs, and newly established houses needed libraries created from scratch—Gameson sketches out an interesting overview of the growth of major individual libraries in this period. Evidence suggests that most late Anglo-Saxon

book collections were well endowed with liturgical and paraliturgical books as well as homilaries, Latin-Christian poetry and Carolingian writings. The post-Conquest period seems to set about filling gaps. Well over 2/3 of the manuscripts in this catalogue contain Patristic writings, followed in order of frequency by spiritual writings, then biblical, liturgical and para-biblical books, and finally history and hagiography, much of which was locally-based. Overwhelmingly the most popular author is Augustine; the second is Bede, and third tier includes Jerome, Gregory, Ambrose, Isidore and Anselm. The period is characterized by the "breadth of the material, but the shallowness of the presence of most of it" (38). To an extent, however, this argues from silence—we have, for example, very few surviving southwestern books due to the lack of energetic book collectors in the 16th century after the dissolution of the monasateries. The useful endmatter includes an inventory of MSS., an index of authors and texts, and indices of medieval provenances and of dates. There are 24 nicely reproduced black and white plates, the first two of which depict texts in Old English.

Libraries, medieval through modern, were the topic of several articles. In "The sources of Junius's learning as revealed in the Junius manuscripts in the Bodleian Library," in *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle*, ed. Bremmer, pp. 159–76, E.G. Stanley enumerates the manuscripts and printed books in Junius's collection, giving their contents, which range widely, particularly through the West Germanic languages, and noting any marks or annotations made by Junius, who primarily marked items of lexicographical interest. For the non-specialist, the reprint of excerpts of George H. Brown's address to the Stanford Libraries in "Bede and His Monastic Library," *Ex Libris* (Stanford University), 11.2 (1999–2000):12–17, provides a nice summary of the founding of Monkwearmouth and the establishment, setup, contents, scribal practice and usages of its library. An historical and futuristic perspective of library practice is provided by R.I. Page in "The ideal and the practical," in *Care and Conservation of Manusucripts 4*, ed. Gillians Fellows-Jensen and Peter Springborg (Copenhagen: The Royal Library), pp. 122–39. Page begins with a reminiscence of his early experiences in libraries, such the Arnamagnean Collection in Copenhagen, where "it was natural to enjoy ones *smørrebrød* and *wienerbrød* in the manuscript room" (p. 124)—reminiscent of the fact that when I began at Harvard smoking was still permitted in the reading room! Page goes on to describe his development of conservation and security procedures at the Parker Library, and finishes by laying out the library's plans for the future and the problems that face them. This same volume, pp. 21–33, contains Christine Fell's witty and astute comments on the training of students in manuscript study as a necessary concomitant to philology, posthumously completed and printed as "Pedagogy and the manuscript."

Moving to the realm of illumination, *Text, Buchstabe und Bild* (Berlin: Reimer, 1998) is the publication of Christine

Jakobi-Mirwald's 1997 Kassel dissertation on historiated initials (letter-frames containing illustrations from the text) in 8th- and 9th-century manuscripts. The argument of the title is that although preceding analyses have focused on image and text, the letter itself is also crucial to the depiction. Much of this volume deals with typology of letter and image, in which the examples are overwhelmingly Continental. However, the earliest historiated initials we have are contained in the Vespasian Psalter and the St. Petersburg manuscript of Bede. Jakobi-Mirwald presents both sides of the argument as to whether the origin of the historiated initial is to be found in "panel-style" exemplars from Italy with heads inside the initial, or whether the practice was invented in England, albeit in centers with strong Italian influence; she postulates that the early frames were round to match the face frames of Mediteranean art. The Bede initials, the first example of medallion-type pictures, begin a long tradition of historiated initials that show a human bust or half-figure, generally the writer or main character of the story. Although the second extant Vespasian Psalter picture is contained within the letter, the first provides our earliest example of overcutting into the frame; there are late-antique precedents for both. Jakobi-Mirwald postulates that there may have been a third, or initial, initial on the page missing at the beginning of the first psalm, which could have contained an anointing of David by Samuel contained in a B, and points out that "ein Beginn der (belegbaren) Geschichte der historisierten Initiale mit einem verlorenem Blatt wäre weniger kurios als vielmehr symptomatisch" (33) given the fact that only perhaps 2% of medieval manuscripts have actually come down to us. Benjamin C. Withers, in "A 'Secret and Feverish Gensesis': The Prefaces of the Old English Hexateuch," *Art Bull.* 81, 53–71, argues for a similar bond between text and image in the juxtaposition of Ælfric's "Preface to Genesis" and the full-page illustration of the *Fall of the Rebel Angels* in Claudius B.iv, claiming that both written and visual text serve as prologues to the vernacular translation of the Hexateuch. Incorporating Ælfric's preface appends the prestige of both Ælfric and Æthelwold to this compilation, and removing the letter from its original context has the effect of directing it "to a third party—whoever reads the text in the future" (p. 61). The depiction of the fall of the angels "links all subsequent events in Christian history to a point of origin in the conflict between good and evil that is hidden in the literal account of Genesis ... The angelic rebellion is the initial episode in the flow of time known as Salvation History" (pp. 58, 63).

Barbara Bruderer-Eichberg's dissertation from Geneva, now published as *Le neuf chœurs angéliques: origine et evolution du theme dans l'art du Moyen Age* (Civilisation medieval 6. Poitier: Centre d'Etudes Supérieures de Civilisation Médiévale, 1998), falls into two parts. The first looks at the literary and figurative evolution of the nine ranks of angels, and the second examines the reasons for their presence: creation and fall, Last Judgment, and (joined by the ranks of the elect)

in depictions of All Saints and the Coronation of the Virgin. The earliest of these renditions (another first for Anglo-Saxon art!) is in fol. 2v of the Æthelstan psalter, a Carolingian product probably executed at Lièges and later completed and illuminated prior to 939 at Old Minster, Winchester, by command of King Æthelstan. Christ victorious is in a cartouche surrounded by 9 individual angels; the three lower registers contain 3 orders of the elect: patriarchs, prophets and apostles clustered around a female head that must represent the Virgin. There are two approximate precursors to this: fol. 83r of *Cosmas Indicopleutès* MS Lat. 699 of the Vatican Library (which has 8 angels in 4 groupings of 2) and a miniature on 5v of the fragment of the *Sacramentaire* of Metz MS lat. 1141 of the Bibliothèque Nationale of France, created ca. 870 for Charles the Bald (which depicts a paltry 3 angels). Bruderer-Eichberg also provides an interesting overview of the historical development of the veneration of All Saints. A cult of martyrs was celebrated beginning at the end of the 4th century in Syria, with the army of martyrs comparable to the heavenly host; this cult died out with the advance of Islam. Pope Boniface IV (608–15) transformed the Pantheon into a church dedicated to the Virgin and martyrs: as in Syria, this was a local cult. Bede mentions Boniface, and gives III Ides May as Natale Sanctae Mariae ad martyres. Both the *Felire d'Oengus* (Ireland, ca 800) and the metrical calendar of York (end of 8th century) mention the feast of All Saints as being celebrated on the 1st of November; Alcuin carries this new date to the continent, and in 835 Louis the Pious declares the festival to be celebrated in lands of Gaul and Germany on November 1. Æthelstan with his political contacts with the Carolingian descendants of his time must have reinforced the cult of All Saints in England. An English prayer from the turn of the 11th century enumerates the 9 ranks of angels and the ranks of the elect: this attributes to Peter the key, which we see him holding in the 3rd rank of the Æthelstan psalter.

L.O.

If chronology is a cornerstone of history, then perhaps it is best to begin a survey of the year's work on manuscript decoration with a study that offers itself as survey of the art production from early Anglo-Saxon England, or early Christian England as in the title of George Henderson's book *Vision and Image in Early Christian England* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1999). This is a personal and sometime eclectic attempt to reconstruct the broader early Christian context of Anglo-Saxon art by connecting surviving objects with hagiographical, historical, and literary texts. In the best light, the book should be read as the reflections of a distinguished art historians and a summation of an impressive mélange of sources, visual, historical, and literary which he likens to a glittering, interconnected spider's web partially destroyed by the passage of time. It is characteristic of his desire to untangle and reconstruct the network of artistic production that objects known only from textual sources are often given extensive treatment alongside those that have survived. The

book is divided into an introduction and five chapters. The Introduction, "Approaches to Images in the Early Christian World," offers an overview of the dedication of the Western church to artistic production, centering on the monuments of Ravenna and a reevaluation of Gregory the Great's famous dictum concerning the usefulness of images. Chapter 1, "Secular Impulses Toward the Insular Manuscript Style," seeks to tie native aristocratic and especially royal patronage and ownership of metalwork to the beginning of manuscript illustrations, with particular interest in the possible designs and drawing for secular jewelry such as that found at Sutton Hoo and the carpet pages in the Book of Durrow (for more on Durrow, see below, p. 83). Chapter 2 "Christian Art: influx and impact," focuses on the importation of distinctly Romanized models and methods for painting, architecture, music, and worship through the Augustine missionaries, the trips of Benedict Biscop, and diplomatic gifts, focusing on the production of the Codex Amiatinus, the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Franks Casket, and the Stockholm Codex Aureus. Chapter 3, "The Colour Purple: Late Antique phenomenon and its Anglo-Saxon reflexes," explores how this color, long-considered a sign and special prerogative of royalty in Mediterranean societies, was adopted and operated as an element within Anglo-Saxon visual culture; Henderson distinguishes for example the worldly-wise patronage of Wilfrid's now-lost purple Gospels with the yellows and reds of Anglo-Saxon gold-and-garnet jewelry and the palette of the paintings in the Book of Durrow. Chapter 4, "Holy men and heavenly beings," surveys how Insular writers and artists imagined the appearance of angels and how this in turn influenced the descriptions and depictions of New Testament heroes and more contemporary saints, with special attention to Guthlac and Wilfrid. Chapter 5, "Incentives towards artistic production in Early Christian England: some case histories," focuses on the Lindisfarne Gospels and Cuthbert's Coffin; he concludes with a re-reading of the Life of St. Guthlac, an example that permits Henderson to re-visit the wide-ranging connections, ranging from Gregory the Great and Gregory of Tours to the Stockholm Codex Aureus and the sculptures and Breedon-on-the-Hill. One ironic aspect of Henderson's attention to objects now known only from surviving texts (such as the lost Gospel of St. Wilfrid) is that those works that have survived are lost in the organization and structure of this study. There are relatively few illustrations in this study and those illustrations that are there are not adequately referred to in the text or cross-referenced in the index.

A more specialized and directed study of the Roman visual culture inherited by the Anglo-Saxons can be found in Dorothy Hoogland Verkerk's "Biblical Manuscripts in Rome 400–700 and the Ashburnham Pentateuch," *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible* (ed. John Williams, University Park, PA 1999.). Verkerk concentrates on the illustrated books produced in Rome from the fifth to the seventh centuries. Two

of the manuscripts that she is concerned with, the Quedlinburg Itala (a fragment of the book of Kings), Gospels of St. Augustine, have long been associated with the city, while a third, the Ashburnham Pentateuch, has only recently been attributed there by Verkerk herself. A short introductory section traces the changes in artistic methods and results that can be seen in the nearly two centuries that elapsed between the production of the Quedlinberg Itala—once a lavish manuscript whose illustrations still exhibit late antique illusionism—and Augustine's Gospels, whose comparatively limited cycle of illustration are more schematic. Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be Verkerk's summary discussion of the importation of books from Rome to Canterbury and Northumbria (pp. 100–101). The bulk of this article is devoted to reviewing evidence for the provenience of the Ashburnham Pentateuch and in laying out the case for its origination in Rome or its immediate environs, an argument based primarily on iconographic evidence. She cites specific similarities with the paintings in the Via Latina, correspondences between the Ashburnham's illustration of Moses' sacrifice at Mt. Sinai with Roman liturgical practices, and shared traits of the representation of God the Father with the now-lost frescoes at San Paolo fuori le mura. Verkerk places the Ashburnham Pentateuch in Rome, most likely during the papacy of Gregory the Great. The ramifications of Verkerk's attribution are many. The style of the manuscript and its approach to pictorial narrative differ from that of the Gospels of St. Augustine or the Quedlinberg Itala, indicating the breadth of the material and the artistic variety available in Rome to visitors such as Benedict Biscop. The manuscript would provide a possible indication of the artistic currents surrounding the production of the Biblia Gregoriana (see Budny's article, below), if indeed, as later medieval tradition holds, a lavish bible was sent by Gregory to Augustine at Canterbury.

The likelihood of the arrival of at least one of these texts with St. Augustine or immediately after is examined by Richard Marsden, "The Gospels of St. Augustine," in *St Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England*, ed. Gameson, pp. 285–312. Marden's discussion centers on the texts of two Gospel Books traditionally associated with St. Augustine's mission, CCCC MS. 286 and BL Auct.D.2. His examination of these two early Gospel texts shows that they are not as close as some previous scholars have argued, yet nonetheless they are related, likely originating in northern Italy within a generation or two of one another. He determines that while the association of the two with St. Augustine cannot be proven conclusively one way or the other, the text indicates that the traditions surrounding the Corpus manuscript remain an attractive hypothesis, while it is likely that the London manuscript is slightly later and arrived in England only in the early years of the seventh century. Reviewing known texts and textual description of biblical activity at Canterbury, he does not see a direct relationship of their

texts to other versions of the Gospel copied at Canterbury at a later date, such as the Codex Aureus or the Royal 1.E.vi, though some connections can be discerned with the Durham Gospels and the Cambridge-London Gospels. He describes and explains the corrections to these two manuscripts, leading to the important suggestion that the Codex Bigotianus (Paris, Bib. Nat. lat.281) might derive from a corrected version of the latter.

Some of the same ground is covered in the broader survey of books produced in Kent in the century and a half following the Augustine mission by another contribution to the same volume of essays, Richard Gameson, "The Earliest Books of Christian Kent" (pp. 313–73). Gameson confronts what he identifies as a central paradox concerning this production, namely that while we can gauge what texts were present in Kent from written descriptions (such of the School of Theodore and Hadrian) and by estimating what books would be needed in the operations of the Church, the volumes that contained them are almost all lost. He surveys the evidence that remains in chronological order, beginning with a text of Gregory's *Cura Pastoralis* now in Troyes (Bibl. mun. 504); while this manuscript was never in England, it represents a type of text likely imported by Augustine. His attention quickly turns to texts made in Italy and known to have been imported into England at an early date, including the two gospels discussed by Marsden, the Gospels of St. Augustine (CCCC MS 286) and the (now generally accepted) later manuscript in Oxford (Bod. Lib. Auct.D.2). He also offers brief but thorough descriptions of other early texts, a selection of the writings of St. Ambrose (Boulogne-sur-mer, Bibl. mun. 32) and fragments of a copy of Arator's *Historia Apostolica* (Oxford, Bod. Lib. e Mus.66) that may or may not have been imported by or for Augustine. The bulk of the article is devoted to descriptions and analysis of texts known to have been made in or near Canterbury and Minster-in-Thanet, including early charters, a fragment of a decorated Acts of the Apostles (Oxford, Bod. Lib. Seldon Supra 30), the Vespasian Psalter, the Stockholm Codex Aureus (His examination and analysis of this beautiful, complex and lamentably understudied manuscript is especially appreciated). Gameson ends his study with a discussion of fragments and manuscripts that are not firmly tied to Kent but show enough similarities of script or decoration with the firmly attributed example to make such as attribution attractive. One such manuscript is the Codex Bigotianus (Paris, Bib. Nat. lat.281); Gameson includes a description of offsets found in this manuscript, possibly from lost Evangelist portraits resembling those in the Gospels of St. Augustine. In addition to a survey of the codicology, paleography, and decoration of these manuscripts (supplied with a thorough and extensive bibliography), other key topics addressed are the possible production of the nuns of Minster-in-Thanet and the development of Kentish scribal techniques from Frankish and Italian conventions. From limited evidence, Gameson paints a portrait of a center with wide-ranging cultural contacts with Italian and Insular scriptoria; when compared to contemporary Frankish material, a view emerges of manuscript production that was sophisticated, opulent, and luxurious.

Cultural connections of another kind inform Jean-Claud Bonne's "'Relève' de l'ornamentation celte païenne dans un Évangile insulaire du VIIe Siècle," *Ideologie e Pratiche del Reimpiego nell'alto Mediovo*. Settimane di Studio del Centro Italiano di Studi Sull'Alto Medioevo 46, (Spoleto, 1999), II, 1011–53. Bonne's discussion centers on folios 1v and 3v of the Book of Durrow (Dublin, Trinity College MS 57). Other folios from Durrow (192v, and 193r, Carpet page and Incipit to the Book of John) and Kells (f. 33r) are briefly discussed. In particular, Bonne offers an analysis of the "syntax" of the compositions and compares them to the "La Tène" style Turoe Stone (1st cent. B.C.–1st cent. A.D.) His analysis centers on the formal distribution of cross-patterns, spirals of various sorts, trumpet-patterns on both monuments, leading to what he describes as the freer, more fluid, yet nonetheless ordered decoration of the stone compared to the more architectonic, hierarchical organization of Durrow. This analysis serves his more central focus on the cultural interface between Germanic, Celtic, and roman elements in Hiberno-Saxon art such as Durrow. At the risk of over-simplification, his interest in this material might be boiled down to one fundamental question: does art such as that found in Durrow represent merely a borrowing of prestigious forms from the past without any reference to its previous symbolic content or does it represent what he calls a "relève"? (a philosophical concept he purposefully borrows from Jacques Derrida's critique of Hegel's *Aufhebung*). In short, "relève" here refers to a "conversion in a double sense," the simultaneous conversion of the art of Christian Rome and pre-Christian Celts and Germans, a conversion that synthesizes both form and content. This synthesis is not merely a re-employment but a "cross-breeding" (in French a "metissage") that utilizes the internal logic and cultural tensions of different artistic systems even as it transforms them into new forms with new meanings; nonetheless some of the old survives the conversion to inform, enrich, and differentiate the context in which the synthesis is achieved. Through this fusion, the makers of Durrow demonstrated that they were the inheritors of multiple traditions of sacred art, traditions that were still living and capable of being renewed through this very fusion. The approach demonstrated here should be compared to Leslie Alcock's "From Realism to Caricature: Reflections on Insular Depictions of Animals and People," *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128 (1998): 515–36. Alcock seeks to understand representations of animals (and a few humans) in terms of the degree of "naturalism" (used to mean "that, despite some minor stylized elements, the animal would be immediately recognized in detail ... by an observer familiar with the living creature"). Categories of work considered included Pictish Class I and Class II carvings as well as manuscripts,

including line drawing of details from the Book of Kells, Durrow, and Lindisfarne Gospels.

Another, historiographic approach to the cultural conversions associated with Durrow can be found in an article by Nancy Netzer: "The Book of Durrow: The Northumbrian Connection" *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, pp. 315–26. Netzer examines the afterlife of Durrow by offering an overview of scholarly opinions concerning the origin of the Book of Durrow, with particular attention to how nationalistic biases of the respective authors have colored scholarly opinion since at least the eighteenth century. A generally anti-Irish, nearly racist bias colors writings on Durrow and other early manuscripts until the beginning in the nineteenth century when pro-Irish writers champion Ireland's contributions to western civilization, from whose standpoint manuscripts such as Durrow, in Netzer's words, "become virtual metaphors for Irish civility and culture in the early medieval period" (319). An Anglo-centric counterattack in the early and mid-twentieth century, centering on analogies with material discovered at Sutton Hoo and the production of a facsimile volume of Durrow, once again claims the manuscript as a product of England rather than Ireland. In the final pages of her article, Netzer presents evidence of recently discovered Irish metalwork that counters the evidence at Sutton Hoo and reopens the possibility of an Irish connection for Durrow. However, she concludes by acknowledging the manuscript's strong Northumbrian Connection (hence her title). She concludes by noting similarities in the arrangement of texts in Durrow and the Book of Kells, hinting that both may derive from the same locale, perhaps Iona. The larger point she makes is that it is time for greater attention to the details of the manuscript and less concern to appropriate the manuscript to bolster nationalistic agendas.

From Gospels we turn to Bibles, whatever that latter term may mean for the early Middle Ages. In a masterful and provocative article, Lawrence Nees, "Problems of Form and Function in Early Medieval Illustrated Bibles from Northwest Europe." *Imaging the Early Medieval Bible*, ed. John Williams (University Park, PA 1999), pp. 121–77, problematizes what we mean by the word "Bible" asking just how widespread, familiar, and early one-volume Bibles would have been as well as under what conditions they would have been produced. Nees's concern is with the production of complete Bibles (pandects) in Latin, with specific focus on the six surviving bibles produced by Theodulf, the Bibles produced in Tours during the first half of the ninth century, the Bibles made for the Carolingian Emperor Charles the Bald, and finally, in the part of the essay that will be the main interest for an Anglo-Saxonist, a discussion of the pandects produced at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Nees sets out to understand the purpose and function of the production of these Bibles, revisiting Alcuin's role in the initial stages of the manufacture of the Touronian Bibles and suggesting that not all Bibles are created equal, so that we must more carefully distinguish lux-

ury Bibles made for display and/or presentation from those "economy-class" ones made (such as the seven volume Bible made for Abbot Maurdramnus at Corbie) for reference. He links the development of the single-volume Bible to the efforts behind the Carolingian Court's response to the Byzantine image controversy, underscoring the position taken in the Libri Carolini of the Scriptural basis of Christian religion. Nees argues for the representational significance of complete Bibles, that they stand for the championing of the Scripture as the heart of Christianity (though he does not note the irony that books of Scripture become representations during a controversy over the status of representational images). In an important statement, Nees emphasizes the new meanings that the "borrowing" or better yet, creative adaption, of earlier illustrations brings to the production of Bibles, emphasizing that the "high value on preservation and evocation of the past" that we see in the production of Early Medieval Bibles is a result not only of power exerted by models and sources (as scholars have traditionally emphasized) but is part of the process of creating new meaning by harnessing the authority of a venerated past in service of interests and desires of a contemporary producer. With that observation, he turns to the Codex Amiatinus, particularly to three issues: the originality of the illustrations in the opening quire, the argument that the illustrative material in the Codex Amiatinus was not necessarily included in the other two versions known to have been produced at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, and that the Codex was planned from the very start as a presentation piece destined for Rome. He gives most attention to the first gathering, seeking to reverse some standard scholarly assumptions, namely that all the illustrations in the first quire in the Codex Amiatinus were copied from a book owned by Cassiodorus. Noting that both Cassiodorus and Bede mention only one of the images, that of the Temple, and that collectively they mention it five times, Nees wonders why none of the other illustrations attracted attention: he returns to a thesis raised by Karen Corsano some fifteen years ago that the illustrations were original productions of Northumbrian artists, not copies of Italian models. In this, Nees reestablishes a notion he has championed before, that artistic production in the early middle ages is more original than it is commonly credited to be. His arguments concerning the possible artistic and textual relationships of the Codex Amiatinus' quincunx diagram of the Pentateuch with northern Italian models and the three diagrams of the structure of the Bible according to Augustine, Jerome, and Hilary should be read along with and against those presented by Michelli (see below), while Nees' description of the aspects of the decoration of the diagram pages (especially tabula ansata and the Trinity medallions) should be compared with Farr's uses of the same evidence.

Whereas Nees explores the links of the diagram pages with Italian models, Carol A. Farr, "The Shape of Learning at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow: The Diagram Pages in the Codex Amiatinus," *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes

and Mills, pp. 336–44, compares them with the illustrations of the Book of Kells. Unlike Nees, she completely eschews questions of to what extent they copy lost Cassiodorian originals, seeking instead to understand these diagrams within the context of a specialized learning environment of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow's cultivation of an Italianate monasticism. On one level, she argues, the diagrams help the reader understand the method of learning professed by Cassiodorus, namely that different methods complement, not contradict, one another. Farr compares the diagrams to the "diagrammatic shapes that are meant to reveal true understanding of scripture" found in the illustrations of the Arrest and Temptation of Christ in the Book of Kells, which she suggests operate as kinds of didactic punctuation or decorated letters within the context of the manuscript. She links the Kells images and Amiatinus diagrams to early medieval understanding of exegesis, especially in the operations of *figura* (meaningful signs or shapes available for appropriate interpretation) and *grammatica*. She ends with a brief discussion of the differences in the Kells images and the Amiatinus diagrams, focusing on the contextual, narrative qualities of the former and the greater autonomy and appeal to authority of the latter.

In her contribution to the same collection Perette Michelli, What's in the Cupboard? Ezra and Matthew Reconsidered" (pp. 345–58), argues that the Ezra portrait in the Codex Amiatinus is "an Insular adaption of a pure Ezra portrait invented by Cassiodorus" adapted from an evangelist portrait of Greek-derivation. Countering the standard opinion that the Lindisfarne Mathew portrait is adapted from the Amiatinus image, she argues that all the Lindisfarne evangelists were derived from the same source, namely the gospel text of the Novem Codices, which she claims were held at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow. Thus the Amiatinus image and the Lindisfarne Matthew derived from two different Cassiodoran models. She argues that the authenticity of early medieval art and literature should be understood by early medieval standards, in particular the "credentials formula" which she outlines. Seen from this standpoint, it is unlikely that the Ezra portrait was meant to depict Cassiodorus as author, since his credibility lay in his work of editing and compiling, hence her statement that "Cassiodorus could hardly have set himself up as the 'author' of a Bible" in the way that standard arguments for the conflation of Ezra/Cassiodorus make out. Rather, the image is purely Ezra, invented by Cassiodorus from Greek evangelist types. The key to the portrait, she argues, lies in the methods used by Cassiodorus in compiling his Novem Codices text. Culling his Insitutiones for clues, she determines that Cassiodorus apparently produced a nine-volume Bible, checked and emended, laid out per cola and commata, containing seventy-one books; the text of the Novem Codices and hence of the Codex Amiatinus represents Cassiodorus' careful editorial work and is thus an "authorized version" rather than a "contaminated Vulgate" as is usually thought. She thus sees the Ezra miniature as not a mere copy but a historical document that records the source of the Amiatinus text. Her work also has ramifications for the understanding of the text of the Lindisfarne Gospels, which has traditionally been associated with a Neapolitan center on account of the commemoration of St. Januarius in its liturgical apparatus; using an 8th century illustration believed to have been copied from a Cassiodoran original, she suggests that the saint was venerated at the Vivarium and thus the Lindisfarne exemplar may well have originated there.

Mildred Budny's "The Biblia Gregoriana," *St Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England*, ed. Gameson, pp. 237–84, bridges the distance between the artifacts associated with the conversion of England and later Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The ostensible focus of her essay is the now lost "Bible of Gregory the Great," reputed to have been sent by Gregory the Great to Augustine and described by the fifteenth-century chronicler Thomas of Elmham as one of the chief treasures of the monastery of St. Augustine's. The true focus, however, is a fragmentary ninth-century Bible likely made at St Augustine's (London, BL. Royal MS 1.E.vi and fragments in Canterbury and Oxford) which Budny argues was influenced, even copied from, Gregory's Bible. This involves a significant amount of reconstructive detective work since unfortunately the Royal Bible has been damaged itself (only the four Gospels and a portion of the Book of Acts survive). Nonetheless, it does preserve some significant decoration, including a set of decorated Canon Tables, four surviving purple leaves, including one for the Incipit to Luke and its marvelous Evangelist Portrait. Budny is at her best in her meticulous description of the Royal Bible, demonstrating once again enormous knowledge of manuscript construction. She explains the ramifications of three other purple pages found before Luke, Mark, and at the beginning of the Gospels, which contain inscriptions which likely introduced now-lost images. Traces of other purple leaves suggest further lost illustrations while the quire signatures of the Royal Bible indicate that the surviving portions were part of a much larger project of manuscript-making, a project that, Budny argues, reflects the architecture of the Biblia Gregoriana itself. From this remnant and from various other evidence (most notably the Worcester-Oxford Gospels, the Book of Cerne, the Getty Gospel Lectionary, Fragment, the Old English Hexateuch, and reference to Early Christian and the Armenian Etchmiadzin Gospels) she reconstructs the lost treasure of St. Augustine's: "Large manuscript with a stately script" most likely uncial: likely, given the date of its likely construction and supported by what evidence of the text that can be pried from the fifteenth-century catalogue of St. Augustine's Library, which records the first words of the second leaf of the second volume. This suggests a layout of text that approximates the spacing in other uncial pandects such as the Codex Amiatinus. Most likely laid out per cola et commata and in scriptura continua. It was also "equipped both with a number of purple leaves and, with a very large cycle of illustrations," approxi-

mately 17–18 more in the New Testament and many more in the Old.

Given that it is now considered that Elmham's description of two Psalters and two Gospels which he also attributed to the time of the mission; one of each likely corresponds to manuscripts made in England long after Augustine's death, namely the Vespasian Psalter, a product of St. Augustine's in the eighth century, and the Cambridge-London Gospels, a Northumbrian production of also of the eighth-century; could the Royal Bible have been mistaken for the Biblia by late medieval commentators? Two arguments are offered to indicate that the Royal Bible is different from and is a copy of the Gregoriana. First, indications that Royal copies an earlier source found in the similarity of the form and arrangement of its tituli at the end of Matthew with that in the fragmentary Worcester-Oxford Gospels, a fact supported by a collation of their texts which shows that both copied an earlier exemplar. Second, evidence of inscriptions added to the manuscript suggests that the Royal Bible was already taken apart by the thirteenth century. For this among other reasons, the Royal Bible itself was not the subject of Elmham's description.

Looking closely at this description, it is true that among the marvels of the manuscripts that Elmham describes were the purple leaves. However, he does not mention that the book was illustrated. For this reason and others, the most problematic aspect of this article is the reconstruction of the pictorial cycle of the Biblia Gregoriana. Using the Royal Bible as a guide for the NT, she links the individual gospel frontispieces to those in the Book of Cerne, suggests that the Etchmiadzin Gospels preserves full-page illustrations similar to those called for by the surviving tituli in the Royal Bible, while evidence of stubs and offsets in the same manuscript suggest a loss of a further 17–18 illustrations, some of which she suggests may be represented by the Getty Gospel Lectionary fragment. As Budny notes, the fact that the Royal Bible preserves only portions of the New Testament forgoes its use to reconstruct the Biblia Gregoriana's Old Testament illustrations. This argument is reasonable as far as the reconstruction of the New Testament cycle of the Royal Bible itself goes and, given the late-antique features of the surviving Evangelist portrait, suggests but does not necessarily prove that the Biblia was illustrated. A bigger leap is the suggestion that "it seems likely that other major books of the bible were treated similarly [to the New Testament], so that they would have had many illustrations within the text as well as frontispieces accompanied by full-page inscriptions on purple leaves." (268). Citing the Vienna and Cotton Genesis as possible contemporary examples, she suggests that the Old English Hexateuch and four illustrated leaves detached from the Eadwine Psalter are later reflections of this tradition. However, it is difficult to imagine that the dense narrative cycles of any of these manuscripts could have been accommodated in what is being described as a two-volume bible. Given Verkerk's attribution (see above) of the Ashburnham Pentateuch

to Rome in or about the time of Gregory's papacy, would its system of illustration (full-page compositions containing multiple episodes) be more appropriate?

Given the possible linkage that Budny proposes between the lost Biblia Gregoriana and the Getty leaves, the superbly researched and succinctly-written study of those fragments by Adam S. Cohen and Elizabeth C. Teviotdale, "The Getty Anglo-Saxon Leaves and New Testament Illustration around the Year 1000," *Scriptorium* 53 (1999), 63–81, is especially welcome. Cohen and Teviotdale outline the paleographical, textual, iconographic, and stylistic context of these intriguing fragments now known as Getty MS. 9 (after these fragments consist of two leaves came to light in 1952 and until 1986, they were housed in the Damme Museum, and are so listed in Temple's catalogue of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts). The script, described here as "a version of T.A.M. Bishop's second variety of Style I of English Caroline," unfortunately cannot be localized securely, though an attribution to a house associated in some way with St. Oswald is suggested. The authors devote close attention to the text and with good results. The text has at times been identified as coming from a gospel lectionary; through their close attention to textual variants, the authors here identify the text as a "gospel book whose text was based on an Irish-influenced recension likely transmitted to England by Breton manuscripts of the late Carolingian period" (81). The four pages of the fragments contain three illustrations. It has long been recognized that two of them represent the Miracle of Gandarene Swine, Miracle of the Stater; the authors here identify the third as Christ Teaching. Though the strongly vertical format of the illustrations suggests comparisons with contemporary Ottonian manuscripts such as the Aachen Gospels, the iconographic details of the one scene that can be compared, the Miracle of the Gandarine Swine, indicates no particularly close ties. The figural style of the illustrations has been associated previously with Carolingian centers at Rheims and with Metz; and the authors here introduce further comparisons of the acanthus frames with manuscripts from Tours. They suggest that a Carolingian model for the illustrations could explain these stylistic resonances and the distant iconographic similarities with Ottonian manuscripts. An attribution to a specific Anglo-Saxon scriptorium is not possible at present, though the authors do suggest that the leaves derive from a once sumptuous manuscript containing some twenty to twenty-four illustrations, arranged according to the method outlined in Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*, that is, by associating the illustration of each Gospel with an aspect of Christ's life.

One of the great strengths of Cohen and Teviotdale's article is their knowledge of artistic developments on the continent and their ability to connect and differentiate Anglo-Saxon production to that mileu. David Hill, "Eleventh Century Labours of the Months in Prose and Pictures," *Landscape Hist.* 20 (1998), 29–39, no less admirably uses his knowledge of Anglo-Saxon literary sources to distinguish Anglo-

Saxon calendar illustration from its continental counterparts in order to spotlight the original features of the images and to argue for their usefulness in understanding Anglo-Saxon material culture. His focus is on the illustrations of the Labors of the Months preserved in Julius A.Vi and Cotton Tiberius B.v (part I). His interest here builds on and extends an archaeological approach to representations in manuscripts (an approach that he has followed in several earlier articles), arguing that these illustrations provide more accurate information concerning Anglo-Saxon farming practices than is generally credited. Because of the style of the Julius illustrations in particular, art historians are inclined to see a continental, particularly Rhemsian model behind them (compare to Cohen and Teviotdale's use of a similar argument above). Hill agrees that the illustration depends on an earlier, common model, though he argues that this exemplar belongs to Anglo-Saxon England itself. Hill presents a convenient table that compares continental and Anglo-Saxon sources month-by-month, demonstrating that the order and occupation of the Anglo-Saxon months corresponds to the eleventh-century description of farming known as the *Gerefa*. He stresses the iconographic differences in these illustrations from continental examples. The latter follow one of two formats, one involving the depiction of the personifications of particular month, the other the representation of a characteristic labor for that month. In each type, the illustrations center on single human figure. Conversely, the two Anglo-Saxon cycles in question involve many actors who perform their labors in an extensive landscape. A further indication that a continental exemplar is not behind them is the different order of tradition of the months and their labors recorded in Carolingian and Frankish literature.

Another perspective on the Anglo-Saxon adoption and creative reuse of continental material is offered by Jessica Brantly in "Iconography of the Utrecht Psalter and the Old English Descent into Hell," *ASE* 28 (1999), pp. 43–63. After reviewing the arguments for the possible sources of the OE poem Descent into Hell (also known as the Harrowing of Hell) from the Exeter Book, Brantly argues that the illustration to Psalm 15 in the Utrecht Psalter (Utrecht, Universiteitsbiblioteek, 32) provides a visual analogue to its unusual composition and effects. She builds her argument along several lines, noting the acknowledgment by previous scholars that the poem's arrangement of the Visit to the Tomb by the Three Marys before the story of Christ's Descent, the "stillness" of the action in Hell, and lack of martial confrontation of Christ with Satan, as well as the difficulty in unraveling the poem's sense and speaking voice are all hallmarks of its atypicality. Agreeing with Pat Conner's earlier study of the poem that the liturgy may well have been but cannot be proven to be the source for the text, she adds that another biblical source, Psalm 15, may also be related to the composition. She points out that Psalm 15 long provided exegetes with source material for the Harrowing and that in the illustration of the Psalm in the Utrecht Psalter the visit to the Sepulcher is placed directly next to a picture of Christ's descent. Moreover, the Anglo-Saxon artists who generated a new version of Utrecht in the Harley Psalter (London, British Library Harley 603) not only copied the earlier version of the Psalm illustration but also later re-adapted the imagery for its own new composition of Psalm 138. Brantly expresses a central notion driving her linkage of the poem and picture in one key sentence: "the psalter's pictorial mode of representing this complex of associated exegetical ideas parallels most closely the atemporal methods behind the Old English poem." (62) Such ideas stimulate further thought on the possible eleventh-century audience for the psalter illustrations and the differences and similarities in visual and verbal narrative. The argument breaks down, however, as Brantly tries to physically connect Utrecht and/or Harley to the manufacture and/or copying of the poem in the Exeter Book. Nor does the linkage in the end help explain the unusual way the poem arranges Christ's Descent after the visit of the Mary's since in all three illustrations, the visitation occurs to the (viewer's) right, pictorially after Christ's Descent, in a more traditional order.

Brantly's concern with the parallel of "atemporal methods" in poetry and pictures should be read alongside Mary C. Olsen's "Genesis and Narratology: the Challenge of Medieval Illustrated Texts," *Mosaic* 31.1 (1998), 1–24, which outlines the important role that temporal structures play in visual narratives. Olsen's study zeroes in on the narrative structures of the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (London, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv). She frames her study (distilled from her recent dissertation) with the theoretical work of Paul Ricoeur, who in *Time and Narrative* seeks, amongst other things, to accommodate the opposing theories of time formulated by Aristotle (which Olsen characterizes as a rigid and regular, astronomically-based conception, lacking subjectivity) and Augustine (a more subjective conception, lacking in objective referents). In Riceour's theory, a proper concept of narrative emerges only when Aristotle's observation of physical movement (perceptions of change in space) is seen to meld with Augustine's observation of memory and expectation's relationship to a subjective present-tense. Using the unusual depiction of the Rebel Angels found at the beginning of the Hexateuch, Olson argues that the illustrations present the narrative in a series of episodic nodes in which illustrations can be used to represent kinds of visual summations or "synecdochic tropes" for larger narrative structures (such as the promise of land and progeny, or the anticipation of a final judgment). Within the larger structures, narrative operates sequentially moving through successive events that are perceived temporally (in oral-based narratives) or spatially (in pictures, and to a lesser extent writing). She argues that in the Hexateuch we can see word and image operating spatially and verbally in order to suggest various narrative modes, most notably duration (through verb tenses implying time or

in multiple pictorial repetitions of objects such as Noah's ark), repetition (showing characters performing repeated actions), simultaneity (figures represented in the same space performing different actions), and causality. Olson explores the latter through an extended analysis of the verbal and visual presentation of the story of Thamar in the manuscript, in which she maintains that the illustration of the Old English story reconstitutes the Old Testament story, elevating Thamar to become the focus of the narrative.

Yet another view of a different kind of relationship of manuscript illustration and temporal constructs can be found in Carla Moroni, "Horlogium e daegmael nei manoscritti anglosassoni del computo" *Aevum* 73 (1999), 273–93. Moroni provides a substantial review of Anglo-Saxon conception of the measures of time of day and the presence of horologium in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Special attention is given to BL Harley 3271, where we find the phrase "wegferendra manna dægmæl" Moroni argues that the "wegferendra" in question refers to monks whose duties took them away from their home monasteries.

Though he begins his article with a discussion of the Harrowing of Hell in the Tiberius Psalter (London, BL Cotton Tiberius C.vi) William Travis, "Representing 'Christ as Giant' in Early Medieval Art," *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte* 62 (1999), 167–89, does not primarily focus on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. His primary interest lies in the Carolingian Stuttgart and Utrecht Psalters and for comparative purposes, in the three copies of the latter manuscript made in England (including Harley 603). The "giant" of his title refers to the representation of Christ as larger than other figures in a composition, a common medieval practice whose importance Travis believes has been overlooked. While noting that such depictions depend on the familiar medieval hierarchy of scale, Travis perceives a paradoxical aspect to such depictions of Christ since (as he argues) "giants" were generally perceived as evil creatures. The bulk of the article is devoted to a survey of the Giant in Classical, Hebrew, Germanic, and Early Christian writings, ending with a discussion of Psalm 18, where, uniquely among biblical texts, the Giant (translated as *gigans* in the Roman and Gallican traditions and as *fortis* in Jerome's Hebraic version) is rendered in a positive, and ultimately Christological light.

He then turns to the illustration of Psalm 18, distinguishing the methods used for the Stuttgart Psalter from that followed in Utrecht. While this in itself is not surprising, Travis does convincingly demonstrate that the illustration (including a reference to Christ's Ascension, an armed figure that Travis identifies as the "Strong Man" and an inscription deriving from the Roman version) in Stuttgart diverges from the manuscript's Gallican text and does not conform to any particular exegetical tradition either; instead he suggests that it represents precise knowledge of liturgical rites. The illustration in Utrecht differs significantly from the "antiphonal imagery" of Stuttgart, due to its greater attention to a lit-

eral representation of the Psalm, resulting in its multiple protagonists and great crowds of supporting actors, as well as greater attention to specific theological concerns. So, while the Utrecht Psalter resembles the Stuttgart in representing the Hebraic version's "strong man" rather than the "giant" of the Gallican or Romanum versions, here the strong man is given a learned reference to Christ by being shown as a Hercules. English manuscripts take center stage as he traces the "afterlife" of the Utrecht image in the three English versions. The effect of his analysis is to show how the "original" meaning is lost in these subsequent copies. Dismissive of the Harley 603 version, playing up its iconographic derivativeness as what he terms a "facsimile" (in spite of his knowledge of Noel's recent book arguing the contrary) he argues that the original meaning of the image may have been lost in Harley. He takes a more sanguine approach to the Eadwine Psalter, suggesting that its image is rethought, rendering the Strong Man more giant-like, as the artists create what Travis calls a "critical edition." Similarly, he argues that the artists of the Paris Psalter also actively engage with the image, stressing not only its giant status but pictorially likening him to an Old Testament prophet. Travis ends with a discussion of the reappearance of the Giant motif in the portrait of John the Evangelist in the Ottonian Bamberg Gospels (Munich, Bay. Staatsbib. Clm 4454) where the motif appears again, though now most apparent through the tituli and not the pictures. As Travis summarizes, "What began, in Utrecht, as a young soldier ended, in Paris, as an aged giant; four hundred years have taken their toll." (187). In the end, however it is unclear how we are then able to see "images of a towering Christ" such as that in the Tiberius Harrowing of Hell as Travis would like us to, namely that they "may not represent a giant per se, but they appear to reflect a line of thinking first developed in exegesis [of Psalm 18] that turned size into an advantage" since, as Travis shows, the early medieval artists of the Stuttgart, Utrecht, and Harley Psalters chose to represent the "gigans" of the text before them as a "Strong Man." This would especially be difficult to show for Anglo-Saxon England, since if we were to follow Travis, the artists of Harley were creating a mere facsimile of the iconography of Utrecht and did not engage with its meaning. The Ottonian Evangelist portrait is the first unequivocal link of the "gigans" and Christ in an artistic context, and here the figure of Christ is patently not shown larger than other figures (as a matter of fact, he is much smaller than the Evangelist John depicted below). Moreover, according to this analysis, the depiction of a giant-like figure in the illustration of Psalm 18 first occurs in the twelfth-century Eadwine Psalter: in light of this relatively late development, how can Psalm 18 be seen to provide "a theological justification for one of the defining characteristics of medieval art"?

B.C.W.

Works not seen

Geddes, Jane. "The Art of the Book of Deer." *Proc. Of the Soc. Of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128 (1998), 537–49.

Pulliam, H. "Opening the Senses: the Gospel Book as an Instrument of Salvation as Articulated by the Minor Decoration and Full-Page Illustrations of the Book of Kells." Thesis Univ. of St. Andrews. *Index to Theses* 48 (1999): 1600–01.

6. History and Culture

a. General

John Blair, "The Anglo-Saxon Period (c. 440–1066)," in *The Oxford History of Britain*, ed. Kenneth O. Morgan, rvsd ed. (Oxford and New York, 1999), pp. 60–119, updates the bibliography of the original 1984 publication, but otherwise remains what it was: a very brief but useful account that tries to integrate the history of Ireland, Wales, and Scotland into Anglo-Saxon history. It is Anglo-centric, but was originally (and still is) a step in the right direction.

Ann Williams's *Kingship and Government in Pre-Conquest England, c. 500–1066* (Basingstoke and London: Macmillan, 1999) provides an account of the growth and development of Anglo-Saxon kingship (and consequently of government) which moves with healthy scepticism but strong curiosity through the establishment of polities of some sort during the early settlements and their history up to the Norman conquest. Williams may leap too early onto the gens Anglorum bandwagon, claiming that "the English soon developed a sense of common identity" just after she has discussed the polymorphic peoples of the seventh century. Her earliest Anglo-Saxon communities "were established within and upon a network of pre-existing Romano-British princedoms and lordships, sometimes by conquest, sometimes perhaps by gradual infiltration or with mutual agreement." So the early "states" were products of a multiplicity of adventus. From then on, analysis and exposition gloss the narrative structure of Williams's account, while occasionally entire chapters are devoted to special issues. For example, chapters 2–3 provide mostly a narrative from Bede's kings through to 825, while chapter 4 'Strategies of Power' considers fundamental issues such as "Tribute and Tax," "Military Service," "Hospitality," "The King's Lands," and "Towns and Trade," followed by a chapter on royal officials in the pre-Viking age. The narrative is competent if brief, but that seems to be the nature of the series in which this volume appears.

Barbara Yorke's contribution to the Sutton Pocket Histories is *The Anglo-Saxons* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), a survey of English history from the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons to the Norman Conquest. It presents essentially a view of continuity over time and nicely integrates archeological evidence with text. This book is aimed at a very hurried reader without much if any acquaintance with Anglo-Saxon culture. There are no notes and a good deal is narrative. Suggestions for further reading are provided.

Donald Henson's *A Guide to Late Anglo-Saxon England*

from Aelfred to Eadgar II (Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norf: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1998) presents itself as a basic introduction and reference work on Anglo-Saxon England, covering in chapters topics such as the "Description of Late Anglo-Saxon England," "Sources," and "Kings and Events," with appendices on topics like the officials of the king's household, the Danish Conquest, family trees and maps. It is not an ambitious book and the result is that the information it provides for a very general reader is a collage of facts and sources. Usually the information is unexceptionable, having been culled from standard historical works.

Frank Barlow has produced a new edition of *The Feudal Kingdom of England, 1042–1216*, 5th ed. (Longman: London and New York, 1999) that now includes a section on "The Position of Women" (9 pages) and an updated bibliography. The new section is mostly descriptive, moving genre by genre initially—queens in the *Vita Ædwardi*, women of all classes in Old English poetry, penitentials, and secular laws—but then shifting into a topical survey. Topics covered are marriage and betrothal, romance and love, the effects of the Norman conquest on women's status, and the growth of royal interest in marriages. Onto this discussion of women has been added paragraphs on the family, children, and education. Barlow finishes with the education of women in the church and the status of priests' wives. This is a welcome addition and answers to the surge in research on these topics in the last decade. Other sections remain unchanged, despite significant interest: the section on Anglo-Norman law is untouched, despite the publications of Patrick Wormald and others in the 1990s.

Sally Crawford's *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999) fills a gap in the study of Anglo-Saxon society, offering what she hopes will be an adequate treatment in the short run in a field that is gaining an increasing profile. This she accomplishes. Her own professional background is as an archeologist and this expertise gives the book its character: material evidence is evidence, while documentary sources are treated with perhaps greater skepticism than they deserve—"treacherous friends" she calls them. She surveys (c.1) the study of childhood and family, evaluates sources (cc. 2–3), and devotes the remaining eight chapters to topics like birth, health, fosterage, and play. Crawford weaves skillfully all of the evidence to produce the clearest picture of all aspects of childhood; for instance, in assessing weaning, Crawford moves from an analysis of dental evidence from the cemetery of Worthy Park, Hampshire, to Ælfric's *Colloquy* to argue that Anglo-Saxon children moved "straight from

breastfeeding to solid food," and adduces in support the presence of knives as grave goods for young children, arguing that these may have been specially made for children who needed a knife to cut their own food. The book abounds in interesting details; Crawford reports one 3-year-old buried in Buckland with a fossil—perhaps a favorite toy? Crawford sets out not just a refutation of the Aries-esque conclusions that are still presented as truth in accounts of medieval society, but a rich thick description of children from every perspective allowed by the sources.   B.O'B.

Julia Crick ("Men, Women and Widows: Widowhood in Pre-Conquest England," in *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner [Harlow, Essex, and New York, 1999], pp. 24–36) locates widows in few sources, analyzes them, but finds that little consistency in reality or rhetoric can be elicited. She does concur with Pauline Stafford's recent revision of the view of women's independence in Anglo-Saxon England by pointing out that the status of prominent *testatrices* as widows completely recontextualizes the independence of the grants. She also adds a valuable observation that the obverse of the lack of clear terminology—when seen against legislation against concubinage as late as Cnut—was that "the Church had failed to impose monogamy on the English population." Sexual union, rather than legal or Christian steps, was what counted in such a world.   M.F.G.

Carole Hough, "The Widow's *mund* in Æthelberht 75 and 76," *JEGP* 98 (1999), 1–16, offers a major revision of Æthelberht 75 and 76, overturning the scholarly consensus that saw the offended *mund* in these clauses about widows as that of the man in whose protection or under whose guardianship the widow lived. Hough proposes instead that the *mund* in question is the widow's own, and that these laws indicate that "it was the widows themselves who were able to extend protection to their household and dependants, and who were entitled to compensation for any violation of their rights." All of this turns on the interpretation of Old English *mund*; Hough argues persuasively that it is used to refer "to protection *by* rather than protection *of*, so this is the most logical inference in Æthelberht 75." 75, then, concerns the widow's right to give protection to others, while 76 "refers to a situation where the widow herself is unlawfully seized." Hough offers in the end a new translation of these two chapters in Æthelberht's code. The implications of this article are important.

Mike McNair's "Vicinage and the Antecedents of the Jury," part of a forum on the origins of the Jury published in *Law and History Review* 17 (Fall 1999), challenges (537–90) all older views of the origins of the jury on the basis of McNair's reading of the distinction between judge and witness as well as on an analysis of the evolution of the canon law on *fama*. Thus McNair's jury was a product of a Bianclana-esque mix of intended action by monarchs and serendipity, where currently developing notions in canon law regarding

the use of panels was borrowed or influenced new royal procedures to use panels, which did not continue older practices (as in the Wantage Code, early medieval *vicini*, Carolingian style inquests) but replaced them. To this, Patrick Wormald responds ("Neighbours, Courts, and Kings: Reflections on Michael Macnair's *Vicini*," ibid., 597–601) that such a view as Macnair's imposes on early medieval courts and their members distinctions unrecognizable at the time—a view he supports with the *Liber Eliensis* and other sources. Macnair's last word ("Law, Politics, and the Jury," ibid., 603–7) is that he accepts that Wormald may have a point, but that Wormald has not addressed Macnair's core issue, that the jury has no monocausal history. This debate on the jury's origins is an important place to go to understand how differently those on either disciplinary or chronological divide view the same object.

In *Legal Culture in the Early Medieval West: Law as Text, Image and Experience* (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon, 1999), Patrick Wormald republishes his important articles on the development of, *inter alia*, English law from Æthelberht to the twelfth century. The original essays, ranging in publication dates from 1977 to the late 1990s, have received some new attention; Wormald has clarified formulations that were "too often oblique-going-on-opaque"; he has improved or corrected the notes (more in some than others), and had appended to about half "additional notes" which offer fuller bibliographical additions, identify new support, and defend against published criticisms. Wormald does not change his arguments, but rather brings them into line with his current perspective, the product of twenty years contemplating barbarian kings and their laws.   B.O'B.

Daniel G. Russo's *Town Origins and Development in Early England, c. 400–950 A.D.* (Westport, CT: Greenwood, 1998) is an informative synthesis of written sources and recent archaeological developments related to urban settlement in early Anglo-Saxon England. Following the introduction, three chapters consider the question of continuity with Roman urban centers. Russo argues that the archaeological evidence, in particular, argues against continuity in favor of slow decline in the late fourth century before almost total abandonment in the fifth, even in towns traditionally considered to have exhibited continuity such as Canterbury, Winchester, London, York and Verulamium. At the same time, however, Russo finds no evidence of the slaughter described in contemporary written sources such as Gildas. Rather, he sees decades, even centuries, of disuse before resettlement by English royal and ecclesiastical authorities. Chapters five, six and seven explore the new types of Anglo-Saxon urban settlements, *wics* and *burhs*, including their continental contacts. Russo makes a strong case for the establishment of Mercian *burhs* that predated the Alfredian burhs of Wessex. Intended primarily as an introductory overview, this study has much to offer students and general readers alike, in particular its generous footnotes, bibliography, maps and figures.   M.F.G.

Philip Beale's "From the Romans to the Norman Conquest" (in his collected papers, *A History of the Post in England from the Romans to the Stuarts* [Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998], pp. 1–18) lays down the roads and then sets up his post. Beale lists facts about roads, the types of vehicles used on them, and the literary evidence for courier services in the Roman empire. For the Roman period in Britain, Beale uses the Vindolanda tablets as a sack of Roman mail. After Rome, is it only the act of letter writing that attests to the possible existence of a post of any sort, though here undoubtedly ad hoc personal delivery by trusted messengers was how mail was delivered. Beale does what he can to wring a story out of significant documents like Wealdhere's letter to Brihtwold and collections by Boniface and Alcuin, or references like the *gewrit* of Alfred's translation of Augustine's Soliloquies, and the implications of the laws. What the whole adds up to is nowhere made clear, as the article lacks a thesis or conclusion and seems to have been written principally to provide a beginning for this volume of reprints of Beale's work on the later period.

John Haywood has revised his already informative *Dark Age Naval Power: A Reassessment of Frankish and Anglo-Saxon Seafaring Activity,* revsd ed. (Hockwold-cum-Wilton, Norf: Anglo-Saxon Books, 1999). The new edition follows the same pattern as the original, with no new chapters or sections. What Haywood has done is incorporate abundant new research into his account. New work, for example, on the late Roman Mainz ships, the Nydam and Sutton Hoo ships has in some cases radically changed, in other cases merely refined, what we know of these vessels since Haywood's first edition was published (1991). Haywood presents the new shape of the Roman type-A warships as revised by A. Höckman in 1993, revisions to the origin, design, and material of both oak and pine Nydam ships based on further work by F. Rieck and others, and reinforced his arguments about the Sutton Hoo ship's sailing abilities with new paragraphs drawn from the trials of the half-size replica constructed by Edwin and Joyce Gifford in the early 1990s. Much of Haywood's earlier work still stands, and now stands stronger.

Kent Gregory Hare, "Clerics, War and Weapons in Anglo-Saxon England," *The Final Argument: the Imprint of Violence on Society in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,* ed. Donald Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1998), pp. 3–12, sets out to answer the question of how clerical lords fulfilled their military obligations. Using obituaries, Bede, and other narrative sources, Hare charts the presence (and sometimes death) of clergy—mostly abbots, bishops, and archbishops—on battlefields of the 7th through the 11th century, and speculates that their primary task in war was to invoke God's aid. Others could carry harder weapons—swords, for instance, forbidden by a Wulfstanian text to priests entering churches but not elsewhere. Bishops' wills specify the *heriot* that went to the king—mostly consisting of arms—but Hare recognizes that *heriot* was an obligation of lordship and need not imply personal use by the cleric of the weapons. Hare compares the Anglo-Saxon situation with what F. Prinz's research has revealed for the Carolingian world and finds them in some ways alike. Nevertheless, he cautiously concludes that although English clerics did lead troops and did occasionally fight, there is no support in the evidence for this being the norm, and except for Leofgar of Hereford, the English higher clergy pale into pacifists in comparison to their Frankish contemporaries' exploits in war.

In his "Apparitions and War in Anglo-Saxon England" (in *The Circle of War in the Middle Ages: Essays on Medieval Military and Naval History,* ed. Donald J. Kagay and L.J. Andrew Villalon [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1999], pp. 75–86), Kent Hare studies divine apparitions in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman warfare and finds "a marked increase in martial activity attributed to the denizens of heaven." Hare notes that the English evidence has been ignored and yet shows in England "a growing acceptance of the active role heaven played in medieval warfare" in the period leading up to the First Crusade. Hare draws from his hagiographical evidence a scheme of five categories of apparition. He finds that in the early sources, celestial beings are shown "acting with both benign and chastising intents," but by the 11th century, they had moved to military counsel, defense, and offense. The article ends with a summary typology and index of holy apparitions in English sources.   B.O'B.

b. Sub-Roman Britain, the Anglo-Saxon Settlement, and Celtic History

Mike McCarthy's "Carlisle and St Cuthbert," *Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15 (1999), 59–67, attempts to 1) summarize the archaeological evidence for Roman and Anglian Carlisle, 2) review the two *vitae* of Cuthbert in light of the archaeological discoveries, and 3) reconstruct the Carlisle of Cuthbert's visit. McCarthy shows that Romano-British occupation at Carlisle extended well into the fifth century, though he does not speculate on the character of the sub-Roman city. Instead, he looks at details from the *vitae*—like the still-functioning fountain and still-standing walls—and shows how recent excavation of an aqueduct and fortifications could validate the evidence of the hagiography. Attached to the article is a Gazetteer of fifth- to eleventh-century finds in Carlisle.

C.S.

For historians, Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History published three articles of special importance. In the first, Christopher Scull ("Social Archaeology and Anglo-Saxon Kingdom Origins," *ASSAH* 10 [1999], 17–24) acknowledges the inapplicability of Colin Renfrew's processual model to the fifth and sixth-century English settlement and the development of the historical kingdoms, but nevertheless argues that other models need not be ignored as a result. In particular he argues that models of 'peer competition' and

'competitive exclusion' (like S. Basset's) can help us understand the formation of these early states if they are adjusted to fit English circumstances; more significantly, Scull cites models that center on "land as a social resource fundamental to status and power" as helping to explain the social and political dynamics between early groups. Scull then links "political competition" to "the construction of identities" to explain the creation of the larger polities visible in the historical sources from the seventh century. "Thus," he concludes, "the origins of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms are to be sought not so much in the factors governing the long-term evolution of complex societies ... but in the relatively short-term transformations within such societies" (23).

In the same volume, Barbara Yorke's "The Origins of Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: the Contribution of Written Sources," 25–9, rehearses the current opinions of historians on the authority of early written sources and suggests to archeologists that their hypercritical attitude to written evidence for the earliest period will blind them to the real value of these records. She highlights the suspicion appropriate for the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the strengths of Gildas, and what can and cannot be said from Bede, while offering evaluation of recent theories (e.g., S. Basset's 'knock-out' football league analogy is qualified with reference to the long stability of small players like Kent). She suggests that it is unclear whether archeological evidence alone would allow us to deduce the existence of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, and therefore any real understanding of the early history requires both kinds of evidence.

Finally, Nick Higham's article, "*Imperium* in Early Britain," 31–36, includes two unrelated essays on the rhetoric of Gildas and Bede. Each essay is essentially a précis of a longer argument that can be found, respectively, in Higham's recent monographs, *The English Conquest: Gildas and Britain in the Fifth Century* (1994) and *The English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (1995). These titles alone reveal Higham's central thesis for the period 400–800: Britons lost the sovereignty of the diocese—i.e. British *imperium*—after the Saxon revolt of c.450, from whence Britain came to be controlled by a series of Anglo-Saxon "overkings" who wielded the *imperium*. According to Higham, a close reading of Gildas shows how the *superbus tyrannus* and his council lost the *imperium* to the Saxons, and how Gildas clung to the notion of social and cultural cohesion among the Britons even though the power of their petty kings paled next to that of the vigorous Saxon warleaders. Bede then picks up Gildas's narrative at this point and chronicles the achievements of these Anglo-Saxon warrior kings—Æthelfrith, Æthelberht, Penda, Edwin, Oswald, Oswiu—who transformed Romano-British *imperium* into a new style hegemony based upon their distinctive military and, eventually, Christian-convert personae.

Unlike Kent, which had an existence as a region before the Romans that transferred over to the Germanic invaders, Sussex was a creation of the migration era. Har-
ald Kleinschmidt, in his "Überlegungen zur Entstehung von Siedlungsraumgrenzen am Beispiel des frühmittelalterlichen Sussex," *Migration und Grenze*, ed. Andreas Gestrich and Marita Krauss, Beiträge zur historischen Migrationsforschung 4 (Stuttgart, 1998), pp. 83–102, distinguishes the Germanic presence in what later became Sussex into three periods. First came the settlement of mercenaries under sub-Roman leaders; next came the wave of immigration from the continent; last was the colonization of the Weald and the consolidation of the whole region into one kingdom. Kleinschmidt traces the ethnogenesis of the kingdom, finding in their material remains little to support Bede's statement that only Saxons settled in the region. These were a mixed lot who came together slowly between the early fifth and early eighth century—when the name Sussex first appears in the written sources.   B.O'B.

Michael Richter continues to explore the early medieval Celtic fringe in *Ireland and Her Neighbors in the Seventh Century* (Dublin: Four Courts; New York: St. Martin's, 1999). Richter states that his purpose in penning this book was to illustrate how England's achievements on the Continent in the eighth century would have been impossible without the Irish accomplishments there a century earlier. This is not a narrative of Irish history in the seventh century, but rather a very targeted study of ecclesiastical writers, both Irish (part one of the book) and foreigners residing in Ireland (part two), and of early texts from Ireland and by Irish residing on the Continent (part three). In this book, as in many of his other works, Richter is to be commended for exposing European (especially Italian) scholarship on medieval Ireland to an Anglophone audience. Yet in his efforts to explain the Irish influence on English achievements on the Continent, Richter ignores the considerable influence of British Christians in Ireland in the fifth and sixth centuries.

In "Kentigern, Columba, and Oswald: The Ripon Connection," *Northern Hist.* 35 (1999), 1–26, the late Rex Gardner accepts Jocelin of Furness's *Life of Kentigern*, written in the late twelfth century, as evidence for historical events of the sixth century. Specifically, he champions the notion that Columba and Kentigern met one another and that their meeting was commemorated at the Church of St. Wilfrid at Ripon, perhaps by the deposition there of Columba's staff.
                                        C.S.

c. Missions and Early Kingdoms to c. 800.

Carole M. Cusack's *Conversion among the Germanic Peoples* (London and New York: Cassell, 1998) attempts to extend J.C. Russell's Germanization of Medieval Christianity further north and later in time (than Boniface's death in 754). It "aims to provide a general survey of the conversion to Christianity of the Germanic peoples." Chapters treat the nature of conversion, the Germans' familiarity with Christianity before conversion, and then moves geographically: missions

to the Franks, the Anglo-Saxons, the continental Germans (led by Anglo-Saxons like Boniface), Scandinavia, and Iceland. She questions previous theories of conversion, charging that for the older generation (e.g., A.D. Nock) their narrow presuppositions that conversion occurred in the consciousness of the individual and that (less in late twentieth-century work) Christianity was the true religion, have distorted their interpretations of the evidence. Anthropology supplies the model she uses to correct these deficiencies and leads her to present the view of early Christianity among the Germans as highly syncretistic and its adoption a part of the institution of kingship. The two chapters of special interest to scholars of Anglo-Saxon history—one on the mission to the Anglo-Saxons, and one on Anglo-Saxon missionaries in Francia and Germania—tell the story, then, of the conversion of kings and the syncretic results of blending pagan practices and Christian beliefs. The latter chapter treats only three of the missionaries: Wilfrid, Willibrord, and Boniface, and then leads into the history of Charlemagne's conquest and conversion of the Saxons. The book can serve as a useful introduction.

B.O'B.

1997 was an important year for celebrations of the anniversary of Augustine of Canterbury's mission. A number of important papers appeared in a volume edited by Richard Gameson, *St Augustine and the Conversion of England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999). The editor's own "Augustine of Canterbury: Context and Achievement" (pp. 1–40), provides the historical context for the thematic essays in the collection. Gameson begins with a discussion of Bede's promotion of Gregory the Great over Augustine as hero of the conversion story and how this worked to suppress the development of Augustine's cult until well into the eighth century. In addition to the contexts and events of the mission itself, Gameson considers how it altered social norms (i.e. marriage), brought Continental and Mediterranean art and architecture to England, and helped to integrate Anglo-Saxon England into European Christianity via the liturgy and Latin culture. R.A. Markus's contribution, "Augustine and Gregory the Great" (pp. 41–49), is a brief but interesting essay on Gregory the Great's "pastoral personality," which the author believes was the catalyst behind Augustine's mission. Markus posits that the mission was an integral part of the larger enterprise of reforming the Frankish Church. Ian Wood argues in "Augustine and Gaul" (pp. 68–82), that the Merovingian political situation was a catalyst for Augustine's mission to England in 597. Using Gregory the Great's letters and Merovingian chronicles, Wood investigates the reasons why first Brunhild and subsequently Chlothar might have supported the church in Kent, as well as Gregory's careful manipulation of Frankish bishops and monarchs. Clare Stancliffe's revisionist essay, "The British Church and the Mission of Augustine" (pp. 107–51), calls into question assumptions about the Britons dating back to Bede and still commonly found in scholarly literature. Did the British Church really fail to evangelize among their English neighbors, as Bede indicates? Stancliffe argues that Bede based this assumption upon a misreading of a letter of Pope Gregory, and that his own Northumbrian prejudices prevented his seeing what we now know was going on further south, namely British evangelism in the kingdoms of the Hwicce and the Magonsætan. The actions of the British bishops at Augustine's Oak, then, are not a total rejection of things English, but rather a synodal response to an attempt to impose a new hierarchy based in Kent. Barbara Yorke's essay, "The Reception of Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts" (pp. 152–73), makes two primary assertions based on Bede, other documents, and recent archaeology. The first is that conversion was made easier by the polytheism of the barbarians as well as the Roman context of Christianity. The second is that conversion was complete only with the first abdication of an Anglo-Saxon king to enter a monastery, not simply an act of personal piety but one that also had tremendous political implications. In "The Gregorian Tradition in Early England" (pp. 187–201), Anton Scharer explores the influence of the Gregorian tradition, broadly construed. Scharer begins with a discussion of Gregory's imagined community of the *Angli* and then considers Roman influences on English diplomatic formulae and uncial script. The article concludes with a look at Gregory the Great's continued presence at Alfred's court, positing that Alfred's interest in London and his adoption of the title "king of the Angles" reflected affection for Gregory the Great as much as political expediency. Last, Alan Thacker's "In Gregory's Shadow? The Pre-Conquest Cult of St Augustine" (pp. 374–90) considers the evidence for the development of St Augustine's cult. Thacker argues that Augustine's interment in a relatively small space outside the main ritual space of the church with a handful of other early archbishops is suggestive of a Roman "honored burial" rather than a shrine, and perhaps delayed the growth of his cult. He also argues that both Bede and Archbishop Theodore had personal reasons for promoting the national saint, Gregory the Great, over the Kentish archbishop, albeit for opposite reasons—the former to privilege Northumbrian Christianity and the latter to assert his authority over it. Augustine's cult only developed after the 730s, when the bishopric of York was revived as a metropolitan see, but its veneration still remained patchy until the 11th century.

The *Canterbury Cathedral Chronicle* also gave special attention to Augustine's mission. In "'At the End of the World': St Augustine at the Court of King Æthelberht," ibid., 91 (1997), 15–19, D.P. Kirby rehearses the evidence for Augustine's mission to Kent, revises the chronology for Æthelberht's reign as well as his marriage to Bertha, and questions the extent of the king's overlordship. The backdrop to the story, Kirby argues, which Bede downplayed, was the extent to which the threat of Frankish involvement in the England Church motivated Æthelberht's actions. Rt Hon Lord Runcie, 102nd Archbishop of Canterbury's commemorative lecture on St Augustine of Canterbury, "The

Mission of St Augustine," idem, 92 (1998), 6–20, takes on the mythology of the Augustine's mission of 597, particularly Bede's distortions. He argues in the first part of the lecture that although the Roman mission was obviously important, there was a rival Irish and Romano-British Christian presence, that Augustine was thoroughly Roman, yet diverted from Gregory's model for pragmatic reasons, and that the Council of Hertford gave the English Church its shape rather than the Council of Whitby, which Bede so obviously privileges. The second half of the lecture explores the Reformation Church's attitude toward Augustine's legacy and the Church of Canterbury. Nicholas Brooks's "The Legacy of Saints Gregory and Augustine in England," *idem* 92 (1998), 45–59, originated as a lecture delivered at Canterbury Cathedral during the 1997 anniversary celebrations. In assessing the legacy of the Canterbury mission, Brooks argues that for at least its first century of existence the see of Canterbury was "distinctively and deliberately Roman," as can be seen in its organization, liturgy, and many other areas. Deeming the 1993 excavations of the cathedral inconclusive, Brooks calls for both public and private support for further excavation, especially of the crypt, in order for historians to more fully understand the character of Augustine's church.

Articles related to the missions appeared in many places. Ian Wood ("The Missionary Life," in *The Cult of Saints in Late Antiquity and the Middle Ages. Essays on the Contribution of Peter Brown*, ed. James Howard-Johnston and Paul Antony Hayward [Oxford and New York, 1999], pp. 167–83) examines chains of hagiographical texts associated with missionary bishops to determine the origins of a specialized missionary hagiography. Wood compares texts written before and after Bede and concludes that while the pre-Bedan texts clearly contain missionary activities, later texts by Alcuin and others reflect the development of an ideology of mission. In other words, later texts reflect hagiographers' (and their audiences') ideas of mission better than they do the historical activities of the protagonists.

In "Whitby, Jarrow and the Commemoration of Death in Northumbria" (in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills [Sutton, 1999], pp. 126–35), Catherine E. Karkov considers the curious absence of Hild from the material and historical record of Whitby, whose first abbess she was, despite the relatively plentiful evidence for her death, burial and commemoration at this northern abbey with important royal connections. Karkov argues that Hild's importance was suppressed to enhance the role of King Oswiu's daughter, Ælflæd, much as Cuthbert's cult at Lindisfarne was elevated at the expense of Aidan, its first bishop. The historical and material record, she suggests, was altered to reflect the power and authority of Ælflæd and her family.   M.F.G.

Margaret Truran, "The Roman Mission," (in *Monks of England: The Benedictines in England from Augustine to the Present Day*, ed. Daniel Rees [London, 1997], pp. 19–36) provides a pietistic retelling of the story of Gregory's mission-

aries; competently told, though biased and unwilling to admit any failings of the mission or to see anything political behind the big decisions. This is neither an attempt to produce a scholarly account nor a critical approach to the sources. In the same vein is Benedicta Ward's "The Northumbrian Renaissance and its Missionary Dimension," idem, pp. 55–64, which is a celebratory survey of Bede's Northumbria, focusing the readers attention on what is deemed "outstanding."

In his three-section article, "Queens, Convents and Conversion in Early Anglo-Saxon England," *RB* 109 (1999), 90–116, Marc Anthony Meyer studies first "The Shifting Political Landscape in the Age of Conversion," next "The Politics of Marriage and Conversion," and lastly "Royal Women and the Foundation of Monasteries." He argues that "much of what transpired in the century or so after the Gregorian missionaries arrived on the shores of Kent in 597 can partially be ascribed to the determined actions of Anglo-Saxon royal and noble women who resided at the king's court or lived in convents." How did they do this? Meyer thinks they secured their "power and influence" "through sexual and personal associations with men and carefully exploited relations with their own children and cognate kinsmen," and so could also found and patronize monastic houses. The tone of the article suggests the author imagines his audience might include doubters, and so he makes a strident case for women's contributions. Much is built on Bede's accounts of Kent and Northumbria. When the women are married to kings, they encourage the missions and conversions; when the women are out of the circle of power (his example is Deiran women under Bernician rule), they knew they "were not highly regarded as royal consorts" and so "turned to the spiritual life." Here they or their houses continued to be influential because of their presence on the cultural landscape in general, but more importantly for Meyer, because they were part of larger plans of the early kings to shore up borders by building houses "in strategically important locations" which would be ruled by the king's kinswomen.

In "Dynasty and Cult: the Utility of Christian Mission to Northumbrian Kings between 642 and 654," *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, 95–104, Nicholas Higham argues that Irish missionaries were able to be active in Northumbria between the 630s and 664 not because of their own initiative, but because they were useful to Northumbria's kings. Higham wishes to illustrate this by focusing on two issues: "the interaction of dynastic politics and religious patronage within the struggle between Oswiu and Oswine between 643 and 651," and "the political utility to Oswiu of the mission to the East Saxons, c. 653." In the first, Higham finds that Aidan's intervention for Oswine over Oswiu in the struggle was decisive and thus points to the supportive political role the Church was supposed to play in the kingdom. In the second, the sending of Cedd to the East Saxons and the creation then of a new diocese of the East Saxons under Oswiu's patronage fits nicely with the Bernician de-

sire to expand their "outreach" among the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The sending of missions or bishops from one kingdom to another, and the establishment of strategically located missions (e.g., Oswiu's at the old Roman naval base of Bridwell-on-Sea), "should be interpreted in a broadly colonial role, as part of the wider strategy of *imperium*-wielding or seeking kings" (103).　　　　　　　　　　　　　　B.O'B.

In "Ceolfrid: History, Hagiography and Memory in Seventh- and Eighth-Century Wearmouth-Jarrow," *Jnl of Med. Hist.* 25 (1999), 69–86, Simon Coates explores the ways in which the collective identity of Wearmouth-Jarrow was shaped by the production of two eighth-century *vitae*, one anonymous and the other contained in Bede's *Historia Abbatum.* Coates considers the elements described in both lives—manuscript production, building programs, liturgy, and monastic appointments. He also explores continental models before concluding with a brief discussion of the differences between the *vitae.* Here Coates envisions Bede editing the details to downplay Ceolfrid's (and Wearmouth-Jarrow's) association with the contentious Bishop Wilfrid. In short, these changes reflect differences in the genres. In Coates's words, "whereas the anonymous personalized memory, Bede institutionalized it" (85).　　　　　　　　　　　　M.F.G.

In similar form, Basil Hume's *Footprints of the Northern Saints* (London: Darton, Longman, and Todd, 1996) is the text of his Channel 4 broadcast ('Return of the Saints'). In this book, the cardinal archbishop of Westminster, himself a Benedictine monk, visits present-day Northumbria and finds in the Christian landscape the same beauty where, he says, the first Northumbrian Christians practiced their new religion. Although the stories are retold for a pious modern audience and will not really interest scholars, the plates of Lindisfarne, the Farne Islands, Whitby, and Durham are beautiful.

　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　　B.O'B.

Roger Collins's entry for "Bede c. 672/3–735" in the *Encyclopedia of Historians and Historical Writing,* ed. Kelly Boyd (London and Chicago, 1999), is a concise summary of the Northumbrian chronicler's achievements. Collins discusses Bede's sources and methodology, and judges him to be "by far the greatest of the writers of history in the early medieval west." A list of Bede's principal writings is followed by a list of only three modern scholarly works.　　　　　　　C.S.

Simon Pewsey ("Two More Lost Essex Saints: The Mysterious Martyrs of Wakering," *Essex Archaeol. and Hist. News* 127 [1998], 9–10) briefly recounts the legend of Ethelred and Ethelbert, the seventh-century Kentish princes murdered by Thunor, a councilor of King Egbert of Kent, and buried at the monastery of Wakering.

In "The Minster-on-Thanet Foundation Story," *ASE* 27 (1998), 41–64, Stephanie Hollis examines "how Domne Eafe acquired the land for her monastery at Thanet when her brothers were murdered" (41) and redirects our attention from "the politics of kingship" that drives David Rollason's analysis (*The Mildreth Legend* [1982]) back to the view that

the legend "was a monastic myth of origins that has bearing on the history of monastic women" (44). She does this by rearranging the authority of the multiple texts of the legend, giving precedence to the mid-eleventh-century Old English fragments in Cotton Caligula A. xiv because, unlike the other texts which were composed by men, this one's tradition "may have been created by monastic women" (46). What makes this suggestion plausible is the fact that the Caligula text is the only one in which Domne Eafe "plays an active role" and thus the only one "consistent with the [prefixed] genealogy's attention to the deeds of women" (49). The other accounts, by Goscelin, Byrtferth, and the anonymous Bodley author, see Domne Eafe merely as a tool of providence—she recedes in their tales. The legend in Caligula did have a purpose: to show a half Mercian abbess tricking a Kentish king—surely a resonant item in the age of Æthelbald—and the fate of king's men who try to threaten the lands of nuns.　　　　B.O'B.

Rather than explaining the transition to open-field farming in terms of the rise of feudal lordship, Mark Douglas argues in "Open-Field Agriculture: Its Introduction Reconsidered," *Med. Life* 11 (1999), 3–7, that communities in the 7th and 8th centuries reacted to the imposition of new forms of land ownership and other forces restricting the movement of inhabitants by adopting a "corporate agricultural strategy." The need for cooperation, in turn, led to nucleation and the emergence of a controlling elite. This largely theoretical discussion draws heavily on recent studies by Harold Fox, John Bintliff, H.F. Hamerow, and Kathleen Biddick.　　M.F.G.

Boniface and other Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent received much attention. Stefan Schipperges's *Bonifatius ac socii eius: eine sozialgeschichtliche Untersuchung des Winfrid-Bonifatius und seines Umfeldes,* Quellen und Abhandlungen zur mittelrheinischen Kirchengeschichte 79 (Mainz: Gesellschaft für mittelrheinische Kirchengeschichte, 1996), is a slightly changed version of his 1993 dissertation on Boniface and his milieu. The heart of the work consists of a prosopographical catalogue of those connected in some way to Boniface; each entry provides some biographical information related to the missions, and identifies relevant documents where the person appears and their social contact, thus enabling the study of these networks.

Two works on Anglo-Saxon influence or contributions to the intellectual milieu of the Carolingian court appeared in *Karl der Grosse und sein Nachwirken,* ed. Paul Leo Butzer et al. (Turnhout, 1997). Ulrich Nonn, "Zur Vorgeschichte der Bildungsreform Karls des Großen," 63–77, studies the efforts made by clerics in Francia before the creation of Charlemagne's intellectually powerful court and argues that the groundwork for the later educational reform was laid by Boniface, aided by Fulrad of St. Denis and Chrodegang of Metz. Thus the key feature of Charlemagne's educational reforms—the attempt to produce the correct texts—arose in reality out of this philological work in the 740s and 750s. In the second piece, Mary Garrison's "The English and the Irish at the

Court of Charlemagne," 97–123, surveys the Anglo-Saxons (Alcuin, Candidus/Witto, Cathuulf, Fridugisus) and Irish (Clemens Scottus, Joseph Scottus, Dungal, Cadac-Andreas, Columbanus of St. Trond, and various *peregrini*) who formed the second wave of scholars attracted to Charlemagne's court and who changed its tone and output. She seeks to identify "Insular" contributions to the intellectual life of the court, to determine whether there was "a distinctive insular dimension to the Carolingian Renaissance," and finally "to delineate the effects of royal patronage and commissions on the careers of all these foreigners." One special problem in evaluating the impact of these writers and teachers is to explain why Alcuin trumps them all. Garrison finds her explanation in the exceptional preservation of Alcuin's texts against the regular loss of most of theirs—though she admits it is his popularity or stature then that made this exception happen. Garrison also illuminated how much of Charlemagne's patronage Alcuin absorbed, and thus how his departure from the court opened up the field that had long been closed. On her second point, Garrison finds that the contribution of insular scholars was "their reliance on the Bible and their application of the Old Testament to current affairs" (116)—not new stuff, she recognizes, but influential with their patron and king in court culture, scholarship, ideology, and law.

Another English missionary, Willibrord, is the object of David Parsons' "Willibrord's 'Frisian' Mission and the Early Churches in Utrecht," in *Northumbria's Golden Age*, ed. Hawkes and Mills, pp. 136–49. Gathering the documentary sources and archeological evidence, Parsons places Willibrord's missionary activity in Frisia from 695 on in the greater context of Merovingian colonialism. The area where Willibrordian churches cluster is southern Frisia, which was under Frankish control, with only a few "outposts" in the north. Parsons has covered some of this ground before, but here adduces further evidence drawn from thirteenth- and fourteenth-century documents, all devoted to the reconstruction of the early churches of Utrecht. Parsons concludes that identifying Willibrord's "cathedral" is not the point, since, as in other places, Utrecht's ecclesiastical buildings existed in a family; the early churches formed "an episcopal group, with the various churches and their functions complementing each other" (147). Two appendices hold the documentary evidence (quoted *in extenso*) and a supplement to Parsons's 1996 list of early churches in the low countries.

Barbara Yorke's "The Bonifacian Mission and Female Religious in Wessex," *Early Med. Europe* 7 (1998), 145–72, puts West Saxon female religious on the map of early English spirituality by arguing that three of Boniface and Lull's correspondents—Eadburg, Ecgburg, and Cyneburg—were not only (contrary to the usual view) West Saxon, but two were former students of Boniface's, and one the former lord and abbess of Lull. These three join abbess Eangyth and her daughter, Bugga, and Leofgyth (i.e., Leoba) to create firm prosopographical evidence for not only a study of the origins and influences on foundations for women in Wessex, but also a recognition of the transcendent power of kinship in this early church. As Yorke concludes, "the ties and obligations of kindred were still more important than those of 'spiritual' kinship or the assumption of separate male and female spheres of activity within the church, to Boniface, Lull and the kinswomen who joined them in Germany and shared their work of teaching and conversion" (168–9). Appendices identify Anglo-Saxon female religious in the Bonifacian letters and the knotty problem of the identity of Tetta and Eadburg (here Yorke disagreeing with Hollis's proposal that they were the same person).

David Parsons, "Some Churches of the Anglo-Saxon Missionaries in Southern Germany: a Review of the Evidence," *Early Med. Europe* 8 (1999), 31–67, finds surprisingly little substantial evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence on the architecture of the churches in southern Germany where they (Willibald, Wynnebald, Waldberga, and Sola) were active. Parsons surveys early sites associated with these missionaries (e.g., Heidenheim, Eichstatt, and Solnhofen) and finds little there to illuminate the missionaries' work. In some places, the architectural remains are from a later period (Heidenheim); in others, the link between site and texts is very weak (Erfurt). It does seem, however, that these English missionaries attempted to set up what they had grown up with—a minster arrangement which combined "secular and monastic functions," though this is by implication at Eichstatt and invisible elsewhere.

The afterlife of Boniface's remains is the subject of Lutz von Padberg's *Studien zur Bonifatiusverehrung: zur Geschichte des Codex Ragyndrudis und der Fuldaer Reliquien des Bonifatius* (Fuldaer Hochshulschriften 25 [Frankfurt am Main: Knecht, 1996]), concentrating on the *Codex Ragyndrudis* and the preservation of Boniface's relics at Fulda from the eighth century to the present. Padberg subjects the cult of Boniface to a sharply critical analysis and attempts—persuasively—to sort the certain or probable from the uncertain or impossible. He concludes that although we can trust the date of Boniface's martyrdom (5 June 754), we cannot trust the specific circumstances of the death—"before all whether he defended himself in any way during the attack or, eager to die, strode from his tent with relics in hand." Here Padberg had tackled a central disagreement on the matter of Boniface's death; while Willibald says he did not resist martyrdom, later traditions portray him defending himself with a book. Fulda later boasted that they had the very book Boniface used as a shield—the *Codex Ragyndrudis*—as well as several of the books the murderers unhappily discovered when they opened Boniface's book chest and found books rather than gold. Damage and stains to the *Codex* were said by the monastery to be sword cuts and blood. Padberg will have none of this and insists that a rigorous subjection of the evidence of the books to analysis calls their authority as forensic evidence of the martyrdom into question. He dismisses as myth Boni-

face's biblio-defense and lays out with admirable clarity the murky beginnings of the various traditions and their development throughout the medieval period. He concludes with a chapter on the opening of Boniface's relic box in 1966, complete with photographs of what was left of this adventurous but unfortunate Anglo-Saxon missionary.

In "Willibrord tussen bisschopszetel en klooster," *Millenium* 10 (1996), 100–10, Arnold Angenendt situates Willibrord's activities as a monk, missionary and archbishop, and considers the models for monastic foundations known to him: the Irish monastic *paruchia* and the great liberties of the Hiberno-Frankish monasteries. Deciding which influenced Willibrord leads to a consideration of the many facets of this missionary's life. Willibrord ruled his own cloister, was a vassal of the Pippinids, and an archbishop of the Church of Rome. Any attempt to sort out whether the influence on his actions or ideas was Roman or Irish is unlikely to successful because of the complexity of these associations.

Travel, rather than the missionary work of Anglo-Saxons on the Continent, is considered by Stephen Matthews's "Frontier Controls and Evasion in Early Medieval Europe," *Med. Life* 12 (1999), 7–12. Matthews provides a casual reading of three anecdotes about smuggling documents (sixth-century Burgundy and eighth-century Italy), and luxury items (Willibald in eighth-century Tyre) over borders and concludes, perhaps too optimistically, that borders were enforced. That they could be, and customs imposed and contraband interdicted, he shows, citing not only narrative sources, but also laws and intriguing evidence of the small lead seals discovered in London and ranging in date from the eighth to the twelfth century, which Marion Archibald concluded were "a form of receipt given to those who had paid their royal dues." That these borders might not often or always be so respected is clear from the limits to state power in early medieval Europe.   B.O'B.

d. The Ninth Century and Scandinavian Invasions and Settlements

1998–99 were good years for Alfred as historians responded the centenary of his death. Richard Abels's *King Alfred: War, Kingship and Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (London and New York: Longman, 1998) is a much-needed modern biography of this central figure in English history. This book is, however, no mere restatement of the facts surrounding Alfred's life and career; rather, Abels enters into the mental world of Alfred and presents us with a complex human being around whom a millennium of mythology has developed. The book is divided into nine chapters and features maps and figures, a lengthy bibliographical essay, and an appendix that discusses the authenticity of Asser's *Life of King Alfred*. Chapters one through six deal with Alfred's childhood, the Viking threat, Alfred's military response and efforts to defend the realm, and the king's death. Chapter seven is particularly

important as it delves into Alfred's theory of kingship and his ecclesiastical reform program. According to Abels, Alfred was indeed the devoted student who oversaw, and occasionally took an active role in, the intellectual program that emanated from his court. Abels pays significant attention to the texts Alfred chose, how he transformed them for his own purposes, and how they, together with the law code, reflect his political thought. Alfred, he argues, saw himself as a new David and the English as a new chosen people. The king further blurred the lines between church and state by elevating earthly lordship to "a sacred bond instituted by God himself for the governance of man" (250). Because it is concise, even-handed and eloquent, Abels's biography will become the standard, despite the recent spate of books on King Alfred.

Part of the Sutton series of Anglo-Saxon biographies, John Peddie's *Alfred Warrior King* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999) is, not surprisingly, an accessible study full of maps, diagrams, appendices, and color as well as black and white photos. Unlike Richard Abels's comprehensive biography, Peddie's is "a study of the young king's military campaigns, the military problems which beset him and the opposition which confronted him" (xii). The first three chapters provide the context, including Alfred's background, the military capability of each army, and Viking activity on the Continent. The remaining five chapters and epilogue survey the military events from the early 870s through the mid 890s. Because Abels's biography is as strong on the military aspects of Alfred's reign as it is on other topics, it will be the standard work for scholars, but Peddie's biography has much to offer with its singular focus and truly lavish illustrations.   M.F.G.

The first six articles reprinted in Janet Nelson's *Rulers and Ruling Families in Early Medieval Europe: Alfred, Charles the Bald, and Others* (Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1999) constitute her important contributions over the course of a decade working on King Alfred. These articles include "'A King Across the Sea': Alfred in Continental Perspective" (1986), "Wealth and Wisdom: the Politics of Alfred the Great" (1986), "Reconstructing a Royal Family: Reflections on Alfred from Asser, c. 2" (1991), "The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex" (1993), "... 'sicut olim gens Francorum ... nunc gens Anglorum': Fulk's Letter to Alfred Revisited" (1997), and "The Franks and the English in the Ninth Century Reconsidered" (1997). They appear here in their original forms, without additional notes, supplements, or corrections.

In "King Alfred's Ships: Text and Context," *ASE* 28 (1999), 1–22, M.J. Swanton presses semantics and nautical archeology into service to interrogate the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's account for 897 (*recte* 896) of Alfred's ships. He concludes that far from creating a navy, Alfred improved existing Saxon ship design in order to produce a boat able to intervene literally between Danish longships and the shore, or, if the enemy were out at sea, to ram the lighter viking ships. Thus. the Chronicle's *ge unwealtran* 'less walty' is seen not to mean that Alfred's ships nodded or yawed less, but that

they were not as flexible as the Danes' ships, making them better at ramming, and may show that although called *æscas* 'ash[ships]' the English fleet even under Alfred had hearts and flesh of oak, a much stiffer wood than ash.   B.O'B.

John Clark's "King Alfred's London and London's King Alfred," *London Archaeologist* 9 (1999), 35–38, is a brief review of recent archaeological excavations in London and what they tell us (or not) about Alfred's supposed restoration of the city. As of 1999, some strides had been made in detecting an Alfredian presence inside the Roman walls, although the extent of Alfred's involvement is as yet uncertain.

Barbara Yorke's "The Most Perfect Man in History?" *Hist. Today* (October, 1999), 8–14, is a short piece that considers Alfred's reputation and cult from the Middle Ages to the present. Yorke touches on the ways in which Alfred and his supposed status as the first English king have been employed to buttress various political and nationalist viewpoints in literature, sculpture and the performing arts. Some attention is paid to early American uses of Alfred's cult and reputation as well.

Alfred's court also received some attention. S. Matthews's article, entitled "Saint Plegmund: Cheshire's Archbishop of Canterbury," *Cheshire Hist.* 36 (1996–97), 2–13, marshals the evidence, both pre- and post-Conquest, for the career of Plegmund, King Alfred's tutor, archbishop and architect of the king's ecclesiastical revival. Contemporary evidence is admittedly slim, but Matthews pulls together the documentary, onomastic, numismatic and carturial evidence to illuminate, albeit often speculatively, the life of this important but little known prelate.

In a second article on Archbishop Plegmund, "Archbishop Plegmund and the Court of King Alfred 890–923," *Jnl of the Chester Archaeol. Soc.* 74 (1999 for 1996–97), 89–113, Matthews investigates why so little is known about this central figure in King Alfred's ecclesiastical revitalization program. Admitting that his conclusions are quite speculative, Matthews suggests two reasons why Plegmund has not been more prominent in the historiography. The first is that Plegmund's status as an outsider (i.e. non-West Saxon) did not endear him to contemporaries and successors who controlled the press, while the second is that Asser purposely downplays the role of Alfred's advisors in order to focus attention on the king.   M.F.G.

Military matters during the wars between Vikings and the English were studied by a number of scholars. Aiming to correct the lack of attention paid to "how [Anglo-Saxon] kings raised, provisioned, and transported troops in time of war," Richard Abels ("English Logistics and Military Administration, 871–1066," *Military Aspects of Scandinavian Society in a European Perspective, AD 1–1300*, ed. Anne Nørgård Jørgensen and Birthe L. Clausen [Copenhagen, 1997], 257–65) argues that "the Viking invasions of the ninth and tenth centuries created strategic and tactical problems that could only be solved through a revolution in logistics and military

administration." Further, he says that this "military revolution" "was key to the growth of royal power in the tenth century and to the development of the institutions of governance" which are well known and impressive. Thus Abels inverts these subjects—military and governmental—and reminds us wisely of the causative connections between them. This revolution gets its start under Alfred. The bulk of this essay is devoted to a logistical analysis of Viking actions and West Saxon reactions, and charts Alfred's growing awareness of the importance of mobility and food, from construction costs in burhs to providing fodder for horses. This military regimen established "the habit of bureaucracy that ... was to shape royal governance to 1066 and beyond" (262). The peace of Edgar's reign turned garrisoned *burhs* into ungarrisoned towns, which proved vulnerable when the Vikings returned in the late tenth century. Æthelred did what he could to respond—shipsokes of course, but as important, the creation of stores of body armor. Abels points out how important provisions for troops were in this later period—when in 1013 the English were forced to provision both invaders and defenders, who would have consumed a minimum of 27,000 pounds of bread each day. Domesday Book shows the further development of England's logistical abilities built upon Alfred's innovations and the subsequent developments of the many wars the English fought against Scandinavian invaders.

Written for the general public, H.B. Clarke's chapter on "The Vikings" in Maurice Keen's *Medieval Warfare: a History* (Oxford and New York, 1999), pp. 36–58, follows the goal of the whole collection; as Keen puts it, the aim is to illuminate the "formative influence" war has had on civilizations and society. Clarke's contribution begins with some fairly general material—the opacity and bias of the sources, the meaning of *vikingr*, the nasty gods, as well as pre-viking social structures. Clarke enters the Viking age to see if the "fashionable" portrait of the Vikings as "catalysts of economic and political change" is fair or true (58). His early Vikings are Sawyerian—small bands with effective tactics magnified by frightened ecclesiastics. Viking equipment is described, but Clarke admits that comparison on quality is "virtually impossible? because of a lack of surviving weaponry from the opponents of the Vikings. Unlike their pagan foes, Christians did not bury their dead with grave goods including weapons. The Vikings "had no uniform, Viking method of warfare," but they adapted to what they found (much of which was similar to their own weapons and tactics). They avoided pitched battles, preferred raids and skirmishes, and above all owed their success to their ships. A clear a simple account which will serve as a place to begin.

Alfred P. Smyth's "The Effects of Scandinavian Raiders on the English and Irish Churches: a Preliminary Reassessment," *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change*, ed. Brendan Smith (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 1–38, rails against revisionists who would sanitize the Vikings. D. O. Corrain and P. Sawyer, of course, come

in for the most abuse. Smyth's point seems fair enough: evidence for the effects of the Viking raids leans toward their having had a horrific effect on the churches of England and Ireland. That is the gravity of the sources: to pull away from that gravity takes some effort. The individual points of the article are fine, but the vituperation rises so often to such a high decibel that it obscures any insights and calls the conclusions into question.

Guy Halsall's "Playing by Whose Rules? A Further Look at Viking Atrocity in the Ninth Century," *Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 2.2 (1992), 2–12, offers not so much a defense of Peter Sawyer's thesis that Viking destruction has been exaggerated, as a restatement of that thesis on different terms. For Halsall, Viking violence was not different in its parts from early medieval violence—though here perhaps too many of his examples of similar atrocities come from the early seventh century. What was different was the norms governing such warfare. For instance, in the case of England, raiding was usually conducted only over one's immediate borders, which meant the victims knew who you were and where you lived. Revenge was easy to direct and satisfied the code of the time (and also, consequently, added an extra layer of judgment before sword left sheath). Vikings, however, struck from nowhere, to where they returned, leaving no way for the English to retaliate. Each played by a different rule book. It was this difference, which prohibited communication via shared norms, that created the context where Christian Europeans could portray the Vikings as the violent committers of atrocities.   B.O'B.

John Frankis's "From Saint's Life to Saga: the Fatal Walk of Alfred Ætheling, Saint Amphibalus and the Viking Bróðir," *Saga-Book of the Viking Soc.* 25 (1999), 121–37, traces the route by which the "fatal walk" motif made its way from England to Iceland. Frankis argues that this morbid motif of forcing a martyr to walk around a stake or tree while his or her intestines unraveled was introduced into saga literature via English historical writing and hagiography. The trail, he argues, begins with Geoffrey Gaimar's portrayal of Alfred Ætheling's death in the *l'Estoire des Engleis* and continues with William of St Albans's *Life of St Alban and St Amphibalus* rewritten by Matthew Paris prior to his visit in the late 1240s to a Scandinavian monastery dedicated to St Alban.   M.F.G.

Later interactions between the Irish and the English, as well as with the Scots and the Vikings, is explored by Benjamin Hudson in "The Changing Economy of the Irish Sea Province," in Brendan Smith (ed.), *Britain and Ireland 900–1300: Insular Responses to Medieval European Change* (Cambridge, 1999), pp. 39–66. Hudson notes the neglect in scholarly study of the Irish Sea trade and economy in general, but especially in the Viking Age. He rightly gives the Vikings credit for establishing an Irish Sea trading zone inclusive of Dublin, Waterford, Wexford, as well as Chester, and uses the analogy of the American Wild West to explain the Irish Sea province in the eleventh and twelfth centuries. According to Hudson, the rise of the Flemish merchant towns saw a reorientation southward of Irish Sea trade beginning in the thirteenth century.   C.S.

In "The Danes on the Rame Peninsula," *Devon and Cornwall Notes and Queries* 38 (1998), 76–83, H.W. Garner considers for a general audience the advantages of the Viking camp and fortress on Plymouth Sound at Cremyll (like 'Kremlin', derived from the Old Norse word for 'fortress') and the harbor at Barn Pool, which, combined, allowed a Viking fleet control of the ferry crossing there and a view of the St. German's and Lyner River to its confluence with the Tamar. The anticipation of the audience has led to an infelicitous choice of literary sources and a few slips of fact, and are well-matched by eccentric details of local lore: e.g., the fortress of the Danes now sports an obelisk "which commemorates the death of the then Countess of Mount Edgcumbe's pet pig" (79).

In a beautifully illustrated pamphlet published by the Norfolk Museum Service, *The Vikings in Norfolk* (Norwich: Norfolk Museums Service, 1997), Sue Margeson surveys the Viking settlement in Norfolk, situating it within the larger story of Viking conquest and settlement in England, but concentrating on the local life of the Viking communities. Here, the archeological focus bears interesting fruit, in everything from the poverty of the settlers as seen in their crude brooch styles and pagan goods, to the Scandinavian impact on towns, including the Scandinavian contribution of *Finkelgate* to the street names of Norwich—a name possibly to be translated as 'Cuddle Street' or 'Lovers' Lane'.

Sarah Foot, "Remembering, Forgetting and Inventing: Attitudes to the Past in England at the End of the First Viking Age," *Trans. of the R. Hist. Soc.* 6th ser., 9 (1999), 185–200, proposes "to investigate the effect of dislocation on attitudes to the past and the mechanisms for its preservation … by exploring the immediate impact of the political and religious upheavals of the ninth century." Her focus is on *memory*, but not *memorials*, which are constructs and "more likely to be recent fictive construction than long-acknowledged and collectively remembered 'truth.'" Thus she is here exploring "how the loss of personal memories affected English mechanisms for recalling the past." The essay has three subsections: "Remembering Monks and Saints," "Forgetting Women," and "Inventing a Political Past." In the last section, she reprises her 1996 *TRHS* article on "The Making of *Angelcynn*," viewing the construction of English identity for the illusion Alfred's writings create that "memory and inquiry appear to be working together" in forging English history, now fit into a divine plan; it is Æthelweard later who draws from memory in his inquiry into the past. The breaks with personal memory are the object of the first two sections. The destruction and dispersal of religious communities meant the destruction often of both corporate and individual memory (e.g., the destruction of archives, severing commemoration of the cults of the dead, etc.). In the after-

math, it is male saints who are selected for "re-remembering" (e.g., Cuthbert) and often turned to suit the ends of their new West Saxon patrons. "The discontinuance of female religion" caused more complex and opaque effects. Holy women could recommemorate their female saints and some communities survived the caesura of the first Viking age; nevertheless, the vulnerability of women's houses and their attractiveness to marauders meant that most were destroyed and dispersed. Once dissolved, "who was to preserve [a community's] corporate memory?" Women's religious houses were already in decline by the middle of the eighth century due to other—non-Viking—reasons. Into this decline came the catalyst from the north. When the first attacks were over and through the tenth century reform and beyond, "the woman appears invisible in the sources ... precisely because she more commonly expressed her devotion outside the royal structure of cloistered monastery, remaining within her own family nexus as a vowed, veiled woman." Thus, we cannot say that strictly speaking, after the fist Viking age the past was gendered 'male'; rather, it became male due to real social circumstances.   B.O'B.

e. **Tenth Century to the Norman Conquest**

In *Later Anglo-Saxon England: Life & Landscape* (Stroud and Charleston, SC: Tempus, 1999), Andrew Reynolds employs a primarily archaeological approach to Anglo-Saxon urban development focused on governance, administration, economics, and defense in addition to more traditional topics such as landscape and settlement. Although the book lacks scholarly apparatus, Reynolds consistently credits scholars in the text who are then featured in the bibliography. The book is divided into five thematic chapters on Germanic migration and settlement, social status, administration, rural and urban settlement. Reynolds does not claim to break new ground here, but instead sets out the evidence for several important issues, including the increased polarization of wealth in the 7th century, the relationship between early territorial organization and later shires and hundreds, and the remarkable efficiency of a government based more on rural than urban organization. The strength of this study is its approachability. In short, this is archaeology for the non-specialist, written clearly and illustrated lavishly with twenty-five color photos and more than eighty figures.   M.F.G.

Valerie Ortenberg, "Aux périphéries du monde carolingien: liens dynastiques et nouvelles fidélités dans le royaume anglo-saxon," *La royauté et les élites dans l'Europe carolingienne (début IXe siècle aux environs de 920)*, ed. Régine Le Jan (Lille, 1998), pp. 505–177, wonders whether the extensive bonds created by ninth- and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon kings in marriages between their families and those of continental nobles in the Frankish world had an effect on the development of personal relations in England. Building on work by James Campbell, Pauline Stafford, and Patrick Wormald,

she acknowledges that the English relationship between the king and the nobles was different than in the Frankish world, and stayed different. Ealdormen were royal appointees and acted as royal agents in their locales, and thegns derived their status from local wealth, not a personal relationship with the king. When thegns made commitments to ealdormen, those were personal bonds and the start of the grand chain of patronage leading to the king. In such a system, a strong king was the best kind to have.

In "Monks, Secular Men and Masculinity, c. 900," *Masculinity in Medieval Europe*, ed. D.M. Hadley (London and New York, 1999), pp. 121–42, Janet Nelson seeks to extend current work on the relations between ascetics, sexuality, and "the changing forms of power in the Christian world" into the early medieval west, and considers no just monks but all men for their construction of what it was to be "male." She finds that the second half of the ninth century, much like the sixteenth century Reformation, was a period when "gender identity came under pressure, and had to be rethought and redefined." Because of difficult times, her men achieved "a sharpened consciousness ... of existing social arrangements as dysfunctional, and of themselves as subjected to dissonant social messages and conflicting imperatives." She chooses a group of lives by ecclesiastical authors, but about secular men as her body of evidence: Odo of Cluny's *Life of Gerald of Aurillac* at length, and then briefly Ekkehard's account of Wolo, a monk of Le Mans' story about Rigramnus, multiple accounts of Charles, son of Louis the German, and lastly Asser's *Life of Alfred*. Gerald experienced his dysfunctioning around warfare and sex, and coped by never upgrading his bland sword belt and by obsessively washing himself. Charles, similarly, "rejected the tokens of secular masculinity, the sword and the belt" as well as the marriage bed. Alfred's first painful attack of the illness that would remain with him all his life came at his wedding feast—not by coincidence. Both Charles and Alfred, as is well-known, soldiered on, ruling, fighting, and procreating regardless of anxieties. To Nelson's eye, this anxiety, represented by paradox in the texts, is perfectly acceptable and not a justification, as Alfred Smyth uses it, for dividing the true warrior Alfred from the repulsive and fictive invalid of Asser's vita. Smyth has failed to take into account the new rethinking on gender that happened in the late ninth century, where it was not unique to find men "depicted as having difficulty in living out an assigned role, and a difficulty which became embodied in anxiety about masculinity." Nelson is aware that her reader will wonder how she can claim that the sources have not conjured a phantom of the clergy's imagination by their own selectivity. She tries to use a lay audience, posited for some of the sources, for leverage, but that will only convince us to consider the possibility of this change in the construction of masculinity, not the certainty that in the accounts "human scent is unmistakable."

To pull us into Æthelflæd's world, Don Stansbury's *The Lady Who Fought the Vikings* (South Brent, Devon: Imogen

Books, 1993) asks us to imagine Vikings as terrorists setting off bombs in shopping malls (1). "People," he continues, "needed peace to raise their families and to struggle over the years to reach something better than abject poverty. They needed order and justice and impartial laws. They needed that complex balance of rights and responsibilities that constitute civilization. It seemed, however, that the complicated difficult construction of an ordered way would not stand against the simple greed and brutality of the vikings" (1). Stansbury suggests that Æthelflæd shows us the "women's way" of resisting violence. Æthelflæd was no Valkyrie, because for her, "violence was the problem not the solution." The peace this "women's way" offered was also in the Vikings' interest. How did the Lady of the Mercians do all of this? She succeeded, says Stansbury, because Anglo-Saxon women had property and judicial rights. Of course, women also "were more concerned with the protection of the very young, the sick and the old. They were more concerned with the giving than with the taking of life" (2). Æthelflæd's *burh*-building campaign was therefore different from her brother's, representing something closer to the creation of Utopian communities. "The government that achieved that was not oppressive or divisive or exclusive and was not afraid to release the energies of the people." And so on. This is the most highly concentrated piece of essentialism in this year's offerings.   B.O'B.

Arnold H.J. Baines's *Lady Elgiva: Her Life and Times* (Chesham: Chess Valley Archaeological and Historical Society, 1999) is a useful narrative of the life of Ælfgifu, wife of King Eadwig, which was written for a local English historical society and geared to non-specialists.

Barbara Yorke, in "Edward, King and Martyr: a Saxon Murder Mystery," *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. Keen, pp. 99–116, reassesses the motives behind King Æthelred's vigorous promotion of the cult of his murdered half-brother, Edward. Far from an expression of saintliness, Yorke interprets Edward's translation to the royal nunnery at Shaftesbury, and Shaftesbury's subsequent patronage by King Æthelred, as church-sponsored efforts to ease the political tensions resulting from the unavenged murder. Yorke rejects post-Conquest traditions featuring the wicked stepmother *topos*, mining instead contemporary sources such as the *Life of St Oswald* to lay out in detail the aristocratic antagonisms and dynastic ambitions that led to the murder, as well as the looming Viking presence which doubtless prompted Æthelred to seek reconciliation and expiation.

In "'The eyes of the beholders were dazzled': Treasure and Artifice in the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*," *Early Med. Europe* 8 (1999), 247–70, Elizabeth M. Tyler examines the use of treasure in the *Encomium* to uncover two things: the political agenda of the encomiast and his patron and the place of display in late Anglo-Saxon England. She concludes that the author uses treasure and golden ships to reflect Cnut's transformation from a Scandinavian warrior to a European-style king. The model, she argues, is not Ottonian but rather

Vergilian and Tyler appends a brief discussion of the knowledge of Vergil in Anglo-Saxon England to this interesting article.

In "Men, Women and Widows: Widowhood in Pre-Conquest England" (in *Widowhood in Medieval and Early Modern Europe*, ed. Sandra Cavallo and Lyndan Warner [Harlow, Essex, and New York, 1999], pp. 24–36), Julia Crick analyzes the slim evidence for widowhood in pre-Conquest England and finds only ten vernacular documents in which the term for widow was employed. She argues, however, that a great many more widows can be prised out of the sources, particularly the collection of East Anglian wills. She concludes that the lack of a clear terminology for widowhood has distorted our understanding of women's property rights as well as our appreciation for the meaning of marriage beyond the legal definition in late Anglo-Saxon England.

Monika Otter, in "Closed Doors: an Epithalamium for Queen Edith, Widow and Virgin," *Constructions of Widowhood and Virginity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cindy L. Carlson and Angela Jane Weisl (New York, 1999), pp. 63–92, takes a fresh look at the rhetorical strategies employed by the anonymous author of the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, in particular his conscious effort to avoid talking about Queen Edith's sterility and the kingdom's misfortunes by emphasizing instead her role as a patron of Wilton and her husband's sanctity. Otter focuses on the epithalamium, or wedding song, which was a common motif for the dedication of a church, and how the author tries to console Edith through this poem by emphasizing her role as a saintly widow and holy virgin. In the end, however, Otter believes that the author's effort falls short and that Edith's failure (and perhaps England's misfortune) are never far from the surface of the work.   M.F.G.

Robert Lacey and Danny Danziger, *The Year 1000: What Life Was Like at the Turn of the First Millennium. An Englishman's World*, presents the general reader with an anecdotal picture of English society at the turn of the millennium. It is drawn up by two journalists seizing the opportunity of the millennium to produce a descriptive book for the non-scholar.

Susan Reynolds, "English Towns in a European Context," *Die Frühgeschichte der europäischen Stadt im 11. Jahrhundert*, ed. Jörg Jarnut and Peter Johanek (Köln, 1998), pp. 207–18, begins and ends her analysis of eleventh-century English towns with expressions of methodological concerns. First, she questions the definition of 'town', which she characteristically offers to provide despite the problems involved. A town, according to Reynolds, has a functional part: it is "a permanent and concentrated human settlement in which a significant proportion of the population is engaged in non-agricultural occupations." Her definition also has a social aspect: "the inhabitants of towns normally regard themselves, and are regarded by the inhabitants of predominantly rural settlements, as a different sort of people." Using Domesday Book and coins (as well as other texts), Reynolds argues that

England's rising tide of urbanization (from c. 50 at AD 1000 to well over 100 by the date of Domesday Book) was similar to what went on elsewhere and that it had already begun before 1066. For example, on her social criterion—self-awareness—Reynolds lists the special Old English (and Latin) terms in use c. 1000 that meant 'inhabitants of a town'. Reynolds's English towns, all small, are "true towns" according to her definition. She turns in the second half of the article to ask how the Normans would have perceived English towns. The conquerors would first off have noticed that English towns "were both enticingly rich and militarily dangerous." They would have been surprised that these towns lacked cathedrals and monasteries, but had many small churches. They would have been very pleased that these towns were accustomed to giving the king money. How did the towns fare after 1066? The Norman conquest had bad short term effects, but post hoc ergo propter hoc stops Reynolds from attributing long term developments to the conquest. On charters, for example, she points out that although our surviving borough charters are late, the preconquest towns were already negotiating with the king for privileges. She ends by showing that "any single, general-purpose typology is unlikely to cast much light on the character of 11th-century English towns," but nonetheless provides a useful table of towns with 10 aspects charted (from Roman origins and fortifications, to Domesday population).

Howard B. Clarke's account in his "Proto-Towns and Towns in Ireland and Britain in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries," *Ireland and Scandinavia in the Early Viking Age*, ed. Clarke, Máire Ní Mhaonaigh, and Raghnall Ó Floinn (Dublin and Portland, OR, 1998), pp. 331–80, is dominated by the highland/lowland division of the British Isles, where the line of actual high lands from Wales through Yorkshire and Scotland brings with it Ireland by default. Clarke sets about his contemporaries and predecessors with a switch, for using terms like 'town', 'city', 'network of trading posts', 'Irish', and 'Scandinavians' without caution: "distortions and oversimplifications of this kind are scattered liberally throughout the existing literature." Clarke sets out to prove that "there never were any *Viking* towns in Ireland" (335). Towns there later were (late tenth and early eleventh centuries), but they were more "an Hiberno-Norse achievement than a Viking one" (368). So try as they might, the Vikings stimulated no move towards urbanization in the highland zone—they built towns and were not imitated. In the lowland zone—i.e., southern and central England—however, the English recreated during the early Viking age "a whole network of genuine towns." The impulses to do this were several: Roman sites survived here, providing fortifications, building materials, and roads; the Middle Saxon trading network grew up here, directed at North Sea and Channel trace; lastly, the low countries grew their own crop of trading centers in Merovingian and Carolingian times.

Started as an undergraduate thesis, but now 20 years later

grown into a substantial treatment, Kelly De Vries's study of the 1066 invasion of England by Harald Harthrathi (*The Norwegian Invasion of England in 1066* [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Brewer, 1999]) is a narrative of the old style. His imagined world is not like ones favored in contemporary work: "The eleventh century was a century completely dominated by warlords," who exercised force "not entirely unlike our modern concept of warlords as African, South American, or Middle Eastern dictators who control and manipulate their neighbors by threats and bellicosity" (2). So the distance between present and past is eliminated (and Asia can take comfort in its omission from the list). De Vries is aware that his narrative is an "old-fashioned war story," but his willing anachronisms undermine the authority of his reading of the sources. Since Harald was a lover of war as a good warlord should be, DeVries accepts without sufficient scrutiny accounts of his warlike exploits in the *Saga of the Kings of Norway* ("all of this ... seems to be accurate). Harold Godwineson and Tostig, "two English warlords," dominate events by their own "military legitimacy." De Vries thinks like Freeman, confirming the latter's view by showing that it repeats much already said by William of Jumièges—missing the fact that Freeman, like many of his generation, knew less about the problems of chronicles and so trusted them more. De Vries's view of warlords accepts no possibility that the great warrior Tostig could have dismembered Harold's servants to produce some special mulled wine and beer for the king's party—here Henry of Huntingdon must simply be "lost in Greek mythology with a hagiographic twist" (189). Maybe, but it is not comforting to find his footnote directing us (as often) to Freeman for the actual analysis. Later, during his description of the battle of Stamford Bridge, Henry of Huntingdon relates the story of how a solitary Norse warrior held the bridge and slew 40, giving his king the time to organize a battle line; here DeVries accepts his source wholeheartedly since it is so much in line with his world view of warlords, warriors, and heroes. Despite some inspired moments and thoughtful observations, this is not overall a reliable analysis or a well-written narrative.   B.O'B.

f. Church, Local, and Regional History

Christopher N.L. Brooke's collection of essays, *Churches and Churchmen in Medieval Europe* (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon, 1999), spans thirty years of scholarly activity on the part of this eminent ecclesiastical historian. "Lightly revised" by the author with updated bibliography, the essays touch on a wide variety of topics: ecclesiastical patronage, cathedral building, Cistercians, and even Chaucer, all bearing witness to the depth and breadth of Brooke's knowledge. For the Anglo-Saxonist, however, the first seven essays are likely to be the most pertinent. These include studies of the sees of Hereford and York, a review of the minster hypothesis, and a discussion of the church in towns. Two

other essays explore the impact of the Norman Conquest on the English Church, the first a comparison of the two churches and the second a consideration of the introduction of archdeacons after the Conquest.

James Campbell's contribution to a volume of essays on Norwich cathedral, "The East Anglian Sees before the Conquest," *Norwich Cathedral: Church, City and Diocese, 1096–1996,* ed. Ian Atherton *et al.* (London, 1996), pp. 3–21, traces the development of the episcopal church in East Anglia before the see was transferred to Norwich after the Conquest. Limited by the sources for East Anglian ecclesiastical history, Campbell nevertheless pulls together various strands to produce a chronological narrative beginning c. 616 and ending on the eve of the transfer to Norwich. Topics include the relationship between the bishopric of Elmham and Ely Abbey and the prosperity of the see as evidenced by its Domesday holdings.

Richard Emms, in "The Early History of Saint Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury," *St Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England,* ed. R. Gameson, pp. 410–27, surveys the history of St Augustine's Abbey from its foundation in the early 7th century to 1100. Emms exploits relatively limited sources to illuminate the abbey's early history as a burial church for Kentish kings and archbishops, its transition to a monastic church in face of the cathedral's ascendancy in the 8th century, its relatively unbroken history of scribal activity, and its economic prosperity throughout this period.

In "The Anglo-Saxon Church and the Papacy," *The English Church and the Papacy in the Middle Ages,* ed. C.H. Lawrence (Stroud, 1999), pp. 29–62, Veronica Ortenberg surveys the relationship between Anglo-Saxon England and the papacy from the conversion through the Norman Conquest. She considers the ways in which diocesan organization, the synodal tradition, scholarship, liturgy, pilgrimage, legatine visits, and correspondence all reinforced links with Rome, while Rome benefited from the English Church's support, particular in fostering the cults of Ss Peter and Gregory the Great.

Benedicta Ward's slim volume of essays on early English spirituality, *High King of Heaven: Aspects of Early English Spirituality* (Kalamazoo and Spencer, MA: Cistercian Publications, 1999), is a useful overview for non-specialists of topics such as the influences of Gregory the Great and the Irish, the importance of the psalter in prayer both inside and outside the monastery, the role of saints, and the centrality of the Cross.   M.F.G.

For a general reader, Emma Mason's "Monastic Habits in Medieval Worcester," *Hist. Today* (May 1998), pp. 37–43, reconstructs the daily life of monks at Worcester in the eleventh and twelfth centuries from narratives, records, and contemporary artwork. Worcester, she reminds us, was a noisy place, filled with the sounds of building campaigns and the bishop's military retinue's daily activities. Its life was built around a daily regimen of prayer and the authority of hierarchy. Edu-

cation of the young began early and was rigorous—much in both areas drawn from the *Regularis Concordia,* Lanfranc's *Monastic Constitutions,* and William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani.*   B.O'B.

Paul Hayward's "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, takes a fresh look at the six Anglo-Saxon saints who died as "innocent martyrs" between 650 and 1000 and the remarkable similarities in their *vitae.* Hayward argues that these *vitae,* which were written between 1050 and 1300, were reinterpreted to reflect the moral needs of contemporary communities, which included Ramsey, Winchcombe, and Evesham. They tend, for instance, to reject aristocratic values in favor of ascetic ones, underscoring celibacy, a significant element of reformed monasticism in the High Middle Ages.

Oswald McBride's article, "The Tenth-Century Monastic Revival," *Monks of England: the Benedictines in England from Augustine to the Present Day,* ed. Daniel Rees (London, 1997), pp. 65–83, is a largely uncritical narrative of the tenth-century reform effort whose emphasis on the superiority of monastic spirituality is reminiscent of the works of William of Malmesbury.

Susan Rosser's "Æthelthryth: a Conventional Saint?" considers the model for Bede's *Life of Æthelthryth,* Venantius Fortunatus's *Vita Radegundis,* and suggests that Æthelthryth was consciously modeled along the lines of a conventional Late Antique virgin martyr not only to enhance her own cult but also to elevate the status of the English Church as a worthy counterpart to Continental churches. Fitting Æthelthryth into this model was made easier, Rosser argues, by the fact that the outlines of her life did conform to these norms; Æthelthryth was, after all, royal, wealthy and literate. She may also have been ascetic in the extreme, dedicated to chastity, and desirous of martyrdom, as Bede and Ælfric after him would like us to believe.

William Smith's "Iwi of Wilton, a Forgotten Saint," *AB* 117 (1999), 297–318, examines the hagiographical and liturgical evidence for the establishment and dissemination in the tenth-century of the cult of St Iwi, a late 7th century Breton saint of Northumbrian origin whose relics, according to Goscelin, refused to leave once they came into contact with those of St Edith at Wilton. Iwi appears thereafter as an object of veneration at Winchester, Sherborne and Romsey well beyond the Conquest, although Smith believes he may have been venerated at other English Benedictine houses before the Conquest.

As editor of the volume *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey,* Laurence Keen contributes the "Introduction" (pp. 1–6), which is a brief overview of the abbey's history, material remains, and archival and literary legacy. Simon

Keynes's "King Alfred the Great and Shaftesbury Abbey" (pp. 17–72) explores the abbey's royal connections, including its foundation by King Alfred and its promotion of the cults of Saints Ælfgifu, Edith and Edward the Martyr. This essay is a tour-de-force, touching in considerable detail on Alfred's accomplishments both historical and mythical, the controversy surrounding the authenticity of Asser's *Life*, which Keynes deftly defends, the charter evidence for Shaftesbury's rise in status over the 10th and 11th centuries, and it ultimate fate in the 1530s.

In "Changing Images of Sainthood: St Cuthbert in the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*," *Saints: Studies in Hagiography*, ed. Sandro Sticca, Med. & Renaissance Texts & Stud. 141 (Binghamton, NY, 1996), pp. 81–94, Ted Johnson-South examines the hagiographic tradition associated with St Cuthbert to determine if differences between the early lives and the late-Saxon *Historia S. Cuthberto* tell us anything about changing social and cultural values. The Cuthbert of the later life was transformed, Johnson-South argues, into a powerful (and vengeful) patron from an unworldly ascetic, reflecting the gradual emergence of the community as a wealthy and powerful landowner in Northumbria. Notable is the suppression of Cuthbert's spirituality in favor of posthumous miracles rewarding or punishing kings and nobles for their treatment of the community's temporal possessions.

In "Goscelin's *Life of Augustine of Canterbury*," *St. Augustine of Canterbury and the Conversion of England*, ed. R. Gameson, pp. 391–409, Fiona Gameson's contribution to the collection of essays on Augustine, the author shows how Goscelin used Bede's works, Gregory's letters, and evidence from western England, Flanders and Anger to emphasize Augustine's sanctity rather than the events of his mission. This included new miracles, a physical description, biblical comparisons, and a grandiose death, none of which were included by Bede.

Julia Crick comes to two important conclusions in "The Wealth, Patronage and Connections of Women's Houses in Late Anglo-Saxon England," *RB* 109 (1999), 154–85, that challenge current orthodoxy: that West Saxon royal nunneries were not the repositories of noble interest, as Marc Meyer has argued, but remained the focus of royal benefaction and burial, while at the same time claims on nunneries did not, the author argues, diminish with the advent of monastic reform.   M.F.G.

Marshalling a rich collection of early modern surveys, Mary Hesse studies the development of "The Early Parish and Estate of Ickworth, West Suffolk," *Proc. of the Suffolk Inst. of Archaeol. and Hist.* 39 (1997), 6–27. The pre-Conquest history of Ickworth, a parish in the Hundred of Thingoe near Bury St. Edmunds, is the most difficult to reconstruct, since it is almost entirely dependent on a tenth-century will of Theodred, bishop of London (S 1526), and on Domesday Book. The lack of any archeological excavation defeats Hesse's ability to say whether or not Ickworth was a primary

Saxon settlement near the site of the later church and hall. The bulk of the article and most of the conclusions treat the early modern period.

John Blair's "The Making of the English Parish," *Med. Hist.* (Bangor) 2.2 (1992), 13–19, aims "to guide the beginner through the burgeoning undergrowth of revisionist studies, and to outline the new model which emerges from them." The article begins with pastoral work before the parish, when in the tenth century "there is scarcely a trace in English sources of the independent local church served by a single priest." In this world, pastoral work was weak and popular religion "often crude." In the tenth century, "free-standing local churches" appeared. Both written evidence and architectural remains attest to the rising independence of these mostly manorial churches. One of the consequences of this trend was literary: the rise in the number of single priests scattered throughout the countryside provoked the vernacular educational program associated with Ælfric and Wulfstan. As the parishes rose, the minsters and their communities of priests declined, pinched between these manorial churches and the greed of kings and aristocrats. These trends are true for both urban and rural churches. By 1066, however, we still do not have a parochial system in England. Only in the 1180s are historians entitled to abandon such terms as "local churches" and "manorial churches," and refer in a strict sense to "parish churches."   B.O'B.

Nigel Baker and Richard Holt's "The Origins of Urban Parish Boundaries," in *The Church in the Medieval Town*, ed. T.R. Slater and Gervase Rosser (Aldershot, Hants, and Brookfield, VT, 1998), pp. 209–35, uses new work on late eleventh- and twelfth-century Worcester and Gloucester to sort through theories of the origin of urban parishes argued previously by Alan Rogers, C.N.L. Brooke and G. Ker, D. Keene, et al. They find that their two sites can not be explained by a single theory of origin. In fact, they lament that the Worcester evidence "can be used to lend equal support to two opposed views of the origin of the wholly intramural parishes" (230). "The pattern of parish boundaries [there] was evidently a palimpsest, the result not of a single period of agreed boundary demarcation, and certainly not of a single act of ecclesiastical planning by a central authority." Gloucester, on the other hand, suggests parishes being established to coincide with "major secular boundaries." More broadly, there is agreement with evidence for rural parish formation that fragmentation of the *parochia* of the older minster church was a necessary part of their formation. When did all this happen? They admit that it is hard to talk with certainty about any stages earlier than the twelfth century. In the same volume, T.R. Slater's "Benedictine Town Planning in Medieval England: Evidence from St Albans" (pp. 155–76) analyzes the documentary and archaeological evidence, together with the town plan itself, in order to map the development of St Albans as an urban monastic center. Slater shows that the proto-urban center was, before the late 10th century, com-

prised of two competing sectors, one ecclesiastical and the other royal. What analysis of the town plan shows is that the abbot purchased the royal sector and redesigned the town's plots to encourage its development as a commercial as well as pilgrimage center. The abbot's initiative, according to Slater, was unusual, as royal palaces generally came to dominate similar towns, often at the expense of abbeys.

B.O'B. and M.F.G.

Stefan Brink's essay, "The Formation of the Scandinavian Parish, with Some Remarks Regarding the English Impact on the Process," in *The Community, the Family and the Saint: Patterns of Power in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Joyce Hill and Mary Swan, International Med. Research 4 (Turnhout, 1998), pp. 19–44, is a theoretical overview of the formation of parishes in Scandinavia. Brink admits that the evidence is hardly plentiful, but he argues that what does exist suggests that parish formation occurred in the twelfth century on the heels of the tithe, and that the church in Scandinavia owed its organization, at all levels, to Anglo-Saxon influence.

M.F.G.

Long anticipated, Peter Sawyer's *Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire* (Hist. of Lincolnshire 3. Lincoln: Society for Lincolnshire History and Archaeology, 1998) appeared in this year and was well worth the wait. Sawyer organizes his book around "The Evidence" (chap. 1), "The Shire and its Resources" (c. 2), Britons and Anglo-Saxons" (c. 3), The Seventh Century" (c. 4), "The Mercian Empire" (c. 5), "The First Danish Conquest" (c. 6), "From Edward the Elder to Edward the Confessor" (c. 7), "The Church in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (c. 8), "Markets, Towns, and the Economy of the Region" (c. 9), and "The Norman Conquest" (c. 10). He devotes appendices to such matters as, inter alia, the Tribal Hidage, Lincoln's First Church, and the early bishops. The early English kingdom of Lindsey, constituting the greater part of Domesday Lincolnshire, was an important place for economic and strategic reasons, despite its political dependence first on Deira and then Mercia. To show this as well as to argue all subsequent parts, Sawyer skillfully draws on sources as disparate as the *Life of Guthlac*, the Tribal Hidage, coin finds, and archeological reports to chart the history and development of what became Lincolnshire from the *Adventus* (only murkily seen in this region) to William I's great inquest. Sawyer charts both Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian settlement, often forced by the evidence into qualified suspicions. His Norman Lincolnshire, on firmer ground, shows continuity at almost all levels and in all ways, save the very top leadership. The only disadvantage of Sawyer's approach is the teleological dominance of Domesday Book in defining Sawyer's goal. Sawyer is explicit here, but nevertheless his use of the Survey introduces too much hindsight for a good understanding of the earliest centuries.

David Rollason, with Derek Gore and Gillian Fellows-Jensen, *Sources for York History to AD 1100* (Archaeol. of York 1, York: York Archeological Trust, 1998), is principally designed for students of archeology to gather the textual context for the physical history of the city. The book is divided into three parts. The first lists century by century the sources that mention aspects of York's layout, appearance, buildings, etc., offers a note on the text's relationship to York, and then supplies citation of editions and commentaries. The list is selective, but includes all of the most important texts. Each text receives some comment regarding reliability and potential use. Part 2 moves through the rulers and important events related to York, divided into Roman, Anglian, Anglo-Scandinavian, and Anglo-Norman. Here all of the sources from Part 1 are marshalled to shed light on the figures and events that form the skeleton (and sometimes the flesh) of northern history, and are presented with all their warts. Part 3, Topography and Archeology, lists written sources that concern the physical city of York, from tiles marked with the sign of the Ninth Legion to the Danish restoration of the walls in the *Chapters on the miracles and translations of St Cuthbert*, to the unnamed church that belonged to Odo the Crossbowman, listed in Domesday Book, and beyond. This is the largest part of the book and is well served by maps identifying sites noted in records. The volume finishes with a thorough consideration (printed in a different version in 1987) of the "Origin and Development of the Name York" by Gillian Fellows-Jensen, who traces the British original (*Eburo*, a topographical name) in the hands of Romans, Angles, Vikings, and the English, and even in the hands of British colonials in North America.

Ann Williams, "Lost Worlds: Kentish Society in the Eleventh Century," *Medieval Prosopography* 20 (1999), 51–74, analyzes the shire community of Kent mostly through Domesday Book and charters, and describes the two slightly overlapping layers of influence at the top end of the shire's social order: the royal officials who represent the crucial links with royal government and through whom almost all royal influence is felt, and the lesser men of principally local importance. The former is well served by Domesday Book, where they appear: Williams focuses on Wulfweard white, Alwine horne, Brihtsige cild, and Æthelnoth cild. The lesser men were people like Azur of Lessness (aptly named!), Godric of Brabourne, Godric Karlison, Esbearn bigga, and d of Chilham. Williams considers their wealth, in men as well as in land, and the exercise of lordship, and status of non-noble free men. The article is filled with many useful insights. For instance, Williams argues that rather than being few on the ground, non-noble free men in Kent are rare in Domesday Book not because there were few around, but because "in Kent the free, as opposed to the dependent, tenants were often omitted, or at least not separately recorded." The ambiguous *aehtemen* she pins down as "all the dependent peasants of the estates, not only the slaves." Williams concludes that "it was the link between the shire community and the king which held together the fabric of the late Old English state," and thus are crucial places to study by those who wish to understand the political and social structure of pre-Conquest

England.

In "Towns and Markets in a Regional Administrative Landscape: the Development of the Late Saxon Urban Network in East Anglia," *Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 79.3 (1997), 221–49, Maggie Bailey employs "spatial analysis," Heighman's urban criteria, and a five-tier framework of S and H for analyzing urban centers to assist written and archeological evidence to explain that the establishment of the complex network or urban centers in East Anglia "was a cumulative process," involving not only the original trading and estate centers of the Middle Saxon period, but also the rise of burghal centers (late ninth and early tenth centuries), "hundred centers, and small seigneurial market centers" (248). By c. 950, East Anglia had what Bailey terms "high-order centers," which had "administrative, judicial, economic and religious functions, represented in urban morphology by evidence of planning, market-places and a multiplicity of churches" (248). Some of these centers took off and grew: Bailey traces this phenomenon to the presence of activities that drew people from outside into the town: moots, tax collection, the mint, festivals, shrines, and markets. The article ranges far, from Roman infrastructure to Domesday Book statistics.   B.O'B.

Jean Manco rehearses the evidence for Bath's evolution from a pagan spa town to an important Anglo-Saxon borough and ecclesiastical center in "Saxon Bath: the Legacy of Rome and the Saxon Rebirth," *Bath Hist.* 7 (1998), 27–54. Proceeding chronologically from the fifth century, this useful overview pays particular attention to the ways in which Bath Abbey functioned as a royal *eigenkloster*.   M.F.G.

Abandoning his earlier identification of the *burh Wigingamere* with Newport in North Essex, Jeremy Halsam, "The Location of the *burh* of *Wigingamere*—a Reappraisal," *Names, Places and People,* ed. Rumble and Mills, pp. 111–30, accepts John Dodgson's Old Linslade, and supplements this identification with evidence drawn from the name's context in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (s.a. 917) and an "analysis of its role in the military-geographical situation of the time" (114). The burh can be shown to be part of a West Saxon attempt to stabilize their north west frontier along Watling Street.
                                                          B.O'B.

In Madeleine Hammond's "The Anglo-Saxon Estate of *Readanora* and the Manor of Pyrton, Oxfordshire," *Oxoniensa* 63 (1999 for 1998), 23–42, the author uses charters, hundredal maps, perambulations and other geological, topographical and place-name evidence to establish the boundaries of the ancient estate of *Readanora* in Oxfordshire, which was granted to the bishop of Worcester in 887. The estate appears in Domesday Book, however, under the name of Pyrton and in the possession of Archbishop Stigand. Hammond argues that Pyrton was probably a smaller section of *Readanora* separated in the 10th century whose name came into general use for the entire area when it became a hundredal manor. The breakup of *Readanora* thus reflects the manorialization of the

Oxfordshire landscape as well as the gradual contraction of Worcester's patrimony.

Based on documentary and topographical evidence, Jennifer Acornley, in "The Anglo-Saxon Charter Boundaries of Coombe Bissett," *Wiltshire Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 92 (1999), 53–59, identifies the five hides at 'Ebbesborne' granted in 956 by King Eadwig to his thegn, Wulfric, with the southeastern section of the parish of Coombe Bissett in Wiltshire. Perhaps part of Winchester's original foundation grant, Coombe Bissett was, by 1066, a twenty-three-and-a-half hide estate held by Gytha, King Harold's mother.

                                                          M.F.G.

Mary Hesse's "The Field Called 'Augey' in Ickleton: an Anglo-Saxon Enclosure?" *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 85 (1997), 159–60, suggests that the Old English *tham ealdan gehaege* 'the old enclosure' lies behind the modern Augey and shows the location of a pre-1008 enclosure in Cambridgeshire.   B.O'B.

K.A. Bailey's "The Manor in Domesday Buckinghamshire II: Demesnes," *Records of Buckinghamshire* 39 (1999 for 1997), 45–58, is a detailed statistical study of demesnes in Buckinghamshire, geared toward the specialist. Bailey investigates why approximately one third of Buckinghamshire's demesnes have separate hidage assessments—whether, as G.R. Elvey suggested, demesne hides reflected physically separate land or, as J.H. Round believed, beneficial tax assessments. Bailey finds slightly more support for Round's hypothesis and, additionally, some correlation between slaves and the number of ploughs in demesne.

Della Hooke's *Warwickshire Anglo-Saxon Charter Bounds,* Stud. in A-S Hist. 10 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1999), is a follow up to her Worcestershire study and a companion volume to the British Academy and Royal Historical Society series of charters printed and edited according to the religious communities to which they pertained. This is a specialized study that describes some forty-seven charters and eighteen leases produced between the 7th and 11th centuries. The boundary clauses of twenty-one charters are printed with notes and the text is illustrated with figures.

In "Continuity and Fission in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Origins of the Rodings (Essex)," *Landscape Hist.* 19 (1997), 25–42, Steven Bassett examines the origins of eight parishes in West Essex known as the Rodings. Bassett had hoped that this unique group of sixteen Domesday manors sharing an –ingas name would contribute to the debate over the 'minster hypothesis,' but has to conclude that the evidence is simply not there. He does, however, suggest that White Roding was an old minster and that Barking and Ely each probably held much larger compact holdings in the area.

                                                          M.F.G.

g. Norman Conquest and Settlement

Marjorie Chibnall divides her very much appreciated *The Debate on the Norman Conquest* (Manchester and New York: Manchester Univ. Press, 1999) into two parts. The first describes chronologically the sources, their production, dissemination, and interpretation up to the early 20th century—from oral testimony of the battle of Hastings all the way to the 1960s. In this part, Chibnall offers descriptions of the give and take of scholars, politicians, lawyers, and amateurs who worked the clay of the Conquest into the images their ages preferred. She is particularly enlightening on the 19th-century controversies. Here eminent politicians like Benjamin Disraeli and Charles Kingsley weighed in with their own Romantic understanding of the ethnic consequences of conquest, while the rise of historical studies in the universities meant a generation of professional academics began to produce the works that would become seminal in this emerging field of study—here William Stubbs, Edward A. Freeman, J.H. Round, and F.W. Maitland found "the right questions." "Trying to answer them was to be the work of the next generations"—C. H. Haskins, F.M. Stenton, and their successors. The most illuminating part is the second, where Chibnall divides and describes the major trends of the later 20th century in 5 chapters: "From Feudalism to Lordship," "Law and the Family," "Empire and Colonisation," "Peoples and Frontiers," and "Church and Economy." These are the principle trends. In each, Chibnall directs our attention to how late-20th-century scholars are reacting to, developing, or revising the works that preceded them; thus in law, we are shown how J.H. Hudson, S.F.C. Milsom, and others are both overturning Maitland's views on the importance of Henry II's reforms, but are also, in the process, filling a gap in Maitland's *History of English Law*, a period (1089–1154) in which he showed little interest. These chapters are not merely descriptive of other peoples' work. Chibnall, on the case of succession, spends as much time clarifying the complex issues of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman succession as describing new interpretations. The postscript addresses the issue of postmodernism's influence on historians in general, and on medieval historians of the Norman Conquest in particular. Chibnall finds that historians had arrived at many of the salutary suspicions attributed to postmodernism long "before post-modernism was thought of." Chibnall does not trace the trends in historical analyses of the Norman Conquest because the trends are in and of themselves important, but because such a tracing shows what a serious, skeptical, and imaginative approach to the past can produce—especially if it is unfettered from trendy theory.

The battles and sources of the conquest itself have attracted attention. Fighting the tide of hindsight that informs 12th-century views of the importance of 1066, Monika Otter, "1066: the Moment of Transition in Two Narratives of the Norman Conquest," *Speculum* 74 (1999), 565–86, looks at "the more immediate reactions to the event" and finds a not dissimilar belief that 1066 was "a major dividing line." She focuses her attention on the anonymous *Vita Ædwardi regis* and William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*, itself a translation of Coleman's Old English life: both texts are late 11th century. Otter finds that both texts "propose an important contemporary figure as a bridge across the crisis of the Norman Conquest." The trauma of conquest is lost in the texts' elision of before and after 1066. This does not mean, however, that the two texts ignore changes. On the contrary, they both "construct a higher-level narrative that chronicles the change in a different way"—most easily seen in William of Malmesbury's explicit remarks about his Old English source and how he has altered it.

Peter Poyntz Wright's *Hastings* (Moreton-in-Marsh, Gloucs: Windrush, 1996) tells the tale of the momentous battle with the assistance mostly of the older generations of scholars (Freeman, Stenton, and Douglas) and liberal use of the primary sources. Wright's purpose was merely to gather scattered evidence for "the general reader," but he has done this admirably and with grace to produce if not scholarship, then a very engrossing account.

Penny Eley and Philip E. Bennett's "The Battle of Hastings According to Gaimar, Wace and Benoit: Rhetoric and Politics," *Nottingham Med. Stud.* 43 (1999), 47–78, explores "the literary approaches adopted by three vernacular writers working between the late 1130s and the 1180s," focusing on how the rhetorical resources of each writer were products of his own political context. Gaimar's anti-Norman bias and focus on Harold is born of his "concern to align his portrait of Harold with a certain French literary archetype": that of a tragic epic hero whose doom is set in the heavens yet who falls with great valor. Why would Gaimar do this? The authors admit that nothing in the political context explains it. The authors are more successful with Wace, who has produced "an exercise in typological writing in which William the Conqueror's reign as Duke and King prefigures Henry II's reign as Count, Duke and King, and the Conquest of 1066 prefigures the accession of Henry in 1154" (64–5). This typological angle may, they suggest, have cost Wace his patronage. Benoit provided a Hastings and a history more attuned to "the literary political aspirations of his patron" (70). Benoit's Hastings blends into, rather than stands our from, the course of Norman history. The battle is between Harold and William, rather than between the English and the Normans. Given the similarity of the three writers' "French-speaking colonial aristocracy" as an audience, the three different takes on Hastings reflect the rapidly changing attitudes of the aristocracy. The subsequent unpopularity of these works confirms that an audience in twelfth-century England was a fast-moving target.

In *The Bayeux Tapestry and the Ethos of War* (Delmar, NY: Caravan Books, 1998), Rouben Cholakian has approached the venerable Bayeux Tapestry armed with the vast array of scholarship listed in the bibliography of Susan Brown

and Wilson, but nonetheless chooses to fight almost with only his bare hands, using what he terms "modern critical techniques." He makes two fairly straightforward claims: 1) that the Bayeux Tapestry has been understood as a "single-authored" heroic text because that was how nineteenth-century Romantics wanted it, and 2) that its creation was taken from Mathilda, wife of William I, and gendered male (i.e., given to Odo) because of a similar nineteenth-century disparaging view of the potential of female artistic genius. This text needed "the great male hero" and "the great male artist." Perhaps that is true—it is certainly plausible, and the best parts of Cholakian's book are where he dissects the Romantic vision of the interpreters of the Bayeux Tapestry. Nevertheless, Cholakian falls into the very pit himself. His reading of the text is located in the late twentieth century, where literary critics sought the subversion of texts by themselves with the same fervor as medieval knights sought their *graal*. So Cholakian, focussing his modern critical techniques on (inter alia) gestures, finds that the actual workers wielding needles have worked to undermine the heroic tale of the main panel both by producing its antithesis in the borders as well as by their presentation of gesture in the main panel. Fingers become phalluses and violence to women turns the Bayeux Tapestry into a peace text; portraits of workers and lower echelon warriors express discontent and vexation in the midst of military cooperation—these are "the subtler signs of class struggle" Cholakian claims to expose. Thus the Conqueror's "aim to reach out to a disparate public by relying on visual reading invited subversive messages." But more, "it also allowed critics with modern strategies of decoding access to psychological truths" (59). Isn't this the same act of projection Cholakian complains Romantic scholars performed? He has not decoded an artifact like the Bayeux Tapestry because he is cleverer, but because he lives in an age that does that to texts. The details of the work may hold insightful gems, but the overall confusion on matters as basic as King William's alleged responsibility for ordering the Bayeux Tapestry (asserted often) and the relationship between the Tapestry's Latin text and common speech undermines our confidence in any of this. For instance, the author believes that the Latin legends in the Tapestry are "the vulgar Latin of the streets, the *koine* that will become the common speech, intended for instant recognition" (40). He reads the Latin as declining in complexity into a Romance tongue, not realizing it seems that this has already taken place some centuries before, and that a late eleventh-century Latin text whose syntax and accidence are simple and crude is, in fact, just simple and crude Latin, not French.

Objecting to the new orthodoxy of Susan Ridyard, that Lanfranc and the Normans did not really purge English saints and cultic celebrations because of their prejudice, Jay Rubenstein, "Liturgy against History: the Competing Visions of Lanfranc and Eadmer of Canterbury," *Speculum* 74 (1999), 279–309, examines "what Lanfranc did with the relics at Canterbury and elsewhere in England, but also what the Anglo-Norman historians, particularly Eadmer, believed that he did." What he finds is that while Lanfranc may have simply wished to bring English practices in line with those of the 'reformed' continent, Eadmer and others interpreted it as "continental bigotry" against the English. Lanfranc undoubtedly "de-emphasized the local saints, edited the Canterbury calendar, and oversaw the investigation of many saints whose sanctity seemed uncertain." What is nowhere in this program is any hint that this was done because of [the saints'] 'Englishness.'" Nevertheless, Eadmer "took offense." In Eadmer's estimation, the conquest "had injected into England a dangerous number of unrepentant *alienigenae*" and when these foreigners doubted England's saints, they only compounded the failure of the English themselves to venerate their own. Eadmer's historical writing, however, was not just a critique of Lanfranc but was also "part of a program of liturgical reform that existed in competition with Lanfranc's"—neither of which programs was "particularly 'Norman' or 'Saxon.'" Rubenstein finds that the Calendars have been turned against their will to the purposes of modern Norman and Saxon historians. The early 11th-century Canterbury calendar shows that the English saints who dominated Eadmer's vision "did not dominate the community's imagination" 60 years before. Eadmer, in trying to recreate a preconquest Church, significantly altered it and raised to the level of sainthood Englishmen who, like Oda, before 1066 may have been just "a good man." And Eadmer, unlike Lanfranc, did this because of his very real insular bigotry.

Paul Antony Hayward produced three works of significance on the ecclesiastical consequences of the conquest. Using a much neglected body of "well over 60 saints' lives, liturgical offices, and miracle collections" composed between 1066 and c. 1140, Hayward ("Translation-Narratives in Post-Conquest Hagiography and English Resistance to the Norman Conquest," *Anglo-Norman Stud.* 21 (1999), 67–93) examines "the extent to which the 'translation-narratives' found in these texts reflect the situation of English religious communities caught in the Conquest's wake." He discovers that post-Conquest hagiographers, in their concern to show official approbation for the cults, "focus their accounts of the translation largely around the role which kings and bishops played in bringing about the inception of the cult" (69). For example, the enlargement of Cnut's role in the *Vita* of Alfeah by Osbern, and the appearance of the pope in the *Vita Kenelmi* by Goscelin, are examples of just this kind of inflation. Hayward surveys also Goscelin's *Vita et Translatio S. Edithae*, the *Life of Wulfsige III*, five works written for the nuns of Barking Abbey, and the *Life and Miracles of St. Ivo*, as well as the anonymous account of the translation of the relics of St. Felix, and the *Passio Eadwardi* by probably one of the nuns of Shaftesbury. The spread of the popularity of the "authority-laden translation narrative" was probably the result of its popularity with professional hagiographers like Goscelin. Why

were English communities so keen to procure such authorities? Here Hayward returns to the stories of Norman suspicions of the authenticity or sanctity of Anglo-Saxon relics and cults, and suggests that fear of ejection, and worse, by English clerics targeted because of their ethnicity drove them. This final point is more asserted than proven, and it is unclear how the composition of a new "authority-laden translation-narrative" would have saved any abbot or bishop from losing his position.

Hayward's "Saint Albans, Durham, and the Cult of Saint Oswine King and Martyr," *Viator* 30 (1999), 105–44, considers the ways in which the cult of St Oswine was reshaped in the twelfth century to bolster St Albans's claims against Durham to rights over Tynemouth Priory. While it tells us little about the early Anglo-Saxon cult, Hayward notes that "it is immensely valuable for the concise insights which it offers into the conflicting pressures under which cults labored in the deeply segmented world of Norman and Angevin England" (134–5). Hayward shows how Bede's sparse account was filled in to make St Oswine a worthy competitor to St Cuthbert. The exercise of St Albans's power in Northumbria, Hayward further argues, was the catalyst behind Durham's attempt to control Tynemouth in the first place.

Last, in "The *Miracula Inventionis Beate Mylburge Virginis* Attributed to 'the Lord Ato, Cardinal Bishop of Ostia,'" *EHR* 114 (1999), 543–73, Hayward produces a first edition of one of the few postconquest hagiographical texts wholly attributed to foreign monks, and provides a brief analysis of some of its knottier issues. The author, a Cluniac monk, worked for the monks of Wenlock after 1102 but before 1110, and was producing his work during the lifetime of those at Wenlock who had discovered Milburga's relics. Hayward concludes that although the attribution of the work to Ato (recte Odo), cardinal bishop of Ostia, may be authentic and correct, a body of circumstantial evidence suggests the Italian Odo was substituted for the original author (who was also Milanese) soon after its composition "to lend quasi-papal authority to a tendentious text about a controversial event." The text itself is distinguished by how it "argues for its authenticity so relentlessly," which means, Hayward says, "that it is impossible to tell where the fiction ends and the truth begins." The political anxiety driving the invention of the text may have been the disturbed conditions following the death of Roger de Montgomery in 1094, where the monks of the refounded Wenlock sought the comfort of myth of their community's long survival.

Hugh M. Thomas, starting in his "The *Gesta Herwardi*, the English, and Their Conquerors," *Anglo-Norman Stud.* 21 (1999), 213–32, with the orthodox but nonetheless tendentious assertion that "the Norman Conquest was a savage affair, and the ethnic hostility it produces lingered well into the twelfth century," finds a snug fit between this wounded world and the object of his study, the fabulous *Gesta Herewardi*. The *Gesta*, a twelfth-century narrative by Richard of

Ely, tells of one of the most famous of the English in the post-Conquest period, Hereward the Wake. Thomas argues that Richard created in his pseudo-history a carefully crafted and subtle series of responses ... to charges that the English were inferior in the practice of warfare, and not fully conversant with the rules and customs surrounding war" (204). The text also responds "to English anxieties about class, language, and culture" while England was under foreign domination. The *Gesta* becomes in Thomas's hands a plea for "cultural equality" for the English. The problem for Thomas and for all those who would make the ethno-cultural argument is that words like *Anglus* or *gens Anglorum*, appearing almost always without any gloss to its connotations, let alone their denotations, have to bear a tremendous amount of weight, most of which depends on faith that they mean something like what we'd label "ethnic" or "cultural." If we adopt an agnostic approach, their "ethnic" meaning fades away; we see that we need not read Richard of Ely's presentation of, for example, Hereward's military prowess as an argument for English chivalry, but rather can see it as Richard's inadvertent projection of his contemporary understanding of war onto the somewhat blank canvas of Hereward's and his gang's activities. The case Thomas makes is argued with some care, but in the end, I find it unpersuasive.

Elisabeth van Houts, "Hereward and Flanders," *ASE* 28 (1999), 201–23, reevaluates Hereward's activities in the county of Flanders, described in two sections of the much maligned *Gesta Herewardi*. Her remarkable sleuthing uncovers continental sources which not only reveal the course of the Wake in Flanders during the 1060s, but also "seemingly confirm the *Gesta* sections on Flanders." According to the *Gesta*, Hereward fought for the court of Flanders against the count of Guines, travels, fights in tournaments, trains young recruits, meets an interesting woman who falls in love with him (whom he later marries), returns to England to be knighted (between 1066 and 1069) returns to Flanders to fight for Baldwin against the lord of Picquigny, and finally returns to England. This narrative has appeared to most historians to be the stuff of romance, tainted by some untrustworthy literary sensibility. Van Houts corrects us carefully and with abundant documentation. For instance, Hereward participates in the *Gesta* in a great expedition to *Scaldemariland* because the people there refused to pay tribute to the count; the result of the expedition, led by the count's son, Robert, was a negotiated peace. Van Houts finds the other side's account of this expedition in the last miracle story appended to the *Vita S. Willibrordi*, where Robert, son of Count Baldwin, leads the expedition to *Scaldemermur*, and is defeated. Nevertheless, the *Vita* says, the inhabitants, led by the author of the *Vita*, later negotiated a settlement with the count and agreed to pay some tribute. For the expedition's date, Van Houts marshals the *Annals of Saint-Bertin* and Lambert of Hersfeld's annals to arrive at "(late) summer of 1067." That Richard of Ely, author of the *Gesta*, did not just foist his hero

onto known events, Van Houts adduces an original charter of Bishop Lietbert of Cambrai, datable to 1065, which lists a witness as *miles Herivvardi,* who is one of the mercenaries hired by the bishop in that time of insecurity. The name is unique in contemporary Flemish or northern French records. With other aspects of Hereward's Flemish connection, Van Houts has varying success, but she does show often the plausibility of the *Gesta*'s claims, if not possibility or probability. In the end, Van Houts suggests that we should not be so quick to condemn the *Gesta*, an account whose Old English source, she speculates, may have even been commissioned by a female member of Hereward's family—perhaps even Hereward's wife or daughter.   B.O'B.

On late Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman law is Bruce O'Brien's *God's Peace and King's Peace: the Laws of Edward the Confessor.* The book is as impressive for its introductory material as it is for its edition and translation of one of the most popular legal treatises of the Middle Ages. From the outset, O'Brien makes a compelling case for the importance of this treatise, despite the fact that it was not an authentic Anglo-Saxon law code. Part I is comprised of four chapters exploring the legal, political, social and ecclesiastical contexts of the original text. The first chapter is an unusually nuanced discussion of the debate over change versus continuity after the Norman Conquest. Equally impressive chapters about the contents of the manuscript, its sources and purposes, authorship, and manuscript tradition follow. The treatise is primarily concerned with the Peace of God and the Church and the King's Peace, which O'Brien argues reflects the intermingling of local and regnal law characteristic of the period between the Conqueror and Glanvill. Among O'Brien's deductions are the likelihood that it was produced after 1096 at the episcopal see of Lincoln, perhaps by an episcopal steward or other local lay official, and perhaps contemporary with King Stephen I's coronation charter. Part II is the text itself, a facing translation with copious notes prefaced by a lucid explanation of the complicated manuscript tradition. This book is not only an important contribution to English legal history, but also to our understanding of the mental world of the twelfth century.

Ann Williams's contribution to *Studies in the Early History of Shaftesbury Abbey*, ed. Keen, "The Abbey Tenants and Servants in the 12th Century" (pp. 131–60), investigates the abbey's 12th century tenants and their heirs based on three lists together with the abbey's cartulary, royal charters, and Domesday Book. This prosopographical study is concerned

not with the abbey's knights, whom Williams has studied elsewhere, but with the abbey's non-noble tenants. Williams has uncovered a variety of free men and women who held land in exchange for rents, service at the hundredal court, errand services or service to the abbey as porters, butlers, carpenters and cooks, among others. This important study brings to light an entire stratum of free tenants entirely missing from the southwestern Domesday surveys.   M.F.G.

Works not seen

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Semmler, Josef. "*Instituta sancti Bonifatii*: Fulda im Widerstreit der Observanzen." *Kloster Fulda in der Welt der Karolinger und Ottonen*. Ed. Gangolf Schrimpf. Fuldaer Studien 7. Frankfurt am Main, 1996. 79-103.

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7. Names

A large number of articles in the year's bibliography are concerned with the etymologies of individual place-names. In "A Postscript to *Ratley*" (*Namn och Bygd* 87, 141), J. Insley adds further evidence for the derivation of the first ele-

ment in *Ratley*, Warwickshire from an OE *Rōta from OE *rōt* "cheerful" by citing the form *Rōt in hillum* listed as the name of a festerman of Ælfric (probably Ælfric Puttoc) in an eleventh-century York gospel book. In "Tarlton" (*Namn*

och Bygd 87, 61–80), Insley finds Ekwall's traditional explanation of the first element in *Tarlton* and *Tarlscough*, in Lancashire as coming from ON *þóraldr,* a side form of the personal-name *þóraldr,* unsatisfactory and suggests a pre-Celtic Indo-European river-name formed from the root *ter-/*tor*—meaning "quick, strong" as the source. R. Fosberg's exhaustive study, *The Place-Name Lewes,* Uppsala, 1997, concludes that the name of the town of *Lewes* in Sussex derives not from OE *hlæw* "hill, barrow" but from a topographical application of OE *læw* "wound, incision" meaning "gap" just as OE *sceard* "gap, notch" and OE *corf* "a cutting, a pass" were used topographically since *Lewes* is at the narrowest part of the great gap in the South Downs.

In "The Place-Name Tandridge (Surrey)" (*N&Q* 46, 316–17), G. Kristensson suggests that the first element of *Tandridge* comes from OE *tendon* "to light, to kindle" and that the place-name would mean "lighted ridge" and refer to the camp fires illuminating the ridge which was the meeting place of the hundred. In "Tangmere" (*Sussex Past & Present,* 88, 5 and 9), R. Coates feels that the Sussex place-name *Tangmere* might better be derived from a form like *getangan mere* meaning "contiguous pools" rather than OE *tang* and OE *mere* meaning "tongs pool" or "pool shaped like a pair of tongs." C. Hough argues, in "ME *flokere* in Flooker's Brook" (*N&Q* 46, 183–85), that the first element in *Flooker's Brook* in Cheshire is the attested ME *flokere* "shepherd" rather than an unattested ME *flokere* "fluke-fisher." In "Cheveley and Chaff Hall: a Reconsideration of OE *ceaf* in Place-Names" (*Nottingham Med. Stud.* 43, 21–32), Hough suggests that the first element in *Cheveley* and *Chaff Hall* in Cambridgeshire comes not from OE *ceaf* meaning "chaff" or by extension "rubbish, fallen twigs" but from an OE *ceaf* "chaffinch" and that this bird-name is also a plausible etymology for the personal name OE *Ceaf(f)a* which has been proposed as the first element in *Chaffcombe* in Devon and Somerset and of *Chavenage* in Gloucestershire.

In "The Anglo-Saxon Estate of Readanora and the Manor of Pyrton, Oxfordshire" (*Oxoniensia* 63, 23–42), M. Hammond derives the missing place-name *Readanora* in Oxfordshire from the Old English word for "red" and *ora* "a hill with a convex end" referring to the red soil on top of the Chilterns, thus "red slopes," and similarly derives other place-names from *ora* and other characteristics of the natural landscape: *Golder* from *Gold-ora, Clare* from *Clay-ora,* and *Stonor* from *Stone-ora.* The name *Pyrton* from OE *pyrige* and *tūn* meaning "pear orchard" began to replace *Readanora* as the estate of Readanora declined and Pyrton became one of the hundredal manors of Oxfordshire. In "Buckslow at Swanbourne and Other Saxon Mound Names in Buckinghamshire" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 39, 59–62), M. Farley suggests the furlong name *Buckslow,* which survives as the name of a farm called *Buxlow* in Buckinghamshire and whose last element is OE *hlæw,* which is often used to describe a burial mound or hill, indicates a probable burial mound

from the early Saxon period. Farley also identifies other *hlæw*-names which may indicate other Saxon burial mounds or hundredal mounds such as *Taplow* and *Bledlow.* In "Christians and Pagans in Weedon, Buckinghamshire" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 39, 149–54), Farley speculates that the place-name *Weedon* in Hardwick Parish in Buckinghamshire which incorporates the OE *weoh* "sanctuary, shrine" refers to an unrecorded church from the Late Saxon period belonging to thegns and having a graveyard with a possible connection to a pagan sanctuary.

In "The Furlong-Name of Chicheley" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 39, 1–17), A. Baines builds upon A. Chibnall's work in *Beyond Sherington* describing field-names in *Chicheley* "Cicca's clearing" in Buckinghamshire, but Baines thinks that furlong-names is more appropriate than field-names in describing these sections of arable land. Baines shows that the survey of Chicheley fields in 1557 by Anthony Cave and the names in use around 1330 when they were owned by the William Maunsell family confirm that the field-names had a half-life of a little over 600 years. Many of these furlong-names have personal-names as their first element such as *Balney* from *Ballan-hæg* "Balla's enclosure." In "Wick" (*Sussex Past & Present* 87, 5 and 7), R. Coates says that the place-names in *wick* in Sussex developed from the Old English plural form and denote a farm with a specialized function, but one that is dependent on another for some aspects of its business such as *Shopwyke* for a sheep farm, *Honeywick,* and *Sedgewick.* In "Two Lincolnshire Coastal Names" (*Jnl. of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 55–62), A. Owen identifies the etymology of the Lincolnshire coastal feature in sailing directions spelled variously such as *Leyrnes, Leirnes, Legerness,* etc. as ON *leir-nes* "clay headland" and suggests the medieval *Wilgrip Haven* is more likely to be identified as the Woldgrift Drain instead of it being a haven near Theddlethorpe in north-east Lincolnshire. In "The Place-Names of the Lathes of St. Augustine and Shipway, Kent" (*Index to Theses* 48, 1624), P. Cullen produces a gazetteer of the place-names of the two most easterly lathes of Kent including "a great number of field-names and other minor names, most of which have never before been the subject of linguistic investigation."

Several articles deal with place-names with Celtic origins. In "The Origins of the Name of Craven" (*BN* 34, 25–45), A. Rowley rejects Ekwall's derivation of the north-west Yorkshire place-name *Craven* from Welsh *craf* "garlic" and proposes a pre-Indo-European origin of *crav*—"rock" which was brought from Gaul by the Celts in a form like *crav-ona* meaning "stony region." A. Breeze has a number of such articles in this year's bibliography. In "The Name of the River Cray" (*Archæologia Cantiana* 118, 372–74), he argues convincingly that the earlier meaning of the Middle Welsh adjective *crei* which provides the name for the River Cray in Greater London but formerly Kent is not as Ekwall had suggested "fresh, clear, or pure" but "rough." In "The Celtic Name of the River Weaver" (*Cheshire Hist.* 38, 2–3), he re-

jects Ekwall's explanation of *Weaver* in the River Weaver in Western Cheshire as "winding" and derives the name from a Gaulish name element cognate with the Welsh adjective *gwefr* meaning "yellowish brown, amber." In "The Name of Try-sull, near Wolverhampton" (*Staffordshire Stud.*10, 77–78), he also rejects Ekwall's identification of the first element of Try-sull in south-west Staffordshire as Celtic *tres* "toil, labour" and Mills' derivation of *Trysull* from a Celtic river-name meaning "strongly flowing" and suggests that the place-name means "tumultuous river" or "noisy river." In "The Name of the River Mite" (*Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeol. Soc.* 99, 277–78), he derives the river-name *Mite* in south-west Cumbria from the Cumbrian equivalent of Welsh *muchudd* "jet" in the sense of "black." In "The Celtic Origin of the Name *Taunton*" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* 34, 317–19), he rejects Ekwall's and Gelling's interpretation of the river *Tone*, the source for the first element of the Somerset place-name *Taunton* as "thundering river" and suggests that the river-name means "fire river" which refers to a river of "sparkling or bright water" rather than Ekwall's suggestion that the *-fire* refers to "fire hill", that is, "beacon hill." In "The Celtic Names of Cabus, Cuerden, and Wilpshire in Lancashire" (*Trans. of the Hist. Soc. of Lancashire and Cheshire* 148, 191–96), he rejects Ekwall's suggested English origins of *Cabus* for a Cumbric one meaning "ferry boats" by comparison to Welsh *ceubal*, modifies Ekwall's etymology of *Cuerden* from the equivalent of Welsh *cerddin* "ash tree" by pointing out that *cerddin* does not mean "ash tree" (*Fraxinus excelsior*, a member of the Olive family), but "mountain ash" (*Pyrus aucuparia*, a member of the Rose family), and rejects Ekwall's English origin of the first element in *Wilpshire* and identifies its etymology as the Cumbric equivalent of Old Welsh *gulip* "wet."

Several essays this year concern locations of historical place-names. In "A North-West Devon Anomoly: Hartland" (*Jnl. of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 9–18), R. Coates hypothesizes that *Hartland* is the "estate toward Lundy" and that the island of *Lundy* which is eleven miles northwest of Hartland Point is *Harty* from OE **Heort ieg* but currently has an Old Norse name from **Lunda-ey* "puffin(s)' island." In "Simeon of Durham's Annal for 756 and Govan, Scotland" (*Nomina* 22, 133–37), A. Breeze identifies *Newburgh* in Simeon of Durham's Annal for 756 preserved in *Historia Regum* as *Newbrough* in Northumberland and speculates that *Ovania* in the same annal is a corruption of **Govania*, a Latinized form of *Govan* which was a village on the south bank of the Clyde but is now a working-class district in Glasgow. He also suggests, in "Was Durham the Broninis of Eddius's Life of St Wilfrid?" (*Durham Archaeol. Jnl.* 14–15, 91–92), on historical as well as onomastic grounds, that *Durham* is indeed the Broninis where St. Wilfrid was held captive by King Ecgfrith of Northumbria and that *Broninis* is Celtic from the Brittonic element *bron* "hill side, slope, breast (of hill)" and *inis* is like Modern Welsh *ynys* "island,

inch, holm, river-meadow." In "Locating the Birthplace of St. Patrick" (*Brit. Archaeol.* 16, 10–11), H. Jelley speculates that the birthplace of St. Patrick was at or near the village of *Banwell* in Somerset after he amends Patrick's *Bannavem Taberniae* to *Bannaventa Berniae* and interprets *banna* as a Celtic word meaning "bend, crook, or peak." In "The Place-Name Hexham and Its Interpretation" (*N&Q* 46, 422–27), D. Bullough argues that the specific shows the overlapping meanings of "young warrior, young retainer" and "unmarried young man," and he further argues that the strongest candidate for the site of *Hexham* is Corbridge on the north bank of the Tyne. In "Earnley Wood" (*Proc. of the Dorset Nat. Hist. and Archaeol. Soc.* 120, 96–97), P. Morris corrects A. Horsfall's listing of *Earnley Wood* among those woods of Dorset that had disappeared by noting that C. Drew had first identified Earnley as *Benville* in Corscombe parish in Frampton in 1949 and that Morris had also done so in 1983. In "The Lost Village of Earnshill & the Hill Called Duun Meten in Isle Abbotts" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes and Queries* 34, 327–32), E. Ellerington says that the Somerset place-name *Earnshill* in the charters of Kynewulf (762) and Edgar (c. 966) referred to a settlement bounded by the Rivers Earn (now Fivehead River) and Isle extending eastward to their confluence, not the site of the present Earnshill House, and says that the second element derives from southern OE *healh* rather than OE *hyll* and means at the "nook" enclosed by the Earn and the Isle. The western boundary is marked by a hill called *Duun Meten* in Kynewulf's charter which Ellerington speculates may have been called *Badbury* at one time because the hamlet at the foot of the low hill is now called *Badbury*.

Several articles this year deal with the meaning of place-name elements. In "Place-Names in *-cot*: The Buckinghamshire Evidence" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 77–90), K. Bailey surveys the place-names in *-cot* in *The Place-Names of Buckinghamshire* and two additional Buckinghamshire *-cot* names and concludes that they were not particularly "disadvantaged in terms of the soil" but that they were mostly small settlements, with no particular reason for *cot* being chosen as a place-name element other than tradition. In "New Light from Old Wicks: The Progeny of Latin *vicus*" (*Nomina* 22, 75–116), R. Coates spends a great deal of time correcting Ekwall's 1964 study of OE *wīc* and concludes "that the central root historical meaning of *wīc* is 'dependent economic unit'" after disposing of any alleged connection of OE *wīcing* "viking" with OE *wīc* in Old English place-names. In "Names on the Edge: Hills and Boundaries" (*Nomina* 22, 61–74), M. Higham shows place-name evidence for **cant* meaning "border, edge" being used as a place-name element in Cornwall, Lancashire, and Scotland as well as in Yorkshire in names such as *Cant Beck* and *Cant Clough*. In "Die Ortsnamen *Freshwater*, *Friskney* und die Etymologie von neuenglish *fresh* 'frisch'" (*BN* 34, 159–71), K. Dietz uses place-name evidence to show that there is no reason to think that OF *freis, fresche* as a loan word in Middle English in-

fluenced the modern meaning of *fresh* which he derives from an OE **fresc*. In "Det engelaska *stead* och det nordiska stad 'kant, rand'" (*Namn och Bygd* 87, 47–55), K. Sandred stands by the conclusions of his dissertation *English Place-Names in -stead* (1963) concerning the origin of English names in *-stead* despite other recent scholarly explanations. R. Coates, in "Box in English Place-Names" (*ES* 80, 2–45), examines forty place-names with *box* or the supposed **byxe* as an element to conclude that the presence of the box-tree (*Buxus sempervirens*) as a place-naming element dates from Roman-period agricultural pursuits.

In "Overhall and Netherhall" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 115–117), J. Turville-Petre suggests that the frequency of occurrence of such twin halls such as *Overhall* or *Uphall* vs *Netherhall* in many counties, but particularly in East Anglia, may relate to an early system of taxation in which a village needed two halls: "one for legal business and a separate, secure building to collect and store the geld" since the village was the geld unit. In "*cisel, greot, stan*, and the Four U's" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 19–30), A. Cole uses *Ubiquitous, Useless, Underlying* and *Utilitarian* to differentiate among three place-name elements meaning "gravel, stone." She says that *cisel* refers to large areas with small fragments which are ubiquitous but useless for building, that *grēot* refers to smaller areas where settlements are often sited on the underlying but otherwise useless gravel, and "that *stān* refers to stone that has been or could be used." In "Some Observations on *ge, gau* and *go*" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 63–76), K. Bailey shows that OE *gē*, German *gau*, and Dutch *go* place-name elements all "related to a concept of territoriality, overlaid by an association with water in one form or another." Nearly all of the *gē*-names in England are in Kent or Essex and are generally on or near a coast and are all prior to 550 in time of settlement. In "Place-Names and Landscapes" (*The Uses of Place-Names*, Edinburgh, 1998, pp. 75–100), M. Gelling explains the meaning differences among Old English place-name elements meaning "mountain, hill": *dūn, beorg, crūg* (from Primitive Welsh), *hōh, *ofer, ōra* (from Latin), those for valleys: *denu, cumb,* and *hop,* and those for wetlands: *ēg, wæsse, mōr, fen,* and *hyth.* G. Fellows-Jensen's preliminary conclusions concerning East Anglian Scandinavian settlement names, in "Scandinavian Settlement Names in East Anglia: Some Problems" (*Nomina* 22, 45–60), state that the Scandinavian hundred-names, names with *bý,* the *þorps* with Scandinavian specifics, those names with rare or archaic Scandinavian names as specifics, and the Scandinavian topographical names were all named during the Viking period rather than later.

In "What was a Caldecote?" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 31, 31–54), P. Tallon hypothesizes that the *Caldecotes* may have been places of banishment and exile established as the result of a law proclaimed by Æthelstan in 935. He lists the seventy-two instances of the name in its various forms throughout England by counties and also provides a clear map

showing their distribution. B. Roberts, in "Of *Æcertyning*" (*Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15, 93–100), explains the meaning of *æcertyning* or "acre-fencing" in a survey of Tidenham, Gloucestershire referring to an estate granted in 956 by King Edwy to the Abbot of Bath. The essay deals with field systems and the basic elements of rural settlement, as well as woodlands, but it does not mention specific place-names except in passing.

In "Meeting-Places in *Wilvaston* (sic) Hundred, Cheshire" (*Jnl. of the Eng.Place-Name Soc.* 31, 91–112), A. Pantos examines twenty Anglo-Saxon meeting places in Cheshire including six in the Domesday hundred of *Wilaveston* on the Wirral peninsula in terms of their topography and early administrative units. Pantos concludes that the vast majority were associated with township, parish, or hundred boundaries and that the majority of them were associated with a hill, mound, or tumulus, perhaps because boundaries are neutral grounds and mounds would provide an elevated position from which to speak. In "The Boundaries of Winslow—Some Comments" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 39, 63–66), K. Bailey comments on E. Bull and J. Hunt's 1998 essay concerning the boundaries of the Winslow estate granted by Offa of Mercia in 792. Bailey suggests that the first point *cynemderes heafde* which is translated as "king's boundary"and Point 19 *Kynemæres broc* translated as "king's boundary book" contain the personal-name *Cynemær* rather than OE *cyning* "king" and should be translated as Cynemær's headland and brook respectively while Points 14 and 15 *acald riþey* and *acald wylles* are scribal errors for *scald riþig/wylle* from OE *sceald/sceldu* meaning "shallow" rather than "cold" from OE *c(e)ald*.

In "Essex Place-Names Project" (*Essex Archaeol. and Hist. News* 130, 4–5), J. Kemble lists the additional parish Tithe and Enclosure records that have been completed as well as additional parishes that are being recorded. He also announces that the Essex Place-Name Project recorded names will be placed on the Essex Record Office SFAX database for availability to researchers. In "Eydon Field Names" (*Cake and Cockhorse* 14, 174–76), C. Howes writes for a popular, rather than a scholarly, audience explaining the historical significance and etymologies of various field-names in the area of Northamptonshire around Eydon.

In "Rural Dialects and Surviving Britons" (*Brit. Archaeol.* 46, 18), T. Gay reports the survival of Celtic counting systems in rural areas of England like Wiltshire, the Yorkshire dales, and the Lake District into the first half of the twentieth century and then concludes that there was a Welsh presence throughout Britain in the rural areas even after the Anglo-Saxons had taken over from the Celts.

Two essays in this year's bibliography deal exclusively with personal names. J. Insley takes C. Hough to task, in "Old English *Odda*" (*N&Q* 46, 4–5), for inserting an asterisk before *Odda* in her note "Odda in *The Battle of Maldon*" (*N&Q* 45, 169–72) since the name is attested elsewhere

and for suggesting that *Odda* might be anything other than a hypocoristic form of a name element *Ord-*. In "*Eobanus* und *Dadanus*" (*BN* 34, 145–50), N. Wagner suggests that the personal names of St. Boniface's companions called *Eobanus* and *Dadanus* come from the Latinization of Old English weak declension personal names *Eoba*, a shortened form of **Eo(h)berht* or **Eo(h)bald*, in the accusative case *Eoban*, and *Dada*, in the accusative case *Dadan*.

J.D.C.

Works not seen

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8. Archaeology and Numismatics

a. Excavations

"Exploring, Explaining, Imagining: Anglo-Saxon Archaeology 1998" (*The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Karkov, pp. 25–52) by Martin O.H. Carver is one of two introductory essays written for this useful book. It provides a definition of some of the techniques appropriate to the subject, and to the various methodological approaches, with a very fair analysis of the strengths and weaknesses of each, concluding that "good students have always been aware that the historical, the analytical, the deductive, the intuitive and the self-critical each have a role in any successful model of the past." An overview of the subject, defined as "work in progress," takes the reader chronologically through the major developments in and between the early, middle and late Anglo-Saxon periods, and provides some examples to show the relation with art-historical material and major historical events.

Keith Nurse's "New Dating for Wat's Dyke" (*Hist. Today* August 1999, pp. 3–4) is a note based on a Shropshire County Archaeological Service report by H.R. Hannaford, suggesting that a radio-carbon dating for a hearth or fire site beneath the bank of Wat's Dyke at Oswestry in Shropshire (which was found together with sherds of Romano-British pottery) means that this earthwork is more likely to belong to the mid fifth-century post-Roman kingdom of the northern Cornovii than to seventh- to eighth-century Mercia, as many have believed. It should be said, however, that some historians have never accepted its contemporaneity with Offa's Dyke.

b. Regional Studies

In "The Formation of the Anglo-Saxon Kingdom of Lindsey" (*ASSAH* 10 (1999), 127–33), Kevin Leahy brings together his extensive knowledge of the area to define the kingdom of Lindsey, effectively an island bounded by the Humber estuary on the north, the North Sea (east), the River Witham and the Fossdyke to the south and on the west by marshes. There is little documentary evidence for this region, but Leahy suggests that with its own bishops and kings and a Tribal Hidage assessment on a par with that of the South

Saxons, for example, it may not have been powerful but could not have been negligible. It became a Mercian province after 678. There is considerable archaeological evidence from five major cremation cemeteries to support the fifth century Anglian adventus as suggested by Bede, and indeed the area seems to have been very intensively settled at this time. Each of these cemeteries is close to a later important manorial centre. The cemeteries follow the pattern for Anglian England in moving towards inhumation in the late fifth century, and as in most of the studies in "Death and Burial" below, there is evidence in the seventh century for a concentration of wealth and power into fewer hands.

Tony Bostock offers topographical, documentary and place name evidence for a possible shift of population and settlement focus in the Late Saxon period for a small area of Cheshire, from the secluded valley where the church still stands to what were originally subordinate settlements on higher ground ("The Origins of Over and Darnhall." *Cheshire Hist.* 37 (1997–98), 11–22). The analysis depends on the assumption that names which are topographical in origin lose their primary meaning and become attached to areas and places with a different topography as the population moved. Only intensive archaeology and field survey, however, would ultimately prove the point. The same applies to "Viking Period Chester: an Alternative Perspective" (*Jnl of the Chester Archaeol. Soc.* 74 (1999 for 1996–7), 63–78), by T. Austin. This rejects most of the evidence for Anglo-Saxon influence and control in Chester from the seventh century as too late (if documentary) or too disputable or slight (if archaeological). Instead it is argued (though without any new evidence) that a British kin-based monasticism dominated until the ninth century, and that the English incorporation of Cheshire and parts of north-east Wales into Mercia took place much later than has often been proposed, and that the catalyst which broke a deadlock between different takes on Christian ideology between established monastic relations and an incoming elite "reliant on Christianity for their legitimation" was the Viking raids which began in that period. A useful list of pre-Conquest sculpture in Cheshire is appended. The kind of thorough study which can demonstrate development within a landscape is provided by Michael Aston and Christopher

Gerrard, in a very interesting and important paper which charts the progress from 1989 to 1996 of an ultimately 10-year project on the evolution of the post-Roman "lowland, wetland edge parish" of Shapwick. ("'Unique, Traditional and Charming'; the Shapwick Project, Somerset," *AntJ* 79 (1999), 1–58). All the methods used for extracting information are laid out in admirable detail. Extensive fieldwork (of which a very full account is provided), including the study of building remains and archaeology, are supplemented by close study of an impressive range of medieval documents from pre-Conquest land grants, an extended Domesday book entry and some very detailed later medieval surveys. Post-medieval maps were also studied intensively. These provided numerous names of landscape and land use features the 'retrogressive analysis' of which allowed deduction of earlier landscapes. The very variable quality and nature of the evidence for successive periods are very clearly laid out, including, for the very early period, the problem of how to record 'archaeology which has decayed so far it is almost invisible' (p. 7). The sections on the early medieval landscape (pp. 23–27) suggest dispersed farmsteads and hamlets with irregular field systems, for which there is some evidence of continuity from the prehistoric and Roman periods. Exceptionally, and most interestingly, there is evidence for a significant re-shaping of the landscape into a nucleated village with an open field system, from the tenth century. The authors stress how unusual this is for Somerset. The authors' claim that 'the value of the Shapwick project to medieval studies is in mapping and dating the switch from dispersed to nucleated settlement in a single case study' (p. 29) does seem to be borne out by the results, but perhaps one of its chief values lies in demonstrating the quality and nature of the sources and the methods used for their interpretation needed for this type of study,

c.   Urban Studies

There is little on urban studies in the bibliography under consideration. Jean Manco, "The Bishop's Close at Bath Reassessed" (*ArchJ* 155 (1999 for 1998), 323–27), briefly sets out the evidence the close in question was laid out between two Anglo-Saxon streets, thus fossilising part of the Anglo-Saxon street plan. The discussion centres on a re-assessment of previous studies, which relied on inaccurately copied medieval documentation. Andrew Rogerson, "Vikings and the New East Anglian Towns" (*Brit. Archaeol.* 35 (1998), 12–13), is a brief account in a popularising vein of the impetus to urbanisation brought about by the Viking settlement of East Anglia, which began in earnest after the treaty of Wedmore in 878 between Alfred the Great and the Dane, Guthrum. Evidence of these settlers, said to be probably few in number, has increased in recent years due to metal detector finds. It is suggested that growth in population was leading to the development of the market economy anyway, but that the Viking settlers led to the dramatic growth in towns in the area in the

alte pre-Conquest period.

d.   Architecture

Eric Cambridge makes an important contribution to the study of the earliest churches in the south-east of England, taking issue with the accepted treatment of the remains of these buildings as a homogenous group, in which similarities (such as apsidal ends) are emphasised at the expense of possibly significant differences. ("The Architecture of the Augustinian Mission," *St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Gameson, pp. 202–36.) This is because the few churches about which the most complete information has survived (Reculver, Canterbury St Pancras and Bradwell-on-Sea) have been used as models for the reconstruction of the less complete remains at other sites. He exemplifies the danger of this approach in reconstructions of the church at Rochester which show an apse separated from the nave by a triple arcade carried on columns as at Reculver, although the archaeological evidence is completely neutral and could support a different interpretation. Related to the notion of homogeneity are assumptions about the source of the architecture, which has been argued as either solely Gallic, or solely Roman. Cambridge sets out the historical evidence for church building and the progress of the Christian mission in order to investigate assumptions about the chronological relationship between the churches and the assumed homogeneity of their sources. He then speculates on the dedications of the churches in Canterbury, particularly St Pancras and the martyrium to the Four Crowned Martyrs, both extremely rare in the Middle Ages, and points to a specific association between these dedications and the Italian missionaries who arrived with St Augustine, especially in view of the proximity of these two martyrial cults to Gregory's (and Augustine's) monastery on the Coelian Hill, and the tradition of St Pancras' baptism in the same area. Starting from this point, and following a detailed examination of the fabric and archaeological remains (all accompanied by very detailed footnotes), Cambridge suggests that it is possible to identify three generations of church building, leading to a conclusion that both Italian and Gallic masons could have been at work in South East England in the seventh century, but with Gallic masons contributing only to the first phase, at Sts Peter and Paul Canterbury, "exactly where one would most expect, on historical grounds," to find it. He detects a shift in patronage from the second phase, when the preferences of the Italian missionaries themselves begin to be asserted, and it was these influences that in his view were the most enduring. His analysis is satisfying historically, relating developments to "the chequered history of the Augustinian mission," and removes the strait-jacket of the supposed single source, but the material evidence may still be open to challenge.

Carol F. Davidson. "Change and Change Back: the Development of English Parish Church Chancels" (*Continuity*

and Change in Christian Worship, ed. R.N. Swanson, Stud. in Church Hist. 35 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, 1999), pp. 65–77), briefly discusses the liturgical function of apses and square-ended chancels. There are some comparisons with Anglo-Saxon evidence, but the paper is most concerned to show patterns of liturgical and architectural change in the twelfth century.

e.   Artifacts and Iconography

There are several contributions to the study of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The most important here is by Jane Hawkes, "The Non-Crucifixion Iconography of the Pre-Viking Sculpture of the North of England: Carvings at Hovingham, Masham, Rothbury, Sandbach and Wirksworth," Thesis Univ. of Newcastle upon Tyne (*Index to Theses* 48 (1999)). This has already resulted in several major conference papers and articles, of which one is noticed below.

The article by Philip C. Sidebottom ("Stone Crosses of the Peak and the 'Sons of Eadwulf,'" *Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl* 119 (1999), 206–19) also draws on his PhD thesis in re-assessing and re-dating a group of stone crosses in the Peak district, from Eyam, Bradbourne, Bakewell and Wirksworth, and a possibly unprovenanced piece found in Sheffield but identified (on essentially stylistic grounds) as coming from the same area. This piece is in line with the conclusion of his thesis, which rejected Collingwood's "ubiquitous and gradual evolution of style" in favour of the idea that regional groupings largely correspond with secular land units —in this case land divisions of the Viking period (after the re-Conquest of Mercia by the Anglo-Saxons c. 920) which were "probably inherited by the Vikings during the settlement of the North Midlands [and which] essentially reflect units established by the Tribal Hidage." The crosses are therefore re-dated to the tenth century from the mid-ninth. While it is surely right that land units and polities with a geographical basis must be taken into account, the idea of iconographic and stylistic development cannot be abandoned completely, and there remain good iconographic and stylistic grounds for a ninth century dating for these pieces, which become more important if these land units have a pre-Viking history.

The late James Lang's paper on "The Apostles in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture in the Age of Alcuin" (*Early Med. Europe* 8 (1999), 271–82) looks at eighth–ninth century monumental figure sculptures found in both Mercia and Yorkshire of a very classical appearance, in which images of the apostles preponderate. He sees these as in the tradition of the Ruthwell cross, with a liturgical, not funerary, function, but with a new iconography applied to the established form. The figure carving styles are 'cribbed directly from late Roman funerary sculpture', and there is evidence on the Otley shaft of a similar painting technique. He speculates that the reference to Rome is deliberate, re-affirming the Roman roots of the Northumbrian or even Mercian church, and that the siting of many of the shafts, all close to the intersection of North-south Roman roads and in Pennine river valleys, suggests that they may have marked baptismal sites. This paper expands on a theme expounded in 1993, in *The Age of Migrating Ideas* (ed. R Michael Spearman and John Higgitt, pp. 261–67), in which the relationship to Roman funerary sculpture can be seen to be very striking.

Two new inscriptions are the subject of brief notes: "An Inscribed Bone Fragment from Nassington, Peterborough" (*MA* 43 (1999), 203–05), by Elisabeth Okasha describes a fragment of a late Saxon single-sided comb, made unusually of pig bone. It is inscribed, in an Insular minuscule script with an incomplete inscription in either Old English or Latin, and is possibly either a commendation of someone to God, or a request to God to curse anyone who removed the object. Elisabeth Okasha and Richard Langley speculate interestingly on "An Inscribed Stud Found at Egginton, Derbyshire: an Anglo-Saxon Love-Token?" (*Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl.* 119 (1999), 203–05). On a circular silver stud of the ninth–tenth centuries found in 1987 there is a primary inscription filling the whole area between the rim and the central boss, which has a collar of gold wire. The inscription in Anglo-Saxon capitals is substantially complete but enigmatic: LAEDE [V]FIE. The authors suggest that if it means 'may [you] love [me]', 'may [you] take [me]' (or other possible variations on this theme) it is likely to be a secular object and therefore a love token as the title suggests; but if it means something along the lines of 'may [you] lead [me] to life' it is likely to have religious connotations.

R.I. Page's *An Introduction to English Runes*, 2nd ed. (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell, 1999) is a useful update on this subject, made necessary through the numerous finds of new examples of runic texts and inscriptions since the first edition was published in 1973 (see also R.I. Page, "Recent Finds of Anglo-Saxon Runes," *Nytt om runner* 14 (1999), 9–11). It remains the standard work for those new to this topic.

Lloyd Laing contributes two pieces to add to the corpus of Anglo-Saxon metalwork, both found by metal detectorists. In "An Anglo-Saxon Disc from Kent" (*MA* 43 (1999), 191–3), he describes a copper-alloy object with Style I animal ornament. The object is not cut down and is not a brooch: he suggests it may have been a die for stamping patterns in metal in the techniques known as *Pressblech*, which might account for traces of gold on the front. A second find has been examined using X-ray emission spectrometry and has an inlay that could be glass or enamel: ("An Enamelled Square-Headed Brooch from East Anglia," *MA* 43 (1999), 189–90). On an assessment of style, he suggests it strengthens Hines's case for a production centre of this type of brooch in Cambridgeshire; and that it is also important in being one of a growing number of enamelled objects from pagan Anglo-Saxon England. Laing considers this suggests continuity from Romano-British use of this technique into the Anglo-Saxon

period, but this is not entirely supported by technological studies, of which one is noticed in the "Miscellaneous" section below, which suggests a new source for red enamel in both Britain and Ireland in the early Medieval period.

A previously unrecorded type of Anglo-Saxon metalwork object is discussed and analysed in Susan Youngs' "An Anglo-Saxon Staff Fitting from near Brading" (*MA* 43 (1999), 40–44). It is bronze, (originally) gilt and its plant ornament and interlace with trefoil terminals places it in context of southern English art of the eighth to ninth centuries. It could be from either end of a staff, either an elaborate ferrule, or if from the top, perhaps a holder for a cross or flabellum, although Youngs says there is some evidence that it could be the beginning of the curve for the crook of a crozier. Whichever interpretation is accepted it probably had a ceremonial and probably ecclesiastical function, and is a very exciting find.

Robert A. Philpott in "Recent Anglo-Saxon Finds from Merseyside and Cheshire and Their Archaeological Significance" (*MA* 43 (1999), 194–202), lists and describes four new finds from the area reported to Liverpool museum, ranging in date from a small-long brooch of the fifth–sixth centuries to a ninth-century strap end. As there is little evidence from this area, these additions are important. Philpott therefore stresses their potential as indicators of settlement or activity, and also that the find spots are close in each case to finds of Romano-British material, and may therefore be evidence for continuity, although he is careful to stress that all available evidence remains slight.

Multivariate correspondence analysis is applied to metalwork with Style II ornament in Karen Nielsen Høilund's paper, "Style II and the Anglo-Saxon Elite" (*ASSAH* 10 (1999), 185–202). This usefully defines the characteristics of the style, which is found on objects mainly from Kent and Suffolk, but with scattered occurrences as far afield as Northumberland: she also points out the influence of the style on manuscripts such as the Book of Durrow and Durham A.II.17, saying that in the later seventh century it transmuted from a purely secular style to one tied to sacred manuscripts. Her analysis defines two stylistic schemes, one Anglian, one Kentish, which she suggests relates to their different immediate sources, one Scandinavian, and the latter Frankish. The possibility that new finds could alter this picture is contemplated. The contextualising of the material does not seem as convincing as the analysis of the material into two groups.

The work of Margaret Guido on *The Glass Beads of Anglo-Saxon England, c. 400–700: a Preliminary Visual Classification of the More Definitive and Diagnostic Types*, ed. Martin Welch. Reports of the Research Committee of the Soc. of Antiquaries of London 56 (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell for the Society of Antiquaries, 1999) began as an attempt to distinguish Anglo-Saxon from prehistoric and Roman beads, on which she published a major study in 1978. This work is published posthumously, and is essentially a de-

scriptive database with the beads listed in a very subjective way by colour. Types of bead and decorative types are defined and illustrated, and dating evidence from the site reports is given in most cases. There is no statistical analysis of types in relation to area or date. A useful introduction by Martin Welch undertakes an historical survey of the subject which also brings in comparative Continental material. There is a chapter by Julian Henderson on technological aspects and an appendix by Justine Bayley on glass making. The editor suggest that beads should not be studied in isolation from other material, but that this book is a starting point which may prove a useful tool for other researchers.

Philippa A. Henry in "Development and Change in Late Saxon Textile Production: an Analysis of the Evidence" (*Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15 (1999), 69–76), starts from a statistical analysis of textile tool types to explore the premise that "changes in the economic base of late Saxon England gave impetus to new textile production technologies and that these technologies enabled a more commercially based industry to develop and prosper" (p. 69). She suggests that the need to be more commercially viable was in fact the impetus of the technological developments, which all enabled the speedier production of cloth. To ensure a balanced discussion she takes evidence from nine urban and eight rural sites, of which four in each category span both the Middle and Late Anglo-Saxon periods. She looks at both spinning and yarn preparation and weaving. In the case of spinning, the technology does not change much, but there is evidence for a near mass-production of lathe-turned spinning whorls in the late Saxon period, which implies a need for more spun fibre to service a considerable increase in production of finished cloth. There is much interesting information on the implications of different weights of whorl for the fineness of the fibre used and on the basis of this evidence Henry is able to point to apparent specialisation, for example using fine fibres at Durham, London, Winchester and York; and for coarse fibres at Middle Saxon Hamwic and Late Saxon Ipswich and York. The evidence for weaving implements points to one or even two changes in technology. The first is from the warp-weighted loom useful for mainly local domestic requirements. Different weights of loom weight again point to the use of finer fibres, for example at high status Middle Saxon sites such as Brandon and Flixborough. Very striking is the rapid disappearance of loom weights from archaeology from the mid-late ninth century, with a slower decline in rural areas than in towns, together with the appearance of a new type of pin-beater: both signalling the advent of the upright two-beam loom. More difficult to trace archaeologically but attested at York is the arrival of the horizontal treadle-loom in the eleventh century. It appears that weaving at an upright loom was women's work, but that the horizontal loom was men's. In fact we do not know this from evidence within Anglo-Saxon England itself but from outside. It is good to see this close analysis applied to textile tools so that we can see the part played by

textile production in the increasing urbanisation of Anglo-Saxon England.

Ian Riddler in "Worked Whale Vertebrae"(*Archaeologia Cantiana* 118 (1998), 205–15), considers the use of whalebone in Anglo-Saxon England, where as the author says there is no evidence for a whaling industry unlike the continent where one is attested from the ninth century, but only for the opportunistic utilisation of stranded specimens. There is brief mention of the few well known decorated pieces such as the Franks and Gandersheim caskets and the Larling plaque, but the real focus is on the use of worked whale vertebrae as working surfaces, specifically chopping boards—there is another example from Hamwic. The example discussed here is from *Sandtun* near West Hythe, a Middle Saxon site from East Kent from which few finds have ever been published.

The excavations at Avebury by Alexander Keiller were in the 1930s, and Jope's description of the pottery was completed in 1965 but never published before his death in 1996. It is offered here in E.M. Jope, "The Saxon and Medieval Pottery from Alexander Keiller's Excavations at Avebury" (*Wiltshire Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 92 (1999), 60–91), with an updated introduction to medieval (including Anglo-Saxon) Avebury from documentary sources and some discussion of the architecture. The pottery described dates from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries, and it appears that there was only a small amount of recognisably late Saxon types.

f. Death and Burial

In "Spong Hill and the Adventus Saxonum," *Spaces of the Living and the Dead: an Archaeological Dialogue*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov, Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley, and Bailey K. Young (Oxford, 1999), pp. 15–26, Catherine Hills looks at two views of the Anglo-Saxon migration to England. The traditional one was that it replaced one people by another; the revisionist (and currently most popular) at its extreme form proposes that that the invaders were no more than a "small group of successful war leaders who seized control of Eastern Britain and imposed their culture and language on the native population" (p. 15). This paper considers the contribution to the debate of a large, fully excavated Anglo-Saxon cemetery of the fifth to the sixth centuries. 2000 cremations and 57 inhumations were investigated, and it is estimated that a thousand more were lost through earlier investigations and animal and agricultural activity. An initial hope that statistical analysis of the large number of cremations would answer questions as to date, social structure and ethnic affiliation was abandoned in favour of the more modest and realistic assessment that they would provide some information bearing on these subjects. Chronological and social relationships between cremations and inhumations also proved more complex than first expected, but evidence seemed to show that cremations started earlier and continued later; and that the same jewellery and weapons were found in both cremation and inhumation

burials. The author is firm in saying that there is no evidence indicating the survival of a British population: this means that either any such were few or fully assimilated, or had burial practices which left little trace. However, she believes that the evidence does not support the idea that trade alone can explain the wholesale change in material culture in eastern Britain in the fifth century. Detailed study of the finds shows that the continental origins of the immigrants in the cemetery can be precisely located in Schleswig-Holstein, which implies that they arrived in organised groups, compatible with Bede's view that the East Angles descended from the continental Angles. The bulk of the paper is directed at giving support for the more traditional interpretation of the Adventus, and indeed presents a formidable array of evidence which has to be accounted for by its opponents. However, one anomaly is discussed: the popularity of pottery with stamped decoration, rare in the continental homeland. With this is compared the fashion for Scandinavian gold bracteates implying connections of some substance between the two areas. Here this is held *not* to imply direct large-scale migration from Scandinavia, but to suggest that the picture of Dark Age northern Europe needs to be revised to include more complex religious and political institutions and more long-distance connections of all kinds.

Martin O.H. Carver, in "Cemetery and Society at Sutton Hoo: Five Awkward Questions and Four Contradictory Answers" (*Spaces of the Living and the Dead*, pp. 1–14) takes a rather different line, but is looking at a rather later cemetery. It is a strong statement of his belief that "cemeteries represent the principal means of establishing and remembering identity in pre-literate post-Roman Britain; these things amount to a declaration of an ideology which may include the promotion of an ethnicity" (p. 1). He begins with a brief description of the site and the rationale of the programme of excavation, and a recapitulation of the variety of burial practices discovered: cremation, inhumation including those in or under a ship, and those demonstrating "ritual trauma" over a period extended beyond the use of the cemetery for burial—representing possibly a move from "sacrifice" to "execution." This section ends with a re-statement of his interim interpretation of the significance of the site put forward in previous publications, including evidence for allegiance to Scandinavian practices and to paganism, and for the reservation of the site for an elite "consistent with the notion of kingship" (p. 6). However, he then puts forward his "awkward" questions to which some answers could undermine this interpretation: is the excavation sample likely to be representative; are the burial rites really unusual; does the burial ground have to refer to the people of an East Anglian kingdom; was kingship an innovation in seventh-century East Anglia; and if so, why at that time? His discussion of these questions is a useful summary of current thinking on these topics (and with a useful bibliography). He addresses the issue of the rise of kingship posited in his fourth and fifth questions by explor-

ing four alternative explanatory models, including the completely negative response (there is no evidence to support any interpretation): this is the only interpretation he dismisses. Of the remaining three, he refuses to abandon any of them or to embrace any one exclusively. As in the previous section, the summary (and occasional debunking) of current theories is enlivening and enlightening.

Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley and Catherine E. Karkov, the editors of the very useful and interesting collection in which the last two papers appear, have also contributed "A Dialogic Commentary: Speaking with the Past." (*Spaces of the Living and the Dead*, pp. 149–62). It provides a critique and commentary on all the papers, and engages in a dialogue with all its authors, sometimes bringing forward new work to be considered in relation to the issues addressed by the other contributors. For example, in relation to Catherine Hills' paper on Spong Hill, they discuss the doctoral work of Jeremy Huggett on numerical techniques for analysing Anglo-Saxon burials, which suggests that "we need not despair just yet" of any attempt at interpreting them (p. 150). An important thread within the volume, which they bring out, is the complex but fruitful relationship between texts and archaeology-as-text, which is demonstrated or implied in many contributions.

Another important contribution in this whole area, and which has perhaps something to say to both of the above, is a paper entitled "The Archaeology of Conversion on the Continent in the Sixth and Seventh Centuries: Some Observations and Comparisons with Anglo-Saxon England" (*St Augustine and the Conversion of England*, ed. Richard Gameson, pp. 83–106). The authors, Simon Burnell and Edward James, are concerned with burial practice as evidence, and begin with two points: that there is a "general and incomprehensible" lack of discourse between Merovingian and Anglo-Saxon archaeology; and that the archaeology of Christianity and christianisation has to begin with the archaeology of paganism to avoid the too frequent "assumption that either paganism or archaeology is easy to detect and to define" (p. 84), especially in areas which had already been exposed to Christianity by earlier Roman occupation. The authors debunk the idea that motifs such as interlaced animals which had forerunners in mythology imply paganism, or that an object was necessarily valued for its symbolism rather than for its material value, or even its exoticism. In particular they are concerned to expose the idea that burial (presumably they mean inhumation) of a fully clothed body should ever only imply paganism, when it begins in Frankia "in the very generation in which the Frankish aristocracy converted to Christianity" (p. 87), and many of its most spectacular manifestations occur in cathedrals (Cologne) or abbey churches (St Denis). The end of the custom might, however, relate to a more profound understanding of Christianity. They also take issue with the idea that the clergy were at all exercised over burial style. The bulk of the evidence deployed here looks at the impact of

Christianity on the Alamans and Bavarians, deploying historical, archaeological and architectural evidence to support a model of christianisation "inextricably bound up with political integration and lordship" (p. 99). The authors argue that in Alamannic and Bavarian areas, the christianisation of the aristocracy came first and led (in some cases after a considerable time lag) to the foundation of monasteries. A very different picture emerges from Anglo-Saxon England, perhaps due to the importance of monasteries in the conversion process with monasticism developing as a pre-condition, providing monasteries and minster churches with which members of the aristocracy could be associated as benefactors, thereby earning the right to be buried in them. The paper is thought-provoking, the evidence for the development of Christianity in the Merovingian world detailed, and the points clearly argued.

Helen Geake's "Invisible Kingdoms: the Use of Grave Goods in Seventh-Century England" (*ASSAH* 10 (1999), 203–15) asks why the same kinds of grave goods are found across the whole of England in the seventh and early eighth centuries, and concludes that the answer is to be found in the sources of inspiration underlying the design and selection of these objects "which in most cases can be shown to be either earlier Romano-British material or contemporary Byzantine practice." She points to the theoretical implications for the study of state formation in pre-historic periods when a group of neighbouring kingdoms adopt the same strategies to enhance their power and prestige, resulting in the same repertoire of material culture, thus rendering them "archaeologically invisible"—or rather indistinguishable. A full account of the evidence is given, based on a thousand furnished graves, which represent about half of a sample of a third of all graves, furnished or not, of the seventh to ninth centuries. The numerous new types of objects that appear in these graves are all described and their distribution analysed. These are mainly women's jewellery and personal items, but the appearance of a new weapon, the seax, and the helmet in male graves are also noted, as is the decline of weapon graves as a proportion of the whole. It is on the female fashions that she concentrates, however. The earlier view that the new costume originated in Kent under-estimated the importance of the new fashions outside Kent, and Geake provides supporting visual evidence for her view that the closest parallels to the new fashions, for example of linked pins, are to be found in sixth- to seventh-century Byzantine material. These innovations are related to the development of dynastic kingship, a deliberate looking back to the Roman period and an "imagined continuity." Geake points to one of the problems of this theory—the continuing strength of the Germanic identity—but it would be very surprising if any "renaissance" swept away all signs of its immediate predecessor. On the theory put forward here, Geake speculates that the end of furnished burial means that it was no longer necessary to advertise a Roman identity, kingship having been established. Would relate this

paper to the previously discussed paper by Burnell and James, however, pointing out the ways in which the Frankish development is different from the Anglo-Saxon, in the different way in which Christianity was spread—and that the appeal to "Romanitas" continued in church architecture and monastic sculpture until at least the ninth century.

Nick Stoodley, *The Spindle and the Spear: a Critical Enquiry into the Construction and Meaning of Gender in the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite* (Brit. Archaeol. Reports, Brit. Ser. 288 (Oxford: John and Erica Hedges, 1999)) details the impact of gender studies on the study of Anglo-Saxon burial practices, and impressively brings statistical methods (correspondence analysis and cluster analysis) to bear on the differentiation between male and female graves in what seems an attempt to end ill-informed speculation. He considers the prevalence of the gendered burial rite, whether it carried though from aone area to another, and the evidence for multiple genders. He also asks who was granted this type of burial and if it differed for males and females: each sex is also analysed separately for evidence of status- and age-related distinctions. His main conclusion, perhaps not surprising, but at last supported by a convincing range of evidence, is that gender was in the main defined in relation to biological sex and that expression of gender was simple and unambiguous (p.136). The creation of a feminine gender "was squarely on the body [constructed from dress accessories and items of personal equipment], in contrast the masculine gender centred around the imagery of weapons." However, gendered graves were relatively restricted, with up to 55% of male graves not gendered. The existence of multiple genders was rare, with evidence for women buried with weapons from only one site: Dover B. Gendering was also age related, beginning at age 10–12 for females, for example. An association between gender identification and status was also evident. Stoodley is also interested in the evidence for the rise of a male elite in the seventh century, which he believes can be shown to be accompanied by a deterioration in the position of women, as reflected in their graves. The need for gender studies in relation to other types of sites and for further work on artefacts is indicated. "Communities of the Dead: the Evidence for Living Populations from early Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries." *Authority and Community in the Middle Ages*, ed. Donald Mowbray, Rhiannon Purdie, and Ian P. Wei (Stroud, 1999), pp. 1–17, by the same author, uses the same material, but with a slightly different focus to show the effect of post-processual archaeology and anthropology to show that burial ritual may be expressing *perceived* social structure, rather than reflecting actual society in a simplistic way. This paper also summarises the evidence for social change in Wessex, a useful shorter version of that in the previous paper.

g. **Miscellaneous**

Jacqueline P. Huntley in "Saxon-Norse Economy in North Britain: Food for Thought" (*Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15 (1999), 77–81) suggests there is some evidence for the warmer climate between 700–1300 from the appearance of bread wheat in both monastic and secular sites in northern England in the Anglo-Saxon period ("a distinct change from the Roman period"), and also from evidence of well-ripened crops from the north of Scotland in the same period. However, she concludes somewhat disappointingly that sampling from a wider date range of sites and further work on pollens is required in order to show what people were really growing at this period. John Moreland's "The World(s) of the Cross" (*World Archaeol.* 31 (1999), 194–213) deconstructs approaches to the Bradbourne (Derbyshire) cross in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, showing how interpretations varied according to the world view and pre-conceptions of the various scholars who included it in their studies. I have always been fascinated by the corrective to assumptions about dating provided by this piece, as it was classified as "Roman" by its first eighteenth century commentators. In "Executions and Hard Anglo-Saxon Justice" (*Brit. Archaeol.* 31 (1998), 8–9), Andrew Reynolds, although short, places the c. twenty cemeteries in Anglo-Saxon England which qualify as judicial execution sites in the context of seventh-eleventh century law codes (which mention a range of capital offences) and the administration of justice. He outlines the evidence for de-capitation as an execution method, and the archaeological evidence for the greater number of hangings both from the evidence for two-post gallows structures and the skeletal evidence. He ends a judicious summary with the conclusion that the cemeteries reflect the "efficient administration of a system of social control by the later Anglo-Saxon kings."

An admirably lucid study of the technology of red enamels from the Anglo-Saxon period is found in C.P. Stapleton, C. Freestone, and S.G.E. Bowman, "Composition and Origin of Early Medieval Opaque Red Enamel from Britain and Ireland," *Jnl of Archaeol. Science* 26 (1999), 913–21. The sampling and analytical methodology are fully and clearly explained, with all the results given, but in an exposition which is quite open to the scholarly but non-scientific reader. The study concludes that there is a discontinuity between the compositions of the red enamels of the pre-Roman Iron Age and those of the Early Medieval period, though the new technology could be early Medieval or possibly late Roman. Interestingly the bright sealing-wax red enamel is not related glass technology but represents a re-use of metallurgical slag, and could be a by-product of the metal workshops which produced the finished enamelled metalwork.

Harry Kenward and Frances Large, "Insects in Urban Waste Pits in Viking York: Another Kind of Seasonality," *Environmental Archaeol.* 3 (1998), 35–53, is another good example of the contribution of science to archaeology. Sam-

ples from a large number of waterlogged waste pits, including cesspits from Anglo-Scandinavian York were examined, to see whether insect remains gave any clues as to how these were managed in relation to issues of hygiene and health, "not to mention olfactory aesthetics." The evidence is presented for the specialist, but the results are expressed in lay terms, and were somewhat inconclusive. This was partly because of the problems of obtaining and using modern evidence, but also because as many questions were raised as answered. It does appear that the number of insects associated with some pits "must have been enormous, as must their potential for distributing pathogens." However, while waste management measures in some instances are described as "informal" the authors note that the construction of wicker-lined disposal pits is open to interpretation as any or all of the following: "a response to shortage of space, to the practicalities of constructing a workable privy, to social pressure to avoid bad smells, or to a vague grasp of hygiene in a more modern sense." There are pointers to ways of continuing these investigations in the future.

E.C.

Works not seen

Corfe, Tom. "Tynedale before Wilfrid." *Archaeol. North* 13 (1997): 24–26.

Head, Ruth. "The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Hornsea." *East Riding Archaeologist* 9 (1997): 10–65.

Plunkett, Stephen J. "The Anglo-Saxon Loom from Pakenham, Suffolk." *Proc. of the Suffolk Inst. of Archaeol. and Hist.* 39 (1999): 277–98

h. Numismatics

The Address given to the Royal Numismatic Society by its President, D.M. Metcalf, appears in the *Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999), 395–430 with the title "Viking-Age Numismatics 5. Denmark in the Time of Cnut and Harthacnut." This is clearly an article intended by a numismatist for fellow numismatists. It shows Prof. Metcalf at his best, weighing up pros and cons of several pieces of evidence at once, and expecting his audience to be as nimble and learned. The article concentrates on the comparative statistical analysis of Danish hoards, and how they differ amongst each other, in order to establish facts about the monetary circulation in the region in the second quarter of the eleventh century, using the locally minted coins as 'markers'. At this time there were a number of Danish mints operating besides the well-established, major one at Lund, Skåne, producing coins of individual designs (albeit 'English'), operating on two weight-standards, and without national co-ordination. In spite of this new Danish royal coinage, the bulk of the coinage was still provided by the inflow of English and German coins. Assuming that English, German and Danish coins were all accepted indiscriminately, the Danish coins can be used as indicators of the circulation

of the currency. By analysing the make-up of different hoards topographically, Prof. Metcalf shows that even in the hoards where Danish coins dominate the main mint is not necessarily the 'local' one, showing a lively monetary circulation, and marking currency movements in the region. Analysis of foreign coins, their type and age is also illuminating: the 'pecking' and bending demonstrates that these coins had passed through several hands before concealment. Other questions also present themselves, concerning the difference between the make up of different hoards in different regions, with regards to the percentage of foreign coins and their mint origin. The ratio of German to English coins in individual hoards varies dramatically: as one would expect, geography plays a part in this, with English-dominated hoards more common west of the Sound. The study shows that Denmark took part and profited from the Baltic trade. As for the Danish coins from the newly-established different mints, these soon became mingled in circulation; however, some mint-place are predominant, offering interesting insights into monetary history and the ranking of different mints. Although the hoard evidence allows only a sketchy perspective, intriguing differences become evident. It appears, for instance, that eastern Skåne, with many coastal hoards, and Bornholm, apparently not participating fully in Cnut's new mint network, were in the way of different sailing routes. Prof. Metcalf adds the evidence from single finds, which yield a large random sample completely independent of the social and economic contexts of hoards. The sheer number of finds suggests that the use of coinage had spread beyond a specialised merchant class to ordinary farming people, but a number of caveats alert us to the difficulties involved in analysing these and other stray finds.

The article discusses the political dimension of Cnut's Danish coinage, and the fact that in Cnut's lifetime coins appear with the name of his son Harthacnut, in view of the recent radical interpretation of C.J. Becker, who suggests that the new coins, away from the close copying of English types, and carrying the name of Harthacnut, mirror a revolt against the king. Alas, numismatic evidence is not conclusive in dating the new type of coins to before or after the crucial battle of Holy River, approximately put between 1025 and 1028, which is a frustrating truth Metcalf does not shy away from admitting. The article concludes with a survey of recent theories in monetary history, and presents two appendixes on the hoards and their numismatic elements.

A magisterial piece of work, full of methodological insights in numismatics and monetary history—but not easy for the non-specialist.

In the same volume (*Numismatic Chronicle* 159 (1999), pp. 327–32 + plate 34), Jens Christian Moesgaard and Svend Åge Tornbjerg contribute an article entitled " A Sixteenth *Agnus Dei* Penny of Æthelred II." The coin type has on its obverse the Lamb of God, and on the reverse the Dove of the Holy Spirit. The new specimen was struck by the moneyer Oswold in Nottingham, and is a die duplicate of SCBI Cop.

1107 and Hildebrand 1293. It was found with a metal detector at Kastanjehøy, near Køge, a site that has yielded other coins and artefacts, some of local origin, and some luxury goods, illustrated in the plate. Comparing the site to others, it seems that Kastanjehøy was a rich farm with extensive foreign contacts, and possibly an aristocratic settlement, as ordinary Viking Age sites have not yielded coins. Moesgaard and Tornbjerg present a useful summary of the various theories concerning the *Agnus Dei* issue. The coins come from medium-sized or small mints (in Mercia, the Midlands, and three from Wessex), and can be divided into three stylistic groups. There seems a consensus in dating them *c.* 1009 (previous suggestions dating them to the turning of the Millennium, or the Synod of Malmesbury, are no longer held). Different interpretations of the role of the type mean differences in the exact dating. Some scholars regard it as a new type abandoned because of the lack of royal portrait, or difficulties in executions. S. Keynes has suggested that it may be a special issue for a triduum of prayers and alms in order to prevent Viking attacks, when everybody had to pay a penny to the Church. Although it has been pointed out that such commemorative issue would have had to be made in hurry, with no time for niceties, the high artistic standard of the coins does suggest a commemorative function. Lawson has proposed that the coins might have been issued for the national council held at Enham at Pentecost, probably 1008. The place-name apparently means 'the place where lambs are bred', hence the lamb, and the dove is a reference to Pentecost. However, if the council took place in 1008, this would be too early for the traditional dating of the coins. Most coin finds of this type are from Scandinavia, riveted, looped or pierced, obviously used devotionally, and very popular to judge by the many imitations.

M. Leach's "Sources of Silver for Early Coinage" in *Essex Archaeol. and Hist. News* 130 (1999), 10–11, reports on a talk given to the Numismatic Society by M. Bonser. Up to the 8th century silver supplies (20–25 tons a year) came from Melle (south west of Poitier), with lead as a by-product. From the early 9th century, however, supplies are from the Middle East, Sanmarkand and Tashkent in particular, via Viking trading routes, as testified by the numerous finds of Islamic coins, often broken, from Torksey, Lincolnshire, a well known Viking settlement. The debased coins of the end of the 9th century can probably be explained as a way of increasing royal revenues for financing wars. By the middle of the 10th century supplies of Islamic silver began to dwindle, and supplies began to arrive from Goslar in Germany in exchange for wool.

A note by G. Williams in *Kent Archaeological Review*, 136 (Summer 1999), 127–9, with illustration, "Saxon Hoard at Appledore" briefly describes the find of the hoard by metal detectors in August 1977. A total of 490 silver coins including 27 cut halves and 12 damaged coins plus a few fragments were found. The hoard had been buried in a pottery vessel that had remained intact until fairly recently, as testified

by the unusual good preservation of the coins, which cannot have been in contact with the soil for too long. The coins are from the mid-11th century, almost all from the reign of Edward the Confessor (1042–66), and the variety of mints represented suggests that the type must have been in circulation for a while before the hoard was deposited. However, none of the coins is heavily worn, and many appear newly minted. The publication of the hoard will be combined with a study of the 'Expanding Cross' type, which comprises two groups, the 'light' and the 'heavy' coinage. All the coins are of the 'heavy' type, which enables a fairly precise dating for the hoard, which Williams proposes as *c.* 1051–2, a date that upset the previously held chronology for the succession of the two types. The date suggests a historical reason (unproven) for the deposition of the hoard: in 1051 Edward the Confessor outlawed Earl Godwin of Wessex and his sons, who all emigrated, but then returned in 1052 and resumed their rebellion. Godwin landed at Dungeness, only a few miles from Appledore, and according to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, he and his son won the support of 'all the men of Kent'.

The 50th volume of the Sylloge of Coins in the British Isles is by V.M. Potin: *Hermitage Museum, St Petersburg, Part I. Anglo-Saxon Coins to 1016*. The collection began in 1764, and grew after the Revolution (when several private collections, including the Emperor's and those of Jakob Reichel, including his notes and catalogues, and of Count Stroganov, which alone had 53,000 specimens, were incorporated). It now boasts over a million coins. Before 1917, the old collections do not have provenance; however, it is known that J. Reichel, for instance, had acquired many of his coins in England, and also from the sale of Baltic hoards, which contained mainly later Anglo-Saxon coins, from Cnut to Æthelred II. This first Sylloge volume covers 1511 coins: beginning with the few *sceattas* in the Collection, through to the coins of Æthelred II, who certainly plays the lion's part. From a strictly numismatic point of view, the work has been much praised for the thorough analysis of die-links.

i. Archaeology

In "A forgotten Early Christian Symbol Illustrated on Three Objects Associated with St Cuthbert," *Archaeologia Aelkiana* 5th ser., 27 (1999), 21–3, G. Martin points out the recurrence of the arrangement of motifs in a 'quincunx' to be seen on the pectoral cross, the coffin and the portable altar associated with the Saint. This symbolic arrangement of five elements, one central and four disposed around it in a set square, is to be met on various objects associated with Christ, the Virgin and the Saints, and is understood as representing sanctity. A 'quincunx' is composed of a combination of one and four, both perfect numbers, signifying Unity and Quaternity. The article draws on the work of A. Esmeyer (*Divina Quaternitas*, 1978) and discusses other examples of said arrangement. Martin also points out that the placing of the Evangelist around

Christ on St Cuthbert's coffin, as well as other examples of the use of the symbolic composition going back to the 4th century, clearly predate the Carolingian examples of 'Majestas Domini' which Esmeyer considers first in adopting the exegetical type. Another nail in the coffin of Carolingian 'firsts', and a thought-provoking article.

R. Cowie with Lyn Blackmore "Excavation and Mitigation in *Lundewic*: a Case Study," in *London Archaeologist* 8, no. 12 (1999), 311–19, ill. is concerned with the changes in the practice of archaeology in London since the publication of the Department of the Environment's Planning Policy Guidance (PPG 16) in November 1990. This document places emphasis on the preservation in situ of 'nationally important archaeological remains', which has led to the use of 'mitigation strategies' to minimise the impact of development on surviving archaeological deposits, with a view of preserving them for future generations. The idea is contested by those who see this as stifling archaeological research. The article deals with the implementation of the strategy for the first time at Bruce House in the early 90s. Bruce House is one of more than 40 sites near the Strand and Covent Garden to have produced evidence of Middle Saxon London. The site would have been at the eastern edge of the settlement, dispelling the impression that the 7th-century settlement was concentrated in the Trafalgar Square/Charring Cross area. Study of pottery remains now sees the strata in *Lundenwic* subdivided in three main phases: chaff-tempered and French black and buff wares (650–730/50), Ipswich ware (mid-8th till mid-9th century), plus shell-tempered ware (late 8th/early 9th century). By *c.* 800 there was decline, then London was abandoned in the mid-9th century, probably because of Viking attacks. In the later medieval period the site of Bruce House was probably pasture, and it was not built on till Tudor times. It was designated for redevelopment in the early 1990s, and after the initial archaeological evaluation, a review of the proposed plan was undertaken by the development architects and engineers with archaeologists from English Heritage. The plan was extensively modified to minimise the effect on archaeological remains. Where archaeological destruction was inevitable, excavations were carried out, but the remainder left intact and covered with protective layers of salt and sand. Evaluation shows that the site was extensively occupied in the second half of the 7th century, with finds of pottery and with one of the earliest coins from London (Primary penny, dated *c.* 690–725). There was evidence for at least one timber building, plus traces of others, but poor survival of later horizontal strata does not allow a precise end-date for the settlement. Rubbish pits and dumps contained a mixture of industrial waste and domestic refuse, with evidence for bone and antler working, and some weaving, but very few personal items, and no dress accessory. Plant remains indicate a few exotic additions to the diet, such as figs, and the bone assemblage has mainly bones of moderate to good meat-bearing quality. After the site was abandoned, dark hearth

began to accumulate, with intrusive sherds of mid-16th/mid 18th-century date. The mitigation strategy exercise showed that in spite of difficulties and frustrations for the archaeologists, results were worthwhile, as was the exploration of new ways of managing the archaeological resource. However, whether future generations will bother with some of the features so carefully preserved (hopefully) is debatable.

N. Holder in "Inscriptions, Writing and Literacy in Saxon London," *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 49 (1999 for 1998), 81–97, examines the surviving evidence from the twenty or so inscription from London, which use both roman and runic script and are in Latin, English and Norse. There are three from memorial stones, one on a sundial, five on important metalwork, five on more ordinary objects, and six are found on imported swords. The link between religion and literacy is explored, as are other examples of writing, such as charters, codices, inscriptions on coins, coin-brooches and seals. The example of the 7th century Kentish moneyer Pada is mentioned as one who was more at ease with runes than roman characters. The question of 'how much' people could really read is intelligently addressed, and it is suggested that from the 8th century there were a number of semi-literate people who could execute simple inscriptions and aspired to use the written word because of its prestigious associations.

Still in London, C. Thomas in *Current Archaeology* 162 (1999), 218–22, ill. discusses "Westminster." A beautiful coloured 'pastiche photograph' allows us to understand the topography. Originally, Westminster was an island—Thorney Island. Recent excavations for underground and shafts at the Houses of Parliament have allowed a better understanding of the size of the island and its archaeology. Edward the Confessor had built a Royal palace by the mid/late Saxon abbey (probably built on land granted by a charter of King Offa, 575–96), which he then proceeded to rebuild. It was there that William I was crowned. The excavations have discovered the approach road to the old palace, boundary walls and a bridge, 19m long in masonry and with a timber deck; some of the timber is carbon-dated to 960–1050, but there is a reference to Ailnoth the engineer, 1179–80. The medieval palace had three courts, and there is evidence of a merchant's house.

H. Knight in *Trans. of the London and Middlesex Archaeol. Soc.* 49 (1999 for 1998), 99–106 writes on the "Excavations at Colham Mill Road, West Drayton." The site, West of London, revealed two pits lined with wattle linked to a line of stakes surrounded by wattle remains. Two post-holes and another line of wooden posts was also recorded. All these features had been cut into the gravel of a shallow pond, where, when the pond dried out, the wood was sealed by an organic silt deposit. This was found to contain a cooking pot dated to the 10th or 11th century. In the medieval period a gravel track was put on top of the silt, but alluvial layers covered this, as the area became wetter and flooded. The environmental information is particularly interesting, with indi-

cations that 'retting', a process associated with the production of fibres from hemp, may have been carried out at this site.

A note by R. Osgood, "The Unknown Warrior? The re-evaluation of a skeleton from a Bell Barrow at Sutton Veny, Wiltshire," *Wiltshire Archaeol. and Nat. Hist. Mag.* 92 (1999), 120–3, discusses the likelihood of the skeleton found in the barrow being Anglo-Saxon rather than Bronze or Iron Age, and re-examines the evidence of the injuries reported on the skull (now missing).

The report by J. Blair, "Archaeological discoveries at Woodeaton Church," *Oxoniensia* 63 (1999 for 1998), 221–37, ill. is actually concerned with a 13th-century parish church; however, it is signalled here because it amends its previous account in *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire* (1994), 136–7, and reports the discovery of a wall-trench containing lumps of burnt daub indicating a timber church of the early to mid 11th century. The original church was burnt down, and it is suggested that this might have been done deliberately, in line with first Archbishop Theodore's and then Wulfastan's recommendations regarding consecrated material.

M. Anderton is the editor of a slim but action-packed booklet entitled *Anglo-Saxon Trading Centres: beyond the Emporia* (Glasgow, Cruithne Press 1999), which stems from a conference on this topic held at Sheffield in 1996. It is a thought-provoking collection on a much-discussed topic, and M. Anderton himself sets the scene with his brief contribution "Beyond the emporia" (pp. 1–3), which sets the scene, and could really be entitled "Beyond Hodges," as all the essays continue the debate surrounding Hodges' *Dark Age Economics*. P. Blinkhorn's essays "Of Cabbages and Kings: Production, Trade and Consumption in Middle-Saxon England" (pp. 4–23) reports on the funding of a research project on Ipswich ware pottery, which beyond the traditional analysis, also explored the social role and trade system which made the pottery so unique in England. The study covers the distribution and its associations (it is found in all sorts of settlements), and the chronology of the pottery (now put 720–850 or later). It is suggested that imported luxury goods were not much traded into the hinterlands, but raw materials were, and that in trade terms ecclesiastical settlements seem to have been linked directly to the emporia and were central places for the redistribution of goods in the countryside. They also had the capability of manufacturing surplus goods for trade. D. Hinton, "Metalwork and the Emporia" (pp. 24–31) takes as a point of departure an object that had puzzled excavators in *Hamwic*/Southampton, and which turned out to be a wire fitting from an Irish brooch. This leads to a discussion on the difficulties in trying to use the evidence of metalwork to establish a hinterland for *Hamwich*. His historical analysis comes to the conclusion that *Hamwich* did not became an essential part of Wessex because its only function was to export surpluses, and once this reason to exist went, it too vanished. J. Newman explores "Wics, Trade and the Hinterlands—the Ipswich Region" (pp. 32–47). For New-

man also there has been an over emphasis on the movement of prestige goods from emporia and high-status sites, and he suggests that more commonplace rural settlements ought to be better investigated. Nowadays so many items are found in such quantities that they are no longer attributable to *wics* or high-status sites. Ipswich is discussed as a major manufacturing centre and trading port, but he also notes the presence of other smaller, rural trading places. He notes that the majority of Ipswich ware finds are close to modern parish churches, and he suggests a common pattern between the pottery and the so-called *sceattas*, proposing, along with Prof. Metcalf, Ipswich as a main mint for Series R. While Ipswich ware is commonly found in the Fens and north-western Norfolk, the more common coins there are those of Series Q: Newman proposes Ely as the mint for these coins, and discusses the important implications of this suggestion. A. Morton considers "*Hamwich* in its Context" (pp. 48–62), complaining that too much emphasis is put on the trading aspect of the place. He discusses the meaning of the suffix *wic* and of the word *mercimonium* applied to *Hamwich*. He explores references to sailing ports alongside Southampton Water, which call into question the assumption of a solitary *Hamwich* dominating the scene, and discusses the relationship between *Hamwich* and the royal villa at *Hamtun*, and coins of Series H. A. Woolf's essay "The Russes, the Byzantines, and Middle Saxon Emporia" (pp. 63–75) moves to more sunny climates and makes interesting points about how regimes secure their status by creating monopolies over external exchanges. He sees production at emporia as ancillary to the needs of merchants rather than a primary function, and Christianity not as a force behind the birth of trading centres. He points out that the emporia network of the North Sea comprised territories which spoke languages mutually intelligible to the Frisians. The last essay is that of R. Samson, "Illusory emporia and mad economic theories" (pp. 76–90). This is a critique of the previous contributions on a subject clearly keenly felt by Samson, whose background is economic anthropology. He offers some fresh ideas to the debate, such as pointing out the great importance of towns in the economy of the time. To sum up, this is a very good collection of essays, which should stimulate plenty of further research.

On the same theme, J.D. Richards in "What's so Special about 'Productive Sites'? Middle Saxon Settlements in Northumbria," *ASSAH* 10 (1999), 71–80, ill. discusses the term 'productive' (i.e. sites discovered by metal detectors, rich in coins and other artefacts, rarely excavated, but regarded as having 'special status') and compares the 'productive' site(s) at Cottam (Yorkshire Wolds) with the Middle Saxon settlement at Wharram Percy. At Cottam, excavations confirmed what had already been suspected from field-walking: site A, with a ladder-pattern farmstead was confirmed as Late Iron Age and Romano-British; site B as Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Scandinavian farmsteads, and a 'normal' settlement site, with little to suggest it was a periodic market. The excavations at

Wharram Percy revealed the most intensive Middle Saxon occupation (timber hall and smithy) to be on the site of the later medieval South Manor. The ceramic assemblage (7th or 8th century), including continental imports, suggests high-status Middle Saxon occupation, as do the two sword pommels and the silver penny (AD 700–10) recovered there. Having compared selected categories of finds from Middle Saxon sites in Northumbria, Richards concludes that there is nothing special about 'productive sites' other than the way in which they have been discovered. They do not have the density of finds, and especially coins, associated with trading sites, and there is no reason to consider them periodic markets. The concentration of coinage and metalwork is a feature of all Middle Saxon sites examined, and is to be seen in the development of lordship and tributary economy.

John Hines' contribution in the same volume is entitled "The Anglo-Saxon Archaeology of the Cambridge Region and the Middle Anglian Kingdom" *ASSAH* 10 (1999), 135–49, ill. Alas, one has to admit that Cambridge was not a major place either in Roman times or at the time of Bede. Archaeological evidence suggests a slow development only from the second half of the 9th century to the late 10th. Even for the surrounding area, in spite of some coin finds, the picture appears bleak. However new material has recently been discovered and re-interpreted. As Leeds had already shown in his analysis of brooches, the Icknield Way material is distinctive, and Saxon. These brooches, which he called 'Kempston type', are now known to have had their greatest concentration in South Cambridgeshire and have links to Oxfordshire and Northamptonshire. Several other brooch types seem to confirm the connection. An interesting feature of the Cambridge region is the system of earthworks—the four Cambridgeshire dykes, all facing south-west, that stretch across the Icknield Way, which have now been radiocarbon dated. The Cambridge area, therefore, is seen to have occupied an important, culturally influential place in a region of considerable size, which seems to be identifiable with 'Middle Anglia', as recorded by Bede. This entity came to be swallowed up in the national power struggle of the 7th century, to which the Celtic aristocracy may have contributed. The tradition of the battle of *Bedcanford*, which is recorded in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle for the year 571, at which the West Saxon Cuthwulf defeated a force of Britons and won control over certain sites (all on the Icknield Way), probably holds a lot of truth. Cuthwulf is recorded as an ancestor in the royal Wessex line; place names in the Cambridge region suggest at least mixed identities: it is possible that the Anglo-Saxon historical tradition preserves the story of a British enclave conquered by an expanding Anglo-Saxon kingdom in the 6th century. Hines presents this very interesting study as a promotion for studies to include detailed regional and artefactual studies, even in relation to very general models of political history.

Katharina Ulmschneider in "Archaeology, History and the Isle of Wight in the Middle Saxon Period" in *Medieval Archaeolgy* 43 (1999) 19–40, ill. reassesses the evidence from the Isle of Wight. Recent metal-detector finds from a number of sites have demonstrated that the island remained important and wealthy even after its conquest by Cædwalla in 686. Archaeological finds have confirmed the links between the Isle of Wight and Kent, and also with the continent, particularly at Carisbrooke Castle, as testified from the rich finds there, which suggest a long period of activity. Archaeological evidence is admirably assembled and presented to reconstruct the 'landscape' through time. Coin finds suggest various contacts, and not only with *Hamwic*, just across the Solent: the trade would have been in Bembridge Limestone, already attested in Roman times, and salt. This is a very interesting article, full of thought-provoking points.

The same applies to the article by Helen Geake in the same volume ("When Were Hanging Bowls deposited in Anglo-Saxon Graves?" *Medieval Archaeolgy* 43 (1999) 1–8), which is a reassessment of the evidence on hanging bowls. J. Brennan, *Hanging Bowls and their Context* (BAR British Series, 220, 1991) had already highlighted the problem of their burial dating, and Geake argues cogently in favour of a deposition in the 7th and 8th century, at the time of Christianity, as an advertisement of identity, i.e. *Romanitas*. Hanging bowls, along with amethyst, dainty jewellery, coins (Charon's obols, indeed), are seen in the framework of "classicizing" objects characteristic of the 'Final Phase' assemblage.

Geake explores a related theme in a very stimulating piece of work: "Invisible Kingdoms: the Use of Grave-Goods in Seventh-Century England." *ASSAH* 10 (1999), 203–15, ill. She argues that the fact that the same kind of grave-goods is found across all the emerging kingdoms of Anglo-Saxon England might be explained considering the inspiration underlying the design and choice of goods. She draws on her recent work, which considered over a thousand furnished graves and their geographical distribution, to present a detailed analysis of the revolution in the types of beads, jewels, amulets, keys, weaponry, etc. that we discern. She explains it as a "renaissance of classical style," and instead of considering these as the last of the pagan burials, she sees them as strikingly innovative. She discusses, but discards, religious explanations, and considers the political significance of the fashion. A common factor among the new emerging kingdoms was 'created continuity', with kings and the elite trying to present themselves as legitimate successors of Rome, for instance constructing genealogies to prove it, or adopting Roman customs. Paradoxically, therefore, in the transformation into kingdoms, these kingdoms become very alike, as they all adopt a similar Roman-inspired material culture, archaeologically difficult to distinguish, and likewise reshape their history to suit.

The Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England: Basic Readings edited by C. Karkov (1999) is the seventh volume in the BRASE series (Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England). The idea behind the series is not only to show 'the state of the art', but also to point to the potential for future stud-

ies. The volume includes what may be termed 'vintage articles', such as those of R. Cramp, H.M. Taylor, M.O.H. Carver, D. Hinton, T. Dickinson, W. Rodwell, R. Frank, G.R. Owen-Crocker, S. Crawford, R.A. Hall, S. James, A. Marshall and M. Millet, plus four specially commissioned pieces (by K.M. Wickham-Crowley, M.O.H. Carver, C. Farr and J. Hawkes, which will be reviewed individually). The collection was chosen and commissioned keeping a balance between general surveys and specific analysis, straight archaeology and its interaction with other research fields. Sites such as Sutton Hoo, York, Whitby, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, are covered from several angles, ranging from technique of excavation to methods of construction and technology, plus the different modes of interpretations of their material culture—and how these have changed through time, and with the application of modes of questioning derived from other disciplines. Readers are therefore introduced to archaeology via approaches as diverse as place-name studies and sculpture, children's and women's studies and building, literature and textile production. The two introductory articles (discussed separately) guide us through the history and methods of Anglo-Saxon archaeology and offer an overview of the period and a clear definition and analysis of its terminology and techniques. Compiling anthologies is an invidious task, bound to please some and displease others, but these five hundred pages would offer the interested non-specialist plenty of food for thought.

K.M. Wickham-Crowley has the task of setting the scene with the first article in the BRASE volume, "Looking Forward, Looking Back. Excavating the Field of Anglo-Saxon Archaeology" (pp 1–23). Her article presents a survey of the history of Anglo-Saxon archaeology, from the times when one could excavate '28 graves in one day, and nine barrows before breakfast' to our more self-critical times. The copious finds retrieved by the energetic excavations of the Rev. Fausset were originally believed to be Romano-British, and published as such. The first to actually recognise the burial material as Anglo-Saxon was the Rev. Douglas, author of the *Nenia Britannica* of 1793, whilst T. Rickman in 1817 was the first to recognise and describe Anglo-Saxon features in churches. Typology in the ordering and understanding of artefacts followed the Darwinian theory of evolution and progress, as did the process of culture. The contribution of E.T. Leeds, and his attempt to synthesise the available information, are rightly underlined, as are his interests, both art-historical and cultural, with his work providing a first definition of archaeological culture. His work proved very influential as did that of foreign scholars, such as Salin and Åberg, or in England R.A. Smith and G. Baldwin Brown. The period from the 1930s to the 1950s was fairly conservative, the discovery of Sutton Hoo, on the eve of World War II, coming at the wrong time. New scientific techniques, such as radiocarbon dating (1949) and new philosophies and theories gave impetus to the development of theoretical archaeology

in the 1960s and 1970s, which tried to explain everything in a mechanistic and testable manner. The debate became whether archaeology was a discipline of the sciences or of the humanities. Reception was mixed, and in Anglo-Saxon studies at least, reaction was slow. Eventually three major strands could be perceived, with culture historians, processualists and post-processualists pursuing different ways, but more traditional approaches flourishing also. However, the very historical tests (such as Bede's) on which culture historians relied were shown to be unreliable and biased, and the processualist approach, with its belief in quantification (gathering, counting testing and so on) was criticised by T. Dickinson as unable to offer a good synthesis because of the lack of a good theoretical framework. Post-processualist thought, and the theoretical framework of various new disciplines have all contributed to new approaches to the material. The future of Anglo-Saxon archaeology appears to be healthy, with plenty of material and new ideas to explore, new possibilities and means of investigations to come. Wickham-Crowley's survey is a very useful introduction to the changing facets of the discipline, with plenty of bibliographical references to follow up.

The article by M.O.H. Carver, "Exploring, Expanding, Imagining. Anglo-Saxon Archaeology 1998" in the same volume (pp. 25–52), will be very useful to anyone who has but vague ideas about Early, Middle and Late Periods, what kind of archaeological evidence there is, and 'how it all works': really, all you ever wanted to know, but were too shy to ask. Carver leads cogently and sensibly through the pros and cons of various theoretical models, and explains which are the topics at present highest on the agenda of Anglo-Saxon archaeologists—ecology, economy, and social organisation, how they are worked on analytically through data, and how their quest is supported by other people working in related fields. He shows, by means of concrete examples (work in progress) how a variety of data is appropriate for a particular time, and what kind of answers it could yield. However, what appears true for one area need not apply to another (hence the need for local studies, and careful weighing and comparison of data), and of course shifts in cultural emphasis also mean dramatic changes in material culture too. Examples of different kinds of 'investments', from sumptuous burials to conspicuous stone carvings, furnish memorable examples. A rich note apparatus supports the article, full of references that will be very useful for those who wish to pursue the many topics introduced.

j. Sculpture

L. Alcock's "From Realism to Caricature: Reflections on Insular Depictions of Animals and People" *Proc. of the Soc. of Antiquaries of Scotland* 128, 515–36, ill. is a very interesting and informative survey of such 7th- to 9th-century iconography on stone, manuscripts and metalwork, with an exploration of the possible meaning behind. A tall order indeed,

considering the scale of the material, and frustratingly the reader is taken through the material at quite a pace, when one would have wished for a more leisurely discussion. However, there are plenty of notes that suggest tantalising follow-ups—and it is a really enjoyable piece, with delightful vignettes. The line drawings are very helpful 'reminders', so there really was no need for Alcock to apologise so profusely about them...

E. Coatsworth's "East Riddlesden Hall" *Durham Archaeol. Jnl* 14–15 (1999), 107–10, deals with the fragment of a cross shaft found in two distinct, but clearly joining pieces, on the premises of East Riddlesden Hall, Keighley, West Yorkshire. On the broad face of the piece is a displayed bird on a tall perch that descends amongst interlace. The head of the bird is turned right and has a large down-turned beak, the body is long and thin, and its legs humanoid, with no distinguishable feet. Possibly a detached fan-like object to the left indicates a tail. Near its head, to the left, there is a crescent shape, balanced by something else on the right. The iconography of the piece is extensively discussed in the light of other sculpture with birds, such as the monument at Bewcastle, and the crosses at Ruthwell, Otley, Aycliffe, Escomb, etc., and specifically of the four fragments of cross heads now in the Chapter House at Durham. The eagle may be interpreted as a symbol of St John the Evangelist or, as B. Raw suggested, a symbol of Christ, especially when accompanied by the sun and the moon. This interpretation, however, does not convince Coatsworth, who prefers to explore the idea of evangelist's symbol and the idea of a programme demonstrating the revelation of Christ divinity to man through the words of St John's Gospel. The dating of the sculpture is discussed in the light of the interlace patterns, and is put to the 10th or 11th century.

J. Kelsey's "Stowical Saxons Reveal their Secrets" *History Today*, October 1999, p. 5 ill. is a chatty interview with Prof. West about the Museum at the new West Stow centre.

C. Farr's contribution to the BRASE volume, "Questioning the Monument. Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Sculpture through Gender Studies" (pp 375–402), begins with an apologia for gender studies and an invitation to think about the differences that social classes, historic periods, etc., can bring to bear on the construct of gender, as not absolute, but determined by social and historic processes. The study concentrates on the fragments of the cross shaft from Hackness (one of Whitby's daughter communities, and important because attested as a double or women's monastic community with royal connections). Its inscription recalling Oedilburga Beata is discussed, as well as a more cryptic, coded one, the fine vine-scroll, and its dating, but the main argument regards the badly damaged portrait. This is compared to other contemporary examples of similar type, and the question posed is whether the portrait of a woman holding a book, recalling images of evangelists, could represent the virgin mother abbess, and what kind of responses the image would have elicited. The range of constructs and ideals of female sanctities is discussed in connection with other examples of females carved on stone monuments, in particularly with the Rothbury I cross, but, as Farr acknowledges, these are all chance and fragmentary survivals, and difficult to evaluate. Consolation might be found in the thought that raising issues such as those related to gender can instigate other questions that help better our understanding of the monuments.

Jane Hawkes's stimulating contribution to the BRASE volume, "Statement in Stone. Anglo-Saxon sculpture, Whitby and the Christianization of the North" (pp 403–21), investigates the role of Anglo-Saxon sculpture and its figural iconography in the spread of Christianity in the North of England. Recent studies have concentrated on the iconography, rather than, as previously, on the style of the carving, and have provided insights into wider cultural contacts, and especially the ecclesiastical culture of the time, but the primary use of these monuments has been somewhat underplayed. Yet their original function was that of advertising the existence and standing of those ecclesiastical centres that had sponsored them. The impressive size (relatively speaking) of stone churches and their monuments, apart from other enhancing renderings that would have embellished them, would have created a huge impact. It is still possible to appreciate the deliberate nature of the investment made by certain ecclesiastical centres. It was also a rare phenomenon: Hawkes points out how out of *ca.* 230 per-Viking pieces north of the Tees, 180 appear to come from just five sites. It appears that, in addition to the religious message, religious foundations were using sculpture to proclaim their socio-economic status. Whitby is taken as an example, and several pieces are discussed: lintels, baluster shafts, etc. Daughter houses too had similar statements in stone, more or less impressive or elaborate. The relatively simple and conservative funerary monuments from Lindisfarne, Whitby and Hartlepool are seen as another considerable investment in stone, a permanent feature on the geographical and political landscape, perhaps in order to establish pilgrimage centres.

D. Williams, comp. "Some recent Finds from Surrey: Mid and Late Saxon" (*Surrey Archaeol. Collections* 86 (1999), 178–81) is a very wide list of finds in the region, from prehistoric times, all neatly divided and illustrated. In our area of interest, the strap end with a niello inlaid panel in Trewhiddle style is the finest piece.

A.G.

Works not seen

Allen, J. R. L. "Romano-British and Early Medieval Pottery Scatters on the Alluvium at Hill and Oldbury, Severn Estuary Levels." *Archaeol. in the Severn Estuary* 8 (1997): 67-81, ill.

Champion, M. *The Hollow Crown: the Story of St. Edmund.* Reepham, Norf: Timescape, 1997.

Goodburn, Damian. "An Image of Ancient English Woodland." *Brit. Archaeol.* 42 (1999): 10-11.

Schofield, John. "Saxon London in a Tale of Two Cities." *Brit. Archaeol.* 44 (1999): 12-13.

Underwood, Richard. "Here He Lies, Hewn Down... in the Dirt." *Brit. Archaeol.* 47 (1999): 6-7.

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