

# **OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER**

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# THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

## 2001

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## Preface

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Long-time readers of *The Year's Work in Old English Studies* will notice and may even be disoriented by a change in the organization within this volume. Beginning with the *Old English Bibliography* in 2001, a new section was split off from "1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects" to create "2. Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline." This change is not simply a way to manage a bibliographic section that has grown larger and larger over the years but an acknowledgement of a real shift in our field's research interests—or rather a shift of momentum toward a research area that has been around for some time. The works collected under "Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline" constitute self-reflexive moments that allow Anglo-Saxonists to take stock of our discipline, either over the career of an individual scholar or over many generations. The growth of this area reflects our field's coming-of-age and institutional self-awareness, but even a cursory glance through the entries reminds us that what sets Anglo-Saxon studies apart from other periods is the long duration of our discipline, which dates back to the sixteenth century (e.g. Matthew Parker) and extends even to scholars outside England (e.g. Franciscus Junius).

For veteran users, the practical consequence of adding a new section is the need to make a mental recalibration ( $n + 1$ ) to find any section after the first two. So "History and Culture" is no longer numbered 6 but 7; "Old English Prose" is 4c rather than 3c. But as Anglo-Saxonists and the intellectual heirs of Parker and Junius we can handle it. If we can keep track of two systems for numbering the folios of the *Beowulf* manuscript or mentally correct the years in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries, then surely we can take the revised numbering for this volume of *YWOES* in stride. If we really want to exercise our numeracy muscles, we can always tackle rival systems for calculating the date of Easter.

As is customary in this space we need to bid a fond farewell to some reviewers and to welcome yet others, and I'm happy to report that the welcomes outnumber the goodbyes this issue. Bruce O'Brien, who joined the History and Culture team for the 1997 volume, has decided to step down, and he goes with our gratitude for his labors over the previous four volumes. Before relinquishing his quill, however, Bruce helped ensure a smooth transition to the two new contributors who now join Mary Frances Giandrea: Elizabeth Rowe, an independent scholar attached to Harvard, and Paul Kershaw of the University of Virginia. We are also pleased to welcome Aaron Kleist of Biola University to the ever-expanding Prose section, where he will team up with Nicole Guenther Discenza. Similarly, Phil Rusche of the University of Nevada, Las Vegas, will share the load in the Latin section with David Porter. Finally we welcome Viva Fisher of Harvard's Peabody Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology, who in collaboration with Betty Coatsworth has already helped revivify (pun intended) the Archaeology section.

Ah, Archaeology, Numismatics, and Sculpture. In the Preface to the previous *YWOES*, when I was *wlanc and wingal*, I boasted that in this issue we would publish the year's work in Archaeology for both 2000 and 2001. I now have to admit that I suffered from *ofermod*: we couldn't quite meet our ambitions. But we came close. With a heroic effort Betty Coatsworth and Viva Fisher have pulled together an ample section that reviews most of the Archaeology items for 2000 and 2001. The missing items are in the hands of Chris Loveluck, who shortly after agreeing to collaborate found himself overwhelmed with unanticipated administrative duties that greeted him at his new post at the University of Nottingham. We decided to go ahead and publish what we had in hand. Chris still hopes to complete the writing soon, and we all wish him every success. While this episode has taught me not to make rash editorial promises, I am very encouraged about the immediate future of the Archaeology section, which has already added another reviewer to join Betty and Viva for *YWOES* 2002.

The contributors to *The Year's Work in Old English Studies* are named on the title page, and the authorship of individual sections is indicated by initials within or at the end of each section. Reviewers 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 constitutes negative judgment.

Comments and suggestions, as well as review copies of articles and books, may be sent to Daniel Donoghue, Department of English, Barker Center, Harvard University, Cambridge, MA 02138.

## 1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

### a. Anglo-Saxon Medievalism, Old English Poetics in Contemporary Verse

In *Literary Appropriations of the Anglo-Saxons from the Thirteenth to the Twentieth Centuries*, Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England 29 (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), Donald Scragg and Carole Weinberg have collected twelve essays examining the ways in which Anglo-Saxon England is perceived and represented in the works of "creative artists" from the thirteenth century to the present. Although one might quibble with the term "creative artist" (e.g., is either "Robert of Gloucester," the putative author of the metrical chronicle associated with this name, or the compiler of the *South English Legendary* really a "creative artist"?), these essays, which were originally presented at a 1995 symposium at the University of Manchester, are uniformly well-written and ably researched. Donald Scragg's excellent introductory essay, "The Anglo-Saxons: fact and fiction" (1–21), contextualizes the discussion of the representations of Anglo-Saxon themes and subjects in these essays into the larger, diachronic framework of British literary history.

The first four essays focus on the uses to which English writers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries put their common Anglo-Saxon past. Weinberg's essay, "Victor and Victim: a View of the Anglo-Saxon Past in Lazamon's *Brut*" (22–38), considers the questions of Lazamon's use of the Anglo-Saxon past and its relevance to his Anglo-Norman present. Acknowledging that Lazamon's aim is to provide an accounting of the various peoples who have shaped English history, Weinberg ultimately concludes that his use of the Anglo-Saxon past is inextricably bound up in "his background and outlook as a priest, and [that] he often brings a moral/Christian dimension into his account of both British and early Anglo-Saxon kings" (32–3). Focusing on its use of the Anglo-Saxon past, Sarah Mitchell demonstrates that Robert of Gloucester's metrical chronicle is a polemic against the depredations of the reign of Henry III which concentrates on three contemporary concerns: "the influx of foreigners into the country, the failure of the king to uphold the traditional laws of the land, and the king's refusal to accept ecclesiastical advice" ("Kings, Constitution and Crisis: 'Robert of Gloucester' and the Anglo-Saxon Remedy," 39–56 at 43). Mitchell argues that Robert of Gloucester's deliberate selection and polemical promotion of aspects of the Anglo-Saxon past in his metrical chronicle represents the remedy he envisions for the corruption of his thirteenth-

century society. In "The *South English Legendary*: Anglo-Saxon Saints and National Identity" (57–73), Jill Frederick traces the evidence for a growing sense of English nationalism in the thirteenth century through the *Legendary*'s self-conscious use of English as its language of transmission, its inclusion of a large number of Anglo-Saxon saints, and its use of topographical descriptions of the English landscape. John Frankis charts the development of the legend of the conversion of the English and the role of the sixth-century king Ælle of Deira in that legend ("King Ælle and the Conversion of the English: the Development of a Legend from Bede to Chaucer," 74–92). A self-conscious choice in the Anglo-Norman chronicle of Nicholas Trevet, the historical veracity and the English location of the story of king Ælle was of little, if any, significance to Chaucer in his *Man of Law's Tale* and to Gower in the *Confessio Amantis*.

The next three essays treat the dramatic representation of the Anglo-Saxon past in plays of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In the anonymous *Edmund Ironside*, the first play to be set in Anglo-Saxon England, Leah Scragg uncovers "Elizabethan attitudes to the Anglo-Saxons, and the relevance of early eleventh-century English politics to late sixteenth-century concerns" ("Saxon versus Danes: the Anonymous *Edmund Ironside*," 93–106 at 98). Scragg discovers Elizabethan political and religious sympathies in the contrasting characterizations of Edmund as the self-deprecating and magnanimous warrior-king and Canutus as the ruthless, explosive, and duplicitous usurper. Scragg demonstrates that the historical parallels between the uncertainties following the death of Æthelred in 1016 and the anxieties facing late sixteenth-century England would not have been lost on a contemporary audience. In "New Times and Old Stories: Middleton's *Hengist*" (107–21), Julia Briggs examines Thomas Middleton's reworking of the legendary invasion of Britain by the Saxons as an exemplum for his own day. Briggs demonstrates that for Middleton "the dramatic appeal [of his Anglo-Saxon subject matter] lay in the repeated conquests for kingship and rule in ancient Britain, and what the stories of such contests might be made to mean to audiences during the reign of James I" (114). In two late-eighteenth-century plays set in pre-Conquest England, Ann Yearsley's *Earl Godwin* and Frances Burney's *Edwy and Elgiva*, Jacqueline Pearson discerns a distinctly British and ultimately female response to the French Revolution and its aftermath ("Crushing the Convent and the Dread Bastille: the

Anglo-Saxons, Revolution and Gender in Women's Plays of the 1790s," 122–37). Pearson argues that "For both, the Anglo-Saxons are only interesting in so far as they provide a vehicle for intense emotion and an oblique way of dramatizing the politics—gender politics as well as global politics—of their own day" (125). Pearson uncovers the use to which each author puts her source material in the service of her larger commentary on the political and social order of late eighteenth-century England.

The next four essays focus on the representations of the Anglo-Saxons in Romantic poetry, the historical novel, Tennyson's translation of the *Battle of Brunanburh*, and the legend of Lady Godgifu (or Godiva). Lynda Pratt discusses the opposing ways two poets of the early nineteenth century, Joseph Cottle and Henry James Pye, employ the character of King Alfred the Great as the hero of their epics of the same title, *Alfred, an Epic Poem* ("Anglo-Saxon Attitudes?: Alfred the Great and the Romantic National Epic," 138–56). As one might expect from a poet laureate, Pye creates "the very epitome of the conservative epic, both in terms of its style and interpretation of the genre, and in the way in which it handles its subject" (148). In opposition to this portrayal, Cottle depicts the Anglo-Saxon monarch as a "kind of proto-Romantic poet, a sensitive appreciator of nature and of the natural world, a man who wanders round the countryside talking to rural folk and listening to their tales 'of misery', and who is as likely to address poems to the moon as to make high-sounding speeches urging his army into battle" (153). Pratt concludes that the choice of King Alfred as the hero of these two poems, published only a year apart, is hardly a coincidence, but rather "reflects [their authors'] engagement in the political and cultural debates of their time" (156). In "Utter Indifference?: the Anglo-Saxons in the Nineteenth-Century Novel" (157–73), Andrew Sanders focuses on the representation of the Anglo-Saxons in Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*, Edward Bulwer-Lytton's *Harold: The Last of the Saxon Kings*, and Charles Kingsley's *Hereward the Wake*. Sanders argues that historical fiction which chose Anglo-Saxon characters or themes "generally failed to make a significant impact on nineteenth-century England simply because the notion that there was something truly distinctive about Anglo-Saxondom had already foundered on the rock of Britishness" (162). The late Edward B. Irving, Jr., offers a judicious consideration of Tennyson's translation of one of the most familiar Old English poems in "The Charge of the Saxon Brigade: Tennyson's *Battle of Brunanburh*" (174–93). In a characteristically generous move, Irving provides the reader with

an excerpt of the original Old English poem, a small section of Michael Alexander's recent translation, and a full copy of Tennyson's translation as an appendix to his essay. After a review of Tennyson's acquaintance with Old English (which seems to have been through his Cambridge classmate and friend J.M. Kemble and from his own research for some unsuccessful historical plays, including *Harold*, a play based on the events of the Norman Conquest), Irving turns to the translation itself. He analyzes the translation according to style and content, and concludes that its "heavy higgledy-piggledy double-dactylic rhythm," reminiscent of the poet's "Charge of the Light Brigade," does not capture the varying rhythms and complex syntax of the original. Ultimately, Irving suggests that Tennyson's contact with Anglo-Saxon verse led to the "interesting experimentation in metre, the use of dialect and general register" that is characteristic of his later poetry (187). In "Lady Godiva" (194–214), Daniel Donoghue sets out to discuss "the cultural reception of Godiva from the early Middle Ages through the Victorian period and up to today, with some speculation on the relevance of her story to recent film criticism" (195). After an overview of the historical Godgifu, an Anglo-Saxon noblewoman who died c. 1067, and the records of her generosity to monasteries, Donoghue traces the development of the principal elements of her legendary ride through the streets of Coventry. He notes that the earliest records of Godgifu make no mention of the infamous ride. In fact, the first accounts to mention the ride occur only in the thirteenth century, some 150 years after her death. Donoghue's essay charts the permutations of Godiva's legend from the early reverent admiration of her ostensible motivation through the more highly eroticized associations with voyeurism to the suppression of the erotic elements in the Victorian era and its trivialization in contemporary popular culture.

In the final essay of this collection, "The Undeveloped Image: Anglo-Saxon in Popular Consciousness from Turner to Tolkien" (214–36), T.A. Shippey assesses the marginal status of Anglo-Saxon studies and "Anglo-Saxonism" in the popular culture of the last two centuries. He laments particularly the striking irrelevance, or more importantly the complete lack of awareness, of the Anglo-Saxon origins of British national identity in this same period. The consequences of this ignorance are manifest in the increasingly strident nationalist movements in Scotland and Wales, and in the "stifled nationalism in England which breaks out too often in football riots" (235). Shippey concludes that "the population of England (and the United Kingdom outside it) needs to come

to terms with its pre-Imperial and pre-Union history in order to adjust to a post-Imperial (and conceivably post-Union) situation" (235-6). Overall, this is a very strong volume which will prove rewarding to Anglo-Saxonists and specialists in later English literatures alike.

In "Túrin's *ofermod*: An Old English Theme in the Development of the Story of Túrin," Richard C. West considers J.R.R. Tolkien's nuanced sense of the Old English noun, most often translated as "pride" or "overconfidence," in his story of Túrin Turambar in *The Silmarillion* (Tolkien's "Legendarium": *Essays on "The History of Middle-earth,"* ed. Verlyn Flieger and Carl F. Hostetter [London and Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000], 233-45). West begins with an overview of Tolkien's interpretations of the term *ofermod* in *The Battle of Maldon* and *Beowulf*, arguing that the Oxford don's sense of the word as a condemnation of prideful behavior in fact reflected more than anything "his own ambivalent view of the heroic ethos" (236). Turning to the story of Túrin, West teases out of the various recensions of the narrative, which was never finished, a substantial body of evidence to suggest that Tolkien's characterization of Túrin as prideful, arrogant, and over-bold is purposeful and reflects a profound antipathy toward thoughtless heroic behavior which always comes at great human cost. West concludes that "Túrin's story is Tolkien's speculation on the limits of heroism, and how the mightiest hero, who achieves feats at which everyone marvels, nevertheless needs humane values" (244).

Sarah Keefer explores the self-conscious use of language by Tolkien's friend and colleague in "C.S. Lewis's 'Edgestow' as Homophonic Polysemy" (*ANQ* 14: 40-45). Keefer traces the likely Old English derivation of the name of the town in Lewis's *That Hideous Strength* (1945), a novel, as she points out, "whose impulse is driven by the theme of language: its title comes from a poem describing the Tower of Babel, and its plot turns on words, speech, and their uses" (40). As Keefer indicates, the final element of the name "Edgestow" is clearly derived from the Old English feminine noun *stow* ("place") preserved in many place-names. Keefer argues that the initial element of the name derives from several Old English words which sound alike (hence the "homophony" of her title). The three words Keefer focuses on are *ecg*, meaning "edge" (often of a sword) or "boundary"; *ege*, meaning "terror" or "fear of God"; and *egesa*, meaning "awe" or "horror." In the complex interplay of the meanings of these words (hence the "polysemy"), Keefer contends, Lewis consciously created the town of Edgestow as "a place of borders, battle

lines, and edges, where terror, abomination, fear of the Lord, and reverence for God's creation meet in a single word" (44).

Toward the end of a long and wide-ranging essay celebrating the poetic oeuvre of Alexander Scott, Kenneth D. Farrow turns to the Scottish poet's translation of *The Seafarer* ("Waement the Deid': The Poetic Achievement of Alexander Scott (1920-89)" *Scottish Literary Jnl* 27 [2000]: 39-64). In a comparative analysis of Scott's "Seaman's Sang" with Ezra Pound's famous translation "The Seafarer," Farrow deems Scott's poem superior as it is responsive to the original, rich in detail, lacking in rhetorical excess or archaism, and ultimately "succeeds in planting the poem anew in a Scots context" (62). For Farrow, Scott's translation "represents a significant addition to our understanding of the original" (62).

In "Rosenberg's 'Dead Man's Dump'" (*Explicator* 59: 101-03), Amity J. Brown examines the modern poet Isaac Rosenberg's use of kennings in his poem about the devastation of World War I. Brown argues that Rosenberg avoids trite and commonplace descriptions of war's destruction and instead "constructs kennings to revive the too common sight of death" (102). Kennings such as "swift iron burning bee" for a bullet and "soul's sack" for a human corpse allow Rosenberg to capture the indescribable essence of military conflict and especially the "physical and spiritual effects of watching and participating in such slaughter" (102).

## b. Research Resources

In "Circolwyrde 2000: New Electronic Resources for Anglo-Saxon Studies" and "Circolwyrde 2001" (*OEN* 34.1: 15-18 and 35.1: 20-23 respectively), Martin K. Foys continues to provide a valuable service to the community of Anglo-Saxonists with his excellent survey and review of all the electronic resources, new and revised, on the internet or in the marketplace.

Several other reviews of electronic resources are available through the on-line publication *The Heroic Age* (<http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/>). Aimed at medieval scholars "who are not currently employed by, or have moved in directions away from, the traditional academic faculty position," Brad Eden has compiled an annotated list of websites and electronic discussion groups available on the web ("Internet Resources in Medieval Studies," *The Heroic Age* 4 [Winter 2001]: n.p., online). In this same electronic issue of *Heroic Age* (n.p.), L.J. Swain provides "Web Site Reviews" and

an "Electronic Bibliography" of resources available on the internet.

Antonio Miranda Garcia and three colleagues from the University of Malaga (Spain) offer a cogent introduction to the aims and main features of the latest Computer-Assisted Language Learning software application in "CALLOE: A Pedagogical Tool for the Learning of Old English" (*OEN* 34.3: 12–20). Designed to facilitate the learning of Old English by students with little if any knowledge of or exposure to inflected languages, CALLOE contains several interesting features: a morphological analyzer and tagger (MAOET), a text library, sound files, an exercise-manager, and a Help mode. CALLOE is constantly undergoing revision and updating. The latest version is available as freeware (a simple registration process is involved) at <http://alcor.lcc.uma.es/~estrivino/calloe/>.

Three essays discuss the on-going research and far-reaching implications of the "Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England" (PASE), a five-year project funded by the United Kingdom Arts and Humanities Research Board which aims to compile a biographical register of all named persons who had significant association with Anglo-Saxon England from AD 597 to 1042. In "Unity in Diversity: Prosopographies and Their Relationship with Other Databases" (*History and Computing* 12 [2000]: 13–22), David A.E. Pelteret discusses the genesis and early development of PASE. Focusing on several problems that arise in the construction of such a database, Pelteret calls for cross-disciplinary collaboration "to standardise various aspects of database design, not from the technical point of view of the computer specialist but from the point of view of the scholar in the humanities" (19). In a second essay, "The Challenges of Constructing the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Database" (*Medieval Prosopography* 22: 117–25), Pelteret reiterates many of the same points he made in the earlier essay, but also provides an upbeat assessment of the progress made in the intervening year. Francesca Tinti, a member of the PASE project team, demonstrates the data-capturing process used by the project with a concrete example in "The *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert* and the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Database: An Exercise in Data Capturing" (*Medieval Prosopography* 22: 127–40). Using a brief passage from Book III, Chapter 6 of the *Anonymous Life*, Tinti demonstrates the process by which data is entered into two key entities of the PASE database: the Source Master, a table which contains information about the source text (e.g., author, title, date of composition, language of composition), and Person Master, a table which contains records of

every person named in a given source. In the case of the chosen sample text, the Source Master table is easily filled out with information about the *Anonymous Life of St. Cuthbert*. In the sample passage from the text, three individuals are named, Aelflaed, Cuthbert, and Ecgrith. Tinti walks the reader through a sample "Person Master" entry for Aelflaed, which includes separate fields tables for Status, Office, Education, Kinship, Occupation, Personal Information, Recorded names, Authorship, and Possession. No doubt the valiant efforts of the project team will result in an excellent resource for scholars of the period in many different disciplines.

### c. Essay Collections

Three collections of essays came out of conferences and seminars held by Italian associations of medieval studies in 1999 and 2000. Maria Grazia Saibene and Marina Buzzoni edit thirteen essays originally presented at a conference hosted by the Italian Association of Germanic Philology at the University Ca' Foscari in Venice in 1999 (*Testo e immagine nel medioevo germanico; Atti del XXVI Convegno dell'Associazione italiana di Filologia Germanica (Venezia, 26-28 maggio 1999)* [Milan: Cisalpino]). Each of the essays approaches the theme of the conference, texts and images from the medieval Germanic world, from a unique perspective. Anglo-Saxonists may be especially interested in the essays by the following scholars: N. Francovich Onesti analyzes the relationship between text and image on the Franks Casket (1–20); Maria Amalia D'Aronco explores the interaction of text and illustration in London, BL Cotton Vitellius C.iii (103–14); and Marina Buzzoni argues that the opening initial of the text of the *Battle of Brunanburh* influences not only the superficial structure of the poem as it appears on the manuscript page but ultimately the interpretation of the text itself (281–304).

An international conference on the figure of Saint Peter in medieval sources produced a volume of essays edited by Loredana Lazzari and Anna Maria Valente Bacci, *La figura di San Pietro nelle fonti del medioevo; Atti del convegno tenutosi in occasione dello Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus (Viterbo e Roma 5-8 settembre 2000)* (Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération internationale des Instituts d'études médiévales). Among the thirty wide-ranging essays of this prodigious volume are three treating Anglo-Saxon subjects: L. Lazzari on Saint Peter in the *Vita Wilfridi* (81–111); A. Ferreiro on Simon Magus and Simon Peter in medieval Irish and English legends (112–32); P. Lendinara

on Peter as apostle, bishop, and saint in Anglo-Saxon literature (649–84).

Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza and Renato Gendre have edited a collection of twelve essays culled from presentations to an advanced seminar in Germanic philology held in Turin in September of 2000 (*Antichità germaniche; I Parte; I Seminario avanzato in Filologia germanica*, Bibliotheca Germanica, Studi e Testi 10 [Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso]). Two of the papers discuss Anglo-Saxon topics: P. Lendinara examines the riddles in the Exeter Book for glimpses of early Germanic culture (3–42); and C. Raffaghello explores the confrontation between social classes in Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman England through the lens of the *Corpus Iuris* (307–23).

In *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, Rolf Bremmer, Jr., Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson have collected fourteen essays on the pervasive influence of Pope Gregory's work in the Germanic-speaking world (*Mediaevalia Groningana* 4 [Paris, Leuven, and Sterling, VA: Peeters]). Six of the essays in this volume were originally papers in two sessions devoted to Gregory the Great at the fourth triennial *Germania Latina* Conference sponsored by the Departments of Old Germanic Studies and English at the University of Groningen in 1998. The remaining eight essays were commissioned specifically for this volume. All of the essays are of especially high quality and approach the subject of the diffusion and reception of Gregory's works from a variety of thematic and theoretical stances. Eight of the fourteen essays focus on the impact of Gregory on the Anglo-Saxons and their appreciation of him (Lendinara, Godden, Johnson, Dekker, Hall, Rambridge, Discenza, and Rowley). As a whole, this volume ought to be mandatory reading for anyone interested in theology, history, and literature in early medieval England.

A selection of papers from the Thirteenth Viking Congress at the University of Nottingham in August of 1997 have appeared in *Vikings and the Danelaw*, edited by James Graham-Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch, and David N. Parsons (Oxford: Oxbow Books). Ranging from a broad discussion of what constitutes the Danelaw (Katherine Holman) to the practice of Viking burials in Derbyshire (Julian D. Richards), the essays collected in this volume advance our understanding of the enormous impact of the Scandinavian settlers on the English landscape, both literal and figurative. Andrew Wawn's essay on Victorian reconstructions of Danelaw life is discussed in the next section.

Christian J. Kay and Louise Sylvester have assembled a fine collection of essays in honor of the prolific career of Jane Roberts (*Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts* [Amsterdam and Atlanta, GA: Rodopi]). The collection begins with a fond personal tribute to Professor Roberts, followed by a bibliography of her writings. Many of the essays on Anglo-Saxon subjects are reviewed elsewhere in this volume (J.-A. George, Joyce Hill, Rosemary Huisman, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, Peter Orton, E.G. Stanley, and Paul Szarmach).

Eight essays on the subject of *Time in the Medieval World* have been edited by Chris Humphrey and W.M. Ormrod (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press). The chronological scope of the essays runs from the early Middle Ages to the early Modern era. Although the essays explore the question of time and its measurement in vastly different eras, a twin theme of social identity and community emerges from this collection. As Chris Humphrey states in his Introduction, the overarching thesis of these essays is that "time can be a way of building social relationships" (4). Of special interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be Howard Williams's essay on mortuary practices at Sutton Hoo reviewed in section 7 below.

In *The North Sea World in the Middle Ages: Studies in the Cultural History of North-Western Europe*, Thomas R. Lischka and Lorna E.M. Walker have collected a body of essays focusing on the "world" of the North Sea and north-western Europe during the Middle Ages (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press). The volume is divided into three sections, organized loosely according to the past, medieval present, and future. The essays in Part I emphasize the links between literature, history, and art in English, French, German, Netherlandic, and Scandinavian settings. Part II turns its attention to the impact on individual cultures of seafaring, pilgrimage, and invasion. In Part III, the essays focus on hagiography, and specifically on the spiritual economy of saints' cults. In an age of ongoing European integration and a growing awareness of the interconnectedness of the global economy, the wide-ranging interdisciplinary nature of these essays should appeal to a broad audience.

#### d. Varia

In "Popular Representations of the Trinity in England, 990–1300," Ursula Rowlett examines a vast body of evidence in an attempt to gauge popular understanding of the concept of the Trinity (*Folklore* 112: 201–10). In the course of her study, Rowlett considers the treatment

of the doctrine of the Trinity in the homilies of Ælfric, the practice of the sacrament of baptism, images of the Trinity and Trinitarian symbolism in architecture, medieval numerology, and anecdotal evidence in manuscript sources for the efficacy of the sign of the cross as a means of staving off disaster. Rowlatt closes with the grateful acknowledgment that "medievalists are at last studying these aspects of practical religion, drawing on much of the previously understudied material that is available at the level of the faithful themselves" (208).

N. Gary Lane and William I. Ausich shed new light on the "300-million year-old fossil crinoid columnals" known as St. Cuthbert's Beads in "The Legend of St Cuthbert's Beads: A Palaeontological and Geological Perspective" (*Folklore* 112: 65–87). In an attempt to "ascertain how and when the legend originated and the geological and palaeontological basis for the legend," Lane and Ausich review the geological and human history of Holy Island. In their review of this body of evidence, they find that Cuthbert's name was linked

to the fossils as early as 1671 and that the beads were popular for rosaries by 1686. The earliest reference to the legend that Cuthbert manufactured the beads on a stone anvil is not until 1783; Lane and Ausich adduce several possible scenarios for the origin of the legend. The two most likely possibilities are that limestone quarrying operations on the north shore of the island revealed the columnals or the columnals were exposed by the weathering out of glacial till on the south shore. According to either scenario, the local population collected the bead-like columnals and believing them to be of great antiquity attributed them to Cuthbert. The beads were made into rosaries and must also have been sold to travellers.

*Works not seen*

Pennington, Janet. "St. Cuthman's Book?" *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 12 (2000): 231.

R.F.J.

## 2. Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline

### a. History of the Discipline

In *The Recovery of Old English: Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Publ. of the Rawlinson Center 1; Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications, Western Michigan Univ., 2000), Timothy Graham has collected eight essays (five of which are revised and expanded versions of papers originally presented at the 29<sup>th</sup> International Congress on Medieval Studies in 1994, and the remaining three were especially commissioned for this volume) which plumb the depths of "Old English studies from their beginnings in the third quarter of the sixteenth century to their coming of age by the early eighteenth" (xi). The essays fall into two broad groups: the bulk of them focus on the career, work, and influence of a single scholar (Graham, Bremmer, Pulisano, Lee, Lowe, and Dekker) and the others examine a particular text and/or methodological approach to Old English texts (Lutz and Plumer).

In addition to serving as the editor of this fine volume, Graham contributes an essay on John Joscelyn (1529–1603) as lexicographer ("John Joscelyn, Pioneer of Old English Lexicography," 83–140). After a brief review of Joscelyn's career and published works, Graham turns directly to his unpublished body of work on

Old English and the principal subject of the essay, Joscelyn's Old English dictionary, which survives in two volumes (London, BL Cotton Titus A.xv and A.xvi). Although much of the copying of the dictionary seems to have been done by John Parker, son of Archbishop Parker and Joscelyn's collaborator in this venture, Graham demonstrates that the vast majority of the work that lay behind the dictionary (the studying of manuscripts and the compiling of word lists) was Joscelyn's. Through a careful analysis of the manuscripts that Joscelyn used and of the words lists themselves, Graham sheds light on Joscelyn's overall method and on the various stages of the work. Graham concludes that "Joscelyn's achievement and the labors underlying it establish him as the outstanding sixteenth-century pioneer of Old English lexicography" (133).

Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. examines the impact of Verstegen's *Restitution of Decayed Intelligence in Antiquities* on the study of early English paganism in "The Anglo-Saxon Pantheon According to Richard Verstegen" (141–72). Bremmer argues that Verstegen's *Restitution* should be seen as "a subtle attempt to show the English in 1605 that their Anglo-Saxon ancestors only gained happiness when they accepted the faith as it was preached by St. Augustine" (169). Bremmer's astute reading of Verstegen uncovers a dimension of



the text that he suggests has been overlooked, namely its "subtle discourse of Counter-Reformation propaganda" (172). The essay includes illustrations of the major pagan deities from Verstegen's *Restitution*.

In one of his last published works, "William L'Isle and the Editing of Old English" (172–206), Phillip Pulsiano scours L'Isle's published and unpublished works in an effort to appreciate more fully the scholar's "methods of work, the types of problems he faced, and the varieties of solutions at which he arrived" (176). After reviewing L'Isle's program for the study of Old English, Pulsiano turns to the manuscript evidence of L'Isle's practice as an editor and translator. Pulsiano concludes from the large body of evidence he reviews that L'Isle was "a keen editor who understood the problems posed by the text as well as the difficulties in rendering Old English into a modern translation" (200).

In much the same vein as Pulsiano, Stuart Lee sets out to reassess L'Isle's scholarly reputation, though in this essay as collector and transcriber of Old English ("Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 381: William L'Isle, Ælfric, and *The Ancrene Wisse*," 207–42). Lee specifically seeks to redress "the tarnishing of L'Isle's reputation by examining one of his most infamous 'forgeries' in the light of material previously overlooked in this context" (209). The so-called "forgery" refers to a collection of transcriptions of Old English material in Laud 381, including some three hundred lines of a now-lost homily by Ælfric on the Old Testament book of Esther, made by L'Isle. Lee sets out to identify the sources (i.e., the homilies) and the manuscripts from which the transcriptions derive. His meticulous study determines that the transcriptions derive from fifty-nine surviving homilies in addition to the lost Esther homily and that many of the manuscripts he consulted were associated with Cambridge and with Corpus Christi College in particular.

In "'The Oracle of His Countrey'? William Somner, *Gavelkind*, and Lexicography in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries" (281–300), Kathryn A. Lowe explores the use to which later lexicographers put the work of Somner. He was of particular interest to lexicographers for his attention to etymology. Lowe narrows the scope of her analysis by tracing the use of Somner's etymology of the word *gavelkind*, which refers, in later works, to a type of land tenure in use in Kent. Lowe concludes that although "Somner's works were considered important enough to be cited both in the general English dictionaries and specialist law works of the period covered [in this essay], it seems that they were only occasionally read or used" (300).

Kees Dekker surveys the history of Bodleian MSS Junius 2 and 3 in an effort to chart Junius's method of compilation and his sources in "'That Most Elaborate One of Fr. Junius': An Investigation of Francis Junius's Manuscript Old English Dictionary" (301–43). From his analysis of Junius's method of compilation (which includes such innovations as using five different types of script to distinguish between various languages in the dictionary, using Old English quotations to suggest the different uses of a word in Old English, and combining spelling variants in clusters), Dekker argues that Junius "clearly aimed at describing the Old English lexicon as he found it in his sources, without investigating the possible origin of words and writing extensively on Germanic cognates" (316). Dekker provides a list of source references found in the dictionary; this list consists of both printed books and manuscripts which were in most cases part of Junius's own library. Dekker demonstrates the enduring significance and authority of Junius's dictionary as it underlies many subsequent lexicographic ventures.

In "The Study of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in the Seventeenth Century and the Establishment of Old English Studies in the Universities" (1–82), Angelika Lutz traces the institutionalization of the study of Old English as a university discipline through an analysis of the availability of manuscripts and editions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. In her exhaustive study, Lutz demonstrates the centrality of the *Chronicle* as a subject of historical study to many of the political tensions of the seventeenth century. Lutz concludes that the impetus for the institutionalization of Old English studies at Cambridge and Oxford was "determined by political conditions to a greater extent than has hitherto been assumed" (74).

Danielle Cunniff Plumer documents the evolution of editorial lineation in "The Construction of Structure in the Earliest Editions of Old English Poetry" (243–79). Noting that the shift of context from manuscript to printed edition entails shifts in expectation, audience, and meaning, Plumer systematically charts the course of poetic lineation in the printed body of Old English poetry. From her survey, Plumer concludes that "Lineation in Old English poetry is an evolved artifact, a response to audience expectations that poems, all poems, are lineated, and to a desire to shape the future of Anglo-Saxon studies by shaping the poems themselves to suit modern taste" (273).

Graham's fine volume, *The Recovery of Old English*, is rounded out by an impressive index of manuscripts, an extensive bibliography, and a useful general index.

This collection of essays is abundantly illustrated and will surely prove enlightening to anyone interested in the history and formation of our discipline in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Karen Thomson takes up Eric Stanley's 1982 appeal for a catalog of association copies of books relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies (*The Bibliography of Old English*, ed. Stanley B. Greenfield, OEN Subsidia 8), though with a far less ambitious but equally significant aim, in her essay "The Evidence of the Copy" (OEN 35.1: 27-33). Thomson describes eight books containing important information relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies not found elsewhere. For each book, Thomson provides a brief description and a discussion of its significance for our discipline. The books she describes include William Lambarde's *Archaionomia* (London, 1568) which contains corrections and annotations by Lambarde, John Joscelyn, and John Parker; Francis Junius and Thomas Marshall's *Quattuor D.N. Jesu Christi Evangeliorum Versiones perantique duae, Gothica scil. et Anglo-Saxonica* (Amsterdam, 1684) which contains annotations by both J. M. Kemble and B. Thorpe; a copy of Edmund Gibson's *Chronicon Saxonum* (Oxford, 1692) with a dedication to George Hickes, possibly the sole dedication copy of the text; two copies of Edward Thwaites's *Heptateuch* (Oxford, 1698) identifying a Charles Williams and a George Hill as two of Thwaites's students of Anglo-Saxon in Queen's College, Oxford; Joseph Bosworth's copiously annotated copy of Hickes's *Thesaurus* (Oxford, 1703-5); a copy of Elizabeth Elstob's *Rudiments of Grammar* (London, 1715) with marginal glosses to the *Preface*, one of which identifies the "young Lady" as one "Miss Stanhope, Filia Decani Stanhope"; and Thorpe's proof of his *Anglo-Saxon Poems of Beowulf* (Oxford, 1855). Thomson ends her essay with a call for the establishment of a "permanent record of the existence of these books and others like them," a project which would clearly require access to private collections but which would undoubtedly yield a wealth of information about the history of Old English scholarship (32).

Andrew Wawn explores the Victorian fascination, particularly of those who lived in the Danelaw areas of eastern England, with the romance and rugged individualism of the Vikings in "Hereward, the Danelaw and the Victorians" (*Vikings and the Danelaw*, ed. Graham-Campbell et al., 357-68). Through a discussion of Charles Kingsley's 1866 novel *Hereward the Wake: Last of the English*, Wawn uncovers the principal sources of Victorian enthusiasm for the Vikings and the Danelaw, which he sees as part of a larger process of "regional self-definition and self-discovery" (360).

In "The Anglo-Saxon Pindar: Old English Scholarship and Augustan Criticism in George Hickes's *Thesaurus*" (MP 99: 26-65), Seth Lerer contends that Hickes' "selection of texts, generic assessments, and critical judgments grow directly out of the late seventeenth-century preoccupation with the legacy of Pindar and the example of Abraham Cowley" (29). Through a close reading of chapter 23 of volume 1 of the *Thesaurus*, "De Poetia Anglo-Saxonum," Lerer demonstrates how Hickes, unaware of the epic poem *Beowulf*, "seeks to make Old English verse participate in the lyric nation building and bardic forming of his age" (57). Lerer concludes that "Hickes offers the possibility of an alternative early English literary history: one recognized by eighteenth-century enthusiasts, but one eventually effaced by the tradition of epic analysis and philological historicism after the discovery of *Beowulf*" (60-1).

Sophie van Romburgh admirably fulfills the expectations of the title of her essay, "Why Francis Junius (1591-1677) Became an Anglo-Saxonist, or, the Study of Old English for the Elevation of Dutch" (*Studies in Medievalism* 11: 5-36). In a methodical examination of Junius's publications, his manuscript notes, and his correspondence, Van Romburgh confirms the hypothesis of Phillipus Breuker that the original incentive for Junius's study of Old English lay in his desire to write a Dutch etymological dictionary ("On the Course of Franciscus Junius's Germanic Studies, with Special Reference to Frisian," in Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., ed., *Franciscus Junius F.F. and His Circle* (Amsterdam: Rodopi, 1998; both the book and Breuker's essay are reviewed in YWOES 1999). Van Romburgh first reviews the details of Junius's life before he became involved in the study of Germanic languages. A discussion of the nature of the Dutch etymological dictionary project and its demands on Junius follows. Van Romburgh concludes that Junius's motivation in studying Old English lay deeply embedded in his nationalistic desire to comprehend fully the origins of his mother tongue, Dutch: "His incentives must therefore be sought in the contemporary discourse in the Low Countries on the status of the vernacular as part of a wider search for the definition of a national or ethnic identity" (26).

In "Junius's Knowledge of the Old English Poem *Durham*" (ASE 30: 231-45), Daniel Paul O'Donnell argues that the transcription of *Durham* by Junius in Stanford University Libraries, Department of Special Collections, MS Misc. 010 (J1) is not a copy of the poem from a now-lost manuscript, but instead a corrected "edition" of his previous transcription (J2, bound with

J1 in Stanford Misc. 010) and Roger Twysden's printed edition of the poem in *Historiae Anglicanae Scriptores X* (London, 1652), which is based on CUL Ff.1.27. From this evidence, O'Donnell reconstructs a chronology of Junius's involvement with the poem.

In "Printing Anglo-Saxon in Holland and John Selden's *Mare Clausum seu de Dominio Maris*," Peter J. Lucas examines the manner in which the technical difficulties of printing Anglo-Saxon letters were overcome in the Dutch "pirate" editions of Selden's work (*Quaerendo* 31: 120–31). Originally commissioned by James I as a response to the Dutch assertion of fishing rights in the North Sea (but suppressed until the reign of Charles I), Selden's book argued for national dominion over fishing rights within territorial waters, citing passages from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as precedent for the English position. In Holland, there was considerable interest in Selden's argument, and three "pirate" editions of his work were produced in 1636. For the balance of his essay, Lucas examines the technical challenges that printing passages of Anglo-Saxon presented for the Dutch printers and describes how they overcame those problems. From his close analysis of the special sorts used to reproduce Anglo-Saxon letters, Lucas determines that two printers in Leiden used the same punchcutter and proposes that this may have been Arent Corsz[oon] van Hooenacker.

Richard Utz explores the historical antecedents of the antagonism between a general, subjective (literary-critical) approach to medieval texts and the more scientific, objective (philological) analysis of such texts in "Enthusiast or Philologist? Professional Discourse and the Medievalism of Fredrick James Furnivall" (*Studies in Medievalism* 11: 189–212). Utz frames his essay with a discussion of Socrates's rejection of the rhapsode Ion's claims to theoretical knowledge (*episteme*) in Plato's early dialogue *Ion*. Turning to Furnivall, Utz discusses the Englishman's reception among German and English scholars in terms of the same binary opposition found in Plato. Utz argues that a study and reappraisal of the career and work of Furnivall "provides insight into some of the various elements influencing modern and postmodern attitudes toward medieval scholarship" (202). He concludes that such an investigation should "serve to redirect scholars' attention to look for alternative paths of approaching the current polarisations within the academic study of medieval culture: theory vs. literature, multiculturalism vs. canonicity, ideological critique vs. hermeneutics" (205).

The late Phillip Pulsiano and his collaborator Elaine Treharne have made an invaluable contribution to

Anglo-Studies with *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell). Most of the essays are discussed elsewhere in *YWOES* 2001; five deserve mention here. In "Anglo-Saxon Studies: Sixteenth to Eighteenth Centuries" (415–33), Timothy Graham reviews the history of the early centuries of our discipline and the pioneering figures who charted the original course of the field. The essay is divided into four sections, each of which presents a chronological period and an advancement in the discipline: "First Steps: Leland, Talbot, and Recorde"; "Nowell, Lambard, and the Work of the Parker Circle"; "From the Death of Parker to Wheelock's Edition of Bede"; and "Somner's *Dictionarium*, Junius, and the Oxford Saxonists." As Graham demonstrates, the pioneering work of these early scholars lay the foundation for the discipline of Anglo-Saxon studies: they rescued and preserved manuscripts from destruction, made transcriptions of manuscripts that have since disappeared, created the earliest editions of Old English texts, and developed the scientific principles on which the study of language (and ultimately philology) would be based. Their studies led to the proliferation of the field in academic circles in the next centuries.

In a pair of essays, J.R. Hall ("Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Nineteenth Century: England, Denmark, America," 434–54) and Hans Sauer ("Anglo-Saxon Studies in the Nineteenth Century: Germany, Austria, Switzerland," 455–71) focus on the early developments of the field as an academic discipline during the nineteenth century. Hall notes that in the early part of the century Anglo-Saxon studies was marked by nationalist obsessions ("England and America claimed [Anglo-Saxon] as their mother-tongue, and Denmark claimed the central Anglo-Saxon poem, *Beowulf*, as based on Danish sources and largely about Danes," 449). Although these nationalist sentiments did not disappear over the course of the century, the academic standing of the field was to increase dramatically: "In 1824 Anglo-Saxon could not be studied anywhere rigorously. Seventy-five years later it could be studied at more than four dozen universities on two continents under trained professionals" (449). As Sauer notes, on the European continent, particularly in German-speaking countries, the nineteenth century witnessed the explosion of Anglo-Saxon studies with groundbreaking contributions by major scholars, such as Jacob Grimm, Christian W.M. Grein, Eduard Sievers, Richard Wülker, Julius Zupitza, and Max Förster. Sauer methodically reviews the scholarly oeuvre of each of these men.

Allen Frantzen takes stock of our field at the end of the twentieth century in "By the Numbers: Anglo-Saxon Scholarship at the Century's End" (472–95). Frantzen reviews the systematic decline and marginalization of Anglo-Saxon studies through the course of the twentieth century and challenges Anglo-Saxonists to forge connections between our subjects and those of other disciplines and periods (early Middle English, and other Germanic and/or Scandinavian languages) in order to "ensure the future of our work" (493).

Looking to the future of Anglo-Saxon studies, Nicholas Howe echoes many of Frantzen's complaints about our field in "The New Millennium" (496–505). Howe frames the demise of the discipline in the mid-twentieth century bluntly: "nothing can better explain the fall of the field from its departmental eminence, than that the subject was taught in required courses by professors who failed to convince students and colleagues that it was an intellectually valid requirement" (500). Howe suggests that the large collaborative projects, such as *DOE*, *SASLC*, and *Fontes*, will ultimately transform the field by demanding that we reexamine our "long-standing linguistic and historical models" (501). Howe concludes that the future of our discipline is in our hands: "In the new millennium, I suspect, we

will have the future we create today by writing studies that deepen and complicate our sense of the period, its culture, its persistent value; and by teaching students who will have the wit and intellectual freedom to do work then that we cannot imagine now" (504).

Pulsiano and Treharne's volume should be essential reading for graduate students and faculty who are interested in the literature and cultural background of the period, and in a provocative overview of the past, present, and future of the discipline of Anglo-Saxon studies.

#### b. Memorials

Memorials for and tributes to John David Burnley, Rosemary Cramp, Kenneth Cameron, Frederic G. Cassidy, James E. Cross, David Anthony Howell Evans, Christine Elizabeth Fell, John Field, Henry Mayr-Harting, George Henderson, Henry Royston Loyn, Phillip John Pulsiano, and Jane Roberts were published this year.

R.F.J.

### 3. Language

#### 1. Lexicon, Glosses

The word *hryre* from among Ælfric's homilies (specifically, *Domenica II. In adventum Domini*) has provided what lexicographers of OE believe to be the sole instance of an adj. form meaning "perishable" (or perhaps "ruinous") related to the much better attested noun *hryre*, "fall, descent, ruin, destruction;" in "Is Old English *hryre* 'perishable' Reliably Attested?" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 215–16), Alfred Bammesberger first addresses the form of an OE adj. *hryre*: OE *hrēosan*, attested in the meaning "fall, go to ruin, perish," developed as would be expected from zero-grade *\*hrur-* < Gmc. *\*hruz-*, which would produce the masc. i-stem noun *hryre* from the zero-grade; he reconstructs the proto-form for the OE noun as *\*hruz-i-z*. But Bammesberger notes problems with such an i-stem adjective on two grounds: i) the purportedly adjectival *hryre* seems philologically uncertain when considered in context; ii) this uncertainty Bammesberger extends to a more general point of OE grammar, namely, the insecurity of i-stem adjectives as a class, a class with very few

members (as listed in Campbell, *Old English Grammar* §654). With regard to the more specific matter of adjectival *hryre* Bammesberger, in short, sees it as another instance of the better attested noun. The passage from Ælfric is: *Soðlice mid þisum wordum is geswutelod þæt ðises middangeardes wæstm is hryre*. Benjamin Thorpe (*Ælfric Sermones Catholici in the Original Anglo-Saxon with an English Version* [London, 1844]) supplied the translation "Verily by these words it is manifested that the fruit of this world is falling," while Bammesberger offers, for the clause in question, "the growth of this world is (identical with) its decay" (216). There may be a syntactic balancing and semantic pairing here with two nouns, *wæstm* and *hryre*; the type of nominal clause "is frequent in homiletic literature" (216), and examples are given from Ælfric, such as *heora ende is forwyrd*. Further support for Bammesberger's reading is the style of biblical translation in English, which does make fairly frequent use of such nominal clauses, such as "the mouths of fools are their ruin" (Prv 18:7) or "For the wages of sin is death" (Rom 6:23).

Bammesberger, in "The Meaning of Old English *eowend(e)*" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 371–2), confirms the meaning of OE *eowend(e)*, which appears only in the dat. sing. in the legal text *Quadripartitus*, as "testicles," a meaning arrived at in Clark Hall-Meritt (in Lat. form *testiculis*, an old lexicographic tradition) and the *DOE* (which has marked their gloss of the form with a question mark). Early lexicographers had introduced the gloss of *eowende* as *virga virilis*, *membrum virile* (the former in Somner's *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* [Oxford, 1659] and Benson's *Vocabularium Anglo-Saxonicum* [Oxford, 1701], the latter in Bosworth-Toller's *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* [Oxford, 1898]). Bammesberger traces its handling by Ferdinand Holthausen, who had marked the diphthong as long in his *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Heidelberg, 1934) and labeled it as of "unbekannte Herkunft"; that is, an *eowende* not deriving from the verb *eowian* "to show." Holthausen retracted this view some twenty-six years later and we are left with the abstract noun *eowend(e)*; its legal context is what Bammesberger uses to secure the meaning "testicles" rather than "penis" (or *membrum virile*) for the word: *Gif ðeowman þeowne to nedhæmde genede, bete mid his eowende*. Here the law concerns offenses committed within the slave class, specifically the rape of a female slave by a male slave, for which "he is to atone with his testicles" (372), which was a punishment for rape. Bammesberger argues for a nom. sing. of this noun as *eowend*, based on analogy with nouns such as *hælend* and *demend*. An origin of OE *eowend* "testicles" may be found in medieval etymologizing of Lat. *testis* as "(show as) witness, testify." This is entirely possible but there is also the pattern in Indo-European languages of distinguishing between male and female genitalia on the basis of the male organs being described as "visible," i.e., "the parts that show"; here the legal punishment is directed toward *eowende*, "what shows," a kind of metaphorical circumlocution that does not seem either "vulgar" or "jocular" as earlier studies cited by Bammesberger allege (though the citation of Karl Kärre's equation "Zeiger > Finger > penis" shows similar thinking as does the MHG form *der elfte vinger*). Bammesberger quotes but does not pursue the manuscript readings for this passage from the *Quadripartitus*: Cambridge, CCC MSS 173 and 383 read *eowende* but the Textus Roffensis has *hyde* with the marginal gloss *alias eowede*; is this a case of the Textus Roffensis recording a "hiding" for the offender rather than castration, or of the use of *hyd(e)* as a circumlocution which the glossator understood and spelled out literally?

In "-um (< -on) as Marker of the Instrumental Singular in Old English and Old Frisian" (*Neophilologus*

85: 287–90), Bammesberger argues that the use in OE and Old Frisian of the dat. pl. -um for substantives *singulare tantum* derives not from a special use of the instrumental in the singular but from a vestigial dual form ("the moribund category of the dual," 289). Bammesberger reviews the literature that rejected the previously held explanation (studies by Dirk Boutkan on the formation in Old Frisian) and applies the conclusion to OE; thus the curious "singular as such" forms as *æt heafdum* ("at the head") or *meolcum* ("[with] milk") Bammesberger construes as vestigial duals, departing from Boutkan who accepted that a special use of the plural was involved (288). The matter is complex as it requires recovery of the thinking that uses the dual for things that do not occur as such (the head, as opposed to natural pairs such as feet, hands, eyes); one possibility Bammesberger advances is that *æt heafdum* adopted the -um by analogy with attested (and natural) *æt fotum*, which still involves the latter with "the regularly shaped dative/instrumental of the dual" influencing the former (which is not naturally dual). With regard to *meolcum*, where one finds the singular and plural forms "apparently in free distribution" (288), one confronts the use of *meolcum* where *meolc* could suffice; thus the biblical *þæt ealond welig on meolcum ond on hunige* may involve the "elliptical dual" (289), by which a literal "with two milks" actually signifies "with two things, namely milk and something else" (which resembles types of nominal composition in Sanskrit, for one). Support for the archaic nature of the construction is provided also by Old Frisian, which has *fon melokon* and *fon hunige*. Drawing on an earlier study of his ("The Half-line *Grendeles mægum* (*Beowulf* 2353b)," *N&Q* 45 [1998]: 2–4), Bammesberger invokes two instances of the -um marker in *Beowulf* that by sense seem to warrant interpretation not as the plural but the dual: *mægum* at 2353b would refer to "the two relatives of Grendel, namely Grendel and his mother" (though as the Danes mention a second of the Grendel-kin only after *Beowulf* has fought with Grendel, that there may be more Grendel-kin, or that his kin could include others of the "kin of Cain," would not preclude interpretation as the plural); and *mecum* (pl. of OE *mēce*) at 565b perhaps "applies to the two edges of a sword" (289). There may be some support for the proposal in the generally conservative nature of OE poetry (see Terasawa below).

G.W.S. Barrow incidentally reviews Martin Syrett's "Drengs and Thegns Again" (*YWOES* 2000) in his brief note with the same title (*Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 75: 185–6). Noted briefly is the matter of what a *dreng/dreng* was—"originally young

unmarried warriors in the service of a king or magnate" (185)—before a turning to local (in the scope of the *TDGNHAS*, the acronym used by this journal) place-names, particularly those in *-by*. The matter of Scandinavian settlement in Scotland, including a mention of a "colony of drengs" in southern Annandale, is tested against some place-name evidence; the argument Barrow leans against is that these place-names are to be attributed to settlers brought in from the south (possibly the "churlish folk" referred to in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (E) for 1092). The place-names deriving from personal name plus *-by* "are not those to be expected of the Lincolnshire peasantry." Nor are the *-by* place-names of Cumberland and east Dumfriesshire with "Norman (or other continental) personal name" with *-by* necessarily "altered or adapted from earlier compounds of Scandinavian personal name plus 'by'" (186). And a number of these place-names survive (in *-by* or Scots *-bie*): Arkleby, Ormsby, Denbie, Moresby, Lockerbie, and others. The names are later (eleventh and twelfth century) and "were the result of a dominant though not exclusive Scandinavian vocabulary which lingered till the later twelfth century." A cautionary note is sounded about an "agreed meaning" for *dreng* (which appears in only one placename in Scotland, and in the east: Drengysland), especially one of fixed or precise technical meaning, as such a term "might undergo more or less subtle changes of meaning not only as between British and Scandinavian usage but within Britain, as between one region and another or between one century and another" (186). It is also a useful example of testing more general observations on a provincial or national level at the local.

A very important collection of essays on glossography issued from a conference held at Otto-Friedrich-Universität, Bamberg, 2-4 August 1999; the volume *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, edited by Rolf Bergmann, Elvira Glaser, and Claudine Moulin-Fankhänel (Heidelberg: Carl Winter), includes ten studies reviewed elsewhere in these pages: Bammesberger, Dietz, Firchow, Gretsche, Hellgardt, Kornexl, Lendinara, Page, Schwab, and Wieland. The contributors covering OE in whole or part make up exactly one-third of the thirty essays in the collection. Of interest too to readers—though not covering OE specifically—would be: Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Earliest Old Irish Glosses"; Patrick O'Neill (Pádraig Ó Néill), "The Latin and Old-Irish Glosses in Würzburg M.p.th.f.12: Unity in Diversity"; Michele C. Ferrari, "Die älteste kommentierte Bibelhandschrift und ihr Kontext: Das irische Ezechiel-Fragment Zürich, Staatsarchiv W3.19.XII"; David Ganz, "Carolingian manuscripts

with substantial glosses in Tironian notes"; Fabrizio D. Raschellà, "Vernacular Gloss Writing in Medieval Scandinavia," as well as studies on Old Saxon (by Tiefenbach) and Old High German glosses (Moulin-Fankhänel, Schmid, Grosse, Voetz, Henkel, Cigni, Blum, Wegstein, Schwarz). Important too to appreciating the 600-page collection is Elvira Glaser's Introduction. In "The Earliest Old Irish Glosses" Ó Cróinín describes differences in the Irish-Latin linguistic matrix; here the earliest recorded uses of the vernacular were not in the form of glosses to Latin texts (though these occur by the seventh century), but in ogham inscriptions, made too by Irish settlers in Britain "who had settled there already by the fifth century at the latest" (8). And we are reminded of Bernhard Bischoff's discovery of possibly the earliest old Irish gloss (s. viii<sup>in</sup>) in the Ussher Gospels, *stipendiis: focrici* (published with other Old Irish Glosses in "Wendepunkte in der Geschichte der lateinischen Exegese im Frühmittelalter"; 9-10). Much else in the work of Ó Cróinín, Ó Néill, and Ferrari in this volume shows the need for comparative study of early medieval Irish-English interaction in the British Isles, in Britain especially: the educational, commentarial, and glossarial programs in Anglo-Saxon England may owe as much to the Irish (and particularly those Irish teachers in Britain) as to the school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury. And work on OHG glossing in the volume draws attention back to the continent, where first Irish then English monks traveled and established centers of learning; a foundation such as Irish-initiated Sankt Gallen preserves glossarial activity in Old Irish, Old English, and Old High German.

Color and quality of the eye come together in C.P. Biggam's "Ualdenegi and the Concept of Strange Eyes," in *Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. Christian J. Kay and Louise M. Sylvester (Amsterdam: Rodopi), 31-43. Biggam examines an entry (*cessius, glaucus: ualdenegi*) from the Third Erfurt (or Third Amplonian) Glossary, a section of the glossarial manuscript relatively lightly glossed in the vernacular (some 52 OE interpretations among over 1,900 Latin-Latin entries). Biggam establishes that the reading of the OE interpretation under consideration is *ualdenegi* in the two manuscript witnesses, Erfurt and Düsseldorf (in the latter manuscript the form had been read previously as *ualdenez*). Next the sense of the Latin lemma and gloss is turned to, with manuscript *cessius* (for *caesius*) glossed by *glaucus*. In narrowing down the senses likely meant by the glossator Biggam turns to one of Erfurt III's probable sources, the Philoxenus Glossary, which has the entry *caesius: γλαυκός* (either a scanning or font error has replaced

lower-case epsilon with lower-case nu throughout the article). Biggam then draws upon cultural conceptions regarding eye color and implications to be derived from it: here the “pale eyes of northerners” in the view of Mediterranean people (with reference to Vitruvius’s comparison of Mediterranean *oculis nigris* and northern European *oculis caesis*). An explanation of the thinking to the glossator’s vernacular rendering *ualdenegi* follows; Clark Hall-Meritt normalize the form with their headword *waldenige* and give the senses “blue or grey-eyed, wall-eyed.” Biggam, who has worked fairly extensively with OE color terms (*Blue in Old English: an Interdisciplinary Semantic Study* [Amsterdam, 1997]) discusses confusion between *woad* (OE *wād*, producing a bluish color) and *weld* (Anglian *\*walde*, here taken as the first element of the gloss for *weld*, producing a yellowish pigment). The notion of the rare yellowish eye color and its connection to “strangeness” is developed with reference to medieval accounts of Alexander the Great (described as *wald-eged* in the ME *Wars of Alexander*), who was described as having one black eye and one yellow, and to the curious mention in the ME *Kyng Alisaunder* of Albanians as being *wolden-eiged*, and able to see at night like cats. Biggam sides with Holthausen’s regularization of the gloss as *wealdeneage* (*Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1974]), the first element to be connected with *weld* and therefore with a yellowish color implication (36–37). The gloss can be taken to refer to “the sense of strangeness, even distaste, which was felt by southern Europeans towards the pale eyes of northerners” (40), here specifically—as pale eyes, blue or grey, were not uncommon among northern Europeans—“yellow eyes.” And Biggam suggests that the connotations that would go with “having yellow-green eyes” could include “with flecked eyes,” “with frightening eyes,” “with strange eyes.”

Two etymologies from the Celtic come from the pen of Andrew Breeze this year. The first, “A Cornish Etymology for West Country *bilders*, ‘Cow Parsnip,’” (*Devon and Cornwall Notes & Queries* 38 [2000]: 238–40), notes that the *OED* records the plant-name *bilders* as a term of once more common usage for “watercress.” Breeze disputes a source in Irish *biolar* (Old Irish *biror*, cognate with Welsh *berwr*, “watercress,” whence the attractiveness of this possible Celtic source), on the grounds of problems in deriving the OE forms *billere*, *billeru*, and the compound *bilhergas* (as a gloss to Lat. *bibultum* in the Harley Glossary; Wright-Wülcker 194,15). The argument against an origin in the Old Irish is made on two grounds: 1) date: the *Corpus* entry *bibulta*: *billeru* (WW 9,15) comes from s. viii/ix,

too early for dissimilation to have effected the change in OIr from *birar/biror* > *bilor*, whence hypothetically OE *billere*: J.R. Clark Hall, *A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* [4<sup>th</sup> ed. with suppl. by Herbert Meritt (Toronto, 1984)] cross-lists singular *bilherge* with *billere*; the other two attestations of the form are from the minor *Cleopatra Glossary* (WW 271,14 *bibulta*: *billere*, from a fascicle given the rubric *De herbis terræ*) and from the major *Cleopatra Glossary* (WW 359,14 *bibulta*: *billere*); 2) “For geographical reasons, we should in any case be slow to accept Irish loans in Old English without clear evidence” (238). The former argument is the one that carries the day, and the latter is of much less force: considering the frequent references to and number of Irish teachers in all of England in the early medieval period, no geographical barriers existed to preclude Irish influence (one supplementary reference: some of this matter is touched upon in David Dumville, *Three Men in a Boat* [Cambridge, 1997]). Breeze asks then the necessary question: might the form “be from another Celtic language?” (238). The answer given here is that it is, from Brittonic, namely Old Cornish, which has *beler* for “watercress,” the form presumably already having undergone dissimilation of the liquid from the Brittonic form with *r* (as preserved in Welsh *berwr*). The form *bilders* from East Anglia “may be a relic from Cornish via Mercian” (238). The loan would predate the *Corpus* entry but perhaps not be much earlier than the seventh century; a Primitive Cornish *\*beler* would itself have had to have undergone assimilation since the expected form would have been *\*belor* (with *-o-* in Cornish for Brittonic *-u-* from “an old collective suffix in *-uro-*” [239]; Welsh *beryren* and Cornish *beleren* still preserve the collective form). Place-name evidence is turned to next, namely Bilbrook (“watercress stream,” found in Staffordshire and Somerset). Though admitting that loans from Cornish are rare in OE, especially of plant-names, Breeze reminds readers that the range of use of Cornish was much wider in the early Anglo-Saxon period, being spoken beyond Cornwall in Devon, Somerset, and Dorset “until the seventh century” (239). The sense of rarity has probably been over-expressed by scholars; Loreto Todd (see *YWOES* 2000) has reminded us that perhaps seemingly so few Celtic loans have been found in English rather less because they are not there than that nobody is looking for them.

An Irish rather than Cornish origin is however argued for for the rare English form *bentule* in Andrew Breeze’s “An Irish Etymology for *Bentule* ‘Woman Beggar,’” *Studia Hibernica* 30 (1998–99): 257–58. Breeze considers the origin for Tudor *bentule* (occurring solely in “a grant 20 March 1588 to John Kearnan,

sheriff in west County Cavan" [257]) to be Irish *bean tsiúil* (female beggar, 'shuler'); the form comes in the detailing of the sheriff's powers to act against "rebels, vagabonds, rymors, Irish harpers, bards, bentules, carrowes, idle men and women." The form following *bentule*, *carrow*, is a known Irish loan (from *cearrbhach* "gambler"); the Irish form Breeze suggests lay behind the English, *bean tsiúil*, would be the singular by analogy with the recorded plural form *mná siúil* (occurring in Aodh Mac Aingil's *Scáthán Shacramuinte na hAithridhe / The Mirror of the Sacrament of Penance*, published in 1618 at Louvain, where it refers to "female tramps, vagrants"). The appearance of the *t* before lenited *s* usually occurs between the definite article *an* and *s*; Breeze suggests that it had spread analogically; though the bardic texts warned against the solecism it occurs in some place-names (Cluain tSalach, Carn tSiail, Cábán tSile [Cabinteely], Cill tSiomoin). Not known is whether *bentule* occurs before the 1588 grant, as references to such "female vagrants" date to the medieval period too.

In her contribution to a collection of essays in honor of Jane Roberts (*Lexis and Texts in Early English*, ed. Kay and Sylvester), Julie Coleman appraises evenhandedly "Lexicology and Medieval Prostitution," (69–87). Drawing on evidence collected for the completed *Thesaurus of Old English* and anticipated Historical Thesaurus of English, Coleman surveys OE terms for "prostitute" and "prostitution" and tests data and dictionary entries against historical and cultural information. While OE had terms for prostitute and prostitution—*bepæcestre*, a nonce word, *cifes* (also used as gloss in the sense "concubine"), *forliger-wif*, *nyltestre* and so forth—the evidence is not there to suggest that the trade and its practitioners existed in Anglo-Saxon England (it may come later with a more cash-based economy, perhaps not until the fourteenth century). A number of the OE terms for "prostitute" are glosses, and some "exist only in non-native contexts" (75; e.g., in the OE translation of the *Martyrology*, in the life of St. Lucia). In the fad-driven contemporary "academic marketplace," few dissertation topics could be more "marketable" than Anglo-Saxon prostitution; but there is a critical difference between what a critic wants to be there and what actually is, and Coleman, concerned here with lexicology and thesauri projects, looks to the evidence. In doing so one has also to evaluate whether what the researcher means by the term is what the contemporary speakers meant, and "there is no evidence that the exchange of money for sexual favours was a significant component of the concept 'prostitution' in the medieval period" (85). What is more common in OE and ME

is the application of the terms under consideration to promiscuous women and fornicators. Thus the terms "prove that the Anglo-Saxons understood the concept of organized prostitution, but not that it was a familiar feature of Anglo-Saxon society" (75); textual references show more general usage of the terms and Coleman notes that *scylcen* likely does mean primarily "female slave" (slavery being a significant component of Anglo-Saxon society, as the law codes and manumissions attest) while *horcwene* is likely to be taken as "(female) fornicator" (Clark Hall-Meritt glossed "whore, adultress"). Particularly helpful in Coleman's study is that she gives attestations of the terms from OE through to the eighteenth century. While not the main point of the study, though worthy of future consideration, is the question of whether Anglo-Saxons, knowing terms that could designate "prostitute," would, like their modern counterparts, apply them to adulteresses or women seen as promiscuous as a form of invective. Coleman ends with the salutary caution that "reference to lexis without considering history and context can lead to misleading conclusions" and valuable new thesauri (such as the *TOE*) may be "mines of information, but their users must be alert for fools' gold" (86).

The matter of what rank a *dreng* held, the subject of a number of articles in the past few years, is to be found also in W.F. Cormack's "Drengs and Drings," *Transactions of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Society* 74 (2000): 61–67. In part building upon arguments made by the late Jack Scott in an earlier issue of the journal (*TDGNHAS* 72 [1998]), Cormack begins with the contested matter of Scandinavian hybrid place-names in *-by/-bie* in Cumbria and Annandale, throwing doubt on the previously held notion that the hybrids (including those with Scandinavian personal name prefixes, e.g., Orm > Ormsby) arose from Norse-speakers migrating from Viking Yorkshire northward, replacing it with the explanation that they arose rather from settlers from Lincolnshire "who were still speaking a form of Old Norse" (61). Based on the type of settlements established, the notion is that these settlers were drengs rather than knights. The lexical matter to hand is that there was a pejoration of sorts, or at least a loss of status, in the term *dreng/dreng* post-Conquest. An appeal is first made to an earlier sense of the status of a *dreng* in ON, namely the account in the *Rígsþula* of the fathering of sons on the three householders' wives by the god Ríg, whereby arose thralls, the *karlakyn* (drengs and thegns among them), and jarls. The epigraphic evidence is then appealed to, particularly translations into English of runic mentions of the term (producing interpretations of *dreng/dreng* such as "a very tough



lad," or "free-born warrior," "comrade," "fighting man," "man (of standing and worth)," or even, rather unfortunately, "jolly good chap"). Saga evidence offers a similar range in senses, "a young unmarried man," "a bold, chivalrous man"; its uses in nominal and adjectival compounds bear out a sense of bravery and nobility (in spirit if not precisely in rank). The decline (even pejoration) in the term's range of reference was later, while evidence from cognates in the modern Scandinavian languages indicates a generalization in use: "farm hand," "boy or young man," "hired man," "bachelor" (and the curious Faroese fishermen's use of *drongur* for "halibut"). The earliest use of the term in OE occurs in *The Battle of Maldon*; charter evidence suggests that the rank had "become associated with land tenure in the north of England and south-east of Scotland" (64). The term survives in literary use as *dring* into the late thirteenth century; its use in Scotland was as a term for "a low or base fellow," or "servant" or "miser" into the sixteenth century. Cormack also surveys the term's appearance in the onomastic evidence, from Dreng the moneyer to Aethelred II at Lincoln to the Drings as they appear in 1997 telephone directories (where the highest numbers of "Drings per 100,000" occur, in descending order, in: Nottingham & Mansfield, Lincolnshire, Derby & Chesterfield, York & NE Yorks, Staffordshire, and London). As a "final comment," Cormack, citing Scott again, notes the latter's hypothesis that "settlers in North Cumbria and Annandale about 1100 were Norse-speaking drengs from Lincolnshire" (67), a theory given some credence by the phonebooks.

A preliminary offering in anticipation of a *Functional Lexematic OE Dictionary* is to be sought in "Finding Relief for FG Lexical Representations: A Syntactic-Semantic Description of Old English Verbs of 'Healing'" (*Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 42: 79–101) by Francisco J. Cortés Rodríguez and María Jesús Pérez Quintero. (The project is given the arctic-sounding acronym FLOED and operates under the title *Diccionario nuclear sintáctico de base semántica del léxico en inglés antiguo*.) A long introduction situates their project in terms of current semantic theory, and though not so named is clearly influenced by the generative semantics at the heart of what have been called the "linguistics wars" in North American linguistics (with generative semantics supposedly vanquished). The notion here developed by Cortés Rodríguez and other Spanish colleagues is of a "lexical template" approach, a bridge between lexical semantic representation in Functional Grammar and "more syntactically-centered descriptions" (79); the approach of considering the semantic roles for lexical items is discussed (drawing on the

work of Charles Fillmore and Ray Jackendoff) as is the matter of the direction of connection between syntax and semantics (syntax to semantics—which seems on surface counterintuitive—, semantics to syntax, or a kind of reciprocal relationship, the last of which is taken up by RRG, Role and Reference Grammar). Amidst the review of recent problems and models in semantic theory is a brief mention of OE *fēlan*, approached within the Functional Lexematic Model as modified by Spanish linguists. A logical structure schema is deployed to indicate the Aktionsart (used here for the "modes of action" the authors borrow from the "inventory of Logical Structures" of Robert Van Valin and Randy LaPolla, *Syntax: Structure, Meaning and Function* [Cambridge, 1997]) of *fēlan*: here designated as the verb class "accomplishment" (as opposed to other Aktionsarten such as state, activity, achievement, active accomplishment, causative—one now longs for the relative simplicity of earlier work on Aspect): BECOME *felan'* (x,y). The dictionary the authors envision is one based upon a hierarchy of lexical domains and subdomains, and an example from MdE follows, concerning "manner-of-staring verbs" (marred by having *glover* incorrectly for *glower*; 85), which "will take syntagmatic information, to a certain extent, to indicate the hypo-/hyperonymic status of lexical units and, therefore, some basic hierarchies will be established within (sub)domains" (85–6). In short, a thesaurus. Two OE verbs are used, *smītan* and *batian*, to illustrate what such a hierarchical scheme will look like (86), and it seems to represent in vertical form what often appears as regular prose in a thesaurus. A more detailed example follows concerning the subdomain "to (cause to) feel physically better (healthy)" (87–95). Drawing also on the metaphor theory of George Lakoff and others, underlying metaphors such as AN ILLNESS IS A BURDEN are pointed out for OE verbs of healing (the use of caps for these metaphoric tags inevitably makes them look like advertisements). Terms such as telicity, iconicity, effector, macrorole and so forth have a tendency to mask the obviousness of many of the observations; e.g., "The causative parameter activates a frame which marks a relation between a causer effecting a change on an entity that therefore experiences such a change" (92). The OE verb (*ge*)*bētan* is a good example; its semantic range in OE is fairly wide and, ModE evidence included, developed significantly in the history of English. Reducing to an "Actor-Undergoer Hierarchy" (93ff.) tends to elide subtleties in development. While the OE evidence given here tends to be deployed in defense of emendations to the lexical description of Functional Grammar, the appendix of "Old English Verbs of 'Healing'" (96–99) is helpful at least as a sort of mini-thesaurus.

Richard Dance's "Two Hard Words in 'AB'" (*Neophilologus* 85: 635–46) examines two forms, *keaft* and *onont*, in AB, the "South-West Midland scribal dialect" of the *Ancrene Wisse* and Katherine Group (635). While there had been an attempt to trace ME *keaft* to OE *ciefes* ("concubine"), Dance favors as the etymon ON *\*kefð* giving the sense of "eagerness, ardour, vehemence, hotheadedness" (636). The sense of both words, the OE and the ON, would work for the context, *Ancrene Wisse* (MS A): *Vnhende grapunge þet mei beon heaued sunne. luuie tide oðer stude forte cumen i swuch keaft*. Dance's reasoning for a presupposed Norse etymon is phonologically based, seeing a parallel Norse noun to OE adj. *cāf* ("quick, lively, eager, bold," though Clark Hall-Meritt does list the Ælfrician use as "strenuous, strong, bold, brave"), to which he reconstructs a nominal form *\*cæfþ*, by dissimilation *\*-fþ > -ft*; for the hypothesized OE noun Dance provides a gloss "boldness, brazen behaviour, lack of continence (in matters sexual)" (637). The problem with the AB prep. *onont* is that it is seemingly to be related to ME *anent*, "concerning, with regard to": just how is the difficulty. ME *anent* is usually taken as OE *on + enn* with excrescent *-t*; there has not seemed to be a way to explain [o] in the second syllable (one would still expect *\*onent*). Dance attempts resolution by suggesting an OE source with *-d* in the second element, namely OE *ond*. Thus a proposed *\*an and*, with AB dialectal *on ond* beside it, would involve *ond* as a preposition in the sense "before, beside, in addition to" (drawing on Gmc evidence, such as Gothic *and* "along, through, over"; 639). Dance suggests that the sense for *\*on ond* would "naturally be similar to those of *on efn*" (640). There may also have been at work confusion with OE *end(e)*, which "lexical confusion and amalgamation" (640) Dance suggests was not uncommon and may have been at work with this compound prep.

On the basis of the "functional lexicological model," Javier E. Díaz Vera attempts, in "REMEMBERING in Old English: The Diachronic Reconstruction of a Verbal Dimension" (*Atlantis* 22.1 [June 2000]: 11–29) to model "a diachronic reconstruction of the internal structure of the lexical dimension from IE to NE" (12). A rather complex and broad task such a proposal would be, and thus Díaz Vera's paper focuses more closely on schematic representations of the "semantic syntax" of the OE verbs *þencan*, *geþencan*, and *munan* with a last section on *forgietan*. Metaphoric theory is drawn on to look at extension in the lexical fields POSSESSION, TACTILE PERCEPTION AND MOVEMENT. A sort of calculus of semantics, drawing on modified functionalist models, produces schemata such as:  $\text{ÞENCAN}_V: \{(x_1: \langle +\text{human} \rangle (x_1))_{A_g} (x_2: \langle \text{fact/event/situation/person} \rangle (x_2))_{C_o}\}$ ;

essentially this boils down to the notion that for OE *þencan* serves as the "nuclear word or *definiens*" of the lexical field REMEMBERING and encompasses "the existence of a human subject [+exp] that stores information in his/her memory (state/process), or a subject [+ag] that retrieves this information for later use (mental activity)" (12–13). Scores of these schemata follow, some more influenced by geometry than algebra or calculus—suggestive of the attempts by postmodern linguistics to use mathematical modelling and statistics to claim for itself scientific status and thereby a greater degree of precision. Proposed herein by Díaz Vera is the completely unobjectionable point that verbs of cognition and remembering can develop metaphorically along the lines of possession > tactile perception > mental perception. MdE use of "grasp" or "get" in the sense of UNDERSTAND of course records this. There are some odd usages that cause some initial confusion here: "stimula" for "stimuli" (13) and the opening statement "The resurgence of interest in the lexicon experimented by contemporary linguistics" (12) is not quite clear. A larger problem has to do with the approach of much theoretical linguistics; only one brief paragraph (13) actually mentions any IE evidence (taken from Pokorny) and the preponderance of theory over evidence clouds some interesting investigations by Díaz Vera: e.g., that "OE was rich in phrases formed by a verb of POSSESSION (such as *habban*, *niman* or *healdan*) and a noun of COGNITION (as in the prepositional complements *on gemynde*, *in mode* or *in gemyndum*)" (19). A quick look at a standard work such as Carl Darling Buck's *Dictionary of Selected Synonyms in the Principle Indo-European Languages* shows how much evidence there is for verbs of remembering and forgetting. In fact, the IE evidence is abundant for notions such as "knowing is remembering," "having seen I know", and so forth (Greek *οἶδα* for one).

Andreas Fischer's "Lexical Borrowing and the history of English: a typology of typologies" (97–115) is one of four studies relating to lexicon and glosses that appeared in the volume *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger (Frankfurt am Main: Lang; Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature Bd. 1). Fischer's chapter is a methodological survey critical in many respects of typological approaches to loan formations, arguing for both a greater complexity in modeling and greater subtlety in application. Fischer groups the varying approaches into three broad typological categories, or "types of typologies": a) "typologies that focus on the morphological structure and the etymology of borrowings"; b) those "that look at the lexical and semantic consequences of borrowing"; c) those

"that classify the contact situations and their effects on processes of borrowings" (97-8). The third type, the socio-historical or socio-linguistic typologies, Fischer eventually declares the most attractive but "possibly the least useful for a study of lexical borrowing: lexis is an unreliable indicator of the precise nature of a contact situation" (110), unreliable especially in considering the earlier stages of the language as we are unable to judge, or just simply lack the relevant data, looking for such criteria as "intensity of contact." For the "sociolinguistic" typology, Fischer charts the course of analysis from Leonard Bloomfield's broad distinction—possibly the earliest of its kind—between "cultural, intimate and dialect borrowing" (*Language* [London, 1935]) to the "latest and possibly most comprehensive attempt at setting up a sociolinguistic typology of language contact" (108), that of Sarah Thomason and Terrence Kaufman (*Language Contact, Creolisation and General Linguistics* [Berkeley, 1988]), a recent approach that builds on work with living languages (Thomason's with native languages of the Americas). Language contact between Celtic/OE, OE/ON, and OE/Fr cannot be studied firsthand, as there are no living speech communities to be studied; for example, with the OE/ON situation: "we have no precise data for either the duration of contact nor for the number of speakers involved, and we can only guess ... that Scandinavian-English language contact happened in either 'mixed households and/or other social settings'" (109, and quoting Thomason and Kaufman 1988). Other problems arise; for one, we would expect the language contact at the speech community level to be greater in the earlier phases of contact (to the mid-thirteenth century) but such an assumption "fails to explain the massive influx of French loan-words between 1250 and 1400" (109). In looking to morphological typologies Fischer cites the important work of Werner Betz (OHG-Lat. contact as in the glossaries or glossed or translated texts: *Der Einfluss des Lateinischen auf den althochdeutschen Sprachschatz. 1. Der Abrogans* [Heidelberg, 1936], *Deutsch und Lateinisch: die Lehnbildungen der althochdeutschen Benediktinerregel* [Bonn, 1949]); Betz's work influenced that of Helmut Gneuss (*Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* [Berlin, 1955]) and a generation of Munich students (and is cited in the study of Kornexl below). Scholars of Germanic linguistics such as Betz and Einar Haugen dealt with distinctions between Lehnwörter ("imported lexical items") and Lehnprägungen ("substituted lexical items," further divided into Lehnbildungen and Lehnbedeutungen), to which Haugen added the category of "loanblends" (99). Fischer sees subsequent work in morphological typologies of lexical borrowing as having "brought

further refinements, but no essentially new insights" (99). Other determinants are seen in play, such as "text type": "the practice of glossing ... favours substitution since one of its main aims is to make opaque foreign words transparent by providing maximally transparent native equivalents" (100). This tendency toward substitution by Anglo-Saxon glossators is said to shift toward importations during the Norman period; not discussed here is the matter of time: where would an Anglo-Saxon glossator import words from? Would not "maximally transparent native equivalents" be of the most use in teaching native English speakers Latin? And importations during the Norman period may arise from a stock of glossary words already made by French monks earlier. And, finally, turning to "semantic typologies," Fischer addresses the lexico-semantic approach, namely, that "lexical intake through borrowing will inevitably have consequences for the total vocabulary of the borrowing language" (102). Fischer gives due emphasis to the idea that when borrowing produces displacement and even obsolescence of native forms it is a process that happens "eventually" (103; this is a point often glossed over, as "eventually" can be a matter of centuries). Fischer's overall tone of caution, skepticism, and method comes to bear in observations such as "The chances for the ultimate success of a lexical item thus cannot be predicted on the basis of age or etymology alone" (103). One sees this especially in his discussion of Manfred Görlach's refinement of a semantic typology for borrowings (*Einführung in die englische Sprachgeschichte* [Heidelberg, 1974]); the grid is *methodisch* (and cited *in extenso* in German, which gives this section of the study the feel of a language contact situation), with four major headings with three sub-headings each ("Gaps in the native vocabulary," "Associative relationship," etc.). Görlach's odd man out is his thirteenth category: "Der große Rest unklarer Fälle," about which Fischer notes: "there will always be a large residual category of cases for which no explanation is readily available" (105).

A comparison of two renderings of the *Regularis concordia* (in BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii and the fragmentary copy in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201) is drawn on by Joyce Hill to examine OE ecclesiastical terms, which analysis opens up more broadly to an important consideration (and, to an extent, test) of "Munich school" work on the so-called Winchester vocabulary. "Lexical Choices for Holy Week: Studies in Old English Ecclesiastical Vocabulary," (*Lexis and Texts in Early English*, ed. Kay and Silvester, 117-27) looks particularly to the fragmentary copy in CCC 201 and finds a translator "fully conversant with the

consuetudinary and who yet knew it in a form in which it had already developed some variation in practice" (119), with some further "modifications for a female community" and explanatory notes made probably by the translator himself. Hill discusses the important work of German scholars on the development of a West Saxon literary standard, as evidenced by a number of texts dating from the Benedictine Reform era (Helmut Gneuss's seminal "The origin of Standard Old English and Æthelwold's school at Winchester," ASE 1 [1972]: 63–83, and Mechthild Gretsch's recent *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* [Cambridge, 1999]); the work was developed into a "test" for a "standardized Winchester vocabulary" in studies by Walter Hofstetter (*Winchester und der späلتenglische Sprachgebrauch* [Munich, 1987]). Hill notes that the lexical differences to be expected between Tiberius A.iii (a Canterbury manuscript) and CCCC 201 (which shows the influence of "Winchester standardization" [120]) are indeed marked, and supplies further terms for testing the Winchester vocabulary hypothesis (e.g., Lat. *puer* is rendered as *cnafa* or *cild* in the Tiberius version while CCCC 201 consistently uses just *cild*). Hill also clarifies the OE hapax *formellan* (oblique of \**formelle*, a loan from Lat. *formella*), translated in Thomas Symons's edition of the *Regularis Concordia* (London, 1953) as "bell," and the OE lexical gloss as "bench," which Hill identifies rather as a "wooden instrument, often used for signals in monasteries" (121), referred to elsewhere in the text as a *tabula*. Hill advises that paying "close attention to words, and especially to word-groups, is extraordinarily revealing of semantics and styles, of mindsets and methods" (126).

Carole Hough's "An Antedating of ME *leir-pit* 'Clay Pit,'" *N&Q* n.s. 47 (2000): 403, explains the appearance in a land-grant in the *Thurgarton Cartulary* (ed. T. Foulds; Stamford, 1994) of the field-name *Leirpittes* as a mid-thirteenth-century attestation of the English term for "clay pit" known in other place-names (lost field-names from Nottinghamshire and the West riding of Yorkshire). This citation antedates that (of 1316) recorded in the *MED*. Hough challenges the accepted reading of OE *pottere* as "potter," deriving solely from a charter-bound of the tenth century (printed in W. de Gray Birch's *Cartularium Saxonicum* [London, 1883]). Instead, Hough connects the hapax (or nonce-form) *pottere* with the verb *potian*, "to push, butt, goad," rather than the rare OE noun *pot(t)*, "pot." The more common word in OE for "pot" was *crocc*, and *croccwyrhta* the occupational term "potter." While it has often been asserted that the suffix *-ere* was added to nouns to form other nouns, the suffix was added to verb-stems;

thus Hough views a *pottere* < *potian* as possible. What it would mean is not quite clear. As the noun occurs in the prepositional phrase *of potteres leage* (in a land grant of 951 at Marchington, Staffordshire), the context argues for a place or personal name. One possibility that Hough offers is the latter, "as a descriptor or a by-name for an aggressive or warlike individual" (622). Or it may be some other place-name descriptor, as of an animal "characterized by its aggressive nature or thrusting movements" (622). Hough notes that what becomes MdE *potter* (occupational term and personal name) appears more certainly for the first time in the thirteenth century, and in surnames dating from 1172. The source seems likely to be OF *potier* (appearing in late twelfth- and thirteenth-century personal names as *le Potier*). And in "Place-Name Evidence for an Anglo-Saxon Animal Name: OE \**pohha*/*\*pocca* 'Fallow Deer'" (ASE 30: 1–14). Hough reminds us that "the extant corpus of Old English literature preserves only a proportion of the vocabulary that once existed" (1); drawing on A.H. Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* (2 vols.; Cambridge, 1956) for examples of OE animal names preserved as place-name elements but not as forms in the surviving OE lexicon (such as \**ean* "lamb," \**pad-duc* "frog," \**todd* "fox"), Hough proposes from place-name evidence an OE \**pohha* or \**pocca* "fallow deer," the OE form *pohha/pocca* otherwise attested in the sense "pocket, bag." The semantic link between the two seems on surface tenuous, but Hough cites the example of \**bagga* "badger": "an animal named from its bag-like shape" (2). Place-names that would record \**pohha*/*\*pocca* may include Poughley (\**pohha* + *leah*) in Berkshire, Poffley (Oxfordshire), Poughill (one in Devon, another in Cornwall), Poflet (Devon), the lost field-name *Scacherds pokkis* (Staffordshire) and Matthew's Pow Field (Staffordshire). The Devon place-name Poflet is given a particular focus as its second element, from OE *hlype* ("leap, leaping place," Clark Hall-Meritt also gives "waterfall" based on charter use), occurs fifteen times with an animal or bird name first element of the twenty-six instances it is used in toponyms (4–6). Hough draws on later place-name evidence from the English Place-Name Survey to give a sense of continued use of *pohha/pocca* as the first element in toponyms: Pogh Wenhale, Powefeldes, Pogh-rigge, etc. And Hough surmises that there may be additional place-names with the element *pohha/pocca* that have been interpreted as having OE *puca* ("goblin," "puck") as the first element. The potential place-name evidence Hough assembles may in fact be fairly extensive (7–10) in support of the idea that "the range of second elements recorded in combination with OE *pohha/pocca* points toward an interpretation as an animal name" (10). The sort of animal referred to is a

more difficult question; since “nearly half the known place-names from OE *hlype* ‘leap, leaping place’ contain words for types of deer” (10), the case is advanced for “*pohha* = “deer.” The semantic extension from “bag” to “deer” does not seem tenable, but Hough offers that *pohha/pocca* may be related instead to OE *pocc*, “blister, pustule, pock,” and thus refer to the spots of the fallow deer. Hough concludes suggesting that *pohha/pocca* may refer to the male fallow deer and that place-name element “*pohhel*”/“*poccel*” (presumably the diminutive of the former) may designate “fawn.”

A survey of recent major thesauri projects is given in “One Thesaurus Leads to Another: TOE, HTE, TME,” by Christian J. Kay and Irené A.W. Wotherspoon, in *Lexis and Texts in Early English*, ed. Kay and Silvester, 173–86. The authors trace the history of the related projects (which share data and some staff) from their beginnings in 1964 in Glasgow (at the suggestion of M.L. Samuels) to the release of the *Thesaurus of Old English* (in its second printing, with revisions). The TOE and projected Thesaurus of Middle English contribute toward a comprehensive Historical Thesaurus of English; the scale of the projects gives some sense of the growth of the lexicon of English: the TOE involves a corpus of some 48,000 meanings and it is anticipated that the THE will involve over 600,000. Whatever the vagaries of modern theoretical semantics, the thesauri all start from the basic 990 categories of Roget’s *Thesaurus*, a reference as durable as any (nearly half of the studies surveyed this year drew on Mary Serjeantson’s *A History of Foreign Words in English* [1935]; whatever criticisms the individual authors may have of the study—which given its date should have naturally accumulated with advances in the field—no single study has superseded it). Unusual tidbit reported by Kay and Wotherspoon: “The first edition [of the TOE] sold out in early 2000 when the last copy was sent to a novelist in Florida” (177).

Lucia Kornexl’s contribution to the volume *Language Contact* (ed. Kastovsky and Mettinger), “‘Unnatural words’: Loan-formations in Old English glosses” (195–216), takes for its title and as its premise Henry Sweet’s reference to “unnatural words ... some of them being positive monstrosities” in his *Student’s Dictionary of Anglo-Saxon*. Sweet was referring to overly literal renderings of Latin terms by Anglo-Saxon glossators and Kornexl pleads for an evaluation of “the status and role of gloss materials within the corpus of Old English loans and in the broader context of Old English usage” (195); fair enough, though the citation of Sweet’s Victorian dismissiveness toward “glossary words” was written in 1896 (and Shaw gave Sweet whatever was his

due and perhaps a little more with ‘enry ‘iggins)—it is a bit of a straw man, and though others have repeated or intimated like sentiments since the work of Herbert Meritt put such dismissiveness soundly to bed. (Kornexl cites heavily dissertations of the Munich school but uses nothing from Meritt). Nonetheless, important matters are brought up: the nature of glossarial calques and semi-calques (as with OE renderings of Latin compound verbs, e.g., *intermittere: betwuxsendan*), their handing by lexicographers (which the *Dictionary of Old English* now labels “quasi-compounds,” a re-examination in part prompted Kornexl’s earlier criticism of DOE policy, *Anglia* 112 [1994]: 421–53), and the use of “quasi-etymological translations” by early medieval glossators (Kornexl cites examples also from the OHG interlinear version of the *Regula Benedicti*). In the main the study is methodological and draws heavily on the subject of Kornexl’s dissertation, the OE interlinear version of the *Regularis concordia*. Kornexl sets out the particular conditions for examining the glossarial corpus (used here as a shorthand for the wide-ranging, if not unruly, corpus of scattered, scratched, interlinear, marginal, and sometimes continuous interlinear glossing one finds in about half of the manuscripts containing Old English); the contact situation is “exceptional”: “the donor being a ‘dead,’ though highly prestigious language, universally used in the church and functioning as the main idiom of learning in Anglo-Saxon England” (196; setting off “dead” so is important: is a *lingua franca* a dead language? Classical and ecclesiastical Latin, unlike Greek, did not have a native speech community in the medieval period). And in the contact situation Latin was the *target* language; the usual motivation of “the acquisition of new means of expression for active use in the vernacular, appears to have been subordinate if not irrelevant to the glossator as well as to the users of a gloss” (196). That “generally speaking, the Normans cannot be blamed for the loss and replacement of what seems to have been a vocabulary with very specific functions”—namely, fairly literal OE translations of Latin ecclesiastical terms—is perhaps too generous; the Normans did set about fairly quickly replacing Anglo-Saxon members of the church hierarchy with numbers of their own. This must have had linguistic consequences. The straw man appears again in asserting a “widespread notion that glosses are nothing but an unconnected series of mechanical renderings by not always very competent translators has been disproved in a number of recent studies” (197). Again, a look at the work of Herbert Meritt (e.g., *Fact and Lore about Old English Words* [Stanford, 1954]). would show that such benighted thinking was vanquished a half-century ago. Despite the loss in English of some

of these OE *ad hoc* or nonce-formations in glossing or translating Latin texts, the Anglo-Saxon glossators were not alone in such practice of literal rendering of the Latin; so too were others, and Md German bears their imprint (Kornexl cites 'Heiliger Geist' for *Spiritus Sanctus* as an example [202], to which could be added dozens of compound verbs). Particularly valuable is Kornexl's discussion of what might be termed "etymological glossing"; this could at times mirror what one finds in Priscian or Isidore (*rege a regendo*, etc.). Thus in the OE version of the *Regularis concordia* Latin *psalmi graduum* appears in the OE version as *sealmas stæpa* (the more "literal" rendering) and *fiftyne sealmas* (a more "idiomatic" translation). The etymological tendencies of Anglo-Saxon glossators may also be seen as linked to their tendency toward morphological parsing in the sense that "the analysis of word-formation was an acknowledged means of revealing the true sense of a word" (206). The appearance of OE *betwuxsendan* also in the *Durham Hymnal*, but this time glossing Lat. *interpolare*, occasions the comment that "*betwuxsendan* had a semantic value attached to it" (207); of course it would, but what may be present is firmer evidence that the OE rendering of semantically related Lat. verbs with *inter-* was not just a nonce-formation (and thus the criticism of the entry in Clark Hall-Meritt's *Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary* glossing the OE verb quite literally as "to send between" seems fair; it is interesting to see the modern lexicographers doing very nearly the same thing with the OE as their Anglo-Saxon counterparts did with the Latin). A sharp focus on a limited corpus (and one gloss in particular, *betwuxsendan*) produces the general observation that the "individual history of many of their prefixal derivatives ... indicates that the language of the study and the living Old English language were to a great extent kept separate" (210).

The make-up of "The Glossaries in London, BL Cotton Cleopatra A. iii" is the subject of Patrizia Lendinara's highly detailed contribution to the collection *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. Bergmann, Glaser, Moulin-Fankhänel (Heidelberg), 189–215. The Cleopatra glossaries have in the past been divided—a scheme popularized by the Stanford dissertations on the glossaries directed by Herbert Meritt—between the major (fols. 5r–75v of about 5,000 entries in A-order through letter P) and minor (divided generally into the Second glossary, fols. 76r–91v, and the Third, fols. 92r–117r, though with some disagreement about where this division should be located). Lendinara supports the division of the Second and Third glossaries at fol. 91v on the grounds of palaeographical evidence and contents of the subject/class fasciculi. The

first glossary in the manuscript, the Major Cleopatra Glossary, was written almost entirely in one hand (entries A1–P254), with another completing the entries in letter P (P255–279). The Second glossary contains subject or class glossaries (many of the lemmata drawn from Isidore's *Etymologiae*), with lemmata and glosses grouped under such familiar rubrics as *De avibus*, *De homine et de partibus eius*, *De herbis terrae*, etc. The contents of the Second are a little more heterogeneous as included too are lemmata from Jerome and the Gospels. The Third glossary contains a number of entries derived from Aldhelm (Lendinara also estimates that the Major glossary drew about 2,100 entries of its 5,000 or so from Aldhelm's writings; 190). Lendinara addresses the importance of the glossarial apparatus that grew about Aldhelm's *opera*: some 60,000 glosses in fourteen manuscripts. Aldhelm's importance was such that his works continued to be glossed well after the Conquest and the *glossae collectae* culled from his works is the most significant for an English author of the period and testifies "to the vitality of this selection technique" (191; a technique introduced from the Continent). Lendinara presses her analysis of the Aldhelmian *glossae collectae* further to posit the existence of glossaries to Aldhelm's *De virginitate* prose and poetic: a tantalizing point as we have only glossary collections from Anglo-Saxon England, and some of them, such as the Corpus Glossary, are fairly early. Lendinara then provides collations of entries and bundles (discrete or nearly so) of entries shared and overlapping between the Major and Minor Cleopatra glossaries (193–200). Some entries have defied source-hunting, and some of these (and other material) have intruded upon bundles in the glossaries (for which Lendinara employs the signal "extra-c. gl." for "extra-column glosses"). Besides charting the relations of groups of entries in the three Cleopatra glossaries, the notes to Lendinara's collation also contribute toward attempts made to establish relationships among the Anglo-Saxon glossaries (here collation, in particular, with the Corpus and Épinal-Erfurt glossaries): so, for instance, the Grecism (or Greek in Roman "garb") *biothanatas* is glossed similarly in the Corpus and Cleopatra glossaries as *selfbonan* ("self-slayer"). A second collation, or list of intruding entries, serves to establish proof for "the existence of exemplars" (201–03) for the Second and Third glossaries; as the First and Third glossaries contain lemmata from Aldhelm, Lendinara compared their overlapping: they share 167 glosses "drawn from the common source" (203). Further collations of *interpretamenta* of Aldhelmian lemmata in the First and Third glossaries seems to indicate at times significant revisions on the part of the compiler of the First, or Major, Cleopatra glossary. Lendinara ends on a note

calling for further study of interrelations among the Cleopatra glossaries and of their Aldhelm entries with other glossed Aldhelm manuscripts or ones containing Aldhelmian entries. She does note the prevalence of rare words in the Cleopatra glossaries, including a number of hapax legomena (such as *æppelscealu*, for which Clark Hall-Meritt has "apple-core" and Lendinara the more specific "film about the kernel of an apple" [212]).

Four OE texts (*Ælfric's Colloquy* and *De temporibus anni*, the OE version of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*, and the OE Orosius) are sampled by Ruta Nagucka to investigate "Latin Prepositional Phrases and Their Old English Equivalents," in *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Kastovsky and Mettinger (251–65). Nagucka begins with a skeptical eye toward the idea that foreign language influence can effect much change on a language; here the skepticism is in the face of the high level of contact between Latin and OE. Congruence between the two languages is looked at in terms of the syntactic level (one-to-one relationship, i.e. PP : PP; e.g., *ad campum* : *to felda*) and the semantic (Latin PP : OE non-PP, where "the semantic identity, or at least close affinity is expressed by other means than the PP" 252). On the one hand, though one might expect strong influence from Latin on OE, even structurally, there are counterbalancing considerations: a) Latin and OE have the same overall genetic classification, "the same basic word-order SOV, both are prepositional and both have the same word-order of modifier and head categories" (255); b) OE poetry is native Germanic in form and meter and with significant alterations in the syntax in comparison to its prose. And on the other OE translators sometimes chose to render Latin prepositional phrases in non-PP fashion (e.g., from the OE Orosius: *in his finibus India est* : *þæt sint India gemæro*). A comparison is made with the handling of the Latin ablative absolute by OE translators, who "substituted native structures" (259); and then there is the matter of "translational equivalence" in the OE rendering of Latin nouns in ablative or dative with prepositional phrases (*arte mea* : *mid cræfte minon*). Nagucka proposes explanation in "analogical extension of one pattern over another" (260) for the latter as through the course of OE "the inflectional system of the noun was ceasing to be the most important indication of conceptual relations such as temporality, locality, instrumentality" (260). This extension occurs not just in the work of OE translators but in the glosses too, where one expects a closer one-to-one correspondence. Nagucka extends the initial skepticism to conclude that one can "eliminate Latin as an influential factor on the structure of the

Old English prepositional phrase" (264). It would be interesting to see the analysis tested by a more heterogeneous sample corpus, perhaps including texts such as the OE versions of the Gospels or translations of the *Epistola Alexandri* and *Historia Apollonii Regis Tyri*.

"Late West Saxon Forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns as Native Prototypes of *they*" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 5–6) by Michiko Ogura addresses the oft-repeated point of history of the English language that the MdE third person plural forms of the personal pronoun derive from ON (*þeir*, *þeirra*, *þeim*). Drawing on a previous study by Max Förster (*Anglia Beiblatt* 53 [1941]: 274–80), Ogura departs from the usual account in seeing the rarer use of the demonstrative *þæge* as relativized or as a relative pronoun as being a native innovation. Rare (we are talking about fewer than a dozen examples) and late: brought to bear is evidence from c. 1150 from the *Peri didaxeon* cited by the MED. An alternative explanation of the MdE personal pronoun is third gen. pl. demonstrative *þeora*, which is looked at briefly in late occurrences (e.g., *Peterborough Chronicle*) and considered solely the demonstrative. The conclusion is that "We may say that ModE *they*, *their*, *them* originated from demonstrative pronouns with functions of both demonstrative and relative" (6), though neither cited nor considered is Campbell's phonological point in favor of borrowing from ON *-ei-* > OE *-æg-*, with a parallel example in OE *scægb/scegb* < ON *skeið* (*Old English Grammar* [Oxford, 1959] §713).

In "Verbs of Emotion with Reflexive Constructions," (*Lexis and Texts in Early English*, ed. Kay and Silvester, 203–12), Ogura notes the prevalence of verbs of emotion among the fifty or so OE/ME verbs used impersonally and reflexively. For OE Ogura is discussing in the main the pattern "coreferential pronoun + V" (204); with ME one may need to consider the influence of the French construction "*se* + V" (*se doloir*, *se merveillier*, etc.), which Ogura believes "may correspond to various expressions in Modern English" (204). Ogura begins with some expressions in MdE, such as reflexive *I wash myself* (it is still tempting to call this the "middle" voice) and reciprocal *we met each other* (both of which examples are often expressed elliptically in MdE: any native speaker understands *I washed*, *we met*). Ogura then lists forty-five ME verbs of emotion (205–11, including loans from Old French) used in both impersonal and reflexive constructions; thus for *gladden* the citations *me gomened <ond> gleaded* ("impersonal") and *þat gladiþ hem wiþ me* (reflexive). Of thirteen native verbs "which were attested in 'impersonal' or reflexive constructions" (211), Ogura notes that four also occur in the construction "*be*



+ past ptc," (e.g., *ben shamed*). Ogura is interested in explaining here (and in other work: her *Verbs of Motion in Medieval English* [Woodbridge, 2002] will be reviewed in YWOES 2002) that the decline in use of verbs in "reflexive constructions in both simple and compound forms" (211) had to do with the restriction in their use to "stereotyped contexts" (212; e.g., *heo blecsede hire*, "she crossed/blessed herself"), and thus post-1500 the rarer use of "the coreferential pronoun without *self(-)*" (212).

Cautionary advice is the order of the day in R.I. Page's "Recent Work on Old English Glosses: The Case of Boethius" (*Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. Bergmann, Glaser, Moulin-Fankhänel, 217-42). Unlike the spate of other studies filled with how-not-to advice (a cottage industry in the past decade), Page's analysis of manuscripts containing OE glosses to Boethius provides two extensive test cases that also render highly detailed descriptions of two Cambridge MSS, CUL Kk. 3. 21 and CCC 214. In talking about OE glosses Page shifts the focus rather to talking about glossing: its purpose, the nature of glossed manuscripts (the "classbook" debate comes up: see also Kornexl above for a skeptical approach and Wieland below for a counterbalancing view), the need for a combined focus on OE and Latin glosses, glosses and lemmata (217-18). Page mentions briefly the five Boethius *De consolatione philosophiae* manuscripts containing OE glosses and focuses on the two Cambridge MSS that contain numerous glosses (a total of ten glosses appear in the other three, from Antwerp, Cambridge, Oxford, and a brief mention is made of other Boethius MSS with OE glosses, such as Paris, BN lat. 6401A fol. 22v, which are not mentioned in the standard catalogues by N.R. Ker and Helmut Gneuss). An initial point Page alerts the reader to is that of the fifteen Boethius MSS of English provenance from the period, only two are extensively glossed, which does not indicate intensive study of Boethius in Anglo-Saxon England (although this too should be placed in context: fifteen MSS is fifteen nonetheless; how many manuscripts of Virgil, Ovid, Cicero are of Anglo-Saxon provenance? Or even of Prudentius, Sedulius, Juvencus?). The first manuscript studied in detail is CUL Kk. 3. 21., "a stately manuscript of 104 folios in thirteen gatherings, its text dated to the late tenth/early eleventh century" (219), its provenance Abingdon. Latin glosses appear in ink, OE largely in drypoint; the medium-format manuscript is in good shape and does not, in Page's view, seem to have been employed as a school-book; thus the purpose of the glosses is less transparently clear. The nature of the Latin glossing is noted: "The Latin glosses are often very detailed and scholarly, as in the

'Remigian' commentaries on the sections that have strongly mythological or historical subjects" (220; there is evidence for this too in the glossing of Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginitatis*, and abstracted bundles of entries in the major glossaries often address classical and mythological subjects). The matter of the legibility (then and now) and purpose of scratched glosses is discussed, and Page leans toward the view that the drypoint markings may have been more legible in the period than now, perhaps flattened out by modern binding techniques (221). There is a tendency, naturally enough in some cases, for readers of glossed MSS to root out dry-point glosses in OE; these are, after all, gleanings of lexicographic interest. But Page has also detected Latin and syntactic dry-point glosses in this manuscript, which raises questions of purpose again. So too does the practice of double-glossing; at times the OE gloss seems added after Latin glosses. So at Book II m. 7 line 20 Lat. *scire* is glossed by *cognoscere* and a dry-point OE *witan*: "Neither Latin word was particularly esoteric" (222). Page also quizzically probes the quality of the glossing: e.g., how well OE *dæld* renders *profligat* (*opes*) in Boethius: "How closely did the Old English glossator record any subtlety of meaning?" (223). Though asserting that this Cambridge MS was likely not a class-book in general use, Page nonetheless finds evidence in the glossing of "a consistent attempt, covering a fairly small section of the text, to teach or learn Latin demonstratives" (225). The coverage by vernacular glossing is not consistent, but favors rather passages from Books 3-5 that would serve religious ends. Stock is taken too of what is glossed (among them Latin words not of particular difficulty: *traducit*, *igitur*, *subtrahit*, etc.) and what is not glossed (some difficult Latin forms here). There seems therefore some evidence that "early study of this text was disorganized and inconsistent: but perhaps that would apply to any student's copy of a primary text, of whatever date" (227; Page seems to lean at times toward a view that this may not have been a class-book so much as a good copy used for a student's private reading—for homework so to speak). Lastly Page considers the manuscript's syntactical glossing, which all seems to employ the "linking/verbindende" system (227). He identifies three general functions of these signs: 1) indicating adjectives dependent upon nouns; 2) indicating subjects of verbs; 3) pointing out "a conjunction can be allied to a distant verb that it controls" (227). Thus, for example, the system of syntactical glossing renders the relationships of the passage *et ne, dum manere possunt, intereant, elaborat* into a scheme that reads: *et* with *elaborat*, *ne* with *intereant*, *dum* governs *possunt*. The distribution of these syntactical glosses "does not coincide with that of the vernac-



ular glosses" (228); perhaps two different lessons were being taught? Page turns then to CCC 214, a manuscript that is fairly seriously damaged (including evidence of damage by rats) and shows a marked change in design over the course of its gatherings. Employed are a "series of minuscule roman letters in alphabetical order" (231); curious is the lack of glossing at important passages. The sequential sign system is joined to a "linking" one with some letters over words repeated to "indicate words that belong together in the same sense group" (232)—significant as this shows a type of metalinguistic thinking on the part of the glossator. Vernacular glossing becomes nearly continuous for parts of Book 3 of the *De consolacione*, and here there is some "overlap," and it is "the syntactical gloss that overlays the vernacular" (235). Syntactical signs to aid in construing the Latin original have been added over a vernacular gloss that adequately rendered that text: "Were there several different types of reader involved? Some more skilled in the Latin language than others?" (235). But more than one scribe was at work on the vernacular glossing and so we have rather "a collection of glosses and evidence of a change of plan in the course of the volume" (238). The codex seems "less a single book than a collection of several" (238): quires 1-5 have "extensive Latin glossing," quires 6-10 (Book 3) have the "continuous Old English glossing," while quire 11 consists of "supply leaves." Page cautions against having "a fixed idea as to what constitutes a book," though one imagines that a student asking for a copy of Boethius to read would have been glad to have CCC 214 nonetheless. Page concludes by urging a collection of such syntactical glosses and promises more work on the "corpus" (if one may) of OE Boethius glosses.

"Aldredian Glosses to Proper Names in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*" (*Anglia* 119: 173-92) are used by Sara María Pons Sanz as evidence of Aldred as "a careful glossator" (173) whose interpretations were "anything but a mechanical rendering of the text" (192). Nonetheless Pons Sanz offers examples of where Aldred introduced "some inconsistencies" (179; one example, his hesitation over rendering *mons Oliveti*) or left names unglossed (about 18% of the time; 175). Pons Sanz gives particular attention to some test examples: Arimathaea (*Arimathia: arimaðia byrig vel ramattha*), Capernaum (pursued here in some etymological detail), the Mount of Olives, and some personal names glossed also with explanations (a brief list at 181; e.g., *Arche-laous: cynig herodes sunu*). There is also an interesting example of what might be called "macaronic" glossing to Jn 19:25, *maria cleopes <id est> uif vel moder*. As Pons Sanz notes at the outset, Aldred the glossator (with reference to a long and important series of

"Aldrediana" by A.S.C. Ross) has generated more interest than might be expected, though his interlinear OE version of the Gospels can be counted the earliest in English (c. 950) and his vernacular renderings are of great dialectal interest (Northumbrian). Still, it makes for a restricted corpus and a few difficulties arise: one is how useful fairly precise-seeming statistics are that can be generated from it (e.g., the figure that "1.44% [of biblical names] are rendered by a personal name and a generic noun together," 180); and, secondly and more importantly, Aldred was not the only glossator to render terms from Greek or Latin (one is interested in a comparison with, for instance, OE renderings of the *Epistola Alexandri* and Orosius's *History*), and not considered here are such valuable test cases as terms for weights and measures (a favorite subject of Anglo-Saxon bilingual glossaries) and units of distance (the Alexander-material rendered into OE seems to naturalize terms for stadia and leagues for instance). Difficult too is working at second-hand with the Hebrew; though etymologizing by Aldred of Hebrew names seems too to have been indirect (largely through Jerome's *Liber interpretationis hebraicorum nominum*), the other source for the Hebrew is not, say, the Stuttgart *Biblica Hebraica* but W.J.P. Boyd's "Aldrediana VII: Hebraica" (*English Philological Studies* 10 [1967]: 1-32, the date of which makes the citation of a "consensus among scholars" about Hebrew etymologies rather insecure). One could quibble with the citation of the old *Catholic Encyclopedia* (1907-14), especially with regard to research into biblical names; why not the widely available (online at that) *New Catholic Encyclopedia*? Names of the divinity are given a detailed focus by Pons Sanz (187-90), with some interesting results (use of *hælend* with the definite article generally, but *drihten* normally without). The criticism of Aldred's glossing of *paracletus* as *rummoda* seems too severe (his gloss "does not seem to fit the interpretation of the paraclete as the 'comforter' or 'consoler'" [183-84]). OE *rummod* (and too *rumheort*, *rumheortnes*, *rumlic*, *rummodlic*, *rummodnes*) has a general sense of liberality and generosity (on the use of it in glossing the *Regula Benedicti*, see Mechthild Gretsch, *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* [Cambridge, 1999], 120); translating the Paraclete as "the generous or kindly one" seems in keeping with the Gospel tradition and not a bad (Anglo-Saxon) rendering of the Greek literal sense of "the one called in to help." Pons Sanz's study does open up another avenue for investigation of the glossarial corpus: the cultural difficulties in rendering proper names and toponyms.

Phyllis Portnoy, "Lexical Figments and Fallacies: The Case of Old English *lāf*" (*Anglia* 119: 237-48) takes

to task transmitted error in commentary on the use of *lāf* ("remnant") in the OE poem *Exodus* (l. 370) and the extension of this error to readings of *Beowulf* and, potentially, the *DOE*. Phyllis Portnoy focuses particularly on work from the 1970s and 80s (by Daniel Calder, Peter Lucas, Paul Beekman Taylor), and zeroes in on YWOES for failing to note the errors (n. 33 at 246–47). Specifically, Portnoy records the error in Calder ("Two Notes on the Typology of the OE *Exodus*," *NM* 74 [1973]: 85–89) in taking traditional etymologizing of Noah's name as *requies*, "rest," and pairing it with the MdE sense of "rest" = "remnant" (thus the connection with OE *lāf*), which appears also in Peter Lucas's edition of the poem (London, 1977; apparently Portnoy did not come across Edward B. Irving's review of Lucas, also published in *Anglia*, which may have allayed some of her dismay at failures to call attention to errors). The connection is unetymological and misconstrues the original Latin accounts of the meaning of Noah's name; Portnoy does not cite Isidore's *Etymologiae*, but it would help her case: *Noe requies interpretatur, pro eo quod sub illo omnia retro opera quieverunt per diluvium. Vnde te pater eius vocans nomen eius Noe dixit (Gen 5:29): 'Iste requiescere nos facit ab omnibus operibus nostris.'* (VII.vi.15; critics have failed to seize upon another potentially fruitful (ab)use of Noah from Isidore's discussion *de vitibus: Vitis plantationem primus Noe instituit rudi adhuc saeculo* (XVII.v.1)). The problem has been compounded in Portnoy's view by fanciful literary critical extensions of an erroneous meaning attributed to *lāf*, especially in criticism of *Beowulf* (here taking to task once more Taylor and Nida-Louise Surber-Meyer); thus one finds readings that extend the core sense of *lāf* as "what is left behind, remnant" (Clark Hall-Meritt has "what is left, remnant, legacy, relic, remains, rest" and the Ælfrian "relict, widow") to meanings such as "life, gift" (particularly in "gift and exchange"-type criticism of *Beowulf*). This chain of error Portnoy warns the *DOE* against perpetuating, pre-emptively as the project has not arrived at the letter in question. Portnoy's complaint is a valid one, and one which the so-called "New Philology" was supposed to address; but this has not happened and the yawning gap between philology and linguistics (which really are two separate discourses if not disciplines now), and the gulf between language study and literary criticism seems nearly unbridgeable. The havoc caused by erroneous etymologizing by literary critics is alarming. But Portnoy is shooting fish in a barrel; her dismay that such error and imprecision have escaped "the scrutiny of editors, journal referees or dissertation directors" (246) may be genuine, but it should not surprise any readers who have followed recent debates over responsibility for accuracy

in scholarly publishing. It could be noted, and not uncharitably, that Portnoy is not fully precise in citing etymological details herself, the Sanskrit in particular: "*recami* 'evacuate'" (at 239) is 1 sg. pres. act. and should read *recāmi*; citation of the verbal root "*ha* 'leave, 'is left, deserted', 'lose'" (also 239) collapses a number of forms and should read *hā*; *hā* (3 sg. *jahāti*) is "leave, desert," *hiyate* "lose, is lost." And this in *Anglia*, a German periodical with an established, solid philological history.

"Viking Maritime Heritage in Normandy from a British Isles Perspective," *Northern Studies* 35 (2000): 75–93, summarizes some preliminary results from dissertation work by Elisabeth Ridel (University of Caen, dir. Prof. René Lepelley) into place-name and other linguistic evidence of the Viking presence in maritime northern France, with comparative analysis of Insular evidence. Ridel gives test examples including Old Norman *esneque* (attested in the eleventh century as *isneccia*, from ON *snekkja* with prothetic vowel added), found in OE, which also borrowed it from ON, as *snacc*, for "war-ship" (80–84); the ON term for "fish enclosure," *fiskigarðr*, preserved in several place-names, English Fishguard among them (85–87); and ON *drangr*, for "pointed or sheer rock," also is preserved in place-names such as Dranguet and D'Angré from Normandy.

Nikolaus Ritt's contribution to the volume *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Kastovsky and Mettinger, concerns "The Spread of Scandinavian third person plural pronouns in English: optimization, adaptation and evolutionary stability" (279–304). Writing from an "unabashedly functional approach" (279), Ritt opens by stating that his paper is as much about the pronoun forms and "the evolutionary competition between Scandinavian and English pronoun forms against the background of the efficiency with which they fulfilled their communicative functions for the human organisms and societies in which they were embedded" (279) as it is about the evolutionary biology (Richard Dawkins the only evolutionary biologist here named) and Complex Adaptive Systems theory (here citing the work of Murray Gell-Mann). Ritt begins with what he calls the "facts" (279; his quotation marks) and alerts the reader to the accepted explanation in the history of the English language that Scandinavian *þeir/þeira/þeim* won out over the native *hie/hiera/he(o)m*. His main concern is not to contest this basic "fact" (though Michiko Ogura has, see above), but to spell out just how complex a process was involved and the inadequacy of theoretical models in accounting for complex changes in human language.

The latter position is the one given the most consideration; Ritt relates the generally held account that there was felt to be a deficiency in the third person pronoun system: "Most speakers must have felt this somehow, and there will have evolved a general desire to do something about this" (283). Assumed in the standard account is that the deficiency was the similarity between singular (*he/heo/hit*, etc.) and plural forms of the pronoun; harder to gauge, *pace* the popular writing of evolutionary biologists and linguists under their influence, is what Anglo-Saxons may have "felt" about this potential for confusion: we have no evidence for it. Ritt recognizes the difficulty in "optimality" theory here—that "speakers will prefer optimal to non-optimal systems, or that systems optimize themselves to suit their speakers" (284)—and notes that any attempt to measure such optimality (as with the third person plural pronouns) has "to face counterevidence that would seem to falsify them at least by Popperian standards" (284). Ritt then undercuts the notion that the adoption of the Scandinavian forms of the third plural personal pronoun was "to avoid ambiguity," employing two examples in "counterevidence" (namely, the later loss of second singular personal pronouns forms giving rise to the *you* forms in MdE, and the use of *Sie* in MdG in three different forms of the personal pronoun [3 sg. fem., 3 pl., 2 pl. formal/polite]). A "functional" history of sorts of the forms in OE follows, from an OE "*h* + inflectional component" to the introduction and winning out of Scandinavian pronouns that "contained fewer ambiguous forms" (287–91) through to the ME period (291–94); the result that within the "parameters of morphological naturalness" the Scandinavian forms proved superior holds in ME, and in OE too but on the grounds of "the phonological structure of their onsets" (291). The work of biologist Dawkins and physicist Gell-Mann are returned to in a conclusion regarding implications for language theories; Dawkins is appealed to to make the case that "languages are the way they are because the neuro-psychological configurations underlying them have been able to replicate before disintegrating" (297). Or, perhaps, just because they work and their speakers have not all switched to another language or simply all died. The application of Gell-Mann CAS (Complex Adaptive Systems) schemata to the pronouns question produces what is at first an inscrutable stack of boxes which, upon further inspection, is fairly simple: "experiences with the production and effectiveness of {them}" > "communicative success, energy expended for production" (298–99). Ritt concedes that "naturalness parameters" do not have much predictive power, and argues the fairly certain and well-known point—undoubtedly for the history of English—that "even

non-optimal configurations may prove to be historically stable" (300; this is certainly the case for eMdE-MdE orthography—it really does not seem a matter of "survival of the fittest" with linguistic forms). Much of the theoretical quibbling and musing does not get anywhere (and there are curious references such as "Through contact with Scandinavian utterances, a configuration will have established itself within Anglo-Saxon brains"; 301), and Ritt's skepticism indicates that he knows this too, though it comes jargon-rich: in the case of the third plural personal pronouns "as in probably most instances of linguistic innovation, parameters for the intersubjective determination of sign efficiency or any comparable parameters can never be sufficient to explain or to predict what actually takes place in the complex world of actual language systems" (302). Michiko Ogura's alternative explanation for the rise of *they/them* came out at the same time as Ritt's study and so could not be considered in it; there will no doubt be more discussion of *they/their/them*.

In "The Etymology of *tinker*, with a Note on *tinker's dam*," *ELN* 39: 10–12, Will Sayers seeks to dispense with the old canard of the "tinker's dam" = "tinker's damn," an expression made popular in Hiberno-English. In doing so he proposes a new origin for *tinker*, Irish *cerd* ("craftsman, smith") in Scots *caird*. The means was via the Gaelic phrase for tinsmith *cerd stain*, which may have given rise to an intermediary \**tincaird* (the phonology not fully explained here for the acephalous form); by back formation the verb *tink* was formed (attested c. 1500) and so too the nominal *tinkler* (cited in Sir Walter Scott 1818). This departs from an origin in hypothesized OE \**tenecian*, "to work in tin," but has an appeal in drawing from a source so closely associated with the activity and terms associated with it: Celtic. The "tinker's dam" is not a curse of such frequency as to be of little worth (and associated with the Tinkers), but an actual tool of the trade: the wall built about the fore-hearth, in smelting "pierced by a vertical cavity ... through which the molten pig is drawn off from time to time" (11). A temporary fixture, the "dam" was "but once used ... being consequently thrown away as worthless, it has passed into proverb, usually involving the wrong spelling of the otherwise innocent word 'dam'" (11).

Jürg Rainer Schwyter examines the semantic development—from concessive/concessive-conditional to conditional—of the OE conjunction *þeah* (*þe*) in "OE Conjunction *þeah* (*þe*): Law II Cnut 72.1 and II Cnut 75," *Neophilologus* 85: 291–6. Well attested in the sense "though, although," Schwyter focuses on instances from the Anglo-Saxon law codes that point rather to senses

of “even if,” “even though,” “if even/if only.” Schwyter, who has examined the lexical domain of THEFT previously (the monograph in NOWELE Suppl. 15, 1996), here too deals with legal language. The main point is that one finds in later legal texts *þeah* (*þe*) where one might expect *gif*, which often could be used to render Latin conditional *si*. One example given is from II Cnut, the Winchester code “drafted by Archbishop Wulfstan and promulgated at Christmas 1020 or 1021” (292–3), in a matter of heriot that includes the last clause *þeah he lif hæfde*. Schwyter covers the syntactic context (here limited to adverb clauses), the semantic range of development, and the logical structure of the (legal) argumentation, i.e., “if *p*, *q*” (with or without entailments, which term seems to be used here by Schwyter in a logical rather than strictly legal sense). The examples given are all from the legal corpus, though it seems probable the semantic shift is found elsewhere in OE, at least in the prose—and it does seem more a case of broadening as Schwyter argues for a developmental polysemy in the use of *þeah* in OE. Schwyter extends the argument of a transitional polysemous concessive-conditional *þeah* (*þe*) to a resultant loss of an (original) conditional “if” sense, which is preserved in a few instances (mainly II Cnut) perhaps because of Wulfstan’s tendency toward “archaic syntactic features in his law-codes” (294). This last point is difficult, especially here with so small and narrow a selection of the corpus, as polysemy is often just that: additional senses accrue not necessarily with full loss or obsolescence of the original (though there may certainly be a shift in frequency of use). Schwyter does give one the distinct sense that the complexity of English legal usage and argumentation was present well before the expansions and refinements of the Anglo-Norman codes (e.g., the dependency present in series along the lines of *þonne is þæt riht þæt se ðe ... þæt se ðe ...* and similar in II Cnut). Somewhat distressing therefore are the misprints that slip through: “Qurik” for [Randolph] “Quirk” (292), “realtionship” (292), “startegy” (292), “housholder” (2x at 293), “is” for “its” (294), “iff” for “if” (295 n. 5). Nonetheless, this is one of those articles in which one needs to read the notes too, as there one finds important information (and a few departures in agreement) on the handling of the conjunction by previous scholars (e.g., Bruce Mitchell, *Old English Syntax*, 2 vols. [Oxford, 1985]).

In a brief but densely detailed article “On the Origin of Old English *uncet* and *incit*,” NM 102 (2001): 211–16, Kenneth Shields returns to one aspect of a much larger issue he has written about for some two decades (cf. his “The IE Suffix *\*-T*,” *Balkansko Ezikoznanie* 24.2 [1981]: 39–46): the origins of number as an inflectional

category in IE and the development of a non-singular desinence or termination in *\*(e/o)T* (where *-T* = /t/ or /d/). The dental termination in the OE dual forms *uncet* and *incit* (first and second person accusative) has long been a problem, especially as one finds them for *unc* and *inc* in Anglian or Anglian-influenced texts. It remains a problem though Shields offers what he believes to be “a reasonable alternative to current proposals regarding its etymology” (215); namely, the explanation that the *-et/-it* developed by analogical extension from the first and second person nominative dual forms *wit* and *git*. Another view recently has been that by dissimilation the *\*-ik* in *ūsic* and *ēowic* a *\*-kik* became *\*-kit*. But these proposals see the forms as recent innovations within a dialect rather than an IE feature; Shields sees the forms as containing “an ancient Indo-European non-singular marker” (211). In developing this idea Shields traces the history of number in PIE/IE, citing the view that IE had no plural (the citation here should have “Zweifel” for “Zweifel”) as “an inflectional category” (212), and that, citing the work of Winfred Lehmann and others, the number system developed later. Shields puts the “bifurcation of an original non-singular inflectional category into a dual and a plural” even later, developing, in fact, “only in the dialects themselves” (212); and he argues for a greater antiquity to the desinence *-et* than given it in the proposal that it developed in OE (presumably pOE). This view also accepts the assumption that Germanic is inflectionally conservative, an assumption Shields supports with observations from his earlier work on “archaic shared features of Germanic and Anatolian” (213) and on the origin of oblique forms of the first person dual and plural pronouns of Gmc (he gives the example of the acc./dat. dual form: Goth. *ugkis*, OE *unc*, ON *okr*), which he thinks may derive from a first person stem *\*u-* plus the non-singular suffix *\*-n*. Shields sees the key to his proposed etymology of the *-et/-it* in OE *uncet* and *incit* in the origins of first person nom. dual *wit*. Departing from his acceptance of the proposal that *wit* derives from PIE *\*we-* (whence Sanskrit *vayam*) plus the non-singular termination *\*-T*, Shields opts for an origin in the first person singular stem *\*u-* plus the *e*-grade of non-singular suffix *\*(e/o)T*, thus the proto-form *\*u-eT*, Gmc. *\*wede*. Further complexity arises from apparent contamination with other forms, as the “contamination of non-singular suffixes in *\*(e/o)n* and *\*(e/o)T* in the same word-structure was common in dialectal Indo-European” (214), thus *uncet* and *wit* show evidence of “the contaminated non-singular marker *\*(e/o)T-e*. Next he turns to the matter of *-it* in OE; Shields sees *-et* as preserving the original vowel and explains the lack of umlaut in the *u-* of *uncet* as the “residue of sound

change" (214; here referring to Campbell's *OE Grammar* §204.9 that "the pronominal ending *-ic* does not cause umlaut in extant forms (*īsiċ, ēowīċ*)). He theorizes that there may have "existed doublet forms of the first and second person dual accusative-dative personal pronouns in Proto-Germanic" (215); for the first person an "original variant in *\*un-g(h)e*" experienced "loss of an absolute final vowel prior to the mutation of *\*-u-* in the stem syllable" (215), whence ultimately OE *unc*. A second "hypercharacterized variant" in *\*un-g(h)e-d-e* was subject to mutation in pre-OE after PIE *\*-e- > PGmc. \*-i-*.

A sweeping survey of Latin loans in Old and Middle is made by Janne Skaffari in "Latin in English: Notes on medieval loanwords," (in *English in Zigs and Zags: A Festschrift for Marita Gustafsson*, ed. Risto Hiltunen, Keith Battarbee, Matti Peikola and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen; *Anglicana Turkuensia* 23 [Turku: Univ. of Turku Press]), 203–16), although the study becomes much more specific with regard to the eME period, the subject of Skaffari's Licentiate thesis (University of Turku, 2000). In part a review of Dieter Kastovsky's account of loan words in *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (vol. 1, "Semantics and vocabulary," [Cambridge, 1992], 290–408), and other recent work on the early history of the lexicon of English, Skaffari briefly outlines periods of borrowing from Latin in English and processes, namely calques, semantic extension (the example of OE *synn* is given), and loan formations (other than loan translations). In asserting that England ("although certainly not every Englishman," 206) became trilingual following 1066, the statement that "there appears to be no exhaustive exploration of Latin in medieval England" (206), if it is referring to contemporary rather than modern scholars, perhaps should be qualified by Ælfric's *Grammar* and the *Excerptiones de Prisciano*. A general growth in competence in Latin is argued for in the post-Conquest period (citing M. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record: England 1066-1307* [2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Oxford, 1993]), though there is the curious point of how there are fewer Latin loans in ME "during the period when its role as the official written language was stronger than ever" (209)—a conundrum given an attempt at resolution by appealing to different forms of prestige (Latin as a "precise and permanent medium," French associated with the political [and one assumes cultural] elites). A summary of results from the licentiate thesis follows, which looked at loan words (Latin, French, Scandinavian) during the eME period (here delimited 1150–1250) taken from a "subsection" of the *Helsinki Corpus of English Texts*: to be precise, samples from sixteen texts. One does not need corpus linguistics to find that the "most Latin-

influenced text is the *Peri Didaxeon*" (211), which, with its Greek title, is of course full of classical technical terms; one expects this naturally from its subject matter. The problem of which source certain loans derive from is dwelt on briefly, with the examples of ME *apostel* and *temple* (OE, Lat, OFr); Mary Serjeantson's 1935 study (*A History of Foreign Words in English*) is, naturally enough, cited heavily here, though there has been more recent work (curiously absent from the bibliography is the recent work of Alfred Wollmann, especially *Untersuchungen zu den frühen lateinischen Lehnwörter im altenglischen* [Munich, 1990]). It is found that while Scandinavian and French loans "are more often embedded in derivatives" (214), the "Latin items tend to be found in compounds," a conclusion that may be borne out for the selected samples of eME but seems too narrow to account for the often mad-deningly complex processes for and byways of loan formations in medieval English. Not considered in the sample are either personal or place-names.

A possible loan from ON or OE to Irish is the brief subject to hand in David Stifter's "Old Irish *féin* 'bog'?" *Die Sprache* 40 (1998): 226–28. Stifter sees the possible loan in the only instance of (Old) Irish *féin* meaning "bog" (rather than the attested form meaning "wagon"); the entry reads *ain .i. tréide dénadh ainm .i. taulach, 7 féin, 7 mullach* ("ain: three things, which have that name, that is a hill, *féin* and a summit"; 226). Stifter deals with the problem of the *fada* in the Irish: the Germanic source would have [ē]. Stifter argues that this "poses no great problem" as the Irish form "apparently never was a commonly used word" (226). This is not a phonological argument of course and the problem remains; the hypothesis is attractive nevertheless as it makes sense for the entry, which evidently concerns place-name elements.

An explanation for "The Scarcity of Formations in *-ere* in Old English Poetry," *Anglia* 119: 193–206, is given on three bases by Jun Terasawa: a) the "conservative poetic diction" of OE verse did not welcome late formations in *-ere*; b) *metri causa*, "long-stemmed words in *-ere* could not have been readily adapted for use in verse"; c) there were already a "great number of synonymous lexemes" that would block further formations with the suffix (205). Along the way in building toward these rationales Terasawa gathers a number of interesting points: nowhere in OE poetry is to be found the feminine form (*-estre*) of the OE masculine suffix for *nomina agentis* (200); the word *hearpere* is "exceedingly rare in verse" (201) despite references to the activity in the verse and much more in OE prose; though *-ere* "has developed into the most

productive suffix in Present-day English" (194), at times in OE the other two suffixes for forming agent nouns (-a, -end) could be more productive: thus for "seafarer" one finds *scipere* in -ere but more in -a and -end (though these tend to be compound formations: *æg-flota*, *heado-liðende*, *mere-fara*, *scip-ferend*, etc., in the poetry). The case is the more striking with *nomina agentis* for "warrior": Terasawa finds none formed with -ere among the several dozen that occur in the poetry (*æsc-berend*, *burg-wigend*, *gud-maga*, *lind-hæbbende*, etc.). It is more difficult to see that "the abundance in synonyms would also discourage prose writers from coining -ere words for 'seafarer' and 'warrior'" (204); one would imagine the different needs dictated by the types of writing to be more the determinant (for reasons *metri causa* and dictional—the love of variation and amplification, as of epithets, etc.—in the poetry). Terasawa also points to areas for further study on the basis of other intriguing data; e.g., -ere is added rather less frequently to nouns to form agent-nouns (*bocere* < *boc*), or that for "plunderer, waster" Ælfric and Wulfstan use *reafere* but only Wulfstan uses *rypere* and (*woruld-)**strudere* (206).

Joan Ann Tietz's *A Thousand Years of 'Sweet': A Semantic and Cultural Study*; European University Studies, Series XIV, Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature 384 (Frankfurt: Peter Lang) is a broad survey of the semantic development of a single lexeme, *sweet* (OE *swēte*), based on the author's University of Basle thesis (2000). The study is divided into three chronological periods (1000-1500, 1500-1900, 1900-2000), each period subdivided into a series of semantic or metaphorical headings; for the late OE-ME section (1-86): taste, smell, sound metaphorical extension, spiritual comfort. Each of the sub-sections dwells, often quite specifically, upon what *sweet/swete* (and derivatives; e.g., *unswēte*, "not sweet, foul") means and is applied to (wine and oil, milk and cream, water, dough and sweetmeats, meat and fish, fruit, vegetables, spices; music, birdsong, rhetoric, flattery, etc., in the medieval period). Tietz states at the outset that her study will examine the "extralingual factors, such as cultural, social or historical associations" that affect the lexeme's senses; the overall thesis developed is that of an original sense of *sweet* as applied first to taste and meaning "pleasant-tasting," and secondarily "not unpleasant" and "harmless." *Sweet* is described as a synaesthetic adjective, and by extension it came to be used also for smell and sound. The organization within the medieval section takes "the 14<sup>th</sup> century as the core period" and works backward to the (late) OE period. A very simple description of the term's meaning is begun with: "*Sweet* describes what is pleasant" (11). Notions

of sweetness have changed as diet has changed, particularly with the importation of sugar in mass quantities. Thus the ME verb *sweten* can mean simply "to flavor," as OE *swete* meant much more than just "sweet" (Clark Hall-Meritt give, after cognate "sweet," "pure, fragrant, pleasant, agreeable" and the Alfredian "beloved, dear, fresh (not salt)"). The antonymous *unswete* "did not continue beyond the Old English period, *stinking* is used in the 14<sup>th</sup> and 15<sup>th</sup> centuries" (41). The development of *sweet* in the field of sound is placed in the ME period (later than for taste and smell), though speech and song in OE could be described by the adjective *swete* (51). Twice in the OE poem *Juliana* the adjective is found in the superlative in the sense of "dearest, most beloved" (65). By and large the evidence considered for the medieval section of the study is from the thirteenth to the fifteenth centuries; the emphasis on the modern period seems to miss the American English colloquial use "sweet = cool," dating at least to the 1980s (and given a new lease on life in the animated television program *South Park*).

"The Relationship of Latin to Old English Glosses in the Psychomachia of Cotton Cleopatra C viii," in *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. Bergmann, Glaser, Moulin-Fankhänel (Heidelberg: C. Winter), 175-88, is Gernot Wieland's contribution to an important collection of glossographical papers and to what might be called the advice vs. content debate. Wieland opens this printed version of his talk at the 1999 Bamberg conference (hence the otherwise jarring "In today's paper ..."; 175) by noting those scholars (himself among them: Wieland, "Latin Lemma—Latin Gloss: The Stepchild of Glossologists," *Mittelalterliches Jahrbuch* 19 [1984: 91-99] who have since the mid-80s cautioned against examining OE glosses in isolation (and more recently: see Kornexl and Page above). That nobody did this before is a straw man; the immediate objective of earlier workers was to gather every possible scrap of the sometimes sparingly attested earliest stages of vernaculars for lexicographic endeavors, often admittedly neglecting much better attested Latin works. Wieland notes that the advice given was not advice taken, and declares that he will try to follow through with a limited focus: one manuscript, BL Cotton Cleopatra C. viii, a late tenth/early eleventh-century product of Christ Church, Canterbury, and a small-format Prudentius manuscript with 58 OE glosses and 83 illustrations, all of which have Latin captions with accompanying OE translations (176). The Latin glosses are more numerous and have been made mainly by two Anglo-Caroline hands; the first glossator is likely the hand that wrote out the text, while the OE glosses are by another (third) hand

and the OE versions of the captions by still another. Noted about this particular manuscript is that OE and Latin glosses "are frequently paired" (177). These are printed with relevant marginalia in an appendix (184–87); and so the Latin technical term *sufflamen* for the brake (and also chock) to a cart is printed with its full manuscript explanation: *sufflamine: underscyte: Una pars est et est lignum quadratum ad currum sustinendum. Sufflamen est lignum quadratum quod opponitur curru quando stat ne currat sed stet* (185). Caution is advised about assuming that Latin glosses function in the same way as OE glosses often do (i.e., lexically): "Not all of them need to be lexical equivalents of their Latin lemmata, but they can provide morphological, syntactic, etymological, or encyclopedic information" (177). And the OE glosses are not always simple; sometimes a Latin verb in the present tense is rendered by an OE verb in the past: this may either be the influence of a Latin gloss in the past tense or a way for the glossator to indicate Prudentius's use of the historic present (179–80). The possibility is raised that OE glosses in a manuscript of this nature (with bilingual glosses) may be intended to render the Latin glosses (one sees this in other manuscripts—one nearly winds up with interlinear mini-glossaries at times). By examining the habits of a glossator in one manuscript Wieland detects that the medieval annotator "oriented himself strongly on the Latin glosses, both for placement and content of his Old English glosses" (183).

In editing Berlin glossary fragments Klaus Dietz offers edition, commentary and discussion of an entire genre in "Die frühaltenglischen Glossen der Handschrift Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin – Preussischer Kulturbesitz –, Grimm-Nachlass 132, 2 + 139, 2," in *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. Bergmann et al., pp. 147–70. Dietz situates the glossary fragments he edits (156–61, collated side-by-side with the relevant Leiden entries) in the context of the earliest Anglo-Saxon bilingual glossaries (worth noting is the reminder that the Leiden glossary is a ca. 800 product of St. Gallen), which too are placed in the context of early medieval traditions of glossary-making (such as the Reichenau product, the celebrated *Vocabularius Sancti Galli*, and the Rz glossary tradition). The five fragments (a bifolium and a fragmentary leaf comprise Berlin 132, 2, a bifolium Berlin 139, 2) had been edited by Michael Lapidge in Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff's *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (Cambridge, 1994). Dietz offers corrections to the text and manuscript description in Lapidge 1994 (at 151–55); to be fair, Lapidge's text appeared as part of an Appendix of "additional manuscript witnesses" to Lapidge and Bischoff's

edition of the biblical commentaries and glosses in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana M.79 (occupying p. 541–545 of their text; and for the sake of accuracy, in Dietz at p. 109 "Baesekkes" should read "Baeseckes"). Dietz's conclusions drawn from the newly edited text of the Berlin glossary fragments supports in general Lapidge's association of the Leiden glossary tradition with Canterbury (namely the activities of the school of Theodore and Hadrian); he places the Berlin leaves within the Anglo-Saxon continental *Missiongebiet*, offers detailed philological analysis of Mercian and Anglian forms in the vernacular interpretations (164–67), and, based on manuscript and linguistic evidence, declares the Grimm fragments to be "die zweitälteste Handschrift mit altenglischer Glossierung" (168).

A fundamental question is raised and lots of advice given in Lucia Kornexl's "Sprache der Glossen—Glossensprache? Das Spezialvokabular altenglischer Interlinearversionen aus lexikologischer und lexikographischer Sicht," in *Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. Bergmann et al., pp. 109–35. The matter of whether glossary forms (here limited to those from interlinear versions) can be conceived as comprising a register in OE is touched upon in broad terms, and then with a few examples from the interlinear OE version to the *Regularis concordia*, the subject of Kornexl's Munich dissertation. As one would expect from the Munich school the essay is very systematically laid out, here in nine sections, the final one the promised "abschließender Blick auf die lexikographische Praxis" (110); namely, more words of wisdom for the DOE, and we are indeed ushered through a conclusion *mit einem Blick* (131–2). Much of this material appears in another study published in 2001 from Kornexl (for which below, and also a reference to Kornexl's important 1994 *Anglia* review article on the *Praxis* of the DOE at the time). It is still of interest, however, in that new emphasis is given to an old point is section III, "Glossen—eine Fundgrube für Dialektologen?" (112–15); as would be expected, the main references are to Munich-school work on the Winchester *Wortschatz*. In a section on Latin-dependency (*Lateinabhängigkeit*) in texts with interlinear vernacular gloss (the *Regularis concordia* again) most of the same examples are to be found in Kornexl's article below (and others by her reviewed in the same section of YWOES 2000). In the end, this is a methodological paper, but one with little applied focus; advice given is largely unimpeachable if one doesn't test it out then and there. The Munich school is certainly a dominant force in English philology in the post-WWII period; Mechthild Gretsch's *The Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* (Cambridge, 1999), is one of two of the most important full-length



studies of English glosses—despite the cultural history-style title it really is a book about glosses—in the past few decades (the other is Michael Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff's *Biblical Commentaries from the School of Theodore and Hadrian* [Cambridge, 1994], a work making tremendously significant claims that will require some years more of testing and probing to fully appreciate). But a weakness in the recent trend of advice-giving, grid-setting, *methodisch*-heavy how-not-to articles, inveighing against this and that often from ages ago (Henry Sweet once again comes in for a drubbing [130]; and see below), is that too limited a corpus is sampled and too few examples given; naturally, this has self-validating purpose, but it undercuts the usefulness of the advice. And here too little has been made too much of, with most of it printed before, except for a citation of Bruce Mitchell referring to "a desparate [sic] situation" (128).

An example of the uses of electronic tools, here the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*, is found in Soon-Ai Low's "Approaches to the Old English Vocabulary for 'Mind,'" *Studia Neophilologica* 73: 11–22. Specifically employed is the "Word Wheel Interface facility" of the electronic DOE, which yields a list of "mental" terms in OE and their relative frequencies; from this we learn that the terms for MIND of greatest frequency (> 1,000 occurrences) are: *mod*, *heorte*, *gast*, *sawol*; the next most frequent group of terms (500–1,000 occurrences) includes *andgyt*, *gemynd*, *geþoht*, *wisdom*. As might be expected, kennings for 'mind' are of much lower frequency (*breostgehygd*, *gewitloca*, *ingemynd*). Curiously, *mynd* itself, the cognate, is of low frequency (table at 12). The list of 49 terms gives one pause immediately as to how OE physically located 'mind'—heart or head or sometimes both—and to how the study distinguishes the realm of MIND from what may really be matters of the heart (or spirit, or mood, or wit, or conscience, or soul, or consciousness); and, just how many of the uses of *sawol* or *gast* in OE are 'soul' or 'spirit' rather than 'mind' (one suspects, a good many of them): that is, spiritual/religious vocabulary rather than mental. Low sets out at the start that she is dealing with "a domain not susceptible to precise cartography" as this "vocabulary pertains to the inner life" (11). She cites Anna Wierzbicka's *Semantics, Culture and Cognition: Universal Human Concepts in Culture-Specific Configurations* (Oxford, 1992) on the point that ModE *mind* involves "a concept specific to Anglo-Saxon [i.e., modern Anglo-American] culture, which has no exact semantic equivalents in other European languages" (11); this is adopted without challenge—not clear is whether "European" languages is used synonymously with IE or not, not to mention

other problems (what languages do share *exact* semantic equivalents of nonphysical concepts? What of Lat. *mens* and Romance cognates [Sp./Ital. *mente*?]), and we move on to an analysis of the vocabulary itself. The most frequently occurring terms give us "the mental, anatomical and spiritual axes on which the 'inner life' may be charted" (11). The difficult matter of 'soul' versus 'mind' is briefly addressed in that "*sawol* and *gast* are distinguished from the other terms in that they are almost exclusively the terms used to denote what remains of a person in the afterlife" (drawing on, for one, Michael Phillips' 1985 Illinois diss. "Heart, Mind and Soul in Old English: A Semantic Study"), which is a negative definition of the soul, though Low adds that the terms are to be considered in her study as "expressing spiritual experience in *this* life." A larger problem is emerging. Low notes that many of the 49 terms assembled "occur exclusively in poetry as hapax legomena" but explains away any argument *metri causa* since the group of terms "only have a range of 10 initial sounds" (12). The study moves on to analysis onomasiological (semantic relations among terms within the range) and semasiological (here, how the terms express the "concept of 'mind'" [13]) and the DOE entry for *andgyt* is examined as semantically reading the concept 'mind' to include memory, understanding, intellect, discernment or knowledge, perception, the senses, thought/*cogitatio*, meaning. A very basic discussion of polysemy and types of semantic change follows and the reading of E.M. Uhlenbeck's work on semantic theory is perhaps too glib: "we must surrender the illusion of lexical meaning as having a continuous existence. . . . Lexical meaning is a process, not a thing" (15), though the *process* can include attempts at continuity, as with the Christian conception of soul, or many other doctrinal matters (the idea of *flux* in semantics can at times be too loosely used). As an example, OE *ingeþonc* is looked at in the context of the *Meters of Boethius* (26.117); though often glossed as 'thought,' 'seat of thought,' 'intention,' "It is difficult here to determine precisely how the *ingeþanc* is behaving in the sentence: in apposition to *mod* or in contrast?" (15; the lines are: *ac þa unþeawas ælces modes / and þæt ingeþonc ælces monnes*; perhaps there is some help in that the style is rather more coordinative than appositive). In another passage from the *Meters* the term *ingehygd* is puzzled over: "Again I have left *ingehygd* untranslated because I am unclear as to what it refers" (16). Of course, the *Meters* are a translated text; it might help to have a look at the Latin. More quasi-theoretical musings follow ("the production of vagueness") and the sense of *andgyt* as "denoting a person's spiritual self" is turned to in a passage from Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* where it could be taken as "even



'soul' (17). And here the problem grows. While there is mention of a distinction between interchangeability of terms (as for poetic variation) and pragmatic synonymy (17-19), references to Ælfric's "philosophical psychology," his "finicky precision," and "his hyper-precision" (18) make little sense in terms of the genre drawn from: Ælfric uses the homiletic form as it is still used by clergy, to explain matters of scriptural exegesis and points of theology. In dealing with catechetical matters, one can hardly blame Ælfric for being dogmatic about dogma. The problem comes to a head: the few texts appealed to in the study—*Paris Psalter*, *Meters of Boethius*, Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of the Saints*, and *Andreas*—are all explicitly Christian works, some of them doctrinal. The essay ends with a brief "attempt to explain why so many 'mental' terms should be polysemous" that is "tentative" (20). For one, this is an enormous topic to cover, all the more so in eleven pages. And despite the deployment of some of the right theoretical terms here and there, much of the approach is quite basic, naive even: not mentioned is that there might be a distinction between Anglo-Saxon concepts of mind and soul and spirit before and after the conversion to Christianity. We can imagine that the altering of the intellectual landscape post-conversion was profound, and while recovering pre-Christian Anglo-Saxon (or, for that matter, Germanic) concepts of 'mind,' 'intellect,' 'memory' might be difficult (and controversial, particularly as to what would constitute the evidence), it would not be impossible. Even briefly one ought consider whether (then how) the 'mental' world of, say, *Beowulf* differs from that of the *Catholic Homilies*, or that of Aldhelm from Ælfric, and so on. Lost on the argumentation here is the absolutely vital Christian concept of 'soul,' which is not just what is left after the death of the body (which too will be resurrected in the Catholic creed) or the spiritual life. In its classical formulation, borrowing here the précis of the *Oxford Dictionary of Christianity*, the soul is "the immaterial principle of life and intelligence"; though Augustine is briefly alluded to in the study, missed is his triune conception of the soul as consisting of *memoria*, *intelligentia*, *voluntas*, thereby mirroring the Trinity. There is so much more to the matter of 'mind' to hand that needed to be taken into consideration. And given that Anglo-Saxon clerics would have had a vocabulary of mind, soul, heart, intellect in Latin, it is surprising that the corpus of glosses was not drawn on to see what native equivalents the religious lemmata were joined to. Thus the bells and whistles of electronic resources are impressive only insofar as there is something to do with the data spat out. Here a fundamental consideration to the analysis is left out; the results, naturally, are of limited use. Matters to

mull over for a subject that requires careful treatment in monograph form.

The title of Ute Schwab's "Die beiden 'Runenglossen' im deutsch-insularen Gregorius-Homiliar Clm 3731 (saec. VIII ex.)" (*Mittelalterliche volkssprachige Glossen*, ed. Bergmann et al., 77-100) belies the scope of topics covered; the two Runic notations from the Munich manuscript leaves are examined (89ff., with plates of fols. 5v and 7v at pp. 96-7), and while they are examined by the light of René Derolez's classic *Runica Manuscripta* (Brussels, 1954), Schwab pushes matters further. The two ligatured Runic notes are taken to read *maiori<bus>* (5v, left margin) and *menæ<ribus>* (i.e., *minoribus*; 7v, 1m); seen in some views as glosses to lemmata in the text (in itself an interesting use), Schwab also advances the notion that they may be notes indicating readers of texts (Schwab ends the study with a citation from Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* V recording Adomnán's gift of a book to King Aldfrith as a bequest to future readers, specifically *<ad> minoribus*, that is, the *iuniores* in monastic schools. The tantalizing prospect is bolstered by and the study's purview widened with considerations of the nature of manuscript runes, the origins of English use of runes, and the culture and composition of the continental *Klosterschulen*. Time and again Schwab's trail leads to the Irish, or to centers with Irish and English monks and thus, we would imagine, English-Irish interaction. Possible *hibernische Einfluss* may be present in the runic representation of OE (or in Northumbrian dialect forms at least); the Franks casket itself is iconographically macaronic with scenes classical (Mediterranean), Celtic, Germanic (85-6). The Munich manuscript itself evidences Hiberno-Latin phonetic traits in its orthography, the hand too shows Irish influence. The discussion is wide-ranging, some of its implications will doubtlessly be controversial; and the scope broadens to the use and origins of runes themselves, Schwab drawing on a forthcoming study by Elmar Seebold with the intriguing title "Die Iren und die Runen."

J.P.M.

### b. Syntax, phonology, other aspects

In "A Major Restructuring in the English Consonant System: The De-linearization of [h] and the De-consonantization of [w] and [j]" (*English Lang. & Linguistics* 5: 199-212), John Anderson discusses the development of three peripheral consonants. Whereas *h* becomes a prosody of the word, or more precisely of the formative, *w* and *j* become variants of the high vowels *u*, *i* in Present-day English. The predecessor of *h* was *χ*,

which had roughly the same distribution as the other fricatives, *f*, *s*, *θ*, but with the change in realization to an aspirate initially and loss in other word positions came to be restricted to initial position. While sharing the same distribution as other consonants in OE, *w* and *j* became reranked with the high vowels in the sonority hierarchy during the transition to ME. Thus instead of appearing post-vocally as in OE *snaw*, *cæg*, they were absorbed into the nucleus of "new diphthongs," which also came from other sources. The remaining realizations of /w/ and /j/ are, like /h/, then restricted to initial position. Anderson labels /i/ and /u/ as "hermaphroditic" segments in ModE, since they appear either as vowels or consonants (semi-vowels). The sonority reranking of *w*, *j* is also made responsible for the loss of initial clusters involving *h* and consonants other than *w*, *j*, such as those in OE *hrof*, *hlāt*, *hnutu*, since *h* subsequently clusters only with the most sonorant consonants (*w*, *j*). As semivowels in ModE, *w* and *j* sequence according to their place in the sonority hierarchy between vowels and the other sonorants, i. e., either directly before or after the nucleus, as in *wet*, *yet*; *bough*, *tie*. ModE *h*, on the other hand, has lost contrastive sequencing, but is serialized in an empty onset according to the following hierarchy: (a) in a syllable bearing secondary stress (*hiatus*, *Ahab*), (b) in an accented syllable (*ahoy*, *jojoba*), (c) in a word-initial syllable (*hysterical*, *jojoba*).

Alfred Bammesberger examines "Old English *wūscbearn* and the Apparent Failure of *i*-Umlaut in Compounds" (*NOWELE* 39: 115–22). According to Campbell (1959: 83) the lack of umlaut in compounds, like the hapax legomenon under consideration, owes to the early syncope of *-i-*. The compound, which renders Lat. *filioli* is not to be derived from *\*wunski-barna*, but from *\*wunska-barna*. In the *a*-stem, no umlaut is to be expected. Umlaut in the corresponding first class weak verb is explained not by the *i* of the stem but by the *i* of the ending, as in other formations with *a*-stems and *\*(i)jan*, cf. OE *dēman* (< Gmc. *\*dōma-*). The spelling *wiisc* in the OE translation of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis anglorum* (V, 19) is explained as a retrograde noun from *wȳscan* with unrounding. The lack of umlaut in a different word, *Cantware* "inhabitants of Kent," is also treated. Following Ekwall's (1960: 272) etymology of OE *Cent-/Cant-* as "coast district," deriving from Celt. *canto-* "rim, border," Bammesberger explains the umlaut in *Cent* as owing to a regular umlaut in *Cantium* (attested in 51 BC).

"A New History of Early English" (*Norsk Lingvistisk Tidsskrift* 19: 93–122) by Michael Benskin is a detailed review of Hans Frede Nielsen, *A Journey through the*

*History of the English Language in England and America I: Continental Backgrounds of English and Its Insular Development until 1154* (Odense: Odense UP, 1998). The book is the first of a planned three-volume work, intended for intermediate and advanced students. Although Nielsen intends only to cover selected aspects of the language, he is criticized by Benskin for what has been left out. Among other topics, major chapters deal with the continental background of English, the Anglo-Saxon colonization, the Latin element, the Scandinavian settlement, and the Norman Conquest. In short, Nielsen is here most interested in questions of dialect grouping and language contact. The discussion of the various topics makes use of much recent literature. Illustrative texts such as the Gallehus inscription, *Cædmon's Hymn*, the *Peterborough Chronicle* and John le Carré's *Night Manager* (1994) are included. In his review, Benskin is at times praising, at times critical, but a number of the criticisms deal with questions of viewpoint rather than anything else.

"North Sea Language Contacts in the Early Middle Ages: English and Norse" (*The North Sea World in the Middle Ages*, ed. Thomas Lischka and Lorna Walker [Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts], 88–107) by Paul Bibire is one of three articles dealing exclusively with issues of Scandinavian English contact, to be reviewed (see Parsons and Schulte below). Aside from treating the OE use of the terms *wicing* and *Dene* vs. *Norþmenn*, the article examines similarities between Scandinavian and English, the most closely related West Germanic language. Following Hans Frede Nielsen, Bibire attributes the oldest common features of Scandinavian and English to a late pre-migration grouping around the North Sea coasts, including the ancestor dialects of Old Saxon, Old English, Old Frisian, and Old Norse. While other similarities are attributed to parallel developments ("drift," *Entfaltung*), relatively few are ascribed to contact. Bibire speculates that affinities especially between Old Northumbrian and Old Norse, such as *mið* "together with" (ON *með*, normal OE *mid*), *til* "to" (ON *til*, normal OE *to*), loss of unaccented word-final *-n*, common second and third person singular present indicative verbal ending *-s* (ON *-r*, normal WS *-st* and *-þ*) owe to the origin of the settlers of Northumbria in the northernmost parts of then West Germanic territory, where the dialect was most closely related to North Germanic and developed along similar lines. Bibire finds the evidence for post-Settlement pre-Viking contact to be overwhelming, even if the nature, extent and duration of the contact are wholly unclear. While the vocabulary of early English is almost entirely inherited from West Germanic, only a few items, including some belonging

to poetic diction, are attributed to high-status contact with Old Norse: OE *wicing*, *æsc* (ON *askr*, later used for Viking ships), *cnearr* (ON *knorr* 'ship') in *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and *eorl* (for OE *ealdormonn*) and *sylfra dom* (ON *sjálfðæmi*) in *The Battle of Maldon*. These items along with personal names (cf. *Godrum*, ON *Guttormr*) and place names ('Grimston'-hybrids) are taken as evidence of early mutual understanding and later bilingualism. This is the case particularly in the Danelaw, for which Bibire cites Old Anglian *o* before nasal for short accented *a* and the place name *Skipton* (without palatalization of Gmc. *k*) as evidence of phonological accommodation of English to Norse.

Mary Blockley's note, "*Its Time for a Sound Change*" (*English Today* 17.4: 35–37), provides some insight into the problematic possessive. Citing Edward Carney, the frequent errant apostrophe in *it's* is attributed to pronouns trying to act like the nouns they replace, in this case nouns that indicate possession with an apostrophe. Carney also notes that the apostrophe of deletion adds to the confusion. Here it could represent the vowel *-e-* of the genitive ending of the Old English strong masculine singular inflection, but this can hardly explain the form in question. *Its*, which replaced *his* by the sixteenth century, stands out among the other possessives (*his*, *hers*, *theirs*, *yours*) because the final *-s* could not be voiced following voiceless *t*. Blockley observes that a form like *\*iz* or *\*idz* would fit better into the possessive paradigm and help it shed the incorrect apostrophe.

Jeffrey Gordon Bourns's dissertation "Studies in the Language of Three Northumbrian Poems" (Diss. Harvard U, DAI 62A: 1390) attempts to provide the basis for future work on an etymological dictionary of Old English, which would serve as a useful reference for scholars not only of Old English, but also Germanic and Indo-European. The poems whose language is examined are *Cædmon's Hymn*, *Bede's Death Song* and the *Leiden Riddle*. The extant entries of the *Etymologisches Wörterbuch des Althochdeutschen*, currently underway, served as models for the present work.

In "The History of the English Language in the Context of the History of the European Languages" (*Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger [Frankfurt am Main: Lang], 69–96), Richard Dury calls for the inclusion of references to other European languages in the context of historical areal linguistics, a largely ignored discipline, in histories of the English language. The first part of his chapter reviews the development of historical areal linguistics from Meillet's (1918 [1965]: 63)

first mentioning of independent, but parallel developments in different languages, through Sapir's (1921: 1970) introduction of the metaphor "drift," to Trubetzkoy's (1930) concept of the *Sprachbund*. Dury argues not just for the application of the idea to the Balkans, but for a European *Sprachbund*, following Lewey (1942), Becker (1948), Décsy (1973), Bechert-Bernini-Buridant (1990: ix), and Hock (1986: §16.3.6). According to the author, shared innovations can result from any of the following: (1) similar structures leading to similar evolution, (2) contact influence of one language on another, (3) shared contact influence of a third language, (4) other shared cultural influences. The second part of the work provides a list of features that English shares with the other Germanic and European languages in the categories of morphology and syntax, phonology, orthography, lexis, discourse and pragmatic features and standardization, language consciousness and linguistics. Some of the most outstanding features mentioned include the following: general evolution from syntactic to analytic forms in Romance and Germanic; progressive constructions in Celtic, English and various Romance languages; *going to* (andative) and similar future constructions in English, southern Dutch and various Romance languages; discontinuous and postverbal sentence negation in Romance and Germanic; innovations related to the change of free to fixed accent in Germanic and Romance (*i*-umlaut, open syllable lengthening, palatalization of velars, vowel shifts in Germanic).

"Old East Anglian: a Problem in Old English Dialectology" (*East Anglian English*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Peter Trudgill [Cambridge: Brewer] [see next entry], 13–38), by Jacek Fisiak first appeared in *AUMLA Journal of the Australian Universities Language and Literature Association* 70 (1988): 336–65. See Kristensson below on the same topic. In agreement with Smith (1956), the author argues for the establishment of East Anglian as one of seven dialects of Old English, with boundaries corresponding to the earliest tribal boundaries and thus also the earliest kingdoms of the Heptarchy, rather than merely the four customary dialects of Northumbrian, Mercian, West Saxon and Kentish. Considering the relative dearth of longer texts in dialects other than West Saxon, Fisiak argues for the establishment of OE dialects based on phonological and spelling evidence of place-names and personal-names on coins and in *Domesday Book* from the eleventh century, the only period for which systematic material is available. This period is relatively close to the thirteenth century, when more data is available and the *retrodiction* technique can supplement and provide a control for the OE data. The article is concluded with a

discussion of /u/ > /y/ > /e/ via umlaut in OE *hyll* "hill," *hyrst* "wood," *brycg* "bridge" etc., which is a determining feature of Old East Anglian.

*East Anglian English*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Peter Trudgill (Cambridge: Brewer) is a collection of twelve chapters dealing with the current and the historical linguistic situation of East Anglia. The label applies to a cultural and topographical region with changing and undefined boundaries. While Norfolk and Suffolk constitute the heart of the region linguistically speaking, parts of Essex today resemble the former counties closely, while not so long ago parts of Bedfordshire and Hertfordshire could be considered part of the area. There is doubt as to whether the fens of Lincolnshire and Cambridgeshire, which were relatively unpopulated until recently, are to be included. The area has until now received little attention in dialect studies, the current collection of mostly hitherto unpublished articles constituting the first of its kind. Included among the chapters are the following: Contributions by Trudgill and Britain discuss the geographic delimitation of the dialect area. Chapters by Fisiak (see above entry) and Kristensson (discussed below) treat East Anglian in the OE and ME periods, while Jones examines medieval medical texts. Relationships with the London dialect are discussed in three chapters by Kristensson (sociolects), Wright (morphology), and Nevalainen, Raumolin-Brunberg and Trudgill (third-person singular). Language contact (Trudgill), place-names (Sandred) and retention of conservative phonological (Lodge) and syntactic (Poussa) features in the current dialect are also treated.

"Conditions for the Voicing of Old English Fricatives I: Phonology" (*Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 6: 55–78) by Robert Fulk is his first of two articles on the topic. The second (*English Lang. & Linguistics* 6 (2002): 81–104) treats morphology and syllable structure. On the same topic, see also S. Kim and Wójcik below. In the article under consideration, Fulk takes up the view of Bammesberger (1988) that the correlation of voice was reestablished among fricatives already in the OE period and not, as the traditional view would have it, at a later point, by apocope and other mechanisms like final voicing in unaccented words. Most commonly, voiced and voiceless simplex fricatives are thought to have alternated by word position in Old English: voiceless initially, finally and medially in contact with voiceless sounds and voiced medially between voiced sounds. Fulk finds support for Luick's (1914–40: §639) contention that fricatives were not voiced between unaccented vowels, assuming voicing

before the syncope of unaccented *-i-* in the seventh century. This rule points to voiceless fricatives in OE *egesa* "fear," *hæleþas* "heroes." Fulk, in agreement with Bammesberger, posits that syncope brought voiceless fricatives, as in *iermþ(u)*, *mærp(u)*, into opposition with the regular voiced reflexes in the position following sonorants as in *weorðe*, *mærsian*. The postulated sources of voiceless fricatives are the suffixes: *\*-iþu*, *-isi*, *-oþa* and *-isðjan*. Exceptions are also discussed. For example, ModE *adze* is explained as the result of the final voicing of *-s* following unstressed vowels in fifteenth c. forms like *adsys*, *adsis*, while early ModE *addice* is considered the development from OE *adesa* without syncope.

In "Old MacDonald Had a *fyrn*, *eo*, *eo*, *y*" (*Quaestio* [Cambridge] 2: 62–90), Alaric Hall investigates "Two Marginal Developments of <eo> in Old and Middle English." Contrary to most of England, the SW and WMidl. dialects are thought to preserve /o(:)/ < /e(:)o/ without unrounding to /e(:)/. In manuscripts of this area <eo> was used as the graph for both /e(:)o/ and /o(:)/ until the fourteenth century, including those of the AB language of the thirteenth century. Hall further investigates Serjeantson's (1922) view that OE /e(:)o/ developed to /y(:)/ in this region and was represented by <u>. She found numerous corresponding spellings in Hampshire, Dorset, Devon, Somerset, Wiltshire, Berkshire, Oxfordshire, Gloucestershire and Herefordshire and scattered spellings in neighboring counties. Hall corroborated Serjeantson's findings through examination of two MSS of the *South English Legendary*, London, BL Harley 2277 and Hand A of Cambridge, CCC 145 (both first quarter of s. xiv). Located to Berkshire and Somerset, respectively, in LALME, these MSS use much the same orthography as AB language, except that <uy> is occasionally written for /y:/. Yet here, Hall found that the <u> spellings derive specifically from /eor/ and also from /i(:)o/, which had merged with /e(:)o/. A further search of the *Dictionary of Old English* online corpus for roots drawn from Smith's *English Place-Name Elements* and Macrae-Gibson's list of word roots in the OE poetic corpus showing <y> for conventional <eo> led the author to conclude that the <y>-spellings in this area represent pre-Conquest orthography and the <u>-spellings post-Conquest orthography for the contexts in question. Contrary to Serjeantson, Hall argues for the possibility that /eor/ > /yr/ directly rather than via /ø/.

*Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger (Frankfurt am Main: Lang) is a collection of papers presented at the conference Language Contact in the History of English,

which took place in Tulln, Austria in 1994. The seventeen chapters focus on topics ranging from the OE period to the early ModE period. Studies treating contact with various languages, including the commonly researched interaction with Latin, French, and Scandinavian, as well as those investigating the less common topics, like development of extraterritorial varieties of English (Mazzon), the influence of Irish (Hickey), and Italian verse-form (Stockwell and Minkova), are presented in the volume. Various aspects of language contact are dealt with, including not only the traditional areas of lexical borrowing and place-names, but also syntactic, phonological and morphological influence on English as well as code-switching in medieval texts (Schendl, Wright).

Suksan Kim discusses "Lexical Phonology and the Fricative Voicing Rule" (*Journal of English Linguistics* 29: 149–61). Also on fricative voicing in Old English see Fulk and Wójcik. The author specifies the following environments for voicing: following stressed syllables (*nošu, drifan*) and the following for non-voicing: between unstressed syllables (*farope*), across a prefixal boundary (*apencan, ansund*), across a derivational suffix boundary (*wynsum, seofon*), in degeminate forms (*cyssan*), across a word boundary in compound words (*eald-fæder*) and between words in a phrase (*þæt hus is min*). In keeping with the theory applied to the problem, Kim proposes four successively improving rules and proposes explaining the voicing of the anterior fricatives (Gmc. *f, θ, s*, but not OE *f, Gmc. x*) by the principle of underspecification as a feature-filling rule, with the feature [voice] left unspecified lexically in the underlying representation. Thus the rule merely adds the feature value [+vd] to structures that satisfy the rule by converting [0vd] to [+vd].

"Prosody and *i/j* Alternation in Gothic" (*Journal of Germanic Linguistics* 13: 97–130) by Yookang Kim attempts to account for Sievers's Law in Gothic by proposing the bimoraic trochee ([LL] or [H]) as its prosodic domain. This foot structure is viewed as having played a role in Germanic. As is well known, Sievers's law determines the alternation of *i/j* and *u/w* after heavy vs. light syllables, cf. Go. *sōkeip* vs. *nasjis*, both 2 sg. weak verbs, class I. The author claims that the alternation is produced by a lexical rule (i.e., one sensitive to morphological structure or category of certain words) that is applied only to masculine *ja*-stem nouns and *ja*-stem verbs after suffixation of *-is/ib*. Sievers's Law is understood as one of several possible prosodic processes to repair an unfooted syllable by making it a bimoraic foot. This is achieved by vocalization of the weightless glide to a short vowel with one mora, which

merged with the preceding vowel to form a long vowel with two moras, i.e., a bimoraic foot.

"Prosody and Prosodically Motivated Processes from Germanic to English" (Diss. U Wisconsin, DAI 61A: 3146) by Yookang Kim examines Sievers's law in Gothic, West Germanic gemination, ME open syllable lengthening and OE high vowel deletion within the framework of lexical phonology and metrical phonology. Except for the last change, they are all treated as remedial processes to reparse a monomoraic syllable as a bimoraic foot. The bimoraic trochee is proposed as having played a role in all stages of development in Germanic up to the ME period. Further, it is argued that an asymmetry between main and secondary stress existed in Germanic, whereby main stress was morphologically-sensitive and assigned on the syllable level and secondary stress was phonologically-sensitive and assigned on the foot level.

In "Language in Contact: Old East Saxon and East Anglian" (*East Anglian English*, ed. by Jacek Fisiak and Peter Trudgill [Cambridge: Brewer], 63–70), Gillis Kristensson takes up the problem of characterizing the historical state of the East Anglian dialect, first tackled by Jacek Fisiak for the OE period (see above). This chapter was first published in *Studies in Anglistics*, ed. G. Melchers and B. Warren (Stockholm, 1995), 259–68. The conclusions are based on data from volume 3 of Kristensson's *Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290–1350*. The *æ*-forms of OE *strēt/stræt* are ascribed to mixture of Anglians with Saxons. Kristensson also posits a north-south dialectal division of East Anglia that goes back to the establishment of the dioceses of Elmham in Norfolk and Dunwich in Suffolk. The north-south division is to be seen in a number of differences: /i(:)/ vs. /e(:)/ for /y(:)/ as the umlaut of WGmc. /ū/, <qu> vs. <wh> for OE *hw-*, /e/ vs. /a/ for OE *æ* before *sc*. It is also noted that *kirk*, which survived in Norfolk as a byname, corresponds to *cherch* in Suffolk. These differences are traced to the OE period.

Kathryn Lowe reexamines the work of Thomas Toon in "On the Plausibility of Old English Dialectology: Ninth Century Kentish Charter Material" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 22: 67–102). Toon's thesis, presented in *The Politics of Early Old English Sound Change* (1983) and in summarized form in *CHEL 1* (ed. Richard Hogg), is that the variation between <a> and <o> for WGmc. *a* before nasals can be linked to the rise and fall of Mercian political power. His data is based mostly on charters from Christ Church, Canterbury. According to his analysis of the data, <a> appears unanimously in the four charters from AD

750-800, <o> exclusively in seven charters from AD 800-825, <o> more commonly than <a> in three charters from AD 833-850, and <a> overwhelmingly in four documents from AD 859-868. The four periods correspond respectively to the period before Mercian influence, the time of Mercian hegemony, the decay of Mercian influence, and the time after the Mercian exodus. Lowe questions the validity of this data for a number of reasons. For the first period, only five examples of the reflex were present in the data. Charter S 1200 from 867x870 is included in the third group despite its dating. If the data from this charter were to be moved from the third to the fourth period, it would change the ratios of *a:o* forms from 23:65 to 21:57 for the third period and from 13:3 to 15:11 for the fourth. Lowe points out that with such small figures for some of the periods in question, the misplacement of the one document has made a significant difference. Noting the uncertainties relating to the dating of the charters, Lowe attempts to aid in this process by including an appendix listing all single-sheet charters surviving in Kentish archives from the ninth century.

In "Hesselman's Law, Prokosch's Law, and Moraic Preservation in the Germanic Quantity Shift" (*Jnl of Germanic Linguistics* 13: 231-56), B. Richard Page proposes that a modified form of Bengt Hesselman's (1901, 1902) observation that vowel lengthening in monosyllables preceded vowel lengthening in open syllables in Swedish also applies to Alemannic dialects of German. (Kusmenko 1995 argued that the same ordering applied to all of Germanic.) Page's revision states that lengthening in closed syllables (CSL) preceded lengthening in open syllables (OSL). High Alemannic is well known for its monosyllable lengthening (*hochalemannische Dehnung*), which took place in the absence of general OSL, although there is a widespread, but irregular lengthening before sonorants in open syllables. The author also seeks to equate fortis/lenis in Upper German with consonant length, a point argued in detail in Goblirsch 1994. Page argues that CSL preceded OSL because it did not violate the Moraic Preservation Principle (MPP), which is his generalization of Hayes's (1989) Moraic Conservation Principle, because CSL does not add any moras to the word. OSL realizes the Germanic preference for bimoraic syllables in Germanic (Prokosch's law), but violates the Moraic Preservation Principle, which, according to the author, is why it occurs after CSL. This solution is preferred to seeing the correlation of syllable cut as the motivation for the quantity changes (Murray 2000; see YWOES 2000), although this correlation is usually understood as being established only after the quantity shift has taken place.

David N. Parsons asks the question "How Long Did the Scandinavian Language Survive in England? Again" (*Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress*, ed. James Graham-Campbell et al. [Oxford: Oxbow Books], 299-312). The chapter is a reexamination of the material presented in earlier articles by Eilert Ekwall (1930) and R. I. Page (1971), who restricted himself to the epigraphic evidence. Ekwall found evidence for the survival of Norse from the time of settlement to 1100, i. e., about 200 years. Parsons considers each type of evidence in turn—the phonetic form of loanwords, which could indicate the time of borrowing by reflecting a certain point in the development of the Scandinavian languages (Eng. *though* from an earlier form with *χ*, corresponding to ME *þoh* rather than later ON *þó*), runic inscriptions from northwest England (e.g., graffito on the wall of Carlisle Cathedral), *-by* place-names in Cumberland, surnames from *-by* place-names in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire (*Westiby*). Further evidence considered includes the more recently discovered inscriptions like the fragment of a rune-stone at Winchester and the London St. Paul's stone, which are attributed to eleventh century Danish followers of Cnut, skaldic poetry composed in the eleventh century, presumably composed for Scandinavian leaders and the English kings Æthelstan and Æthelred, and Grimston-hybrid names, which combine a Scandinavian personal name with OE *-tūn*. The northwestern Runic inscriptions, the skaldic poetry, and the Grimston-type names are considered the best evidence, but by and large, Parsons thinks it is quite uncertain whether bilingual communities survived three generations in the countryside or a Norse-influenced English developed one or two generations after the settlement. Following Samuels (1985), he thinks it most likely that the Scandinavian language survived significantly longer in the north than further south. Parsons surmises that living Scandinavian language is lurking below the surface of the surviving evidence, but it is not clear how far below.

Geoffrey Russom presents "Metrical Evidence for Subordinate Stress in Old English" (*Jnl of Germanic Linguistics* 13: 39-64 [listed incorrectly in *OEN* 34]). Alistair Campbell's (1959: 34-35) rule assigns secondary stress to subordinate Old English roots with reduced semantic prominence, such as those of compound proper names, only in word-medial position, for example when followed by an inflectional ending. He understood thereby a very light stress. Russom proposes an alternative account, which posits an intermediate rather than a very light stress. Following Sievers, he hypothesizes that OE poets could substitute

syllables with intermediate stress either for unstressed syllables, like inflections, or for syllables with determinate stress, like secondary compound roots that retained full semantic force. Russom's account is simpler, in that word-final roots need not be treated differently than word-medial roots. He finds it unnecessary to invoke final destressing or an extrametricality rule for root syllables. Yet the author does apply the distinction between medial and final position to the assignment of nonroot stress, which may be explained in terms of final-consonant extrametricality, as proposed by Dresher and Lahiri (1999: 707, see YWOES 1999). Russom discusses relevant examples from *Beowulf* and presents lists of similar verses.

In "Nordischer Sprachkontakt in älterer Zeit: Zu einer Kontaktphonologie" (*NOWELE* 38: 49–64), Michael Schulte discusses, from a Scandinavian point of view, three sets of phonological changes, which may have been influenced by language contact. They are as follows: (1) reduction of unaccented syllables in Old English and Old Danish, (2) umlaut and breaking in Old English and Old Norse, and (3) monophthongization in East Norse and in Old Saxon. Schulte hypothesizes that these three changes, although the origin in the different languages probably derives from parallel development, were promoted by contact of the related languages. Reciprocal interaction is seen as an intensifying or accelerating factor in the individual changes. In the case of reduction it was first suggested by Donna Minkova (1991: 8ff) that English-Scandinavian contact played a role, while in the case of monophthongization in East Norse, the change has long been thought to have spread north from Low German to Danish (Skautrup 1944–68: 1.130, Haugen 1970: 51). But for Schulte, such theories of spread are too mechanical and do not allow actual language contact to be considered.

"Standard Old English and the Study of English in the Eleventh Century" (*OEN* 35.1: 24–26) by Donald Scragg describes a project funded by the Arts and Humanities Research Board of Great Britain. Alexander Rumble is the other principal investigator of the project carried out at the Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies at the University of Manchester. The aim is to examine the later OE standard based on the Winchester dialect of c. 1000. The project has two main aspects. The paleographic side (Rumble) will define scripts used in eleventh-century English texts, historical documents, and glosses. The goal is to identify, localize, and date script categories and, where possible, individual scribes. The linguistic side (Scragg) will assemble a comprehensive inventory of spelling variants in stressed syllables

of eleventh-century English. It is hoped by comparison of the results of the two sides of the project that it might prove possible to establish the range of use of a late West-Saxon standard in the eleventh century. The data will be assembled in a relational database, which will ultimately be posted online at <http://www.art.man.ac.uk/english/projects/mancass/>. The spellings in the new edition of *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies* by Peter Clemoes (1997) and Malcolm Godden (1979, 2000) and the spellings in the various eleventh-century copies of the two manuscripts of the text will be taken as the starting point of the linguistic part of the project. A parallel project on the inflections of *Ælfric* and his copyists, directed by Mechthild Gretsch, is currently underway at the University of Göttingen.

In "Linguistic Self-Awareness at Various Times in the History of English from Old English Onwards" (*Lexis and Texts in Early English: Studies Presented to Jane Roberts*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 237–53, E. G. Stanley primarily investigates the attitude of two eleventh-century writers to the use of Scandinavian loanwords. Aldred's avoidance of words of Scandinavian origin in his glosses to the *Lindisfarne Gospels* (British Library MS Cotton Nero D.iv) is tentatively attributed to his association of the language with heathendom, while the author of "II *Æthelred: zu Wantage*" is found to make use of Scandinavian loans since it was intended for use in the five Boroughs (Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford and Derby) in the Danelaw. Comparison is made with the linguistic sensitivity of more recent users of English.

Jerzy Wójcik's "Old English Fricatives: Lenition and Licensing" (*Constraints and Preferences*, ed. Katarzyna Dziubalska-Kolaczyk [Berlin and New York: Mouton de Gruyter], 359–90) is the third of three articles on the same topic (see Fulk and S. Kim). The current study adopts the framework of Government Phonology. The environment for OE fricative voicing is viewed as intervocalic, morpheme initial position (see above items for examples). The position following liquids is also viewed as intervocalic, since *l*, *r* are considered vocalized before consonants (OE *wulfas*-type). Voicing is considered a process of lenition, because it occurred in the same position as the loss of Gmc. *x*. Yet it is not taken by Wójcik to be loss of the element *H*, which indicates stiff vocal cords, but the delinking of the noise element *h*, which results from the application of Licensing Inheritance, as developed by Harris (1992 etc.). Although some studies of the problem do posit initial voicing, it is argued that voicing did not occur in initial position, because initial onsets are prosodically strong enough to license the element *h*

and hence emerge as voiceless, while medially they emerge as voiced between two phonetically realized nuclei. Also treated in the article are the voiced velar fricative  $\gamma$  and the palatal fricative  $\zeta$ .

"The Origins of Thurneysen's Law: A Detailed Analysis of the Evidence" (*BGDSL* 122[2000]: 187–229) by Robert Woodhouse is a case-by-case study of the law of voicing dissimilation in Gothic composed by Rudolf Thurneysen in 1898. The essence of the law is that spirants are voiceless following vowels without the main word stress when the preceding consonant is voiced (*agisa*) and voiced when the preceding consonant is voiceless (*hatiza*). Woodhouse divides the data into apical consonants (sibilant and dental) and peripheral (labial and velar). He is of the opinion that the majority of material for the apicals acquired the Thurneysen alternation as the direct result of Verner's law. This inherited phonetic variation spread within Gothic to other derivatives with apical spirants and then to suffixes based on the two peripheral spirant categories. Neither the labial nor the velar categories were likely to have given rise to the variation since *\*-p-* suffixes were rare in PIE and *\*-k-* suffixes predominantly did not have accent positions conducive to voice alternations. The author agrees with Suzuki (1992) that the Thurneysen distribution was achieved both by voicing and devoicing of suffix consonants. A few items, like Go. *liuhada*, *liuhadei* confirm for Woodhouse that the process involved was not the reversal or elimination of voicing, but rather the arrest of the implementation of voicing, as explained in Woodhouse 1998.

K.G.

In "Are Old English Conjunct Clauses Really Verb-Final?" (*Historical Linguistics* 1999, ed. Laurel J. Brinton and Desireé Lundström [Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins], 49–62), Kristin Bech re-examines OE conjunct clauses (declarative main clauses provided with an overt subject and introduced by *and*, *ac*, or, in a few cases, *oþþe*). Based on an analysis of sample passages taken from nine OE prose texts, Bech challenges the almost "axiomatic" claim that "conjunct clauses typically have verb-final (SXV) word order." Bech does agree that, statistically speaking, verb-final clauses are more likely than not to be conjunct clauses. But this does not mean that the "majority of conjunct clauses are verb-final": only 15% of the approximately 800 conjunct clauses she has analyzed have verb-final order; in fact, these conjunct clauses are more likely to be verb-medial. As to why the verb-final pattern has a high likelihood of being a conjunct clause, Beck speculates that it is because verb-final clauses tend to have

verbs that are high in "information value." Seen from the viewpoint of discourse function, the verb-final pattern probably has a "pragmatic nature" more suited for conjunct clauses than for principal clauses.

Bech's "Word Order Patterns in Old and Middle English: A Syntactic and Pragmatic Study" (Diss. Universitet i Bergen; *DAI* 62A: 11) examines declarative clauses in OE and ME in order both to systematize patterns of OE word order and to trace their development "over time." Bech confirms the standard view that English changed from a verb-second to a verb-medial language during this period and examines this typological shift in light of the "functional aspect of word order." She concludes that "word order in OE must be seen as the result of an interplay between syntactic, pragmatic, semantic, and probably also stylistic, factors."

Mary Blockley's *Aspects of Old English Poetic Syntax: Where Clauses Begin* (Illinois Medieval Studies [Urbana: U of Illinois P]) sets Bruce Mitchell's *OE Syntax* as a starting point for its exploration of syntactic differences between verse and prose. Blockley concurs with the general view that OE poetry allows "the forms of subordination" to have "a wider and more diffuse range of functions," but maintains that verse texts must in return follow a set of syntactic rules that dictate how clauses should begin and end. In considering clauses that may be interpreted either as interrogative or declarative, Blockley points to the well-known clause "*Eart þu se Beowulf*" and explains that here Unferth is not asking Beowulf a question, because OE poetry must express "true questions" by adding such "syntactic and pragmatic redundancies" as interrogative pronouns or adverbs, *verba dicendi* of questioning like *gefrægn*, and modifiers of indefinite quantity like *ænig* (ch. 1). A significant portion of this book is dedicated to the discussion of the co-ordinating conjunction *ond*. Blockley thinks that this word is used in markedly different ways in verse and prose: it occurs predominantly as a phrasal conjunction in verse (being "the single most frequent word in OE poetry"), whereas in prose, it occurs predominantly as a clausal conjunction. The second chapter, which focuses on *ond* as a phrasal conjunction, reports that prose could repeat it "almost ad infinitum," whereas verse alternates it "with simple juxtaposition." The third chapter points out that the clausal *ond* can be so identified in verse when it occurs in a half-line with the construction "*ond* + X + finite verb" (where X refers to one or more stressed elements other than a finite verb): e.g. *ond on ræste genam*. When the clausal *ond* occurs in a half-line containing no verb, however, it very frequently



takes the construction “*ond* + unstressed adverb/pronoun + *X*”: e.g. *ond þa freolic wif*. Blockley’s argument concerning the clausal *ond* is based partly on an analysis of the unambiguous clausal conjunction *ac*. The fourth chapter considers a “classical problem of OE syntax”: namely, syntactically ambiguous words like *þa* (“when/then”). Blockley believes that the status of these words depends more on element order than has generally been assumed: they function as conjunctions and not as adverbs when they are “clause-initial and immediately followed by some sentence elements other than the finite verb.” Blockley’s assertion is based partly on her examination of half-lines introduced by the unambiguous conjunction *gif* or the unambiguous adverb *oft*. The next chapter examines verb-initial order (which comprises about 10% of all clauses in verse) and concludes that clauses beginning with a verb are “unambiguously principal in verse” regardless of the presence or absence of the subject. The sixth chapter claims that uncontracted forms of verbal negation (e.g. *ne is* as opposed to *nis*) imply the presence of “an unexpressed but understood element following the *ne is*”: e.g. *wæs* in the clause “*ne wæs him Fitela mid*” may not be “the main verb it appears to be but an auxiliary with an understood participle,” such as *geneþed* (“ventured on”). In the final chapter, Blockley argues that in verse, a first-person pronoun without an antecedent refers to “the text itself” when it occurs with a preterite verb: hence the *we* in the opening clause of *Beowulf* (“*we ... frugnon*”) does not refer to the poet and the audience who have been immersed in the same poetic tradition. The book ends with a useful summary of the rules proposed in the main chapters.

In “Subordinate Clauses without *apo koivou* in Old English Verse, Chiefly in *Beowulf* and Chiefly in *nu* and *swa*” (SN 73: 4–10), Blockley introduces two syntactic restrictions on “weaker” adverbs like *þa* in OE poetry: first, they “appear only in the first half-line of the clause”; second, when occurring in the clause-initial position, they “must be immediately followed by the finite verb.” There seem to be reasons to assume that these restrictions concern only those words which may be used either as adverbs or conjunctions: neither restriction applies to unambiguous adverbs like *oft*; the second restriction does not apply to unambiguous conjunctions like *gif* or *þeah*. Being ambiguous words, *swa* and *nu*, too, may be subject to both restrictions, even though *swa* could occur as an adverb in the clause-initial position without being immediately followed by the finite verb. Blockley believes that these restrictions might constitute a rule for determining the syntactic status of such ambiguous words in the clause-initial position.

Javier E. Díaz Vera’s “On *sārnesse þū ācenst cild*: *Being Born* in the History of English, with Special Reference to the Old and Middle English Periods” (*Estudios Ingleses de la Universidad Complutense* [Madrid]: 79–96) undertakes a “diachronic reconstruction” of vocabulary for birth. In Old English, the verb widely used for human reproduction is *beran*, a word whose association with vegetable production (e.g. “bear fruit”) apparently goes back to Indo-European agricultural tradition. In contrast, verbs for animal reproduction are generally formed with the words for young animals (e.g. *cealfian*). According to the conceptual arrangement of OE vocabulary adopted in the *Thesaurus of Old English*, both *beran* and *cealfian* are grouped together for the physical area of human activity. There are some verbs for birth that belong to the social world: e.g. *cennan* and *tieman* (cf. ModE *team*), which may be described as “legal” terms associated with “familial and tribal groups.” There is yet another group of verbs for birth that belongs to the mental area of human activity, (*a/on*)*wacan* and (*a/on*)*wæcnan*, which have apparently developed their meaning metaphorically from the action of becoming awake.

Hans-Jürgen Diller and Manfred Görlach have edited *Towards a History of English as a History of Genres* (Anglistische Forschungen 298 [Heidelberg: Carl Winter]), a collection of essays consisting of three sections: (1) relations between genres, (2) individual genres reflecting language use, and (3) individual genres shaping language use. Rodrigo Péres Llorido’s “The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle” is discussed later in this section; two other essays in the collection deal with Anglo-Saxon literature in the light of genre. Diller’s “Genre in Linguistic and Related Discourses” (3–43) introduces a distinction between “producers’ genres” and “recipients’ genres” which may be useful for the purpose of allowing historians and other later readers of a text to ascribe the beginning of a given genre to an earlier text “without being obliged to claim that its author or its first audience [was] aware of that genre.” Such a distinction would make it legitimate to identify, for example, the Easter ceremony in Æthelwold’s *Regularis concordia* as the first medieval drama or the *Boke of Margery Kempe* as the first English autobiography, regardless of “the historicity of these labels.” Görlach’s “A History of Text Types: A Componential Analysis” (47–88) provides an extensive list of OE terms used for text types, from *ambiht* (“message”) to *yrfegeþwrit* (“will”). Görlach maintains that Old English has a “surprisingly large” number of words designating text categories, “mainly because of the existence of (near-) synonyms ... and the penchant for poetic variation.”

*Grammatical Relations in Change* (ed. Jan Terje Faarlund, Studies in Language Companion Series 56 [Amsterdam: Rodopi]) has its origin in a workshop organized by the editor in 1999 for the fourteenth International Conference of Historical Linguistics. In the introduction, Faarlund explains that the volume has invited "[a]ny treatment of syntactic or morpho-syntactic change" in all languages. While the collection is fundamentally concerned with diachronic syntax in general and the reanalysis of syntactic constructions in particular, the contributors deal with grammatical relations at "various levels of linguistic description, including lexical (valency), semantic (theta-roles), morphological (case marking, verb agreement, cross-referencing), and even prosodic." Two essays from this collection (Miller's "Subject and Object" and van Gelderen's "Towards Personal Subjects in English") are discussed below. In addition, three other essays make brief references to OE. Werner Abraham's "How Far Does Semantic Bleaching Go: About Grammaticalization that Does not Terminate in Function Categories" (15–63) points out that modals in OE and German are similar to the extent that they can be used either with their deontic (or "root") meanings or with their epistemic (or "evidential") meanings. This "family resemblance" between OE and German not only indicates incomplete grammaticalization for both OE and German modals but also supports Abraham's claim that German modals have retained their "original lexical semantics" even after they underwent "heavy semantic bleaching" and arrived "at new syntactic functions." Alana Johns's "Ergative to Accusative: Comparing Evidence from Inuktitut" (205–21) considers the typological shift from an ergative/absolutive construction to a nominative/accusative construction in Inuktitut by using the concept of "alternation," that is, an availability of more than one syntactic construction in a given situation. In order to underline the importance of alternation for typological change, Johns refers to a study that considers alternation or ambiguity to be a crucial factor for "the conflation of the genitive and plural morphemes in OE." Muriel Norde's "The Loss of Lexical Case in Swedish" (241–72), which shows "mechanisms involved in the decline of inflectional case systems" in Swedish, uses OE to illustrate "the principle of single encoding ... as a subtype of the economy principle": the Anglo-Saxons signaled case and number four times in the phrase "*ealra godra eal-dra manna weorc*," whereas English-speakers today would indicate case and number only once in uttering its equivalent "all good old men's work."

In "The Advent of the Prepositional Passive: An Innovation of Middle English?" (ES 82: 203–17), Gwang-Yoon

Goh reconsiders the standard hypothesis that the prepositional passive (e.g., *no conclusion was arrived at*) was a syntactic innovation accomplished solely in ME. With his typical clarity, Goh argues that OE had constructions that "correspond functionally" with the ME prepositional passive. Most importantly, many OE compound verbs have morphologically incorporated prepositions so that they exhibit a phenomenon "similar to the so-called reanalysis of V[erb] and P[reposition]" that are "posited by many" for the prepositional passive. In addition, OE compound verbs, because of their productivity, often seem to correspond with "their later English V[erb] + P[reposition] phrasal counterparts." As a result, OE already has what might be called a "prepositional passive in disguise," that is, a construction in which a prepositional object is passivized as an inherited verbal object: e.g. *he wæs be-seten* ("he was around-sat/surrounded"); *þæt scyp wearð ofer-goten* ("the ship was being over-poured/covered").

*English in Zigs and Zags: A Festschrift for Marita Gustafsson* (ed. Risto Hiltunen, Keith Battarbee, Matti Peikola, and Sanna-Kaisa Tanskanen; Anglicana Turkuensia 23 [Turku: U of Turku Press]) is a collection of twenty-four essays largely on English language and literature. Two of them have separate entries: Janne Skaffari's "Latin in English" (sec. 3a) and Brita Warvik's "Answered and Said" (sec. 3b). OE is also mentioned in two other essays. Ruth Carroll's "Well, Well: Exploring Middle English *Wallen/Wellen*" discusses the complexity of the semantic and syntactic development of the OE strong verb *weallan* ("to flow" as intransitive) and the OE weak verb *willan* ("to boil" as transitive), with a special focus on the ME period. The ME lexeme *wellen*, together with its variant *wallen*, seems to have two major sense categories: "to issue forth" (as a "verb of substance emission") and "to boil" (as a "cooking verb"). The OED traces the verbs *wall* and *well* back to OE *weallan* and *willan*, respectively. Kalevi Wiik's "On the Language of the British Isles" (279–84) lists OE as the sixth out of eight major languages spoken on the British Isles. The five languages that presumably preceded OE are: (1) supposedly a non-Indo-European language spoken by Britain's "first population"; (2) an Indo-European (IE) language brought by a group of people in the fourth millennium BC along with agriculture; (3) the same IE language still used after the rise of megalithic culture in the third millennium BC; (4) a Celtic language brought in 2500–1800 BC and disseminated along with "Bell Beaker culture"; (5) Latin spoken by the Romans and other elite Celtic populations between 43 BC and 410 AD. The sixth, seventh, and eighth periods are characterized by the migration of West-Germanic peoples (later Anglo-Saxons),

Scandinavians, and Normans, respectively. Wiik emphasizes that these migrant groups were relatively small in size, even when their languages eventually became privileged or predominant: the Anglo-Saxons comprised "about one percent of the total population of Britain"; the Normans were "only about 0.5%."

Ursula Lenker's "*Soplice and witodlice: Discourse Makers in Old English*" (*Pathways of Change: Grammaticalization in English*, ed. Olga Fischer, et al., *Studies in Language Companion Series* 53 [Amsterdam and Philadelphia: Benjamins], 229–49) argues that the OE adverbs *soplice* and *witodlice* exactly follow the stages of grammaticalization proposed by E.C. Traugott for the adverbial cline, which moves from (1) manner adverbs (or clause-internal adverbials) to (2) sentence adverbials to (3) discourse markers. Having derived from *sop* ("true") and *witod* ("certain"), respectively, these adverbs may be used clause-internally as either manner adjuncts or emphasizees: e.g. *ic eom soðlice romanisc*. As sentence adverbials, they have become syntactically optional and therefore function as disjuncts: e.g. *wæs he witodlice swiðe æþele; soplice maria wunode mid hyre*. Finally, these adverbs may serve as metacommentary "functioning synonymous with" the *gelamp* clause in such a narrative structure as: "*Hit gelamp sume dæge þæt.... Witodlice ....*"

María José López-Couso and Belén Méndez-Naya argue in "On the History of *if*- and *though*-Links with Declarative Complement Clauses" (*English Language and Linguistics* 5: 93–107) that the conjunctions *if* and *though* may introduce declarative complements: e.g., "It would be a great idea if you hired a bodyguard." While such a construction has been "almost completely disregarded," López-Couso and Méndez-Naya set out to prove the use of *if* and *though* as "minor declarative complementizers" by testing them against criteria like pronominalization and pseudo-clefting. Their survey of the Helsinki Corpus shows that complement clauses introduced by both conjunctions are attested already in OE: e.g. *ne ofþingð hit ðe gif ic þus wer geceose?; nis eac nan wundor þeah us mislimpe*. As a complementizer, *though* was more frequent than *if* in the OE period, but it became "highly marginal by the end of ME" and obsolete by the early seventeenth century. In contrast, the complementizer *if* became more common in ME and has survived into the present day.

In "Subject and Object in Old English and Latin Copular Deontics" (*Grammatical Relations in Change*, ed. Faarlund, 223–39), D. Gary Miller synthesizes research on the history of deontic expressions (e.g. *the*

*water is to boil*). In OE, there are two types of deontic infinitives. The first type occurs in a construction with a nominative subject alone as in "*se is to lufianne*" ("he is to be loved"). This construction was used throughout the ME period, although the passive infinitive (e.g. *þey byþ to be blamyd*) had also developed by 1300. By the time of Shakespeare, passive infinitives had come to be preferred for animate subjects (e.g. *his daughter is to be brought*), but deontic infinitives continued to be used with inanimate subjects (e.g. *little is to do*). The other type of OE deontic infinitives has a dative subject with or without an accusative object: e.g. *hwet is us to donne*. In ME, the dative subject became replaced with a nominative subject followed by a finite form of (1) *have* (e.g. *hwet ha* ["he"] *haueð to donne*) or (2) *be* (e.g. *what he was to do*). Miller points out that many of these developments are paralleled in Latin and Northern Russian. He nonetheless seeks the origin of the OE deontic infinitive not in the Latin gerundive but in the native purposive, which became "contextually reanalyzed as expressing necessity."

A standard textbook on both sides of the Atlantic, Bruce Mitchell and Fred C. Robinson's *Guide to Old English* (Oxford: Blackwell) now has a sixth edition with two additional texts in the reader section. *Wulf and Eadwacer*, described as "the most mysterious and tantalizing of all OE poems," has been rendered to an "interpretation which has found favor in part or in whole with a number of scholars," namely a story of a love triangle involving fierce hostility between the two men. *Judith*, "one of the best narrative poems in the corpus," is noted for the Jewish heroine having been both Christianized and "heroicized in the traditional Germanic way." The reader is encouraged to read the whole of this 349-line poetic fragment first and then to ask himself or herself "whether it seems that a major portion of the story is missing" from its sole manuscript. "A Note on the Punctuation of OE Poetry" has a new paragraph on *Judith*.

In "Counterfactuals in the Different Manuscripts of the *Cursor Mundi* (NM 102: 11–22), Rafal Molencki compares a number of manuscripts of this text, copied between 1340 and 1450, in order to study the development of counterfactual constructions. It is well known that OE employed past subjunctives for not only present but also past contrary-to-fact statements. During the ME period, however, past counterfactuality came to be expressed by the pluperfect (i.e. *had* + *p* ptc), and modals came to be used in the apodosis together with a perfect infinitive (e.g. *if god had made an oþer man ... hyt myght not haue perfourmyd riȝt*). Molencki observes that these new constructions "are

almost exclusively found in the southern manuscripts, from the latter half of the fourteenth century,” whereas the earlier or northern manuscripts “do not appear to distinguish between present and past counterfactuals.” The development of counterfactuality seems to be an interesting exception, since linguistic changes in ME are believed to have originated mostly in the North.

In “Verbs Used Reflexively in Old and Middle English: A Case of the Syntactic Continuity and Lexical Change” (NM 102: 23–36), Michiko Ogura examines the distribution of compound reflexives (i.e. personal pronouns followed by *self*) and simple reflexives (i.e. personal pronouns used by themselves) in OE and ME versions of the Bible. Ogura points out that compared to the OE version, the ME version uses simple reflexives only with a smaller number of verbs, and surmises that this change came about partly because the ME version prefers intransitive verbs and passive constructions even when the OE counterparts employ constructions with reflexives: e.g. OE *ic ondræde me* but ME *I dredde*; OE *þweah þe* but ME *be thou way-schen*. Despite such cases of lexical replacement, the occurrence of simple reflexives “never showed a sign of decline throughout the Medieval period.” Ogura believes that the use of simple reflexives had become “conventional” and therefore “could not be stopped all of a sudden.” The disappearance of simple reflexives might have been made possible only when a complex form like *him self* had become “recognized as a unit.”

Masayuki Ohkado's *Old English Constructions with Multiple Predicates* (Tokyo: Hituzi Syobo) considers the relative order of modals and non-finite verbs in OE subordinate clauses. Based on his analysis of the First Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* as his primary database (which he provides on the attached CD), Ohkado argues that the construction in question is “strongly influenced” by the presence of elements like prepositional phrases and object noun phrases. The thesis of this well-structured monograph is the following: the finite verb tends to follow the non-finite verb (and therefore form “head-final order”) when the clause has no extra elements (e.g. *þæt he suwian sceolde*), whereas the finite verb tends to precede the non-finite verb (and therefore form “head-initial order”) when the clause includes one or more extra elements (e.g. *þæt he wurd his ehterum bedigelod*). This distinction between head-initial and head-final order seems to apply to both modal constructions (ch. 2) and participle constructions (i.e. present-participial, passive, and perfect) occurring with finite forms of *beon*, *wesan*, or *weorþan* (ch. 3). It also seems to apply to constructions with adjectival predicates (ch. 4):

e.g. *þæt se lareow gimeleas beo* (head-final) but *þaþa he wearð his lifes orwene* (head-initial). In the next two chapters, Ohkado examines an apparent exception: namely, head-initial order occurring in subordinate clauses with no extra elements: e.g. *þæt he wolde wifian*. He first considers the possibility of using Verb (Projection) Raising as an explanation for the exception but subsequently rejects the validity of the rule itself at least for OE (ch. 5). He proposes instead that exceptional cases often involve constructions that “might not be truly subordinate in OE”: (a) complement clauses of bridge verbs (e.g. *cweþan*); (b) clauses expressing a result; (c) relative clauses introduced by demonstrative pronouns; (d) *for þan þe* clauses (ch. 6). In the rest of the book, Ohkado demonstrates that the distinction between head-initial and head-final order applies to subordinate clauses that were excluded from the earlier chapters: namely, constructions with Extra-position (ch. 7), Topicalization, or Scrambling Constructions (ch. 8).

In “The Position of Subject Pronouns and Finite Verbs in Old English” (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 22: 255–76), Masayuki Ohkado minutely analyzes the First Series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and reaches the following conclusion: both in main clauses with inversion and in subordinate clauses introduced by “genuine subordinators” like *gif*, absolutely no elements are allowed between a finite verb and a subject when the latter is pronominal: e.g. *nis heo hwæðere*, but *þa wæs hwæþere an man*. Ohkado infers that pronominal subjects in these constructions are cliticized “to the preceding finite verb,” that is, “to the right periphery of C[omplementizer].” Ohkado's observation seems to support Ans van Kemenade's original proposal of 1987, and not her 1999 revision claiming that “OE pronouns occupy the specifier of a functional projection generated between C[omplementizer] and T[ense].”

Päivi Pahta and Saara Nevalinna's “On Markers of Expository Apposition” (*NOWELE* 39: 3–51) examines the late ME and early ModE subperiods of the Helsinki Corpus (1350–1710) in order to consider the history of “markers of expository apposition,” by which they mean “linking devices” for appositive units whose semantic relationship may be labeled as Identification, Appellation, Characterization, Paraphrase, or Revision. In the corpus analyzed by Pahta and Nevalinna, “the most frequent markers of expository apposition are *and* and *or*.” Indeed, these two conjunctions “seem to be largely interchangeable as markers of coordinative apposition” from OE to early ModE. In later ModE, however, there are numerous other markers of expository apposition such as adverbs like *namely*,

interjections like *yea* and *nay*, phrases like *in other words*, and Latin expressions like *i.e.* and *viz.* Of these, those whose origin go back to OE include *that is*, *that is to say*, translations of *quasi dicat*, and *vel*.

In "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Annalistic Style as Evidence for Old English Syntax" (*Towards a History of English as a History of Genres*, ed. Diller and Görlach, 127–43), Rodrigo Péres Llorido warns "some authors" against their "dislike" of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as a source text because of their mistaken belief that this and other annalistic texts are composed in "an artificial narrative style" far removed from the "spoken language of the time." Péres believes to the contrary that the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is not only a perfect representative of OE, but it also demonstrates "certain mechanisms of syntactic change with the greatest transparency." Such mechanisms include verb deletions in coordinated structures and splitting of premodifiers of noun phrases. The latter in particular (e.g. *Engliſcne here & Frenciscne*) is found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* at an even higher rate than in Ælfric's homilies.

Elly van Gelderen's "Towards Personal Subjects in English: Variation in Feature Interpretability" (*Grammatical Relations in Change*, ed. Faarlund, 137–57) discusses the well-known transition from impersonal to personal constructions in relation to several syntactic categories: the rise of personal constructions in ME is an indication of English shifting typologically from synthetic to analytic, and from "(somewhat) ergative to non-ergative"; the personal transition from dative

to nominative in these constructions can be seen as a reanalysis of the Experiencer as Agent, or as a replacement of morphological Case with structural Case; in personal constructions, the Case is not Interpretable but Uninterpretable, and not theta-related but checked in the Spec of IP. The consideration of impersonal/personal constructions in the light of these familiar syntactic categories seems, however, to challenge the traditional framework of Minimalist theory. As van Gelderen points out, impersonal constructions in the OE and early ME periods "display a (slight) person split," in that they occur with third-person pronouns more frequently than with first-person pronouns. This split was probably caused by the morphological discrepancy between the more conservative third-person pronouns and the faster-changing first-person pronouns (whose "dative and accusative forms merge[d] quite early on"). In other words, the rise of personal constructions was not a sudden and absolute phenomenon but, rather, a slow process that must often be considered in terms of "tendencies."

H.M.

*Reviewed last year*

Fischer, Olga; Willem Koopman, Ans van Kemenade, and Wim van der Wurff. *The Syntax of Early English*. Cambridge Syntactic Guides. Cambridge Univ. Press, 2001. 354 pp.

White, David Lloyd. "Irish Influence and the Interpretation of Old English Spelling." Diss. U of Texas at Austin, 2000 (DAI 61A [2001]: 3150–51).

## 4. Literature

### a. General and Miscellaneous Works

#### *Catalogues, Companions and Compendia*

In a year with many treasures, the principal publication remains the first volume of the massive project *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*, edited by Frederick M. Biggs, Thomas D. Hill, Paul E. Szarmach, and E. Gordon Whatley (Kalamazoo: Medieval Inst. Publ.). The volume includes entries for Abbo of Fleury, Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près, and the massive and monumental *Acta Sanctorum*, coordinated and largely written by Gordon Whatley. The entries themselves occupy a splendidly-edited 486 pages, of which the *Acta Sanctorum* comprises 464, and the bibliography

(in itself a valuable resource) adds another sixty-two pages. Paul Szarmach provides on pp. vii–xiv a witty and elegant "Foreword" (cleverly referred to in the *OEN Bibliography* as a "Forward," which provides a martial call to accomplishment to others involved in the SASLC or *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* project). Szarmach sketches out the history of the project from the first successful NEH application in 1982 to its current home with Medieval Institute Publications of Western Michigan University. He includes a list of those involved both with SASLC and with its European sibling, the *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, and acknowledges the originating contribution of J.E. Cross, to whose memory the volume is dedicated. Finally, Szarmach provides a useful bibliography of

SASLC publications to date. Thomas D. Hill writes the "Introduction" (xv–xxxiii), both a philosophical exploration of the idea of a source and a primer for the user of the SASLC entries. Hill has wise thoughts on not publishing original source scholarship (the project might prolong itself indefinitely), on textual identity, on the relevance of literary history since the project focuses on literary culture, and on the maximalist and minimalist approaches to considering the Anglo-Saxon knowledge of Christian-Latin and Classical literary culture. This project opts for particularism, for looking at each text without preconceptions in order to determine its knowledge by one or more Anglo-Saxons. To do so is to find some insight into the "intelligence and aspirations of men and women who lived a millennium ago, spoke our language, and created the foundations of our culture" (xxxiii). Lastly, Frederick Biggs takes on the deceptively simple task of the "Guide for Readers" (xxv–xlvi), which requires both trawling through all the entries and digging out the commonalities and discovering, probably at the last minute, that revisions for precision and consistency are again necessary. The guide is a model of its kind and provides the information necessary for working through the entries and recognizing the extensive system of cross-references, without over-explaining the material. The long list of abbreviations is useful, but somewhat buried in this location; as so often, it would have been a boon had the publishing budget extended to putting a shortlist of abbreviations on the endpapers for easy reference.

The first entry in this the first "real" volume of SASLC is "Abbo of Fleury" by Patrizia Lendinara (1–15). Abbo of course spent time in England, so in addition to works (many of them short treatises on mathematical and scientific topics) written by him in southern France and disseminated through the usual channels, he also wrote, famously, the *Passio Eadmundi*, the *Quaestiones grammaticales*, and some short poems including an acrostic in honor of Dunstan. He brought his *Computus* with him to England, where it seems to have influenced various English *computus* texts. Lendinara treads carefully round the complicated question of which short texts by Abbo might have been brought by him to England, or written there, or written afterwards and sent back to friends. She deliberately includes two poems written by followers in this entry rather than start a "Pseudo Abbo" entry or attempt to establish precisely the role of Abbo, a wise decision given the incomplete state of publication of his works both when they were written and today. Lendinara also writes the first part of the entry for "Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près" (15–18),

considering his *Bella Parisiaca Urbis* and the evidence for Book III having been known in Anglo-Saxon England (five manuscripts of the 115 lines, and glosses of several kinds). The book has Greek loanwords, useful for the hermeneutic vocabulary of many Anglo-Latin authors. The second part of the entry addresses the Sermons of Abbo (18–22), written very appropriately by J.E. Cross and Alan Brown. Cross and Brown present the conflicting evidence for the knowledge of Abbo's sermons, agreeing with a previous publication of theirs that argued for Wulfstan's authorship of three Latin abridgments of Abbo sermons. Nine of Abbo's sermons appear to have been known in Anglo-Saxon England, most of them in a Copenhagen manuscript copied at Wulfstan's orders. Only one of them, *Sermo 1*, is quoted in an Old English text, Wulfstan's Homily 3.

The major entry in this volume is the spectacular *Acta Sanctorum*, listed on the Table of Contents as being by E. Gordon Whatley *et multi*. The *multi* include Hugh Magennis, who has seven entries on the Seven Sleepers, Euphrosyna, Eustachius, Margaret, and Mary of Egypt; Mary Clayton on Theophilus; Thomas N. Hall on Barontus; Joyce Hill on two parts of the entry concerning George; and two joint entries with Whatley, those being Gavin Richardson on Germanus Autisiodorensis and Fred Biggs on the Invention of the Cross. These scholars, whose contributions are important and significant, would by virtue of their stance closer to the center of this field be the first to insist, however, that consideration of this entry should focus entirely on the astounding work of Whatley. Precise, clear, comprehensive, learned, and often original: each entry in the *Acta Sanctorum* demonstrates the dedication and scholarship of the principal author. The "Introduction and Acknowledgments" (22–39) alone are longer than the other entries in this volume; here Whatley works through the complexity of the entries and provides a historiography of study of saints' lives including a conspectus of the principal sources. Unlike other entries in this project, the *Acta Sanctorum* makes use of Anglo-Saxon Versions for brief summaries as well as extensive vernacular versions, but rarely gives details of quotations and citations (a judicious and wise decision). The entries for letter "A" alone number forty-eight, some different versions of a particular saint's life, but nearly all different saints.

Counts and comparisons could go on for quite a while; perhaps a better sense of the scholarship and excellent judgment evinced in every entry can be garnered by looking at one saint. Nicholas or Nicolaus has five entries, the first a Latin *vita* occurring

in four manuscripts. Whatley rehearses, in remarkably short order, the complex history of St. Nicholas up to the present day before turning to the vexed question of the cult of Nicholas in Anglo-Saxon England. The four manuscripts of the Latin *vita* all come from the late eleventh century, probably after the conquest, and Nicholas does not appear in the core collection of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary (although a copy of the *vita* was added later in hugger-mugger fashion to one manuscript). The Old English version of the *vita* is also late. Some liturgical evidence, a neumed set of lections, an elaborate description in Old English of a relic, a proper mass: all these materials date from the middle of the eleventh century but might refer to an earlier tradition. The entry provides all the evidence, carefully balanced, for both sides of the question. The second entry for Nicholas is the *miracula* found in two manuscripts as additions to the *vita*; Whatley even refers to the twelfth-century collection of Nicholas miracles found in a Hereford legendary. Thirdly, the *translatio* describing the 1087 translation of the relics of Nicholas from Myra to Bari appears in a Dublin manuscript copied at Salisbury before the end of the eleventh century (very quickly after the composition of Archdeacon John's account before February 1089). Fourthly, a set of lections or lessons which recount episodes from Nicholas's life form part of an office for the saint's feast on 6 December. The office is attributed to Reginold of Eichstätt (966-91), but its earlier copy is that found added in an eleventh-century hand to the Cotton-Corpus Legendary out of calendar order. It appears to have been a special supplement for the Worcester monks and choir, and the editor of the text credits Wulfstan II with introducing the cult before he became bishop in 1062. Whatley works judiciously through the different schools of thought on this matter, and concludes that the lections are indeed abbreviated extracts from the *vita* by John the Deacon. Finally, a British Library manuscript of the first half of the eleventh century has a *vita metrica* added to blank spaces in an apparently contemporary hand. The manuscript is a composite collection of texts from Winchester or Battle Abbey (William the Conqueror having been personally devoted to Nicholas). The evidence for Nicholas's cult in Anglo-Saxon England is confusing and complex, much-debated and uncertain. Whatley picks his way through with superb judgment, identifying certainties and clarifying the exact parameters of the disagreements. The entry makes a fine microcosm of the *Acta Sanctorum*, a *summa* in itself.

A second major publication in 2001 is *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* edited by Phillip Pulsiano and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Blackwell), with

twenty-seven articles summarizing the current state of scholarship in the field, nineteen of them discussed below. The eight papers not described here are dealt with under the relevant sections of the *Year's Work*. The book itself is a tome indeed, with a well-chosen and concise section of "Selected Further Reading" (506-10), a short index (511-529), prefatory material including information about the contributors, and a dedication to one of its editors, Phillip Pulsiano, who died "just as this volume was heading towards completion," as the other editor, Elaine Treharne, points out in the preface. The book is divided into four sections, and the divisions are not wholly logical. The first part is "Contexts and Perspectives," which includes chapters on manuscript, audience and reception, authorship, scribal culture, Anglo-Latin literature, and the corpus of Old English literature. Part II "Readings: Cultural Framework and Heritage" seems to overlap somewhat with the previous section, including as it does sections on the Germanic background, the religious context before and during the Benedictine Reform, and a set of genre studies. These lead forward to Part III, "Genres and Modes," with five articles on religious prose and poetry, secular prose and poetry, and Anglo-Latin prose (but not poetry). Part IV "Intertextualities: Sources and Influences" seems to hark back to Parts I and II with four papers referring to biblical and patristic learning, the Irish tradition, continental Germanic influences, and Scandinavian relations. Part V, though entitled "Debates and Issues," really refers, quite coherently, to the afterlife of Old English literature, starting with English in the post-Conquest period, and passing through the historiography of Anglo-Saxon studies into a culminating look forward into the new millennium. In short, though the divisions are somewhat confusing, well-known and highly-regarded scholars write summarizing papers about the general issues closest to their scholarly hearts, and the editors construct categories to fashion this collection of analyses into a companion to the field.

The editors also write the opening chapter, "An Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Literature" (3-10), in which they survey the texts by genre and chronology and unusually give most of their attention to prose texts of various kinds, listing the poetry on the last two pages. Jonathan Wilcox addresses "Transmission of Literature and Learning: Anglo-Saxon Scribal Culture" (50-70), working through oral translation, schools, and scriptoria and libraries. He focuses on the translation of Old English poetry by way of the two versions of "Riddle 35" and "Riddle 30," discussing dating issues, editing practices and the unstable text. Finally, he considers religious

prose by way of Ælfric's attitudes to his texts (and the contrasting attitudes in later scribal notes or marginal comments). Next, Mary Swan begins her brief chapter on "Authorship and Anonymity" (71–83) with "Riddle 26" and some consideration of recent scholarly thinking about authors and authorship. She, like Wilcox, turns to textuality as her central concern, contrasting modern and medieval thinking about the status of texts and authors. Swan also finishes with Ælfric, focusing on his attitude to sources and to the copying of his texts in order to preserve his orthodoxy. She concludes with reception theory, and scribal annotation of texts, including the same example as Wilcox: Ælfric's prohibition of preaching on the *swigdagas*, and the marginal notes in later copies disagreeing with him. Similar concerns form the focus of Hugh Magennis's "Audience(s), Reception, Literacy" (84–101), which first reviews the differing views expressed in scholarship about the hypothetical and imprecise way in which the term "audience" is used and concludes, rightly, that the best response is open-mindedness. He reviews both Latin and vernacular literacy before turning, as others do before him, to orality and textuality. Magennis begins this section by way of Stock's theory of "textual communities" and applies it to Caedmon and Hild, and thereafter to *Beowulf*. Finally, he provides intriguing synopses both of the dimension of sound in Old English poetry and prose and of the seen text in *The Rune Poem* and the runic signatures of Cynewulf, both suggestive of there being such a thing as an Old English "readership."

Part II begins with Patrizia Lendinara's "The Germanic Background" (121–34), a rapid overview of the settlement of England and its ramifications in terms of archaeology, writing, language, Old English poetry (especially stylistic matters), and the heroic material and genres (gnomic verse, heroic poetry, riddles, charms) common to Germanic and OE literature. Susan Irvine then establishes the "Religious Context: Pre-Benedictine Reform Period" (135–50). This is a road less travelled in the genre of companion books, and it proves more interesting. Irvine focuses on Alfred and his circle, discussing the content and context of their writings. She points out the important stimulus that the relationship between England and Christian world-history provided for these thinkers, and compares the approaches of the *Orosius* translator with Alfred's version of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae*. Irvine ends with a claim for the Blickling and Vercelli homilies as fitting in this category, and attesting to the beginnings of Christian homiletic writing in the vernacular. Joyce Hill picks up at this point with "The Benedictine Reform and Beyond"

(151–69), and provides a similar and useful overview of the next circle of Anglo-Saxon thinkers, that of Dunstan, Oswald and Æthelwold. She describes and discusses the texts they wrote and their contexts, then turns to Ælfric, Byrhtferth, and Wulfstan. Finally, she notes the accomplishments of the Benedictine Reform with respect to the regularization and enrichment of monastic life, new foundations, the importation of manuscripts, art (manuscript illumination, small artifacts), ecclesiastical architecture, and the pattern of landholding in late Anglo-Saxon England—including the quantity of bookland which led in later centuries to the major economic force of monastic establishments. In the next chapter, Carole Hough examines "Legal and Documentary Writings" (170–87), providing a very useful mix of scholarly reference and introduction with examples to the law-codes, explaining this very difficult set of texts lucidly and precisely. Law-codes range from the seventh century to the end of Anglo-Saxon England (and after), and change radically over that time. The charters receive more cursory treatment, but Hough still manages to analyze the relevant and interesting example of the forfeiture of estate by Wulfhere and his wife after Wulfhere's desertion under King Alfred. Finally, Hough briefly divides wills into the bequest or *post obitum* gift and the multi-gift will. In parting, she notes the very fragmentary nature of the surviving material in this section, looking at the number of surviving boundary clauses to suggest that penalties, now lost, for violating the boundaries must have existed, a proposal confirmed by the evidence of continental law-codes, including the Burgundian code, the laws of the Lombard King Rothair, Bavarian laws, and the Visigothic Code. Another collection of material known predominantly by the experts is the concern of Stephanie Hollis. Her chapter, "Scientific and Medical Writings" (188–208), is an extremely useful survey that considers material gradually becoming better known but still obscure. For example, she notes the existence of forty-five computus manuscripts written in England before 1200 (so far known) and considers the many other associated texts and authors interested in the computus. Prognostic texts, which received much attention elsewhere this year, are also described and linked to either the pastoral ministry or the education of priests. On the other hand, divinatory impulses and lunar beliefs reflect popular beliefs of classical origin. Hollis turns from scientific to medical writings in the second half of the chapter, elucidating the known and uncertain aspects of Anglo-Saxon medical practice and the relevant surviving texts. Some of the manuscripts, she argues, appear to be books used by professional medical practitioners, not priests ministering to the laity, and are thereby distinguished



from the many vernacular compilations which include a few scattered remedies. The use of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in the post-Conquest period testifies to the endurance and vitality of that tradition. Last in this section is a chapter which is more a catalogue than a survey, Phillip Pulsiano's "Prayers, Glosses and Glossaries" (209–30). Pulsiano identifies the manuscripts which include prayers and reviews the relevant scholarship on the importance of prayers for considering vernacular literary texts, and provides an appendix (220–6) which lists the surviving vernacular prayers and Latin prayers with vernacular glosses from Anglo-Saxon England by manuscript, providing the *incipit* for each text. Secondly, the chapter notes that about 225 early medieval insular manuscripts contain vernacular glosses and glossaries, which is nearly half the entire corpus of surviving manuscripts containing Old English. Pulsiano reviews the terminology for analyzing glosses, and describes the kinds of texts that were glossed, including psalters. He provides examples of syntactical glossing and of an Aldhelm glossator at work from a model in British Library Royal 5 E. xi. Using the subject list of bird names from three surviving glossaries, Pulsiano demonstrates the relations among these texts and concludes with the suggestion that the continental glossaries may cast further light on the school of Theodore and Hadrian.

The next group of chapters address an uneasy division of religious poetry and prose, as against secular poetry and prose. Roy M. Liuzza begins with "Religious Prose" (233–50); he starts with Bede's story of Gregory's pious wordplay in the Roman marketplace but notes that Old English religious prose as a written form began three centuries after that episode. Although teaching must have taken place in the vernacular, the redevelopment of intellectual life was the work of Alfred. Liuzza reviews Alfred's program, the work of the Benedictine Reform and its promotion of English as an alternative language of religious instruction, and the writing of Ælfric and Wulfstan. He addresses the genres of prose writing, and focuses on the homily, quoting from several examples in order to demonstrate differing approaches and styles of writing. Patrick W. Conner takes over in "Religious Poetry" (251–67), beginning with some consideration of what "religious" and "poetry" might mean, notably for anthropologists (especially Clifford Geertz) and semioticians. Syncretism and ideology are significant features of Anglo-Saxon approaches. Conner proposes that "the major function of the religious dimension in Old English poetry is to reference the ceremonial and ineffable from the position of the temporal and the commonplace" (256), and then moves forward

through the elegies to explicate their use of a Christian ethic. After briefly referring to the poems that are tied to the formal practices of religion or are commentaries on doctrine, Conner addresses the poems that focus on Christian dogma, including the blatant usage in *Christ and Satan* and *Solomon and Saturn*. Next, he considers the doctrinal poems in the Junius manuscript which refer to the Biblical canon, and distinguishes between doctrinal poetry and personal poetry. Finally, he addresses poetry with its roots in the liturgy and proposes that texts such as *Christ I* fuse the world as lived and the world as imagined. Conner takes an innovative approach in this chapter, and generates a number of ideas worth pursuing at greater length.

Donald G. Scragg tackles the unpromising category of "Secular Prose" (268–80), particularly unpromising since much of the miscellaneous material normally included here has been taken into account in earlier chapters. He begins with *Apollonius of Tyre* as a moral exemplum for a clerical audience, then turns to the *Letter to Aristotle* for its presentation of Alexander as a recognizable type figure and another exemplum for the medieval Christian reader. Of the *Wonders of the East*, surviving in two versions, he notes the flexibility of the medium deployed for these translations, and the idiomatic prose of the texts. Passing by the dialogues, *Solomon and Saturn* and *Adrian and Ritheus*, and the scholastic colloquies, Scragg considers the few treatises, miscellaneous writings, and administrative documents such as the *Gerefa* (an account of the duties and responsibilities of a manorial steward) and Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity*. At the end of the chapter Scragg addresses the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the texts which informed it. The secular prose texts of Anglo-Saxon England drew directly or indirectly upon Latin sources, and demonstrate the wide diversity of Latin material that must have been available in order to produce prose of this range and flexibility. "Secular Poetry" is the appropriate topic for Fred C. Robinson's chapter (281–95), which distinguishes among the surviving texts by subject matter. Robinson starts with the texts reflecting continental German topics and examines the patterns of thought in *Widsith*, *Deor*, *Waldere* and *The Battle of Finnsburh*. With his consideration of *Beowulf*, he shifts from works of general Germanic legend to the way Christian Anglo-Saxon poets turned these ancient tales to their own purposes. The poem involves a "long, admiring but not uncritical scrutiny of the culture whence the English had come" (286). The Anglo-Saxons insisted on investigating their pagan origins, and retaining the names and narratives of that past. In the second half of the chapter Robinson turns to contemporary Anglo-

Saxon matters, reviewing the poems of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, *Durham*, the *Battle of Maldon*, and other texts from specific moments in history. Subjects without a particular time or locale include the meditative poems sometimes called the elegies, the metrical charms and other repositories of ancient lore such as *Maxims I* (from which Robinson provides several typical passages), the *Rune Poem*, and other poems including runes. He concludes with the verse translations from the *Meters of Boethius*, which surprisingly also make reference to old Germanic culture. Robinson's chapter points out the importance of the native Germanic features of Old English verse; he ends by suggesting that these features are inconsistently noticed in the religious poetry and that the depth and importance of this retrospective strain is not always acknowledged even in the secular poetry.

Thomas Hall leads off the section on intertextualities with "Biblical and Patristic Learning" (327–44). Hall does not simply review the importance of the Bible but rather makes several original points about Old Latin and Vulgate readings and the scrupulosity with which such writers as Bede distinguished among different Latin texts of the Bible. He reviews biblical translation and commentary, including the work of Ælfric and Bede, and notes the range of texts—nowadays consigned to the apocrypha—which formed the Bible in the Middle Ages, even providing the details of those texts as enumerated by various theologians. Even para-Biblical material appears to have been current in Anglo-Saxon England, including snippets of lore such as the physical composition of Adam's body as it is explained in *Solomon and Saturn*. The last part of the chapter, turning to the severely limited patristic sources available in early medieval England, considers Augustine, Jerome, Ambrose, Gregory in some detail and refers briefly to Quodvultdeus of Carthage and Caesarius of Arles. The chapter distills a great deal of widely-disseminated knowledge into a short span and structures it elegantly. Hall concludes that the terrain of Anglo-Saxon biblical and patristic learning was "an erratic and complex arrangement of soaring peaks and hollow valleys" (341); some parts have been well considered while others are in need of more analysis. "The Irish Tradition" is the concern of Charles D. Wright (345–74) in a chapter which includes the most extensive references in the volume (362–74). Wright rehearses the historical context for the relevance of the Irish tradition, noting the grateful and admiring attitude to the Irish in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, and enumerating the differences between Irish Christianity and Roman practice and their influence in Anglo-Saxon England. The chapter works through a number

of Irish elements in Anglo-Saxon England, including private penance, Antiochene exegesis, apocryphal usages, script, and a different attitude to learning. It examines the texts and individuals who provided new attitudes to kingship, an enumerative style, and the numerical *gradatio*. Wright also considers linguistic material, including glosses in both Old English and Irish, bilingualism, and more specific influences such as the description of Grendel's mere and its parallels to Irish eschatological material. Throughout the Anglo-Saxon period Irish Christian texts and traditions remained important sources for English writers, including *Solomon and Saturn* (clearly a favorite text for several scholars here). Wright concludes with useful suggestions for further research, which will be easier when more of the Irish and Hiberno-Latin texts which are still unedited or poorly edited are available in modern editions.

Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., turns to "Continental Germanic Influences" (375–87); following the pattern of starting with Bede, he first addresses the details of tribes and dialects in continental Germany and the extent to which individuals from different backgrounds would be able to understand each other. From Bede onwards, continental Germans came to England, clergymen and noblemen and traders or sailors. Bremmer looks at the marriages and connections fostered by the nobility and royalty, and in the last part of the chapter addresses the Germanic influence on Old English poetry (to some extent replicating Robinson's and Lendinara's earlier chapters). Germanic texts such as the *Hildebrandslied* and the *Heliand* lie behind some texts such as *Genesis B*, although oral transmission suggests that other texts also have Germanic influences. In an appendix Bremmer provides five short specimens of continental Germanic. Last in this section is Robert E. Bjork, "Scandinavian Relations" (388–99), who notes the awkward uncertainties about literary relations between Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia but decides to "dwell in possibility" (389) and to consider echoes, themes, and repeated scenes or narratives as signs of some connection. For example, the historiography of *Beowulf* scholarship is in part a story of acceptance or rejection of Scandinavian conventions and ideas. Bjork considers the scholarship of the Nordic connection to *Beowulf* and then turns to other surviving texts and their possible echoes to Old Norse in a short survey which collects previous knowledge and also suggests new possibilities. He then turns to questions of genre, and considers especially wisdom literature and the elegy for their points of contact and commonality, concluding with a comparison between *The Rhyiming Poem* and Egill

Skallagrímmson's *Hofuðlausn* "Head Ransom." The influence, he suggests, was mutual.

The co-editor of the volume leads off the last section on debates and issues with "English in the Post-Conquest Period" (403–14). Covering what is for her very familiar ground, Elaine Treharne considers the way in which English became a minority language from about 1060 to about 1200, but notes the fifty or so manuscripts which contain Old English and the one hundred which have English annotations and glosses. She objects to the way in which this material has been denigrated and neglected, giving an example of an Ælfric sermon copied in the mid-twelfth century and updated lexically, grammatically and phonologically. Original compositions or new translations from Latin include *The Rime of King William* and *Durham* (the only extant poems) and also the well-known later entries to the Peterborough Chronicle (of which Treharne provides an example). Other prose works include the *Dicts of Cato* (elsewhere in this volume the *Distichs of Cato*), and saints' lives of Giles, Nicholas, and Margaret—all three reflecting post-Conquest theological and hagiographical trends. Treharne completes her survey with a discussion of the Tremulous Hand glossator and the complex manuscript now shelved in the British Library as Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, a perplexing codex with a wide range of texts concerning the knowledge of God, the nature of evil, and eschatological issues.

Two papers provide comprehensive studies and information, including the all-important manuscript information, about specific fields of study. Phillip Pulsiano in "Persius's *Satires* in Anglo-Saxon England" (*JML* 11: 142–55) notes that only four (perhaps five) of nearly six hundred texts of or commentaries on Persius were produced in Anglo-Saxon England. One manuscript does not have glosses; the others do, all of them with material from the two major early continental traditions of Persius glosses, and none with any exclusively insular commentary. Two of them are so close to each other that they seem likely to have had a common exemplar. Pulsiano suggests, rightly, that the one parallel to Persius in Bede's *Miracula sancti Cuthberti* could suggest an indirect rather than a direct source in the *Satires*, but that Aldhelm's direct borrowings and usages insist on his knowing Persius (possibly from his time as a student in Canterbury at the school of Hadrian and Theodore, though this could be wishful thinking). Other direct uses of Persius in Anglo-Saxon England probably include Alcuin, and indirect knowledge came through many sources, including Augustine, Jerome, Donatus, and Isidore. The frequency

with which Persius was cited in Anglo-Saxon materials suggests that Persius was not just available but fairly popular, as evidenced by Jessica Cooke's analysis of Persius references in the Harley Glossary. Pulsiano proposes that the *Satires* were mined for their vocabulary, were used for study of the formal aspects of Latin, and provided evidence of the continuing interest in Anglo-Saxon England in importing and appropriating classical learning. The article pulls together information found in disparate locations, and reaches new conclusions about the gloss traditions and their usage in insular manuscripts.

Secondly, Roy Liuzza provides an exemplary analysis of the prognostic literature in Latin and Old English in "Anglo-Saxon prognostics in context: a survey and handlist of manuscripts" (*ASE* 30: 181–230). He reviews the scholarship to date and rejects the tendency to call prognostics "learned folklore" as being irrelevant in the early medieval context. He establishes a new taxonomy of the prognostics: predictions of the *if...then* type based on the calendar; predictions based on some natural occurrence; lists of lucky and unlucky days in the year, usually for medical purposes; lunar hemerologies or lists of days of the lunar month for various actions; lists of the significance of objects seen in dreams; and devices for divination. Each division has subdivisions and a detailed list of relevant texts. Liuzza argues that the shared belief of these texts is the conviction that certain times and days have symbolic content or physiological significance, and the belief that with care the individual can foresee and perhaps control fortune. This conviction carries well into the Middle English period and forms an unnoticed linkage through the medieval period. Reviewing the medieval background for these astrological considerations, Liuzza proposes that the condemnations of augury and divination in England were directed at its cultural setting rather than its theoretical underpinnings. Divination is generally associated with pagan practices, as in Wulfstan's homilies, the Pseudo-Egbert Penitential, and law-codes. Ælfric's opposition to prognostication is more adamant yet, as he speaks against it on several occasions, and even devotes a Rogationtide homily, *De auguriis*, to condemning all aspects of divination save the casting of lots in purely secular matters. His condemnation appears to be concerned not with lay belief but with clerical practice such as that exemplified in Ælfwine's prayerbook, British Library MS Cotton Titus D.xxvi + xxvii. Liuzza reviews the prognostic texts in that manuscript and suggests that if an abbot of New Minster in Winchester was using this manuscript during his daily devotions in the second quarter of the eleventh century,

then Ælfric's earlier rants against these usages become more credible. Aware of these tendencies in his confrères, he wanted to draw a careful line between the mysterious but in some ways predictable happenings of nature, such as the lunar influence on the earth, and attempts to forecast specific events based on celestial behavior. This distinction, however, is a fine one, and Liuzza suggests that the specifically medical prognostications fell into a gap between science and prudence. Even Bede depends upon the phases of the moon to determine the appropriate time for blood-letting, as does Ælfric himself. His clerical training would have included knowledge of these calculations, since even the calculation of Easter depends on the lunar month. Liuzza considers the computus manuscripts available in Anglo-Saxon England and links them to the production of prognostics, stating that the connection between the two is indisputable; evidence of interest in prognostics is also available from the way in which these texts were collected, adapted, organized, and developed in manuscripts. Liuzza proposes that the precise attention to time required in the monastic calendar might have created the context in which prognostic texts could flourish, since the concern with time bordered on obsession in the monastic world. Prognostics exist, he argues, "at the intersection of medical theory, the penitential and the computus, between the care of the body and soul (the confessor is a *gastlican læce*) and the observation of the heavens" (209). Understanding the importance of these texts, he concludes, may require that we read them without the modern presumptions of simple dichotomies with which we habitually begin our studies of the early medieval period. The appendix to the paper (212–230) is a superb catalogue of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing prognostics; it advances considerably from previously available lists.

Prognostics rarely get any attention, yet the flux was at work in this year: Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., and László Sándor Chardonens also consider the definition and purpose of prognostic literature in their "Old English Prognostics: Between the Moon and the Monstrous" in K. Olsen and L.A.J.R. Houwen, *Monsters and the Monstrous in Medieval Northwest Europe* (Leuven: Peeters), 153–66. This paper, more modest than Liuzza's, circles around the 793 entry in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, which notes *rede forebecna* "dire portents," and especially dragons which are "apparitions foreboding evil times" (156). They note the range of these short texts, including lunaries, sun books, brontologies (predictions based on thunder), and alphabetical dream books. They also note that prognostics in Old English appear in manuscripts only after the

Benedictine Revival, and were popular only after the turn of the millennium. The dragons have sometimes been interpreted as comets or meteors, and the authors investigate the portentous nature of comets in Bede, Byrhtferth, and such predecessors as Isidore and Gregory of Tours. The sudden growth of prognostic literature intriguingly coincides with Ælfric's denunciations of unorthodox learning, and especially his attacks on prognosticators—though later in the same homily he distinguishes somewhat awkwardly between pagan divination and Christian portent. A comet can be a celestial sign of the Last Judgment, or an amoral mark that announces a future event. Dragons, in dream books, signal an honor, or in the *Pseudo-Danielis*, the largest Anglo-Saxon dream book, a dragon flying over can forebode a gold-hoard. Other connections between monsters and prognostics are in the twelve Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from the early eleventh to the mid-twelfth century that have these texts, often manuscripts of religious instruction. Prognostics have a place in monastic learning.

The "Selected Bibliography" of the *Encyclopedia of Medieval Literature*, ed. Robert Thomas Lambdin and Laura Cooner Lambdin (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000) provides a good starting place for determining how useful this otherwise able reference text is for Anglo-Saxonists. The answer is "not very," for while many of the general articles and books referred to might mention matters Anglo-Saxon, only the monster-critics, Andy Orchard and David Williams, garner references in the bibliography. The short entries in the text summarize the texts and authors of Anglo-Saxon England, and provide selected bibliographies of four or five references, most of them published between 1990 and 1995. Thus, for example, Esther Smith discusses Ælfric (955–1010) as a source of didactic literature and discusses the works which made him the central figure of OE literary prose. The bibliography includes Pope's introduction to the *Supplementary Homilies*, James Hurt's book on Ælfric in the Twain series, and a selection of articles. It lists Caroline White's 1898 book-length study, but nothing by Malcolm Godden. Some will be surprised to learn that *Glasgerian* is an Old English ballad, according to the brief entry by Rebecca Chalmers. Others will know that in the context of ballads, Old English means "before 1900." Similarly, Robert Lambdin himself advises us that a *gleeman* was a professional Anglo-Saxon musical entertainer "who traveled the countryside, reciting poetry for a living" (242), and holding a less dignified position than a scop by virtue of not necessarily being the composer of the recitations or songs. The entries are good for English texts, particularly Middle English romances, lyrics, and

ballads; they are also comprehensive for Celtic materials and good if less comprehensive on other European literatures. Interestingly, long entries discuss Korean Literature, Mongolian Literature and even Old Russian Literature; Chinese Literature does not, however, appear. Finally it seems somewhat unfortunate that Elton E. Smith, in his two-page study on "Old English Poetry," should discuss the poetic line using as his sample a translation of *Judith* by Faust & Thompson (no reference given) which begins: "Then a band of bold knights ... busily gathered, / Keen men at the conflict; ... with courage they stepped forth." Smith's comparison of OE verse form to the balanced parallelism of Jonathan Swift and Alexander Pope, and the masculinity of the alliteration to the later British romantic poets and particularly to the British proletarian poets (1929-39) may be intriguing, along with his dismissal of humor as "largely lacking" (410) from OE poetry.

#### *Editions, New Editions, and Collections*

The biggest, in many senses of the term, single-author work this year is Phillip Pulsiano's *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1-50* (Toronto: U of Toronto P), published posthumously. The proofs were generously read by Joseph McGowan, who has taken on the task of bringing to fruition this massive project. The plan includes three volumes of text, one for each fifty psalms, and one volume of critical introduction and a bonus edition of the Latin commentary in the pre-Conquest glossed psalter manuscripts. The title is almost a misnomer, since the edition includes all the psalters, Latin-only and glossed, available in England before 1100—and also the two most famous outliers, the Eadwine Psalter and the tripartite psalter with glosses in the Paris Psalter (Paris, BN MS lat. 8846). The only English psalter manuscript not included is the other Paris Psalter (Paris, BN MS lat. 8824), with Alfred's prose psalter (recently edited by Patrick O'Neill) and the principal surviving text of the metrical psalter. On the other hand, the glossed psalters are certainly the heart of the work; Pulsiano provides a set of folio references to them for the first fifty psalms as Appendix 2 of the introduction, and Appendix 1 provides a new list of the twenty-six glosses in red ink written in the Blickling Psalter in the late eighth or early ninth century, correcting both Sweet and Brock, and reflecting the edition in Pulsiano's doctoral dissertation. The edition is a compendium of detailed and careful information, and originated in that 1982 thesis collecting materials for a new edition of the Blickling Psalter.

As the general editor of the series, Roberta Frank, points out, this work was at the core of Pulsiano's

scholarly life. It was first announced at the Ghent conference on Anglo-Saxon glossography in 1986, and throughout his career preliminary to this edition, he published materials ranging from the manuscript descriptions of many of these codices in two volumes of the *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile* to precise analyses of the relationships between specific psalter glosses. He established the corpus of Anglo-Saxon glossed and unglossed psalters, transcribing each text both from microfilm and from painstaking personal examination. The result is the preliminary materials for a comprehensive work of scholarship; this volume is an exhaustive edition of the psalter texts of Anglo-Saxon England for the first fifty psalms. Each word of each verse of each psalm appears in a column down the left-hand side of the page, using Dom Robert Weber's edition of the Roman psalter as the base text. Opposite each is a complete listing of glosses, and an indication (vertical bar or curly brace) as to whether the gloss is direct or rearranged for sense. Below each verse are four sets of notes, the first referring to editorial variants, the second providing textual notes on the glosses (usually signalled by an asterisk added to the manuscript siglum), the third indicating variant spellings and capitals or display script in the Latin text, and the fourth providing information about Gallican variants (including comparative readings from continental psalters). The notes rightly do not include details from unpublished dissertations or from superseded editions, which would just have added clutter (although some of the earlier editions are worthy of study for the historiography of the subject) to this project. The notes are painstaking and detailed, so that a serious scholar of orthography can, for example, discover that in Psalm 35:9 the original reading of the Eadwine Psalter was *hi drincæ*; according to Pulsiano's note "*hi* altered to *þu* by corr., *i* in *drincæ* altered to *e* and *t* added": an intriguing set of changes, to be sure. The sets of Gallican readings for comparative purposes often include Greek variants to clarify particular choices, and Pulsiano even goes so far as to list otiose strokes. This is the first installment of a monumental work; let us hope that the scholarly will and energy of those who wish to see this project to completion will hold. Unwelcome as it might be, and as it certainly would have been to Pulsiano, may I in conclusion register, on behalf of psalter scholars, a plea that some consideration be given to electronic publication of the entire complex? Much as one might wish to imagine oneself deciding in the late afternoon to look up a series of related expressions and their rendition in the Old English glossed psalters and thinking of taking home four heavy tomes with which to sit by the fire, brandy and cigar in hand, and browse

(though the brisk orange cover of the Toronto Old English Series soon puts an end to such Edwardian musings, as do the extremely sharp points on the corners of the books), in the modern era it is simply easier to fire up the computer and type in some search parameters. This project seems ideal for this kind of publication.

Of less importance for the advancement of scholarship in the field but of notable interest for teaching is the publication of a new and expanded version of John C. Pope's classic edition of the most commonly-taught poems: *Eight Old English Poems: Edited and with Commentary and Glossary* 3rd ed. rev. R.D. Fulk (New York and London: Norton). Fulk adds "The Wife's Lament" to the volume, revises the commentary with more explanation of particular textual readings, updates the references and reference system, rewrites the section on versification, and generally renders a timeless classic in the field timely. The book remains a neat and elegant edition for classroom use, and its readings and commentary continue to provide us all with matter for rumination.

*The Cynewulf Reader*, edited by Robert E. Bjork for the Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon England series, now appears in paperback (New York: Routledge). For those who did not look at the hardcover version of 1996, the collection is a serviceable compendium of papers originally published between 1953 and 1985 on the four generally accepted Cynewulfian poems and on the signature and style of these texts. Two new papers by Robert Fulk and Patrick Conner consider the vexed questions of canon and date. This republication includes some corrections and a new preface gracefully noting that N.F.S. Grundtvig wrote two hymns (one of them still used on Ascension Day in Danish churches) based on *Christ II*—an early but lasting tribute to Cynewulf.

K.E. Olsen, A. Harbus and T. Hofstra edited *Germanic Texts and Latin Models: Medieval Reconstructions* (Germania Latin 4 [Leuven, Paris, and Sterling, VA: Peeters]), a collection of eleven articles—those relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies are treated elsewhere in this volume. The papers derive from a conference held 1-3 July 1998 on the subject "Mutual Affinities: Medieval Latin and Germanic Literary Genres and Forms." In the brief Introduction, Harbus and Olsen use Lawrence Venuti's useful concept of domestication to consider the broader appropriations of textual culture and the range of correlations the papers in the volume adduce concerning the meeting of Germania and Latina.

Wanting to change the ground of the political and cultural arguments that he first addressed in *Migration and Mythmaking in Anglo-Saxon England* (New Haven: Yale U P, 1989), Nicholas Howe suggests in the introduction to the new paperback edition of 2001 (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P) that work on issues of nationalism by Benedict Anderson, among others, nearly inspired him to recast the entire book. The notion of the "imagined community," which in Anderson's terms is a postmedieval phenomenon, could well be applicable both because Anderson develops his model from Erich Auerbach's model of prefiguration and fulfillment (a major influence on Howe's thinking), and because nationalism need not be a symptom unique to modernity. Finally, Howe connects the migration and mythmaking delineated in the book to the migration and mythmaking undertaken by his own ancestors as they came to America, and warns against the triumphalism that results from a people too fixed in their place, with a conviction of the inevitability of their self-righteous possession. Aside from these few comments and their references, the book is identical to its predecessor.

#### Thematic Studies

Many of the single-author monographs in this year's listings address thematic questions. Shari Horner, for example, publishes *The Discourse of Enclosure: Representing Women in Old English Literature* (Albany: SUNY Press). She begins with the explicit discourse of enclosure, the texts from Anglo-Saxon England and from Christian sources that require monastic enclosure, and argues that enclosure was particularly enjoined for women, who need both spiritual and corporeal protection. She refers in some detail to Æthelthryth, Leoba, Bugge, and Tetta as examples of those desiring their own enclosure, and quotes Aldhelm and the *Regularis Concordia* to demonstrate the desire to keep nuns enclaustrated. Using modern feminist scholarship, Horner moves from these examples to the argument that in surviving Old English literature a discourse of enclosure "defines, limits, regulates, and authorizes the feminine" (14). She takes up Judith Bennett's challenge to find continuity across women's history in the study of patriarchy, although she tempers Bennett's ahistoricism with an explanation that she will look at four distinct moments in Anglo-Saxon literary history. The first of these is the *Frauenlieder*, the two elegies by women, and Horner argues that the cultural framework of female monasticism applies directly to "The Wife's Lament" and "Wulf and Eadwacer." Physically contained, these women figuratively break loose of their enclosures by inscribing their thoughts.

Where male figures of elegy freely move about the world, the women do not. Following Dronke, Horner considers the elegies as possible evidence of female literary practices and she therefore surveys the evidence of women's literary activity in early medieval England, including the Anglo-Saxon nuns affiliated with the Boniface mission and a consideration of women forced into the cloister (though much of the evidence is later). Horner reinterprets "Wulf and Eadwacer" in this light as a joyous self-expression until the moment at which Eadwacer *bogum bilegde* her, either raping her or forcing her into exile and muffling her voice. The *giedd* is a fabric, one easily torn, the textile woven by this peaceweaver being a song describing the relationship. Despite the attempts to enclose and control her, she has found a way to speak, to break loose. The speaker of "The Wife's Lament" also rejects the monastic ideology which would require her to give up her physical desires, using language (e.g., *hlaford*) with ecclesiastical overtones and perhaps desiring a close spiritual relationship such as the one Boniface had with Leoba or Christina of Markyate had with Abbot Geoffrey. Her *uhtsang* laments the loss of her lord, Christ, under a tree at the hour of matins. Picking up an idea suggested by Alain Renoir, Horner proposes a Marian parallel, suggesting that the woman singing her Old English poem embodies the image of Mary singing the *Magnificat*. The riddle of this poem, embedded in the Christian monastic environment of the Exeter Book, is that it too is about Christian monasticism. Horner's arguments here are provocative and interesting, and worth consideration.

The women of *Beowulf* appear in the second chapter, enclosed literally, textually and symbolically by physical space, narrative structures, and the cultural conceptions of femininity and kinship in the text. Suggesting that the stories about women in the poem are marginal yet integral, Horner proposes that Hildeburh is retold and rewritten by Wealhtheow, who in turn is rewritten by Grendel's Mother, and even by Hygd and Modthryth: each woman glosses the previous one. *Beowulf* sums up the women with the story of Freawaru, containing them and ensuring that no further multiplying links among them are possible; the rethinking of the enclosed peace-weaver motif is complete. The link to monastic enclosure seems most tenuous here, for the argument rests on stylistic parallels and ring devices. The next chapter, on *Juliana*, is more convincing. Starting with Aldhelm on the corporeal chastity and spiritual purity of the medieval female religious, Horner turns to the female body of Juliana as a sign to be interpreted both literally and figuratively. Interestingly managing to mention Cynewulf's authorship

of the poem only once in the entire chapter, Horner interprets the poem as exploring for female monastic readers the various defenses of chastity. They will "master" the text, reading Juliana as a type of Christ, but also as an allegorical female body who can reveal spiritual truth through being unveiled, stripped and transformed. Juliana's body is the site of interpretation, but will be misread by others in the poem and in the audience. Her own encounter with a potentially tricky "text" lies at the center of the poem as she engages with the devil, an evil being disguised as something good; she reads the devil accurately and forces him to admit that his wiles do not work against those who hold their bodies tightly closed, their virginity impenetrable. The chapter begins and ends with historical references to the violence, and especially the possibility of rape, in late Anglo-Saxon England and especially in nunneries, which were often targeted by raiders. Nonetheless, by "becoming male," by maintaining their bodies inviolate and impervious to hostile attack, women could begin the journey to salvation.

Ælfric's depictions of the virgins saints who embark on that journey to salvation occupy the last chapter of the book. The female saints and their bodies "function as texts that display the tensions between the practices of reading literally—as the pagan torturers do—and spiritually—as the saint herself does" (132), as do all the Christian readers. Horner's starting point is Ælfric's own hermeneutics, as evidenced in the homily for Midlent Sunday when he describes the act of interpretation, the understanding of spiritual meaning. Augustine is his source for distinguishing between the *lichamlic* (fleshly, bodily, corpse-like, carnal) reading and the *gastlic* (spiritual). He therefore engages in a corporeal hermeneutics, which interprets sacred texts through the body. The naked narrative requires the unlocking of its spiritual meaning. Here, as throughout the argument, Horner turns to modern theory as a way to start her discussion of the texts themselves, this time using Elaine Scarry's *The Body in Pain* to address the way in which Ælfric must make visible or sharable the pain inflicted on the bodies of the saints. She analyzes in some detail the passions of Agatha, Lucy, Agnes, and Eugenia, all texts by Ælfric whose plots parallel that of *Juliana*. The saints are both enclosures and enclosed. In her conclusion Horner turns to Christina of Markyate and analyzes the physical enclosure in her *Life* as explicit and graphic. Like Eugenia, Christina engages in cross-dressing, but for Christina the masculine clothes are only a transition to her new life as an anchorite. She does continue to experience sexual desire, but unlike the Anglo-Saxon saints, her desire is fulfilled as Christ himself embraces her. In



other respects, however, her life is remarkably like that of the earlier saints, and Horner concludes that enclosure practices in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries owe much to their Anglo-Saxon forebears, as exemplified in the literary texts considered here.

Other scholars also address gender issues. Helene Eleanor Scheck's doctoral thesis "Reform and Resistance: Contesting female subjectivities in Anglo-Saxon England, Francia, and Saxony (Alcuin of York, Hrotsvit von Gandersheim)" (State U of New York at Binghamton) addresses gender and subject formation in early medieval Germania. The second and third chapters consider Alcuin and the dynamics of conversion and reform in early medieval England with emphasis on the role of literacy in the construction of female subjects. Beth Holycross Crachiolo also ranges widely in her thesis, which addresses "'I am God's handmaid': Virginité, violence, and the viewer in Medieval and Reformation martyrs' lives" (U of Iowa, 2000). Crachiolo considers female martyr legends from "two Old English texts that present female saints who live as men" through the regendering of the virgin martyr through violence in prose hagiography, and moves onward in later chapters to the *South English Legendary*, the Katherine Group, to Askew, Bale, and Fox. In the previous year, Lori Eshleman focuses on the construction of women as creating either peace or war in "Weavers of Peace, Weavers of War" (in Diane Wolfthal, ed. *Peace and Negotiation: Strategies for Coexistence in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance* [Brepols: Turnhout, 2000], 15-37). Picking up from the work of Michael Enright analyzing the mead cup and the weaving beam as symbols of the way in which women ritually bind together social groups, Eshleman chooses to focus on images of women in the visual arts. Specifically, she considers a group of early Viking memorial stelae from the eighth and ninth centuries on the island of Gotland in the Baltic. Two frequent images on these highly-decorated memorial stones are a woman holding out a drinking horn to a male horseman and a woman standing between two groups of warriors, or, in Eshleman's terms, woman as agents of war and of peace. She reviews the role of women in feasting, drinking, and socializing, and notes that on the Gotlandic stones the lady and the chieftain are linked, one supporting the role of the other. While these images are generally interpreted as a valkyrie greeting a warrior in Valhalla, Eshleman proposes instead that a chieftain's wife greets and honors her husband by offering him mead. The scene marks status, wealth, honor, and also community, the community linked by these gestures of loyalty and honor in a cyclical historical structure. The scene, reflecting

other juxtapositions in the period, could also, of course, be both. The stones also reflect the important role women played in Scandinavian society in the commemoration of the dead, even the role of commissioning inscriptions on these stones which established their property rights. The second and less common image, the woman between one group of warriors on foot and another group in a boat, could well reflect the legend of Hild as an inciter to war—especially as the woman might be carrying an interlinked object, perhaps a neck-ring, so that she is weaving war. This analysis, briefly explained in the article, needs further elaboration and demonstration.

Dee Dyas demonstrates that it is possible to produce a thesis one year and a book derived from that thesis in the next in her *Pilgrimage in Medieval English Literature 700-1500* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer). The book has three parts, the first a consideration of the origins and early development of Christian pilgrimage, the second a consideration of pilgrimage in Old English literature, and the third an examination of literal and metaphorical pilgrimage in Middle English literature. Dyas embarks here on a very traditional study, beginning with the etymology of the terms relevant to pilgrimage, the shift from the OE *elpeodig* to the pilgrim, and the mosaic of ideas which surround medieval pilgrimage. Both the journey itself and an idea of life as a pilgrimage, the pilgrimage developed from Old Testament models of exile and wandering through New Testament spiritual conceptions of obedience and the reaching of the holy land, through the modes of pilgrimage in the Celtic as opposed to the Roman church, and to the interior, moral, and place pilgrimages which Dyas constructs as the three strands of pilgrimage in insular medieval texts. The first segments of the book, on biblical and patristic concepts of pilgrimage, are not directly relevant here, though Dyas points forward to the Anglo-Saxon and later conception of life as itself a pilgrimage. She also considers Jerome, Egeria, and the cult of the saints, and finishes with Gregory's advice to reuse pagan temples, which may have contributed to a notion of the material benefits of prayer (the saint as healer or bestower of goods) which owes more to a pre-Christian than a Christian ideology. Part II considers exile and the heavenly home, as Dyas turns specifically to Old English literature. She starts with life pilgrimage, with the categories of involuntary exile as punishment for disobedience and voluntary exile in which the Christian seeks commitment to God's will. With this in mind she reviews the exiled characters of *Genesis A*, including Satan, Adam and Eve, Cain (and his successor Grendel in *Beowulf*), all examples of involuntary exile;



and Noah and Abraham, both willing and obedient followers of God. She proposes a new interpretation for *þriddan eðyl* (1492) in that the first homeland is heaven, the second Paradise, and the third the earth to which Adam and Eve have been sent. Next, Dyas turns to *Daniel* and *Azarias* as poems concerning temporary involuntary exile, to *Christ* for its encouragement of the spiritual experience, *Christ and Satan* with respect to its devotional intention, *The Phoenix* for the way in which the poet emphasizes the return of the phoenix to his homeland, and *Dream of the Rood* for its salvific journey. Next come the saints' lives, which exemplify the idea of a life pilgrimage, and Dyas discusses *Guthlac A* and *B* as well as prose texts, especially homilies. For place pilgrimage, Dyas starts with Irish monasticism and Bede's approval of individual literal exile, *peregrinatio pro amore Dei*, also considering travel to acquire spiritual treasures for its contradiction between the gain of relics and knowledge as against the required stability of the monastic life. Finally, Dyas extensively analyzes *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*; both are personal accounts of lonely exile, but Dyas perceives *The Wanderer* as concerning life pilgrimage, while *The Seafarer* is a more complex text in which spiritual death and transience are associated with the land, while the sea appears to suggest spiritual progress. Dyas compares this progress to the sea-imagery with which the Israelites cross the desert in *Exodus*, and suggests that journeys on the sea connected to journeys to heaven. Furthermore, *The Seafarer* has precise parallels with the psalms, both in intent and in language and emotional intensity. Dyas produces here a careful and intelligent analysis of pilgrimage in the early medieval context, focusing on its appearance and function in literature.

Peter Dendle writes, somewhat surprisingly, the first book in English about the devil in Old English narrative literature; one would have thought the idea of doing this should have occurred to someone in earlier decades. *Satan Unbound* (Toronto: U of Toronto P) distinguishes itself as a straightforward and intelligent consideration of the devil, starting with the obvious point that the devil plays a starring role in Old English literature as its most frequently appearing character, but in a wide array of roles. In the introduction, Dendle indicates his choice to treat the devil by way of narrative scenes rather than exposition and to focus on the devil in human time rather than in salvation history, very briefly reviews the concept of the devil before Anglo-Saxon England, and introduces his consideration of the devil as a literary motif with respect to charms and *Solomon and Saturn*. The first of four main chapters addresses the traditional

interpretation of the devil as tempter, noting that the balance between external temptation and personal will is an important distinction in medieval theology, yet one that does not function well in narrative. The devil therefore in patristic theology is an external instigator to sin, but different theologians interpreted Satan's role with different nuances. In *Juliana* the devil and saint do not have a profound theological discussion; in some of the prose homilies of the Vercelli Book, the devil shoots various kinds of arrows at humankind; in Ælfric, the devil is much more provocative and motivated, especially in the *Life of St. Martin*. However, the devil invariably fails as a tempter. The next chapter addresses the role of the devil, now that the standard role has been rejected, and while it refers briefly to other representations of the devil, its focus is the various extant saints' lives of St. Margaret. Concluding the chapter with respect to the devil's role as observer, Dendle turns to the story of Benedict in Gregory's *Dialogues* and to Ælfric's *Life of St. Martin*, in both of which the devil serves as the saint's shadow or mirror.

Shifting to exteriors, Dendle considers evil and the landscape of Old English narrative in the next chapter. He starts with the statement that "The sin and sinner walk beside each other in Old English narrative, occupying different focal points of the narrative horizon; the allegorical and the historical interest with one another as characters" (62), and proposes that the exteriority of the impulse to sin makes it difficult for homilists to present sin as an interior battle. Nonetheless, they do try. Dendle considers the places in which the devil is found in the Bible, in patristic exegesis, and in Old English: hell (especially in the Harrowing in Blickling 7, *Christ and Satan*, and *Christ II* for the sixth leap of Christ); the air, following the New Testament treatment of evil spirits as beings of the air, in several texts in passing; in the liturgy, which presents the devil as ubiquitous especially in baptism, as reflected in two letters of Alcuin; and in the homilies, which try to confine the devil in hell. Dendle considers the devil in *Elene* and in the two OE versions of the prose homily on the finding of the true cross and glancingly looks at *Andreas*. These texts conflictingly find the devil both in the world and out of it, bound and unbound. Finally, Dendle addresses medieval demonology and spiritual warfare, again starting with the background to the notion of a single devil and subordinate demons and noting that medieval writers had no anxiety identifying the devil as both singular and plural. The position is exemplified in Vercelli 12 and Blickling 5, and in the visual representations of the devil in the Junius manuscript. Dendle briefly considers the possession stories

and devil-worship in paganism found in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* and its vernacular translation, reviews the way in which Cynewulf ably exploits the shifting registers of the devil in his poetry, and offers a detailed analysis of the devil in the various Guthlac texts. The conclusion argues that the two major demonological processes in the narratives are the devil's instigation of sinners and the devil's conflict with a saint, and notes some anxiety in the way OE texts present the devil. Victory for the good does happen, but the devil certainly gets his time, his serious involvement in the dialogue, and a formlessness that makes him not just a terrifying villain but a challenge to the structure of the Christian cosmos. The book includes a short appendix on the devil as idiom, extensive notes, a yet more extensive bibliography, and a good index, several of these items presumably reflecting the book's origin as a thesis. This is nonetheless a learned book, a good survey of the background material and a preliminary analysis of the devil in specific situations in extant OE literary texts. Its strength is the careful establishment of the patristic and exegetical background of each narrative appearance of the devil.

Bradford Bedingfield discusses a relevant eschatological motif in his "Anglo-Saxons on Fire," *JTS* n.s. 52: 658–77. Fire is Bedingfield's concern, starting with Ælfric on the Last Day (Pope 18) and its purging and cleansing fire marking the transfer between the temporal and eternal forms of the world. This notion, however, does not fit well with patristic commentary, and Bedingfield starts with Revelation and its explication by Augustine, continues with early Christian accounts of the End, and turns to Bede's account of Fursey (Fursey). The ambiguity at issue is the nature and timing of the fires of the Last Judgment (before or after the Parousia, as purging or as gateway to a darker eternal fire). Bedingfield considers fire in a wide range of Anglo-Saxon texts, including two Vercelli homilies, *Judgement Day II*, *Christ III* (in which the fire is "more emotionally resonant than theologically grounded," 667), Blickling X on the end of the world, and finally Ælfric. His explanation of a post-resurrection fire in which body and soul both suffer appears in several sermons, most notably as the purgatorial fire in his Trinity Sunday sermon (Pope XI). The closest parallel to this kind of fire, interestingly, is in the poem *The Phoenix*, and Bedingfield works through stylistic and thematic elements of the use of fire in that text. Also relevant is the Old English prose treatment of the phoenix's death and rebirth and Ælfric's own discussions of the phoenix both in his *Grammar* and his homilies. Ælfric's orthodoxy can be made to include lurid details and exuberance when it would be beneficial to

his audience to understand the instrumental role of fire in the resurrection of the dead. Bedingfield suggests, interestingly, that on this point Ælfric develops his own theology, marrying patristic exegesis with popular poetic eschatology.

Another eschatological motif is the concern of Ananya Jahanara Kabir in "From Twelve Devouring Dragons to the *Develes Ers*: The Medieval History of an Apocryphal Punitive Motif," *ASNS* 238: 280–98. Kabir starts with the "Seven Heavens Apocryphon," which circulated in three Irish texts, one Latin witness, and two Old English homilies from before the Benedictine Reform. The wicked soul descends through twelve dragons, and then through the devil. The text itself is thought by Jane Stevenson to be a Gnostic Apocalypse of Paul and a striking story; Kabir suggests that it survived as an early version of purgatory in that different categories of souls suffer different fates. Anglo-Saxon witnesses to the apocryphon, including *Be heofonwarum*, suggest less and less interest in the souls in heaven, and more in the chain of twelve dragons leading to Satan's maw and his many heads. Wulfstan's version of the motif refers to the scourges and stings, but condenses the twelve dragons into one (Napier xxix). Kabir then distinguishes versions of the motif in which the soul is vomited forth by dragons and Satan from those in which the Devil defecates the soul, and finds a link between the two versions in the very popular "Vision of Tnúthgal" by the Irish monk Marcus in Germany in 1149. Tnúthgal encounters a single, soul-devouring dragon, and has many vernacular translations (including one into fifteenth-century French with accompanying illustrations by Simon Marmion). The devil defecates souls, including perhaps the detail of the "Develes ers" in Chaucer's prologue to the "Summoner's Tale" and in details of that tale (or tail). This motif moved from the margins of early medieval doctrine—apocryphal visions of the otherworld—to the learned and well-known works of later medieval writers. Some of the links on their own might seem tenuous, but Kabir constructs a solid chain, of dragons.

Ananya Jahanara Kabir also tackles several larger themes in *Paradise, Death and Doomsday in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). Although the book's principal concern is the "interim paradise" between death and Judgment Day, Kabir has to explicate many other aspects of medieval eschatology in order to arrive at her focus. Like Peter Denle, she moves back and forth from the general to the specific, from medieval theology and its origins to the Anglo-Saxon context and literature produced and

consumed therein. Also like Dendle, Kabir presents here a revision of her thesis, but this is a more coherent product than many such rapid revisions tend to be. Her first consideration is the term paradise, which has alternate meanings according to an individual scholar's approach. Interim paradise was, she concludes, "a necessary, influential and ideologically charged concept during the early Middle Ages, and within Anglo-Saxon England in particular" (12). More specifically, Kabir's focus is the Anglo-Saxons' own approach to these concepts; in order to establish a context for Ælfric's rather frenetic orthodoxy, she starts with the *Visio Sancti Pauli* in the second chapter. Here, paradise does not resemble the heavenly kingdom of Augustine but rather demonstrates an elaborate interim eschatology. Next she considers the paradise of Augustine in *De Genesi ad litteram* and its later modifications in *De ciuitate Dei*, then briefly addresses the cult of Mary and its depictions of paradise in the *Transitus Mariae*—a text not accepted in Anglo-Saxon England but nonetheless influential in many ways. When in a later generation Ælfric comes to write his Assumption homily for Mary he is brief to the point of rudeness (were that possible) about the details of her transition to heaven, not to paradise. Elsewhere he tries to equate paradise with the kingdom of heaven and even, following Augustine, with the bosom of Abraham. Kabir considers in some detail Ælfric's vocabulary, especially *neorxnawang* and *wunung*, and looks at his preferences in the visions of Fursey and Drihthelm he produces. In chapter three she considers some anonymous Old English prose texts which postulate an interim condition, including the "Three Utterances" homily with its neat contrast between the good and bad souls and their three statements about what they see as they are led from their bodies. Kabir rehearses the insular contribution to the popularity of this homily, and considers its relation to the *Visio Sancti Pauli* tradition, especially Redaction XI. Returning to Mary's Assumption and to two versions of an anonymous homily on that event (Blickling XIII and CCCC 198), Kabir concludes that the homilist was redefining older eschatological schemes, especially those concerning corporal assumption (partial or whole). Similar elements appear in the *Life of St. Margaret* (BL Tiberius A. iii and CCCC 303), although there remains confusion about the existence of an interim paradise. Finally, the "Theban legend" circulated widely in anonymous Old English homilies, with its wildly fanciful account of paradise. Kabir contrasts Ælfric's desire to contain and control notions of paradise against the rich wildness of the anonymous homilists, perhaps reflecting a more popular ethos. Chapter four turns to Anglo-Latin versions of this material, Bede's vision of Dryhthelm, Bede's recapitulation of

the vision of Fursey (Fursey), and the vision of the monk of Wenlock as described by Boniface. The four-part otherworld they describe, with two places of punishment and two of pleasure, incorporates (or perhaps more properly opens the door to) the idea of an interim paradise. Both reflect the visionary otherworld of Gregory in the *Dialogi*, written perhaps in reaction to the *Visio Sancti Pauli*, and describing the visions of ordinary people and focusing on the punishment or reward of souls. Kabir considers the internal symmetries of the Anglo-Saxon texts, and proposes that the origin of the fourfold structure of the afterlife might be the *Prognosticon* of Julian of Toledo, written c. 688 and perhaps circulating very rapidly to England. Nonetheless, the *Visio Sancti Pauli* continued to inform these texts, as much by careful omission as by inclusion.

Next Kabir addresses another set of texts: the funeral liturgy and prayerbooks. The funeral rite of *Ordo* 49 contains an antiphon which refers to the bosom of Abraham (*sinus Abrahæ*), a temporary state for the soul as it awaits resurrection. Kabir notes a move in the text itself from millenarian beliefs to a new hierarchy between paradise and heaven and the development of the *locus refrigerii*. In the four extant Anglo-Saxon prayerbooks a similar lexical evasion appears, as the *sinus Abrahæ* no longer has much meaning, while *paradisus* still retains some semantic value but the more common term is the *locus refrigerii*. Prayers, as Kabir points out, do not provide the wide range of distinctions between paradise and heaven which visions have, being restricted to the journey of one individual soul to the interim paradise (that being as far as the soul needed to get immediately after death). The Book of Cerne, however, unambiguously defines the soul's abode after death as the interim paradise, and also indicates the need for the second transfer to heaven. This change occurs explicitly in three prayers and implicitly in several others, as the need for extended intercession becomes clear. Possibly, Kabir suggests, this lack of orthodoxy reflects popular taste, and suggests a private Anglo-Saxon religious psychology that differed from the public one (though this may be moving farther than the evidence allows). The last two chapters of the monograph address vernacular texts, starting with Old English poetry and propose that compromise among different preferences continues to be the hallmark of Anglo-Saxon approaches to eschatology. Visions of paradise as a green meadow or *neorxnawang* appear in *Genesis A*, and its mannered vocabulary repeats itself in other descriptions of pleasant spaces in the poetry. Ideal indoor surroundings of heaven are the treasure-filled hall of *Christ II*, and

the architectural imagery and stone structures found in *Christ I. Christ and Satan*, however, visually conflates indoor with outdoor spaces, using ideal terms derived from both lexical sets, especially the famous *grene straet* (286). Descriptive strategies which focus on abstract characteristics appear in other poems such as *Guthlac B*, *Andreas*, and *The Phoenix*; all these poems, among other rhetorical techniques for describing paradise, use what Kabir terms the *pær* is syntagm. Finally, the book argues that the new vision of the interim paradise is fixed in late prose texts, such as the anonymous description of paradise found in the so-called "Prose Phoenix," (found in CCC 198 and in BL Cotton Vespasian D. xiv) and an Old Norse version of the same material. Kabir argues that the Latinate poetic tradition (an odd term) has been reabsorbed into a late Anglo-Saxon vernacular text. Other late, even post-Anglo-Saxon, texts such as *Adrian and Ritheus* and the other texts in Cotton Vespasian D. xiv accord with this view; Kabir references the memorial transmission of Old English verse to explain the way in which Anglo-Saxon perceptions of paradise and the interim paradise shifted over time and in response to changing notions of orthodoxy. Nonetheless, in the twelfth century the otherworld had abandoned these progressive developments and reverted to a splintered landscape, eventually arriving at the idea of purgatory to replace the interim landscape.

This book divides Anglo-Saxon texts by genre, which means that explicating the taxonomy of each genre interrupts the smooth development of the argument and requires that each chapter step diachronically forward in a way that might or might not reflect the previous chapter. As a result, it can be difficult to determine how the main argument is growing, and it can be easy to wonder what the advances are on other scholarship. Nonetheless, the book is worth the decoding.

Monsters are popular in this year, almost certainly as part of a continuing trend. First Karin Olsen and L.A.J.R. Houwen edit a collection, *Monsters and the Monstrous in Medieval Northwest Europe* (Leuven: Peeters); it has seven articles, two of them to be considered here, one already considered in this section, and an introduction. The introduction, by Robert Olsen and Karin Olsen, is "Introduction: On the Embodiment of Monstrosity in Northwest Medieval Europe" (1–22). Save one paper, the articles develop from an international workshop held at Groningen in August 1997. All of them consider regional cultures of a particular historical period in which borrowing and cross-pollination of ideas were common; together

they delineate the literary and historical traditions of the medieval monster in Northwest Europe. Olsen and Olsen posit a shift from the existential to the ethical view of monsters, as they were incorporated from local pagan incarnations into Christian ideology and into the order of creation so as to be redeemed and made perfect. They shift from Tolkien to Todorov to Jerome Bruner to Augustine in order to define monsters as a tangible representation of a past or persistent otherness. They give a brief taxonomy of the monstrous, describing both the physical variety and the non-physical characteristics—the perceptions of the other in cultural and ethnic terms—which mark the monster. They elicit an incomplete subjective response, which makes them necessarily intertextual, agents of disorder which invoke something universally foreign to the texts in which they appear. The argument seems perhaps unduly complex, and when Olsen and Olsen point out that Grendel is a name in *Beowulf* but also in many translations and in a novel by John Gardner, they do not seem to be making a difficult proposition. Monstrosity, as they conclude before reviewing the papers in the volume, reflects an ambivalent attraction to the monstrous body, and monsters exhibit physical, metaphysical, mental, moral, and social qualities.

Maria Elena Ruggerini in "St Michael and the Dragon from Scripture to Hagiography" (23–58) returns to a more traditional approach, tracing a story mainly attested in English manuscripts from the eleventh to the fourteenth centuries but probably originating in Ireland or an area under Irish influence. The text survives in three versions, the full Latin one appearing in five manuscripts, the abridged Latin version in two, and in an Irish homily from *Leabhar Breac* (two versions in the same manuscript); Ruggerini even provides an appendix concerning the manuscript tradition of the Latin story. She works through the texts in detail, analyzing the common agents as the dragon arrives, takes possession and causes fear, is killed by Michael who comes in response to prayer, and is disposed of in pieces by oxen before a church in honor of Michael is built and signs of his presence are noted. Michael here encounters a tangible dragon, not the dragon of the apocalypse, although the geographic location seems to vary from version to version. Ruggerini suggests that the episode was either created or re-elaborated in the British Isles; she cites in some detail analogues from Italy (especially from Mount Tancio and referring to a Gargano who might have been a giant or a god) in the tenth century and from the many medieval examples of the vanquishing of a dragon by a saint (who is often a bishop). The insular involvement in the legend of Michael depends upon

the unusual iconography in which he is represented as a bird, or connected to angels in bird form, including an episode in the life of St. Patrick documented in several *vitae*, the angelic apparitions in the life of St. Brendan, and other Irish texts. She also finds one fourteenth-century depiction in a manuscript from Lincoln Cathedral Chapter Library, in which Michael has feathered garments.

A second distinctive feature of the story of Michael and the dragon is the disposal of the monster in fragments, as a heroic Michael swings a fiery sword. Ruggerini analyzes the Mont Saint-Michel texts with this detail, and compares Eastern myths about disposing of the body of a snake or monster to this motif in English folklore and Irish heroic tales, and finishes with the Old English *Nine Herbs Charm*. The motif of returning the body to the sea occurs in many texts, including *Beowulf*, although the disposal of the corpse by oxen is unparalleled in insular tradition and occurs in Isidore and Jacobus de Voragine. Ruggerini concludes that these motifs suggest an insular, perhaps even Irish, origin for some features of the Michael legend. Ruggerini produces here a learned and very useful article, which clarifies much about the medieval tradition of Michael and the dragon and points to its specifically insular features.

For her study of the monstrous, Jennifer Neville turns to Old English poetry and the definition of humanity as developed by Pliny, Augustine, and Isidore and available to the Anglo-Saxons. In "Monsters and Criminals: Defining Humanity in Old English Poetry" (103–22), she follows David Williams (although his *Deformed Discourse: The Function of the Monster in Mediaeval Thought and Literature* [Montreal: McGill, 1999] does not appear in her footnotes) in a careful enumeration of classical, biblical, and hermeneutic elaborations of the monster as exceeding the norm of humanity. She considers the sources of the insular *Liber monstrorum*, citing Orchard, and concluding that monsters are "examples of plenitude, theological issues, and semiotic puzzles" (107) in those sources. Turning to the Old English poetic context, she finds that these characterizations of the monstrous are largely absent, and that Old English poets used a very different framework for their definitions. She identifies the absence of Pliny's delight in nature's strange abundance, noting that Grendel does not delight or enlighten the mind though possibly the description of *Beowulf's* dragon shows some signs of regret for its lost splendor. Nor is the moral stance of the *Physiologus* tradition present in these texts, nor Augustine's criteria of descent from Adam as providing humanity

or lack of rationality as marking the monstrous. Neither does Isidore's use of monsters as portents function well, in that Grendel is never explicitly a sign of Hrothgar's pride, nor does the dragon garner an interpretation inside the poem. Isidore's idea that monsters must be unusual is rendered irrelevant when considering texts other than *Beowulf*, since the *pyrs* of *Maxims II* is clearly natural and necessary, not unusual in any way. Neville therefore turns to the criteria that appear to define monsters in Old English poetry, starting with the three in *Beowulf* and their shared characteristics. They threaten not individuals but society, and Neville considers the way in which each monster generates negative images by opposing human expectation and behavior. She interestingly suggests that the description of Grendel as *healðegn* does not reflect his envy of the hall but his rule over a negative inversion of the hall. His consumption of Hrothgar's warriors, his cannibalism, breaks a basic societal taboo which requires his dismemberment and public display, purely in order to reestablish the stability of society. Careful distinctions between the human and the non-human do exist in *Wonders of the East*, and Grendel is a monster because he breaks the social boundaries that define humanity. In this respect he parallels Cain, Heremod, Holofernes in *Judith* (who subverts the human ceremony of the feast), and figures of exile who have crossed the societal line. Neville proposes that an exile exists so precariously and miserably, losing all status in society, that this approximates the monstrous, quoting *Maxims I* 146–51, which connects the *wineleas wonsælig mon* with the wolf. She invokes the *wearg*, turning aside from the linguistic debate as to its meaning, in order to focus on the outlawry implicit in the word. The absence of society is the essence of the monstrous.

Also addressing monsters is Lisa Ruth Verner, "The epistemology of the monstrous in the Middle Ages" (Ph.D., Tulane U), which proposes the literary redemption of monsters by way of their symbolic meanings as reflecting larger changes from late antiquity through the fourteenth century. Starting with the classical source for the medieval monster, Pliny's *Natural History*, Verner considers the monster tracts of the Anglo-Saxon age in chapter 2 in order to study the stability which functioned while the texts became more rhetorically sophisticated. The thesis moves forward to consider the twelfth-century *Bestiary* and the fourteenth-century *Travels of Sir John Mandeville*.

Christopher R. Fee, with David A. Leeming, engages with more traditional subject matter in *Gods, Heroes, & Kings: The Battle for Mythic Britain* (Oxford: Oxford

U P). The book's approach is classic folk-tale analysis with an admixture of mythological analysis à la Joseph Campbell. The Preface opens with "Lo! The spear of Wodan One-Eye clashes against that of Shining Lugh!" which gives a good sense of the comparative anthropology in which the study engages. The chapter titles in the main body of the text are "The Pantheons," "Deity Types," "Sacred Objects and Places," "Heroes and Heroines," "Creation and Apocalypse," and "The Sagas." In the conclusion the book moves forward to address the hero in medieval English romance, and especially to consider trials, tribulations and transformative quests. More specifically, the introduction briefly reviews the history of England to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period, discusses the role of oral storytellers, and indicates that the book studies the conflict and confluence of the mythologies of ancient Britain. It has no footnotes, but does include a bibliography, index, and some suggestions for further reading. The pantheons described are the Germanic, including Norse and Saxon deities, and the Celtic; Fee provides some general information on each topic and then provides a longish translation from a relevant mythological text to confirm his conclusions. Thus, the description of Tiw or Tyr in two paragraphs appears, then the story of the binding of Fenrir, then some comparative material about other myths in which a god loses a hand. The Norse gods, because so much more information and narrative is available about them, receive the lion's share of the attention; the Celtic gods barely garner a few pages, which seems inordinately disproportional. The deity types include the supreme being, the great goddess, the dying god, the trickster god, and lesser spirits. The sacred objects and places are surprisingly few and their discussion greatly curtailed, including only the world tree and sanctuaries. Neither the forest as a fundamentally sacred place nor the sacral attitude to the sea is considered, which seems odd. Heroes and heroines, however, are legion. Fee uses Campbell's monomyth to analyze the Celtic and Germanic tales of heroes such as Cuchulainn, Grettir, Pwyll, Beowulf, Sigurd, Uther, and even Sir Orfeo. Even Juliana, Judith, and Guthlac qualify here. Creation and apocalypse, however, receive extremely short shrift, as Fee turns rapidly to what he calls the sagas. These are the surviving stories which might reveal something of the history of early England. Fee considers Norse sagas set in England and those which echo English heroic sagas before turning to Anglo-Saxon historical sagas and heroism for brief consideration of the "Battle of Brunanburh," the "Battle of Maldon," and *Beowulf*. The chapter next considers the sagas of Ireland, working in a very sensible way through the mythological cycle, the heroic cycles, the historical cycle, and ends with

the sagas of Wales. The conclusion focuses on *Gawain and the Green Knight* as a sacrificial quest, Sir Orfeo's love quest, the Wife of Bath's penitential quest, justice in *Athelston*, and the trial by tribulation of Sir Isumbras. Scholars will not learn from the book, nor will they find the extensive translations from original texts useful; this is a book for the general reader.

Catherine Karkov addresses the visual and verbal structures in one Anglo-Saxon manuscript in *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge U P). With fully fifty-nine black and white photographs, the book engages in a complete reconsideration of the historical context of this manuscript, written and illustrated c. 950-1000, possibly at Christ Church Canterbury (Karkov accepts this ascription, although it remains uncertain, there being almost as many possible provenances as there are scholars who have considered the question). After reviewing part of the vast array of previous scholarship on Junius 11, Karkov notes that drawings in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts fulfill both literal and symbolic functions, providing a narrative that parallels and also intersects with the poetic one. A central motif is that of reading and writing, and Karkov argues that although arguments have been made that the pictures are out of step with the text, in fact they are closely connected. The text develops a new and unique version of biblical history, with a metonymic composition reflecting Michael Camille's "intervisuality" as the texts and pictures link inside and outside the manuscript. The second chapter describes the manuscript, by considering the gatherings, sections, palaeography, hierarchy of scripts, style of the illustrations, and work of the two artists. Both artists produced active *translations* of the text, and the illustrations—like the poetic texts—have connections outside the text. Karkov cites Byrhtferth's *Handbook* as having similar shapes and content in its diagrams, and she works through several of the Junius 11 illustrations to describe how the reader's eye is led through them in ways that enhance the meaning of the picture. Gestures, especially pointing fingers, are a potent means of communication in this manuscript; Karkov provides several examples. The third chapter addresses the narrative of *Genesis*, the first part of the primary narrative of the manuscript (the story of Creation, Fall, and Redemption). The chapter works slowly and carefully through the illustrations and text, drawing links back and forth among words and images, and indicating the interpretations being invoked. Creation is brought to light here through the word and hand of God, with frequent reference to the motif of the contrast between light and darkness, and

that between Creation and destruction. Eve is a particularly productive image, playing an active role and evoking both her fall and her ultimate redemption in the way she is presented in the text in postures like those of Mary in other images. Karkov presents a rich intertextual tapestry of linkages, including images from other manuscripts, a penitential prayer from the Book of Cerne, references from Ælfric, the psalter, a Blickling homily, and the liturgy for Lent and for baptism. Among other things, Karkov notes the surprising amount of power women seem to hold and wield in the manuscript. She also argues that the illustrations function both intra- and intervisually, some translating the text into a different cognitive realm, and others evoking images from other texts and cycles in order to add depths of semiotic meaning to the comprehension of the text. The fourth chapter, in offering a thematic consideration of the manuscript, notes that although the cycle of Fall and Redemption runs from the Creation to the Last Judgment, the real theme of the book is the conception of the word and the written text as exemplified through vision and dreaming. The book is a creation of words and thereby "a mirror of and vehicle for God's Creation through the Word" (102); in the illustrations dialogue is frequently implicated, and Christ the Word of God appears throughout the codex. Layering of speech and speech-acts, and of artwork and viewer occurs in the poems, for example in *Christ and Satan* 231–42 and *Daniel* 368–96. Complexities in the narrative voice, and in the presentation of true and false visions in these poems reflect this multivalency—even the pillars in *Exodus* shift and defy shape in the poem, turning into an image of the cross. Dreams, signs (*beacen, tacen*): all these narrative moments lead to an understanding of God's Judgment, a way of finding a good reading, a true interpretation of the episodes and images. The connection between books of the Bible and the body occupies the fifth chapter, as Karkov examines the creative and procreative body in imagery of patriarchs and matriarchs, kinship structures, the children of Abraham, fertile women (which problematically focuses on women as sexualized bodies), and issues of genealogy perhaps reflecting Emma/Ælfgifu's concern with the succession of a son by her body. Though the last point is more speculation than argument, Karkov demonstrates a real concern with these issues in the manuscript, as dynastic succession stands at the forefront of *Genesis* and *Exodus*. Other images of the body also present in the codex are the outcast body, which includes Cain, Hagar and Ismael, Lot and his daughters, and the people of Sodom; bodiliness itself, insofar as disobedience leads to disfigurement, Satan and his rebel angels have naked bodies, and the sign of the chosen contrasts to the disruptive

bodies of the outcasts; the body of Christ, with its cruciferous nimbus throughout *Genesis*, and the songs of praise that greet his body (the suffering body of Christ does not appear, though Karkov examines its occurrence, especially with respect to Thomas and his touching). The body of Christ is not handled directly, but only through the intercession of the body that is the book, a creative body which provides the reader with a voice, the "I" or "we" of the text which unites the poet and the audience. Karkov closes the argument with a summary of the historical narrative or the historiography of the codex and argues for an edition of the manuscript itself. She reviews the history of thinking about this manuscript and even briefly questions the very existence of Caedmon in her consideration of his putative authorship of its poems. Her focus throughout is Junius and Thorpe, though she finishes with Krapp and the choice of the Junius manuscript for the first volume in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. She concludes with a riff on the search for the real Caedmon and his loss in contrast to Borges's claim about the impossibility of establishing literal identity, and pleads, as Borges would, for the physicality of the act of reading at the center of our approach to the Junius manuscript. An appendix which will interest many suggests subjects for the blank picture spaces.

Finally, this was a good year for Guthlac. He garnered first a thesis by Christian Donovan Aggeler "Reinventing the holy man: the medieval English Guthlac cycle and its contexts" (University of Minnesota). Aggeler studies the Guthlac cult over seven centuries, using translation theory and intertextuality to examine how a body of legendary material transforms in different discourse structures, whether Latin and vernacular, prose and verse, verbal and visual. Starting with Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci*, the thesis examines the process of cultural adaptation in the unstable image of Guthlac first in the Old English prose translation of the saint's life, second in the two Old English poems on the saint, and third in post-Conquest versions of the legend by Orderic Vitalis, in drawings in BL Harley Roll YB, and in the Middle English *Life*. Second is Graham Jones, "Ghostly Mentor, Teacher of Mysteries: Bartholomew, Guthlac and the Apostle's Cult in Early Medieval England" in *Medieval Monastic Education*, ed. George Ferzoco and Carolyn Muessig (London and New York: Leicester UP, 2000), 136–52. Jones uses the evidence of Felix's *vita* and the cult of Guthlac at Crowland to demonstrate the close relationship between Guthlac and his mentor Bartholomew. First coming to Guthlac's aid when he suffered both extreme anxiety and depression, the apostle Bartholomew became a central figure in Guthlac's life and



cult, so central that the martyr's remains were translated to a new shrine on Bartholomew's day, 25 August, in 1136. In the *Guthlac Roll* various items link mentor and pupil, but the scourge which Bartholomew gives Guthlac in the eighth roundel and which Guthlac uses to drive away devils in the next scene is the most important of these motifs. Jones rehearses the early lives and apocrypha of Bartholomew, and particularly his encounters with devils, which provided the model for Guthlac's exorcisms, especially of monsters. From the dedications of churches he notes a tendency (which he describes as a prevalence) for parishes dedicated to Bartholomew to be near to sites of pre-Christian Germanic religious activity and also notes a preponderance of these near Worcester and Hereford. Some dedications to Bartholomew also seem to be associated with hermitages, while others refer to pre-Christian cemeteries such as the foundation of Guthlac's own cell, healing shrines especially for skin disease, and places of worship. The evidence is somewhat confusing, but Jones makes it clear that Guthlac's use of Bartholomew as mentor provided a role model for later novices, a model of active Christianity which drove out pagan attitudes and reclaimed both lands and minds. Third, Jane Roberts considers "Hagiography and Literature: The Case of Guthlac of Crowland" in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (New York and London: Leicester U P), 69–86. Roberts in this very informative and useful paper also starts with Felix, whose *vita*, written at the behest of King Ælfrwald of East Anglia in the first half of the eighth century, consolidated the legend of Guthlac. Felix himself makes no mention of a monastery at Crowland, writing of Guthlac as an anchorite, not a member of a community. (Crowland materials about Guthlac survive only from the twelfth century, presumably because of a fire in 1091 in the great Benedictine foundation. The materials available are not entirely trustworthy, both because of their lateness and because of the advantages to the monastery of having a successful saint and helpful charters.) Felix overlaid the story of Guthlac with the trappings of hagiographic convention, but Roberts distinguishes the "nuggets of hard information the life contains" (72). She identifies the witnesses to the life, and elucidates the life itself and its Mercian context, focusing particularly on the account of Guthlac's solitary life in the tradition of the life of Anthony. He died in 714, as dated by the Easter tables given his saint's day on 11 April, and his death on a Wednesday after Easter. Thirteen manuscripts of Felix's *vita* survive from a late eighth- or early ninth-century fragment to an early fourteenth-century collection of English, Welsh and Cornish saints. Noting briefly that

a striking figure in Felix's text is a Mercian princeling, the future King Æthelbald, upon whom Felix lavishes much praise, Roberts moves forward to other hagiographical works produced in Mercia, including Wæferth's translation of Gregory's *Dialogues*, a vernacular version of Bede's history, which brings Oswald into Mercian literature, and the *Old English Martyrology*. Two of the miracles in the martyrology are also linked together in a Guthlac office in a late eleventh-century Worcester manuscript. A translator of Felix seems to have been at work in Mercia in the late ninth century, for an eleventh-century recasting of this text appears in one of the late West-Saxon Gospel manuscripts (and also parallels the last homily of the Vercelli Book, from the late tenth century). Referring briefly to the Guthlac poems and their reworking of the legend, Roberts identifies and comments on other Guthlac material in late Anglo-Saxon England including lists of saints, church foundations, and the evidence for Guthlac's psalter.

#### *Sources, Influences, and Contexts*

This section overlaps heavily in this year with thematic concerns, but that seems to have been the overwhelming concern of 2001. Several scholars, for example, trace intellectual or religious structures back to Roman times. Nicole Guenther Discenza in "Alfred's Verse Preface to the *Pastoral Care* and the Chain of Authority" (*Neophilologus* 85: 625–33) addresses the metrical preface which appears after the well-known prose preface, presumably (though she does not say) in all six extant manuscripts of the text. Discenza argues that Alfred establishes both religious and secular authority by enumerating the place of this text in a chain of authority from Gregory to Augustine to Alfred to the bishops who will disseminate the material, which in the metrical preface is interestingly called an *ærendgewrit* or letter. The text also appropriates authority through its linguistic distinctiveness, in that Alfred, unusually for him, favors Latinate, learned, and prose words in the metrical preface. Alfred uses a strategy of condescension, to use the terminology of Pierre Bourdieu; he establishes his own consecration as secular and religious leader as he asserts his authority both over texts and their dissemination, and even (outside this text altogether) over the management of religious property. Bourdieu would note, as Discenza does, Alfred's claiming of symbolic capital here, though this is a lot of interpretive weight to place on a text of sixteen lines.

Heroic ideals and the requirement that the war leader, likely the first and principal target of the enemy



in battle, must be brave is the subject of Thomas D. Hill's miniature gem, "'When the Leader is brave ...': An Old English proverb and its vernacular context" (*Anglia* 119: 232–36). Starting with ealdorman Ælfric's sudden illness in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle version E, Hill examines proverbial parallels from Alcuin (first noted by Plummer), Alfred's translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care*, and from the eleventh-century Durham Proverbs 31. Hill is not content with simply elucidating the Chronicle text, but uses the proverb to ponder the classical heroic ideals of the *heretoga* as against the shift in late Anglo-Saxon England in favor of removing kings and other important figures from the killzone, a tendency which reflects the harsh necessities of war. At greater length but addressing the same issues is John Hill, "Shaping Anglo-Saxon Lordship in the Heroic Literature of the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries," *The Heroic Age* 3 (2000): n.p., online (<http://www.mun.ca/mst/heroicage/issues/3/hill.html>). The article revisits the terrain of Hill's recent *The Anglo-Saxon Warrior Ethic* by first reviewing other work on modeling new ideas of loyalty in the ideological work of Anglo-Saxon poems. *Beowulf* is an exception since it incorporates a complete and full display of heroic values and choices, alive with all their contingent complexities. However, the politically shaped heroic texts such as the Cynewulf and Cyneheard episode, *The Battle of Brunanburh*, and *The Battle of Maldon* set up heroic possibilities which are orchestrated to be resolved in specific ways. Loyalty to a just lord, and especially to a king, is transcendent and even redemptive—and the poems construct it as one aspect of a growing policy debate in late Anglo-Saxon England concerning ways to engage with the Norse invaders. Another scholar interested in the nexus between history and literature is Lauryn Stacey Mayer in her Ph.D. dissertation "Worlds made flesh: Chronicle histories and medieval manuscript culture" (Brown U). Ranging from genetic criticism and hypertext media to Chaucer, the thesis focuses in chapter 3 on the relationships among the same texts as Hill in his article, and applauds the way in which medieval manuscript culture resists modern conventional ideas of ethnicity, regionalism, cultural codes, religious identity, and conscious coalition.

John Damon also addresses the contexts of Anglo-Saxon culture in his "Disecto capite perfido: Bodily Fragmentation and Reciprocal Violence in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Exemplaria* 13: 399–432). Starting with Grendel's severed arm and the severed heads in *Beowulf*, Damon surveys and critiques recent scholarship in the field before turning to Anglo-Saxon cultural practices concerning beheading, fragmenting the body, and displaying the remains of defeated kings

as exemplified in Bede. Damon identifies a specific sequence of events, using Oswald of Northumbria as an example and calling the resulting scheme "the reciprocal trophification of royal remains" (405). Considering the possible origin of this scheme in Celtic material, Damon focuses rather upon its Germanic origin and the extent to which severed heads proliferate in Anglo-Saxon literature and ritual trauma is present in archaeological remains. He proposes that cultural misunderstanding of the beheading of a king as if it were a pagan act might have occasioned the desire to treat the resulting remains as trophies, even as part of a religious ritual. This conclusion arises from the cults of Oswald, Edwin, and the much later Edmund. Damon also notes the treatment of Byrhtnoth's head according to the *Liber Eliensis*, the treatment of decapitated heads of kings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the mutilation of Judas's enemies in Ælfric's version of the Maccabbees, and Judith's slaying of Holofernes. Returning to Bede, Damon notes reciprocal exchanges of the heads of defeated kings as a way to reflect the settlement of a feud, to demonstrate power over a despised enemy, to mark the destruction of the enemy's leadership or "head"-ship. He concludes that the beheading was a ritual act with deep religious and spiritual significance, a symbol of loss. Closing the envelope structure of the paper with *Beowulf*, Damon argues that the exchange of heads and hands is a reciprocal violence, an exchange of killings and decapitations brought to an end with the severing of Grendel's head, a final sign of victory allowing God to return to power.

Even less pleasantly, and not to be read as a lecture during mealtimes, is John Frankis, "From Saint's Life to Saga: the Fatal Walk of Alfred Ætheling, Saint Amphibalus and the Viking Bróðir," *Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research* 25 (1999): 121–37. Frankis starts with the Clontarf episode and the death of the viking leader Bróðir in *Njáls saga*, who perishes from having his entrails pulled out as he walks round and round an oak-tree. This fantasy treatment does not accord with saga narrative, but seems to depend on hagiographic tradition. Frankis considers other cases of this kind of death, including a possible parallel in Saxo Grammaticus, the martyrdom of St. Erasmus with a windlass, and even modern Danish folk-tale. He argues that the motif originated in England, whence it moved to Norway, the earliest mention being in the early twelfth century in Gaimar's *Estoire des Engleis*. The death is that of Alfred Ætheling in 1036, which in contemporary accounts involves blinding and death from his injuries at Ely. Gaimar adds this motif, perhaps to establish Alfred as a saint. After rehearsing the

uncertainty as to the location of Alban's relics, Frankis turns to the fictitious legend of St. Amphibalus as it developed in St. Albans in the late twelfth century. In the next century Matthew Paris picked up the story of Amphibalus's death, which then moved to Scandinavia, probably through Matthew's contacts.

The legend of soul and body is the concern of J. Justin Brent, both in thesis and article. The thesis, "The legend of soul and body in medieval England" (SUNY at Stony Brook, 2000), traces the evolution of the legend from its pre-Christian roots in Egyptian, Persian, Greek and Jewish accounts of the afterlife through the homiletic versions of the early middle ages to the twelfth-century debates and later versions in which the body articulates a reply to the wicked soul's recriminations. Brent argues that the changes in approach depend on the generic context in which the legend was being adapted. This argument appears centrally in "From Address to Debate: Generic Considerations in the *Debate Between Soul and Body*" (*Comitatus* 32: 1–18), which considers the *Royal Debate* of the twelfth century, the inspiration for both the Anglo-Norman poem *Un Samedi par Nuit* and the popular *Noctis sub Silentio*. The paper analyzes the *Royal Debate* in detail, including the *ubi sunt* motif, the food-for-worms motif (previously most elaborately treated in the Old English *Soul and Body*), the revivification of the body and the question of agency for sin. The body responds in ways that at times reflect the Old English homiletic tradition.

On a more apparently fanciful note, Marco Battaglia in "Nerthus as a Female Deity: The *interpretatio romana* and Tacitus' *Germania*, XL revisited" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 55: 1–14) starts with analysis of Tacitus's description of the Germanic deity Nerthus, the Mother Earth, in *Germania* ch. 40; notes similar ceremonies in Sozomen, Gregory of Tours, and Sulpicius Severus; briefly discusses the clutch of mother goddesses in the Roman pantheon; considers the relationship between Nerthus and the Old Norse god Njordr; recapitulates the etymological relationships among the gods known to Tacitus and to the Germanic peoples, including the ancestors of the Ingaevones; and rejects the identification of \*Ingw(i)az as Nerthus's husband in the OE *Rune Poem*, stanza twenty-two. The chariot in the stanza is a theme not exclusive to this divine tradition, nor are there sufficiently close, or historically appropriate, links to a relevant tribe of Ingaevones. The presence of Ing in both *Beowulf* and the *Rune Poem* seems more likely to result from a late borrowing from Old Norse than a complicated line of descent from Tacitus. Though

the dating implications of Battaglia's conclusion will remain uncertain, the implausibility of connection to Tacitus certainly seems likely, and Battaglia confirms Karl Helm's 1913 conclusions on this question.

The *Rune Poem* also figures in Audrey L. Meaney's "The Hunted and the Hunters: British Mammals in Old English Poetry" (*ASSAH* 11 [2000]: 95–105). Working her way through poetic references to predators (wolves, boars, and bears), the grazers including two native species of deer (roe deer, and red deer), and the obscure creature in the *Rune Poem* line 28, the *iar*, Meaney considers the context, dismisses the notion of the hippopotamus, and turns to two mammals native to England which might better fit the description of a river fish with a home surrounded by water who partakes of food on land: the beaver and the otter. She considers Aldhelm's *Enigma* 56, which is devoted to the beaver, archaeological and written records of the medieval beaver, and zoological material demonstrating the beaver's fitness for being the *iar*. The otter depends more on fish for its diet, but might still be appropriate. The paper turns to the mammal of Riddle 15 in the Exeter Book, opening *Hals is min hwit ond heafod fealo*. From the opening description she concludes that the animal in question is tawny (her chosen translation of *fealo*), with a white neck, tall ears, noticeable eyes, and the ability to move fast on clawed toes. Using the habitat and behaviour of the animal as elucidated in the riddle, Meaney dismisses previous solutions of badger, porcupine, hedgehog, and weasel in favour of the red fox. Particularly telling is the immediate tendency, when threatened by an enemy in the dwelling-place, to move the young, carrying them to safety. The attacker is a dog, probably a terrier since it follows its game underground, and Meaney considers the meagre archaeological and sculptural evidence for this kind of small dog in Anglo-Saxon England; for example, the Bayeux Tapestry has two small dogs in a grouping of five dogs in one scene. Closer parallels come in sixteenth-century and also modern descriptions of terriers hunting foxes. In the riddle, the fox, here clearly a vixen, is engaged in a just war against a malicious attacker, a devoted mother, perhaps metaphorically a mother defending her children against the Vikings, and perhaps even a type for Christ (though this suggestion is less convincing). In any case, Meaney suggests that Anglo-Saxon writers were establishing the place of animals and humans in the world order with precise and elegant metaphorical language.

Precision in language is also the concern of Ruth Carroll in "The Thief in the Night: An Error in a Textual Note from Klinck's *Old English Elegies*" (*ELN* 38:

19–20). She notes, with respect to *Resignation* 15b–16a that the footnote to the Devil coming as a thief in the night should change, since it is the Son of Man, Jesus, who comes as a thief in the night in both Mt 23:43 and Lk 12:39. The devil's not in the details here.

#### *Language and Poetic Form*

In the Charles Eliot Norton Lectures for 1967–68 (*This Craft of Words*, ed. Calin-Andrei Mihailescu [Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard UP, 2000]), Jorge Luis Borges defines poetry with reference both to specific Old English words and to the Anglo-Saxon mindset; for example, he quotes and translates into English lines 31b–33a of *The Seafarer*, and analyzes Tennyson's translation of *Battle of Brunanburh*. He describes the "harsh language" of Old English as having "a certain kind of beauty" (105). These references, and the genuine knowledge and love with which Borges refers to Old English poetry, are a reminder that the book he wrote with Maria Esther Vazquez, *Literaturas germánicas medievales* in 1951, has yet to be seriously considered (perhaps by way of translation into English) by those studying the history of our discipline. More specifically, Borges the poet focused on the details of usage by individual poets in England.

Shiraz Felling is also interested in the Anglo-Saxon oral poet, but juxtaposes the poet against a modern print journalist for a very different set of conclusions in "The Oral Poet as 'News Reporter': Taking Another Look at the Anglo-Saxon Scop," *Texas Linguistic Forum* 43 (2000): 41–55. She proposes that the scop served the same purpose as a print journalist, imparting external information in the form of a narrative for an illiterate society, paid as a full-time employee who is largely anonymous. The news was both entertaining and informative, and both the scop and the news reporter use attention-getting devices to seize and shape public opinion. However, both also use repetition and formulaic structures, which Felling interprets as a need for tradition, for "conventionalized discourse structure, routinized phraseology, and repeated themes" (46). Like Borges she cites the *Battle of Brunanburh*, in this case as an example of the news technique of non-chronological sequencing, with the outcome, then various scenes from the battle moving forwards and backwards in time. Less convincingly, she addresses the use of the Anglo-Saxon formula for memorization, and links this with the idioms, proverbs, and other routinized expressions used in contemporary news-writing, such as "time and again" and "when all is said and done." Finally, she looks very briefly at repeated themes, calls to the familiar, such as the hero on the

beach and exile in Old English, or the Cinderella story, references to a Svengali figure, or the rags-to-riches formula in contemporary news stories and suggests in all cases that these usages are to influence (or manipulate) the audience into a particular reaction. Some of Felling's assumptions might be open to dispute, but not her efforts to think about the purpose of these usages. Also interested in the scop, though again through a different lens, is Donna Schlosser, whose dissertation "Anglo-Saxon private identities: through the eyes of the scop" (U of South Florida, 2000) considers elegies but also historical and gnomic poems for their intimate depictions of the Anglo-Saxon heart and mind. She is particularly concerned with poetic passages in which time freezes and the hearts and souls of fictional characters are revealed.

Interested in these issues some fifty years ago, E.G. Stanley has other concerns today. His two-part article in *NM* 102 is "Playing upon Words, I" (339–56) and "Playing upon Words, II" (451–68). Wordplay is the subject of his learned study, which ranges from Freud's celebrated book on wit (and its unacknowledged sources, including the philologist Kuno Fischer and the children of Edward Robert Bulwer, first Earl Lytton) to the phonemics of puns in Helge Kökeritz on Shakespeare, and his sources L. Wurth and Alexander J. Ellis. He passes by malapropisms, Shoaf's analysis of holes in "The Miller's Tale" (not favorably received), how humorous verse need not satisfy both eye and ear, Housman, Byron's wit in *Don Juan* and his xenolalic rhyming (i.e., involving foreign phonemes); Stanley arrives late in Part I at the "untranslatableness of English wordplay" beginning in Old English. He refers to Cain as *fag* in *Beowulf* 1263b as having both possible meanings, and analyzes *manfordædan* (563a) as both "destroyer of humans, cannibal" and "wicked destroyer" through paronomastic repetition, probably for rhetorical effect. Passages with several examples of this kind of play on words are to be found in *Beowulf* 107b–110, in *Genesis A*, and in *Durham*. In some ways a natural concomitant of alliteration, this kind of rhetorical effect also occurs in such parallels as *rod* and *rodor*, especially in *Elene* (no fewer than a dozen times), and the metathesis of *folde mid flode* in *Genesis A* and *Hávamál*. On the other hand, in *Daniel* 204, the hypermetric line *guman to þam gylðnan gylde* does not involve as obvious a pun as is usually perceived since it looks like a West-Saxonized spelling. Other pairs that are not pairs are *yðde* and *yðe*, or *heorot* and *heoru*, although Roberta Frank's example of *treo* and *treow* in *Maxims I* is convincing. Stanley moves away from Old English to consider the question of how close a pair of words must be for a reader

or hearer to think it paronomastic, assessing parallels from *The Owl and the Nightingale*, Chaucer's *Troilus and Criseyde* and its successor by Shakespeare, and one of the Harley lyrics, before arriving at Pope, and an epitaph punning on "rest" as death and also domestic peace. In Part II, Stanley starts with different parts of speech based on the same stem, roaming from Goethe on *Sprache* and *sprechen*, to Byron, then turns to simple wordplay of sound and sense with a pun doubtfully ascribed to Philostratus, the sermons of Thomas Adams, and Byron's poetry. Other kinds of word-play include syntactic ambiguity, nonce-words or witty invented names, and scurrility including the Old English *Riddles*—for which Stanley uses Riddle 42 as an example of a previously unconsidered nonce-formation, *heanmode*, as a play with *hana* and *hæn* (cock and hen). He considers compounds with *-mod* as the second element and notes that this formation could be a combination of *\*hanmod* and *\*henmod*, creating "cock-and-hen-spirited" ones. He compares Shakespeare's "libbetmaker" from *Titus Andronicus* and Byron's "weatherology." Rhyming and alliterative effects can heighten paronomasia, as for example in *Exodus* 463b *Flod blod gewod*, or Wulfstan's "highly ornamental *Kunstprosa*" (460) with its rhyming pairs. Other examples of wordplay include chiasmus, iteration, incongruities which can lead to bathos or be produced by zeugma (referring to the Wycliffite Bible and Pope's "Rape of the Lock"), and parodic perversions or burlesquing. Playing upon words does not reduce itself easily to categorizing, involving as it does both sound and sense, and especially wit.

Stanley's central point is that wit and wordplay work in many ways throughout English and other literatures, but especially well in poetry. Jan Cermák considers another poetic device, the bahuvrihi compound, as central to OE poetic diction in his "A *prow* in foam: The Old English Bahuvrihi Compound as a Poetic Device," *Prague Studies in English (Acta Universitatis Carolinae)* 22 (1997): 13–31. Focusing on *Beowulf* and *Andreas*, Cermák defines bahuvrihi compounds as a hyponym of some unexpressed semantic head, specifically a "zero" head lying outside the A+B combination. They arise from an Indo-European process of naming, and the metonymical or synecdochic transfer of the name for a striking feature results in a hidden adjectival character which marks the "pure" or "linear" bahuvrihi compound. The most common in Old English are the Adj+N compounds such as *brunecg* or *geomormod*, although the "reversed" N+Adj, e.g. *modgeomor*, *higerof* and the "extended" with derivational suffixes, e.g. *anhýdig*, *wundenstefna*, also occur (Cermák provides a complete list in an appendix). Of

the fifty-eight bahuvrihis (eighty-two occurrences) in *Beowulf*, 82.4% are associated solely with the poetic register; the figure is lower in *Andreas*, in which 70.2% of the thirty-seven bahuvrihis (fifty-seven occurrences) are poetic. The article comments on the semantic and syntactic functions of these compounds, unsurprisingly concluding that they can be subjects, direct objects, and subjective complements, and rarely adjectival supplementives and adjectives at the head of a supplementive clause. Thus bahuvrihi compounds are often appositives, especially in *Beowulf*, and also often can be referentially unresolved, structures that contribute to a shifting narrative perspective. While the syntactic complexity of *Beowulf* no doubt has other aspects, Cermák ably presents the role of these compounds in maintaining the referential uncertainty, techniques of variation, and metonymic usages in such passages as *Beowulf's* return to Geatland (ll. 1905–14).

Variation is also the focus of Erick Kelemen's "*Clyppan* and *cyssan*: The Formulaic Expression of Return from Exile in Old English Literature" (*ELN* 38: 1–19). The alliterating pair of the title, marking a type scene of the real or imagined return of an exile or traveller, occurs in *The Wanderer*, Genesis, and the OE version of the Gospel of Luke (in the story of the prodigal son). The thirteen instances of the collocation include two in verse, but all show syntactic similarity and seem to be a formula, especially when the pair occurs as an addition to a Latin source. Kelemen works through all the instances of the collocation, concluding that it is overwhelmingly Christian—something which complicates its appearance in *The Wanderer*, but which Kelemen suggests is the result of a textual environment, an intertextual mapping of complex exchanges and shared ideologies. Another axis of that mapping leads into explicitly sexual meanings, including in Middle English, in Chaucer's "Merchant's Tale." However, Kelemen argues that the sexual innuendo is suppressed or frustrated when the collocation appears only as men greet each other on three occasions in the Old English translation of Genesis, or, more convincingly, when Diocletian looks for three virgins but finds himself embracing and kissing the pots and pans in the *Old English Martyrology*. Finally, Kelemen suggests that the Old English gloss to the *Regularis Concordia* cancels a sexual meaning as the monks are proscribed from *clyppende ... cyssende* the young boys. This seems the long way round to suggesting that the term refers to sexual behavior, but its surviving usages either proscribe that behavior or hint at it.

Patrizia Lendinara addresses another aspect of Old English linguistic usage in "Tradurre dall'anglosassone:

il mare 'salato' in *Testo medievale e traduzione*, ed. Maria Grazia Cammarota and Maria Vittoria Molinari, Serie Traduzione Letteraria (Bergamo: Bergamo UP), 237–70. The formula *sealt sæ* and its ancillaries is a common one in Old English texts; Lendinara starts with a survey of the words for “sea” before turning to a detailed analysis of the uses of the formula in OE poetry, including its occurrence in translations from Latin. *Sealt mere*, *sealte flodas*, *sealt mersc*, *sealte streamas* and five further variations of *sæ* receive similar ample treatment, with each usage quoted and considered. The formula appears frequently in the metrical psalter, usually signalled by the Latin or by the glossed psalters. She concludes that metrically the formula works, and occasionally, as in *Maxims II*, the saltiness is an eternal characteristic of the sea. Lendinara moves onto the prose, reviewing the occurrences of *sealt* with words for the sea in Byrhtferth, Ælfric’s homily on Cuthbert (which demonstrates many variations in usage), and several other texts. The formula occurs interestingly in both *Solomon and Saturn* and *Adrian and Ritheus* (two texts which are a leitmotif of this year’s work), and the motif of the salt sea linking with the salt tears of sorrow appears in *Judgment Day II*. Salt has a positive value in Old English texts, reflecting its biblical usage and its importance in nutrition and medicine. After briefly considering other medieval Germanic uses of the formula, Lendinara concludes that referring to the ocean’s saltiness provides another qualitative aspect to the sea, similar to its breadth, vastness, and difference from the earth. The collocation seems to develop from ancient Germanic poetry, although it was frequently used in translation poetry.

Maria Rita Digilio turns to a third aspect of vocabulary study in her “Sulle denominazioni del tempo nella poesia anglosassone,” *Linguistica e Filologia* 13: 39–65. Her focus is the many lexemes in OE designating time and their frequent occurrence in fixed expressions in the poetry. Time is both spatial and epiphanic, following Augustine; Digilio provides extensive examples of each word for time and its usage, including especially the structure of time phrases and the adjectives and demonstrative adjectives used with each noun. In some texts time is a more positive feature than others, so that phrases such as *þa halgan tid* occur rather than *þa grimman tid*. The importance of alliteration in these phrases also varies, as does the need for an adjective. *Fyrst*, for example, already carries the semantic weight of a specific length of time, while *mæl* imparts a multiplicity of moments. The syntactic structure of the time reference also marks the difference between *chronos* and *kairos*, since the critical charge of the

latter appears in such phrases as *Tid is þæt þu fere*. Finally, some time-words carry negative implications; *þrag*, for example, never suggests an enjoyable length of time, but always a time of suffering or endurance.

Scandinavian England is rounding into poetic form, with two articles (and one more, on the Danelaw in Middle English, which will be considered here) from *Vikings and the Danelaw*, ed. James Graham-Campbell *et al.* (Oxford: Oxbow). “Skaldic verse in Scandinavian England” is Judith Jesch’s topic (313–25), and she provides a very useful and careful introduction to Icelandic poets in England, and to the skaldic verse composed and performed at courts in Scandinavian England. The very useful centerpiece of the chapter is a corpus of skaldic verse composed for performance in England, and its obverse, the material excluded. Her survey includes the six poems with clear evidence of an English context and the eight poems addressed to a king or earl who ruled in England but lacking evidence that they were performed before him in England. In the final section, Jesch makes some interdisciplinary links, first to the occurrences of Norse gods and myths in the poems, second considering Egill’s poem to Æthelstan as a feature of the king’s xenophilia, third linking Egill’s poem about Arinbjorn to his visits to York and the warrior portraits of Anglo-Scandinavian sculpture, and fourth analyzing the poem on Waltheof by Þorkell Skallason. The poem uses Old Norse to remember a subject of purely English interest somewhere in England in the late 1070s. Jesch concludes that the conditions for the preservation of Anglo-Scandinavian verse were not good, and there were few contexts in which high-status, high-profile Scandinavian figures could be found ruling in England, so these few surviving skaldic poems are the texts most certain to indicate poetic composition in Anglo-Scandinavian England.

In the next chapter of *Vikings and the Danelaw* John McKinnell considers a second genre: “Eddic poetry in Anglo-Scandinavian northern England” (327–44). He starts, perforce, with the dismissal of previous attempts to place eddic poetry in England, and turns to the mythological and legendary subjects of sculpture for a clearer sense of what stories were known in Anglo-Scandinavian England (two appendices delineate this evidence from Northumbria and Cumbria, which includes one to three examples each of eleven or twelve subjects). The carvings show images such as Óðinn being swallowed by Fenrir, or, less certainly, Tyr sacrificing his hand at the binding of Fenrir. McKinnell distinguishes between the brief and cryptic references found in skaldic verses, and the narrative

content of the eddic poems, which relate whole myths or legends. He concludes that eddic poems must have provided the background for the sculpture (with some, though perhaps not enough, care). He further argues that any given eddic poem with an English origin must have linguistic influence from Old English, metrical similarities to later Old English poetry, and cultural correspondences with English poetry. Two poems, in different ways, fit these criteria: *Volundarkviða* and *Brymskviða*. The last section of the paper identifies specific vocabulary parallels (more in *Vkv*), Old English meter and the loose or decorative alliteration of late OE verse (in both *Vkv* and *Þkv*), and the cultural connections (parallels to *Deor* in *Vkv*, the tied-on wings that allowed a man to fly in the *fiadrhamr* of *Þkv* and its parallels to Yorkshire sculpture and two later sagas associated with Henry II of England, and especially the parallels between *Þkv* and English folk-plays of the "Wooing Ceremony" type from a Norse-colonized area). McKinnell concludes that these two texts, in different ways, demonstrate that at least some eddic poetry of high quality was composed in Anglo-Scandinavian England.

An early version of what would today be called medievalism is the subject of Thorlac Turville-Petre, "Representations of the Danelaw in Middle English literature" (345–55). In the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries writers such as Robert of Gloucester, Robert Manning, and the anonymous author of the *Short English Metrical Chronicle* were concerned with national identity as essentially Saxon. Turville-Petre gives examples of their ethnic nationalism before turning to the different historical consciousness of those with a Danish heritage, as evidenced in *Havelok the Dane* (and the romance's sources in the aforementioned chronicles). *Havelok*, he argues, "communicates a sense of a society, a diversity of people together involved in the actions of just kings and faithless lords" (354) reaching towards an integrated nation, England.

Matthew Townend continues his exploration of skaldic verse in the Old English context with "Contextualizing the *Knútsdrápur*: skaldic praise-poetry at the court of Cnut," *ASE* 30: 145–79. This is another intelligent and detailed analysis of the field which will prove intransigent to summary. Townend starts with Cnut's court and its extensive poetic production, with eight skalds, and a list of six extant poems or fragments by those skalds, and an additional small collection of possible texts by others in honor of Cnut or his earls. The quantity of material is itself significant, and the evidence suggests to Townend that the poetry was composed during the reign of Cnut, not later. It therefore

merits attention both for its formal qualities as praise-poetry and for the socio-political function it served at Cnut's court. Townend considers that function briefly, disentangles two cruxes of Cnut chronology (the date of the battle of Holy River, and the number of pilgrimages made to Rome), and considers the various *Knútsdrápur* for their dating within Cnut's reign, comparing saga evidence and available dating material to create a chronology for the poems. He concludes an order of *Liðmannaflokkur* c. 1016–17, Þorðr's *Eiríksdrápa* c. 1016–23, Óttarr's *Knútsdrápa* (with or without stanza 11) c. 1027 and *lausavísa* c. 1027, Sigvatr's *Knútsdrápa* c. 1027, Þórarinn's *Hofuðlausn* c. 1027–8 and *Togdrápa* c. 1029, Hallvarðr's *Knútsdrápa* c. 1029, and Arnórr's fragment c. 1031–5 (161–2). The only real end-point for all these texts is Cnut's death, since Cnut's reign was relatively peaceful after 1028 and a peaceful reign does not lead to a large output of praise-poetry. The poets make do with laud in honor of Cnut's Christian kingship, but that is really insufficiently stirring. Townend continues with a detailed consideration of the geographical and physical contexts of the poems. He proposes that the two early poems are by insiders and both have a dual focus on Cnut and someone else, but with central concern for Cnut's charismatic leadership. Ascribing all the poems to England, Townend considers that, although the court was also itinerant, the poems largely originate from either London or Winchester, the economic center of the country or the ancient royal seat of Wessex. The evidence for Winchester as the seat of culture is persuasive, including even epigraphical and sculptural evidence of extensive Danish presence. Townend agrees with L.M. Larson, who suggested in 1912 that aristocratic Danish culture was centered in Winchester in the reign of Cnut. The specific context of these poems is Townend's last concern; the texts emphasize Cnut's success in defeating the Anglo-Saxons and might therefore seem out of place in the center of Anglo-Saxon power, yet they reflect the concerns of Cnut's house-carls, the aristocratic Danes who were at the core of Cnut's court in the 1020s. Although other recent studies have emphasized Cnut's Englishness after his accession, the evidence of these poems provides evidence for his continuing Norseness. This can also be seen in the names he chose for his children; the *Knútsdrápur* reflect the very wide extent of Cnut's skaldic patronage and also provide evidence of a very clear context for a large group of poems which form a part of the late Anglo-Saxon cultural world, and a part rarely, if ever, acknowledged by Anglo-Saxonists. This is an important study.

Works on genre were rare in 2001; only Piergiuseppe Scardigli discusses biblical poetry or *Bibeldichtung* in

"Cantori Biblici fra Inghilterra e Germania" in *La scrittura infinita: Bibbia e poesia in età medievale e umanistica*, ed Francesco Stella (Firenze: SISMEL, Edizioni del Galuzzo), 433–47. Scardigli reviews recent analyses of the field of medieval biblical poetry before turning to a careful analysis of Bede's *cantore*, *Cædmon*. He compares the poets in *Beowulf*, the paraphrase of the Lord's Prayer in the *Heliand*, lists the extant Germanic biblical poetry, and by comparison to Dante discusses the germanicization of this Christian material.

Oddly, meter also did not figure largely in this year, with only three short papers which could be argued as principally metrical in their focus. Thomas Bredehoft, for example, in "Estimating Probabilities and Alliteration Frequencies in Old English Verse" (*OEN* 34.1 [Fall 2000]: 19–23) follows up the influential and hitherto unrevisited paper of A.S.C. Ross on various kinds of alliteration rates for Old English poetry. Bredehoft notes that Ross's preliminary numbers are based on counts of initial sounds in Old English prose, and starts therefore with the more logical poetry of lines 101–1100 of *Beowulf*. He considers next consecutive alliterating lines, and discovers a very wide variation between *Beowulf* and the metrical psalter. Linking alliteration seems to be a random occurrence, as is cross alliteration—including a non-alliterating but stressed element in the a-verse (Bredehoft says a-line and b-line throughout but a-verse or on-verse would make more sense and will be used here) with either one, two, or three non-alliterating stressed elements in the b-verse. Where cross alliteration occurs more frequently than the random statistical model would suggest, it might be used for a heightened poetic effect, as for instance in the opening one hundred lines of *Beowulf*, as against the way in which the *Azarias* poet avoids cross alliteration almost altogether (only three occurrences, one of them really transverse alliteration). Similar patterns occur in Riddle 3, *Judgment Day I*, which thus seem to avoid this perceptible poetic effect. As Judith stands over Holofernes, the lines of *Judith* show extensive cross alliteration (ll. 83–7) as a rhetorical flourish. Similarly at the end of *The Order of the World*, the hypermetric lines permit both cross and linking alliteration. The alliterative qualities of a given Old English word have not, it seems, been fully explored. Bredehoft here suggests some of the directions in which research might turn.

Secondly, Christopher M. Cain considers "Phonology and Meter in the Old English Macaronic Verses" in *Studies in Philology* 98: 273–91. His concern is the phonological nativization of Latin, based on the idea that a theory of meter depends on "massive and observable

regularity" (274). He considers the stress and phonological shifts of some Latin words, before turning to the macaronic verse in *The Phoenix* 667–77, *A Summons to Prayer*, 31 lines (from CCCC MS 201), and *Aldhelm*, 17 lines surviving (CCCC MS 326). The Latin in these texts can be defective, which means that Cain works hard at the translations he provides. The paper then works through the strictly observed rules of alliteration, which provide a guide to the Latin stress and demonstrate that the poets tried to use disyllabic words in which there was no contradiction between Latin stress and Old English alliterative rules. However, he finds that the Latin words also have open-syllable lengthening, necessary in several instances in order to provide Type A metrical verses and probably the result of a shift from classical Latin vowel lengths to vulgar Latin. He considers the relevant possibilities for interpreting trisyllabic words, finding Latin names such as *Maria* useful in stress shifts to the left, producing a residual secondary stress and lengthening the newly stressed initial syllable. Thus verses such as *sancta Maria*, *Christ I* 87b, or *mundi redemptor*, *Summons* 12b are not Type A but Type D\*1, even though they occur in the off-verse. Cain concludes this careful paper (every other possibility is investigated and considered along the way) with the tentative suggestion that he has perhaps extended the observations of Pogatscher, Sievers, Luick, and Campbell with respect to late borrowings and the state of Latin in Anglo-Saxon England. He has.

Finally Mary Blockley's "Axiomatic Implications of a Non-Occurring Heavy Verse in Old English" (*Parergon* 18.1 [2000]: 1–10) addresses the theoretical Sievers Type D in which "the first, alliterating word is a monosyllable, the second word is disyllabic but resolves under stress to a monosyllable, and the third word consists of an unstressed prefix followed by a monosyllable" (2). She demonstrates, with a range of vocabulary choices, examples of how this verse could be created (e.g. *eft sunu gefeng, god micel forgeaf*), avoiding words which do not always resolve in the second slot or possibly resolvable words such as the pronoun *hine* or the preposition *ofer*, which never resolves. She concludes that the possible sequences of syllables are acceptable both for lexical and syntactic reasons, and that minimal pairs are necessary to reveal why the verse does not occur. Study of similar verses suggests that the critical point is indeed the second word, which must be a simple structure devoid of metrical complexity, such as *Fyrst forð gewat* (*Beowulf* 210a) or *Monig oft gesæt* (171b). Blockley rearranges other lines from *Beowulf* into this structure in order to demonstrate that the "non-occurring verse form offends

in that the resolution cannot be alliteratively reinforced" (7). Furthermore, resolution depends here not only on the position in the verse but on the etymological length of the resolving syllable and upon the moraic weight of the syllable itself. If a short syllable bears metrical stress, she concludes, there are specific rules for its resolution, and those rules affect not only the hypothetical but non-occurring verse-type with which Blockley began her investigation, but also some varieties of Type A verses not frequently found in the surviving corpus. Moreover, even the surviving prose corpus seems to show some discomfort with short stressed syllables, which foreshadows the lengthening of these syllables in Middle English.

M.J.T.

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#### b. Individual Poems

##### *Andreas*

Antonina Harbus examines the conceptual and aesthetic principles underlying the Old English verse translation of the apocryphal legend of St. Andrew in

"A Mind for Hagiography: The Psychology of Resolution in *Andreas*" (*Germanic Texts and Latin Models*, ed. Olsen *et al.*, 127–40). Harbus scrutinizes the Anglo-Saxon poet's emphasis on the active role of the mind as reflected in his alterations of and additions to the legend as it has come down to us in other sources. She sees the hagiographic model as "an ideal venue for exploring the mental world of temptation in a new context in which the spiritual world is of prime importance" (128). Read in this light, *Andreas* emerges as "a poetic enunciation of the psychology of reluctance and resolution" (128). Good and evil are not so much opposing forces in a dualistic universe, but rather "different mental positions," whereby a change of mind is affected either through the reason-sapping poison of the Mermedonians or the "Christian magic of God and his agents in the form of conversion, presumably to restore or provide reason" (128). In what follows, Harbus isolates and analyzes the relevant narrative elements involved in this process, compares the Old English poem to analogues, and concludes that this focus on the mental aspect was an innovation of the Anglo-Saxon poet: "Unlike the sources, most of the poem is devoted to Andrew's psychological preparation for his evangelical mission, even as he journeys towards Mermedonia and is being tortured there" (128). Harbus shows convincingly how Andrew's mental trials are rendered more prominent and important than his physical tribulations, and moreover how his initial reluctance to embark on the mission to the Mermedonians is transformed into spiritual resolution. Key narrative scenes that illustrate this focus on the mind include Andrew's discussion with God concerning that journey and the dream his disciples have on the way to their destination. Harbus's analysis of these passages is incisive and cogent, and a comparison of Andrew's resultant state of mind with the Mermedonians provides a revealing contrast (135). When Andrew is tortured by them, he enters the final stage of his psychological development, his mind is strengthened and he is exonerated from sin: "His success over the demon who visits him in his cell is a verbal defeat which produces an articulation of faith and thereby brings resolve" (137). The authorial interruption of the narrative that occurs at 1699b-1702a is seen by virtue of its placement here as the point at which Andrews "loses his last shred of doubt, mark[ing] the end of the psychological journey with this dramatic change of pace" (139). The subsequent narrative, Harbus notes, is the most conventionally hagiographic part of the poem, with its dramatic conversion of the Mermedonians and its homiletic discourse on sin. Thus, "the narrator's interruption and its placement in *Andreas* can be read as a shaping influence in this interactive relationship between text



and audience" (139). Andrew's mental reorientation is complete and Mermedonians are about to undergo a serious change of worldview. Harbus argues again, convincingly, that the added emphasis on Andrew's psychological reinforcement is to be seen as a necessary and planned preparation for the authorial interruption (1699b-1702a), which in turn exhorts the reader to focus on the life of the mind: "In these two departures from source material in *Andreas*, we can perceive the shaping influence of didacticism within the vernacular poetic aesthetic as well as the cultural focus on the mental world" (140).

#### Charms

John Richardson reads the Old English charm *Wið Færstice* as an expression of syncretic appropriation of pre-Christian pagan concepts in "Pagan and Christian Syncretism in an Anglo-Saxon Charm" (*Mankind Quarterly* 42: 21-45). Such a reading of this text may be seen to support the larger theory that "missionary Christianity absorbed many pre-Christian religious beliefs" in Anglo-Saxon England (21). Rather than attempt to reconstruct the original pagan charm, Richardson argues, we should view this text as the product of a Christian society, a society that appropriated and transformed pre-Christian concepts in ways very similar to twentieth-century Mexican Catholicism. This analogy is a key pillar of Richardson's argument, and one he develops fully (23). Richardson further compares the charm to the pagan sanctuaries that Gregory urged his missionaries to preserve and appropriate, rather than destroy, as he outlined in his famous letter to Abbot Mellitus: "in the light of the syncretic understanding of Christianity, the elements of *Wið Færstice* become more coherent than in most preceding attempts to understand the poem. The apparently pagan elements which so attracted the Germanic philologists of a century ago are, to be sure, survivals of paganism, but they are converted survivals living on in a Christian world" (26). Richardson goes on to explain a number of references in the poem in light of this syncretic view. For example, the reference to *þa mihtigan wif* ('the mighty women') in the second stanza and the men referred to thereafter are, Richardson concludes, a group of six smiths found in Germanic mythology. The resonant and puzzling repetition of *hlude* in the opening line (*Hlude wæron hy, la, hlude*) Richardson reads as "an echo of or reference to the name of the old Germanic Goddess *Hludena* or *Holda*, who is also perhaps *Hlóðyn*, Thor's mother" (31). Further details pass in similar fashion. The meaning of the term *hægtesse* is analyzed and an interpretation offered: "If such a *hægtesse* has shot one in the skin, flesh, blood, or

limb, then the *færstice* must be nothing else than male sexual dysfunction" (39). Richardson reads the charm as a response to witchcraft, witchcraft presumably aimed at a Christian believer "by a number of figures who are followers of the goddess *Holda/Perchta*" (43). The three groups of pagan figures represented in the poem are united and packed off to "their mountain hall to face the Christian Lord" (43). "One is tempted," says Richardson, "to see a remembrance of the retreat of the Old Religion before the New Christian Faith in this reading of the charm. But, in fact, however much the Old Religion may have retreated, in history and in the charm, the Old Religion is not eradicated, it is absorbed and a syncretism results" (43). Like the Virgin of Guadalupe, the most important icon of Mexican Catholicism, *Wið Færstice* is the product of a Christian culture which represents the kinds of pagan traditions that "are at the heart of what is the orthodoxy of a large part of the Catholic world" (45).

In three very brief pieces on Anglo-Saxon charms, K. A. Laity offers basic commentary, an edition, and a translation. The intended audience is the contemporary lay, pagan/Wiccan readership of this journal in print and online (<http://seekerjournal.org>). In "Against a Swarm of Bees: Anglo-Saxon Charm" (*The Seeker Jnl* 13.3: 11), Laity provides text and translation after a few introductory remarks on OE alliteration and the importance of bee-keeping. In "Anglo-Saxon Charm against a Wen" (*The Seeker Jnl* 13.3: 18-19) Laity proffers that "This charm can easily be adapted to remove from your life any unwelcome presence (and works well, in my experience!)," while in "Erce: Earth Goddess" (*The Seeker Jnl* 13.2: 12-13) Laity's text and translation is accompanied by the comments that "A number of charms with similarly pagan attributes appear in other medireview [sic] manuscripts" and "Unlike many modern Christians, these monks did not seem to feel a need to deny their pagan past."

#### *The Coronation of Edgar, The Death of Edgar*

In a useful pedagogical piece ("The Canonicity of Two Edgar Poems," *Heroic Age* 3: n.p., online), J.C. Weale responds in part to a recent discussion on ANSAXNET on teaching the canon in Old English studies. Weale's discussion of *The Coronation of Edgar* and *The Death of Edgar* is offered as an outline for illustrating the "general literary background of texts which stem from the late tenth and early eleventh centuries." The purpose is to give students insight into "the two great institutions which governed Anglo-Saxon society, the Church and the State," which in turn should allow students to have a better grasp of the place of the works of men like

Wulfstan and Ælfric within a “coherent movement on the part of both Church and State.” These poems from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* were chosen to illustrate that the corpus of Old English literature is the “expression of an organised society” and to provide students with insights into the cultural background of later Anglo-Saxon literature. Weale gives three explicit reasons governing their choice: 1) their relatively simple grammar and syntax; 2) their incorporation of literary techniques common to the canon; and 3) their common demonstration of the socio-political tone of the period and the Church’s concern with the stability of the State. Weale’s discussion of these texts provides the basis for a lecture “which shows the relevance of *The Coronation* and *The Death of Edgar* to a variety of other texts within the canon, and which allows references to be made to various other works in the canon.”

### Elene

In a characteristically rich study, “Cynewulf’s Epilogue to *Elene* and the Tastes of the Vercelli Compiler: A Paradigm of Meditative Reading” (*Lexis and Texts*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 187–201), Éamonn Ó Carragáin demonstrates how Cynewulf’s incorporation of a portrait of a monastic reader in his epilogue to *Elene* corresponds to the concept of devotional reading held by the compiler of the Vercelli Book. Close examination of this section of the poem reveals a three-fold emphasis on Cynewulf’s efforts to read and assimilate the legend of the Cross (1236–42a; 1242b–51a; 1251b–7a), and these statements are not, he argues, merely descriptive: “They are implicitly prescriptive, designed to drive home a paradigm or model of what devotional reading should involve. That is, they are designed to teach the sequence of spiritual dispositions which should be cultivated during meditative reading” (191). In the pages that follow, Ó Carragáin examines the three elements of the paradigm: 1) fear of the Lord, which leads to 2) rumination on the texts available and 3) digression into prayer. Cynewulf uses his rumination on the Cross to prepare for the Last Day, and his ending of the poem with the Judgment scene had a devotional purpose, in Ó Carragáin’s view: it “provided the strongest motivation for the sort of prayerful reading he describes at the beginning of the epilogue” (199). Moreover, the sequence of spiritual states that Ó Carragáin identifies in the body of the poem and the epilogue may well have coincided with the way the Vercelli scribe felt he should approach the act of reading *Elene*. As for Cynewulf, “The primary function of Cynewulf’s study of material on the Cross was to make his mind receptive to a higher activity, the activity of prayer. He wrote his poem to encourage his readers to

open their hearts in turn to the promptings of the same Spirit and, thus inspired, to pray for his soul” (199).

In “Cynewulf’s *Elene*: From Empress to Saint” (*Germanic Texts and Latin Models*, ed. Olsen et al., 141–56), Karin Olsen takes a close look at Cynewulf’s motives for adapting the character of Helena he found in his source text. She argues quite cogently that the poet’s representation of the empress “reflects his own orthodox attitudes towards women, attitudes that lead him to alter the status and qualities attributed to the empress in the Latin versions of the legend” (42). Olsen provides us first with a thorough overview of Helena in those Latin versions, and then contrasts this with Cynewulf’s presentation of *Elene*. One significant alteration is that *Elene* lacks the intellectual and political prowess of her Latin counterpart. The reasons for these changes have been variously interpreted by critics, and Olsen goes on to discuss problems inherent in the two main explanations offered by the critics: 1) that *Elene* was meant to represent the Church Militant, and 2) that his characterization here contributed to Constantine being seen as the gentile successor of Old Testament kings and patriarchs (in Cynewulf’s version he eclipses *Elene* in importance). Olsen notes that Cynewulf departs from his source in ways that reveal his own attitude towards women. “Rather than following his source’s portrayal of Helena as an autonomous female commander, Cynewulf emphasizes the unique and dangerous nature of this role” (148). Cynewulf’s orthodoxy is revealed, she argues, by such passages as lines 240b–42 (“Never did I hear before or afterwards of a woman leading a fairer troop on the water-stream, on the sea-road”), where “The mere notion of a woman in charge of a large troop of men and women must have been strange indeed for any clergyman who had internalized the identification of femininity with passion” (149). *Elene* shows weakness at a crucial moment in the narrative, weakness of a kind that Cynewulf’s ideal female saint, Juliana, would never reveal (151). The Latin Helena, Olsen argues, is inspired by the Holy Spirit to study and possesses two distinctly masculine weapons: chastity and literacy. Cynewulf deprives *Elene* of the intellectual capacities of her source, and he does so because “he feels uncomfortable with the notion of a woman saint being engaged in self-study” (152). But by transforming *Elene* into a more feminine (by his lights) and less rational leader, Cynewulf may be seen to endanger her role as inspired *Mile Christi*. Cynewulf solves this dilemma, Olsen notes, by removing entirely the spiritual motivations for such study found in the source. The result of these alterations and others is that *Elene* becomes a faithful deputy to the emperor, rather than a forceful leader

in her own right, and Olsen reads this as Cynewulf's "response to his uneasiness towards politically powerful women" (154). Elene undergoes a conversion that is lacking in the Latin source and which reflects the anti-feminist view promoted by the Church in Cynewulf's day and age. He viewed her active role as the leader of a political mission as threatening; her violent reaction to Judas's stubbornness appears to confirm this: "once Judas has been converted himself, she loses much of her power and her 'female emotions' are gradually contained. When Elene is ready to go home, she is a near-to-perfect female saint who is only surpassed by virgin martyrs. Even the most orthodox authorities of the Roman Church must have been proud of this charismatic empress who had subjected herself to male reason" (156).

Alfred R. Wedel offers an analysis of the function of the past tense *ge*-compounded verbal forms in *Elene* as compared to their unprefixated counterparts in "Alliteration and the Prefix *ge*- in Cynewulf's *Elene*" (*JEGP* 100: 200–10). Wedel outlines the dominant subtypes of stress patterns found in *Elene* and concludes that "the *ge*-compounded verbal forms had a specific function other than providing a needed unstressed syllable in a given rhythmic unit" (202). This function, he posits, was to supply an "aspectual distinction" (202). Next Wedel reviews Wilhelm Streitberg's aspectual theory for Germanic with an eye toward salvaging parts of what has been proven an untenable model. Anglicists, too, have rejected the notion that such compounds could have aspectual significance, and instead assume that their significance is lexical (Wedel cites Mitchell and Hogg, 205). The key, in his view, is provided by a breakthrough publication on the subject by Albert L. Lloyd, who distinguishes three types of aspect: durative, constative and complexive, and shows, in Wedel's view, that Streitberg "was basically right in assuming that Germanic and Slavic possessed a formal aspectual distinction based on prefixation" (206). Wedel then employs the examples of *ge*-compounded verbal forms he presents in his opening pages to show that the prefix was used to achieve aspectual contrast. "By alternating—wherever possible—between the prefixed and the unprefixated verbal forms, Cynewulf was able to make his narration more vivid. He used the unprefixated forms for the background information and reserved the prefixed verbal forms for the major events" (210).

#### *Phoenix*

Daniel Paul O'Donnell opens his discussion of the relationship between the *Phoenix* and its Latin source ("Fish and Fowl: Generic Expectations and the Rela-

tionship between the Old English *Phoenix*-poem and Lactantius's *De ave phoenice*," *Germanic Texts and Latin Models*, ed. Olsen et al., 157–71) with a wonderfully apt comparison of a modern scientific description of the process for refining gold and an early modern allegorical pictorial representation of the same process. A modern audience, more or less schooled in contemporary scientific practice but certainly conditioned to recognize scientific prose, has difficulty recognizing the early modern illustration as scientific expression: "its failure to meet our generic expectations for how science should sound makes the science it actually contains almost completely unusable without translation" (159). O'Donnell observes that a similar difficulty presents itself when we try to read the OE *Phoenix* as a simple translation. He posits instead that the author of that poem sought a "generic model for his translation in order to make it intelligible as natural history to contemporary readers" (159). In what follows O'Donnell describes that model and reads the Anglo-Saxon poet's translation accordingly. The OE poet adapts and alters his source material in such a way as to make it accord with his own Christian view of the world, omitting many of Lactantius's overt references to pagan religion and mythology, and adding a long allegorical discussion (nearly 300 lines) of the bird's habits at the end. O'Donnell believes, however, that critics have been unsuccessful in explaining why the poet chose to adapt Lactantius's text the way he did, and he offers as explanation their "common failure to find a generic model for the poem" (163). The poet has, in O'Donnell's view, done more than Christianize the text; he "adapts Lactantius's description of the bird's habitat, behaviour and appearance to make them fit contemporary Anglo-Saxon generic expectations for how such natural history should sound" (164). The model employed by the poet is that of the *Physiologus*. Structural similarities to that genre seem obvious, but O'Donnell demonstrates convincingly how a number of previously confusing aspects of the *Phoenix* are clarified by comparison with this other tradition (165ff). He concludes that "[l]ike the alchemists, the *Phoenix* poet does not share modern audiences' preoccupation with separating science from art. For him natural history could be poetic as well as prosaic and a creature like the phoenix perfectly capable of functioning as both a spectacular fact of 'true' natural history and evidence for the perfection of God's creation. But like modern historians of alchemy, the Old English poet also recognized the extent to which 'scientific' information from one time must be translated to fit the generic expectations of another if it is to be truly understood" (170).

D.F.J.

## Works Not Seen

Maria Buzzoni. "Per una sintassi del testo iconico: il caso delle iniziali maiuscole nella *Battaglia di Brunanburh*." Maria Grazia Saibene and Marina Buzzoni, eds. *Testo e immagine nel medioevo germanico. Atti del XXVI Convegno dell'Associazione italiana di Filologia Germanica* (Venezia, 26–28 maggio 1999). Milan: Cisalpino, 2001: 281–95

*Christ I*

Rather than reading *Christ I* as a personal exhortation before the final judgment anticipated in *Christ III*, Lara Farina sees the Word made flesh and the word made text as a communal experience involving the erotic bodies of Christ and of his mother, Mary. "Before Affection: *Christ I* and the Social Erotic" (*Exemplaria* 13: 469–96) begins with an acknowledgement that scholars—with a few notable exceptions such as Clare Lees—have generally accepted that Anglo-Saxons were reticent about sexual matters and, consequently, surviving Old English texts offer little discussion of sexual topics or images. Perhaps, to the extent that we expect the arena for the erotic to be interior and private, we are looking in the wrong place. Since the experience of reading in Anglo-Saxon England is generally neither interior nor private, the erotic may be elusive because modern readers do not know how to see it properly. It may be hiding in plain view. Citing Judith Butler ("Gender Trouble, Feminist Theory and Psychoanalytic Discourse" in *Feminism/Postmodernism*, ed. Linda J. Nicholson [New York: Routledge, 1990]), Farina suggests there is "historical variability of the body/space in which the erotic unfolds" (475). In Old English literature, "spatial isolation is generally associated with solitude and deprivation, rather than privilege or freedom" (477). In other words, "the erotic, as a subjective topos and as a reading practice, will be inexorably bound up with shared, communal experience" (478). Suggesting that *Christ I* may have been used as part of some type of Advent liturgy, Farina concludes that the poem "doesn't just offer an image of Christ, it is a way to Him via the performance of a sacred drama" (482). The virtuous desire created by the text is a product of a collective, possibly repeated, physical performance of reading: "The poem's imagery shows us not an idealist or immaterial relation to God but a profound, self-conscious relation of human and divine bodies" (483). The poem presents a vision of the body of Christ that is both literal and metaphorical, as the body is flesh, but also a hall that is a church, the Church, and the City of God. The bodies of believers are a part of this universal body of

Christ through their devotion: "The poem encourages its readers to apprehend the corporeal self as a part of a larger social body and thus to align bodily practice with the desires of the corporate faithful" (485). The image is complicated by the identification of the body of Christ with the body of Mary, from whom his physical being proceeds. Here, the erotics of Marian devotion come fully into play, as her body is simultaneously revealed and hidden through the image of the Child at her breast and the mention of her womb, an impenetrable space of mystery that "evokes and then evades scrutiny" (488). As readers progress through the lyrics, they glimpse more and more of Mary's body as the poem pleads for revelation, yet parts remain obscure: "At its conclusion, then, the lyric sequence of *Christ I* has asserted that the true understanding of the Incarnation is attainable only through Mary's body, through penetration of the 'golden gates'" (490). Gradual revelation of this body and of the mysteries contained within and accomplished through it would heighten the desire of the readers, reminding them of their need for grace, the only way by which to gain access to the body of Christ and the body of the text: "The eroticism of *Christ I* ... focuses its gaze on the female body's interiority, but leaves that interior space obscure, half-seen. In these stratagems of reticence, the poem is characteristically Anglo-Saxon. But we should understand this restraint not as prudishness or even devout propriety, but as very deliberate and careful manipulation of sexual desire" (494–5). These erotic images sustain interest in the subject of the poem, and the desire evoked is directed to the public sphere; indeed, it is as part of the community and in public that the reader learns how to desire, not as an individual hidden away in a private space. Even Mary's body is more closed than private. Farina ends by suggesting that the fascination of the poem with these interior spaces may represent nascent notions of an inner self, especially "[t]he inner spaces of the female self—both bodily and spiritual—[which] were to become especially discussed, and particularly sexualized, as we may see in devotional literature (especially writings for anchorites) from the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. *Christ I*'s location of erotic interest in the half-visible interiority of the female body is thus perhaps its most lasting contribution to the history of sexual signification" (496).

*Daniel*

In "Hwalas ðec herigað": Creation, Closure and the *Hapax Legomena* of the OE *Daniel*" (*Lexis and Texts*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 105–16), J.-A. George lists thirty-four instances of *hapax legomena* in the poem *Daniel*

and divides them into parts of speech (twenty-one nouns, eight adjectives, and five verbs). They can also be divided according to topic, such as "Natural phenomena and the created world," a category that particularly interests George because the three *hapax legomena* he examines fall under it: *deawdrias* (l. 276a, emended in Krapp to *deaw dryge*), *brimfaropes* (l. 321b), and *manbealwes* (45b). In the first instance, George supports the conventional reading as "dewfall" and suggests that *on dæge* need not be read as "at that time" (as Lucas does in "Daniel 276" *N&Q* 221: 390–1); "during the day" need not negate the sense of "dewfall," given that the event described is meant to be miraculous and is seen through the eyes of Nebuchadnezzar; the appearance of an angel in the furnace, to say nothing of the survival of the Three Children, are sufficiently out of the ordinary to render dewfall during the day in keeping with the spirit of the poem. George discusses *brimfaropes*, not to contest the reading given by the *Thesaurus of Old English* ("coast, seashore") but to comment upon Alison Jones's contention that the word arises from an imperfectly remembered oral formula (the corresponding passage in *Azarias* reads *brimflodas*). The third *hapax legomenon*, *manbealwes* (for which the Chaldeans are eager), describes the early mood of the poem. George suggests that the events in *Daniel* are cyclical in nature: Nebuchadnezzar does evil, is punished, and attains a salvation that will die with him; Belshazzar begins the pattern anew, which leads to his vision of the writing on the wall. George ends his discussion by affirming that the poem is complete on thematic and structural grounds, though this assertion is perhaps less well supported than others in the essay.

#### *Exodus*

In his brief note, "Old English *ingere* and *gere* in *Exodus*" (*RES* n.s. 52: 327–30), Alfred Bammesberger demonstrates that no idea is ever too old to consider. Bammesberger notes that the word *ingere* in *Exodus* 33a is generally assumed to function as an adverb, "even if the meaning and grammatical analysis of the form cannot be definitively ascertained" (327–28). He discusses various proposed emendations, but in the end favors reconsidering a suggestion made by Mürkens over one hundred years ago and published in his dissertation, *Untersuchungen über das altenglische Exoduslied* (Bonner Beiträge zur Anglistik 2 [Bonn, 1899]: 92–3): the form is an adverb, *gere*, with an intensifying prefix *in-*. Bammesberger traces the etymological evidence that would support this reading and suggests that "[a] meaning like 'readily, promptly,' perhaps also 'completely,' suits the context. The starting point is an

adverbial formation with *\*-ī*, and *gere* may be considered as the phonologically regular reflex of *\*garwi* outside of West Saxon" (330).

Turning to a different area of language study, Rosemary Huisman applies systemic functional grammar to Old English in "Theme in *Exodus*: Grammatical Meaning and Spoken Syntax in Old English Poetry" (*Lexis and Texts*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 129–42). Systemic functional theory labels grammatical structure according to semantic function, demonstrating that syntax as well as morphology may determine Subject, Actor, Agent, and Theme (see M.A.K. Halliday's *An Introduction to Functional Grammar* [2nd ed. Oxford, 1994] for a fuller explanation of this theory). Huisman begins with an example from Modern English, a sentence from *Paradise Lost*, to illustrate the difference between a system that uses categories such as subject and predicate, and one that uses Subject, Agent, and others. It is possible to discuss semantic roles in an "ergative or 'causal' perspective, rather than the transitive or 'going across' perspective" (131). In the Milton passage, the poet makes use of syntax and the surviving morphology of pronouns in order to make Satan the Subject of the clause, though he is morphologically the direct object (expressed in the oblique *him*, which is the initial element of the clause). Since Old English is morphologically richer than Modern English, Anglo-Saxon poets should be able to exploit the structure of the language to broaden interpretive possibilities. From available evidence, Huisman determines that by the late Old English period, the usual element order was subject-initial; for this reason, "in statements in the declarative Mood, that initial position would have acquired a grammatical meaning, that of Theme" (133). Her second conclusion is that pronouns, whether subject or object, are less subject to rules of element order than full nominal groups, probably because their function is unambiguously marked (134). She utilizes Haruko Momma's findings regarding poetic syntax in *The Composition of Old English Poetry* (Cambridge, 1997), as well as Klaeber's (quoted from Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* [Oxford, 1985]); these combined insights are used to argue that "the object as full nominal group or pronoun may occur in initial position, according to the prosodic constraints on syntax, and that the initial position in the clause (since syntactic links apply only within the clause, and within the clause complex) has acquired a grammatical meaning of Thematic importance" (135). Huisman then turns to *Exodus* to illustrate her findings. The poem confirms that clauses typically begin with the Subject/subject rather than with other elements; however, "though the non-Subject Theme is more frequent

in Old English poetry than in modern use, and especially more frequent in the case of pronouns, it is still a marked, that is more noticeable, use, and one which can draw attention to a more complex interaction of clausal meanings (such as Actor, Subject, Theme) than the more predictable pattern" (136). An appendix (141–42) provides a more specific breakdown of such occurrences in *Exodus*. In the remainder of the essay, Huisman illustrates these findings in an examination of lines 8 through 22 and suggests that these options for constructing grammatical meaning enable the poet to tell simultaneously "parallel stories which interweave the ways of God and man" (139). Some of the features demonstrable in the grammar, she observes, are vestigial characteristics of spoken language.

The classical structuring device known as ring composition has been widely discussed in connection with *Beowulf*, but Phyllis Portnoy's "Ring Composition and the Digressions of *Exodus*: The 'Legacy' of the 'Remnant'" (ES 82: 289–307) is the first exploration of that device in *Exodus*. Portnoy's argument is so clear that one wonders why it took so long for someone to use ring composition to explain the troublesome digressions that have drawn so much comment. It is a structure that "transforms digressions into rhetorical set pieces" (289). Using ring composition a poet can arrange narrative elements symmetrically and chiasmatically in order to highlight a medial point in a series of concentric rings. Such a structure, far from digressing or detracting from the main narrative of the poem, highlights and comments upon it. Portnoy illustrates her point with the Finnsburg Digression in *Beowulf*, then goes on to show that the same structure may be seen in *Exodus* in the so-called Patriarchal Digression. Far from being superfluous, such digressions are in fact essential to the aesthetic model of the narrative (291), because the audience of *Exodus* would not have had access to the typology of the narrative, in which, as Malcolm Godden puts it, "Pharaoh stood for the Devil, the Hebrews represented the Christians leaving the world (Egypt) for the next life (the Promised Land) and passing by way of baptism (the Red Sea) from servitude to the devil to the service of God" ("Biblical Literature: The Old Testament," *The Cambridge Companion to Old English Literature*, ed. Godden and Michael Lapidge [Cambridge 1991], 217). According to Portnoy, the key to the typological reading is not provided until late in the narrative, but the ringed structure of the digressions provokes another type of response that anticipates and expands rather than displaces the typological. The intrusion of other historical material insists upon a link between the narrative present and the past and becomes a

commentary upon it: "This presentation of the patriarchs, while typological in intent, does not refer outside the poem to a pre-conceived anti-type. Instead, it summons the patriarchs into the present point of the historical continuum to re-enact their early part in the story. The drama that unfolds has a spatial rather than a temporal coherence" (297). This spatial coherence is most easily seen in Portnoy's diagrams of the digressions, which clearly illustrate the ring composition she envisions, demonstrating that "[t]he narration which may appear to be disorganized or unfocussed is in fact constructed with perfect chiasmic symmetry" (298). Portnoy affirms at the end of the essay that a learned reader would find typological significance throughout the poem, but that *Exodus* has much to offer even to the unlearned. Such a one can see the familiar events of scripture, events that ultimately point to the readers themselves; by structuring the narrative, not in chronological sequence, "but with gaps and expansions that require the audience to view one event in terms of others widely separated from it in time and space—that is, digressively and typologically," the poet is able to implicate the reader, learned or unlearned, in the action and thereby the outcome of the narrative.

#### *Genesis A and B*

*Genesis B* is the focus of Andrew Cole's "Jewish Apocrypha and Christian Epistemologies of the Fall: The *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great and the Old Saxon *Genesis*" (*Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer et al, 157–88). Pointing out that the events recounted in the poem do not follow the biblical account, Cole attempts to locate a source for the temptation scene. Following critics from F.N. Robinson to A.N. Doane, Cole affirms that the Jewish apocrypha—especially the *Apocalypse of Moses*, *Life of Adam and Eve*, *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch*, and *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan*—provide good parallels to the poem. Cole focuses on two: *The Book of the Secrets of Enoch* (30 BCE–70 CE) and *The Conflict of Adam and Eve with Satan* (500–600 CE). He suggests that these two works "appear to produce fruitful imagistic and conceptual parallels to Book IV.1 of the *Dialogi* [of Gregory the Great]" (167), and contends that Gregory "gathers together and elaborates upon dominant motifs in the apocrypha about Adam and Eve as pre- and post-lapsarian visionaries and produces a treatment of the Fall that, when compared to dominant currents of Christian exegesis such as Augustine's, is rather unconventional" (161). A marvelous understatement. Cole's painstaking research and careful explication demonstrates that visions of God and his angels were central to Gregory's ontology thus constructed and that the Fall is possible only

because Adam and Eve had experienced such visions before the serpent appeared. The Old English poet had similar notions, according to Cole, and offers "a considerable and unprecedented meditation on prelapsarian ontology vis-à-vis the visionary disposition of the first couple" (162). In the poem Eve's vision of God and his angels convinces Adam to eat the fruit he initially rejected; in part because he had once experienced such vision, Cole contends, Adam is unable to discern the difference between true vision and the vision the demon offers to Eve. To complicate matters, "Eve's vision is a spiritual reality—sight of God, heaven, angels, light. Indeed, it appears that the poet and Gregory agree that a demon can use divine truths for perverse purposes" (182). The choice they are offered, then, is between what looks real and what is real. Further, it is important that the temptation "appeals to Adam and Eve's visionary faculties and not to their 'senses'" (183). Cole persuasively mines Gregory's *Dialogi* for the source of the poet's ontology, then demonstrates how the poet goes beyond Gregory by having "Adam [initially, at least] resist the same temptations Christ would himself resist" (185). The most provocative assertion in this essay is that Adam falls when the demon shifts the temptation from the unknown to the familiar: "the persuasion seems unlike persuasion" (186), or "what is tempting is not what is sensual, sexual, unusual, alluring, forbidden, or mysterious in the garden (the tree, the fruit, the demon) but rather what is frankly ordinary and unsuspecting [in the prelapsarian state]: a vision of angels" (187), or again, "[t]hey fell precisely because things were right" (188).

Examining illustrations of the temptation of Adam and Eve, Janet Schrank Ericksen discusses the interplay of text and image in *Genesis B* in "Offering the Forbidden Fruit in MS. Junius 11" (*Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, ed. Clifford Davidson; Early Drama, Art, and Music Monograph Series 28 [Kalamazoo, MI: Medieval Inst. Publ.], 48–65). Ericksen begins by describing the illustrations of the temptation scenes in MS. Junius 11 as particularly focused on the gesture of offering and the choice implied therein; she goes on to say that "the visual emphasis is matched by verbal emphasis in the surrounding narrative.... The Junius 11 account of the Fall is concurrently a picture-cycle depiction of the Fall, a developed and dramatic narrative account of the biblical events of Adam and Eve's fall, and a commentary on it—all of which linger on the moment of choice" (48). Ericksen suggests that whatever the relationship may have been between the scribe and the illustrator, both focus on the gestures of offering and receiving that lead her to believe that the implications of choice for readers are central

to the coherence of this portion of the manuscript. Ericksen surveys other extant depictions of the Fall, including Carolingian bibles (see also Barbara Raw, "The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 from an Illustrated Old Saxon *Genesis*," ASE 5 [1976]: 139), the Cotton Genesis group (BL, Cotton MS. Otho B.VI), the Moutier-Grandval Bible (BL Add. MS. 10546), and others. While she notes some superficial similarities, she concludes that "only in the Junius manuscript are the hands and the fruit the focus of repeated scenes" (55). In some respects, Ericksen saves the most interesting tidbits of information for last, citing C.R. Dodwell's *Anglo-Saxon Gestures and the Roman Stage* (Cambridge, 2000), wherein he argues that a significant number of illustrated gestures (fifty-six) in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts were taken, directly or indirectly, from an illustrated copy of the plays of Terence (Dodwell 154). He does not, however, cite a gesture of temptation among the six (puzzlement, grief or sadness, acquiescence or approval, supplication, apprehension or fear, and pondering). Similarly, manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* from Anglo-Saxon England also contain illustrations in which Avarice grasps a round object similar to the fruit of the temptation. While there is no evidence to connect the object Avarice offers with the fruit of the Fall, it is tempting to suppose that there may have been a conventional gesture of offering associated with unwise choices. As Ericksen points out earlier in the essay, "it is not difficult to assume that an artist who otherwise possessed such a heightened awareness of hands would give them significance in the temptation sequence" (57).

#### *Judith*

In 2001 F. Brigatti defended her University of Glasgow Ph.D. thesis "The Old English *Judith*: Sources, Analysis and Context" (*Index to Theses* 50: 1971). The five chapters examine *Judith* in relation to sources, analogues, style, historical and social context, and the poem's tenth-century milieu. The thesis also contains two appendices, the first of which offers a useful synoptic view in three parallel columns of the Old English poem and translations of the analogous biblical Old Latin and Vulgate texts. This appendix is particularly helpful in illustrating Brigatti's contention that parts of the poem are as likely to have been influenced by the Old Latin as by the Vulgate version of the biblical text. Not simply an account of a struggle between good and evil, the poem explores the theme of leadership. In her conclusion, Brigatti rejects the reading of *Judith* as an allegory wherein Holofernes and Judith represent Satan and Ecclesia, respectively, insisting

that the poem must be taken on its own terms. She acknowledges Mark Griffith's 1997 edition of the poem and regrets that she did not have an opportunity to consult it for the body of her thesis, though she agrees with many of his conclusions. While Brigatti's thesis is competently done, Griffith's edition is more readily available and more comprehensive.

In "The Act of Translation in the Old English *Judith*" (SN 73: 171–83), Lori Ann Garner demonstrates that, while the Old English poem is based on the apocryphal story of Judith, the text is not at all an exact translation of the biblical account, that indeed an exact translation would not have met the needs and expectations of an Anglo-Saxon audience. By examining the omissions, embellishments, and additions made by the poet, readers can understand how a vernacular artist adapted his material using the rhetorical strategies available in the Old English poetic tradition. Garner takes J.M. Foley's *The Singer of Tales in Performance* (1995) as her model and analyzes passages that are absent in the source yet present in the Old English and "demonstrably a part of the Anglo-Saxon traditional repertoire" (Foley 184). In the order discussed, the scenes examined include: the battle between the Hebrews and the Assyrians (ll. 186b ff.); Holofernes's feast (17b–32a); the descent of Holofernes into hell (111b–121b); and the return of Judith and her servant to Bethulia (125–152a). Garner invokes Donald Fry's description of "conventional Anglo-Saxon type-scenes and themes associated with battle" ("The Heroine on the Beach in *Judith*," NM 68: 168–84), which in turn uses David Crowne's "Hero on the Beach" motif to identify typically Anglo-Saxon elements in the *Judith* battle scene ("The Hero on the Beach: An Example of Composition by Theme in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," NM 61: 362–72). Because this is a thoroughly Anglo-Saxon poem, the battle scene from the biblical account, which merely describes the Assyrians fleeing when they discover the death of Holofernes, is expanded and elaborated to include the type of details the audience would have expected: beasts of battle, showers of arrows, valiant warriors (see also Alain Renou, "*Judith* and the Limits of Poetry," ES 43: 145–55). Like Brigatti (above), Garner points out that the leadership of Judith is contrasted with that of Holofernes, who figures as a bad king throughout the poem. To create this impression the poet excises Judith from the hall scene altogether so that she is not the excuse for his excess; in this way, he is cast as a habitual drunkard and poor leader. Garner follows Fry in reading the descent of Holofernes into hell as following the pattern he calls "The Cliff of Death" ("The Cliff of Death in Old English Poetry," *Comparative Research on Oral Traditions*, ed. John

Miles Foley, 213–34). Garner demonstrates through careful examination of the vocabulary of the passage that Judith is cast as a heroic figure, with her servant functioning as faithful retainer. In such a context, Judith's adornment carries different associations from the Latin text, which hastens to assure that her jewelry was not to feed her vanity but to enhance her beauty in order to deceive Holofernes. In the Old English poem, by contrast, Judith's "jewels and adornment are associated more closely with the gift-giving and treasure of the hall" (180) and highlight her role as the bestower of the gift of freedom on her people. The article ends with mention of Judith as "wundenlocc" (having curly or wound hair) and points out that the only other text that uses the word is Riddle 25, commonly solved as "onion." Garner playfully notes that, while the sample is too small to state with certainty that curly headedness influences character, it is demonstrable that both the *wif wundenlocc* in the riddle and Judith behead their victims; they both "(if we adopt the onion's perspective), are very powerful figures" (181). She ends by returning to her major points: "[t]he expansion of the battle scene, comprising almost half of the surviving Anglo-Saxon version, serves to increase the glory of the Hebrew army and of Judith in very tangible ways.... By adding details that evoke the complex of ideas connected with the Anglo-Saxon hall to Holofernes' feast and leaving Judith out of this scene, the poet give the full weight of the Assyrians' fall to Holofernes" (181). Similarly, the descent of Holofernes's soul under the cliff of hell and the relationship of Judith to her servant add elements absent from the biblical account but familiar to and perhaps expected by the Anglo-Saxon audience. In this way, "[t]he Anglo-Saxon translator of *Judith* thus serves his audience as a bridge between oral and literate traditions, Germanic and Christian, through a subtle understanding of his art as performer, scribe, and poet. It is with great skill and insight that the *Judith* poet transforms the brief 'night's work' of Jerome into a powerfully resonant work of art" (181).

M.K.R.

#### *Deor*

In "Genitive in *Deor*: Morphosyntax and Beyond" (RES n.s. 52: 485–99), Gwang-Yoon Goh chases the obscure object of desire of the two genitive pronouns, *þæs* and *þisses*, that are repeated six times in *Deor*'s refrain, *þæs ofereode, þisses swa mæg!* ("That passed away, so may this!" in S.A.J. Bradley's translation; lines 7, 13, 17, 20, 27, and 42). These genitive pronouns have posed one of the most difficult puzzles in Old English, primarily because, according to Goh, "The extant



data show no other clear case of *ofergan* with a genitive noun phrase; it is thus morphosyntactically peculiar, and causes interesting problems of interpretation" (485). Goh ultimately has two aims for his argument: 1) to demonstrate a more plausible morphosyntactic analysis than has been previously offered for the use of such rare genitive pronouns, and 2) to argue that the deployment of the genitive pronoun by the poet with *ofergan* (and also with *ofercuman* at line 26) "is not arbitrary or purposeless but is intended to represent a low degree of affectedness, which is difficult to achieve by the use of the accusative case usually found with the two verbs" (485). In the first part of the essay, "Morphosyntactic Analyses of the *Deor*-Genitive," Goh surveys previous analyses of the genitive pronouns and groups them into two types: 1) analyses that argue that "the verb *ofergan* is used impersonally, along with a genitive NP [noun phrase] which has some adverbial function" (487; scholars arguing this point include Bosworth-Toller, Krapp-Dobbie, Malone, and Mitchell, among others), and 2) analyses that argue that "the genitive NP is the object of the verb *ofergan* and that the sentence has an unexpressed *pro*, that is, a phonologically null pronoun" (489; this point has been argued by H.R. Kim and is implicit in Benjamin Thorpe's translation of the line, "That he surmounted, so may I this!"). Goh finds both of these analyses problematic. In the first case, the argument "needs more linguistic evidence for the impersonal use of *ofergan* and still has to explain the genitive NP occurring with *ofercuman*," and the second analysis "is linguistically more plausible but goes against the general understanding of the poem [the speaker is believed by most scholars to be adopting a passive stance toward his misfortunes]" (492–93). Goh wants to recuperate the second analysis, however, by finding a way to resolve its contextual incompatibility. It should be noted here that the analysis Goh wants to recuperate, and which he feels is the most linguistically plausible—Kim, "On the Genitive of [the] Anglo-Saxon Poem *Deor*," *N&Q* 96 (1995): 351–59—was reviewed in these pages by Susan E. Deskis (*OEN* 30.2), who found that Kim's argument "falls short of traditional philological standards of evidence" (34). In the second part of his argument, "What Old English Cases Really Encode," Goh provides linguistic examples from *Beowulf* and *Ælfric's Homilies*, among other OE texts, to bolster his case that, 1) "if a speaker or writer employed a different case for a direct object of the same verb in similar contexts, then he or she very likely intended some semantic difference for each case"; 2) "what the distinction in OE morphological cases encodes is a systematic difference of degree, not of kind"; and 3) "this distinction which is encoded in cases represents different degrees of [semantic]

opposedness and affectedness [between subjects and objects]" (497). Goh believes that the *Deor* poet purposefully chose genitive NPs (over accusative NPs) in order to highlight "the basic philosophy of the poem, which consistently emphasizes the inevitability of misfortunes and the patient endurance or acceptance of them" (499). Further, the problem associated with the fact that the verbs *ofergan* and *ofercuman* typically imply an active role for the subject can be resolved "by assigning a low degree of affectedness to the meanings of the verbs because this added semantic contribution makes their meanings fully compatible with the inevitability of miserable situations and the patient endurance of them" (499). Whether or not linguists can muster the "best case" scenario whereby we can understand why the poet chose to employ genitive NPs in a situation where accusative NPs are more plausible, common understanding of the *Deor* speaker's resigned acceptance of the transience of human power, and also of human suffering (a theme widely echoed in the extant body of OE poetry), has been firmly in place for a long time. Goh's claim, therefore, that his morphosyntactic analysis will illuminate the poem's larger meaning for us, appears overstated.

#### Riddles

In his short note, "The Exeter Book, Riddle 60" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 219–20), Ian J. Kirby suggests a "more likely" answer to Riddle 60 than the seven listed by Bernard Muir in his *Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* (Exeter, 1994): rune staff, reed pen, reed flute, letter beam cut from the stump of an old jetty, kelp weed, cross, and spirit/revenant. Given the narrator's indications that the object "was by the sand, close to the sea wall, in a place where few would see it, and lapped (or covered) by the tide every day," and further, that it was "mouthless ... yet it is remarkable that a weapon's point and a warrior's thoughts could convey a message from one person to another in a way that others could not understand," the more plausible solution, in Kirby's opinion, is "an inscription, most probably in runes, on a rock or boulder which was or had been situated close to [a] high water mark, and which might have functioned as a way marker or warning indicator for a mariner who could understand its coded message" (219). The only impediment to this solution, according to Kirby, is a lack of material evidence that such seaside runic way markers actually existed. Although Richard Bradley's *Rock Art and the Prehistory of Atlantic Europe* (London, 1997) provides abundant evidence for rock carvings along the Atlantic coastline, these are "mostly stylized carvings of animals and cup-and-ring motifs" (219). Further, Bradley has never actually

located any of these carvings directly on the seashore itself. In 2000, Kirby visited the Dunbeath Museum (Caithness) to view a short runic inscription which had been discovered near the base of a cliff on Potormin Beach, Dunbeath, and he observed that the inscription has "eight runes, apparently of mixed origin and giving no obvious sense" (219–20). Although an ultraviolet test indicated an antique age for the inscription, Kirby surmised that "this boulder was never on the beach itself, but has in the course of time worked its way down the cliff" (220). Kirby concludes by admitting that, presently, there is no fully conclusive concrete material evidence for his solution to Riddle 60, but he also believes "it may well be only a matter of time before a full-scale inscription comes to light on a beach somewhere in the British Isles" (220). He feels this belief is justified by the discovery of such inscriptions in Valsfjord, Norway and also in a bay in eastern North America. Given the extremely heterogeneous and fluid social relationships of Anglo-Saxon England (as well as the expansion of commercial trading around the North Sea during the era of Clovis), why does the seaside runic way marker have to be found in the British Isles? By the time the Exeter Book Riddles were written (or copied), some time around the tenth century, the fertile cross-cultural and trans-coastal influences upon English culture already have a long history behind them, and we need not assume that the solution Kirby proposes for Riddle 60 was dependent only on material objects in the most local vicinities.

In her philosophically intricate and comprehensive essay, "Aspetti della società germanica negli enigmi del Codice Exoniense" (*Antichità germaniche; I Parte; I Seminario avanzato in Filologia germanica*, ed. Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza and Renato Gendre [Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso], 3–41), Patrizia Lendinara returns "after many years to the Anglo-Saxon riddles" in order to "examine some characteristics of their content ... especially those that mimic the social rituals of that time as expressed in *Beowulf*, even if they lean toward a different and sometimes opposite interpretation" (10–11; Lendinara has published nine essays, including reviews of editions, on the Exeter Book riddles from 1974 to 1986). More specifically, Lendinara is interested in analyzing the Exeter Book riddles in order to make the argument that, underneath their supposed primary purpose as wordplay, the riddles reveal sophisticated experimentation with different poetic voices and registers as well as various commentaries (both Latin- and Anglo-inflected) on Anglo-Saxon society that, taken together, form a rich and multilayered social discourse on an Anglo-Saxon culture wrestling with secular and Christian modes of

being and thought (much as the characters in *Beowulf* wrestle with these same issues). Further, although the riddles "conserve the characteristics and tone typical of the [inherited] genre, they also diverge from the normal scheme of these riddles and even transcend them, rendering the solutions mere accessories" (6). Lendinara is particularly interested in the riddles dealing with heroic subjects (warriors and arms), exiles and outcasts, and anthropomorphized animals, as well as those riddles that deal with writing and creative expression. Lendinara sees in these riddles a cognitive subtlety that surpasses the authors of their prototypes, and also represents "a more complex reality, a society in which values have undergone a transformation and the old coexists with the new [and] ... the author attains the theoretical complexity of Isidore of Seville" (41). After presenting overviews of the Exeter Book itself, its riddle collection, and the riddle tradition in classical, Anglo-Latin, and popular culture (e.g. nursery rhymes), Lendinara turns to individual riddles, which she has grouped under the headings, "Exhausted Warriors" (K-D 5, 20, and 23), "Conscripts" (K-D 53 and 73), "Fighters in Trouble" (K-D 15 and 16), "Exiles and the Downtrodden" (K-D 12, 72, 81 and 83), "Prisoners" (K-D 4, 52, 56, and 58), and "Hopes and Aspirations" (K-D 14, 31, 26, 88, and 93). In each of these sections Lendinara offers comparative analyses with the riddles' counterparts in Symphosius, Eusebius, Tatwine, and Aldhelm, in order to demonstrate that the author of the Exeter Book riddles was not so much following in the footsteps of a particular tradition, as he was using that tradition to fashion a newer, more socially introspective genre—a new genre, moreover, which also gave voice to the usually voiceless, such as the anonymous Anglo-Saxon soldier. And given that the already-established riddle typology permitted a broad variety of subject areas (from the most mundane, a broom, to the more sophisticated, erotic love), it was the perfect form, in Lendinara's view, for a wide-ranging series of metaphoric forays into a society shaping itself out of a matrix of tensions between secular and Christian belief systems. In this sense, Lendinara's essay is in line with much recent scholarship that focuses on the OE riddles as unique instances of cultural self-fashioning that also reveal the social and ideological tensions of the times in which they were written. [I would like to acknowledge the assistance of Amy Fulton Stout in translating this essay.]

Line 8b of Exeter Book Riddle 35, *amas cnyssan* in W.A. Mackie's 1934 edition (which retains the manuscript reading of *amas*), is the puzzle to be solved in Mercedes Salvador's "A Case of Editorial Hypercorrection in Exeter Riddle 35 (8b)" (ANQ 14: 5–11). As

Salvador observes, Riddle 35 is a "special case" in the Exeter collection because it has direct parallels in both the Northumbrian *Leiden Riddle* and also in Aldhelm's Riddle 33, titled "lorica" ("mail coat"); therefore, its solution has never been a problem. What has posed a bit of an editorial problem, however, is the OE poet's use of the peculiar form *amas*, a nominative plural, where one would expect a nominative singular, since it follows the singular verb *sceal*. As each of the three versions play upon the motif of a unique form of garment manufacturing, much of the riddle is taken up with paradoxical weaving imagery, such as, in line 5 of the OE version, *wundene me ne beoð wefle ne ic wearp hafu* ("Woofs are not wound for me, nor have I a warp," in Mackie's translation). According to Williamson, *am* (*pectine* in Adhelm's version and *aam* in the Leiden Riddle, both singular) would have therefore referred to "the weaver's reed or sley that is used to compact the fabric by beating up the weft" (*The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book* [Chapel Hill, 1977], 247). Most editors of the Riddles have therefore opted to consider *amas* a scribal error, and have emended it, variously, to *uma* ("weaver's beam"; Thorpe), *ama* (Dietrich and Trautmann), and *am* (Krapp and Dobbie, Williamson, and Muir, among others). Salvador argues that *amas* is not, in fact, a scribal error but is instead a very purposeful transliterative pun that would have called up the Latin *hamus*, "which in turn means 'ring' or 'hook,' as well as 'rod' and 'weaver's rod.' The term *hamus* is also frequently used to allude to the constituent rings of a mail shirt, as for example in Virgil's *Aeneid* (3.467): 'lorican comsertam hamis' (literally, a mail coat interwoven with rings)" (7). Since we know, from the last line of Riddle 35, that the West Saxon poet was not averse to consciously reworking an earlier prototype, Salvador believes the wordplay linking *amas* and *hamus* is entirely plausible. Furthermore, other scholars, such as J.R. Hall ("Perspective and Wordplay in the Old English *Rune Poem*," *Neophilologus* 61 [1977]: 453–60) and Fred Robinson ("The Significance of Names in Old English Literature," *Anglia* 86 [1968]: 14–58), have demonstrated that "The occurrence of an ungrammatical form for the sake of wordplay can also be observed in other works" (7). Salvador concludes by chalking up the emendation of *amas* in various editions as cases of "editorial hypercorrection," and urges us to consider that "what apparently is a simple grammatical incongruity can ... be considered a sophisticated paronomasia that refers to the weaver's tool and, at the same time, hints at the mail rings and the corslet itself" (8). For Salvador, Michael Lapidge's arguments for the necessity of textual emendation in cases where the received text is not "sound" belie the fact that, in many instances, we have failed to

recognize those texts' "linguistic ingenuity" (8). This is not Lapidge's "reverence for the manuscript," Salvador argues, but rather, an attempt to think more about the artistry behind the poetry.

#### *Seafarer*

Issues of intra-cultural translation and influence are the dominant subject in *Seafarer* scholarship this year. First to be considered is Maria Grazia Cammarota's "Le traduzioni in inglese moderno del *Seafarer*: teoria e practice" (*Testo medievale e traduzione: Bergamo 27-28 ottobre 2000*, ed. Maria Grazia Cammarota and Maria Vittoria Molinari [Bergamo: Bergamo UP], 103–25). This essay undertakes a comparative analysis of modern English translations of *Seafarer* by Ezra Pound, Burton Raffel, and Stanley Greenfield through the lenses of contemporary translation theories by E. Gentzler, John Hollander, M. Gaddis Rose, and Lawrence Venuti, among others. Cammarota also looks closely at how Pound, Raffel, and Greenfield articulated their own "theories of translation," and ultimately judges the success (or lack thereof) of each translator's version. In her opinion, Raffel comes up short because his "'domesticating' strategy is designed to cross the distance that separates the modern reader from the old text by erasing the cultural and stylistic differences of the Old English poem" (103), and in this sense, does not retain enough of the foreign "strangeness" of the original, which Cammarota, following Venuti, feels should be retained somewhat, or else the translation risks glossing over the source-text's linguistic "otherness" and becoming dangerously (perhaps also unethically) tilted toward contemporary ethnocentrism. Pound's "foreignizing" approach is better than Raffel's "domesticating" one, but it also misses the mark because "his archaistic and opaque translation evokes a generic distance which does not manifest the 'foreignness' peculiar" to the poem itself (103). In other words, Pound goes too far and while he is successful at creating a "foreign strangeness" in his version (which Venuti, for one, has praised), he does not necessarily replicate the sound and structure of OE verse. It should be noted here that Pound's version of *Seafarer* has taken many drubbings over the years for not being "Old English" enough, but he did receive a vigorous defense from Fred Robinson in "'The Might of the North': Pound's Anglo-Saxon Studies and 'The Seafarer'" (*The Yale Review* 71 [1983]: 199–224), and this should be taken into account when weighing Cammarota's argument. Finally, Greenfield's translation is held up as exemplifying "the possibility of reproducing the interplay of meaning and esthetic effects characteristic of the Old English poem, thus

making the translated text the 'locus' where a contemporary reader can meet the 'cultural otherness' of the medieval text" (103). Further, Greenfield's translation of *Seafarer*, in Cammarota's opinion, "suggests a new equilibrium between the two poles of translation [theory and practice], which overcomes the traditional dichotomy 'source-oriented' vs. 'target-oriented' [reader-oriented]" (122). Of course, no translation of antique literatures can escape being both "old" (and "foreign") and "new" (and "familiar") at once, and this would seem to be Cammarota's larger point—to call for a theory of translation practice in which neither the old nor the modern language has primacy over the other, but rather each reshapes and "makes visible" the other. "Make it new," Ezra Pound famously dictated to his fellow modernist poets, and how could the poet-translator ever help it?

The ethics and theory of the "intra-cultural contact" of translation is also the subject of John Corbett's "*The Seafarer: Visibility and the Translation of a West Saxon Elegy into English and Scots*" (*Translation and Literature* 10: 157–73). Pound's translation makes a repeat appearance here, along with another translation in modern English by the Scottish poet Edwin Morgan, and two in modern Scots by Tom Scott ("The Seavaiger") and Alexander Scott ("Seaman's Sang"). Corbett begins by highlighting the work of translation theorist Lawrence Venuti (also remarked upon in Cammarota's essay), who has argued that any translation "represents a potentially 'scandalous' domestication of the essentially 'other' nature of the source-text" (157). Therefore, in Venuti's view, it is necessary to have an "ethics of translation" in which the translation itself "goes against the grain of the British and American tradition of fluent, ideally seamless renditions from the source language—the ethical translator becomes visible, incorporating into his or her translations disruptions, archaisms, jarring registers, awkward syntax, and dialectal vocabulary" (158). Any translation that does not adhere to this type of ethics is ultimately a distorted "imposter" of the source-text. As noted above, Pound's translation of *Seafarer* has been praised by Venuti as a pioneering example of what he calls "visible translation," but Corbett wants to argue that Venuti's model is "dependent on a hegemonic model of the English language," because in order for "visible translation to exist, there has to be a notion of standard variety, and non-standard varieties that depart from it" (158–59). Corbett's primary objective, then, is to test Venuti's concepts of ethical and visible translation with reference to the modern translation of *Seafarer* by three Scottish poets, with Pound serving as the "point of departure"; he asks "[h]ow ...

do the four translators of *The Seafarer* seek to 'colonize' the source-text—and how, if at all, do they seek to mitigate this inevitable colonization?" (160). Further, since Pound's translation at least has standard English as its point of departure, "what can be said about the visibility of the translator whose medium is Scots, a language variety that has never assumed the fixed set of normative rules that characterize literary English?" (161–62). Corbett first turns to the two Scots versions and remarks that, while both are more grammatically fluent than Pound's, "Tom Scott's version is in general grammatically more contorted and lexically much more dense than Alexander Scott's" (164). In relation to Venuti's ideas, Corbett finds Alexander Scott (who refashions the Old English with norms of Scottish speech) as the "less visible [translator] than either Ezra Pound or Tom Scott" (165), and Tom Scott's version, in Venuti's scheme at least, "is the more 'ethical' of the two Scots translations" (166). But Corbett also wants to parse out "moral" from "aesthetic" value judgments, and he argues that Alexander Scott's version, with its "domesticated" and oral-inflected language, "has attempted a greater act of poetic identification with the original text" (166). The end result may not fully respect the "otherness" of the source-text, but "it can still result in a powerful work of art" (166), and perhaps it is finally disingenuous to expect anything else from a literary translation. Even a supposedly "faithful" translation "is as much an interpretative reworking of the source-text as the 'free' translation—but, through its non-normative use of language, it self-reflexively acknowledges its status as interpretation" (167). Corbett then turns to Morgan, who writes in both English and Scots, and translated *Seafarer* into present-day English. Morgan was concerned to convey the original as faithfully as possible (without, however, employing alienating language), but was also interested in bringing out what he called the "mysterious, hidden 'real' poem underneath the surface foreign words" (quoted in Corbett 169). Ultimately, for Corbett, what all these versions of *Seafarer* reveal is that "the variety of motives for translation are many, and this makes the discussion of the ethics of translation complex" (170). Further, the translation of an Anglo-Saxon text by four very different twentieth-century authors "naturally requires a variety of interpretative decisions: the poem becomes more or less secular, more or less English, more or less personal, more or less archaic, more or less universal, more or less romantic" (170). But for Corbett, the two versions by A. Scott and Morgan, because of their modern fluency, are "more immediately moving" than either Pound's or T. Scott's, and therefore give the reader a more intimate experience of the original source. And

what this means, finally, is that dichotomies such as “free” versus “faithful” and “ethical” versus “scandalous” are “unstable constructs” that do not allow for the maximum amount of creative interplay between poet and source-text. In this sense, aesthetics and morality may be at cross purposes. In light of the controversy over Seamus Heaney’s “Ulster-izing” of *Beowulf*, Corbett’s essay raises important questions about, and even offers correctives for, the ideologies and value-laden assumptions underlying scholarly debates over a translation’s supposed “authenticity” or lack thereof.

In “To be a Pilgrim: the Old English *Seafarer* and its Irish Affinities” (*Lexis and Texts*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 213–23), Peter Orton reassesses possible influences from Ireland upon *Seafarer*, with particular attention to the theme of “ascetic exile” (suggested in lines 37–8 of the poem), and argues that “the tripartite classification of forms of exile in the Middle Irish *Life of Colum Cille* constitutes a closer analogue to the Old English poem than the colour-coded classification set out in the Old Irish *Cambrai Homily*, recently discussed in relation to *The Seafarer* [in Colin A. Ireland’s “Some Analogues of the OE *Seafarer* from Hiberno-Latin Sources,” *NM* 92 (1991): 1–14]” (213). It was Dorothy Whitelock who first suggested that the first-person narrator of *Seafarer* is a *peregrinus pro amore dei*, and because her theory has been so widely accepted (partly because it is so well-justified by the language of the poem itself, especially at and after line 37), Orton wants to look more closely at the first thirty-three lines of the poem in which the speaker describes “earlier voyages which he seems to have found thoroughly unpleasant experiences, and quite unrewarding spiritually. The *peregrinatio* idea, while enabling us to envisage circumstances in which a man whose previous experiences of seafaring have been miserable should willingly contemplate another voyage, does not account on its own for the emphasis on these earlier voyages at the beginning of the poem” (214). Further, if these earlier voyages were so unpleasant, “we are bound to wonder why the seafarer undertook them” (214). One could gesture toward *Moby Dick* for a possible answer to this question, but in any case, it is Orton’s belief that having a more clear understanding of the reasons behind these earlier sea ventures will help us better understand the speaker’s “new spiritual ambition” mentioned in lines 37–8, which Orton feels is an “abrupt announcement” (215). While no scholar has yet identified a specific Irish text as a source or analogue of *Seafarer*, Orton argues that “if we use the term ‘analogue’ in D. G. Scragg’s recent, strict definition [in Scragg’s “Source Study,” *Reading Old English Texts*, ed. Katherine O’Brien O’Keefe (Cambridge:

Cambridge UP, 1997), 39–58] as a work which draws ‘either immediately or at a greater distance upon the same source’ as another” (216), then there might be one text, the Middle Irish *Life of Colum Cille*, (or St. Columba, as he is better known) that bears certain resemblances to the OE poem. Ireland’s article (cited above) identifies the Old Irish *Cambrai Homily* as a possible analogue to *Seafarer*, primarily because the hardships of the speaker’s earlier voyages very much resemble the forms of martyrdom expressed in the *Homily*, but Orton feels that Ireland, “in detecting an ascetic impulse in the first thirty-three lines of *The Seafarer*, is pushing the Old English text rather too hard in the Irish direction” (217). For Orton, the “more satisfying parallel” is provided by sections 6–9 of the Middle Irish legend, which describe “non-religious, mental and actual *peregrinatio*, three grades of pilgrimage, all of them represented (though not named) in *The Seafarer*, more or less in the right order” (219). Orton admits the differences between the two texts—one is a theoretical analysis of pilgrimage, the other is a poetic account of an individual’s experience of exile—and he also concedes that the twelfth-century date of the *Life* means it cannot possibly have been an influence upon the OE poet. What is intriguing, however, in Orton’s view, is that the *Life* “shows that in twelfth-century Ireland, exile without a religious motive, and perhaps involuntary exile at that (of the kind described in the first part of *The Seafarer*), can be mentioned as part of the same sphere of thought as religious, ascetic *peregrinatio*” (221). Orton also mentions the career of St. Patrick, “who was first exiled in Ireland against his will, but later returned there willingly from Britain as a missionary. Perhaps this may be offered as an Irish instance of graduation from reluctant, non-religious exile to willed exile for explicitly religious purposes” (221). Orton concludes with the suggestion that the terms “source” and “analogue” are not always mutually exclusive, and we should be wary of defining our terms too rigidly, especially since we know that “medieval authors absorbed (often without acknowledgement) the work of other writers into their own,” and this “complicates the question of who read whose work in what form” (221). Orton also concedes that *The Seafarer* and the *Life* cannot really be called “analogues of one another in the precise sense ... because the resemblance between them is not essentially textual” (221–22), but the resemblances that do exist between them at least suggest “cultural contact.” And we would do well to remember, too, in Orton’s view, that in the final analysis and regardless of parallels, the OE *Seafarer* is a unique composition possessing distinctive psychological characteristics that has more in common with the texts that accompany it in

the Exeter Book, such as *Wanderer*, than with any of the Irish or Latin texts with which it has been compared.

#### Sutton Brooch Verses

In "The Genre of the Sutton Brooch Verses" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 375–77), E.V. Thornbury looks at the OE verse inscription "on the inner rim of the late tenth- or early eleventh-century silver brooch found near Sutton, Isle of Ely, Cambridgeshire (now in the British Museum)," which reads (Thornbury's transcription and translation):

*Ædvwen me ag age hyo drihten  
Drihten hine awerie ðe me hire ætferie  
Buton hyo me selle hire agenes willes*

Ædvwen keep me: may the Lord keep her.  
May the Lord curse him who takes me from  
her, unless she gives me of her own free will' (375)

Thornbury suggests that this "relatively common identity formula" much more strongly resembles legal formulae, such as sanction curses found in Anglo-Saxon wills and charters, than it does any other surviving OE inscriptions (such as those found on the Ruthwell and Brussels Crosses, or *Thureth*, the OE verse inscription on a liturgical manuscript), "the remainder of the inscriptional corpus not excepted" (376). Further, Thornbury writes that "The bipartite structure of the Sutton Brooch curse—that is, the curse *per se*, followed by a qualifying clause—is reflected in the majority of legal curses I have examined" (376). Also close to the curse found on the Sutton Brooch verses is "a second type of qualifying clause found only in wills, which averts the curse upon alteration only if the testator himself changes the terms" (376). Where the Sutton Brooch verses depart from the legal tradition is in their use of the first-person voice; nevertheless, the Sutton Brooch verses' chiasmic word-order is not found on other inscribed objects, while it is present in some of the legal documents Thornbury reviewed: "In legal curses ... a chiasmic form both of blessings (for those upholding the terms) and of curses began appearing in the early to mid-tenth century, and enjoyed a considerable vogue in the early eleventh century, especially at Canterbury and Bury St. Edmunds" (376). Ultimately, this shows us that "the Anglo-Saxons continued to modify 'traditional' formulae until the end of the Old English period" (377).

#### Thureth

A historical overview of scholarship on an often-overlooked poetic manuscript inscription is the subject of

Craig Ronalds and Margaret Clunies Ross, "*Thureth*: A Neglected Old English Poem and Its History in Anglo-Saxon Scholarship" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 359–70). According to Ronalds and Ross, *Thureth* has been "strangely neglected by literary scholars and by most lexicographers of Old English before Napier" (359). Ronalds and Ross believe that the eleven-line poem, found at the beginning of a composite pontifical and benedictional manuscript (BL Cotton Claudius A. III, f. 31v), is worthy of more scholarly attention, not only for literary and lexical reasons, but also because of the history of its early scholarship, and they propose in their essay "to bring *Thureth* into the company of the rest of the Old English poetic corpus, to provide a first modern English translation of it, and to set out the history of scholarship relating to the poem" (359). The poem "adopts the persona of the book it prefaces, called in the text a *halgunboc*, a term that is a *hapax legomenon* and thus of interest for both lexical and liturgical reasons" and "it 'speaks' an intercession on behalf of a man named Thureth, who had apparently had the pontifical Claudius I lavishly ornamented" (360). Thureth's identity is "uncertain, though most modern scholars regard him as an earl of that name who owned lands in Yorkshire and witnessed some charters of Ælfréd II" (360). Ronalds and Ross first provide a transcription and translation of the OE text with detailed notes. They then turn to an overview of early scholarship on the poem, beginning with Sir Henry Spelman, who gave the OE text its first publication in his *Concilia decreta I* in 1639. We are also provided with information about Humfrey Wanley's transcription of the text in his 1705 *Catalogus Historico-Criticus*, and about David Wilkins's re-editing of the poem in his 1721 *Leges anglo-saxonicae ecclesiasticae & civiles* (where he gave the OE original and a Latin translation). Also included here is a Latin version of the poem that was rendered in an unpublished letter by Edward Lye (addressed to Maurice Shelton and dated 12 June 1735), who felt Wilkins's version was full of mistakes. Wilkins then published a second version of *Thureth* in his 1739 *Concilia Magnae Britanniae*, in which he made some changes to the OE text, but left the Latin version unaltered. The text was then ignored for another hundred years until it reappeared in T. Wright and J.O. Halliwell's *Reliquiae antiquae II* (London, 1843), and then in Walter de Gray Birch's *Liber Vitae of Hyde Abbey* (London, 1892). This survey concludes with mention of the editions of the poem by Napier, Holthausen, and Dobbie (in 1906, 1917, and 1942, respectively). Ronalds and Ross then turn to a survey of the errors in the earliest transcriptions of the poem, a survey in which Lye comes across as the most competent lexicographer. The reason for Ronalds and

Ross's interest in detailing these errors and in highlighting Lye's expertise is "to draw attention to the types of problems early scholars were likely to experience with Old English verse [for example, existing OE dictionaries were inadequate in relation to poetic vocabulary]" (366). Next we have a discussion of *halgungboc* ("benedictional" in Ronalds and Ross's translation) and also of the "distinctive literary form of the poem" (367). No definitive answer can be given to "the semantic problems posed by this unique compound," but the authors believe that their survey of how different editors struggled with the *hapax legomenon* "has at least allowed us to highlight the response of early scholars to this unique word, and the degree to which their translations reflect their understanding of the book's content and its function" (368). The last section of the essay considers the use of prosopopoeia in *Thureth*, a subject upon which apparently only Wanley ever commented. Because the trope is so unique in such a manuscript context, Ronalds and Ross believe that the poem "provides us with a fascinating, and all too rare, expression of lay piety from late Anglo-Saxon England" (369). Included with the essay is an appendix containing Lye's modern English translation of the poem (taken from the same unpublished letter that includes his Latin translation), as well as the versions of Spelman, Wanley, and Wilkins compared to the manuscript text.

#### *Wanderer*

When does the modern world and what might be called modern subjectivity (or, liberal individualism) begin? There has been much scholarly debate on this question in recent years, with some arguing for the late Renaissance (hence its refashioned title "the early modern period"), others pinpointing the Reformation, and still others arguing for post-Cartesian or post-Kantian explanations of modern experience. Others, especially medievalists and classical scholars, have argued to push the date back further, or to at least consider the idea that modernity, and the mentalities attached to it, have very long roots. In a beautifully written and highly suggestive essay ("Exile, *The Wanderer*, and the Long Wave of Alienation and Subjectivity," *Satura: Studies in Medieval Literature in honour of Robert R. Raymo*, ed. Nancy M. Reale and Ruth E. Sternglantz [Donington: Shaun Tyas], 1-19), Anthony Low argues that, although it is certainly true that something happened in the seventeenth century that, from our vantage point, "looks uniquely tenacious and possibly irreversible," nevertheless, "[t]he experience of subjectivity, broadly considered, cannot be new" (1-2). Further,

what was new to culture in the early-modern period was not loneliness, isolation, estrangement, or a sense of vast inner regions within the self, but rather certain moral and systematic philosophical responses to those ancient feelings of exile and loss, to being thrown back upon oneself by social pressures that are, after all, perennial. There was nothing new, either in degree or in kind, in being subjected to such unpleasantly formative experiences. But there were differences as well as similarities in the responses to these outward pressures, differences this investigation will touch on. (3)

Borrowing the term *longue durée* (or, "long wave") from the French *Annalistes*, Low wants to focus on "the extended, interlinked process of development (which has not yet reached its limits) of exile, alienation, individualism, and subjectivity," while also narrowing in on one particular historical moment of this development, as embodied in the OE poem *Wanderer*. Against the consensus of many Renaissance scholars that one cannot really talk about a modern sense of "interiority" until after the turn of the seventeenth century, primarily because a philosophic vocabulary for describing "inward states of mind" and permitting "the development of a theory of individuality couched in terms recognizable to modern readers" (4) was unavailable before Locke, Low points to Milton's varied use of the word "individual" in both his poetry and prose, but especially in his divorce tracts, which reveals how the word possessed the double sense of "inseparable" and "peculiar or unique," and therefore, "Milton's use of 'individual' anticipates the quintessentially modern growth of, and connection between, possessive individualism and the social institution of divorce" (6). Low then turns to the OE *Wanderer*, and begins by highlighting the longstanding debate over the character of the poem's narrator, instigated by B.F. Huppé's "The Wanderer: Theme and Structure" (*JEGP* 42 [1943]: 516-38), which postulated that the poem has two speakers, a wanderer and a wise man. In Low's opinion, "the question of the speaker's individuality cannot now be separated from questions of our own subjectivity and individuality, as postmodern theory brings these qualities to a head" (8). "We should keep in mind," moreover, "that the wanderer represents an emergence from communal unselfconsciousness into individuality. We, to the contrary, find ourselves somewhere beyond (or further into) the modern predicament of individuals in a mass culture ... a culture in which alienation and 'other-directedness' threaten

our individual autonomy" (8). Low then compares the pains of exile felt by the speaker of the OE poem with those felt by Sir Thomas Wyatt and Sir Philip Sidney, in order to highlight what he sees as a "family resemblance among the Anglo-Saxon system of the *comitatus*, the feudal system with which the Normans replaced it, and the renaissance patronage system which in turn replaced that" (9). If there is a difference between the type of suffering the experience of exile produces between the early modern and Anglo-Saxon age, it can be measured by "the extent to which the member of a *comitatus*, as opposed to a client of a renaissance patron, owes his honour, his worth, his very identity, to his relationship with his lord. To be separated from that lord and from his fellowship is to cease to exist" (10). Next, Low compares the plight of the Anglo-Saxon "wanderer" to two seventeenth-century poets who were exiled from the patronage system, John Donne and Thomas Carew. Just as Donne and Carew turned their isolation and suffering into new forms of creativity and poetry that helped them to shape "news ways of living and loving" (10), the wanderer of the OE poem reaps "compensatory spiritual gains" (12). Therefore, in his experience "we may recognize the remote ancestor of alienation and other cultural phenomena leading towards modern individualism and separation from society" (13). And because the speaker's exile has expelled him, not only from his home, but also from "the community of language and the companionable reassurance that language can give" (15), he has something in common with contemporary American culture and its long-standing tradition of "leaving home: the young person has to go out, to leave the parental background, to make his or her own way in the world" (14). Perhaps we can even glimpse in the wanderer's plight another "extremity of individualism: the Nietzschean removal of the self from the normative system of morality" (15). And just because the wanderer is not a modern man, does not mean he would not have had hard choices to make—to give up or to accept his fate bravely, is just one example. Finally, Low asks us to consider the ways in which the beauty of the OE poem "is a direct product of the wanderer's isolation, which is so painful to him that his suffering brings him to the point of sensory deprivation and hallucination [lines 39-48 and 50-55]" (16-17). In the rendering of suffering into poetic language, the poem could almost be categorized as Romantic or modernist, and the speaker's inner world is reminiscent of Hamlet's words, "But I have that within which passeth show." Although the OE poem certainly has parallels with early modern and modern modes of internalization and subjectivity, Low admits that the poem also "evokes a distinct combination of Anglo-Saxon

self-reliance and Christian *contemptus mundi*, with the stoic acceptance of events that cannot be changed" (18). But the real gift of Low's essay is to show us that, in all times and in all kinds of weather, to paraphrase Milton's Satan, the mind is very much its own place.

### *The Wife's Lament*

In his very short note, "Now Springs the Spray" and *The Wife's Lament*" (ANQ 14: 11-14), Glenn Wright draws our attention to the Middle English secular lyric, "Now Springs the Spray" (c. 1300), which is preserved in Lincoln's Inn MS Hale 135, and is "a notably early English example of both the carol form and the amorous *chanson d'aventure*, in which a male narrator overhears the complaint of a maiden disappointed in love" (11). Another scholar, Helen Sandison, has already pointed out that "Now Springs the Spray" is closer in style and form to the Old French tradition than it is to later English *chansons d'aventure*, but fails to find a direct analogous connection between a similar Old French text, "L'autrier defors Picarni," and the ME lyric, primarily because "the latter lacks a fourth stanza in which the narrator, having heard the bitter testimony of the jilted lover, succeeds in consoling her with three kisses" (12). Wright, however, finds striking similarities between the ME lyric poem and the OE *Wife's Lament*, and he points out that lines 9-10 of the opening stanza of the ME poem, *wai es him i louue-longinge / sal libben ai*, are a Middle English rendering of the well-known gnomic statement that concludes *The Wife's Lament*, *Wa bið þam þe sceal / of langope leofes abidan*. Wright admits that the importance of the parallel is "open to question," but he also argues that, "despite the obvious French influence and lighter tone of 'Now Springs the Spray,' there remain some noteworthy circumstantial similarities between the English poems" (12). It may be, in Wright's view, that *The Wife's Lament* "represents a discrete elegaic subgenre that survived the Conquest and influenced the English appropriation of the *chanson d'aventure* form" (12). Further, "The English adaptor of a *chanson d'aventure* like 'L'autrier defors Picarni,' recognizing the congruity between native poetic materials and his French model, might be encouraged both to incorporate other English elements not found in the French original" (12). Authorial intentions, especially in medieval literature, are mainly unrecoverable, but Wright's argument makes good sense. As Salvador argues in her note on Exeter Riddle 35 reviewed above, thinking more about the artistry behind the poetry is a worthwhile venture.



## c. Beowulf

*Text, Language, Meter*

Alfred Bammesberger, in "Further Thoughts on *Beowulf*, line 1537a: *Gefeng þa be [f]leaxe*," *N&Q* n.s. 48: 3–4, believes that the half-line *Gefeng þa be eaxe* "He caught her by the shoulder" is "metrically suspect because only the verb *gefeng* alliterates with *fæhð* in the b-half-line" which follows it, "whereas in a normal A-verse the noun in the a-half-line, in this case *eaxe*, should participate in the alliteration" (p. 3). The emendation suggested in his title, Bammesberger submits, would both remove the prosodic irregularity and improve the physical plausibility of the hero's maneuver, where *Beowulf* can be seen to be performing a recognized technique of assault known from the laws and Old Frisian analogues as *feaxfang* 'hair-pulling'. In "The Syntactic Analysis of *Beowulf*, lines 4–5," *NM* 102: 131–33, Bammesberger suggests that *þreatum* in line 4b could be parsed as what Bruce Mitchell (1985) calls an "instrumental of accompaniment" or "dative of agency" rather than in the usual way, as a dative plural indirect object parallel with *monegum mæghum* in line 5a. Lines 4–5 should thus read: "Often Scyld Scefing together with his troops of warriors took away the mead-benches from many tribes." An alternative derivation of the preterite verb *ofteah* from *oftion* 'to refuse' rather than from *ofteon* 'to take away' would yield: "Often Scyld Scefing together with his troops of warriors refused to many tribes their own mead-benches." Bammesberger concludes his contribution for the year with a close look at "The Half-Line *þenden hyt sy* (*Beowulf* 2649b)," *ANQ* 14.3: 3–5. He rejects the interpretation of *MS hyt* as a third-person singular neuter anaphoric pronoun equivalent to "there" (Mitchell and Robinson [1998]) or as an otherwise unattested noun *hitt* 'heat' (Klaeber [1950], Jack [1994]). Instead, Bammesberger prefers an emendation to *h[a]t* 'hot', which was first suggested by Kemble (1837) and accepted by Thorpe (1855), who translated lines 2648b–50a: "let us advance to help the warlike leader, while he hot the fierce fiery terror."

Matti Kilpiö cites five examples of the collocation *ece oððe adl* 'pain and sickness' as a familiar formulaic phrase in OE, occasionally glossing Latin *languor*, to suggest an answer to his question posed in *N&Q* n.s. 48: 97–98, with regard to "*Beowulf* 1763 *adl oððe ecg*: a Corruption of *adl oððe ece*?" Kilpiö believes that the logic of the passage from Hrothgar's sermon would be improved by seeing "an orderly sequence of calamities from physical afflictions occurring at any age (sickness and pain 1763) through natural phenomena (fire

and water 1764), war-like weapons (sword and spear 1765) and problems of old age, including deterioration and loss of sight (1766–7) to death (1768)" (98).

Gale R. Owen-Crocker undertakes to enrich the semantic range of the word *glæd* in "Gracious' Hrothulf, 'Gracious' Hrothgar: A Reassessment," *ELN* 38.4: 1–9. Klaeber (1950) glossed the adjective "kind, gracious," but Owen-Crocker would like to include "appreciative" in the word's connotation in lines 1173a and 1181a where *Wealhtheow* uses it with reference to Hrothgar and Hrothulf, respectively. Owen-Crocker argues for this sense of *glæd* from the narrative context of those lines and others in which it is used (58b, 862a, 1785a, 2025b).

In "A Prow in Foam: The Old English *bahuvrihi* Compound as a Poetic Device," *Prague Studies in English* (Charles Univ.) 22 (2000 for 1997): 13–31, Jan Cermák explores compounding in Old English poetry using examples from *Andreas* and *Beowulf*. An appendix (pp. 27–30) lists all the compounds in the two poems with an indication of their frequency and stylistic register in the Old English lexicon, a translation, their number of appearances in the respective poems, and their categorization as to type: linear (adj + noun or noun + noun), reversed (noun + adj) or extended (linear or reversed + suffix).

E. G. Stanley, in "Playing upon Words, I," *NM* 102: 339–56, reviews the critical study of paronomasia since the eighteenth century and categorizes its several types with many literary examples. He begins his demonstration of "the untranslatableness of English wordplay" with examples from *Beowulf* and other Old English poems (348–51). For instance, in lines 263b–65a of *Beowulf* two homophonous or nearly homophonous words are played upon when Cain is said to be *fag* 'bearing the mark (of Cain)', a choice of adjective which chimes closely with *fah* 'hostile, outlawed'. Similarly, the water-monsters in line 563a are called *man-fordædlan* 'wicked destroyers, evil-doers', but the term could also mean 'man-killers, destroyers of humans' if the *a* in the first word of the compound were pronounced as short rather than long.

In "Subordinate Clauses without *apo koivov* in Old English Verse, Chiefly in *Beowulf* and Chiefly *nu* and *swa*," *Studia Neophilologica* 73: 4–10, Mary Blockley explores a class of clause-introducing words which can be alternatively parsed as adverbs in a main clause or as conjunctions subordinating that clause to others. Blockley finds that those clausal headwords unambiguously used as adverbs are usually followed by a finite

verb in the first half-line of the clause, whereas those unambiguously used as subordinating conjunctions are not. This pattern may indicate a prosodic convention which helps resolve the ambiguity of other head-words when similar syntactic conditions apply.

#### Sources and Analogues

Augustine Thompson, in "Rethinking Hygelac's Raid," *ELN* 38.4: 9–16, seeks to identify and categorize the traditions behind the four extant accounts of Hygelac's raid against Frankish Gaul contained in *Beowulf*, the *Historia Francorum* of Gregory of Tours 3.3, the *Liber Historiae Francorum* 19, and the *Liber Monstrorum* 3. Thompson recapitulates the theory of F.P. Magoun, Jr. (1953) that the actual battle yielded two oral legends: 1) a Geat-English tradition revealed in *Beowulf* and the Anglo-Latin *Liber Monstrorum*, and 2) a Frankish tradition which appears in Gregory of Tours and the *Liber Historiae*, but may have also possibly influenced the *Liber Monstrorum*. Thompson presents an alternative theory in which there are three distinct traditions of the battle: 1) a Geat-English oral legend yielding the story in *Beowulf*; 2) a Frisian oral legend yielding the *Liber Monstrorum* version, an account which may have also been influenced by the Geat-English legend; and 3) a written account by Gregory of Tours, which was the main source of the *Liber Historiae*, whose author may also have had some access to Frisian oral tradition.

Katharina Wilson and Donald P. Beistle in "Anatematizing a Tradition," *Germanic Notes and Rev.* 32: 14–17, see *Beowulf*'s account of his contest at sea with Breca as an archetypal instance of the "medieval water-crossing topos," one which almost invariably includes a "sub-topos" or motif of thanksgiving once the dangers of the journey are successfully overcome. The authors then explore manipulations of this topos in the verses of the Old Icelandic poetess Steinunn and the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*, adaptations which serve to condemn the secular, pre-Christian heroic values the topos had originally expressed.

Guillemette Bolens's "The Limits of Textuality: Mobility and Fire Production in Homer and *Beowulf*" (*Oral Tradition* 16: 107–28) summarizes and extends the argument of her *Le Logique du Corps Articulaire* (2000), Ch. 4 of which was described in *YWOES* 2000. Bolens distinguishes between an oral and a literate mentality, especially with regard to the ways in which bodies are imagined and made to signify. Among oral poets, the performance is the poetry: meaning is conveyed through the performer's vocal and physical

movements through time. In written poetry, the text is separate from and prior to performance: its meaning is conserved and articulated in a static space. This conceptual distinction is revealed in the way three characters make fire in three poems derived from oral tradition: Hephaestus in the *Iliad*, Hermes in the *Homeric Hymn to Hermes* and the dragon in *Beowulf*. In each case, the production of fire is depicted not as a process of precise bodily technique but as a psycho-physical event characterized by swift movement and a spontaneous combustion of energy, heat and light.

John Edward Damon, in "Disecto capite perfido: Bodily Fragmentation and Reciprocal Violence in Anglo-Saxon England," *Exemplaria* 13: 399–432, considers instances of decapitation and dismemberment in *Beowulf* as part of a larger cultural complex—"the reciprocal trophification of royal remains" (432)—as revealed in the writings of Ælfric and Bede, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, the *Liber Eliensis*, and *Judith*. Damon sees a "multi-faceted cultural congruence" (431) of several traditions—Celtic, Norse and Anglo-Saxon, both pagan and Christian—in the celebratory display of the head of a defeated enemy or the veneration of part of a leader's physical remains. The honorific encasing of King Oswald's right hand in silver is thus symbolically consonant with the triumphal hanging up of Grendel's arm in Heorot.

E. G. Stanley, in "A Very Land-fish, Languagelesse, a Monster': Grendel and the Like in Old English," *Monsters and the Monstrous in Medieval Northwest Europe*, ed. K. E. Olsen and L. A. J. R. Houwen (Mediaevalia Groningana 3. Leuven, Paris, and Sterling, VA: Peeters, 2001), 79–92, invokes Thersites's characterization of Ajax in Shakespeare's *Troilus and Cressida*, III.iii.264, to suggest the essence of what would have been monstrously Other about the humanly shaped Grendel and his mother for the audience of *Beowulf*, that is, their watery habitation in waste land and their wordless incapacity to communicate except through violence. In addition, neither creature has a recognizable social identity in spite of their descent from the banished Cain: Grendel's father is unknown, his mother nameless. In pp. 93–102 of the same volume, in "The Monster's Mother at Yuletide," Leo Tepper postulates an Indo-European seasonal myth in which a dragon and his mother are killed at the winter solstice thereby releasing the sun and water necessary for the return of new life in spring. This myth is best represented in Indo-Iranian tradition, primarily the Sanskrit *Rigveda*, while in Germanic tradition, its key features were dissociated into the semi-independent parts which can be seen in *Beowulf* and the Icelandic *Grettissaga*.

In "Rikki-Tikki-Tavi as Beowulf," *Kipling Jnl* 75: 16-27, Bard C. Cosman demonstrates the detailed episodic correspondence between Kipling's story from *The Jungle Book* (1894) and the Nordic folktale which has been seen by some scholars to lie behind both the first half of *Beowulf* and episodes in the Icelandic *Grettissaga*. In particular, the hero defends a building against a monstrous male intruder only to be dragged to the lair of the monster's female relative whence, though presumed dead by his friends, he emerges triumphant. It is Cosman's contention that Kipling used as his model the story of Beowulf, which he would have known from one of at least six translations available in English at the time, and adapted it to the character of the loyal mongoose from Indian oral tradition and the compilation *Panchatantra*.

R. L. Sassone's D.Phil. Thesis, "Time and *Beowulf*: The Impact on Anglo-Saxon Poetry of Christian and Non-Christian Germanic Traditions Regarding Time" (Oxford, 1999), was described in the *Index to Theses* 50: 425. The thesis adduces a "structural affinity between *Beowulf* and the Old Icelandic mythological poem, *Völuspá*," which its author sees as neither accidental nor based upon patterns of Christian typology, but reflective of a shared Germanic world-view "which stresses continuity and cyclic repetition" through time.

#### Criticism

Paul Bibire, "*Beowulf*," in *British Writers*, Supplement VI, ed. Jay Parini (New York: Scribner's, 2001), 29-44, provides a substantial encyclopedia entry on the poem with several considered judgments on key issues of *Beowulf* scholarship. Bibire believes that a single literate author used an oral style of composition to write *Beowulf* because he wanted "to create an illusion of orality" in a poem which invokes oral traditions and was itself "intended for oral performance" (31). Bibire suggests that portions of the poem were recited in small fitt-clusters of flexible length, with some performances perhaps as short as a single fitt, of which there are 43 (plus a prologue) varying in length between 43 and 112 lines. This length approximates that of shorter surviving Old English poems, especially elegies like *The Wife's Lament* (53 lines) and *The Wanderer* (115 lines), which Bibire believes were designed for oral delivery.

Bibire accepts Tolkien's 1936 analysis of the poem's main theme as the rise and fall of a noble life from young hero to old king. This view has "withstood subsequent shifts in critical fashion, despite obvious dependence upon Tolkien's own melancholic Catholicism," which

he may have shared "with those who originally composed and read, performed, or heard the poem" (34). Bibire sees the spiritual condition of Hrothgar and Beowulf as that of "natural religion," a monotheistic belief in a Creator from observation of the created world, as per St. Paul in Romans 1.19-20, without the benefit of divine revelation or the promise of redemption. The one reference to paganism as ignorant "devil worship" (lines 175-88) is contrasted with another more sympathetic, but implicit allusion to the pagan myth of the slaying of Baldr in lines 2434-49. Bibire adduces another possible use of this myth as the underpinning of the depiction of the Crucifixion in *The Dream of the Rood* to suggest that the story of the pagan god's undeserved death was rationalized by Christian Anglo-Saxons as "a partial and flawed reflection" of Christ's sacrifice, belief in which made available to their ancestors at least the possibility of salvation (34).

Bibire derives the legendary material in the poem from vernacular Anglo-Saxon sources going back to the sixth century, combined with ninth-century Danish dynastic legends onto which had been transferred fourth-century Gothic, Hunnish and Erulian traditions recorded by Latin historians like Jordanes and Paul the Deacon. These authors were known to the Northumbrian scholar Alcuin at the court of Charlemagne in the late eighth century. The names of the early continental figures in the poem, such as the Goth Ermanaric (OE Eormenric), "correspond strikingly with the forms used specifically by Jordanes ... and seem to go beyond coincidence" (35-36). This assessment implies that the formation of the unified cycle of legends exemplified in the poem was at least in part "a learned undertaking" in the Holy Roman Empire of Christian Francia (with its own newly invented Trojan/Roman origin legend) or, more probably, in England itself, "since it studiously avoids any Roman association" (36). Bibire does not further address the date and place of *Beowulf*'s composition, except to remark that the sole extant manuscript (c. 1000) gives evidence of having been copied many times and that "cases can be made for [the original production of the poem] everywhere in Anglo-Saxon England" (30).

Bibire describes the organizing principle of *Beowulf* as "nonlinear parallelism and variation" (37), a pattern which can be seen from the smallest to the largest units of composition, creating a "huge and intricate structure" (42). He shows how framing devices, foreshadowing and interlacement connect the main and ancillary narratives over wide expanses of the poem. He concludes that *Beowulf* is designed by its author to resist a unitary interpretation, deliberately raising

more questions on its subject and themes than it ever tries to answer definitively. "Instead, it takes a vision of the far, legendary past and shatters it into innumerable prismatic fragments around the figure of its hero, each reflecting or refracting some aspect of his meaning and value" (43).

Michael Lapidge would go further: he insists that the poet's primary purpose is to show how knowledge of the past is contingent upon multiple and fragmentary impressions in "Beowulf and Perception," *Proc. of the British Academy* 111: 61–97, delivered as the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture on 12 December 2000. Lapidge explains the "non-linearity of Beowulfian discourse" (p. 62) as "a reflex of the poet's concern with the mental processes of perception and understanding" (63). The poet repeats words, phrases, episodes and more general narrative patterns to provoke reflection on the part of the reader, "so that the text becomes the object of progressive discovery, of a dynamic perception which is constantly changing" (67). Knowledge in *Beowulf* is revealed as "retroactive" (68), "a matter of retrospection and re-interpretation" (87). The implications of many episodes do not become clear until much later in the poem where they are often further problematized by new unanswered questions. Lapidge invokes several contemporary literary theorists to argue that the author of *Beowulf* is deliberately experimenting with narrative techniques for which "there is no satisfactory model in antecedent western literature" (76): he considers, only to reject, possible claimants to this honor in Virgil and several Christian-Latin poets of late antiquity. Lapidge finds a more useful analogy to *Beowulf* in the modern novel, especially the novel's capacity for "multiple internal focalization" (75), as described by Gérard Genette (1980). Like Faulkner, for instance, the *Beowulf* poet recounts episodes from the perspective of several different characters, so that there "is no truth; only—in each case—-independent perceptions of a searingly memorable sequence of events" (75). Lapidge also cites Bakhtin (1981) on the novel's preoccupation with epistemology, especially its use of various speaker's memories provisionally to bridge the gap between an absent past and a "narratorial present" (81). Lapidge concludes that the *Beowulf* poet reveals the past as "nothing more than present perceptions—recollections—[that] are fragmentary at best, like the varying reminiscences of Hygelac's last raid" (87). Two appendices are supplied, one on the Old English verbs of perception *onfindan* and *ongi(e)tan*, a second on Hellenistic theories of perception.

Eugene Green returns to an earlier study by Lapidge, "Beowulf and the Psychology of Terror" (1993), to

consider the ways the poet conveys interior consciousness in "The Exploration of Mind in *Beowulf*" (Chapter 4 in his *Anglo-Saxon Audiences*, Berkeley Insights in Linguistics and Semiotics 44 [New York: Peter Lang, 2001], 83–136). Green assumes a late tenth- or early eleventh-century audience apprehensive over viking attacks, inadequate royal leadership and apocalyptic millennial predictions. In this uncertain political and intellectual milieu, Green imagines a poet determined to create a work of self-discovery for his listeners, one which would explore a wide range of human thought and feeling as experienced by their forebears in desperate circumstances long ago. Green distinguishes between the poet and narrator, the artist investing his speaker with the highest order of credibility, a quality to be enhanced by the reciter's professional authority and skill in delivery. The poet recruits and adapts traditional genres within the poem to develop a complex and dynamic sensibility for his human characters, a subjective consciousness made more readily accessible to his audience by the familiar verbal and symbolic systems contained in these old poetic forms: "human participants in *Beowulf* have minds constructed from what the poet discovers in the genres of his tradition" (133). We can gain further insight into these imagined minds intertextually, by comparing the precise language through which they are expressed with the mentalities revealed by similar phrasal constructions in other Old English poems. For the same reason, however, the interior consciousness of the non-speaking characters in *Beowulf*, like God or the monsters, is less clearly apparent. The mind of God is "wondrous rather than explicable," Green observes, though it is still "dimly accessible through analogy" (132–33). That is, the audience of the poem can at least comprehend God's just wrath against Grendel's unprovoked murderous cannibalism because it so patently and outrageously violates our own sense of justice. In a similar way, the minds of the wordless monsters remain largely opaque to the audience, but their extreme malice, greed and despair are recognizable, if horrifying distortions of human emotion.

An issue of the online journal *Heroic Age* 5 (Summer/Autumn 2001) was devoted to Anthropological and Cultural Approaches to *Beowulf*, organized and edited by John M. Hill. Three of the essays first appeared in *PQ* 78 (1999) and were reviewed in *YWOES* 2000: David Day, "Hwanaan si fæhð aras: Defining the Feud in *Beowulf*" (n.p.); Stephen O. Glosecki, "Beowulf and the Wills: Traces of Totemism?" (n.p.); and Marijane Osborn, "'The Wealth They Left Us': Two Women Author Themselves through Others' Lives in *Beowulf*" (n.p.). Carolyn Anderson, in "Gast, Gender, and

Kin in *Beowulf*: Consumption of Boundaries" (n.p.), argues that Grendel's mother reflects the potential for destructive violence which lurks within the relationship of hosts and guests in the poem, often close male kinsmen or in-laws. Alexander Bruce, in "An Education in the Mead-Hall: *Beowulf*'s Lessons for Young Warriors" (n.p.), sees the poem as a form of psychological training designed for the *geoguð* or junior war-band. The young men are provoked to imagine and reflect on how they would react in situations similar to those in which the exemplary hero finds himself. Craig R. Davis, in "Redundant Ethnogenesis in *Beowulf*" (n.p.), suggests that one of the poet's goals is to inspire a sense of common identity in an ethnically diverse audience "by reimagining relations between various hero-peoples of a traditional past with whom members of that audience might have identified." He sees the court of King Alfred in the 890s as "the time and place when the poem's ethnic manipulations would have made most sense to an Anglo-Saxon audience." That king traced his patrilineal descent to the Scylding monarchs celebrated in the opening lines of the poem and was proud, on his mother's side, of his Jutish/Gothic/Geatish heritage, an ethnic conflation which can be demonstrated from other texts associated with Alfred's reign. Even so, Davis argues, *Beowulf*'s attempted ethnogenesis did not find its way to the cultural authority achieved by comparable epics in other cultures. A sense of collective national consciousness was achieved in England by other means, not least of which was "a biblical model of moral ethnicity adumbrated in the poem itself." Dorothy Carr Porter explores the roles of women as hostesses, peace-weavers and monsters in "The Social Centrality of Women in *Beowulf*" (n.p.) and concludes, as her title suggests, that for good or ill, women play as crucial a role in the world of the poem as they did in the culture which produced it. Tom Shippey, studies the Modthryðo episode (1931b-62) in "Wicked Queens and Cousin Strategies in *Beowulf* and Elsewhere" (n.p.). He compares this figure to other queens of Anglo-Saxon history and legend, suggesting that queens married within the kingdom to paternal kin produce children who are in structural competition with their cousins for power, land and wealth. Queens married to foreigners produce children who are more likely to view their maternal cousins as helpful allies rather than threatening competitors. The queen herself has a vested interest in furthering her children's prospects in her new homeland rather than in suppressing their rivals at home. A wise ruler thus sought to produce peaceful cousins by marrying daughters out to other rulers or down to a serviceable retainer without pedigree. Shippey believes that the story of Modthryðo,

who was wicked at home during her first marriage but good abroad in her second, may be explained by this "cousin strategy."

In "The Gregorian Grendel: *Beowulf* 705b-09 and the Limits of the Demonic," in *Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer *et al.*, 51-65, David F. Johnson adduces a commonplace of Christian demonology found in Gregory's popular *Moralia in Job* as the source of the poet's conception of Grendel "as devilish, if not actually a devil" (60). Satan and his minions, including Grendel, are the unwilling servants of an omnipotent God used to punish the wicked and test the just. The prosperous Hrothgar becomes a "Job-like figure" in Johnson's reading, one who "is humbled by his experience, and learns, like Job, that evil befalls both the good and the bad in this world" (64), but only within the limits determined by a just and benevolent God.

#### *Translations and Translation Reviews*

Michael Alexander has supplied a new introduction to his 1973 alliterative verse translation of the poem and updated his notes and other aids to the student in *Beowulf: A Verse Translation*. Revised ed. (London, etc.: Penguin, 2001).

Conor McCarthy, in "Language and History in Seamus Heaney's *Beowulf*," *English* 50: 149-58, and Karen Saupe, in "Beowulf Goes Celtic," *Fides et Historia* 33: 97-103, both review positively Seamus Heaney's translation of *Beowulf* (London, 1999), celebrating his achievement in the terms offered in his own Introduction. McCarthy suggests that Heaney's rendering, like his own lyric poetry, seeks a "middle voice," one resting upon his local "Ulster vernacular" but reaching into the "imperial lexicon" of standard English (151). This linguistic "multiculturalism [with] roots" (152; author's emphasis) brings a "painful optimism" (155) to a poem which consistently demonstrates the intractability of inherited ethnic hatreds. In the art of this translation, McCarthy suggests, the ancient entangled sufferings of the Irish, Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon peoples—past and present—are expressed, endured and transcended. Saupe, too, believes that "Heaney's *Beowulf* is most significant as a social phenomenon: an Irish poet who has ambivalent feelings about the political ramifications of writing in English takes on a poem from a conquering and conquered tradition, in order to claim it as his own and to unite, through language, disparate peoples and places.... Its value lies not as much in its faithfulness to the original text, as in its faithfulness to the spirit of the poem as a voicing of cultural ideals" (102-03).

Frank Kermode reprints his response to both Heaney's translation and that of R.M. Liuzza (1999) in "The Modern Beowulf," pp. 1-12 in his *Pleasing Myself: from 'Beowulf' to Philip Roth* (London: Allen Lane/Penguin, 2001), first published in the *NYRB* on 20 July 2000: 18-21. Kermode concludes in a close line-by-line comparison that "the less celebrated translator [Liuzza] can be matched with the famous one," the Nobel laureate Heaney (11). The rendering by Liuzza is more precise and explicit, Kermode finds, and has greater confidence in the power and "strangeness of the literal" (11). Kermode thus believes that as a faithful evocation of the world of the poem, Liuzza's translation is "more useful than Heaney's" (9), but the reviewer is happy to recommend both.

Giuseppi Brunetti, in "Traduzioni del *Beowulf* in inglese moderno," in *Testo medievale e traduzione*, ed. Maria Grazia Cammarota and Maria Vittoria Molinari (Bergamo: Bergamo Univ. Press, 2001), 93-101, compares and categorizes six Modern English translations of the poem produced in the past forty years. Raffel (1963) produces a modern "surrogate" of the old poem's emotional tone and expressiveness. Lehmann (1988) "mimics" the poem's prosody. Oliver (1990) is judged "glossematic" because he amplifies and reinterprets scenes, often rather romantically. Tripp (1991) is "paronomastic," stressing the possible word-play of the original. Heaney (1999) is "diglossic" in his experimentation with dialectal varieties of Modern English. The "allusiveness" of Liuzza (1999), as Kermode found, evokes the otherness of the poem's strange world.

#### Sound and Film Adaptations

Tom Rendell, Harvey DeRoo, Robert Stevick, Tom Burton, Thomas Chase, Kamal Fox, Mary-Ann Stouck, and Stephen Partridge have produced an oral interpretation of the poem in their several voices in *Beowulf: A Dramatic Reading in the Original Language*, The Chaucer Studio Recordings, Occasional Readings 27 ([Simon Fraser Univ.]: Chaucer Studio Recordings, 2000), in three CDs.

Hugh Magennis reviews two recent films which draw inspiration from the poem in "Michael Crichton, Ibn Fadlan, Fantasy Cinema: *Beowulf* at the Movies," *OEN* 35.1 (2001): 34-38. *The 13<sup>th</sup> Warrior* was directed by John McTiernan (Touchstone Pictures, 1999), 98 mins., starring Antonio Banderas as Ahmed Ibn Fadlan, an Arab emissary who joins a band of Scandinavians led by a Beowulf-character named Buliwyf. The movie is a direct adaptation of Michael Crichton's novel *Eaters of the Dead: The Manuscript of Ibn Fadlan*,

*Relating His Experiences with the Northmen in AD 922* (New York, 1976), which rationalizes the Grendel-kin (here called *wendol*) as a remnant tribe of matriarchal Neanderthals. Magennis judges that *The 13<sup>th</sup> Warrior* captures something "of the heroism and excitement of *Beowulf*, and does so in an intelligent and engaging way" (38). Not so Graham Baker's *Beowulf* (Capitol Films, 1999), with Christopher Lambert. This is a "fantasy-horror" flick set in a post-apocalyptic gothic fortress haunted by a monstrously vampish mother and her son: its genre is noir romance. Beowulf rides in at the beginning as a solitary horseman and rides off at the end with the Freawaru-figure, Kyra, "both dressed in their usual biker leathers, hers impractically décolleté" (38). In this last scene, the two survivors laugh for the first time in the movie, leaving behind them a pile of rubble and all former occupants of the castle—friends and relatives, monsters and humans—dead.

#### Beowulf and Material Culture

Christopher D. Morris discusses the early inspiration of Rosemary Cramp to relate "the foremost Anglo-Saxon poem to the emerging archeological evidence" (148) in "From *Beowulf* to Binford: Sketches of an Archaeological Career," pp. 147-61 in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Helena Hamerow and Arthur MacGregor (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001). In her early career Cramp had hoped that archeological discoveries would supply a degree of concreteness and specificity to the images conjured up by the *Beowulf* poet's language. Later in her career she came to regret facile conflation by both archeologists and literary scholars of terms from the Old English poem with the diverse and subtly distinctive artifacts of Anglo-Saxon culture yielded by archeological investigation (149). The title of the essay refers to Lewis Binford whose *An Archaeological Perspective* (1972) is used to stand for theoretical approaches to the discipline of archeology as opposed to a more inductive, systematic accumulation of evidence preferred by Professor Cramp.

Robert Boenig would please Professor Cramp in his rejection of a facile identification of the *hearpe* in *Beowulf* with the "Germanic round lyre" discovered at Sutton Hoo (2), but he illustrates one of the newer theoretical approaches in "Musical Instruments as Iconographical Artifacts in Medieval Poetry," in *Material Culture and Cultural Materialisms in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Curtis Perry, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance 5 (Turnhout: Brepols, 2001), 1-15. Boenig uses post-structuralist socio-semiotics or "cultural criticism" to examine the

ways musical instruments "generate meaning" (p. 2) in several medieval poems, including *Beowulf*. He argues that musical instruments, like the harp of Hrothgar's scop in lines 86–101 of the poem, mean more than the music they produce, in this case, signifying "Hrothgar's agenda of political conquest and the transforming of chaos into order" (15). It is this "hyperreality" of the harp that provokes its ideological antithesis, Grendel, to attack.

C.R.D.

#### d. Prose

Alfredian studies enjoyed another good year. Patrick P. O'Neill's long-awaited *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms* (Medieval Academy Books 104 [Cambridge, MA: Medieval Academy of America]) replaces Bright and Ramsey's 1907 edition with a more richly detailed and scholarly edition. O'Neill begins his introduction with an extensive description of the "Paris Psalter" manuscript: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale de France, MS Fonds latin 8824. He then turns to the Old English introductions to the Psalms, copies of which also appear in Cotton Vitellius E. xviii, though severely damaged since the Ashburnham house fire of 1731. The *Romanum* psalter was the translator's main source, but 140 *Gallicanum* readings indicate "active collation" (41), and several other sources were used. Uncharacteristically for his time, the translator favored Antiochene commentaries, though he also drew upon the more familiar Alexandrine. O'Neill moves on to explore style, translation methods, and language, which he finds predominantly early West Saxon with some late features. His careful treatment of authorship concludes in Alfred's favor. In the text itself, each Psalm is followed by its own apparatus, and a detailed verse-by-verse commentary follows the whole. The volume ends with a full glossary and select bibliography. This erudite edition makes a tremendous contribution to Alfredian scholarship.

Paolo Zanna edits and translates *Alfredo il grande, re e filosofo: La versione in inglese antico dei "Soliloqui" di Agostino; Introduzione e traduzione italiana* (Milan: LED). Zanna's sixty-five page introduction briefly discusses Alfred's life and works (and their political significance) and Asser's *Vita*. It then treats other Alfredian translations, along the way offering Zanna's own translations into Italian of the Preface to the *Pastoral Care*, the Proem to the *Boethius*, and the first preface to Wærferth's *Dialogues*. The introduction ends with an overview of the structure, style, and themes of both Augustine's *Soliloquia* and Alfred's version. Zanna bases his edition on Carnicelli's 1969

edition but provides new paragraph divisions and numbers. On facing pages, he gives his own translation into Italian. The volume ends with a short bibliography.

Marina Buzzoni combines Alfredian and translation studies in "Traduzione interlinguistica ed endolinguistica nella versione alfrediana del *De Consolatione Philosophiae*" (*Testo medievale e traduzione: Bergamo 27–28 ottobre 2000*, ed. Maria Grazia Cammarota and Maria Vittoria Molinari, Traduzione Letteraria [Bergamo: Bergamo Univ. Press], 202–25). Conventional wisdom holds that the *Meters of Boethius* are Alfred's prose translation later rendered into OE alliterative verse; Buzzoni argues that difficult Latin alone would not require a prose translation before verse, for, despite Alfred's lament for lost knowledge, learned works continued to be copied and read. Instead, she invokes Alfred's "domesticating" strategy, evident in altering *Fabrizius* to *Weland* and other changes. By writing a prosimetrum, Boethius followed a well-known Latin tradition; Anglo-Saxons lacked prosimetra, but they had a comparable tradition of the *opus geminatum* with versions in prose and verse (e.g. Aldhelm's *De virginitate*, the *Vita S. Cuthberti*). The *Meters* made the OE *Boethius* an *opus geminatum*, an equivalent to the original prosimetrum. Noting that over the past decade translation studies have not advanced much in its search for universals, Buzzoni closes by suggesting this universal: in a young polysystem, adequacy to source texts must precede equivalence, because works and genres must be understood before the new literary system can make equivalents to them.

Paul Szarmach also engages the *Boethius* in "The *Timaeus* in Old English" (*Lexis and Texts in Early English*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 255–67). Meter 9 in the third book, at the center of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae*, epitomizes parts of Plato's *Timaeus* and Proclus's commentary on it, while drawing from other classical and Christian texts, in a mere twenty-eight lines. The translator renders the Latin meter into Old English alliterative verse, greatly expanding the dense poem via a wide range of sources, including the Nicene Creed, personal experience, and commentaries on Boethius. The Old English Meter 20 displays an active, if not always successful, grappling with difficult philosophy. Other poems, from *Genesis* to *Cædmon's Hymn* and the "Song of Creation" in *Beowulf*, treat creation from a more traditional Christian viewpoint. Szarmach concludes that ideas of Anglo-Saxon ignorance and intellectual disinterest are greatly exaggerated, and that the translator of Meter 20 treated the

source text not in isolation but part of a system of inter-texts that give meaning to it.

Kees Dekker turns to "King Alfred's Translation of Gregory's *Dialogi*: Tales for the Unlearned?" (*Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer *et al.*, 27–50). Scholars once considered Gregory's *Dialogi* naïve miracle tales for the uneducated; more recently, they have recognized the miracles' allegorical significance and Gregory's fundamental emphasis on virtue and spiritual miracles. Dekker argues that the Anglo-Saxons understood these purposes, as Wærferth shows by adding Gregory to the ranks of the saints. As a font of wisdom, Gregory worked fewer pedestrian wonders than great spiritual miracles. Alfred commissioned the translation to complement the *Pastoral Care*'s instruction with examples for the benefit of clerics who had little or no Latin but needed to learn and teach the art of virtuous living. While Gregory's original audience was predominantly monastic, the Old English translation probably aimed more towards secular clergy to help restore the church in England (of which Alfred's Preface to the *Pastoral Care* paints such a dim picture).

The year also saw two new installments of the Collaborative Edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The eighth volume, edited by Peter Baker (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2000), returns to the text with which the series began: the Domitian Bilingual or F-text of the ASC found in London, British Library, Cotton Domitian A. viii, printed in facsimile by David Dumville as the first volume of the Collaborative Edition (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1995). While Baker acknowledges the derivative nature of the F-text, he argues for its importance based on a number of observations: existing editions of the text are "rough-and-ready affairs which lack all but the most rudimentary apparatus and skip over some of the more difficult passages"; the text's compiler revised other versions of the *Chronicle* and thus played a key role in the *Chronicle*'s history; and the text is a key source for the history of early Norman Canterbury (vii).

The fifth volume of the series, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's edition of the C-text of the *Chronicle* from London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius B. i (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer), also supplements a previous installment of the Collaborative Edition: Patrick Conner's *Abingdon Chronicle, A.D. 956–1006 (MS. C, with reference to BDE)* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 1996). O'Brien O'Keeffe's conclusions differ from those of Conner in a number of ways. First, where Conner sees an additional hand in folios 144r–158r14, she follows Ker in identifying seven eleventh-century hands in

the text (Conner xviii–xxv; O'Brien O'Keeffe xxvi and xxx–xxxi). Second, where he argues that the anomalous final quire was designed to be a quire of four, she suggests tentatively that it may have been a quire of eight from which material has been lost, material for which the twelfth-century scribe of the final folio may have attempted to compensate with an "imaginative conclusion" to the entry for 1066 (Conner lxv; O'Brien O'Keeffe lxxiii and xxiv). Finally, where Conner firmly supports the traditional association of the C-text with Abingdon, O'Brien O'Keeffe challenges his evidence at length, ultimately concluding that "we must consider the case for an Abingdon origin ... unproved" (Conner xli–xlvi; O'Keeffe lxxxix and lxxx–xcii). In addition to the text of the *Chronicle*, O'Brien O'Keeffe includes the poems *Menologium* and *Maxims II* that appear to have been considered "appropriate prefatory matter to the *Chronicle* material" (xv).

Both Baker's and O'Brien O'Keeffe's works examine the manuscripts' pre- and post-reformation history, transcriptions and editions, physical descriptions, and various scribal practices; focus in detail on their language and their textual relationship to other *Chronicle* manuscripts; and include summaries of editing conventions and indices of names found in the texts. They provide semi-diplomatic editions of the texts with modern punctuation, capitalization, and word-division, silently expanded abbreviations (though under protest in O'Brien O'Keeffe's case), and provide footnotes with further observations on the manuscript.

In "Cotton MS Domitian A.viii, the F-version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and William Camden" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 98–99), Peter J. Lucas notes that not only does James Ussher state in a 1625 letter that the manuscript of the F version once belonged to Camden, Ussher's 1639 *Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates* quotes the F-text. Camden himself, in his 1607 edition of *Britannia*, uses two *Chronicle* extracts, one found only in F—and on the same page Ussher used. Lucas concludes that Camden's ownership of the manuscript can no longer be doubted.

Thomas A. Bredehoft's *Textual Histories: Readings in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Toronto: Univ. of Toronto Press) investigates *Chronicle* manuscript histories and textual representations of history. In Chapter 1, Bredehoft argues that the Common Stock genealogies share certain metrical forms, indicating poetic models and single compiler. Punctuation encodes information from columnar genealogies in a smaller space, demonstrating written, not oral, origins, while the genealogies give Alfred a lineage of victorious Saxon invaders.



Bredehoft's second chapter treats the Cynewulf and Cyneheard story (his Appendix contains diplomatic transcriptions of the 755 annal). Scribes felt no need to copy word-for-word, though they tended to keep formulas. Bredehoft reads the story more as an exploration of succession problems than a tale of *comitatus* loyalty. In Chapter 3, Bredehoft finds two approaches to post-Alfredian history: dynastic focus on Alfred's heirs, and a Northern Recension which, by adding Northern history to West Saxon, made the Chronicle truly national. In Chapter 4, Bredehoft argues that the Chronicle contains many more poems than the ASPR includes: despite the various metrical forms, the scribes' practice of pointing, use of space, and respect for rhyme structure indicates that Anglo-Saxons read these passages as verse. The poems emphasize Alfred's line while deepening the sense of history and textuality by referring to other entries. In his fifth chapter, Bredehoft shows that the use of Latin in dates and some genealogies reveals the Chronicle to be a highly literate production, but not one that would impede readers with little or no Latin. Asser and Æthelweard used the Chronicle to produce their own Latin versions, both enshrining the dynastic element. Yet most later medieval Latin histories did not use these Latin chronicles but favored the vernacular. In his conclusion, Bredehoft finds different strategies for endings: the Canterbury Group adds lists of popes and archbishops and other materials to connect Anglo-Saxon with post-Conquest history; the C and D Chronicles break off, marking the Conquest as an end to Anglo-Saxon history which the odd later entry cannot revive; ongoing Chronicles E and H establish historical continuity while respecting difference. Bredehoft closes by reiterating that many readers knew the Chronicle as one of several related texts, and that the Chronicle was from the start a highly textual production which partook of a more literate Anglo-Saxon culture than scholars usually recognize.

Harald Kleinschmidt begins "What Does the 'Anglo-Saxon Chronicle' Tell Us about 'Ethnic' Origins?" (*Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 42: 1-40) by distinguishing migration from migrationism, which is the use of originary migration stories to justify contemporary social structures. The Chronicle's names for Germanic settlers, both as individual and groups, have a strongly retrospective quality: "West Saxons" could not have been dubbed before they settled west of another group of "Saxons"; men did not invade places that already bore their own names. The Chronicle presents migration as pure conquest, though Gildas and Bede describe the settlers as invited mercenaries. Inconsistent and improbable details undercut its

tale of conquest. Focusing especially on Sussex, Kleinschmidt argues that archaeology, place names, and Continental written sources reveal not Germanic tribes slaughtering and driving out Britons, but small *comitatus* groups (themselves of mixed ethnic origins) revolting against Romano-British paymasters and intermarrying with Celts. Kleinschmidt concludes that the Chronicle enshrines fictions of ethnicity and conquest to legitimate the West Saxon royal dynasty, creating a myth of ethnic continuity which politicians and scholars still hold today.

In another consideration of ethnicity, "The Alfredian *World History* and Anglo-Saxon Identity" (*JEGP* 100: 482-510), Stephen J. Harris argues that Alfredian texts construct a new sense of identity based on Germanic blood and Christian faith. According to Bede, three Germanic tribes came to England: Angles, Saxons, and Geats, whom other sources identify with Goths and Danes. Yet multiple Anglo-Saxon genealogies include both Geat and Biblical forebears to give all three tribes common Germanic and Christian roots. The ninth-century OE coinage *cristendom* describes an international religious identity opposed to heathendom. Drawing on Bately's source work, Harris contrasts the Old English *World History* with Orosius's Latin *Historia adversum paganos*, written to demonstrate that Christianity brought the Roman Empire peace, not disaster—a theme undercut by the translator's changes. The translator omits the key point that Christ was born a Roman. Orosius describes Alaric's sack as a temporary setback for Rome at the hands of God's tool, but the Old English presents the impossibly peaceful sack of a now-fallen empire by an independent, merciful Gothic king. For the translator, good Christian kings ultimately secure peace among peoples. Alfred's treaty with Guthrum demonstrates a real conviction that Gothic blood and Christianity could unite peoples, while Guthrum's later coinage in his baptismal name proves that the conversion did have lasting force. Harris finds the Alfredian texts redeploing Bede's sense of ethnicity to provide an understanding of identity and good kingship.

Sharon Rowley's "Shifting Contexts: Reading Gregory the Great's *Libellus Responsionum* in Book III of the Old English Bede" (*Rome and the North*, ed. Bremner et al., 83-92) examines the relocation of Gregory the Great's *Libellus responsionum* from Book I of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* to Book III of the Old English Bede. Rowley questions the decision of editors of the Old English Bede to return the *Libellus* to Book I, noting that (a) the otherwise-close correspondence of the vernacular and Latin

texts suggests that the translator's placement of the *Libellus* was a conscious decision rather than a textual corruption, (b) the Old English Bede's abbreviation of Book I leaves no clear place for the *Libellus* to be (re)inserted, and (c) the initials and rubrication of such manuscripts as the Tanner Bede provide a clear place for the *Libellus* in Book III. By contrast, Rowley argues for the rhetorical effectiveness of the move: the translator brings Gregory's practical instruction for the initial establishment of Christianity directly to bear on the re-establishment of Christianity after Oswald—that is, "after periods of apostasy, the conversion of new parts of the island, and finally, with the reassertion of a specifically Roman orthodoxy in England" (85). As a result, Rowley suggests, the text invites the late-ninth-century reader, facing invasion and the need to rebuild the faith, to take Gregory's instruction to heart once again.

Maria Amalia D'Aronco studies "Le traduzioni di testi medico-botanici in inglese antico" (*Testo medievale e traduzione*, ed. Cammarota and Molinari, 227–35). Three manuscripts from circa 1000, and one almost three centuries later, contain the *Old English Herbarium*, a translation of a set of Latin sources. The text's illustrations have not been much studied though they were crucial for its users: plant names varied, but misidentifying one could endanger a patient. The translator favored Greco-Latin names over native but reorganizes the material. D'Aronco also finds that he used the same exemplar for both text and illustrations from each source, and she concludes that he used a library of excellent, probably late-antique or Carolingian, sources. Only a center well-endowed both financially and intellectually, such as Winchester, could have produced such a text.

A modest number of items from 2001 take up the work of Ælfric. In "Warrior Saints, Warfare, and the Hagiography of Ælfric of Eynsham" (*Traditio* 56: 27–51), Hugh Magennis addresses the hagiographic problem of saints whose military exploits might have disconcerting similarities to the world of secular heroism (27). Beginning with Felix of Crowland's eighth-century Anglo-Latin account of St. Guthlac, Magennis points out the tension inherent in presenting the warrior's life as both admirable and worldly (29). Comparing Ælfric's two treatments of the life of Martin in the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints* with Sulpicius Severus's *Vita S. Martini*, on which Ælfric draws, and with the three interrelated *Lives of Martin* in the Vercelli Book, Blickling Homilies, and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 86, Magennis concludes that whereas the Vercelli-Blickling-Junius version de-emphasizes

Martin's military duties by recasting him as a upper-class companion to the king's nobles or thegns rather than as a common soldier, Ælfric distances his hagiographic setting from real life, allowing Martin to live as a monk among his fellow soldiers and disassociating him from the moral taint of warfare. To varying extents, Ælfric uses the same technique in his portraits of such saints as Gallicanus, Oswald, Edmund, Sebastian, the Forty Soldiers, and Maurice, presenting them as passive or describing their participation in war in vague, abstract terms. The result, Magennis suggests, is the creation of a special literary world governed by rules which first and foremost seek to demonstrate the sanctity of its protagonists.

Felicia Jean Steele's dissertation from the University of Texas at Austin, "Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*: Discourse and the Construction of Authority" (DAI 62A: 1010), surveys the role of homilies in the Carolingian Church and in Anglo-Saxon liturgy before considering the development of the hortatory *uton* ("let us") in Old English. Steele argues that Ælfric uses the construction to call attention to rhetorical boundaries or junctures where his sources intersect with one another or with his own exegesis (6). She contrasts Ælfric's use of the hortatory formula with exhortations in the Vercelli Homilies, Blickling Homilies, and work of Wulfstan, and concludes by tracing the phonological weakening of *uton* in twelfth-century English homilies.

Aidan Conti compares "An Anonymous Homily for Palm Sunday, *The Dream of the Rood*, and the Progress of Ælfric's Reform" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 377–80). The anonymous homily, which appears in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Bodley 340 and two other eleventh-century manuscripts, translates Mt 26:7 (the crucifixion) without explication, thus violating Ælfric's orders to interpret texts for the laity. Translation errors reveal the homilist's poor Latin, limited acquaintance with Christian traditions, and reliance on John's account. Two added details seem drawn from *Dream of the Rood*: the cross bows to lower Christ's body, and the phrase "gecorfen/curfon ... beorhtan stane" describes Christ's tomb in both—a collocation found nowhere else. Conti concludes by noting corrections of some errors in two of the manuscripts, suggesting that Ælfric's reforms may have been slowly taking hold.

Turning his attention to the post-conquest period, Stephen Morrison ("Continuité et innovation littéraire en Angleterre au XII<sup>e</sup> siècle: la prédication de la *militia Christi*," *Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale* 44: 139–57) re-examines the question of vernacular

continuity: to what extent, how long, and where Old English literary traditions were maintained. Traditionally, he notes, scholars arguing for such continuity have pointed to two main groups of texts: twelfth-century copies of sermons by Wulfstan or extracts from Ælfric's *Sermones catholici* and *Lives of Saints*, and early-thirteenth-century texts associated with St. Catherine which he posits as "natural successors" to the older homiletic works, especially given their stylistic correspondence (through alliteration and rhythmic prose) to Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* (142). Morrison seeks to modify the traditional view in two ways. First, listing the provenance, date, and contents of the Wulfstan and Ælfric manuscripts, Morrison suggests that while scholars have focused on the west Midlands and the south-west as centers of vernacular activity, south-east scriptoria such as Canterbury, Rochester, and London also played a key role in vernacular production. Second, tracing the origins and development of the idea of the *militia Christi*, and comparing Ælfric's treatment of the motif with that of the twelfth-century verse homilist Orm, Morrison argues that the thematic and verbal disparity between the two authors indicates that the influence of Old English after the Conquest may have been weaker than has been claimed.

In "La Lettre du Christ tombée du ciel en anglais ancien; Les sermons Napier 43-44" (*Apocrypha* 12: 173-209), Robert Faerber considers two eleventh-century versions of the "Letter From Heaven" or "Sunday Letter" printed as Napier 43 and 44 (A. Napier, *Wulfstan* [Berlin, 1883], 205-15 and 215-26). Faerber provides French translations of Napier 44 and "interesting" supplementary passages from Napier 43. He notes that the Old English texts were likely composed in the second half of the tenth century, and go back to a ninth-century sermon by the Yorkshire preacher Pehtred recounting the contemporary prophecies of the Irish monk Niall, who reported visions of the afterlife after having been dead for five weeks. The texts point to fires ravaging Ireland and England because of men's unbelief, recount biblical tales of punishment of such figures as Korah, who refused to honor the Lord's Day (cf. Numbers 16); list reasons why Christians should honor Sunday; speak of a weekly sabbath rest granted to departed souls in torment; and describe punishments (such as five otherwise unexplained sea-monsters) awaiting sabbath-breakers. Faerber traces the history of the widely-popular *Letter* and the debate over its authenticity from the first extant mention of it

around 584 to its condemnation by Ecgred, ninth-century bishop of Lindsfarne, and its eventual appearance in Napier 43 and 44. He discusses how the two versions differ in content and dialect, compares them to the Latin source and its derivative Old Irish version in the *Cain Domnaig* or "Sunday Law," notes the decline in the *Letter*'s popularity in England after the eleventh century, and includes as appendices three French and English church ordinances regarding Sunday worship. In the process, he draws attention to a unique feature of the Old English versions: they make the sabbath rest in the afterlife available only to those who, having received baptism (Napier 43) or having pleased God to some degree in life (Napier 44), wait not in Hell but in the *witingstow* ("place of torture")—a rare early reference to purgatory.

In "The Social Context of Narrative Disruption in *The Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*" (*ASE* 30: 91-114), Brian McFadden argues that Alexander's unsuccessful attempts to conquer militarily and to "contain" through description the wonders he encounters may have resonated with the Anglo-Saxon reader's experience. Even as Alexander finds himself frustrated by creatures and situations which he cannot control or even categorize with precision, McFadden suggests, so the contemporary reader found himself facing an unsettling world of Viking invasion, Benedictine reform—consider the anti-monastic reaction following Edgar's death in 975—and eschatological uncertainty in the face of the new millennium (91). Similarly, even as Alexander fails to recognize the spiritual lesson behind his setbacks—namely, that his misguided actions have resulted in divine displeasure and resistance (106)—so too, as Ælfric and Wulfstan would argue, the English had failed to see the connection between their sin and the national predicament. Like other texts in the *Beowulf* manuscript, therefore, the *Letter* reflects the unease of being unable to control or understand the unknown (94) and thus serves as an expression of (though not an allegory for) contemporary cultural anxiety.

N.G.D., A.K.

[N.G.D. treated O'Neill, Zanna, Buzzoni, Szarmach, Dekker, Lucas, Kleinschmidt, Bredehoft, Harris, D'Aronco, and Conti, and coordinated the parts; A.K. treated Baker, O'Brien O'Keefe, Rowley, Magennis, Steele, Morrison, Faerber, and McFadden.]

## 5. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

### a. General and Miscellaneous Works

After a hiatus of several years, a new fascicle of *The Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British and Insular Sources* (ed. D. Howlett [Oxford: OUP]) is very welcome, and this particular volume (*Fascicule VI: M*, comprising *m* to *mythus*) has much to commend it. The new volume increases the scope of this basic resource by 210 pages, and dictionary staff have also taken some energetic steps to insure its quality. A supplemental bibliography reaches a length of five and a half pages, with new titles in the corpus including recent editions like the *Vita S. Rumiwoldi* by Love and the *Life of Æthelwold* by Lapidge and Winterbottom. But the editor's diligence has also unearthed older, overlooked works: such out-of-the-way references as E. Brock's 1868 Chaucer Society edition of *Practica Chilindri (The Working of the Cylinder)* and a 1931-32 edition of "Charters Relating to Goring, Streatley, and the Neighbourhood (1181-1546)" now furnish vocabulary to the *Dictionary*. Nine pages of *corrigenda* listing everything from spelling variants to corrected line numbers, punctuation, and omissions show a similar diligence in proofing of previous volumes. Lexicographers are commonly pardoned their minor errors; so much the better that the *Dictionary* is striving to render that indulgence unnecessary. Volume N of *DML-BIS* appeared in 2002 and will be reviewed in the next *YWOES*.

Siân Echard and Gernot R. Wieland edit a series of articles in *Anglo-Latin and Its Heritage: Essays in Honour of A. G. Rigg on His 64th Birthday*; Publ. of the Jnl of Medieval Latin 4 (Turnhout: Brepols). While most of the articles cover the period 1066-1422, several concern the earlier period. In "Bavius and Maevius: 'Duo Pessimi Poetae Sui Temporis'" (3-15), Michael Herren discusses references to Bavius and Maevius, ridiculed as the two worst poets (who also smelled like goats) by Vergil and later classical and medieval commentators, including Vergilius Maro Grammaticus and the Bern Scholiast. Bernice Kaczynski, in "Bede's Commentaries on Luke and Mark and the Formation of a Patristic Canon" (17-26), examines Bede's role in establishing the position of Ambrose, Augustine, Jerome and Gregory as the preeminent Fathers of the Church, in part through his system of marginal notations in his commentaries on Luke and Mark. Though it does not concern an Anglo-Saxon author, Gernot Wieland's "The Hermeneutic Style of Thiofrid of Echternach" (27-45) shows the influence of Anglo-Latin authors

such as Aldhelm on Thiofrid, Abbot of Echternach from 1083-1110, in his rewritten prose and verse versions of Alcuin's *Life of Willibrord*.

In "Zur Geschichte des Hymnars" (*Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 35 [2000]: 227-47), Helmut Gneuss outlines the forms of medieval hymnals and discusses the scholarship on them. Particular foci include description of the hymns in the collections and the various manuscripts providing evidence for their reconstruction. The three fundamental forms are the Old Hymnal (early medieval), an augmented version of it known as the Frankish Hymnal (from the eighth and ninth centuries), and the New Hymnal (in England from about the tenth century). Gneuss explains how this work sprang from his research into Old English interlinear glosses, and connections of the tradition with Insular culture are significant: English authors (e.g., Bede) and manuscripts (e.g., the Vespasian psalter) appear prominently in his catalogs. An appended table shows the individual hymns in the collections. As with the other surveys reviewed here, bibliographical citations are very full.

A readable survey of the Anglo-Latin genres, Joseph P. McGowan's "Anglo-Latin Prose" (in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature*, ed. Pulsiano and Treharne) is an introduction which clarifies without oversimplifying. Aimed at a general or student audience, the article includes much useful introductory information accompanied by essential bibliography. Opening preliminaries touch on time and place, on the status of Anglo-Latin in its socio-linguistic context (above OE) and in modern reception (below OE). There follows a classification of major categories: "Historical," "Hagiographical," "Liturgical," "Educational and Scientific," "Literary," "Epistolary," and the unclassifiable "Varia." Under "Historical," several pages on Bede's *Historia* are followed by discussion, in terms of content and style, of Asser's biography of Alfred and of various chronicles. The more important of the early hagiographers are introduced under "Hagiographical" (Bede, Felix, Stephanus, etc.), and for the later period, there are such examples as the *Lives* of Dunstan and Æthelwold and Abbo's *Passio* of Edmund. The three and a half pages under "Liturgical" usefully present the categories of liturgical works in tabular form, along with definitions and naming of major examples. The catch-all "Educational and Scientific" comprises such examples as grammars and colloquies, poetic handbooks and manuals of computus. The meager

"Literary" section (partially duplicating Chapter 2 of the *Handbook*, reviewed below) cursorily examines the *Liber monstrorum* and various Latin texts that served as sources for OE translations. Boniface, Aldhelm, and Bede are the subjects of "Epistolary," and among the "Varia," legal texts loom large.

Forty pages are not enough for a comprehensive history of Anglo-Latin literature, but the literary historian who tackles the job might do worse than to imitate Joseph P. McGowan's "An Introduction to the Corpus of Anglo-Latin Literature" (Pulsiano and Treharne, 11–49). McGowan uses a brisk pen to sketch a narrative Anglo-Latin and related Latin literatures from the late Roman to the late Anglo-Saxon period. Suffice it to say that all the important writers (and most of second rank) are mentioned, their major works are named, and important literary genres and conventions are briefly described. Sections on the Celtic authors (as early as late Classical writers like Pelagius, as late as the faminators of the *Hisperica Famina*) to Aldhelm stand out for adding discussion of interesting particulars to the basic outline (though some will object to McGowan's ranking of Aldhelm above Bede). A five-page bibliography of primary works and essential criticism rounds out the survey.

With an eye to an exhaustive survey of the Insular hagiographical tradition, M. Lapidge and R.C. Love offer their concise chronological account of Latin hagiography from the conversion to the end of the medieval period and beyond. The scope of "The Latin Hagiography of England and Wales (600–1550)" (*Hagiographies: Histoire internationale de la littérature hagiographique latine et vernaculaire en Occident des origines à 1550*, vol. III, Corpus Christianorum; ed. Guy Philippart [Turnhout: Brepols], 203–325) embraces texts—in Latin only—of English, Welsh, and Cornish origin. The Anglo-Saxon portion is considered under three broad headings, "Early" (to 800), "Late" (to 1050), and "The Later Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries." In addition to the coverage of all the major hagiographers, there is a quite thorough treatment of Aldhelm. For the post-Conquest period, there is of course the Anglo-Norman writer Goscelin, who treated the lives of many pre-Conquest saints, but also writers such as Osbern and Eadmer, who do not always make an appearance in reference works devoted to Anglo-Saxon studies, as well as a consideration of important centers that produced hagiography with a local emphasis—Ely, Bury St. Edmunds, etc. Other sections relevant to Anglo-Saxon studies include "The Later Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries in Wales and Cornwall" and "Legendaries," which begins ("From

the Ninth to the Thirteenth Century") with discussion of the Cotton-Corpus Legendary. A valuable feature of the article is the bibliographical work, which in addition to giving a thorough publication history identifies unpublished and partially published works.

David Howlett has a series of articles discussing his theories of Biblical style: "Hiberno-Latin Syllabic Poems in the Book of Cerne" (*Peritia* 15: 1–21), "Little Lessons in Cambrian Composition: Vita Sancti Gundleii and Vita Sancti Illuti" (*Peritia* 15: 31–47), and "The Verse of Æthelweard's Chronicle" (*Bulletin Du Cange* 58 [2000]: 219–24). For those who find Howlett's articles convincing these will offer more proof of the patterns he finds in Anglo-Latin poetry; for others, these articles will probably fail to provide convincing evidence, written with his usual obscure or misleading references and lack of explanation of the point of his numerical expositions, not to mention the unstated assumption that these were universal methods among poets but universally ignored and obscured by scribes. The first article re-edits seven poems from Cerne, noting artistic features such as alliteration, internal rhyme, chiasm and parallelism, as well as numerical significance, though he must respell words to arrive at certain numbers. Because he finds features here that he has found in other Hiberno-Latin poems, he suggests that the Cerne poems are Irish, not English. In the second article, he excerpts two prose passages from twelfth-century Welsh Saint's Lives and re-edits them *per cola et commata*, fixing spelling and emending the text according to principles he thinks the author would have followed. He then points out certain numerical ratios whose meanings are not clearly explained. Also deserving greater explanation are certain editorial decisions, such as the way groups of words are sometimes counted inclusively and sometimes not, and how the letter K is omitted in one equation and included in another. A typical example is the discussion of the line "Illis finitis. Brittanus poeta euasit," which occurs 8/9 of the way through his excerpted passage. Since Howlett claims 8/9 is an important ratio, he removes the words "Brittanus poeta" to find in the remaining words "Il-lis fini-t-is ... euas-it" the name of the poet mentioned in the section: Illit (38). This leaves the letters "lis fini is euas" which he rearranges to make "filius Assenii or Issanci." Unfortunately no other evidence is presented that a poet of that name ever existed. In the last article, Howlett again relies on counting words (and occasionally spaces), but does not justify his emendations and respellings of the manuscript text that allow him to find his patterns. Even then some of statements must be obscured, such as "Æthelweard states clearly that Edgar was crowned at the age of twenty-nine,

"at coronatur | anax, the twenty-ninth word" (222). Though he then goes on to discuss the numerological significance of "anax," he does not state that the twenty-ninth word is actually "coronatur." On a more positive note, however, these three articles bring to light many clearly artistic features of these poems, such as internal rhyme, alliteration and word play, as well as some chiasmic and parallel patterns, and they may well entice more people to read these often ignored writings.

Cristina Raffaghello examines several concepts on kingship in "Inghilterra anglosassone e anglonormanna: un confronto tra le due realtà sociali attraverso il *Corpus Iuris*," (*Antichità germaniche*, ed. Corazza and Gendre, 307–42). She examines the concepts of kingship and the roles of the king and his supporters (*ealdormann*, *þegn*, *archbishop*, etc), as well as various duties such as tithing, presenting illustrative quotations from Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman legal texts and pointing out the different roles given to each in the laws from the two different periods. Though she does not present much that is new, it is useful to have the appropriate texts gathered together for comparison.

## b. Early Anglo-Latin

Gillian Bonney in "The Exegesis of the Gospel of Luke in the *Expositio evangelii secundum Lucam* of Ambrose and in the *In Lucae evangelium expositio* of Bede as Observed in the Figure of Elisabeth" (*Zeitschrift für antiker Christentum / Jnl of Ancient Christianity* 5: 50–64) discusses how both Bede and Ambrose present Elisabeth as a figure of the Old Law who is able to perceive the coming salvation of mankind at the approach of Mary and Jesus. By depicting her as the future of the Church, both patristic authors are able to appeal to an audience that included Christians and those who had not yet accepted Christ.

Bruce Brasington, in "*In nomine patriæ*: Transmission and Reception of an Early-Medieval Papal Letter Concerning Baptism" (*Codices Manuscripti* 37/38: 1–5), discusses the letter from Pope Zacharias to Boniface quoting a supposed example of poor Latin among clerics. Though often cited by modern critics as a literal example of the decline in literacy among pre-Carolingian priests, Brasington examines the later reception of the letter and suggests that it is instead more of a rhetorical parody directed at Boniface and still used today to show the validity of baptism based on the priest's intent.

Andrew Breeze answers the question "Was Durham the Broninis of Eddius's *Life of St Wilfrid*?" (*Durham*

*Archaeological Journal* 14/15 [1999]: 91–92). He sees the name not as a reference to an unknown Celtic tribe, the Broninae, but as a compound of the two elements *bron*, "hill," and *ynys*, "island, river meadow." The name is hence equivalent to OE *dun* "hill" and ON *holmr* "island, river meadow." Thus, the name Durham takes its place alongside other English place names that are translations of previous Celtic names, and the poem provides evidence that King Ecgfrith of Northumbria had a royal estate there.

In a wide-ranging article, "Aldhelm of Malmesbury's Social Theology: The Barbaric Heroic Ideal Christianised" (*Peritia* 15: 58–80), G. T. Dempsey suggests that Aldhelm's rather violent depiction of the preservation of virginity includes subtle suggestions in support of voluntary castration and even suicide, perhaps reflecting the violent service to one's lord prevalent in secular society when Aldhelm was writing. (For Gwara's edition of Aldhelm and glosses, see below.)

David Everett, in "Gildas and the Plague: Sixth-Century Apocalyptic and Global Catastrophe" (*Medieval Life* 15: 13–18), reads the *De excidio Britonum* as "a theological and not a historical text," but then goes on to give an extremely literal reading of Gildas's references to showers of rain, famine and plague, stating that the apocalyptic tone of these passages "could only have carried conviction if his contemporaries had had some sort of similar apocalyptic experience" (14). He then suggests that these experiences were caused by the various mid-sixth-century plagues and the eruption of Krakatoa! These events allow him to date the *De excidio* to the 540s.

Michael Gorman establishes a canon of Bede's works using Bede's *recapitulatio* at the end of his *Historia ecclesiastica* ("The Canon of Bede's Works and the World of Pseudo-Bede," *RB* 111: 399–445). He also explores the early 1563 edition of Bede's works by Herwagen and examines Herwagen's motives in printing numerous works falsely ascribed to Bede, even explicitly covering up Bede's own statements in his *recapitulatio*. Included is a useful table of contents of Herwagen's notes, specifying which works are Bede's and which ones are not, with copious notes on the latter. Gorman ends with appendices listing extant manuscripts used by Herwagen, an edition and translation of Herwagen's preface and finally a list of all the pre-1563 editions of Bede's works.

Roger Gryson's *Bedae Presbyteri Expositio Apocalypseos*, CCSL 121A (Turnhout: Brepols) sets a new standard for editions of Bede's commentaries. As head of

the Vetus Latina Institut in Beuron, his primary aim is the reconstruction of the VL, in part from citations of early fathers. Thus, his emphasis in this edition is in establishing a definitive text for Bede's commentary, as well as the biblical quotations Bede provides. In the first two chapters of the introduction, he describes in detail 113 manuscripts, arranging them into families and subgroups with several large foldout charts of stemmata. Then comes another detailed chapter on the divisions found in the manuscripts, and one on the sources Bede used, specifically Tyconius and Primasius. Gryson spends much space on the question of whether or not Bede shows influence of an "Irish teacher," but he ultimately leaves it to the reader to decide. The next chapter is devoted to the type of biblical text used by Bede. Gryson presents numerous variants from Bede's text along with similar or variant readings in other biblical manuscripts, and determines that Bede used a Vulgate text with a mixture of some Old Latin forms; there is an especially close connection between Bede's text and several north Italian manuscripts. The final chapter concerns the present edition, that is, decisions on orthography and emendations. The text of the commentary itself is presented with a full apparatus of manuscript variants, as well as references to the PL, and rather than giving bibliographical references to Bede's sources, Gryson prints the source texts themselves on the facing page. While some might say that references to printed versions would have sufficed, Gryson's justification is that not every reader can be assured of having such a well-stocked library to hand. Printing a running edition of the source texts also has the advantage of allowing the reader at a glance to see how much of the text is Bede's own and how he interweaves the sources he used. To some extent this makes up for the one major deficiency in the edition. While its emphasis on MSS and codicology is refreshing given the frequent paucity of such information in CCSL volumes, Gryson leaves no room for any discussion of Bede's theological ideas, his approach to the biblical text, or his methodology in composing and compiling the commentary. While this gap is sure to disappoint some users, others may say that without an authoritative text, such discussions would be premature. Gryson has clearly provided us now with such an authoritative text.

Scott Gwara marks a milestone in Anglo-Latin studies with his publication of Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* with Latin and Old English glosses (*Aldhelmi Malmesbiriensis Prosa de Virginitate cum Glosa Latina atque Anglo-Saxonica*, 2 vols. CCSL 124, 124A [Turnhout: Brepols]). Aldhelm's text has long been available in Ehwald's edition in the MGH series, but the glosses,

only partially edited, have been scattered across a half-dozen or more publications. Gwara here greatly augments Ehwald's edition by reporting all significant manuscript witnesses of Insular provenance, while at the same assembling on facing pages the entire corpus of some 60,000 Insular glosses, both Latin and English. In important ways the study of Aldhelm and his impact on Anglo-Saxon literary culture will begin afresh with this edition. Volume I, the introduction, addresses Aldhelm's biography and the contents of his treatise, the manuscripts and their textual traditions, the glosses and their scribes. Volume II contains the edition proper, a hybrid that collates Ehwald's 1919 edition with the remaining Insular manuscripts. It is thus much more than a revision, and as Gwara makes clear in his introduction, the inclusion of lexical, morphological, and syntactic variants was a necessary step in presenting the glosses comprehensibly, so closely are they linked to their often varying lemmata. There are two textual apparatuses, one each for the main text and the glosses, while yet another apparatus, much from Ehwald, records sources. Useful marginal notations give page numbers from Ehwald and from Lapidge and Herren's 1979 translation. Appearing on the right-hand page, Gwara's edition of the Latin text improves on Ehwald's long-line folio edition by using an eye-friendly line length. A disadvantage is that usually only six to eight lines of text occur per page. This layout results from the great density of the glosses: the six to eight lines of text are faced by thirty or more lines of glossing written margin to margin in smaller script. As Gernot Wieland remarks in *The Medieval Review*, this parallel format allows the modern reader in some degree to recreate the medieval reading experience, and the glosses do indeed help to interpret Aldhelm's difficult vocabulary, though the haphazard nature of medieval reading is also illustrated by glossators' fairly frequent outright mistakes. The years of study that have gone into the book have uncovered many new facts about Aldhelm and his text, and with these facts the author has constructed a narrative history of the *De virginitate* and its reception. The 330 pages of discussion in Volume I are filled with novel and heterodox arguments: about Aldhelm himself (he is a missionary), about the dedication (not to Barking but to abbesses in Wessex), about the transmission of the glosses (a discrete set will have been transmitted together from an early date, and these will have interacted with the early glossaries), and about the manuscripts (Brussels RL 1650 is a Canterbury rather than an Abingdon manuscript).

Almost every student of Aldhelm will be able to find some new idea to argue against, but whether agreeing

or disagreeing, much Aldhelm scholarship in the near term is likely to be in some form a response to Gwara. A word about the quality of the edition. A fairly careful spot check of the edition against Van Langenhoven's facsimile of the Brussels manuscript found a two-word gloss to be omitted and a repeated gloss to be printed only once, tiny errors, given the untidiness of the manuscript pages, in a corpus of well over 10,000 glosses in this manuscript alone. Again regarding the Brussels Aldhelm, I have many quibbles about the headwords to which individual glosses are assigned, and prefer Goossens frequent practice in his edition of the OE glosses (*The OE Glosses of MS. Brussels, RL 1650* [Brussels, 1974]) of using ellipses to assign glosses to phrases rather than to individual words. The imprecision, I believe, suits the glossators' fluid methods, but the objection is perhaps a small one, since the transparent juxtaposition of text and gloss allows readers to judge for themselves what the medieval annotators were trying to clarify. The most serious obstacle to using the book, and it is serious indeed, is the lack of a word index (as of this writing, May 2004). True study of this huge corpus must wait until it appears in digital form, some time in the future, as a component of the CETEDOC database. The book is not the last word in Aldhelm studies. It includes no glosses from two important Continental manuscripts, and the significant Aldhelm scholarship represented by the Cleopatra glossaries is only cursorily examined in the introduction. Likewise, Volume I contains a valuable inventory of the glossing hands, but the individual glosses of the edition are not assigned to them, not even in the case of the glosses of Digby 146 which were classified by Napier (*OE Glosses* [Oxford, 1900]) or the scratched glosses in Beinecke 401 which were classified by Rusche in *ASE* 30. An exception is the treatment of the Brussels Aldhelm, which incorporates the assignment of glosses originally classified by Goossens. An enormous amount of industry was needed to present for the first time this largest and most important body of scholarship from the Anglo-Saxon age. Its appearance will no doubt produce further surprising discoveries in the future.

Matthew Kempshall discusses the relation between the works of Gregory and the insular world. His "No Bishop, No King: The Ministerial Ideology of Kingship in Asser's *Res gestae Aelfredi*" (in *Belief and Culture*, ed. Gameson and Leyser, 106–27) examines Gregory's *Pastoral Care* as a model for the character of Alfred as presented by Asser. Kempshall concentrates particularly on Gregory's depictions of Solomon in portraying Alfred's wisdom and on Alfred's disease as a powerful corrective against the sin of pride. He

concludes with a brief discussion of the figure on the Alfred Jewel, relating it to Sight and Wisdom as crucial virtues for a ruler in the *Pastoral Care*.

In "Il primato di Pietro nella *Vita Wilfridi*" (*La figura di San Pietro*, ed. Lazzari and Valente Bacci, 81–111), Loredana Lazzaro explores the emphasis on Rome and papal authority in Eddius Stephanus's *Vita Wilfridi*. She discusses Wilfrid's visit to Rome and his tonsuring at Lyons and the importance of these two formative events on Wilfrid's role supporting the Roman side at the synod of Whitby in 664. She also suggests the importance of Gregory in Wilfrid's promoting of the Rule of Benedict at his monasteries at Ripon and Hexham. She concludes by noting clear parallels between events of Wilfrid's life related by Eddius and events in the life of Benedict in Book II of Gregory's *Dialogi*, as well as parallels with the life of St. Peter himself.

Studying a corpus of nine Irish annals, Daniel McCarthy in "The Chronology and Sources of the Early Irish Annals" (*EME* 10: 323–41) makes accessible important findings that were published in long technical articles in 1998. He establishes a uniform chronology for the entire corpus and thus, in a major breakthrough, allows for the first time a reliable cross-referencing of the texts. New information leads to further new discoveries: McCarthy is able to isolate the texts with the most value as independent witnesses and, by comparing them with sources, to infer their textual histories. One segment, identified as the "world history" entries, shares a late-antique Continental source with Bede's *Chronica maiora*. It turns out to be a chronicle of Rufinus which was amended and augmented by Sulpicius Severus before being transmitted to Ireland. A concordance of the chronicle corpus is available online: [www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm](http://www.cs.tcd.ie/Dan.McCarthy/chronology/synchronisms/annals-chron.htm).

The text Martin McNamara refers to in "The Newly Identified Cambridge Apocalypse Commentary and the Reference Bible: A Preliminary Enquiry" was identified by David Ganz in Cambridge, CUL Dd X 16. It is an Apocalypse commentary, obviously, in a tenth-century manuscript of likely Breton origin, but quite a long one and copied by a hand using many Irish and Insular abbreviations. McNamara's investigations, in *Peritia* 15: 208–60, have found the closest cognate to be the so-called *Reference Bible*, a full-length biblical commentary of perhaps c. 750 (forthcoming, ed. S. Connolly for *Scriptores Celtigenae* in CCSL). Comparison of the two commentaries and their sources (especially Primasius, whose early transmission was exclusively Insular) helps situate the Cambridge commentary in



time and place: it is most likely an Insular text of ca. 700-750 and springing from the same milieu as the *Reference Bible*. The article includes (1) extended parallel selections of the two commentaries; (2) important sources unique to the Cambridge commentary (Appendix I); and (3) a detailed description of the manuscript by David Ganz, along with reproductions of several manuscript pages (Appendix II). The narrative discussion of the complicated development of Apocalypse commentaries would serve quite handily as a basic reference work on the topic.

Felix's *Life of Guthlac*, Audrey Meaney says (*Proc. of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.* 90: 29-48), preserves a picture of a saint "unique in his single-minded devotion to the anchoritic and ascetic" (33), and she details Guthlac's constancy in the face of numerous temptations by devils. Felix's picture may be a tracing from portraits of earlier saints, but it most likely preserves some accurate biographical details: about the rough chronological framework of Guthlac's life (nine years as "gang leader," two years at Repton monastery, and fifteen years as hermit) and about the circumstances of his fenland refuge. Meaney gives several explanations, in addition to hagiographic convention, to account for the supernatural occurrences such as visions and miraculous healings: hallucinogenic plants, post-traumatic stress disorder, folkloric beliefs. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe explores Guthlac's fen retreat in Felix's *Vita S. Guthlaci* through Foucault's theory of heterotopias in "Guthlac's Crossings" (*Quaestio* [Cambridge] 2: 1-26. She suggests that "As a liminal space physically, religiously, socially and politically, his retreat is also imagined as a space of transformation which, in that process, is itself transformed into a recognizable place, the shrine of a saint" (3).

In "A New Seventh-Century Irish Commentary on Genesis" (*Sacris Erudiri* 40: 231-65), Daibhi Ó Cróinín discusses the *Pauca de Genesi*, preserved in Munich, Staatsbibliothek, Clm 17739, in an attempt to vindicate Bischoff's theories of Irish biblical exegesis from his famous "Wendepunkte" article. This theory has been attacked by Michael Gorman in a series of recent articles (one reviewed most recently in *YWOES* 2000). Although Ó Cróinín's criticism and ridicule of Gorman's views seem particularly harsh, he does summon a compelling list of sources used for the *Pauca de Genesi* to support his conclusion that "there can be little doubt that the work was composed in Ireland (or perhaps on Iona, or in Irish-influenced Northumbria)" in the seventh century (263-4). The origin of the work remains somewhat conjectural, however, since many of the sources were known by Bede and others outside

of Ireland, and their attribution to Ireland likewise rests more on the authority of Bischoff's article than on conclusive evidence.

If Aldhelm in the prose *De virginitate* forcefully condemned adornment of the female person, he even more strongly approved of figurative adornment, i.e. purity, of the female spirit, and in this he largely followed the teachings of Cyprian, as Sinead O'Sullivan demonstrates in "The Image of Adornment in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*: Cyprian and his Influence" (*Peritia* 15: 48-57).

The letters of Boniface and his circle have been much studied as historical documents, but Andy Orchard, in "Old Sources, New Sources: Finding the Right Formula for Boniface" (*ASE* 30: 15-38), analyzes the correspondence from a literary angle in order to explore the use of verbal formulae, a feature shared with "several other areas of Anglo-Saxon literature in both Latin and Old English." The particular focus is "the personal and less formal letters." Orchard establishes a baseline by looking behind Tangl's edition of the letters in MGH to show that the important Vienna manuscript is "a kind of epistolary pattern-book for a range of occasions." But there are formulae within formulae, for the letters themselves are full of near verbatim repetition, phrases drawn from Vergil, from the Bible, and especially from Aldhelm, as shown by an impressive list of formulae marshaled from the electronic MGH. How original can the use of formulae be? Specific turns of phrase recur in letters to given correspondents (e.g., in the letters to Eadburg), functioning almost as a "private language" among close friends united by shared literary sensibility. In a more general observation, the author notes that themes of exile and loneliness common in the letters recall the emotions expressed in many of the vernacular elegies, which likewise rely on formulaic diction. These parallels of style and sentiment suggest that "Boniface was a rather splendid and subtle prose-stylist, whose works perhaps deserve more credit than they have received so far."

In "Pater sancte: An Ordination Prayer Used by the Anglo-Saxon Church" (*RB* 111: 446-63), Nicholas Orchard seeks the origin of the ordination prayer in the Leofric Missal, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 579 (a French manuscript of s. ix/x with later Insular additions). The heart of the study is an edition that includes significant textual variants (in an appendix). After some twenty manuscript witnesses are succinctly surveyed, Orchard makes three significant inferences: (1) the prayer was early reserved for archbishops; (2) there are basically two versions of the text; and (3) all the

Continental examples descend from English models. The important conclusions are that *Pater sancte* is a quite ancient work, that it may have originated in Anglo-Saxon England or may be a late antique work associated with the Augustinian mission and transmitted via Insular scribes. Another prayer (*In nomine sanctae trinitatis*, a mid-tenth century addition in the same manuscript) may share a similar origin.

In Alheydis Plassman's view, Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae* is not so much a history as it is a sermon in which the author "persuade[s] his fellow countrymen to mend their ways and behave as true Christians" ("Gildas and the Negative Image of the Cymry," *CMCS* 41: 1–15). It is this purpose that determines how Gildas will paint his unflattering portrait of the proto-Welsh. This rhetorical analysis proceeds from Gildas's sense of ethnic identity as expressed in the work. In ethnographic terms, Plassman says, societies construct their group identities in three stages: (1) differentiation from others (i.e., the pagan Anglo-Saxon invaders); (2) application of "adjectives," i.e., terms defining essential group characteristics; and (3) construction of a narrative in which the essential characteristics are displayed, i.e., a story cycle showing the tribal genius in action. The Cymry according to Gildas are characterized as untrustworthy and cowardly (in contrast to both the English and the Romans), and it is these two traits that cause the fatal alienation from Rome. As Plassman demonstrates, however, this negative view is driven by Gildas's telling of the Welsh narrative as an Old Testament Bible story. If the Welsh of the *De excidio* are at a low point in their history, nothing prevents a return to the fold. Abandoning decadent ways, they may finally triumph like the biblical chosen people. Plassman notes that "Gildas is one of the first to attempt to supply a community which developed in the territory of the former Roman Empire with a unique identity" (14); he finds the narrative more original than antiquarian tales such as Geoffrey of Monmouth's, which tapped the epic traditions of the Classical world.

### c. Alcuin and the Carolingian Age

Christopher A. Jones, *A Lost Work by Amalarius of Metz: Interpolations in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, MS. 154*, HBS Subsidia 2 (London: HBS), edits a series of interpolations in an eleventh-century manuscript of the abridgement of Amalarius's *Liber officialis* called the *Retractio prima*. In an extensive and fascinating introduction, Jones presents evidence, both linguistic and theological, that several of the interpolations come from a work also by Amalarius that is now lost

but which Amalarius may have referred to in a letter of 814 or 815. This work on the Office and the Triduum survives now only in these interpolations in Salisbury 154, in mid-eleventh century Exeter additions to Cambridge, Trinity College B.11.2, in a single marginal quotation in BL Cotton Vespasian D.xv, and in Ælfric's letter to the monks of Eynsham. Jones adds much to our knowledge of the early thought and career of Amalarius, seeing him as an intimate of Alcuin with close ties to Charlemagne who lost his position as Bishop of Trier at the accession Louis the Pious, events contemporary with his writing of the work on the Triduum. Jones also finds phrases in some of the interpolations that seem precursors to Amalarius's later statements on the *corpus triforme*, for which he was accused of heresy.

In "Alcuino e il *De die iudicii*" (*Pan: Studi del Dipartimento di Civiltà Euro-Mediterranee e di Studi Classici, Cristiani, Bizantini, Medievali, Umanistici* 18–19: 303–24), Patrizia Lendinara shows the indebtedness of Alcuin to *De die iudicii*, a penitential and eschatological poem frequently attributed to Bede in medieval manuscripts. She brings forth numerous verbal parallels with poems by Alcuin, and though many of these parallels seem to be stock formulas, she does note that it is not only the form but the consistent use of the phrases in penitential contexts that tie the passages to the *De die iudicii*. More convincing, however, is her printing of numerous echoes of the poem throughout the letters of Alcuin. She suggests that Alcuin knew the poem in England and that he may even have been responsible for bringing it to the court of Charlemagne.

In "Gli *Scholia Vallicelliana* e i primi glossari anglosassoni" (*Paolo Diacono: Uno scrittore fra tradizione e rinnovamento carolingio; Atti del Convegno Internazionale di Studi [Civildale del Friuli-Udine, 6–9 maggio 1999]* ed. Paolo Chiesa [Udine: Forum, 2000], 251–78), Patrizia Lendinara traces the origins of the *Scholia Vallicelliana*, marginal scholia found in a manuscript of Isidore's *Etymologies*, originally added perhaps by Paul the Deacon. She shows how these scholia derive from the group of Biblical glosses that came out of the school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury in the late seventh century. These glosses were then spread to the continent with the Anglo-Saxon missions and were used by scholars such as Walafrid Strabo, John Scotus Eriugena, and Paul the Deacon, primarily for his edition of Festus's *De verborum significatu*. She ends by making cases for Paul's knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon glosses either at Montecassino or at some center in Germany but does not conclude in favor of one or the other.

#### d. Ninth Century

Paul Kershaw, in "Illness, Power and Prayer in Asser's *Life of King Alfred*" (*Early Med. Europe* 10: 201–224), examines Asser's presentation of Alfred's illness in the *Life*. He does not ask whether Alfred was really sick or what disease he had (questions that led nineteenth-century critics to dismiss the story as interpolation), but rather how the narrative meshed with ninth-century conventions of thought. The *Life of Alfred* is revealed as an artistic/political construct having important intersections with several early medieval genres and texts: with liturgy and with prayers of Alfred's personal devotion, with the Psalms (where the Psalmist furnishes a model of an ailing monarch), with the Gregorian conceptions of kingship expressed in, for example, *The Pastoral Care*, and most especially with Carolingian ideology surrounding the king and his person. All these factors intersect in a web of influences. For the ninth-century audience, which included the king himself, Asser's recounting of physical ailments properly exemplified kingly humility but by the same token sketched a vigorous and successful ruler whose challenges served as the means to greater accomplishment.

#### e. Tenth Century and Beyond

In "The Structure of Carmen Cantabrigense 6 ('De Lantfrido et Cobbone')" (*Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 36: 235–48), Dennis Bradley examines the transmitted text of Cambridge Songs 6 on the basis of syllable parity and parallelism between units. He proposes several emendations and convincingly suggests that an original unit was lost between units 4 and 5. (See Mann, below, for another article addressing this poem.)

Jean-Daniel Kaestli presents an edition and translation of the homily *Inquirendum est* on the Nativity of St. Mary and discusses its place in the transmission of the *Protoevangelium Jacobi* ("Le Protévangile de Jacques latin dans l'homélie *Inquirendum est* pour la fête de la Nativité de Marie," *Apocrypha* 12: 99–153). The homily, which contains portions of an amplified version of the *Protevangelium Jacobi*, is found in the Homiliary of Saint-Peter of Chartres, possibly written in the British Isles or in an insular center on the continent in the ninth or early tenth century.

In highly wrought, figurative language Catherine Karkov ("Broken Bodies and Singing Tongues: Gender and Voice in the Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 23 *Psychomachia*," *ASE* 30: 115–36) gives a strongly interpretive reading of the illustrated *Psychomachia* in

CCCC 23 (a manuscript of s. x/xi in which the *Psychomachia* is accompanied by Prudentius's poem on the martyrdom of St. Romanus). Pointing out that the Anglo-Saxon *Psychomachia* manuscripts share a tradition of illustrations quite independent from those of the continent (only here are both the vices and the virtues depicted as women), Karkov examines the role of gender in the poem and in its illustrations, and by extension, in the minds of Anglo-Saxon readers. Her thesis is that in Prudentius the soul, like the virtues, is masculine, while the body, like the vices depicted in the illustrations, is feminine. "The battle between the Virtues and the Vices ... is above all an engendered battle," and in it associations with masculinity are strongly positive, with femininity strongly negative.

In a brief article, "From Caesarea to Eynsham: A Consideration of the Proposed Route(s) of the Admonition of the Spiritual Son to Anglo-Saxon England" (*Heroic Age* 3 [Spring/Summer, 2000], n.p. [online]), M. A. Locherbie-Cameron examines two possible routes that the *Admonition to a Spiritual Son* ascribed to St. Basil may have taken on its way to England, where a portion of it was translated into Old English, perhaps by Ælfric. The first and most obvious is its inclusion in the text of Benedict of Aniane's *Codex regularum*. Although its presence here might seem the most probable source for the tenth- or eleventh-century Benedictine who translated it, Locherbie-Cameron suggests a possible line of transmission through penitential texts instead, since there are quotations of portions of it in Defensor's *Liber scintillarum* and the *Old English Penitential of Pseudo-Egbert*. An appendix lists manuscripts of the Latin text currently in British libraries (without indication of dates and rarely of origin or provenance).

Jill Mann's "Wife-Swapping in Medieval Literature" (*Viator* 32: 93–112) looks at tales in which bonds of male friendship and/or respect ("homosocial" relations) pre-empt the husband-wife bond of marriage. Wives offered, refused, or renounced in these stories are tokens of one male's regard for another. Mann's focus is in fact Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* (the story of Dorigen and her hasty promise to bed an extramarital admirer) and her purpose is to reveal the originality of Chaucer's sympathetic treatment of Dorigen. This purpose she executes by juxtaposing *The Franklin's Tale* with a whole series of medieval wife-swapping narratives, the earliest of which had some currency in Anglo-Saxon England. In the Latin poem "Lantfrid and Cobbo" (quoted in full from the Cambridge Songs manuscript, Cambridge, CUL Gg.5.35), Lantfrid's wife is requested by Cobbo as a token of regard,

then both granted by Lantfrid and refused by Cobbo on the same grounds. Mann notes that in stories like "Lantfrid and Cobbo" the wife is disregarded, disenfranchised and marginalized; in Chaucer the wife is an autonomous agent with choices and feelings, meriting the respect accorded elsewhere to males. An interesting and convincing paper that shows a familiar text in a new light.

Andy Orchard uses a comparative method to reevaluate the literary worth of the *Encomium Emmae Reginae* ("Praise of Queen Emma"), the mid-eleventh century panegyric for Emma, widow of King Æthelred and wife to King Cnut ("The Literary Background to the *Encomium Emmae Reginae*," *JML* 11: 156–83). Three languages, each with its own cultural and literary traditions, are in play. As for Latin, the anonymous author was widely read in Classical works (as shown by his apt quotations from Virgil, Lucretius and others); as for Scandinavian, he had a practiced familiarity with the rhetoric of courtly poetry in honor of the king (as shown by his mastery of the diction of praise and his echoing of skaldic verse); and as for English, he knew the traditions of epic verse (as shown by the analogs between the *Encomium* and poetic segments of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, between the *Encomium* and "The Battle of Maldon"). Orchard pictures the author as a skillful and learned man intimately connected with the royal entourage, one who deftly weaves together the disparate artistic and cultural strands present at court which governed three peoples.

Claudia di Sciacca, "I *Synonyma* di Isidoro di Siviglia nell'Inghilterra anglosassone" (*Antichità germaniche*, ed. Corazza and Gendre, 235–57), discusses the use of Isidore's *Synonyma* in England. Its popularity made it a central text both as a model for expressing penance and as a rhetorical style manual, written in a type of rhythmical and rhymed prose, with heavy use of synonyms and various tropes. Di Sciacca provides a list of manuscripts written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England, several with Old English glosses and one with a short translation in Old English of the *ubi sunt* passage that is said to have influenced the *Wanderer* and the *Seafarer*. She also discusses Vercelli Homily XXII, in large part a translation from the *Synonyma*, although she finds that the translator omitted most of the synonyms from the Old English. In conclusion she discusses Ælfric Bata, who used a copy of the *Synonyma* in composing his *Colloquy*.

D.P., P.G.R.

#### Works Not Seen

- Siân Duke. "From Bede to Ari: Extending the Boundaries of Christendom." *Quaestio* 2: 27–42.  
 N. A. Gunn. "A Study of Bede's *Historiae*." Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Glasgow. 1999. *Index to Theses* 50: 845.  
 Sinead O'Sullivan. "Aldhelm's *De virginitate* and the Psychomachian Tradition." *Medievalia* 20: 313–37.  
 Georges Tugene. *L'idée de nation chez Bède le Vénérable*. Collection des Études Augustiniennes, Série Moyen Âge et Temps Modernes 37. Paris: Institut d'Études Augustiniennes. 376 pp.

## 6. Manuscripts, Illuminations, and Charters

This year saw the publication of Helmut Gneuss's updated *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A List of Manuscripts and Manuscript Fragments Written or Owned in England up to 1100*, Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 241 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS). This handy reference includes manuscripts known to be written in England up to 1100 and manuscripts written in Scotland, Wales, Cornwall, Ireland or on the European Continent (including Brittany) if they certainly or very probably reached England by 1100. Excluded are single-leaf documents; manuscripts written, annotated, or decorated by Anglo-Saxon scribes and artists on the Continent that were not known to have been in England at any time before 1100; manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon scripts written by English or by continental scribes working at Anglo-Saxon centers on the Continent; continental manuscripts

presumably lent for copying in Anglo-Saxon England and afterwards returned, when there is no certain evidence for the sojourn of such a book in England. This list still contains manuscripts up to the end of the eleventh century, although in light of the recent publication of Gameson's *The Manuscripts of Early Norman England* [see note in last year's YWOES], Gneuss plans to exclude these from his projected "Bibliographical Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts." An important addition to this version of the *Handlist* is the inclusion of the contents of manuscripts and fragments as fully as possible within the confines of a brief entry (with the exception of manuscripts whose contents are described in Ker).

The facsimile most likely to make your students all want to become medievalists is the most recent entry

in the EEMF series, *The Codex Aureus: An Eighth-Century Gospel Book*, Stockholm, Kungliga Bibliotek A. 135, ed. Richard Gameson (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde and Bagger). This sumptuous manuscript, with its striking alternating purple and white pages and its astoundingly inventive variations on script decoration is lavishly reproduced in full color. Despite the reduction to two-thirds the original size—the original is “the largest extant gospel book from the Insular world” (33)—the facsimile fills two fairly heavy volumes. Richard Gameson’s introduction is a model of codicological description and deduction. Gameson ranges through a wealth of information on Kentish scriptoria, scribal techniques, binding practices, early medieval texts and manuscripts: in short, he provides not only an introduction to this particular codex, but to the world of manuscript production in western Europe in the eighth-century. Complexity and innovation pervade every aspect of the creation of the manuscript, and Gameson provides absorbing description and analysis. The hypotheses and deductions he draws from the details of manuscript preparation make his introduction as compelling reading as any fictional medieval mystery, and if, in the end, we may not know exactly whodunit, we know the motive and *modus operandi*. “[W]hereas most of the [Codex Aureus] echoes late antique aesthetic values as strongly as, if not more strongly than, native Anglo-Saxon ones, [in the decorative elements] the Insular canon of art predominates.... In script, decoration, and general conception the Codex Aureus simultaneously demonstrates the Kentish church’s enormous debt to the Roman Christian world, and its vigorous and novel reinterpretation of that culture in response to Anglo-Saxon taste” (66-67, 71). This is a superb publication in all facets; I hope someone reading this bibliography will give me a copy.

Another beautiful, full-color facsimile of a critically important book for later Anglo-Saxon England is offered in *The Benedictional of Saint Æthelwold: A Masterpiece of Art: A Facsimile* (London: British Library). Andrew Prescott provides a highly useful Introduction which briefly places the manuscript within a historical context of the tenth-century monastic reform, the life and career of Æthelwold, and that of Gode-man the scribe (and perhaps artist) mentioned in the manuscript’s dedicatory poem. Prescott also outlines the process of the construction of the manuscript and a brief history of the development of the benedictional as type of service book. A “Guide to the Manuscript” provides short descriptions of the contents and themes of the full-page illustrations and historiated initials. A third section entitled “Description of the Manuscript”

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goes into greater codicological depth, with a folio-by-folio listing of the texts and a consideration of the placement and content of now-lost miniatures. This facsimile will no doubt spur an increased understanding of this manuscript; in Prescott’s words, “Perhaps the most fascinating aspect of the Benedictional is the way in which it acts as a testimony to the ideology of the great tenth-century ecclesiastical revival, illustrating how a work of art can be a very eloquent and historical document” (8).

A more general introduction to “Anglo-Saxon Manuscript Production: Issues of Making and Using” is provided by Michelle Brown’s chapter in *A Companion to Anglo-Saxon Literature* (ed. Pulsiano and Treharne, 102–118). Brown discusses in turn the questions of who the writers were and in what instances we can actually identify handwriting; male vs. female and clerical vs. lay scribes; the physical preparation from hide to codex; decoration, illumination and iconographies; the breakdown of labor in preparing a codex; scribal training; and finally some purposes of books inside and outside the monastery. This is a very useful overview for its target audience of experienced undergraduate and new graduate students.

Brown includes the *Codex Aureus* in her investigation of “Mercian Manuscripts? The ‘Tiberius’ Group and Its Historical Context” (in *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe*, ed. Brown and Farr, 278–91). Brown looks at the manuscripts belonging to what she terms the “Mercian *Schriftprovinz*” consisting of three schools: Mercia, Canterbury and Wessex (added to this group of manuscripts since Brown’s previous studies is the St. Petersburg Gospels). She puts forward a hypothesis that Archbishop Wulfred sought “to promote a spirit of collaboration and solidarity amongst the Southumbrian episcopacy, to stave off royal and lay encroachment.... Such a context would have nurtured the phenomenon of the ‘Mercian *Schriftprovinz*’ as well as formulating distinctive local expressions within it” (287). The “Tiberius” group is particularly interesting in terms of cultural history for the evidence it provides for manufacture and/or use of manuscripts by women, and the early use of glosses: “Prior to the Viking incursions and Alfred’s famed revival of learning, the seeds were being sown in Mercia and in areas which had been under its influence, of more extensive written vernacular literacy” (289). In “Female Book-Ownership and Production in Anglo-Saxon England: The Evidence of the Ninth-Century Prayerbooks” (*Lexis and Texts*, ed. Kay and Sylvester, 45–67), Brown concentrates on “some of the literary, hagiographical and historical evidence for female

literacy in early Anglo-Saxon England ... set within a broader early medieval context." She discusses "the relative paucity of evidence within the actual extant manuscripts of definite production by or for women but seeks to determine what can meaningfully be extracted from what survives: inscriptions associated with Abbess Cuthswith of Inkberrow and and Abbess Eadburh of Minster-in-Thanel, documents associated with King Coenwulf's heir, Abbess Cwenthryth of Winchcombe and Minster, and, most notably, three of the 'Tiberius group' prayerbooks made in Mercia during the early ninth century (BL Harley 7653 and 2965 and Royal 2.A.xx)" (45). To wrap up a year rich in publication, Brown's Jarrow Lecture "In the Beginning was the Word: Books and Faith in the Age of Bede," discussed in this section in last year's YWOES, was published in *Heroic Age* 4 (n.p., online).

Several papers presented at the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art held at the National Museum and Gallery, Cardiff on 3-6 September 1998 have been collected into *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art*, ed. Mark Redknap *et al.* (Oxford: Oxbow). The collection is divided into five parts: "Politics and Patrons," "National & Regional Identities," "Art & Archaeology," "The Implications of Scientific Analysis for Insular Art and its Production," "Style: Analysis, Methodology & Meaning." While most of the essays published here fall outside the scope of this review, some nevertheless focus on manuscripts. In "Neo-Pelagianism, Early Insular Religious Art, and the Image of Christ" (61-71), Shirley Ann Brown and Michael W. Herren explore the ecclesiological and theological bases that underlie the artistic differences between what they call the common Celtic church (the northern or Scottish division of Irish Christianity) and the Rome-oriented Anglo-Saxon church. They describe the "common Celtic Church" as "a kind of 'low Church'—biblicist and 'untheological,' not given to pomp and ceremony" that was influenced directly or indirectly by the teaching of Pelagius. The influence can be seen in its art; that of the common Celtic church is defined by its ornamental and symbolic nature, while that of the Roman church shows a more representational bias. The essay is built on three basic questions: why is there a relative absence of artistic religious artifacts in Insular contexts before the middle of the seventh century; why is Irish religious art non-representational; and what factors determined the choices of themes depicted in Insular art? They approach answers to all three questions through reference to Pelagianist thought—which is defined (among other things) as the hostility toward ostentation and luxury, and a literal adherence to the First Commandment's prohibition on images.

Therefore, they explain the emphasis on the non-representational elements in the Book of Durrow, or the idiosyncratic motifs decorating the *nomen sacrum* in Durrow, and Book of Armagh, and Book of Kells as symptoms of this non-representational bias. Similarly, the choice of themes was influenced by the emphasis on achieving salvation through spiritual training and asceticism, on Christ crucified and as ideal monk. This approach leads them to reinterpret the Bewcastle and Ruthwell monuments, explaining that the two "reflect the desire to introduce a representational religious art which emphasises christological iconography" (66) in the frontier between the common Celtic and Roman-oriented churches.

The other relevant papers are found in the section devoted to "Style." The section begins with George Henderson's "The Barbarini Gospels (Rome, Vatican Biblioteca Apostolica Barberini Lat. 670) as a Paradigm of Insular Art" (158-68). This manuscript, Henderson argues, exemplifies many of the basic parameters and characteristics of Insular style. He notes that Insular artists were willing and able to adapt and fuse motifs from a wide variety of sources; the Barbarini Gospels, along with the Cuthbercht Gospels, demonstrate a particular hallmark of Insular art. Illustrations in the Barbarini Gospels such as the faces on the top of the *Initium* initial on folio 51 share a penchant for both "realistic" observation of natural forms with illustrations in the Codex Millenarius and for literal illustration of the text which is also seen in the St. Petersburg Bede, the Salaberga Psalter, and the Book of Kells. Other initials in the Barbarini Gospels also call for comparison with Kells. The *Quoniam* initials in Luke involve dragons, which Henderson suggests symbolically recall Revelation. Henderson's interpretation of the *Beatus* initial of Jerome's letter to Damasus as found in the Barbarini Gospels is especially ingenious. Henderson compares the Canon Tables the Durham Cassiodorus, the Maysaack Gospels, and even the Eadui Codex (c. 1020, Canterbury). The well-known figure of the naked, squatting man in Canon 1 (fol. 1) is linked, through cues provided by the change in size of numbers on the table, to the arch-heretic Arrius (165). The essay ends with a summary of the Evangelist portraits and their decoration; looking back at the manuscript, Henderson reiterates his claim that it possesses an exemplary status even as it "has its own special brand of laconic visual wit. Above all it records, I believe, an important new phase in the investigation of the relationship of word and image" (167).

The second essay in this section is an important historiographic contribution to the study of style and

was written as an introduction to this section of the conference. In "Style: A History of Uses and Abuses in the Study of Insular Art" (169–177), Nancy Netzer shows how Insular art has been exploited for its ability to appeal to unspoken desires and prejudices: "how many times," Netzer asks, "have we been drawn to books by their cover images taken from the Lindisfarne Gospels, the Book of Kells, or the Tara Brooch only to discover that the pictured object is not even discussed and that the book deals exclusively with history or literature?" (169). As is common practice, Netzer uses the term "Insular" to refer to art produced in Ireland from the sixth to eleventh centuries and in Britain from the seventh to the late ninth. Though this narrow definition "has been accepted to avoid disputed associations of certain sub-groups like the Irish, Welsh, Picts, or Anglo-Saxons" (169), the term has not completely succeeded in avoiding racial and political charges, Netzer insists. Her analysis begins with Gerald of Wales's famous description of an Irish Gospel book in his *Topographica Hibernica*. Gerald's description of the style as a miraculous and meditative work produced by an angel injects his own interpretative method as a medieval cleric and scholar into the analysis of visual forms. Netzer reminds us that that Gerald produced his own book as an *apologia* for King Henry II who was at that time engaged in conflict against the "barbarous" Irish; Gerald's description therefore "backs him in a corner" which scholars of the last 200 years have been anxiously seeking either to fortify or to crawl out of. "Much of the staying power of this early interpretation may be attributed to the fact that, for the most part, the allegiances of the interpretive community for these works were Christian. I suggest that the perceived beauty and intricacy of the style, and its historical association with the miraculous and Christian, have moved the interpretive community to assign additional meanings as national symbols to its very finest exponents" (170). From Gerald, Netzer moves to the nineteenth century, when description and analysis begins to take shape. William Bentham (as early as 1826) and J.O. Westwood (1845, 1853, 1868) take center stage as they look to nationalistic explanations for Insular style. Westwood's work was particularly influential since his close analysis of the construction methods and motifs, derived perhaps from the kinds of species analysis he performed as a professional entomologist, form the basis of later nineteenth and twentieth-century accounts of Insular art. For Westwood "analysis of ornamental style was not an end in itself. Its true interest and significance lay in what he believed it would reveal about the long-standing ethnic and religious disputes of the day," particularly the introduction of Christianity and

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the intercommunication between tribes (171). The detailed history of ornament and decoration by J. Romilly Allen, coupled with a geographic analysis by Joseph Anderson (1903) permitted variants in Insular art to be seen as never before at the same time highlighting decoration as an artistic grammar for a racial code. The twentieth century is marked by a systematic application of the theories of ornament developed in the nineteenth century, yet art historians, Netzer suggests, "may have gone astray in defining both the chronological and geographical limits, variously, too narrow or too broadly" (174). An example of the later is the analysis of Sir Alfred Clapham in whose work may be seen an assumption that a single style may have been practiced by monasteries of the same type (Columban) over a large geographic area at the same time. T.D. Kendrick used style as a way "to establish continuity of an historical national narrative" (176) which places the development of an illusionistic, Roman-based style at its heart. Later, the work of Nils Åberg and Françoise Henry, François Masai and Carl Nordenfalk are contrasted to demonstrate how "systematic methods of the twentieth century did not free interpretations from cultural determinism" (175). The essay comes full circle by asking, "why do we find images of the 'rock stars' of Insular art used as advertising lures?" (176) Netzer contends that because the meaning projected onto Insular art since the twelfth century "endows the recipient object with higher status by prompting and exploiting the memory of assigned meanings ... various exponents of the style may be made to signify an imagined glorious past of a specific nationality, the triumph or superiority of one ethnic group or culture over another, a connection to the Roman or Celtic church, and/or the ultimate attainments of Christian spirituality" (176).

The complexity of stylistic interplay in Insular art is demonstrated by Victoria A. Bruno in her contribution entitled "The St. Petersburg Gospels and the Sources of Southumbrian Art" (179–190). It gives a detailed examination of the manuscript now in the National Library of Russia, Cod. F.v.I.8, which, Bruno argues, "reveals a complicated conflation of models" fusing Northumbrian, Southumbrian, and Echternach elements (179). Reviewing and extending previous studies, she establishes that there was a Northumbrian model for its preliminary texts, a source most likely written at Lindisfarne and closely related to but not copied from the Lindisfarne Gospels. Two different types of chapter divisions were used in the Gospel book, a combination that also suggests ties to the scriptorium at Lindisfarne. The main text of the Gospels also combines at least two sources. The text of

Matthew closely follows the Vulgate and again shows ties to Lindisfarne, while the three remaining gospel texts have variants that derive from Old Latin and Irish manuscripts, possibly copied from a model from Echternach. The decoration of the Canon Tables similarly displays eclectic influences. The artist's use of bell-shaped bases and circular capitals is similar to that seen in the Cutbercht Gospels (written in Salzburg by a Southumbrian artist) while second type of circular capital may derive from Northumbrian sources.

In the collection's final essay devoted to Insular manuscripts, "Hidden Order, Order Revealed: New Light on Carpet-Pages" (203–07), Emmanuelle Pirotte takes a more cognitive approach to style. Using observations borrowed from the "psychology of visual perception and particularly Gestalt theory," Pirotte advances the theory that the "power of carpet-pages" in Insular manuscripts "lies ... in their very surface" (203). Her principal examples are taken from the Turin fragments (Turin, Bibl. Nazionale cod. O.IV.20) and fol. 126v of the Augsburg Gospels (Harburg, Schloss Harburg, Fürstlich Öttingen-Wallerstein'sche Bibl. Cod. I.2.4.2, fol. 126v), the St. Gall Gospel Book (St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek Cod. 51, p. 6), and the Book of Durrow (fol. 85v). While acknowledging that carpet pages contain precise iconographic meanings or symbolic qualities, Pirotte argues that the intense visual effects of the surfaces of the pages "have not so much to do with representation but with practice" serving as "visual incantations" that encourage and enhance meditative or contemplative experience (204).

*Ex Insula Lux: Manuscripts and Hagiographical Material Connected with Medieval England*, ed. Matti Kilpiö and Leena Kahlas-Tarkka (Helsinki: National Library of Finland) is the catalogue from the joint exhibition organized by Helsinki University Library and the National Library of Russia to mark the tenth meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxons in Helsinki and the post-conference symposium in St. Petersburg, both in August of 2001. It opens with Ilkka Taitto's "British Saints in the Fragmenta membranea Collection at the Helsinki University Library" (1–17), which lists the manuscripts mentioning saints from the British Isles (primarily Anglo-Saxon, not ethnically British), and includes a description, analysis and facsimile of a twelfth- or thirteenth-century antiphoner fragment *Ex Officio Sancti Oswaldi* (HUL, F.m. III No. 29 f. 1r). This is followed by Leena Kahlas-Tarkka and Matti Kilpiö's discussion on the history and some recent projects of the "Early English Text and Corpus Studies [EETACS]" (18–24), one of whose main aims is "to chart and study the early, i.e.

medieval and early modern, manuscripts and printed books of English provenance in the libraries and archives of St Petersburg" (18). The bulk of the volume is concerned with "Descriptions of the Manuscripts from the National Library of Russia" (25–92), with contributions from Olga Bleskina, Ludmila Kisseleva and Margarita Logutova. The catalogue describes twenty-three MSS and codices; over half originated in England, but there are also many from Corbie. Each entry gives the physical description, paleographical characteristics, decoration, contents, commentary (which can include discussion of contents, history of the manuscript, comparison to similar manuscripts, and scholarly opinions as to provenance and dating), and bibliography. The entries range from the familiar "Leningrad Bede" (now the "St. Petersburg manuscript of Bede"; s. viii, Northumbria) to an early fifteenth-century French (?) paper codex of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Britanniae* whose owners included Richard III, James I, Charles I, and Oliver Cromwell. The catalogue is followed by ten black-and-white plates; the most curious is that from an eighth century English manuscript of Paulinus of Nola (NLR, Lat. Q.v.XIV N° 1) which, inexplicably (at least to me), shows David cutting a fish head off the giant Goliath. Next Margarita Logutova gives an overview of the exhibition, concentrating on the "Insular codices from Dubrovsky's collection in the National Library of London" (93–98). This essay not only presents a history of the late eighteenth-/early nineteenth-century Russian collector Peter Dubrovsky, but also provides a general introduction to the collection on display. Ten more plates follow, and the volume concludes with Ludmila Kisseleva's tribute to "Olga Dobias-Rozdestvenskaja: Outstanding Russian Historian and Paleographer (1874–1939)" (109–113).

Staying in Eastern Europe and moving only slightly to the west, Malgorzata Krasnodębska-D'Aughton, in "The Four-Symbols Page in Cracow Cathedral Library MS 140: An Image of Unity" (*Peritia* 12 [2000]: 323–410, examines a manuscript, most likely written in north Italy, which may have been in Cracow prior to Christianization of Poland. Cracow MS 140 is of interest to Insular scholars because it preserves a full-page illumination (fol. 100v, the only illustration in the manuscript), which depicts the four Evangelists around on the cross, an image that shares visual characteristics with Insular books such as Durrow, and the Echternach and Trier Gospels. In Insular contexts, the four Evangelists appear in Gospel books; here the illustration is found at the end of a collection of homiletic texts known as the Catechesis Cracoviensis and after a brief bibliographical note on the lives of the evangelists but



before the beginning of an exposition of the gospels (fol. 101r) written by the fourth century African writer Arnobius the Younger. Krasnodębska-D'Aughton argues that the image appears in the manuscript because it aptly illustrates a broad theme that links the homiletic and exegetical texts it accompanies: the harmony of the gospels. She notes how several themes appear in the texts and in the illustration, for example a focus on the number 4, which plays an important symbolic role in the homilies, signifying not only the gospels but also the four principal disciples (Peter, Andrew, James, and John) as the foundation of the church and, among many other things, the four divisions of the saved and damned at the Last Judgment and the Second Coming of Christ as described in Revelation. The illustration helps pull together the composite texts found in this collection: "the image of the four symbols around the cross ... may serve a function similar to the four-symbol pages in the gospel books. The miniature is an important image of unity bridging the neighboring exegetical texts ... [and] an important witness to how the well-established Insular theme of the evangelist symbols was transmitted into the missionary lands" (338).

Richard W. Pfaff profiles a prolific scholar/collector in "M.R. James and the Liturgical Manuscripts of Cambridge" (*The Legacy of M.R. James: Papers from the 1995 Cambridge Symposium*, ed. Lynda Dennison, 174–193). Pfaff demonstrates that James concentrated primarily on illustrations in the pontificals and mass-books he catalogued, and often gave scant attention to text or other description. "I wish I could ... show that James came to have both an increasing interest in and increasing mastery of liturgical manuscripts as time went on, so that his descriptions of such books in the later catalogues became more useful to students than was the case with those published in 1895; but I can see no consistent evidence of this" (189). However, he rightly concludes that "to suggest that his work in each of the many scholarly areas which he touched on should be evaluated as though he had been a specialist in that field [is], I believe, a disservice to the memory of this unique scholar" (192).

R.M. Thomson's *A Descriptive Catalogue of the Medieval Manuscripts in Worcester Cathedral Library* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer) replaces the 1906 catalogue by Floyer and Hamilton; Thomson does not include MSS added since 1906 and fragments from sources such as endpapers, because they are described in Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. The introduction provides a history of the library (both on the collection and—with some architectural detective

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work—the building itself), and a fine survey by Michael Gullick of the bindings of volumes remaining in the collection (of which "about 125 are medieval, forty-five more or less untouched by later binders and restorers" [xxxviii]). Due to the breaking-up of a large number of older books to be used for binding materials in the last hundred years preceding the dissolution (xlvi) and the plundering of the library's greatest treasures by the great collectors of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (xviii), "[w]hat remains at the Cathedral today consists in the main of scholastic theology and devotional literature dating from the thirteenth to the late fifteenth century.... Although the number of pre-Conquest and twelfth-century books still at the Cathedral is small, it includes items of great interest, such as the second-oldest intact Anglo-Saxon binding, and fine examples of local writing and minor decoration" (xix). Of particular interest to our period are the six pre-Conquest books in Latin and the copy of Ælfric's grammar by the 'Tremulous Hand', and a few books exhibiting Carolingian or early Romanesque bindings. The catalogue itself is laid out with Volume number, Date and Title, Structure (comprising codicological and unusually thorough binding descriptions); Contents; Hand(s); Decoration; History (which includes information on elements such as notations and added labels); and Bibliography. Black and white plates at the end include images of several bindings and endpapers.

More on binding comes from P. A. Mullarkey's "Irish Book Shrines: A Reassessment" (Ph.D. Thesis, University College Dublin), which concentrates on the "investigation and analysis of four eleventh-century [Irish] book shrines" (*Index to Theses*, 842). In the introductory material, Mullarkey uses "historical sources, depictions in various media and surviving examples" to trace "the development of Coptic, Early Christian, Byzantine, Carolingian and Ottonian, Anglo-Saxon and Irish book covers" (842).

A collection of essays on *Domesday Book* edited by Elizabeth Hallam and David Bates (Stroud and Charleston, SC: Tempus) is partially based on papers given at a conference held at the Public Record Office in 2000. Two introductory essays, Elizabeth Hallam's "Introduction" (11–18) and J. C. Holt's "Domesday Studies 2000" (19–24) address selected recent scholarship both contained and not contained in this book. Holt is fairly outspoken both in praise and criticism, which has the rather unsettling effect of discrediting part of the collection (particularly the essay by David Roffe) before the reader has a chance for independent judgment. Most of the subsequent essays focus

on history, although Stephen Baxter's study of how Wulfstan cooked the data for Worcester in "The representation of lordship and land tenure in Domesday Book" (73–102) relies heavily on diplomatics for its argument. The only article to concentrate on paleography is Frank and Caroline Thorn's thorough and generously-illustrated "The Writing of Great Domesday Book" (37–72). They distinguish eight scribes who contributed to Great Domesday, and concentrate on the primary scribe A and the secondary scribe B, who may have been either a supervisor or an assistant. Scribe A was more generous with space in his first two counties (Yorkshire and Lincolnshire) than later, "as it must have quickly become apparent that economies would have to be made if the completed manuscript were not to be too unwieldy to use" (42). The orderliness of the text leads the Thorns to postulate that "he generally had in front of him a single, organised collection of material in which an entry for an individual estate already contained the information subsequently abbreviated into Great Domesday, but that the sequence and order of estates were different to those adopted in the Book.... We are convinced that the main scribe of Great Domesday was editing and abbreviating as he wrote: the manuscript has all the signs of being a working copy; [further, that] the quantity of remedial work has been very much underestimated and that it took place in several stages probably over many months" (48–9). Interestingly, "the main scribe had often left a space after the hidage for *geld*' or *non geld*' ('it/they pay/do not pay tax'), but in almost every case it was scribe B who inserted the correct word or phrase, though some spaces were never filled" (53). The Thorns also address the use of "satellite texts" and discuss the probability that "the text of Great Domesday for the five south-western counties was derived directly from Exon without any intermediary" or "fair copy" (66). Finally, they estimate that "[t]he process of writing, and of repeatedly adding and correcting suggests that the scribes of Great Domesday would in fact have needed between seventeen and twenty-four months. If work started on the manuscript in the late summer of 1086, it would have continued into 1088" (72). J.J.N Palmers "Great Domesday on CD-ROM" (141–150) and Henrietta Pearson's "The Alecto Domesday project" (151–158) provide surveys of these important electronic and printed facsimiles/editions. Andrew Prescott's "Sir Henry Ellis and Domesday Book" (159–190) presents an informative and entertaining look at editorial scholarship and the occasional conflicts between the British Museum and the PRO in the early nineteenth century, focusing on the work of Henry Ellis. Here we discover, among more currently-relevant facts, that the creation of the first

pseudo-facsimile of Domesday was postponed when it was discovered "that it would have taken five hundred years to produce the [specially-designed wooden] types to represent every letter in the manuscript" (162), and that when the British Museum acquired the library of George III, Ellis was said to have crowed "Avaunt Bodley, thou now second-rate Library!" (169). Despite a modern tendency to discredit Ellis's work, Prescott lauds his Domesday subject index as "a model of clarity and conciseness, whilst being responsive to the character of Domesday itself" (178). The volume ends with a brief bibliography by Hallam on "Some current Domesday research trends and recent publications" (191–8), broken down into subject categories.

Gregory the Great's homilies on the gospels and on Ezechiel "had a profound impact on early English learning," and in "The Early English Manuscripts of Gregory the Great's *Homilies on the Gospel* and *Homilies on Ezechiel: A Preliminary Survey*" (*Rome and the North*, ed. Bremmer *et al.*, 115–36), Thomas N. Hall discusses "the extant manuscripts either produced or owned in England through the first quarter of the twelfth century containing one or more of Gregory's homilies" (115–17). It appears that "while a small number of examples of the full collection of all forty Gospel homilies are indeed attested in pre-Conquest England, the constituent texts within that collection were much more widely available in multiple-author homiliaries, especially modified versions of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary.... [M]ost of those that predate the Conquest were produced on the Continent and then later brought to England" (129). Harley 3908, in contradistinction, is "a *libellus* of materials pertaining to St. Mildrith of Thanet produced at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury at the end of the eleventh or beginning of the twelfth century" (128). For the Homilies on Ezechiel, "there are twelve substantially complete English witnesses to one or both books of the full collection before c. 1125, but only one of these dates securely to the early Anglo-Saxon period. All the rest are from the eleventh or early twelfth century, and at least ten are post-Conquest, which points to a fairly meager pattern of reception before the Conquest" (130). "What the manuscript evidence seems to be telling us, in other words, is that the *Homiliariae in Hiezechilem* were largely unknown in the Anglo-Saxon period but achieved an unprecedented level of popularity in England shortly after the Conquest" (133). In five other MSS, sections or complete homilies have been added to versions of Paul the Deacon's Homiliary connected to the feasts of St. Matthew and/or St. Luke. Hall warns that the evidence he presents is almost surely incomplete, hence the titling of his study as "preliminary."

He offers the best image of the year in his description of Durham B. III. 11, in which he is "tempted to envision a scenario in which part-way through the copying of *Hom.* 17, the scriptorium was hit by a violent tornado that sent sheets of parchment swirling about the countryside, leaving a young apprentice scribe to pick up the pieces and finish copying whatever he was able to retrieve in whatever order he retrieved them" (121).

Isidore seems not to have been accorded the same respect as Gregory, according to Michael Gorman's "The Diagrams in the Oldest Manuscripts of Isidore's 'De natura rerum' with a Note on the Manuscript Traditions of Isidore's Works," *SM* 3rd ser. 42: 529–45. Gorman sets out "to illustrate the processes of degeneration and contamination [in scribal copying of diagrams by examining] how the one non-circular diagram in Isidore's work, the diagram of the four elements ... was handled by the scribes who prepared the oldest extant manuscripts of the work" (531). Following Jacques Fontaine, Gorman believes that "Isidore did not borrow this diagram from an existing work but rather drew it himself" (532). The oldest manuscripts demonstrate "a diagram in which the names of the four elements with their constituent qualities are written within two intersecting squares" which offers "no support for the conjecture that Isidore intended to present a cube such as that drawn by Murdoch" (533–34). Gorman goes on to survey scholarly work on the manuscript traditions of Isidore's works, and dwells in particular on the difficulties of presenting a stemma for Isidore's commentaries on the Old Testament—including the fact that scribes were simply less careful with this material, as Isidore's works "did not equal in authority those of Augustine or Jerome" (539). Finally Gorman presents the challenge to future scholarship of tracing the diffusion of *De natura rerum* in the ninth century.

Scientific illustrations of another sort draw the attention of Maria Amalia D'Aronco, who continues her investigations of the Old English Herbals in "Interazione tra testo e illustrazione: il caso di London, B.L. Cotton Vitellius C.iii" (*Testo e immagine nel medioevo germanico*, ed. Saibene and Buzzoni, 103–114). Here D'Aronco represents and extends her analysis of the intriguing frontispieces found in the Vitellius manuscript, two full-page, elaborately-framed illustrations likely originally joined as a bifolium (for an English version, see her introductory essay to the facsimile, EEMF 27). The first (fol. 11v) depicts a soldier and monk, sometimes identified as donors of the manuscript, flanking a much larger third figure who some have described as an abbot or bishop to whom the text

## 6. Manuscripts, Illuminations, and Charters

is given. The second (fol. 19r) also depicts three figures, identified by an inscription in red capitals with the names "ESCVLAPIVS, PLATO, CENTAVRVS." Working from an iconographical perspective, D'Aronco argues that the images must be understood in relationship to the text and within the tradition of the illustration of herbals. She points to the illustrations late Carolingian manuscript (Kassel, Landesbibliothek, 2° Phys. et hist. Nat. 10) and hypothesizes that the image on fol. 11v reemploys the figures of Marcus Agrippa and Antonius Musa found there. The central figure is likely to be Aesculpius himself, treading a lion as a type of the Christ-medicus figure; the resulting image is therefore a dedication page, a novel creation that is the result of the conflation of past models modernized according to contemporary canons. The illustration on fol. 19r is also likely a combination of several different models, and serves a double purpose: it illustrates the wreathed caption on 19v and forms a kind of visual table of contents for the manuscript as a whole, which contains in addition to the herbal a version of the *Medicina de quadrupedibus*. A short, final section discusses the artist's willingness to adopt and adapt models, placing this creative fusion within the vital and innovative cultural context of late Anglo-Saxon England.

Catherine E. Karkov examines the interrelationship of text and image in "Broken Bodies and Singing Tongues: Gender and Voice in the CCCC 23 *Psychomachia*" (*ASE* 30: 115–36). She notes that "only in Anglo-Saxon England does [book X of the *Peristephanon* (the *Passio S. Romani*)] consistently appear either directly following the *Psychomachia* ... or directly preceding it.... Since there is no early evidence for a tradition of ordering the texts in this manner, it is likely to be an Anglo-Saxon innovation" (116). This juxtaposition "emphasizes the division between the masculine spirit (or mind) and the feminine body all the more forcefully, and in CCCC 23, it does so with the help of the illustrations" (135). "The silencing of the feminine voice and dismembering of the feminine body is reinforced by the tension created between text and illustration. What we see in the drawings is not always in accord with what we read in the text. The text tells us that the Vices are monsters, but we see women" (130). Karkov postulates that "we might relate the production of the manuscripts to the curtailing of female power within the church that has come to be seen as a feature of the late-tenth and eleventh-century church across Europe. This seems a highly plausible explanation as long as we bear in mind that the historical reality was likely to have been far more complex than the propagandistic nature of the manuscripts suggests.

Nevertheless, in reading CCCC 23 it is hard to deny that the masculine voices of Romanus, Prudentius and the manuscript's audience are eternal, while the female body remains broken and earth-bound, like so many pages of dead flesh" (136). [See further the discussion in section 5].

Karkov provides a book-length study of Junius 11 in *Text and Picture in Anglo-Saxon England: Narrative Strategies in the Junius 11 Manuscript* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). Karkov believes that "[n]either of the Junius 11 artists conceived or executed his drawings as images that simply accompanied the text, rather they are active translations of it and can be understood as forming a narrative distinct from that of the text" (36). For example, "the repetition of a series of related poses is used to help portray the direct relationship between generations among the descendants of Adam down to Noah" (41), or "more than anything else, the pointing finger and gesturing hand are used to provide the figures in Junius 11 with a sense of action and interaction, and the drawings with a sense of both life and the progress of the narrative" (42). Following her analysis of individual pictures in relation to the text, she concludes that "[T]he 'illustrations' function in a variety of ways. Some, such as the drawing of God closing and opening Noah's ark ... are close to literal illustrations of the words of the poet; others, such as the manuscript's frontispiece ..., are designed to function both intra- and intervisually, establishing connections between a number of different drawings and the events they portray; while still others, the drawing of the messenger leaving hell on page 20, for example ..., are clearly translations of the text into a pictorial language that conveys ideas, or elaborates on the action, in a way that the poetic narrative alone cannot or does not do. Moreover, as indicated by the lack of a representation of Eve's vision, the absence of the image, like the notion of silence in a text, can be as significant, and as much a part of narrative technique, as its presence" (100). She finishes her study with an overview of "the editorial history of the manuscript, and the narratives that have been created around it" (182). This section discusses the hypothetical attribution of the poems of the Junius manuscript to Caedmon, the connection through Caedmon to Bede, and further through the translation of the *Historia ecclesiastica* to Alfred. Editorial practice, indeed, has tended to politicize this manuscript. "Biblical origins, the origins of England and English poetry, and the origins of Anglo-Saxon scholarship are thus united in the production of the Junius facsimile.... Alfred, father of the English nation, thus becomes author of the first translation of the works of the first English poet in the writings of

his intellectual son and heir, Junius, father of Anglo-Saxon philology" (194-95). [See further the discussion in section 4a].

Janet Schrunck Ericksen focusses on *Genesis B* in "Offering the Forbidden Fruit in MS Junius 11" (*Gesture in Medieval Drama and Art*, ed. Clifford Davidson, 48-65). "Both narrative and illustrations stress Eve and the gesture of offering, when potential remains active; once Adam accepts, result becomes more important. While the Fall is in process, the gesture of temptation gives substance to the issue of choice at the core of Genesis, and it is made particularly powerful in *Genesis B* as the repeated gesture among few dramatic narrative elements and as the focus of repeated illustrations. This confluence suggests an artist who might have drawn directly from the poem or who drew on illustrations other than those more commonly seen in medieval representations of the Fall" (53). Ericksen presents a possible parallel in the catalogue of Anglo-Saxon narrative gestures from the three illustrated manuscripts of Prudentius's *Psychomachia* in which "appear scenes, illustrating lines 486-89, in which the figure of Avaritia (Avarice) holds forth in her right hand a round object with which she appears to be enticing a man to his death" (58). [See further the discussion in section 4b].

Continuing the theme of Biblical illustration, David F. Johnson re-evaluates "A Scene of Post-Mortem Judgment in the New Minster *Liber Vitae*," *OEN* 34.1 (2000): 24-30; challenging the classification of the illustrations as a Last Judgment, and claiming rather that "a more accurate description of the total composition would be a scene of individual post-mortem judgment" (26). He compares textual parallels to the illustrations and concentrates on passages from *Christ III* which show that "the torment of the damned is increased by their seeing the joy of the blessed" and that "the opposite is also the case" (28). Thus, for example, the two previously-unexplained figures "peering out the windows of the little tower in the heavenly city ... are in a position to view the punishment of the damned below, and, as such, they are counterparts to the poor souls about to enter hell whose gaze is turned upward.... [The composition] is a vision of an individual soul's fate shortly after death; it illustrates graphically the two possible modes of post mortem existence; and there can be no doubt that Peter's actions and the context of the *Liber Vitae* itself allude emphatically to the efficacy of intercessory prayer" (29).

Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza provides codicological description of the Vercelli manuscript in "Codic

della Biblioteca capitolare di Vercelli" (*Antichità germaniche*, ed. Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza and Renato Gendre, 193–203). Corazza argues that the collection was particularly adapted for carrying on pilgrimage, in terms both of size and of content (the homilies focus on death, sin, the last judgement, inferno and paradise, and the poetic component presents voyages resembling pilgrimage). She presents several scenarios by which the manuscript could have arrived in Vercelli: perhaps left by an English pilgrim en route to Rome; perhaps left as part of the donation by Ulf, Bishop of Dorchester during the Vercelli synod of 1050; or perhaps it arrived by an indirect route through the library at Bobbio, where it had been used for teaching purposes—conceivably when Saint Albert, bishop of Bobbio, was transferred to Vercelli. (Interestingly, the nineteenth-century binding reads *Homiliarum libri ignoti idiomatis*; it was not until 1822 that the language was recognized as Old English by Friedrich Blume.)

Decreasing in size but still of noteworthy importance, "The prodigal fragment: Cambridge, Gonville and Caius College 734/782a," is the subject of Rebecca Rushforth's examination (*ASE* 30: 137–44). These are in fact two fragments—vertical strips which fit together to make between one half and two-thirds of an original leaf—originally preserved in the binding of a seventeenth-century paper catalogue of a bequest of books to the college (137). Bishop in his *English Caroline Minuscule* had "included them in his list of surviving specimens in the hand of 'Eadwig Basan'..., an important and interesting figure of early-eleventh-century script history" (138). Systematically comparing character shapes, Rushforth concludes that "the script of the Caius fragments reveals subtle differences from the distinctive hand written by 'Eadwig'.... The similarities can be accounted for by the 'lasting and wide influence' of the hand developed by 'Eadwig' on later English script, an influence so considerable that after the Norman Conquest the style he originated 'became a scribal mark of Englishness'" (140–41). Rushforth claims that "the primary significance of these fragments is after all liturgical rather than paleographical," because this is "the only evidence we have for the use of a mass lectionary in eleventh-century England" (143).

Hartmut Hoffmann, in "Autographa des früheren Mittelalters" (*DAEM* 57: 1–62), defines autograph as a parchment on which an author wrote his own text with his own hand, pointing out that this definition can encompass charters, letters, marginalia, and inscriptions (although more frequently than not the link of author and writer may be impossible to prove).

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Hoffmann's first Anglo-Saxon autograph—contra an analysis by Carl Nordenfalk—is an entry in an Echternach manuscript (BN lat. 10837) by Willibrord on the occasion of his ordination as bishop (11–13). He next discusses writings in the hand that Malcolm Parkes attributes to Bonifatius, although Hoffmann concludes that this attribution can at best be considered hypothetical (15–17). Alcuin himself marked the margins of an Acts of Ephesus 431 (BN lat. 1572) with *s* (=scribe) and *d* (=dimitte or desine), allowing us a glimpse of his study practices; Hoffmann doubts Bischoff's attribution of three poems in Gotha, Forschungs- und Landesbibliothek, Memb. I 75 to this same hand. Non-Anglo-Saxon authors discussed include Victor of Capua, Paul the Deacon, Hrabanus Maurus, Bruun-Candidus, Walahrid Strabo, Johannes Scottus Eriugena, Hinkmar of Reims, Notker Balbulus, Liudprand of Cremona and Richer of Saint-Remi.

Christine Franzen offers two notes regarding the Tremulous Hand of Worcester. First, in "On the Attributions of Copied Glosses in CCCC MS 41 to the 'Tremulous Hand' of Worcester" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 373–74), she disputes on the basis of letter shapes and spacing Raymond J.S. Grant's suggestion that the glosses in CUL Kk.3.18 may represent "an early non-tremulous state of the 'tremulous hand'" (373). In "The Cerne 'Trembling' Hand and the Tremulous Hand of Worcester" (*N&Q* n.s. 48: 374–75), she compares letter shapes and abbreviations used by a corrector of the Book of Cerne, CUL Ll.1.10, and those of the "tremulous hand" concluding that "I am certain that the Cerne hand on fos. 56v and 57r is not the Worcester hand, and I am fairly confident that the correction on fo. 50v is not the Worcester hand, either" (375). In the same issue, Peter J. Lucas's note on "Cotton MS Domitian A.viii, The F-Version of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and William Camden" (98–99) provides further evidence for the fact (noted by Peter S. Baker in his new edition) that Camden had this manuscript in his hands prior to its deposition in the Cottonian library. In a description of Hadrian's Wall, Camden cites two versions of an extract from the entry for 188/9 in which the second uses the phrase *of turfum* distinctive to this manuscript in place of *mid turfum* common to all other surviving versions. [See further the discussion in sect. 4c]

Carol Hough produces a meticulous and well-documented study of letter-shapes in "Paleographical Evidence for the Compilation of *Textus Roffensis*" (*Scriptorium* 55: 57–79). Comparing the choice of graphemes in extant exemplars to their copies in the cartulary second half of the manuscript, Hough determines

that "the choice of letter-forms by the *Textus Roffensis* scribe was strongly influenced by his sources, particularly as regards the use of *þ* and *ð*" (61). Examining in detail the graphemic distribution in the legal collection that constitutes the first half of the MS, Hough contends "that the scribe was *influenced* by his sources, not that he followed them slavishly on all occasions. Where different patterns of use are discernible within different texts—and especially where new patterns coincide with the onset of new texts—it seems reasonable to conclude that they reflect to some extent the usage of different exemplars" (67). Thus, for example, "a number of paleographical features appear to unite the [laws of Hlophere and Eadric and the laws of Wihtred] in contradistinction to those of Æthelberht.... It would appear that up to a fairly advanced stage in the textual history of the Kentish laws, Æthelberht's code may have been transmitted separately from those of his successors" (72). (This possibility is particularly remarkable in light of the fact that in this twelfth-century copy the language of Hlophere and Eadric is considerably more modernized than the language of Æthelberht or Wihtred; a joint exemplar of the latter two laws must itself be of fairly late origin.) Hough concludes that "paleographical correspondences between copies of the same text may be as important as orthographical similarities in establishing transmission patterns and manuscript stemma" (72).

Two articles relevant to this section appeared in *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies presented to Henry Mayr-Harting*, ed. Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser (Oxford: Oxford UP). David Ganz examines "The Annotations in Bodleian Library, Auct. D. II. 14" (35–44), "one of two surviving Italian gospel books which had reached Anglo-Saxon England by the end of the seventh century [the other being the "Gospels of St Augustine]" (35). Ganz's study "transcribe[s] all annotations, and offer[s] a tentative account of the history of the manuscript from the seventh to the twelfth century" (37). Ganz concludes that "[i]t is not clear whether the book was copied in Italy (or even Gaul) for export, or whether it was used on the continent before the insular corrector altered the text to conform with the Irish gospel family. But the various series of lection marks and neumes entered between the seventh and the twelfth centuries show that this book was used as the source of gospel lections for one or more communities which followed Roman use. Both the script used by the insular corrector of the text and the Chad entry suggest that this was in Mercia" (44). The winner of this year's Edgar (mystery, not King Lear) Award is Richard Gameson's "Why did Eadfrith write the Lindisfarne Gospels?" (45–

58). Gameson connects the impetus for creating this gospel text to the post-Whitby history of the Lindisfarne monastery, rocked to the base of its Irish foundation by Oswy's decision to adhere to the Church of Rome. Lindisfarne subsequently became subject to the "rivalry within unity that characterized the great monastic houses of Northumbria thereafter" (58). "In such circumstances the promotion of the cult of Lindisfarne's great holy man, Cuthbert, after his death in 687 and, above all, subsequent to the revelation eleven years later that his body had remained incorrupt, was of central importance to the status, spiritual identity, and possibly also the internal unity of the community ... the political climate was favourable for a resurgence of a foundation with strong Irish connections, for the new king of Northumbria, Aldfrith (686–705), had an Irish mother, had been in exile in Ireland, and was on friendly terms with Adomnán of Iona" (53). The manuscript deliberately exhibits a stylistic mixture of Mediterranean and Insular models: "if some elements of the book advertised a community that accepted the importance of the Mediterranean world and its interpretation of Christianity, plenty of others showed that it maintained a fundamental relationship to Irish and Insular traditions" (55). In regard to Eadfrith, his "masterpiece advertised both his skill and his spirituality, and may to that extent have contributed to singling him out as the logical candidate for the see.... However, the 'careerist' interpretation of the Lindisfarne Gospels wholly underestimates the importance of the gesture, whose *raison d'être* was not to further the cause of one man, but rather to elevate a whole foundation spiritually and materially" (56–7).

Another nifty piece of detective work is provided by Michael Gullick and Richard W. Pfaff's "The Dublin Pontifical (TCD 98 [B. 3. 6]): St Anselm's?" (*Scriptorium* 55: 284–94). Investigating liturgical, paleographical and codicological evidence, they present a convincing hypothesis that the pontifical was produced at Christ Church, Canterbury in late 1097 with additions around 1120. "The overwhelming probability is that this book was made for Anselm, archbishop 1093 to 1109, with two periods of protracted absence" (292). Gullick and Pfaff convincingly correlate the chronology of sections in which the manuscript was produced with stages in Anselm's archepiscopal career.

Sara María Pons Sanz examines the "Aldredian Glosses to Proper Names in the Lindisfarne Gospels," *Anglia* 119: 173–192. She "explores the multiple ways in which Aldred ... rendered both place-names and personal names" (173), concluding that "not only did Aldred content himself with giving some equivalent

terms in most cases, he also added some explanations, based on both intra- and intertextual information" (192). The most entertaining of these is the bet-hedging gloss on *antichristus* as *bifore uel antichrist*. [See further the discussion in sect. 3a].

David Howlett's "The colophon in the book of Durrow" (*Hermathena* 168 [2000]: 71–75) examines a colophon on folio 247v of Dublin, Trinity College MS 57 (A.4.5). "Here in a colophon that might seem at first sight unprepossessing are syllabic regularity and rhymes as in verse, cursus rhythms as in prose, alliteration, chiasmic and parallel arrangement of words and ideas, and recurrence of words at intervals determined by the ratios of arithmetical and musical and cosmological theory" (74–5). He believes that "the present form of the [emended] colophon may have issued from a period during which good relations were being fostered between the federation of Columban churches centred round Iona and the federation of Patrician churches centred round Armagh, from the last two decades of the seventh century onward" (75).

The single entry for charters this year is Susan P. Millinger's "The Anglo-Saxon's View of their Landscape: The Charter Boundaries of Hampshire" (*Medieval Perspectives* 16: 84–103), which examines natural terminology used in Hampshire charter boundaries, such as hills, valleys, water, woods (with particular emphasis on oaks and thorns), plants and wildlife. Her hypothesis is that choice and usage may tell us something about how Anglo-Saxon peasants perceived and interacted with the world around them. "Though hill

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and valley defined the landscape, water and wood were essential resources. Thus the greater number of terms for woodland and water sources may indicate their importance to the Anglo-Saxons in their everyday lives" (92). Further, we find several mentions of plants such as reeds "which would have been useful to farmers as animal bedding, for example, or in constructing roofs of fencing" (96). In contrast, the lack of small plant names, despite the fact that such plants "live in very precise environments" indicates that "whoever was naming objects was not expressing the concerns ... of those (presumably women and girls) collecting herbs for the pot or as medicine or for cleaning or for dyeing textiles" (96). Millinger appropriately questions the five mentions of beetles among the references to wildlife: "Wouldn't it be better to remove the post with beetles in it rather than use it for a boundary feature? Perhaps these are useful beetles since they do not seem to be viewed as threats to crops" (98). She concludes that, in part, "the mind which observed the tenth-century landscape would have been mainly attentive to what was useful to humans: to farmers and farmwives; to hunters and other users of forest resources" (100).

Finally, Richard Gameson's "Hugo Pictor: Enlumineur normand" (*CCM* 44: 121–38) touches only briefly on the Anglo-Saxon antecedents of some of the works of this late-eleventh century artist. Looking at the style of script and historiated initials, Gameson constructs a *catalogue raisonné* of Hugo's works.

L.O., B.C.W.

## 7. History and Culture

### a. General

*The Anglo-Saxon Age: A Very Short Introduction* (Oxford: Oxford UP) handily reprints the text of John Blair's 1984 chapter in the *Oxford Illustrated History of Britain*, ed., Kenneth O. Morgan (Oxford: Oxford UP, 1984), with an updated bibliography. In eighty-five pages Blair offers an elegantly compressed account of key events, while addressing questions of sources, social structure, and belief.

As the title suggests, Edward James's *Britain in the First Millennium* (London: Arnold) is a survey of England, Scotland, Wales, and Ireland in the late Antique and early Anglo-Saxon periods—sort of. It is, in fact, primarily about England, because that is where the

sources are, and the discussion extends into the eleventh century, because it would make little sense to end an essentially political history at such an arbitrary date. The result is a somewhat contrived, but nonetheless useful survey of British history from the middle of the first century to the middle of the eleventh. After an introductory chapter on terminology and sources, three chapters on Roman Britain cover topics from the conquest and governance to industry, trade, and religion. The fall of Roman Britain, the establishment of new kingdoms, and the early church are covered in three chapters, while events of the eighth and ninth centuries each get a chapter. The tumultuous period from 900 to c. 1066 receives scant treatment in the final chapter, a weakness in a generally good survey. Overall, the monograph has much to offer in terms of

readability and coverage. Throughout the text, James engages with current historiographical trends and debates, and his approach is genuinely interdisciplinary. There are two weaknesses, however, that would keep me from assigning this text to students. The first, and the more significant, is the author's hostility to Christianity, which he calls "that most insidious—if belated—aspect of Romanisation." Even when not overtly critical, James's discussion of religion is so lacking in nuance that students will have a hard time understanding why Christianity survived, let alone thrived. Much less problematic, but still distracting, are the analogies to modern political issues, particularly nationalism, identity, and postcolonialism. Few American undergraduates will understand why James seems to be taking an occasional whack at American culture in a textbook on early medieval history.

Michael Wood's *In Search of the Dark Ages* is a revised and updated paperback edition of the 1987 volume. The text is substantially the same: aspects of the period are illuminated in a chronological series of mini-biographies of Boadicea, King Arthur, the Sutton Hoo Man, Offa, Alfred the Great, Athelstan, Eric Bloodaxe, Æthelred the Unready and William the Conqueror. Wood discusses recent historiographical trends in a postscript, which also includes a handful of recent references. This is still a very useful survey of the period for the general reader, beautifully written and illustrated.

Paul Cavill published two books in 2001 that addressed very different aspects of pre-Conquest English history. *A Treasury of Anglo-Saxon England: Faith and Wisdom in the Lives of Men and Women, Saints and Kings* (London: HarperCollins) offers thematic chapters on "The World," "Men and Women," "The Home," "Wisdom," alongside sections on some key figures, "Bede," "Cuthbert," "Saints," "Martyrs," and "Ælfric and Wulfstan." Cavill offers an accessible text with an emphasis upon spirituality intended, presumably, for a general readership. In the words of its back cover, this volume presents an image of Anglo-Saxon England as "an age of peace and plenty when Roman order combined with Celtic vigour to create a strong-minded yet warm-hearted attitude to life." The book's content, however, presents a somewhat less rosy view of the pre-Conquest past. Peace and plenty are certainly less prevalent in Cavill's companion volume, *Vikings: Fear and Faith in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: HarperCollins). Despite the title, the emphasis here lies more with Anglo-Saxon matters than with Vikings from the eighth through the eleventh centuries. With the *Treasury* it shares an emphasis upon

providing translations; here an eclectic ninety-eight-page section of "Texts in Translation" that range from the Alfred-Guthrum treaty to extracts from the *Dream of the Rood*, Abbo's Life of King Edmund, and the writings of Ælfric. In a comparable vein, Sophie Casagnes-Brouquet's *Histoire de l'Angleterre médiévale*, Collections Synthèse et Histoire (Paris: Ophrys) provides a general introduction to English medieval history, including the pre-Conquest period. Francophone readers wanting an up-to-date treatment of Anglo-Saxon history to the end of the ninth century would be much better served by Philippe Depreux's far more sophisticated *Les sociétés occidentales du milieu du VI<sup>e</sup> siècle à la fin du IX<sup>e</sup> siècle* (Rennes: Presse Universitaire de Rennes, 2002).

*New Offerings, Ancient Treasures. Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, edited by Paul Binski and William Noel (Stroud: Sutton), is a collection in honor of a scholar whose work is familiar to readers of this *Newsletter*. Two contributions in particular deserve attention. In "After Bede," her Jarrow Lecture of 1960, Dorothy Whitelock explored the early interest in relics of Bede; primarily interested in the circulation of Bede's writings, Whitelock was content to note that within several decades of his death his cult was well established. In "Bede's Bones," (165–186), Richard N. Bailey tells a less straightforward tale. He presents us with a cult that was energetically promoted within a short time after Bede's death, seeing Cuthbert as its leading promoter: "His well-known description of his master's death, and his promise of a fuller description of Bede's life, should be read as an immediate Jarrow response to the demand for a *Vita*." If the early steps of the cult's development were assured, later ones faltered. The reason for this, Bailey suggests, lies in the lack of a capable impresario in the wake of Cuthbert's death. Bailey notes Bede's absence from eighth- and ninth-century liturgical calendars, concluding that wide recognition of Bede's sanctity was not forthcoming, even within Northumbria itself. The comparable absence of references in martyrologies and lists of saints' resting places tells a similar tale. If the ninth century was a difficult time for the fledgling cult, the tenth was better, as Bede finally became established as a presence in the community of the saints and in the calendars that orchestrated their remembrance. That popularity, informed by a scholarly interest in Bede's writings, continued across the Conquest. From an overview of Bede's cult Bailey turns to the translation of his relics to Durham in the first half of the eleventh century, defending Symeon of Durham's account against Benedicta Ward's recent criticisms. Bailey also considers southern foundations' claims to possess Bedan relics,



including Salisbury, Glastonbury, and Waltham. The latter's claim, at least, Bailey finds plausible. The fate of Bede's bones is traced from the early twelfth century through the Reformation to the nineteenth-century exhumation and subsequent re-interment of the bones. The image of a figure whose sanctity Bede himself recorded, Ninian, forms the subject of John Higgett's "From Bede to Rabelais or How St Ninian Got his Chain" (187–209). Discussion of late medieval accounts of pilgrimages to Whithorn, notably James IV's, altar furnishings, sculpture, and seal imagery all fall within Higgett's purview. The majority of fifteenth- and sixteenth-century depictions of Ninian show him with chains or fetters. However, there are—Higgett notes—no references to Ninian chained in either his eighth-century *Miracula* or the twelfth-century *Vita*. Why is Ninian depicted in chains? Higgett finds the explanation of this iconographic element in the fact that, by the late fourteenth century, Ninian had acquired a reputation as a saint with a penchant for escape or rescue miracles. Situating this interest in rescue miracles against a backdrop of civil unrest Higgett finds parallels between the cult of Ninian and those of St. Martial of Limoges and Charles of Blois, and resonances between Ninian and St. Leonard. Higgett also traces Ninian's emergence as a national saint, both in Scotland and amongst expatriate Scots communities.

Another important collection of essays appeared this year. Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr edited *Mercia: An Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* (Studies in the Early History of Europe. New York and London: Leicester UP), the primary focus of which is the material culture of the kingdom and its historical and cultural contexts. The collection is divided into five sections: The Mercian Polity: Church and State, Parallel Cultures, The Material Culture of Mercia, The Visual Culture of Mercia, and Mercia in Retreat. The twelve essays reviewed here draw from all but the section on visual culture. The volume opens with Barbara Yorke's essay, "The Origins of Mercia" (13–22), which explores the creation of Mercian memory in the writings of Gildas, Bede and in the *Vita S. Guthlaci*. Yorke argues that identity was an abstract concept in this period, and that while Mercia eventually became a territorial unit, early Mercians were simply those who recognized the authority of Mercian kings. Peter Featherstone's re-examination of the date, purpose and provenance of the Tribal Hidage follows in "The Tribal Hidage and the Ealdormen of Mercia" (23–34). Through a detailed analysis of the manuscript tradition as well as the document's contents, Featherstone concludes that it was not originally a tribute list, and therefore a witness to Mercian hegemony, but "a

catalogue of kingdoms and principalities, some of which boasted their own royal lines, assessed in figures that were symbolic of relative status." He ultimately reaffirms a Mercian provenance against Nicholas Brooks's suggestion of a Northumbrian one, and a late ninth-century date based on material as early as the late seventh. This is followed by Pauline Stafford's "Political Women in Mercia, Eighth to Early Tenth Centuries" (35–49). Here Stafford masterfully builds a case for the adoption by Offa of a strategy of "full and legitimate marriage" to ensure direct succession, one result of which was to elevate Mercian queens to unprecedented public prominence most often visible in charters and witness lists but in coins and other public symbols as well. Exploiting the narrative, diplomatic and numismatic evidence, Stafford argues that the power of Æthelflæd, the last Mercian queen, was built on a century and a half of female royal power "rooted in family, household and inheritance and in control of monastic lands as well as perhaps in warfare and defense." The final essay under review from the first section is David Parsons, "The Mercian Church: Archaeology and Topography" (51–68), a dense but informative survey of what can be known of the early church in the lands controlled by Mercia. Parsons begins by acknowledging the dearth of early church fabric, which makes it necessary to rely on artifactual, topographical, documentary and hagiographical evidence until the late seventh century. The 'transitional' period is explored in a survey of grave goods, such as helmets, pendants and boxes all featuring mixed pagan and Christian messages. Parsons then exploits topographical, documentary and hagiographical evidence for inferences to early Mercian religious houses. An example is the Oxfordshire manor of Adderbury, which was in royal and episcopal hands in 1086. The surviving church is thirteenth century, but Parsons argues it was once an early Mercian religious house based on its association with the Mercian princess and patron, Eadburh. The essay concludes with a description of the physical remains, and what may be inferred from them, from Mercian churches at Brixworth (Northamptonshire), Cirencester Abbey (Gloucestershire), Wing (Buckinghamshire), and Deerhurst (Gloucestershire). Part II, "Parallel Cultures," opens with T.M. Charles-Edwards's essay, "Wales and Mercia, 613–918" (89–105). Charles-Edwards attempts to evaluate the relationship between Wales and Mercia from the seventh through ninth centuries, a task made considerably more difficult by the evidentiary black hole for the period 679 to 825. It is clear that Mercian alliances with Welsh kings in the seventh century had helped thwart Northumbrian ambitions south of the Humber, and that Mercian hegemony over the Welsh

was solid in the ninth century, but Charles-Edwards describes two equally plausible scenarios for the intervening period. In "The Verturian Hegemony: A Mirror in the North" (106–11), Alex Woolf finds interesting parallels between the Pictish polity of Fortriu and Mercia, both of whose *imperia* emerged out of their struggle with the Bernicians in the seventh century. Like the Mercians, the Verturians were destroyed by the Vikings and virtually slipped from historical memory because they produced no indigenous narratives. Edel Bhreathnach takes a similar approach in "Abbesses, Minor Dynasties and Kings in *clericatu*: Perspectives in Ireland, 700–850" (113–25) by comparing attributes in common to both Mercia and Ireland in this period. These include the cultivation of the church of Kildare as a symbol of royal authority, disturbances among population groups, and the retirement of kings to monasteries. Section two concludes with Janet Nelson's essay, "Carolingian Contacts" (126–43). Nelson begins by setting the context for contact, considering the similarities and differences between Mercia and Francia in the eighth and ninth centuries. The most significant difference, she notes, is that the Mercians created a state *ex nihilo*, while the Franks benefited from existing Roman institutions, in particular the Christian Church. The remainder of the essay examines the evidence for contact between Charlemagne and Offa, in particular letters, to dispel previous historians' suggestions that they were equals. In Nelson's words, "the idea of an equal relationship between these two rulers, or between their realms, is a mirage that would have deceived no eighth- or ninth-century viewer." Two essays are from Part III, "The Material Culture of Mercia." Alan Vince's "The Growth of Market Centres and Towns in the Area of the Mercian Hegemony" (183–93) assesses the state of urban archaeology in the lands that once belonged to the Mercians. In the absence of evidence, Vince takes us through possible scenarios, such as finding Mercian town origins in religious sites, high-status secular estates, riverine trading settlements, inland towns, and rural markets and fairs, all plausible models. Ultimately, however, Vince concludes that at the present time, Mercian towns shown to have existed in the documentary record from the tenth century onward cannot be verified archaeologically to have existed in the seventh, eighth, or ninth. Mercia's principle trading center in this period, it turns out, was London. Robert Cowie takes us through the evidence, mostly archaeological, in "Mercian London" (194–209) for Middle Saxon *Lundenwic*, an extramural settlement in the area around the Strand and Covent Garden, which flourished from the second half of the seventh century to the mid ninth. A survey of the evidence for its major

features, including infrastructure, buildings, food supply and industry, gives some sense of the emporium's economic character at its height under Mercian control. Cowie presents several possible reasons why *Lundenwic* ceased to exist after the mid ninth century, including Viking activity, a series of major fires, and changes in the tidal regime that resulted in flooding. Gareth Williams begins his survey of "Military Institutions and Royal Power" (295–309) with a review of the main schools of thought on Anglo-Saxon military organization, from the great fyrd of free peasants, to the smaller aristocrat armies, to the combined "select" and "great" fyrds. Mercia is then placed into Frankish context where the ability of the king to raise armies often depended on whether the conflict was defensive or offensive in nature. Although he admits the scale and degree of standardization of the Mercian military establishment cannot be calculated, Williams believes aggressive warfare was limited in Mercia, as it was in Francia, to a relatively small elite. Simon Keynes's contribution, "Mercia and Wessex in the Ninth Century" (310–28), which concludes the volume, attempts "to account for the decline of Mercia and the ascendancy of Wessex." Based primarily on an analysis of charters, Keynes shows how royal succession was never as stable in Mercia as it was in Wessex, nor was the administrative structure as evident. While he argues both were effective in times of relative peace, Wessex's dynastic stability and administrative structure made it better able to handle adversity, particularly in the form of the Vikings.

*Germania Latina IV, Germanic Texts and Latin Models; Medieval Reconstructions*, ed. Karin Olsen, Antonina Harbus, and Tette Hofstra (Paris, Leuven, and Sterling, VA: Peeters) contains two papers of note. In the characteristically titled "The Administration of Law in Anglo-Saxon England: Ideals formulated by the Bible, Einhard and Hincmar of Rheims—but no formal Mirror of Princes" (53–71), Eric G. Stanley explores the scriptural background to several aspects of Alfredian law. Stanley begins with a comparison of the wording of the introduction of Alfred's laws with the original scriptural passages upon which they were based, revisiting and developing Liebermann's classic observations on Alfred and Mosaic law. He moves on to an illuminating discussion of the Fonthill Letter's striking image of Alfred washing his hands while passing judgment, exploring parallels (Einhard's depiction of Charlemagne, Pilate) and concluding that it shows a ruler unable to settle a dispute between "virtually ungovernable nobles of the highest rank," a revealing—albeit non-contemporary—sidelight on the limits of Alfred's coercive power, and an evocation of a

Biblical type rather different to the ones usually associated with Alfredian kingship. (In this respect, Stanley's paper sounds a somewhat dissonant counterpoint to Discenza's reading of the Alfredian political "imaginary"). Jennifer Neville, "History, Poetry and 'National Identity'" (107–26), deploys familiar notions of an "imagined community" in her discussion of the strategies by which collective identities were created and mobilized in the early Middle Ages, whether through origin myths, genealogies, or poetry. As much as it speaks to an established historiography on the creation of ethnicities, Neville's article also offers some observations on the applicability of modern notions of national identity to early medieval cultures, and some insightful observations on both *The Battle of Brunanburh* and the *Chronicle's* poem on the death of Edward the Elder.

Deborah Mauskopf Deliyannis, "Year-Dates in the Early Middle Ages" (*Time in the Medieval World*, ed. M. Ormrod and Chris Humphreys [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: York Medieval Press], 5–22), sets out straightforwardly how several early medieval authors thought about chronology and dating and offers an admirably lucid introduction to the complexities of early medieval dating systems and their political implications. Howard Williams's contribution to the same volume, "Death, Memory and Time: A Consideration of the Mortuary Practices at Sutton Hoo" (35–71), is a meditation upon the issues of remembrance and forgetting that brings to Anglo-Saxon archaeology interpretive models and approaches drawn from anthropological studies of Melanesia, Madagascar, eastern India, and even expatriate Ukrainian communities in the twentieth-century USA, together with an infusion of recent developments drawn from that ever-growing field of history, "memory studies." Finally arriving in Suffolk, Williams argues that in Sutton Hoo "we can identify in the archaeological evidence ... a complex series of relationships between the mortuary practices and the promotion of a distinctive form of social memory." He discusses Sutton Hoo's place in the wider landscape and topography's role in the creation of social memory, offering some thoughtful insights on the monument. Williams's reflections upon cremation as a social process, and the implications of the gradual assembly of grave goods, shed imaginative light upon the burial process, as do his more speculative suggestions of the burial's possible associations with a wider, mythical, past. The paper closes with a discussion of the later, bizarre, execution burials at Sutton Hoo that have also been the subject of recent work by Andrew Reynolds. Williams argues that such burials need to be understood in terms of

the memories the original burials themselves created. This paper veers into the speculative, but the issues it addresses are important.

Elizabeth Okasha's self-explanatory "Anglo-Saxon Women: The Evidence from Inscriptions" (*Romans, Rimes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent*, ed. J. Higgitt, K. Forsyth and David N. Parsons [Donington: Shaun Tyas], 79–88) explores the sparse number of female names in the pre-Conquest epigraphic record. Okasha concludes that women are disproportionately underrepresented in the extant monuments, and that there is a marked lack of evidence for women commissioning objects to be made, manufacturing items themselves, or being cited indirectly in an inscription—an interesting comparison with the evidence of female-commissioned inscriptions from Scandinavia and parts of the Celtic world. The culture evoked in the epigraphic record, she concludes, "is one where male interests were paramount and where women and their roles were drawn and delimited through male eyes and from a male perspective."

In "The Transformation of Kinship and the Family in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*Early Med. Europe* 10: 375–99), Andrew Wareham examines five aristocratic wills and the prologue of the *Chronicle of Æthelweard* to determine what light they shed on changing kinship values in late Anglo-Saxon England. As Wareham points out, aristocrats on the continent began to place more value on descent through the male line to preserve their patrimonies in a period of disintegrating public order, but a similar process in England in the second half of the tenth century cannot be attributed to systemic political instability. Instead, Wareham argues, changes in gift-giving patterns over time indicate that new royal and monastic ideologies were responsible for the shift in emphasis from bilateral to agnatic kinship strategies. After c. 990, "the male-oriented ideologies of the Benedictine reform movement encouraged testators to rely increasingly upon kinsmen at the expense of kinswomen in creating extended circles of spiritual salvation." If Wareham is correct, one of the most significant social changes in medieval European history can be traced, at least in England, to the discomfort of reformed Benedictine monks with female impurity.

Pauline Stafford's "Review Article: Parents and Children in the Early Middle Ages" (*EME* 10: 257–71) is ostensibly a review of Sally Crawford's *Childhood in Anglo-Saxon England* (Stroud: Sutton, 1999), Katrien Heene's *The Legacy of Paradise: Marriage,*

*Motherhood and Women in Carolingian Edifying Literature* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 1997) and Marcelle Thiébaux's edition and translation, *Dhuoda, Handbook for her Warrior Son. Liber Manualis* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1998). It is, however, less about the books than the broader narratives and paradigms within which the history of medieval parenting and childhood have been studied (i.e. Aries and Stone) and the problems of defining categories. Stafford does explore, to some degree, how conceptions of motherhood and fatherhood are shaped in the monographs, but her concern is really to point out avenues of further research, such as the significance of monastic ideas about childhood. Anyone about to take the plunge into these difficult topics will surely find much of value here, particularly in terms of recent theory and historiography.

Yoshiko Morimoto's "Pour une étude à l'échelle européenne: A propos d'un ouvrage récent sur la formation du manoir anglais" (*Rev. Belge de philologie et d'histoire* 77: 1079–99) is a review, in French, of Rosamond Faith's *The English Peasantry and the Growth of Lordship* (Leicester: Leicester UP, 1997), and was reviewed in last year's volume of *YWOES*.

Among reference works, one of the most useful for Anglo-Saxonists is Simon Keynes's *Anglo-Saxon England: A Bibliographical Handbook for Students of Anglo-Saxon History* (Cambridge: Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic). This update of the 1998 guide (now available on the internet) is a "comprehensive guide to the primary source material (texts, translations, etc.)" composed of "sections of reading arranged chronologically and thematically, incorporating general advice where appropriate or necessary." The comments that generally precede each section are as valuable as the list of references that follow. Readers should note, however, that the revised 2003 edition is now available through the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge; for information, consult the department's website, <http://www.asnc.cam.ac.uk/Publications.htm>.

John France's "Recent Writing on Medieval Warfare: From the Fall of Rome to c. 1300" (*Jnl of Military History* 65: 441–73) is a surprisingly comprehensive historiographical essay, which will remain the starting point for research in medieval military history for years to come. Beginning with the Roman world, France summarizes the classic arguments before presenting subsequent challenges, and even some in the making, always leaving the reader with a sense of how theories have been received in general. Although his approach

is chronological, France also includes thematic topics such as lordship, feudalism, and technology. This article is a significant addition to the medievalist's reference library, both for teaching and research.

Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing have produced in *Double Agents: Women and Clerical Culture in Anglo-Saxon England* (Philadelphia: U of Pennsylvania) a difficult and quirky work of feminist theory whose central conceit is that although the Anglo-Saxon woman lived in the "real world," she can only be glimpsed in "that penumbral, nether world to which she is relegated by clerical culture." This need not be fatal, though, they argue, because patristic discourse can and should be opened up to feminist methodology, which is what the book attempts to do. Their sources are primarily Bede, Asser, Aldhelm, riddles, charters, and hagiography (though not in chronological order, because they "resist any premature use of a developmental model"), and they do show the agency of women in the production of literary culture, despite the best efforts of the patriarchy. I have no difficulty believing that this book will break new ground in gender theory, as it seems the Anglo-Saxon period has been largely ignored by theorists. But this was not an easy read; take the authors at their word when they write "we deliberately move between dense theoretical formulation and its colloquial demystification."

In "'Nation' and the Gaze of the Other in Eighth-Century Northumbria" (*Comparative Literature* 53: 1–26), Uppinder Mehan and David Townsend have produced not an article but an extended conversation between the two authors about Bede's episode of "the beautiful white boys" and how it can be read as post-colonial discourse in the context of other postcolonial discourses.

Tom Beaumont James has compiled summaries of archeological finds both professional and amateur in "Medieval Britain and Ireland in 2000" (*Med. Archaeology* 45: 233–379). The bulletin opens with reports from the Castle Studies Group, the Finds Research Group, the Medieval Pottery Research Group, and the Medieval Settlement Research Group. Under the aegis of the Portable Antiquities Scheme are notices of medieval artifacts found in 2000 in England and Wales that were required to be turned over to the authorities, as well as relevant tables, maps, and figures. The third section consists of 563 brief reports of archeological investigations of medieval sites in Britain and Ireland carried out in 2000. These are prefaced by indices organized first by whether a site is from before or after the Norman Conquest, and then by the type of site

(e.g., brochs, buildings, burials) or artifact (e.g., amber, bone/antler, ceramic).

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

Mark A. Handley proposes an interesting revision of our understanding of Romano-British Christianity in "The Origins of Christian Commemoration in Late Antique Britain" (*EME* 10: 177–99). A group of some 250 Christian inscriptions, mostly epitaphs, from Western Britain, he asserts, are not post-Roman at all but late fourth century in origin. The argument is based on significant similarities he finds, heretofore apparently ignored, in content and distribution between these stones and stones found throughout North Africa, Italy, and Spain, as well as Gaul, in this earlier period. The implications are important; simply put, "fourth and fifth-century Britain may have been more Christian than has usually been accepted."

Answering the question "Were there British Bishops at the Council of Serdica, AD 343?" (*Peritia* 15: 188–94) in the negative, Richard Sharpe reviews the three Greek passages taken as evidence that British bishops attended the Council, and concludes that no British bishops were present. Athanasius's inclusion of Britain among the provinces ratifying the Council's position was most likely rhetorical. That is, Athanasius made the extent of his support seem greater than it was by attributing support to all the provinces of the imperial dioceses of Italy, Spain, and Gaul, regardless of whether each one had actually ratified the Serdican canons.

Harald Kleinschmidt's contribution to the identity issue, "Nomens and gens: The Germanic Settlement in Britain and the Genesis of the English" (*Archives: The Jnl of the British Records Assoc.* 26: 97–111) is a complicated but important article on the problem of the emergence of identity in post-migration Britain. Kleinschmidt traces the establishment of the *stirps regiae* (ruling dynasty) in Kent, associated with Oisc, to the early sixth century, noting possible affiliation of this dynasty with the Ostrogothic Amals. But he stresses the existence of aristocrats of different identities, some Romano-British and some continental, in Kent at the same time. Because it took several generations for the gap to widen between the ruling dynasty and the aristocracy, "collective identity began to form only after the end of migration." In East Anglia, the evidence is less forthcoming, but Kleinschmidt suggests the migration process began as early as the fifth century and occurred over more than three generations. As a result, large numbers of collective identities are

discernible, the most successful of which was the ruling dynasty of the Anglian Wuffingas, who gave their name to East Anglia. The remainder of the article considers how the term *gens* was redefined after c. 700 to mean land and people rather than descent group, as kings sought to further distinguish themselves from aristocrats spatially and symbolically. When Bede wrote of the *gens Anglorum*, Kleinschmidt argues, he was using *gens* to denote all Christianized migrants from the continent, and *Anglorum* to refer to the one ruling dynasty that could in fact trace its origins back to Woden, which seems to have mattered a great deal to the Northumbrian monk.

Keith J. Matthews raises the perennial question of what happened to the Britons between 350 and 650; were they extirpated from the lowlands and replaced by an Anglo-Saxon population? "What's in a name? Britons, Angles, ethnicity and material culture from the fourth to seventh centuries" (*Heroic Age* 4: n.p., online) suggests that neither the model of mass migration nor the model of small-scale military activity adequately explains the observed changes in the material culture. After noting that early medieval historiography depicts the end of Roman rule in England as a discrete event or series of events, whereas the archaeological record shows a process of gradual change, Matthews reviews two of the unsolved mysteries of the *adventus Saxonum*. The names of some of the prominent figures of the period are unusual (e.g., Hengist and Horsa ['Mare' and 'Stallion'] seem mythological, and the "Saxon" leader Cerdic and his descendents have Celtic names), and Bede's ethnography of Englishness seems influenced more by imperial rhetoric than by vernacular reality. Turning to the relationship between ethnicity and material culture, Matthews cites John Hines's view that objects that are north German in style need not have been used by people who considered themselves "Angles." The use of material culture in fifth- and sixth-century Britain was a means of establishing and reinforcing ethnic identity at a time of political crisis and social fragmentation. Transmission of the new material culture would often be via those on the social peripheries. Matthews suggests that the apparently ethnospecific material culture of the migration period may turn out not to be ethnospecific at all but is instead expressive of changes in taste and the collapse of British manufacturing industries. Modern individuals often have several "ethnic" affiliations on which to draw in different circumstances, and individuals of different ethnicities partake of the same material culture; Matthews concludes that ethnic identity must be regarded as performative. While political instability was the norm, individuals will

have found it expedient or necessary to retain a variety of allegiances, and pots and brooches may be incapable of indicating the complexity of the situation.

Opening with a tribute to Kathleen Hughes, David N. Dumville's lecture on *Saint David of Wales* (Kathleen Hughes Memorial Lectures on Mediaeval Welsh History 1; [Cambridge: Hughes Hall and the Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic]) reviews the life, church, and cult of St. David of Wales (died c. 600) and focuses on the earliest sources rather than the hagiography of David, which dates from centuries after his death. The early sources include the correspondence between Gildas and Uinniau, which gives part of the monastic rule of David and which corroborates the account of the rule given in one of the later *vitae*. There are also four short texts of sixth-century British origin that are associated with David, including "Some Excerpts from a Book of David." After discussing the ethos of Davidic monasticism revealed by these materials, Dumville turns to the ninth-century evidence suggesting that the church of St. David's was then a family-corporation of hereditary character; he also considers the criticism of the churches of David and their bishops at this time. The subject of the cults of David's holy parents provides an interesting digression that leads into a brief review of the cult-site of David at Mynyw and its bishops, stressing events such as Viking attacks. Noting that before the Norman era, David was a saint of southwestern Wales and not of all Wales, Dumville concludes with two theories about how David was retrospectively made an archbishop and thus became the prime candidate for patron saint of his country.

Helen Fulton's purpose in "Tenth-century Wales and *Armes Prydein*" (*Trans. of the Hon. Soc. of Cymmrodorion* n.s. 7: 5–18) is to identify the historical context for the composition of the tenth-century Welsh poem, *Armes Prydein*, which prophesies the expulsion of the English from all of Britain at the hands of Welsh armies. Using evidence in charters, Asser, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Fulton argues for its composition in the pre-Viking period, when English kings sought and gained Welsh submission in the form of tribute, taxes and military assistance, a situation the poet found objectionable. The context for the poet's call to arms, Fulton believes, was the death of Hywel Dda, whose rule had symbolized Welsh submission to the English, and the inspiration was probably the emergence of Scandinavian Northumbria. In some ways, however, the poem is an elegy to a dead king, and is as much a reflection of the social and political disruption that often takes place on the death of strong leader as a realistic call to arms.

In "The 'Moray Question' and the Kingship of Alba in the Tenth and Eleventh Centuries" (*Scottish Historical Review* 79: 145–64), Alex Woolf questions whether Muréb and Alba were, as current orthodoxy apparently holds, two separate kingdoms in the tenth and eleventh centuries. Using Anglo-Saxon, Irish and Scottish chronicles, Woolf shows that there is no evidence for a separate kingdom of Muréb until the later eleventh century. Instead, he argues, there was only one king of Alba for the entire area, but that the right to claim this title was challenged at any given time by two rival dynasties in the north and south, which accounts for historians' confusion.

Vera Orschel provides a discursive study of "Mag nEó na Sacsan: an English Colony in Ireland in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries" (*Peritia* 15: 81–107) from its origins in Northumbria through its first 150 years. She considers the background of the monastery's foundation and the close relationship between English and Irish churches before turning to Mag nEó ("Mayo of the Saxons") itself. The lack of sources does not permit a continuous history, so Orschel reviews the information regarding the few figures that the extant sources associate with the monastery, such as St. Gerald, abbot of Mag nEó (d. 732), and she argues that Ecgberct of Ráith Melsigi, who in 716–717 achieved the conversion of the church of Iona to the Latin Easter, probably had little to do with Mag nEó's adoption of Latin Easter, Bede to the contrary. Orschel notes the serious differences that arose between the English and Irish churches in the late eighth century, as well as the conflicts between Irish and English missionaries on the Continent. There is more information from the end of the eighth century: Alcuin lavished praise on Mag nEó; there was a fire, rebuilding, and the erection of an unusual stone cross; and the names of three of the bishops of Mag nEó are preserved. Some questions, such as whether Mag nEó had any attached churches or cells, cannot be answered, but it can be asserted that the monastery was not under the metropolitan jurisdiction of York. The rest of Mag nEó's pre-Norman history is obscure, as there are few sources mentioning it between the ninth century and the loss of its bishopric in the eleventh century.

In "The Death of Hywel Dda: A Note" (*Welsh History Review* 20: 743–749), David E. Thornton uses the evidence of King Hywel's name in the witness list of an unpublished Anglo-Saxon royal charter from Barking Abbey, Essex, to establish that Hywel was still alive in 950. (The earliest Welsh sources giving the date of his death are not reliable, for their use of a Paschal cycle means that the calendar year in which an event took

place cannot always be determined precisely unless it is known whether the event took place before or after Easter.) This dating also establishes the unreliability of the documents in the *Liber Landauensis* that imply that Hywel was still alive in the mid-950s or later.

Although "The Creation of the Bangor Cathedral Chapter" (*Welsh History Review* 20: 167–81) concentrates on the post-Conquest period, it does provide some information of interest to our readers. As a prelude to arguing that a capitular system was introduced at Bangor Cathedral between 1177 and 1215, Matthew J. Pearson examines the ecclesiastical situation at Bangor before the Normans arrived. It appears that much of the history of pre-Norman Bangor and its clergy is equivocal at best. Like many churches in early medieval Wales, Bangor was a *clas*, an ecclesiastical community headed by an abbot or bishop. A *clas* was usually a mother church of a district and a center of political and ecclesiastical importance. There are few references to the Bangor *clas*. Its supposed founder and patron saint, Deiniol, is thought to have died in 584. Around 768, an "archbishop" named Elfoddw or Elfodd oversaw the Welsh adoption of the Roman practice of observing Easter. Various medieval sources mention Bangor, but these are texts meant to establish St. David's as a metropolitan power and hence are not reliable. Accurate reference to the cathedral and its chapter became frequent only in the late eleventh century.

### c. Missions and Early Kingdoms to 800

Gregory the Great's shadow was a long one in the early Middle Ages. There are few places where it fell so heavily, or was so well-acknowledged, as in Anglo-Saxon England. That "special relationship" is the subject of a number of papers in *Rome and the North: The Early Reception of Gregory the Great in Germanic Europe*, *Mediaevalia Groningana* 4, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr, Kees Dekker, and David F. Johnson (Paris, Leuven, and Sterling, VA: Peeters). However, one of the admirable features of the volume is its editors' stated wish to investigate the impact of Gregory's thought in north-western Europe as a whole. Thus, Old Norse, Middle Dutch and Frisian texts all come under investigation here, and students of cross-Channel connections will doubtless find much of direct interest in both Andrew Cole's "Jewish Apocrypha and Christian Epistemologies of the Fall: The *Dialogi* of Gregory the Great and the Old Saxon *Genesis*" (157–188), and Brian Murdoch's discussion of "Using the *Moralia*: Gregory the Great in Early Medieval German" (189–206). Gregory's image comes under as much scrutiny

as his thought. The volume opens with Kate Rambridge's sensitive reading of the Whitby Life of Gregory, "*Doctor Noster Sanctus: The Northumbrians and Pope Gregory*" (1–26). Rambridge analyzes the way in which the Life's author drew upon Gregory's own writings to construct not only the "details" of his life, but also the notion of sanctity that it sought to enshrine. Rambridge deftly reconstructs the processes by which the text was fashioned, and sheds some new light upon the intellectual climate of seventh-century Whitby. In "Gregory and the Anglo-Saxons on Dreaming" (93–113), Malcolm Godden returns to a subject he has explored elsewhere: the inner life of early England's inhabitants. Beginning with a discussion of chapter nine of the *Libellus Responsionum*, and the concerns expressed there over nocturnal emissions, Godden moves on to discuss Gregory's own conceptions of culpability, volition, and sin. Responding to arguments about the *Libellus*'s authenticity—and in particular Rob Meens's argument that the presence of questions of ritual purity in the *Libellus* is best explained as a response to the concerns of Irish-educated Anglo-Saxon converts—Godden explores the evidence for such concerns in that foundational text for western monasticism, Cassian's *Conferences*, arguing that substantial resonances exist between the concerns of Cassian and the contents of the *Libellus*. Reflection upon the contents of the *Libellus*'s ninth chapter leads Godden to a further, vital observation: "One begins to suspect," he writes, "that the *Libellus* is in part at least a fictional work, using the situation of the mission to create a dialogue form, in imitation of both Cassian's conferences and Gregory's own dialogues, a work in which a surprisingly ignorant Augustine asks questions, like Peter the deacon in the *Dialogi*, and a rather superior Gregory gives the answers." In the final section of this rich paper Godden shifts his attention from dreams of pollution to ones of prophecy, considering both Wæferth's treatment of dreams in the "Alfredian" translation of the *Dialogi* and their treatment by Ælfric in his life of St. Swithin. Staying with the world of Alfred, in "The Influence of Gregory the Great on the Alfredian Social Imaginary" (67–81), Nicole Guenther Discenza discusses Alfred's notion of leadership, and its debt to Gregory's thought, in particular the *Regula pastoralis*. Discenza's discussions of the place of humility and prayer in Alfred's thought are insightful, as, too, are her discussions of biblical models in Alfredian political thought. An important contribution of this study is Discenza's treatment of how Alfred's notions of rulership sought to shape the ways in which members of the wider political community conceived of their place in that community and the demands it placed upon them. Tracing attitudes to rule found in the

Alfredian translations leads Discenza to conclude that: "the Alfredian texts present leadership as a responsibility bestowed by God so that one may help others, not oneself—even at personal risk." Recent years have seen early medieval Rome begin to play as central a place in the thoughts of many Anglo-Saxon historians as it did in the thoughts of many of the figures they study. In "Gregory and Damasus: Two Popes and Anglo-Saxon England" (137–56), Patrizia Lendinara explores the early English attitudes towards Gregory and his predecessor Damasus. Seeking an explanation for the popularity both he and his verse *tituli* enjoyed in Anglo-Saxon England, Lendinara finds an answer in the high esteem in which Gregory himself held this fourth-century impresario of Rome's martyr cults. She argues that Damasus's epigrams were introduced into England in the seventh century, where they found a particularly appreciative reader in Aldhelm. She goes on to trace Damasus's reputation over subsequent centuries and offers a sustained consideration of the manuscripts of Milred of Worcester's *Sylloge* and related collections of epigrams, both Anglo-Saxon and continental, including the *Anthologia Isidoriana*.

In "Saxon Bishop and Celtic King: Interactions between Aldhelm of Wessex and Geraint of Dumnonia" (*Heroic Age* 4: n.p., online), Martin Grimmer sets out to shed some light on a dimly lit period of English history, the late seventh and early eighth centuries, and an even more obscure place, the border between Wessex and the British kingdom of the southwest, by considering anew three pieces of evidence for contact between a bishop of the former and a king of the latter. These include a letter from Aldhelm informing the king of the decisions of the Council of Hertford (primarily regarding the calculation of Easter and the proper method of tonsuring), a passing reference in an Aldhelm text to a visit he made to the kingdom, and the (late) record of a grant of five hides in Cornwall by King Geraint to the see of Sherborne. Where most sources, medieval and modern, present interaction between early Anglo-Saxon and Celtic kingdoms as necessarily aggressive, Grimmer argues these sources are evidence of civility and diplomacy, venturing even to suggest that Aldhelm played a significant role in maintaining peace on the border.

A substantial part of Ian Wood's excellent *The Missionary Life: Saints and the Evangelisation of Europe 400-1050* (Harlow: Longman) is devoted to Anglo-Saxon missionary activities and the texts that celebrate them. Under the title "The Anglo-Saxons and their Legacy" (55–141) Wood discusses both the key participants and the core texts of missionary activity

from Bede to the later ninth century. In *The Missionary Life* Wood has produced a rich and sophisticated study that will surely become the standard text for early medieval missionary hagiography. Throughout he skillfully balances the close reading of texts with the analysis of politics. Wood charts the development of missionary ideology and the Anglo-Saxon contribution to that development and gives a dynamic sense of the changing character of mission in the eighth and ninth centuries. In his handling of texts, Wood delineates influences upon, and models for, missionary hagiography, addressing questions of audience and reception, and tracking the changing depictions of key missionary figures over time.

"Church and Lay Society in Anglo-Saxon Britain: Northumbria and its Neighbours before and After 634/635 AD," in Doris Edel's collection *The Celtic West and Europe: Studies in Celtic Literature and the Early Irish Church* (Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press, 137–52), is an English-language translation of a paper given at a conference on Willibrord in Nijmegen in 1989, and published in Dutch the following year. Drawing upon Bede and Welsh poetry Edel offers a narrative of early seventh-century Northumbrian politics that, overall, adds little, but does place the events within a wider insular context.

Julia Crick's "Offa, Ælfric and the Refoundation of St Albans" (*Alban and St Albans: Roman and Medieval Architecture, Art and Archaeology*, ed. Martin Henig and P. Lindley [Leeds: British Archaeological Association and Maney Publications], 78–84) revisits the pre-Conquest traditions of Offa's patronage of St. Albans best known through the accounts of Matthew Paris and Roger of Wendover. Crick focuses upon a cluster of Æthelredian charters that purport to restore grants originally made by Offa and a number of later eleventh-century forgeries that also bear his name. She concludes that Ælfric and Leofric were instrumental in securing royal support for St. Albans, and in overseeing endowments, in a fashion comparable to the form of monastic promotion found elsewhere during the Benedictine reform. This tenth-century patronage does not fully explain how the monastery survived before, Crick notes. It is not unlikely, she concludes, that in the century before the Conquest St. Albans relied upon endowments that predated its refoundation, nor impossible that these acquisitions were even, as later traditions claimed, eighth century.

Rejecting the need to find any "lost" stretches of Offa's Dyke, David Hill ("Offa's Dyke: Pattern and Purpose," *Antiquaries Jul* 80 [2000]: 195–206) reviews



earlier assessments of the Dyke and reports on the findings of Manchester University's "Offa's Dyke Project." Hill offers important correctives to these earlier treatments, most notably in his argument for detaching Wat's Dyke and the so-called Short Dykes from Offa's Dyke proper. Hill makes the case for the Dyke describing only the frontier between "the possible kingdom" of Powys and Mercia rather than the entire border between the English and the Welsh. North, he argues, the frontier ran between Gwynydd, whilst south the border divided Ercing and Gwent. The great strength of this argument is, as Hill rightly notes, that it "follows the evidence on the ground and has let the argument move from 'explaining away' the gaps to interpreting the evidence."

Although "Oswald and the Irish" (*Heroic Age* 4: n.p., online) appears under the rubric "History by Biography," it is not a strict biography of King Oswald of Bernicia (r. 634/5–642). Instead, Michelle Ziegler explores various events in his life that were associated with the Irish kingdom of Dalriada. Ziegler begins with Oswald's childhood: when Oswald's father Æthelfrith was slain in 616, Oswald and his siblings were given refuge by King Eochaid mac Aedan of Dalriada, whose father Æthelfrith had defeated in 604. Oswald and his siblings remained in Dalriada for seventeen years and converted to Christianity there. Ziegler makes a number of suggestions about his relations with the Dalriadans during this period: he may have fought in their army, he may have been fostered by Eochaid, he may have been Eochaid's godson, and he may have married into Eochaid's family. Ziegler then looks at Oswald's accession to the throne of Bernicia after the Battle of Denisesburn and argues that a portion of his army consisted of Dalriadan troops. After a digression on Oswald's Christianity, Ziegler examines some events of 637 that may be further evidence of the connection between Oswald and the Irish. According to Irish legend, Saxons fought in the Battle of Mag Rath in alliance with Dalriada, and Ziegler argues that Oswald intervened after the battle to prevent Dalriada from becoming subordinate to the Ui Neill. The same year saw the birth of Oswald's nephew Flann Fina (Aldfrith), whom Irish genealogies claim was the son of an Irish woman. Oswald's rule saw the promotion of Christianity in Bernicia, and Ziegler investigates the role of the Irish in these developments, both as regards Oswald's gift of the island of Lindisfarne to the Irish bishop Aidan and the mission of the Irish pilgrim bishop Fursa in East Anglia. The relationship between Dalriada and Bernicia continued after Oswald's death, as Ziegler shows in her detailed discussion of Domnall Brecc and Oswald's successor Oswiu.

Asking not whether a genealogy is accurate but whether it is plausible, Craig Partridge examines "The Ancestry of Ine, King of Wessex" (*The Genealogist* 15: 80–98), who ruled from 688 to 726 and who traced his line back to Cerdic, the legendary founder of Wessex. Partridge reviews the manuscript tradition, the major versions of the genealogy, the corroborating texts, and factors that establish plausibility, such as how much of the genealogy would have been in living memory in Ine's later years (when the genealogy is believed to have been written down) and whether the lengths of the generations and the life spans are credible. After considering the influence of conventions such as alliterating names and the models of biblical, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish genealogies, Partridge concludes that the genealogy from Ine back to Ceolwald is accurate and that Cuðwulf probably belongs in the genealogy, but that the exact relationship between Ceawlin, Cynric, Creoda, and Cerdic cannot yet be established.

Ray Gibbs's *Ine: The First King of Wessex* (Felinfach: Llanerch Publ., 2000) is a short, popular history of the period and the founder of the West Saxon royal dynasty.

In "Seventh-Century Northumbria and a Poem" (*Northern History* 38: 145–52), Andrew C. Breeze draws attention to a fifty-line fragment of a Welsh poem about King Cadwallon of Gwynedd (d. 634). Although David Dumville has suggested that this work is a later forgery, Breeze argues on historical and linguistic grounds that it is genuine, written on the eve of Cadwallon's invasion of Northumbria in 634. The interest of this poem for historians of England lies in its portrait of Northumbria's conqueror, its information about Cadwallon's strategy, and its references to places of military significance in seventh-century Britain. Breeze reviews what we know about Cadwallon, gives the poem's editorial history, supplies the first English translation of it, and briefly comments on points of interest, for example correcting an earlier editor's identification of "Caradog's fort." (It is Caradog in Herefordshire, not a hillcamp in Shropshire.)

#### d. Ninth Century and Scandinavian Invasions and Settlements

In "Wealth and Wisdom: Symbolic Capital and the Ruler in the Translation Program of Alfred the Great" (*Exemplaria* 13: 433–67), Nicole Guenther Discenza explores the linkage of wealth and wisdom in Alfred's thought in an analysis that draws upon Boethius, Gregory the Great and Pierre Bourdieu. In the course of her discussion Discenza touches upon literacy's

role in the accumulation of cultural capital, and offers some valuable insights to the image of the ruler as teacher, concluding that "Alfred's prefaces and translations attempted to revalue wisdom and wealth, making 'wisdom' a commodity whose worth the Anglo-Saxons could recognize as easily as they recognized the value of gold."

"A Copy of the Will of Alfred the Great in Dublin, MS 574," (*Manuscripta* 42 [1998]: 116–21), by Michael Terry, draws attention to an early modern copy of Alfred's will ("Testamentum Alfredi et Athelwoldi") in Dublin Trinity College MS 574. Terry traces the manuscript's history, and argues that the Dublin copy belongs to the family of texts that descend from the variant version of the Will found in the late fourteenth or early fifteenth-century manuscript cartulary of Hyde Abbey. Terry offers possible candidates for the copyist's identity, and offers some commentary on the immediate exemplar from which the text was drawn.

David Pratt's "The Illnesses of King Alfred the Great" (*ASE* 30: 39–90) is the latest in a series of studies that tries to contextualize Alfred's unusual piety. Pratt begins by exploring in some detail the Carolingian character of Alfred's piety in the light of recent studies by Janet Nelson and others. While finding parallels, Pratt argues that English conditions were different enough to suggest that other influences shaped Alfred's piety, the most significant of which, he posits, were his illnesses. Based on Asser's text, Pratt believes that the king suffered first, as an adolescent, from hemorrhoids, and then as an adult from Crohn's disease, a debilitating and recurring stomach and bowel disorder. Both of these, he admits, are modern diagnoses. In any case, Pratt goes on to explore the connection between sin, in particular sexual sin, and illness in Alfred's texts, arguing that Alfred's physical suffering must be placed in the context of other hardships he endured as king, including the difficulty of keeping his own people on the same page militarily. In other words, Alfred, Pratt argues, takes his share of responsibility for the Viking attacks on account of his own sin, but then challenges the English to assume their share by acting collectively with him. In Pratt's words, "to express sympathy for the king in his pain was to confirm a wider commitment to Alfred's own political agenda." When all is said and done, Pratt's argument, though clever, is built on very circumstantial evidence, and his Alfred is a bit too rhetorically cunning for my tastes. (For a different reading of the same material, see an article reviewed above in section 5, Matthew Kempshall's "No Bishop, No King: The Ministerial Ideology of Kingship and Asser's *Res Gestae*

*Aelfredi*"). Like Pratt, Kempshall looks at the construction of sin and physical suffering in Alfred's texts and Asser's *vita*, but he does not find any overt political message in them. Rather, he finds, on the one hand, a more straightforward sympathy with the theology of Gregory the Great, and, on the other, a more personal reflection on kingship directed by Asser to the king himself, not to his followers.

A volume of papers from the Thirteenth Viking Congress in 1997 is *Vikings and the Danelaw*, edited by James Graham-Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch and David N. Parsons (Oxford: Oxbow Books). Katherine Holman opens the volume with "Defining the Danelaw" (1–11), a caution against using the term 'Danelaw' too narrowly. Dawn Hadley follows up in "In Search of the Vikings: The Problems and the Possibilities of Interdisciplinary Approaches" (13–30) with a review of what traditional sources and approaches have not been able to tell us about Danish settlement. While she provides no answers, Hadley suggests historians think interdisciplinarily in the future in order to get away from "tired old questions upon which discussion of the Scandinavian settlement has far too long floundered." In "The Conversion of the Danelaw" (31–44), Lesley Abrams revisits the question of the impact of Viking settlement on Christianity in ninth and tenth-century England. Abrams rejects at the outset the minimalist view given the disappearance, in some cases forever, of a handful of episcopal sees, as well as the destruction of episcopal and monastic archives and libraries. She does note, however, that the situation was more complex than analysis of written sources alone reflects, offering as examples the issuance of coins bearing images of St. Peter and St. Martin in Viking Northumbria and Lincoln, respectively, and the burial of the Viking king Guthred at York Cathedral in 895. Like Hadley, Abrams calls for new, interdisciplinary approaches to solve old questions, but she has clearly done some of the advance work here. Martin and Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle's "Repton and the 'Great Heathen Army,' 873–4" (45–96) shows very graphically the impact of the Vikings on one Anglo-Saxon monastery, Repton in Derbyshire. The fieldwork supervised by the Biddles and Dr. H.M. Taylor from 1974–1993 demonstrates how the Vikings tore up the monastic precinct, including cemeteries, to construct a fortified earthwork ditch to enclose their winter camp, and destroyed the church itself as well as a likely royal mausoleum to build a memorial to a dead Viking leader. The monastery never recovered; after the Vikings departed it became a minster church. Copiously illustrated with photographs, figures, maps and drawings, there is much of interest in this very

readable survey, especially the discussion of the burial mound excavated from 1980-6. Located outside the enclosure, this mass grave was once a small mortuary chapel, cut down to ground level to accommodate the remains of at least 264 people, most of whom had been buried elsewhere, dug up and reburied around a central grave, perhaps on top of members of the Mercian royal family already buried there. Working through the documentary sources, the Biddles make a convincing case that the central grave once contained the bones of Ragnar Lothbrok, who led the army from 865-870. Richard Hall, in "Anglo-Scandinavian Urban Development in the East Midlands" (143-55), rehearses the evidence for occupation and activity at the five borough sites of Leicester, Lincoln, Nottingham, Stamford, and Derby, as well as other sites like Torksey and Newark. Although evidence is patchy, Hall suggests that each was already a site of some regional secular and/or ecclesiastical importance before the arrival of the Vikings, but that the impetus for what might be considered actual "urban development" (i.e. mints and industry) may have been provided by Viking armies. Alan Vince considers the impact of the Vikings on one town in "Lincoln in the Viking Age" (157-79). Based on archaeological and topographical evidence, Vince illuminates three stages of development: the first, an early Viking age settlement of the late ninth century, which expanded in the early to mid tenth century with elements of extensive trade, followed by a third phase of more aggressive central planning either in the late Anglo-Saxon or early Anglo-Norman period. In "Finding the Vikings: The Search for Anglo-Scandinavian Settlement in the Northern Danelaw" (269-77), Julian D. Richards argues the Vikings may have used particular burial practices, including mound burials, human and animals sacrifices, ship burials, and the appropriation of previously Christian burial sites to visibly assert political dominance in the landscape. Richards begins by tracing these practices elsewhere before considering English examples at Repton and Ingelby. The former, as we have seen, was a Christian monastic site situated on a hill, a site which the Vikings appropriated for a mound burial that would have been a visible symbol, Hall argues, of the conquest of Mercia. Ingelby, which was just four kilometers southeast of Repton, reflects a different impulse. Here a more traditional burial practice of cremation with animal sacrifice may have reflected dissent within the Scandinavian ranks. Richards admits, however, that both of these interpretations are highly speculative.

Inspired by an unusual tenth-century comparison of an Icelandic woman to a ship in full sail, Judith Jesch surveys the field for other associations between

"Women and ships in the Viking World" (*Northern Studies* 36: 49-68). She finds little linguistic evidence for a close symbolic connection between women and ships in or after the Viking Age. For example, not a single skaldic stanza mentions a war-leader taking his wife along on a sea-borne military expedition. Sagas about the events of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries occasionally mention women travelling by sea, and runic merchant labels found in Bergen, Norway, show that some women were engaged in trade there. Jesch notes that Viking-Age ships were so shallow that all passengers had to sleep on the open deck, but by the mid-thirteenth century, some ships were big enough to have berths or small cabins below deck, although we do not know exactly what these ships looked like.

In "Hákon Adalsteins fóstri: Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Kingship in Tenth-Century Norway" (*The North Sea World in the Middle Ages. Studies in the Cultural History of North-Western Europe*, ed. Thomas R. Liska and Lorna E.M. Walker [Dublin and Portland, OR: Four Courts Press], 108-26), Gareth Williams sifts the sources of the late twelfth and early thirteenth-century Kings' Sagas for evidence for the reign of Hákon 'the Good.' He carefully assesses the evidence for Hákon's fostering by Athelstan, attested by a number of Scandinavian sources, and Hákon's endeavors to spread Christianity through Norway, by drawing not only upon the Glastonbury obit lists adduced by earlier commentators, but also upon recent archaeological finds of possible Christian cemeteries on the island of Veøy in Romsdal to support his reconstruction. Throughout Williams sets out to pursue the links between "lawmaking, Christian kingship, and Anglo-Saxon influence," the latter perhaps including the appropriation by Hákon of the Anglo-Saxon ship-soke to his native kingdom. Those who are unmoved by the possibilities of using such late sources for the reconstruction of tenth-century history will not be convinced, but Williams's approach is sober and cautious throughout.

Robert Worth Frank Jr., "Shrine Rivalry in the North Sea World" (230-42), addresses what he terms the "reportorial character" of late twelfth-century accounts of miracles at three shrines, Cuthbert's at Durham, Godric's at Finchale and Thomas Becket's at Canterbury. Frank argues that their "provision of density of detail ... seems to go beyond the doctrinal function of the miracle itself." He finds this over-egging of the hagiographic pudding best explained through the need of shrines, often in direct competition with others, to offer believable accounts to the audience of potential devotees.

Brian Smith gives an emphatic “yes” to the question he raises in “The Picts and the Martyrs or Did Vikings Kill the Native Population of Orkney and Shetland?” (*Northern Studies* 36: 7–32). Determined to find the most rational explanation for the scanty facts known, he takes a stand against those historians and archaeologists who hold that the Picts survived the Norse invasion of their islands. The arguments involving religion and language he considers untenable; he feels that the evidence points to interruption, not continuity. Smith deals with the archaeological evidence by pointing out that the survival of native artifacts does not prove the survival of the natives. Arguing that there is no reason to think that the Vikings regarded Pictish churchmen and their property any differently than they did monks and treasure elsewhere, he concludes that the Picts were wiped out by the invaders, possibly starting in 794, when the Annals of Ulster record “the devastation of all the islands of Britain by the heathen.”

Colmán Etchingham’s essay on “North Wales, Ireland and the Isles: the Insular Viking Zone” (*Peritia* 15: 145–87) is extensive, detailed, and—it must be said—extremely speculative. Examining the political dimension of Viking activities around the Irish Sea and in the Scottish Western and Northern Isles in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Etchingham argues that Scandinavian involvement in the political affairs of these areas (North Wales included) can be seen as early as the late tenth century. He proposes that the two eleventh-century Norwegian royal expeditions into this area (by Magnús Haraldsson in 1058 and by Magnús Berfætr in 1098–1103) were not opportunistic but instead point to Viking settlements in North Wales. In addition, the Dublin Viking dynasty seems to have had a stronghold in Gwynedd in the earlier eleventh century, into which their factional struggles sometimes overflowed. Etchingham concludes this section by reviewing the impact of Knútr’s regime in Wales, Dublin, and the Scottish Isles. Moving to the ninth and earlier tenth centuries, he draws in the evidence of archaeological finds in Anglesey that include Hiberno-Norse items, and he suggests that the ninth-century refortifications are the work of Vikings, not defenses against them. The evidence of the Irish annals regarding Óláfr Guðrøðsson and his sons is marshalled in support of the conjecture that after their abortive assault on Dublin in 961/962, they naturally chose North Wales as their next target. In the succeeding decades, two Viking brothers from the Scottish Isles, the sons of a certain Haraldr, raided in Ireland, Wales, and Man, and apparently created a power base strong enough for their sons and even a grandson to exploit. Finally, Etchingham reviews the reference to Irish speakers in

Anglesey in the prophetic poem *Armes Prydein Vawr*. Arguing that the poem dates from the tenth century, he suggests that it alludes to an Irish overlordship in Anglesey that arose from Irish political influence in Dublin and the Isles.

Jessica Bäcklund, “War or Peace? The relations between the Picts and the Norse in Orkney,” (*Northern Studies* 36: 33–47), attempts to address the issue of Pictish-Scandinavian interaction in early medieval Orkney. She begins with an investigation of Pictish and Norse “land administration” based upon the exploitation of late medieval land rentals and ends with a “hypothetical comparison between possible corresponding Pictish and Norse land units in Orkney.” Questions of language change and the epigraphic and archaeological evidence for Scandinavian settlement come under brief scrutiny, as does genetic evidence. “To some Picts the Scandinavians probably constituted a threat, but to others a golden opportunity” concludes Bäcklund at the close of this speculative piece.

Sivert Flottum, “The Norse *Vika Sjøvar* and the Nautical Mile” (*The Mariner’s Mirror* 87: 390–405), brings firsthand knowledge of sailing in Scandinavia to bear in his discussion of the matter of Ohthere’s account of the distances travelled in his voyages preserved in the Old English *Orosius*. Flottum argues that references to *dag* and *dagsiglan* refer not to the actual time spent travelling but rather to notional units of distance, 72 and 75 nautical miles respectively, in a paper that brings in evidence from *Landnámabok*, the sagas, later medieval geographic texts, early printed maps and more recent local knowledge.

In “Lupines, Manganese, and Devilsickness: An Anglo-Saxon Medical Response to Epilepsy” (*Bulletin of the History of Medicine* 75: 91–101), Peter Dendle plausibly explains the prescription of lupine (OE *elehtre*) for “devil-sickness” and “fiend-sickness,” terms which he takes as references to mental illness or epilepsy, by pointing out the lupine’s high manganese content, “an element whose connections with the suppression of epilepsy and seizure activity have been clinically identified.” Ingestion of lupines, therefore, may well have combated the seizures of Anglo-Saxon epileptics. Dendle’s argument is well-grounded and persuasive.

Nicholas Howe, “An Angle on this Earth: Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England” (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Library of Manchester* 82 [2000]: 3–27), traces the themes of physical remoteness, textual descriptions of space, and the *mappamundi* in Cotton

Tiberius B.v. He relates the text to a larger interest in the world predicated upon the Anglo-Saxon predilection for the monstrous and discusses it in terms of the other texts in the MS, many of which betray a strong interest in geography, travel, and Rome. Boundary clauses, the use of vernacular and Latin in charters, and the OE poem *Durham* all feature in Howe's discussion of the ways in which Anglo-Saxons conceived and constructed their sense of place.

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

In Oxford in 1986 a conference of international scholars convened to discuss the achievements of Charlemagne's heir, Louis the Pious. Was he, as some had characterized him, "Des Großen Kaisers kleiner Sohn"? In April 1999 the University of Manchester's Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies hosted a similarly international convergence, with a similar purpose in mind: to reassess the legacy and achievements of the son of another "great father": Alfred. The papers given there are collected in *Edward the Elder, 899-924*, ed. Nicholas Higham and David Hill (London and New York: Routledge). That Edward the Elder remains a more shadowy figure than Louis the Pious can scarcely be the fault of the contributors to this volume, who analyze the full range of evidence for Edward's reign, material and textual, with commendable rigor. The silences and spaces in the historical record remain, though, and in a characteristic paper James Campbell, who has more than once reminded Anglo-Saxon historians to be sensitive to what has been lost, addresses directly the question of "What is not known about the reign of Edward the Elder" (12-24). Passing judgment on the slender sources that survive ("They, like most of our sources, are not much more than signposts for speculation") Campbell teases out the implications of Edward's laws, coinage and record-keeping, placing them against a backdrop of Carolingian practice, and drawing attention to the possible implications of East Anglian toponymy ("The place names of Flegg may well stand for an unknown major event in the history of East Anglia"). In closing, Campbell offers some important observations on the rising of Edward's cousin, Æthelwold, and the base of his power, offering a powerful image of Edward's emergence as the undisputed ruler as rather more of a "close run thing" than many have given it credit for being (including some of the other contributors to this volume). The problem of sources is one that Nick Higham addresses directly in his introductory chapter on "Edward the Elder's Reputation" (1-11), which argues that the silence of the sources for Edward's reign speaks of something important: Edward, unlike his father—and, for that matter,

Louis the Pious—was relatively secure as a ruler and, as a consequence, had little need for the props of historical writing and political "spin" to support his rule. Higham surveys Edward's image in English history from the Conquest to Charles Dickens, as well as his (non)impact upon the historical record of the wider world. Barbara Yorke's "Edward as Ætheling" (25-39) opens with a note of caution about the limits of the evidence, before proceeding to explore Edward's naming, childhood, education, and the methods by which Alfred sought to maximize the chances of a successful transfer of power to his son. In this York introduces a theme tackled by a number of other contributors: the political strategies by which power and resources were marshalled and sustained in the later ninth and earlier tenth century. One of the key issues in any discussion of Edward's reign must be the relationship of Wessex and Mercia, and in "Edward, King of the Anglo-Saxons" (40-66), Simon Keynes counters the view that in the early tenth century Edward succeeded Alfred as King of the West Saxons, only gradually extending his power over an effectively independent Mercia. Rather, Keynes argues, "we must give Edward his due as the second 'king of the Anglo-Saxons,' and set aside the notion, once and for all, that Edward was a 'king of Wessex' who imposed his authority by stages over the last independent rulers of the Mercians." Keynes also addresses one of the most startling lacks of sources for the reign, a gap that several contributors also address directly: the absence of any extant charters between 910 and 924. Other papers are less polemical. Stewart Lyon ("The Coinage of Edward the Elder," 67-78) provides an overview to the coinage evidence of the reign, but concludes gloomily: "There is little we can say about the use of coin in Edward's reign." One theme, West Saxon dynastic marriage, is common to the contributions of both Sheila Sharp ("The West Saxon tradition of dynastic marriage with special reference to Edward the Elder," 79-88) and Alex Woolf ("View From the West: An Irish Perspective on West Saxon Dynastic Practice," 89-101). Sharp explores Edward's sequence of marriages, setting their specific political implications in the wider context of West Saxon/English royal marriages from the mid-ninth century to the Conquest, helpfully tabulating all West Saxon and English royal marriages. She draws attention to the uncanonical character of some Anglo-Saxon political marriages, but it is in Alex Woolf's paper that this issue takes center stage. Here, however, the backdrop for such unions is not the broader canvas of later Anglo-Saxon history but rather contemporary Irish political practice. Woolf traces these in some depth, exploring some possible parallels between Irish and Anglo-Saxon political life. Turning to the evidence

of a number of ninth-century continental letters critical of Anglo-Saxon propensity for marriage within kindred, Woolf suggests that uncanonical intermarriage strategies were practiced by the ruling families of Anglo-Saxon England no less than their Irish neighbors. In one of a number of papers that engage with the archaeological record of Edward's reign Carolyn Heighway's "Gloucester and the New Minster of St Oswald" (102–11) discusses St. Oswald's Priory and offers comparisons not only with other contemporary Saxon buildings, including Edward's own new Minster at Winchester, but also with contemporary Carolingian churches. Heighway musters the art historical evidence for royal patronage and the church's links to the royal hall of Kingsholm to its north and concludes with a discussion of St. Oswald's as a royal mausoleum, the resting place of both Æthelred and Æthelflæd and the translated bones of Oswald himself, brought from Bardney in 909. Maggie Bailey's "Ælfwynn, Second Lady of the Mercians" (112–127) examines the brief moment when Ælfwynn was a presence on the Mercian political scene, before her effective neutralization by her uncle Edward. Bailey suggests that Ælfwynn may have spent time in Worcester, an inference drawn in part from her presence as third life on the lease by Wærferth and the community of Worcester of land in the area to Æthelred and Æthelflæd in 904 (S 1280). She argues also for Ælfwynn's presence in the witness lists of S 367 and S 225. Bailey dexterously interweaves a hypothetical reconstruction of Ælfwynn's early years with the extant evidence, and offers a number of valuable insights into the larger issue of grants made to royal women in the first half of the tenth century. In "Edward the Elder's Danelaw" (128–43), Lesley Abrams tackles the problem of shifting definitions of the Danelaw before moving on to consider Edward's relationship with its rulers, a subject that leads her to consider the forms of political structures within Scandinavian England from the 860s onwards, and the role ethnically English inhabitants played within them. Abrams addresses the thorny matter of the survival and political role of the Church under Scandinavian dominance, and in particular the activities of the archbishops of York in the period c. 873x931. Her discussion is marked throughout by an admirable sensitivity to regional difference within the Danelaw territories and a reluctance to generalize. Regional issues are also the subject of "The Shiring of Mercia—Again" (144–159), in which David Hill summarizes the state of thought on the Mercian shires, revisiting his own earlier studies of the subject, on a shire-by-shire basis. Simon Ward, "Edward the Elder and the Reestablishment of Chester" (160–6), presents the evidence for that city's reemergence into the historical record in

the wake of its refoundation as a *burh* by Æthelflæd in 907. He offers a number of possibilities for the lines of its defenses and synthesizes recent archaeological work within the city. David Griffiths's "The North-West Frontier" (167–87) concentrates primarily upon the Dee and Mersey basin, discussing the Mersey Valley *burhs* of Chester, Eddisbury, Runcorn, Thelwall, Manchester, and Rhuddlan (*Cledemutha*). Griffiths offers insights to their place in the political, military and economic map of northern England and argues that these defenses ought to be seen less as defensive measures against North Sea Vikings than as part of a longer term expansion of Mercian authority into north Wales and the need to control conflict along the Welsh border. Moving east across the Pennines, Richard Hall's "A Kingdom too Far: York in the Early Tenth Century" (188–99) provides a valuable précis of York's complex internal politics in the early decades of the tenth century, its relations with the West Saxon royal house, and the economic importance of the city. Hall also offers a summary of recent thinking on York's pre-Conquest layout. Moving from city to country, Hall touches upon the placename and sculptural evidence for Scandinavian settlement in East Yorkshire and reviews the state of settlement archaeology over the last few decades, the findings of which lead Hall to observe that, "within Edward the Elder's lifetime, in the late ninth and early tenth centuries, fundamental changes to the settlement pattern were happening within the hinterland of York." York's political relationships—rather than its population or economy—are among the concern of Michael R. Davidson, "The (Non) Submission of the Northern Kings in 920" (200–11). Davidson reviews earlier assessments of the meeting at Bakewell recorded in the *Chronicle* A 920 between Edward and the northern rulers, and discusses other evidence for the political events of the 910s, placing the 920 meeting within the context of the political gains made by Edward in lowland Britain and Røgnald in the kingdom of York. Skeptical of an interpretation of the 920 meeting as a pan-British recognition of Edwardian supremacy, Davidson questions not only whether it actually happened but also whether, if it did, other participants might have seen the event, and its political message, rather differently to the English. In "The Northern Hoards From Cuerdale to Bossall/Flaxton" (212–229), James Graham-Campbell places the Cuerdale hoard in the broader context of other silver hoards from northern England in the early tenth century. The number of depositions and the frequency with which they went unrecovered speaks of not insubstantial social instability in northern England. Alexander Rumble ("Edward the Elder and the Churches of Winchester and Wessex," 230–47) explores

Edward's relationship to the minsters of Winchester and the evidence for his reorganization of the West Saxon dioceses. Rumble offers a close reading and accompanying translations of a number of documents key to these topics in a rigorous paper. Alan Thacker ("Dynastic Monasteries and Family Cults: Edward the Elder's Sainted Kindred," 248–263), begins by noting a case of West Saxon exceptionalism: the absence, to any appreciable degree, of the kinds of royal cults and the dynastic shrine-monasteries that played so important a part of the religious topography of other kingdoms in the earlier centuries of English Christianity. Thacker moves on to offer an insightful assessment of Alfred's patronage of the Church. The need to see Alfred in a Carolingian context has become almost axiomatic since the 1980s, but here a telling note of dissent is sounded by Thacker in his treatment of Alfred's apparent lack of interest in the cultivation of cults: "The contrast with the Carolingians, and their great interest in obtaining martyr relics, could scarcely be more marked." Thacker sees many of Alfred's attitudes carried into Edward's reign and emphasizes that in the New Minster Edward sought to establish a royal dynastic monastery of the type found in Northumbria or Mercia, but one that lacked a royal saint as its focus. Not until Æthelstan's reign, with its far deeper interest in relics and royal cults, is this distinctly West Saxon pattern broken. Thacker's paper closes with appraisals of the emergence of the cults of three members of the West Saxon royal house: Edith of Polesworth, Ælfgifu at Shaftesbury, and Eadburh of Winchester. These developments, he argues, ought to be seen as part of the gradual shift from West Saxon to English kingship. Patrick Wormald's "On *þa Wæpnedhealf*: Kingship and Royal Property from Æthelwulf to Edward the Elder" (264–79) contains not only insights into Edward's reign, but also into later Anglo-Saxon property law and political behavior as a whole. Reviewing the disposition of property in a number of pre-Edwardian wills, including that of Ealdorman Ælfred, Wormald affirms that most property disposed of by will was bookland. The core of the paper is a sophisticated reading of Æthelwulf and Alfred's wills, the latter revealing a policy intended to limit the dissipation of land holdings, and to concentrate them, where possible, in the hands of the "weapon-holding," politically engaged, inner circle. Once again the gaps in the extant evidence are addressed as Wormald reads Edward's "charter-freeze" of the 910s onwards in the light of such strategies of caution and conservation. Wormald's paper brings to the fore a theme present in a number of other contributions: the clear-minded control and exploitation of resources by both Alfred and Edward in their attempt to maintain and consolidate their

political positions. Wealth of a different form is the subject of the volume's final paper, Elizabeth Coatsworth's "The Embroideries from the Tomb of St Cuthbert" (292–306). While many of the papers in this volume stress the lack of evidence for the period Coatsworth reveals that in the case of textiles—dateable "as conclusively as these things ever can be" to the reign of Edward the Elder—we are well served. Placing the Cuthbert fabrics within a wider continental context Coatsworth's paper gives some small, but telling, insight into the wealth and display of West Saxon power in the early tenth century. For a volume in which the problem of evidence is so recurrent a theme, Coatsworth ends on a positive note: "If we remember," she concludes, writing of the Cuthbert fabrics, that "this was a royal gift from a royal workshop, then perhaps we have something more exciting than another piece of church embroidery—the only surviving piece of royal secular dress from Anglo-Saxon England, and from the age of Edward the Elder."

Two consecutive articles in *Early Medieval Europe* discuss a curious episode in tenth-century political history, the submission of eight kings of Wales, Scotland, and Scandinavia to King Edgar at Chester shortly before his coronation in 973. What makes it curious is that Edgar purportedly commanded these eight kings to row him up and down the River Dee in a grand act of submission not, it should be noted, so described in pre-Conquest sources. Only post-Conquest sources, principally William of Malmesbury and John Worcester record the royal regatta, while the pre-Conquest sources record only the submission, not even naming the kings. David E. Thornton's "Edgar and the Eight Kings, AD 973: *textus et dramatis personae*" (*EME* 10: 49–79) provides a detailed analysis of the textual evidence, both pre- and post-Conquest, arguing convincingly that the twelfth-century sources reflect a "deliberately nautical embellishment and expansion" of the relatively terse pre-Conquest records. They are, in short, plays on words to fit a naval setting. To Thornton's mind, the entire context was misrepresented, perhaps deliberately, to bolster Edgar's image. He suggests the meeting was more of a peace summit between relative equals to stabilize border relations. In "Chester's Earliest Regatta? Edgar's Dee-Rowing Revisited" (*EME* 10: 81–93), Julia Barrow picks up where Thornton ends by looking for broader contexts for the episode. She finds Roman and Frankish parallels for peace meetings that took place in boats in the middle of rivers dividing the territories of relative equals. Chester, she asserts, would have been a logical, less contested meeting place than other rivers for the kings described in the later texts. The elaboration of

the incident she credits to Edgar's Benedictine apologists, who must have been challenged by the surprising dearth of information about the king's reign in contemporary sources to create a grander image for their patron.

Mary Frances Smith, Robin Fleming, and Patricia Halpin's "Court and Piety in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*Catholic Historical Review* 87: 569–602) comprises three, interrelated sections, "Episcopal Piety," "The Piety of the Earls," and "Women and Piety." The authors pinpoint the lack of sympathy that many historians have shown towards non-monastic modes of late Anglo-Saxon religious life (Dorothy Bethurum's 1963 article on "Episcopal Magnificence" is seen as a rare, and praiseworthy, exception to this). Throughout this provoking paper, piety is repeatedly linked with wealth and opulent display, as all three authors evoke the importance of generosity in the conduct of ecclesiastical politics, the centrality of the patronage of skilled artists and craftsmen, the material opportunities opened by international contacts and, above all, the central role played by gift-giving and display in the last century of the Anglo-Saxon church's life. The image Smith, Fleming, and Halpin offer of the Anglo-Saxon Church has deep resonances with Karl Leyser's portrayal of the ornamented and appearance-obsessed world of the Ottonian church and its prelates. Above all, they succeed in presenting a sympathetic and convincing image of the aristocratic and wealth-driven world of bishops and the nobility, in the process touching upon the importance of canons in the eleventh-century church and offering important insights into, *inter alia*, the place of the cross in eleventh-century devotional life, female spirituality, and late Anglo-Saxon attitudes to the relationship of wealth and faith.

*Anglo-Norman Studies* 23, edited by John Gillingham (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), contains a number of papers that offer sophisticated analyses of the later Anglo-Saxon political culture. The R. Allen Brown Memorial Lecture delivered by Robin Fleming, "The New Wealth, the New Rich and the New Political Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (1–22), is an engaging, and highly convincing, portrayal of the ostentatious and socially anxious world of the late Anglo-Saxon nobility. The dry data of bone assemblages is animated, field-systems decoded, and a range of texts, from *Gebýncðo*'s rulings on social mobility to Domesday Book, subtly interrogated in order to illuminate what Fleming would see as the very particular culture of England on the Conquest's eve. The result is a visceral image of late Anglo-Saxon England as a place of social ambition and status negotiation, of

lapdogs, prodigious feasts of porpoise and roe deer, cloth-of-gold hangings and impractical clothing. Perhaps above all, Fleming reveals it as a place of ambition and deep insecurity. She traces the foundations that supported this glittering surface, in the process framing some of the values and modes of behavior that animated late Anglo-Saxon politics. The implications of economic change, the widening monetization of later Anglo-Saxon society, and the fissures it opened between those who could participate in the cash-rich and commodity-orientated economy and those who could not, are addressed in masterly fashion. Fleming explains what distinguished the world of the Godwines from that which it succeeded, the "old style politics" of the tenth century, and goes some way to offering a portrait of the final form of the aristocratic culture that met its end on Senlac. Similar themes are explored in Christine Senecal's "Keeping up with the Godwine-sons: In Pursuit of Aristocratic Status in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (251–66). Senecal addresses the relationship of local power to royal authority, arguing that substantial numbers of powerful figures existed across the later Anglo-Saxon landscape who, like Eadric of Laxfield ("a man who held great tracts of land and commanded the loyalty of hundreds of men, and yet who never, so far as we can tell, attested a royal charter") had little in the way of formal relationship with the ruler. Senecal also offers observations upon the character of the late Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, its culture of display, and social mobility, but her primary concern is with the local theaters of thegnly power, rather than the royal court. Like Fleming, Senecal engages with the phenomenon of "cultural trickledown," and the ways in which patterns of display and conduct initiated by the royal house were taken up by those further down the social scale.

Late Anglo-Saxon power is also the subject of "The Earls of Mercia and Their Commended Men in the Mid Eleventh Century" (23–46) by Stephen Baxter. In this paper Baxter sets himself the task of exploring the political relations of Leofric and his commended men, whose identities, holdings and obligations Baxter explores: "I will suggest that it was through retainers such as these that the military and administrative power of late Anglo-Saxon earls became manifest." Baxter explores what the military and administrative responsibilities of such men might have been from the mid-ninth century onwards. He gives particular attention to the Lease of Great Tew (S 1425), discusses the politics of the mid-1050s, and makes the case for the centrality of Oxford to eleventh-century political life. Baxter also offers some insights into both the value of the *Jomsviking Saga* to the politics of the Anglo-Saxon



midlands and Anglo-Welsh relations in the middle years of the eleventh century. Though modestly described by its author as "little more than a few speculative cuts into material I propose to develop at much greater length in due course," Baxter's paper offers rather more. "We should not be afraid to recognize slavery and call it by its true name, even if that means tempering our view of the freedom-loving Anglo-Saxon" is the closing peroration to David Wyatt's "The Significance of Slavery: Alternative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon Slavery" (327–47). Precisely whose affections are indicated by that "our" remains unclear, but Wyatt, in an uneven piece that deals less with the evidence for slavery in Anglo-Saxon England and more with Anglo-Saxonists' attitudes towards it, focuses his attention upon, *inter alia*, Freeman, Green, Maitland, Bloch, Whitelock, Loyn, and David Pelteret.

Don Henson provides in *The English Elite in 1066: Gone but not Forgotten* (Norfolk: David Brown Books) a prosopography of high-ranking English men and women, lay and ecclesiastical, including what is known about them, estimates of their wealth, contemporary evidence, and major modern references. Henson begins with the king and works his way through the earls, bishops, abbots, abbesses, thegns, sheriffs, royal priests and moneyers, including foreign-born English and English exiles. A conclusion pulls together various strands about the nature and geography of power in pre-Conquest England. Although the author packs a great deal of information into the text (and six appendices), this is best geared toward the general reader; researchers will probably want to consult more specialized studies.

#### f. Church, Local and Regional History

One of the great reference works of English ecclesiastical history, *The Heads of Religious Houses, England and Wales, I; 940–1216*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., ed. David Knowles, C.N.L. Brooke, and Vera C.M. London (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), was brought up to date and reissued in 2001. As the title indicates, the book lists and describes what is known about all the heads of religious houses, male and female, from the beginning of Benedictine Reform through the reign of King John. It was an instant classic when it went to press in 1972, but went out of print too quickly. It is thus gratifying that it is finally available to a new generation of scholars, along with Volume II (covering the years 1216–1377). The first 238 pages exactly reproduce the first edition, with only minor corrections. Pages 239–301 contain a corrigenda and addenda to volume I compiled by Christopher Brooke. Most of the

revisions have to do with dates, incorporating recent work on obituary lists, charters, cartularies and other sources. The bibliography is also brought up to date, but only the additional references are printed here. An indispensable work of reference has become even more so, if that is possible.

The publication of two new volumes in the series of Anglo-Saxon charters this year is equally fortuitous. Susan Kelly's edition and discussion of the Abingdon charters in *Charters of Abingdon Abbey, Part I and 2. Anglo-Saxon Charters 7 and 8* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press) is an impressive feat of scholarship. Abingdon's medieval archive was more contrived than most, and Kelly makes admirable sense of it in the introduction, illuminating the ways (and whys) in which the cartularists set about securing the abbey's endowment for posterity. The remainder of the two volumes is then taken up with editions of 151 documents, mostly charters granting or confirming lands and/or privileges, with witness lists, but also writs and some bounds. Kelly's notes that accompany each document are very detailed and cover a range of topics, from issues of authenticity and the identity of beneficiaries and testators, to the meaning of boundary clauses, to name but a few. Sean Miller's edition, *Charters of the New Minster, Winchester, Anglo-Saxon Charters 9* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press) is no less important, although it deals with a much smaller archive, just thirty-four documents. Miller's introduction sets out the history of the abbey and its archive, which includes the wills of kings Alfred and Eadred (analyses of these two documents include useful annotated summaries). Documents are edited and described with the same attention to detail evident in Kelly's edition. It goes without saying that these are now the standard editions of the charters, but the descriptions are worth reading in their own right; gems of all kinds—historiographical, paleographical, codicological, art historical, etc.—are just waiting to be discovered.

Richard Gameson and Henrietta Leyser edited a very fine collection of essays in 2001 entitled *Belief and Culture in the Middle Ages: Studies Presented to Henry Mayr-Harting* (Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press). The first essay reviewed here is by Veronica Ortenberg. Struck by references in Bede and other early English source to virgin ex-queens and royal widows who exercised power, Ortenberg sets out in "Virgin Queens: Abbesses and Power in Early Anglo-Saxon England" (59–68) to explore the construction of virginity in women who were obviously not virgins in a technical sense. Noting first that only virginal queens exercise "good power" in early English sources, Ortenberg looks to ancient and

early Christian ideas about virginity for possible models. While she acknowledges the importance of the Virgin Mary as a model of female sanctity, she suggests that the Vestal Virgins are a closer analogy because they, unlike the Virgin Mary, do exercise power. The idea that a powerful woman has also to be asexual, Ortenberg concludes, has had a remarkably long life. Moving on in time, Patrick Wormald, in "The Strange Affair of the Selsey Bishopric, 953-963" (128-41), suggests solutions for the historiographical problems of a fabricated charter in favor of a mysterious bishop. Both the charter and the bishop appear to belong to the mid-tenth-century see of Selsey. The charter records the restoration by King Eadwig to a Bishop Brihtelm of what seems to be all of Selsey's endowment, which was seized by one Ælfsige. It has puzzled historians partly because it represents tremendous predation, but also because no Bishop Brihtelm appears in Selsey episcopal lists. Wormald very reasonably conjectures that the Ælfsige in question was none other than Bishop Ælfsige of Winchester, and that he had appropriated the see of Selsey and its endowment, intending to shut it down for good. Brihtelm, he proposes, was a royal kinsman who needed a bishopric, and signs charters as bishop-elect. The charter may reflect the informal reconstitution of Selsey by Ælfsige for Brihtelm, probably as a suffragan; he doesn't appear on the list, however, because he only held Selsey briefly before being promoted to Winchester after Ælfsige advanced to Canterbury. This transaction was symbolized at each level with payments: 100 mancuses of gold for the king and the Selsey manor of Pagham for Canterbury. In the process of offering solutions to these puzzles, Wormald exposes some of the intrigue at the courts of the kings and bishops, usually unrecoverable from contemporary sources. On a different note, Eric John revisits in "The Church of Worcester and St Oswald" (142-57) the question of whether Oswald undertook the conversion of Worcester Cathedral into a monastic community in the 960s or if it happened more gradually after his pontificate. The weight of scholarship, following post-Conquest writers such as Eadmer and William of Malmesbury, has tended to favor a more gradual approach. John, however, makes a convincing argument for Oswald's conversion of the cathedral in 964, at the same time Winchester was converted by Æthelwold. He argues against Peter Sawyer, for instance, that the many charters issued by Oswald reflect a mixed community, noting that monks usually advanced to priestly orders and were therefore styled as priests on charters. John further proposes that the record of Edgar's permission to convert the cathedral contained in the *Altitonantis* charter, however problematic, is apparently corroborated by the rededication

of the cathedral to St. Mary in 964, borne out by other charters. The strongest evidence he marshals, however, comes from Worcester itself. John of Worcester certainly thought Oswald converted the cathedral, and the record of a dispute between Bishop Wulfstan and his monks in 1092 over the latter's income reflects both parties' acceptance of Oswald's role in establishing the monastic community, a major part of which included communalizing the church's property. This was, after all, the evidence upon which the monks' victorious case rested. Finally, Kathleen G. Cushing's subject in "Events that Led to Sainthood: Sanctity and the Reformers in the Eleventh Century" (187-96) is not English or pre-Conquest, but might be of interest to our readers. She explores a new model of sanctity promoted in the lives of Ariald of Milan and Anselm of Lucca, both men of action of whose work in favor of the Gregorian reform program earned them reputations for sanctity. These *vitae* are so different from earlier *vitae*, she demonstrates, because they are not so much about the men as they are about the causes they trumpeted.

Three essays from the collection *Monastic Archaeology*, edited by Graham Keevill, Mick Aston and Teresa Hall (Oxford: Oxbow Books) touch on Anglo-Saxon topics. Michael Aston's contribution, "The Expansion of the Monastic and Religious Orders in Europe from the Eleventh Century" (9-36), is a survey of new monastic orders in Europe beginning in the late tenth century with Cluny, Gorze and La Chaise Dieu. The article's real focus, however, is the expansion of monasticism, so the orders it describes in detail are largely late eleventh and twelfth-century developments—houses of hermits, canons, monastic knights, and mendicant friars. A case study of north-eastern England demonstrates the significance of the late twelfth century to the development of new orders; approximately 76% of the monasteries founded in this area in the Middle Ages were founded in this century alone. In "Pieces of Patterns—Archaeological Approaches to Monastic Sites in Oxfordshire" (137-49), Graham Keevill explores the usefulness of sample excavations by considering the state of fieldwork at several monastic sites in Oxfordshire, including St. Frideswide's, Abingdon, and Eynsham. Keevill concludes that while sometimes unavoidable, trial trenches are no substitute for large-scale fieldwork because, among other reasons, they make it too easy for pre-conceived ideas about monastic sites to dominate interpretations. Ian R. Scott's "Romsey Abbey: Benedictine Nunnery and Parish Church" (150-60) explores the relationship between the town of Romsey and the nunnery founded by King Edward the Elder

in 907. Archaeological evidence indicates that a thriving royal estate predated the abbey, and that the town of Romsey grew up along the three main roads leading to the abbey. Because of the nature of the evidence, this collection is mostly concerned with the high and later Middle Ages, but additional essays on food consumption and water management have much to offer interested readers.

In his substantial essay "Dublin and the Reform of the Irish Church in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries" (*Peritia* 14 [2000]: 111–160), Martin Holland traces the complex relationship between the archbishopric of Canterbury and the Irish church, with special attention to the political activities of the diocese of Dublin, which despite its lack of secular power aimed at being a metropolitan see with all Ireland as its province, but under the primacy of Canterbury. Holland argues that the threat from the Canterbury-Dublin alliance and the urging of Muirchertach Ua Briain, king of Munster and of Ireland, brought the hitherto conservative Armagh over to the side of the reformers. This led to the creation of an Irish hierarchical and diocesan structure independent of Canterbury and ultimately to the absorption of Dublin into that structure, to the intense displeasure of Canterbury and contemporary English observers.

In "Changing Fortunes: the Cult of the Virgin in Tenth-Century England" (*Gli studi di mariologia medievale: bilancio storiografico; atti del 1. Convegno Mariologico della Fondazione Ezio Franceschini* (Parma, 7–8 novembre 1997), ed. Clelia Maria Piastra [Firenze: SIS-MEL Edizioni del Galluzzo], 87–96), Mary Clayton addresses the place of Marian devotion in the Benedictine Reform Movement, seeing the heightened devotion to the Virgin in later tenth-century England as a manifestation of the standardization of monastic practice and devotional life. She ascribes the subsequent faltering of Marian cult in reformed houses at the tenth century's close to the failure of a centralized reform movement in the wake of the death of its leading figures. At the root of this failure, Clayton argues, lies the failure of Marian cult to capture the imagination of the laity, partly as the result of a lack of concrete sites of pilgrimage and devotion. Clayton sees the emphasis upon the Cult of the Virgin as a feature that sets the English reform apart from its continental antecedents and a phenomenon that is linked to the increased prestige of the queen at court in the later decades of the tenth century. Clayton traces the cult of the Virgin into the eleventh century, focusing upon the evidence for the cult's place in the liturgy of Winchester, and the homiletic treatment of Mary around

the turn of the millennium, particularly by Ælfric, whose attraction to Marian devotion Clayton sees as vitiated by his concern over the use of apocryphal accounts of Mary's life.

In "Elementi di un 'curriculum' composito in uso ad Abingdon nella prima metà dell'XI secolo (ms. Antwerpen, Museum Plantin-Moretus M. 16.2 + London, B.L., Add. 32246)" (*SM* 3rd ser. 41: 85–117), Loredana Lazzari argues that three Abingdon manuscripts once formed a composite MS that reflected an ambitious program of Latin study in the first half of the eleventh century, a program which harmonized new continental ideas with indigenous English traditions.

In "Ending the Millennium: Eschatology and Orthodoxy in the Late Anglo-Saxon Church" (*Medioevo* 26: 1–23), Leo Carruthers seeks to demonstrate that the eschatological preaching of Ælfric and Wulfstan was consistent with orthodox teachings on the Last Judgment. After defining his terms and setting out early Christian and patristic ideas about the apocalypse and parousia, Carruthers takes the reader through the evidence for millennial anxiety, which he argues was clearly present to some degree, in the later tenth century. The remainder of the article is an examination of the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan, which, while they often invoke the end of the world, never refer to any specific time. Instead, they exhort Christians to live moral lives in a constant state of preparedness, a perfectly orthodox understanding of the apocalypse in spiritual terms. As Carruthers notes, neither writer changed his tone after the turn of the millennium. The end of days was always a real possibility, in other words, and it seemed increasingly likely if the signs were anything to go by, but it had nothing to do with the year 1000.

In "The Office for St Blane (10 August) in the Aberdeen Breviary" (*Innes Rev.* 52: 111–35), Alan Macquarrie explores the evidence for the liturgical remembrance of St. Blane in this sixteenth-century manuscript. Macquarrie examines the early evidence for the cult of St. Blane in a discussion that ranges from early Irish sources to Scottish placenames, and suggests that the evidence for the saint and his miracles in the verse sections of the Office may well have derived from a lost *vita*, perhaps of the tenth or eleventh century, the contents of which he attempts provisionally to recover. Macquarrie offers a tentative reconstruction of the development of the cult and of most interest here, perhaps, some reference to the supposed activities of the saint in northern England. He also provides an edition and translation of the Office.

Philip G. Rusche, "The Laud Herbal Glossary and English-Celtic Contacts: A Reappraisal" (*CMCS* 42: 73–82), reviews Eric P. Hamp's identification of the Welsh and Irish character of a number of plant names given in the twelfth-century Laud Herbal Glossary. Comparing Hamp's "Celtic" entries with the Greek text of Dioscorides's *De Materia Medica*, the text from which a common archetype from which all plant-name glossaries derive, leads Rusche to reidentify several terms seen by Hamp as Celtic as Greek. In his opinion, only one entry, for the modern *Brassica napus* (rape), may have a genuine Welsh derivation. He concludes that the Laud Glossary, rather than illuminating cultural contact between Anglo-Saxon and Celt, instead highlights a debt to Greek thought and reflects a further legacy of Theodore and Hadrian.

In "The Celtic Calendar and the Anglo-Saxon Year" (*Glebensis* 34: 42–4) and "The Celtic Calendar and the English Year" (*English Dance and Song* 63: 1–4), Richard Sermon argues from a brief consideration of written sources that English folk festivals such as Yule, Easter, May Day and Mid Summer are of Anglo-Saxon origin, despite their typical attribution to Celtic influence.

Susan Oosthuizen contributes to the minster debate in "Anglo-Saxon Minsters in South Cambridgeshire" (*Proc. of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.* 90: 49–67) by looking closely at the fate of six minsters established there in the period between 630 and 870. Although she finds that the Vikings had some impact on ecclesiastical organization in south Cambridgeshire, Oosthuizen argues that the evidence for fragmentation of minster estates before and after Viking activity is consistent with the larger process of fragmentation underway across the kingdom in the tenth and eleventh centuries.

The Tom Hassall Lectures for 1998 and 1999 were delivered by Helena Hamerow and John Blair, respectively, and provide an overview of recent work in Oxfordshire archaeology. In "Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire, 400–700" (*Oxoniensia* 64 [2000 for 1999]: 23–38), Hamerow takes the reader through the archaeological evidence for migration and settlement, stating at the outset that there is no evidence for mass migration. Rather, the evidence demonstrates the settlement of a number of 'apex families' from the continent by the end of the fifth century, who established a more or less stable political identity. Burial and settlement in this early period show ranking within kindreds, but not between them. The emergence of high-status burial and settlement came in the late sixth and early seventh centuries with population growth and

increased competition, all of which led to dynastic competition, more stable polities, and longer distance trade. Blair's lecture "Later Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire, 700–1100" (*Oxoniensia* [2001 for 2000]: 1–6) is much shorter, as it only updates his 1994 monograph, *Anglo-Saxon Oxfordshire*. Blair argues, among other things, that recent work in Oxfordshire market towns underscores the likelihood that minsters stimulated urban development.

Susan P. Millinger's aim in "The Anglo-Saxons View of Their Landscape: The Charter Boundaries of Hampshire" (*Medieval Perspectives* 16: 84–103) is to bring us into closer contact with the mind of the Anglo-Saxon peasant by attempting to understand the natural landscape as he or she saw it. Millinger surveys the various words used for natural features, such as hills, valleys, springs, woods, trees, birds and animals, as they appear in the boundary clauses of fifty Hampshire charters written in the reigns of Edward the Elder through Æthelred II. Although Millinger impressively mines the work of Margaret Gelling, Ann Cole and Della Hooke on the possible meaning of words, her conclusion that Anglo-Saxons knew a hill when they saw one, while true enough, does not particularly bring this reviewer closer to the mind of the peasant.

K.A. Bailey's "The Smallest Estates in Domesday Buckinghamshire" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 41: 125–41) is a very detailed analysis of 167 estates in Domesday Buckinghamshire that either gelded for two hides or less or contained two ploughlands or less. In addition to a statistical analysis, Bailey covers topics such as productive capacity, estate fragmentation, loss of manorial status, beneficial hidation and punitive taxation, among others. One of the interesting results of the analysis is that in the confusion of fragmentation, a general rule of "one hide is equal to one pound" does seem to have been applied.

In "Roots and Branches of Power, 1000–1300" (*The London Jnl* 26: 1–8), Derek Keene concisely outlines the development of London in this period of considerable political, social, religious and economic change. Since its reemergence as a center of population and trade in the seventh century, London was administered largely by royal officials, the reeve, and the bishop, although a collective voice shortly emerged in the form first of the folkmoot followed by guilds, communes, and the Common Council. While Keene acknowledges the significance of the evolution of self-determination on the part of Londoners, he also emphasizes the complexity of London's administration. Royal authority

in the form of the bishop and royal reeve may have diminished over time, for example, but royal power continued to be expressed in the city in other, and sometimes more significant, ways. Likewise, although the city was divided into wards for administrative purposes, the parochial structure seems to have exercised a much a greater degree of influence on the political life of the city than once thought.

John Blair illuminates some of the concerns of episcopal clerks in "Estate Memoranda of c. 1070 from the See of Dorchester-on-Thames" (*EHR* 116: 114–23). Written on the flyleaf of a late tenth-century English penitential are a series of short memoranda related to rents and renders due from priests and laymen on several estates owned by the see of Dorchester. Based on paleographical and codicological evidence, Blair believes the notes were written during the pontificate of Remigius (i.e., after 1067), but before the see was transferred to Lincoln in 1072/3 and the book ended up in the hands of Leofric of Exeter. If so, it is the earliest Anglo-Norman document, and "a tiny glimpse of the unrecorded first encounter of Normans with English at a local level." The difficulty of the Normans' initial integration is reflected in the scribe's struggle with terminology (*carucates* for hides), and his lack of knowledge of names ("a certain red-headed man").

In *A History of Kirtling and Upend: Landowners and People in a Cambridgeshire Parish, 1000–2000* (Wallasey: Magazine Lane Press, 2000), C.P. Lewis takes a long view of a Cambridgeshire parish, and while only the first two chapters are directly relevant here, the short monograph has much to offer as a case study of a parish with deep roots in English history. Kirtling (with Upend) first appears in the documentary record in the mid to late tenth century, when it was promised to Ely Abbey by a Cambridgeshire couple. It next appears in the hands of Earl Harold, before it was given by William the Conqueror to his niece, Judith. Lewis traces the fortunes of the manor and village through the year 2000, with interesting discussions of the relationships between medieval estate owners and tenants, agricultural life and religious culture.

Dennis Mills asks "A Common Question: Were Wigford, Canwick and Bracebridge Parts of a Single Early Estate?" (*Lincolnshire Past & Present* 44: 7–11). The answer, based on landscape features and "triangular relationships" between the two manors and the city of Wigford (Lincoln), is probably yes.

Robin Stanes, *A History of Devon*, Darwen County History Series (Chichester: Phillimore, 2000 [ch. 4,

"The Men of Defenascire," 33–40]) offers a traditional narrative of Devon's history from the age of Arthur ("a genuinely historical figure") to Domesday Book. A scholarly readership is not envisaged.

The second edition of Andrew White's broad survey, *A History of Lancaster* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh UP), contains one chapter of interest to Anglo-Saxonists, "Continuity, Charter, Castle and County Town, 400–1500" (33–72), but because there is no written evidence, White's conclusions in this chapter are necessarily speculative. Based on numismatic evidence, he posits the establishment of a monastic community on the site in the eighth or ninth century.

Cyril Hart's *Between Severn (Sæfern) and Wye (Wæge) in the Year 1000: A Prelude to the Norman Forest of Dene in Gloucestrescire and Herefordscire* (Stroud: Sutton, 2000) is a snap-shot of life in one corner of England around the turn of the millennium. Hart's coverage is broad (landscape, settlement, communities, etc.) but superficial. This book will most appeal to non-specialists.

#### g. Law

Legal historians were relatively quiet in 2001. Paul Hyams's "Feud and the State in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*Jnl of British Studies* 40: 1–43) is a notable exception and a veritable tour-de-force in its own right. Hyams's main contention is that "royal authority operated within a culture permeated and informed by a resistant notion of feud," and that modern historians promoting maximalist views of the Anglo-Saxon state have radically underestimated its staying power. Hyams takes us through the literary evidence for the persistence of feud before embarking on a detailed analysis of the law-codes of the tenth and eleventh centuries upon which the maximalist views are principally based. While he does not deny that these codes assert royal authority over crime in unprecedented ways by the eleventh century, Hyams is not persuaded that they necessarily reflect law as it was lived. Could any early medieval king, he wonders, actually compel anyone to seek redress in a court? What little evidence that survives suggests that great men often prevailed in courts simply because of their status, which would not have always made litigation a particularly attractive option. Feud was a process that did not always end in violence, but which offered a viable alternative to men and women who felt their grievances could not be redressed otherwise and who had no reason to fear specific reprisal from a distant king. It is impossible to do justice to Hyams's arguments here, taking into

account as they do such important topics as networks of support and sanctuary. Suffice it to say that anyone interested in Anglo-Saxon law and legal culture must take in this fine study before deciding whether he or she is a minimalist or a maximalist.

Susan Reynolds took a somewhat different approach in "Rationality and Collective Judgement in the Law of Western Europe before the Twelfth Century" (*Quaestiones Medii Aevi Novae* 5: 3–19). Here Reynolds takes on the modern critique of early medieval law as irrational in its dependence on violence and ritual. Arguing that ritual and rationality are no less incompatible in early medieval law than modern law, Reynolds takes the reader through the norms and procedures of early medieval law (primarily discussion, consensus, and collective activity), to demonstrate that customary law was rational in its own way. She also challenges the notion that violence and feud were endemic. If the law looks more rational in the twelfth century, Reynolds argues, it was "less that law became rational than that it began to become the business of experts, so that its rationality became at once more systematic and more esoteric."

#### h. Norman Conquest and Settlement

Brian Golding's fine survey of the impact of the Norman Conquest, *Conquest and Colonisation: The Normans in Britain, 1066–1100* (Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave), originally written in 1994, was reissued in 2001. Golding's overall view of the Conquest is that it was traumatic, particularly at the highest levels, but that it proceeded fitfully and could only be pronounced a success in the 1070s. Although it is a primarily a political history, the well-known story of the conquest itself receives very little coverage; instead, the bulk of the book is devoted to its impact. Chapters on the redistribution of land, governing the conquered, military organization and the colonial church all engage the question of continuity versus cataclysm, and Golding's analysis is very thoughtful throughout. The original text seems only lightly revised, but this is not a criticism. It was and still is an important book.

In "Civilizing the English? The English Histories of William of Malmesbury and David Hume" (*Historical Research* 74: 17–43), John Gillingham questions whether the idea of "civilization" as a "self-congratulatory intellectual construct" existed in the twelfth century. Based on a sensitive and sophisticated analysis of William of Malmesbury's *Deeds of the Kings of England*, Gillingham argues convincingly that the "progress from barbarism to civilization" was "central to his

vision of English history," and that the Norman Conquest played a pivotal role in that process. The aspects of French culture William most admired included their attitudes toward slavery, more humane politics, and the growth of town and markets. Gillingham suggests the word *compositus* ("well-ordered, composed") best reflected the civilizing concept in the twelfth century because, unlike *civilis*, it implies progress. An inter-related theme is the similarity between the work of William of Malmesbury and the eighteenth century historian, David Hume. This was not a coincidence, Gillingham asserts, because Hume borrowed liberally from William, and not just the facts of history. Hume also incorporated what Rees Davies has called William's "fawning Francophilia." Finally, Gillingham insists that contrary to popular belief historical writing in the Middle Ages was not always dominated by theological concerns, and that the work of William of Malmesbury is a prime example of the secular dimensions of historical thought in the High Middle Ages.

Mark S. Hagger's *The Fortunes of a Norman Family: The de Verduns in England, Ireland and Wales 1066–1316* (Dublin: Four Courts Press) is a very detailed analysis, based primarily on charter evidence, of the lands and influence of one family in the post-Conquest period. This book stretches our chronological boundaries, but it makes an important contribution to aristocratic history for those whose interests lie in that direction.

In *Harold and William: The Battle for England A.D. 1064–1066* (New York: Cooper Square Press), Benton Rain Patterson tells the story of the fateful interaction of the two adversaries in the years leading up to the battle of Hastings. This is a popular history, clearly intended for a general audience. It therefore has no scholarly apparatus, and contains much in the way of invented conversation and narrative. But it is based on the author's reading of scholarly sources, and is therefore presumably closer to history than fiction.

"Beating the Bounds: Rogationtide at Waddesdon" (*Records of Buckinghamshire* 41: 125–41) is the Betjemanesque title of Arnold H.J. Baines's fascinating discussion of the text of the bounds book maintained in the parish of Waddesdon, Bucks., which records the Rogation Monday and Tuesday circuits there between 1911 and 1952. Baines provides an insightful history of the practice of beating the bounds, the occasionally riotous celebrations that accompanied it, as well as the opposition mounted against it. Baines supplements the bounds book with other sources, but the article concentrates primarily upon the fullest descriptions of the bounds beating, those for 1911, 1928 and 1952. This

article sheds considerable light upon the twentieth-century practice of bounds beating, and to the *mores* of mid-twentieth century Buckinghamshire. At the triple boundary of Waddesdon, Stone and Dinton it was practice for "the youngest member of the party to be held upside down and beaten with a spade." In 1959, we are told, "there was some doubt about this ... when the youngest member proved to be a girl." No charter is extant that describes Waddesdon's bounds, but the bounds of its neighbours Over (or Upper) Winchendon and Wotton Underwood do exist, and through them Baines attempts to find the correspondence between Anglo-Saxon boundaries with post-medieval custom. His conclusion: "here is good evidence that the landmarking convention of the ancient parish of Waddesdon has been maintained, subject to slight modifications occasioned by changes in tenure and land utilisation, for over thirty generations."

In "The Making of the Middle March of Wales, 1066-1250" (*Welsh History Review* 20: 207-26), Brock W. Holden defines the March of Wales both as a militarized border zone of changing extent and also as a mind-set very different from that of the rest of England. His study of the Middle March begins with the Norman Conquest, but he notes that the dispersed pattern of settlement in Herefordshire is pre-Norman. Otherwise, Holden discusses the role of king, magnates, and knights in the creation of the March, and he examines the division of inheritances along tenurial lines and the high level of endogamy among the Marcher lords.

In "Catesby in the Middle Ages: An Interdisciplinary Study" (*Northamptonshire Past and Present* 54: 7-32), Jane Laughton surveys the documentary evidence for the priory established in c. 1175 and discusses in detail the management of its estates.

M.F.G., P.J.E.K., E.A.R.

[M.F.G. reviewed Abrams "Conversion," Aston "Expansion," Bailey "Smallest," Barrow, Bhreathnac, Biddle, Blair "Estate," "Later," Carruthers, Charles-Edwards, Cowie, Cushing, Featherstone, France, Fulton, Gibbs, Gillingham, Golding, Grimmer, Hadley, Hagger, Hall "Urban," Hamerow, Handley, Hart, Henson, Holman, Hyams, James, John, Keene, Keevill, Kelly, Keynes *Bibliography*, "Mercia," Kleinschmidt, Knowles, Laughton, Lazzari, Lees, Lewis *History*, Mehan, Miller, Millinger, Mills, Morimoto, Nelson, Oosthuizen, Ortenberg, Parsons, Patterson, Pratt, Reynolds, Richards "Finding," Scott, Sermon "Anglo-Saxon," Stafford "Political," "Review," Thornton "Edgar," Vince "Growth," "Lincoln,"

Wareham, White, Williams "Military," Wood *Search*, Woolf "Moray," "Verturian," Wormald "Strange," Yorke "Origins." ]

[P.J.E.K. reviewed Abrams "Edward," Bäcklund, Bailey "Elwynn," "Bede's," Baines, Baxter, Blair *Anglo-Saxon*, Bremmer, Campbell, Cassagnes-Brouquet, Cavill *Treasury*, Vikings, Clayton, Coatsworth, Crick, Davidson, Deliyannis, Dendle, Discenza "Influence," "Wealth," Edel, Fleming, Flottum, Frank, Godden, Graham-Campbell, Griffiths, Hall "Kingdom," Highway, Higgitt, Higham "Edward," Hill "Offa's" "Shiring," Howe, Keynes "Edward," Lendinara, Lyon, Macquarrie, Neville, Okasha, Rambridge, Rumble, Rusche, Senecal, Sermon "Celtic," Sharp "West," Smith "Court," Stanley, Stanes, Terry, Thacker, Ward, Williams "Hákon," "Death," Wood *Missionary*, Woolf "View," Wormald "On," Wyatt, Yorke "Edward." ]

[E.A.R. reviewed Beaumont James, Breeze, Dumville, Etchingham, Holden, Holland, Jesch, Matthews, Orschel "Mag," Partridge, Pearson, Sharpe, Smith "Picts," Thornton "Death," Ziegler.]

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## 8. Names

In *Celtic Voices, English Places: Studies of the Celtic Impact on Place-Names in England* (Stamford: Shaun Tyas, 2000), R. Coates and A. Breeze anthologize a large number of essays previously published elsewhere and a few new ones dealing with Celtic place-names in England. The volume's "Gazeteer of Celtic Names in England (except Cornwall)" and the "Glossary of Elements Appearing as Explanatory Material in the Gazetteer" may both be of some use to place-name scholars. A. Breeze has several essays that each deal with multiple place-names this year. In "The Names of Bellshill, Carmichael, Lauder and Sontra" (*Immes Rev.* 51 [2000]: 72-79), he derives the first elements of *Bellshill* south-east of Glasgow from the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *bol* in this case meaning "hollow." Also in Lanarkshire/Strathclyde, the place-name *Carmichael* "Michael's stronghold" is shown to be the *Planmichel* mentioned in a c. 1124 inquest where the first element comes from \**blain* "upland or hill." Breeze derives the place-

name *Lauder* in Berwickshire/Borders from the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh \**llawedr* "mound, heap, pile." He also identifies the old upland parish of *Sontra* fifteen miles southeast of Edinburgh with *Dinsol* mentioned in the Welsh tale *Culhwch and Olwen* and says the name means "fortress of Sol" where *Sol* may be related to *Sulis* "the goddess of Bath reinforced by the Latin *sol* 'sun'." In "Four Brittonic Place Names from South-West Scotland: Tradunnock, Trailflat, Troqueer and Troax" (*Trans. of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural Hist. and Antiquarian Soc.* 74 [2000]: 55-60), Breeze derives the name *Tradunnock*, a farm in South Ayrshire, from the Cumbric equivalent of early Welsh *tre* "homestead, estate, village" and Welsh *dannog* "betony," a member of the mint family thought in the past to have medicinal properties. He suggests that *Tradunnock* in Carrick and *Tradunnock* in Monmouthshire have the same origins. *Trailflat*, a farm northeast of Dumfries, is also suggested to be a completely



Cumbric name with the first element from a Cumbric \**llet* or \**llat* corresponding to Welsh *llaid* "mud, mire, dirt, clay, slime, ooze" so that *Trailflat* would mean "farm of/on the mire." Breeze derives *Troqueer* downstream from the town center of Dumfries from the same first element and from another Cumbric element corresponding to Welsh *gweir* "bend, curve, ring, circle, torque" so that *Troqueer* means "farmstead on the (river-) bend." *Troax* in South Ayrshire is a farm above the coast road from Girvan to Ballantrae. Breeze says that first element has the same source as the three other names in the title but suggests that the second element is the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *gwag* "empty, desolate, vacant, void," so the name itself means "desolate homestead." In "The names of Bridport, Bredy, and the River Bride" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries* 34 [2000]: 408–409), Breeze proposes an etymology for *Bride* in the *River Bride* in Dorset from which *Bredy* in the village *Long Bredy* derives and which is also the source of the first element of the town of *Bridport* "harbour or market town belonging to Bredy" as being from a root related to the Welsh *brwd* "hot, warm" and to the Breton *broud* "hot," so the meaning of *Bride* would be "warm one, stream of warm water." He proposes this interpretation after casting doubts on Ekwall's suggestion that the meaning of *Bride* was related to the Welsh word *brydio* "to boil, to throb" and Mills's interpretation of the name as meaning "gushing or surging stream." In "The Names of Yorkshire's Gray Beck, River Balder and River Nidd" (*Trans. of the Yorkshire Dialect Soc.* 19 [2000]: 27–33), Breeze shows that the first element of *Cray Beck* has its early Welsh meaning of "rough, harsh" rather than the later meaning of "fresh, clear" so that *Cray Beck* means a "rough or harsh stream," and he derives the river-name *Balder* from the Welsh *baw* "dirt, filth" and *dwfr* "water, stream" which then means "filthy water, muddy water." Breeze cites Eugene Arom (1704–59) who seems to have correctly identified the source of the river-name *Nidd* as a Celtic element meaning "under, below, or covered" since the river disappears underground for some miles only to reappear again. Breeze proposes as the source for *Nidd* a Celtic \**nido*- meaning "dropper, diver." In "Brittonic Place-Names from South-West Scotland, Part 2: Ptolemy's *Abravannus*, 'Locatrebe,' *Cumnock*, *Irvine* and *Water of Milk*" (*Trans. of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural Hist. and Antiquarian Soc.* 75: 151–58), Breeze derives the river-name *Abravannus* mentioned by Ptolemy from a Common Celtic \**abro*- "very, exceedingly" and Common Celtic \**uanno*- "weak, feeble, lacking in strength" resulting in the meaning of *Abravannus* as "extremely weak one, very feeble one," probably referring to Pilton Burn, Galloway. He is less certain about the

location of *Locatrebe* referred to as *Locatreve* in the *Ravenna Cosmography* which he says corresponds to the Welsh elements *llwck* "lake, pool, stagnant water, bog, swamp, marsh; mud, mire, grime, filth" and *tref* "homestead, settlement; home; town" and may be identified with Theave Island or the nearby Roman fort of *Glenlochon* in Galloway. He suggests a Brittonic origin of *Cumnock* in East Ayrshire named for the river and meaning "cutting one, hewing one." Similarly, he derives the river-and town-name of *Irvine* in North Ayrshire from a Cumbric source meaning "river of wild turnips or rape." Breeze also identifies *Water of Milk* as Cumbric in origin and meaning a "stream where honey was produced instead of being English in origin and referring to the milkiness of the water."

There are also several articles this year dealing with Celtic origins of individual place-names. In "The Name of *Maelmin*, near Yeaveering" (*Archaeologia Aeliana* 29: 31–32), A. Breeze derives *Bede's Maelmin* from a Brittonic form meaning "decayed (river-) bank, marshy edge" rather than an Old English source. In "Was Durham the *Broninis* of Eddius's *Life of St. Wilfrid*?" (*Durham Archaeological Jnl* 14/15: 91–92), he argues not only that *Broninis* is the old name for Durham but also that it is Celtic and means "meadow hill" from the Brittonic element *bron* "breast; hillside; breast (of hill)"; and *inis*, cognate with Modern Welsh *ynyis* "island, inch, holm, river meadow." In "The Name of the River *Petteril*" (*Trans. of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Soc.* 3rd ser. 1: 195–96), he derives the river-name *Petteril* in Cumberland from the Cumbric equivalent of Welsh *pedryfal* "rectangle, square," perhaps from a four-sided construction such as a Roman fort near the river. In "The name of the River *Tiddy*" (*JEPNS* 33: 5–6), he links the name of the Cornish river *Tiddy* to Cornish \**teudhi* "to melt" and the Welsh *toddi* "soak, steep, melt" and says it probably means "the soaker, the steeper." K. Jermy and A. Breeze, in "Welsh *ffordd* 'Road' in English Place-Names, Particularly as an Indicator of a Roman Road" (*Shropshire History and Archaeology* 75 [2000]: 109–10), take exception to Mills's interpretation of the Shropshire village-names *Longford* and *Langford* as "long ford" rather than "long road" as Ekwall had suggested by citing the second element of the names as coming from Welsh *ffordd* "road." They note that OE *ford* "ford" was borrowed into both Welsh and Cornish meaning "road, way." In "Netley Marsh (Hampshire)" (*N&Q* 48: 211–13) C. Hough rejects A. Breeze's derivation of the first element of *Netley Marsh* from the Celtic personal name *Natan* and returns to earlier OE \**naetan lēah* "wet wood" as the source based on OE *nāt* "wet" and suggests that the Anglo-Saxon

*Chronicle* entry from the early sixth century simply carries on Bede's habit of creating eponymous characters from existing place-names as a kind of folk etymology. In "Der englische Ortsname Cirencester" (BN 36: 269–86), K. Dietz suggests that the first element in *Cirencester* in Gloucestershire from OE *Cirenceaster* comes from Celtic-Latin *Corinium* from Brit. \**Corinio* via PrWelsh \**Cerin* represented by the Mercian-West Midland place-name *Cerney*. He also suggests that the modern pronunciation represents a medieval spelling pronunciation rather than an Anglo-French sound substitution of /s/ for /č/. D. Whaley, in "Trusmadoor and Other Cumbrian 'Pass' Words" (*Nomina* 24: 77–95), posits that the first element in *Trusmadoor* in Cumberland which was first recorded on the Ordnance Survey maps in 1867, comes from the Cumbric word *trus* related to Welsh *drws* "door, entrance, pass" and also appears in the *Truss Gap* and probably in the lost names *Troscart(h)* and *Poltross*. She also notes that *Trusmadoor* is the only place-name in northern England which preserves the toponymic suffix *-ma* meaning "place."

There are also many studies this year dealing with individual place-names with Old English roots. Five of them are by C. Hough. In "The Non-Celtic Origin of *Meguines Paed* in Kent" (*NOWELE* 38: 109–14), she savages L. Oliver's suggestion that the path-name *megwines paed* in the bounds of a charter of King Wihtred of Kent from 697 contains an Irish patronymic as the first element, i.e. *McGuin*, and supports the conventional derivation of the path-name from an OE \**Mægwinas pæð* "Mægwine's path." In "Old English *weorod* in Wuerdle, Lancashire" (*N&Q* 48: 9–10), she suggests the meaning of *weorod* in the original OE \**weorod-hyll* from which *Wuerdle* derives meant neither "army" or "sweet" but like one of the Middle English meanings of *wered* refers to "a pack (of wolves)" so the meaning of OE \**weorod-hyll* would be "a hill with a pack of wolves." In "Clock Croft" (*N&Q* 48: 9–10) she suggests that the etymology of the field name *Clock Croft* in Cheshire is not *clock* "a beetle" plus OE *croft* "a small enclosed field" but "land endowed for the maintenance of the church clock." In "The Place-Name Penninghame (Wigtownshire)" (*N&Q* 48: 98–102), she argues that *Penninghame* in the south-west of Scotland is not an *-ingahām*-name but should be derived from OE \**pening-hām* "farm on which a penny geld was payable." In "Domesday Land-Holdings and the Place-Name *Freeland*" (*SN* 73: 137–42), she suggests that the minor place-name *Freeland* in Sussex which is traditionally interpreted as "free from certain taxes, dues or other obligations" actually derives from an OE \**frēoland*, a technical toponym parallel with OE

*bōcland* and OE *folcland*, and it means "land held independently," referring to holdings in private ownership but for which service was owed to a head manor.

Other authors also contributed essays dealing with individual place-names with Old English roots. In "Elders and Betters: Hinderclay in Suffolk" (*JEPNS* 33: 15–20), K. Lowe proposes, in the face of all current arguments against such practices, that the first element in *Hinderclay* in Suffolk close to the border of Norfolk is an unattested personal name OE \**Hildric*, which is then attached to OE *lēah* rather than to OE *clēa* "claw." A. Rowley's "Stirton" (*Nomina* 24: 97–99) shows convincingly that *Stirton* north of Skipton in the West Riding of Yorkshire was on a Roman road and that the first element is OE *stræt*, rather than only near a Roman road as Smith had speculated. In "The Place-Name Owermoigne Again" (*N&Q* 48: 102–03), G. Kristensson attempts to explain away some objections to his proposed derivation of *Owermoigne* in Dorset from the compound of OE *ōga* "terror" and *ōra* "hill, ridge" on phonological grounds by suggesting that resyllabication of the word took place allowing a fricative to become a stop. In "Postscript to Pitchcombe" (*JEPNS* 33: 14), C. Hough reports a letter from A. Woolacott noting that Hough's proposed designation of the first element in the place-name *Pitchcombe* in Gloucestershire meaning the steep side of the valley is still used in Gloucestershire with the dialectal meaning cited in Wright's *English Dialect Dictionary* of "a short steep hill, esp[ecially] in a road." P. Combes, in "How Many High *tūns* Were There in East Sussex?" (*Locus Focus: Forum of the Sussex Place-Names Net*, 4.2 [2000]: 9–13), tentatively concludes that there were three places called *Heighton* in East Sussex in the late thirteenth century. One was probably a settlement near Beckly in Goldspur Hundred which has been lost or renamed. *South Heighton* was a manor in Flexborough Hundred. There was also a manor in Totnore Hundred called *Heighton* but later called St. Clere. The *Hectone* mentioned in Domesday was probably a manorial outlier in Ailesaltede Hundred. In "The Owers, *Les Ours*, *Weembrug* and 'The Old City': Place-Names, History, and Submarine Archaeology" (*JEPNS* 33: 55–114), W. Richardson uses non-English sources to identify the origin of the shoals called *The Owers* off Selsey Bill, Sussex. Although Richardson flirts with other possible etymologies, he seems to side with the traditional explanation that that is all that is left of the OE *cymenes ora* "Cymen's beach, shore or landing place" named after one of Ælle's sons and site of the 477 AD landing of the South Saxons. "The Owers" is used to translate the Dutch name *Weembrug* in some Dutch sailing direction in 1584 which Richardson identifies

as *Bembridge (Point)*, now known as *Foreland*, the most easterly point of the Isle of Wight. He attributes the French name *Les Ours* to the West Sussex pronunciation of *Owers* as [oərz]. The Italian, French, Spanish, and Portuguese maps referring to "The Old City" are referring to the probable site of *Cymenesora* itself at The Mixon. The last sixteen pages of the article provide some of the Dutch, French, Spanish, Italian, and Portuguese as well as older English, maps Richardson used in his research.

Other essays deal with probable Old Norse elements in individual place-names. In "In (and around) Scatness" (*Northern Studies* 36: 69–90), D. Waugh suggests that the first element in the place-name *Scatness*, the site of an archaeological dig on the Scatness peninsula in Shetland, is ON *skati* in the sense of "protruding part." *Scatness* is in the parish *Dunrossness* which is first recorded as ON *Dynröst* which was the name for a part of the sea south of Shetland which J. Jakobsen suggested meant "strong tide" although Waugh thinks "noisy" might be a better translation than "strong." However, the first element is now gone in the modern Shetlanders' name: *Da Roost*. She discusses other place-names in the surrounding area with Old Norse elements such as *grind* "gate," *hús* "house," *skáli* "shed, hut," *gata* "road, path," *garðr* "yard, enclosure," *hlíð* "slope," *dalur* "valley," *virki* "building, wall, stronghold," and *svín* "pig, dolphin." C. Hough's "Notes on Some Scottish Field Names" (*Names* 49: 37–53) examines problematic field names from the Scottish counties of Midlothian and West Lothian in light of doublets and close parallels found in English place-names. Examples range from *Bigg Park* in West Lothian, which she derives from OE *pearroc* "small enclosure, paddock," and ON *bigg* "barley" (so that *Bigg Park* means "barley enclosure"), through twenty-seven other place-names ending with *Vineyard (Field)* in West Lothian, which she speculates may refer literally to the growing of grapes in preference to McDonald's suggestion that the name was given to the field "presumably because of the fertility."

Some other essays deal with individual place-names with Latin roots. A. Breeze, in "Durnovaria, the Roman Name of Dorchester" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries* 35: 69–72), argues that *Durnovaria* was the Latin name of the hill-fort Maiden Castle near Dorchester which was then transferred to the town itself and that the second element *-varia* means "upper part (of land), higher place" so that *Durnovaria* means "first height" or "sling-stone height." In "Ponter's Ball" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries* 35: 1–2), R. Dunning explains the rounded earthwork through which

the Glastonbury/Pilton road passes and variously called *Ponter's Ball* or *Ponter's Wall* (etc.). He does so through references to more than one *pontarius* in a survey of Glastonbury Manor in 1235, in which the word *pontarius* usually means "bridge-keeper or bridge-wright," and by a reference to one of the tenants in the 1325 survey. If, as the survey suggests, Glastonbury Manor's duty was to maintain the *stonebrygge* across Whitelake River on the road to Pilton and repair the causeway leading to the bridge, the reference implies a man-made structure, and since land on both sides of the road have been reclaimed from marsh, the earthwork itself may have been part of the drainage process. However, in "Ponter's Ball or Porter's?" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries* 35: 55–57), S. Rands questions R. Dunning's explanation of the rounded earthwork known as *Ponter's Ball* by noting that two other published lists of abbey tenants have no one identified as a *pontarius*, but they do have a *portarius* "porter, doorkeeper" and several references to "Walter the Porter." She suggests that the confusion between an <r> and <n> in *The Rentalia and the Custumaria of Abbot Michael of Amesbury (1235–1252)* may have led to an actual name change for the earth works.

Quite a few essays are concerned with individual place-name elements. In "English Place-Names in *Marn-, Marl-*" (*N&Q* 48: 6–7), G. Kristensson proposes that the first element in *High Marnham* and *Low Marnham* in Nottinghamshire, *Marnhull* in Dorset, and *Marcliff* on the boundary between Warwickshire and Worcestershire is a compound of OE (*ge*)*mære* "boundary" and OE *ærn* "house" and means "house on the boundary." M. Higham, in "Harper's Lands" (*Nomina* 24: 67–76), questions M. Gelling's suggestion that place-names from OE *hearpe* or *hearpere* were more likely to refer to a bird than to a musician by noting the status of harpers in medieval society and the large number of references to lands held by harpers in service to nobility. C. Hough, in "P-Celtic *tref* in Scottish Place-Names" (*N&Q* 48: 213–15), suggests that the place-names in the part of Scotland that was the historical Pictland with the Cumbric *tref* "homestead, village" as a second element are earlier than those with *tref* as a first element which occurred as a result of the reversal of Celtic element order in the sixth century. In "Place-Name Evidence for an Anglo-Saxon Animal Name: OE \**pohhal*/\**pocca* 'Fallow Deer'" (*ASE* 30: 1–14), C. Hough picks up on M. Gelling's suggestion that the first element in *Poughley Farm* in Berkshire might be an animal name since all known place-names with OE *pohhal*/*pocca* in place-names might be associated with OE *pocc* "spot" and refer to adult (male) fallow deer and that an unattested OE \**pohhell*/\**poccel* which also

occurs in place-names is a diminutive form referring to a fawn of the species. In "English *stead*—a Changeable Place-Name Element in a Changing Community" (SN 73: 164–70) K. Sandred examines the meaning of the place-name element *-stead* beyond his 1963 classification of such names as compounds showing "location of activity" versus those showing "location of an object." The later place-names with Scandinavian or French first elements and *-stead* are simply using the latter element in the broad sense of "place" and "site." Sandred, however, proposes five additional classifications of place names which differ from the earlier compounds that have been recorded as appellatives: "(1) words for trees and plants, (2) words for animals, (3) words descriptive of topography or the character of the soil, (4) adjectives, (5) personal names from the early Old English period (unusual)." These kinds of *-stead* names often denote place of historical importance or high social status or boundary points.

In "Scandinavian Elements in English Place-Names: Some Semantic Problems" (*Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997* [Oxford: Oxbow Books], 289–98), T. Styles shows how *The Vocabulary of English Placenames* entry for *appel-garth* "orchard" uses material not available to A. H. Smith in 1956 to call into question the certainty of Smith's derivation of the term from ON *apaldr(s)-garðr*. She concludes that the name may be a hybrid compound of OE *æppel* and ON *garðr*. She also shows why the *Vocabulary* entries for ON *bryggja* and OE *brycg* point out the uncertainties in both the meanings of and the origins of place-names with reflexes of either element rather than the earlier certainty that ON *bryggja* always meant "pier, landing-stage or gangway" while only OE *brycg* meant "bridge" in place-names. In "The Mystery of the *bý*-names in Man" (*Nomina* 24: 33–46), G. Fellows-Jensen concludes that the inspiration for the occurrence of *bý* names on the Isle of Man came from north-west England, but that it is difficult to determine whether many of them occurred during the Viking period or later in the fifteenth century when the island was given to Sir John Stanley by Henry IV. Nevertheless, a few like *Furby* can be clearly identified from the Viking period. In "Drengs and Drings" (*Trans. of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Soc.* 74 [2000]: 61–67), W. Cormack argues that the term *dreng* referring to a landowner in Scandinavia and in the Danelaw in England once meant a landowner with relatively high status, although below that of a knight, but moved down the social scale later until by the sixteenth century it meant a servant or a miser. The element survives as

*dring* in place-names like *Dringhoe* in East Yorkshire. In "Drengs and Thegns Again" (*Trans. of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural History and Antiquarian Soc.* 75: 185–86), G. Barrow argues that the late J. G. Scott was wrong to refer to the drengs planted around Carlisle by King William Rufus as "churlish folk" since they were more likely to have been adventurers from England, Normandy, Brittany, and Flanders. Barrow cautions that words such as *thegn* and *dreng* might undergo more or less subtle changes of meaning in the British and Scandinavian usage, from one region to another, and from one century to another rather than having fixed meanings. (See also the discussion in section 3a.)

Several essays this year focus on personal names. A. Breeze, in "The Irish Nickname of Sitric Caoch (d. 927) of York" (*Saga-Book of the Viking Soc.* 25: 86–87), rejects the translation of the Irish *caoch* as "blind, squint-eyed" in the nickname for King Sitric of Dublin and York and argues for the interpretation of *caoch* as "one-eyed." In "Aldredian Glosses to Proper Names in the *Lindesfarne Gospels*" (*Anglia* 119: 173–92), S. Pons Sanz shows that Aldred's glosses of proper names in the *Lindesfarne Gospels* reflected not only the meaning of the particular name but also the traditional interpretations of those names by the Fathers of the Church. For example, *geleornise/geliornise* is used as a gloss for both *Galilea* and *transmigrationem* reflecting Augustine's interpretation of the mystical significance of the name *Galilea*. Many of Aldred's glosses seem to come from familiarity with Bede's interpretation of the same names. In "Eanwulf of Pennard and a Letter to Edward the Elder" (*Somerset and Dorset Notes & Queries* 35: 2–3), A. Breeze corrects D. Whitelock's translation of *Eanwulf Peneard* as "Eanwulf Peneard's son" in an Old English letter to Edward the Elder to a more accurate "Eanwulf of Pennard" since *Peneard* is not an Anglo-Saxon personal name but a Celtic place-name element meaning "ridge end." In "La diffusione del nome *Petrus* nel Medioevo" (*La figura di San Pietro nelle fonti del medioevo; Atti del convegno tenuosi in occasione dello Studiorum universitatum docentium congressus (Viterbo e Roma 5–8 settembre 2000)* [Louvain-la-Neuve], 53–69), M. Arcamone traces the spread of the proper noun *Petrus*, along with the growth of Christianity throughout Western Europe, both as a personal name and as a place-name element. She cites the occurrences of these names throughout Italy, France, Spain, England, Germany, and Switzerland in the Middle Ages.

G. Fellows-Jensen has two essays this year dealing the Old Norse influence on English place-names. In

"Vikings in the British Isles: The Place-Name Evidence" (*Acta Archaeologica* 71: 135–46), Fellows-Jensen follows B. Crawford's model of zones of Scandinavian influence in Scotland and adds four more zones in England. Zones 6, 7, and 8 cover eastern England, and zone 5 is the North-west. Fellows-Jensen illustrates the pattern of Scandinavian influence with the distribution of the Norwegian *bólstaðr* and the Danish and East Norwegian *bý* and summarizes the work of place-name scholars during the previous twenty-five years as it relates to Scandinavian settlement history and patterns. In "In the Steps of the Vikings" (*Vikings and the Danelaw*, 279–88), Fellows-Jensen again follows B. Crawford's model and extends it to four more zones, 5 through 8, to examine Scandinavian place-name differences in these areas. Zone 8, East Anglia, was occupied by Scandinavians for a comparatively short time and has fewer Scandinavian place-names than the other zones. The most frequently occurring Old Norse place-name element is *-bý* which occurs more frequently in zones 7 and 6 (East Midlands and Yorkshire respectively) than in zone 8. Names in *-bý* that contain Norman specifics occur more frequently in zone 5 than in the other zones and reflect the plantation of Normans and Flemings there in 1092 by William Rufus. The place-name element *-thorpe* is rare in zone 5, reflecting the inappropriateness for that type of settlement there. The comparative absence of *-þorp* names in Northern Yorkshire is explained by the numerous *-þveit* names instead. The most common Old Norse place-name influence in zone 5 is the hybrid name with a Scandinavian personal-name as a specific with the OE *-tūn* as the generic, the so-called Toten hybrids, formerly called Grimston-hybrids.

In "East Anglian Place-Names: Sources of Lost Dialect" (*East Anglian English* [Cambridge: D.S. Brewer], 39–61), K. Sandred surveys the place-name evidence of the influence of the various language groups on the East Anglian part of England chronologically. The evidence includes Celtic or Pre-Celtic river names and other Celtic elements, the Anglian *-hām*, *-ingas*, and *-ingahām* names identified in Norfolk and Suffolk, the Scandinavian names in *-by*, *-thorpe*, *-toft*, *-thwaite*, and *-beck* in Norfolk and Suffolk, and the occasional English village names from French surnames. Sandred ends the essay with a discussion of the following topographical elements from East Anglian sources: *carr*, *lay*, *maream*, *sco*, *slea* or *slee*, *sleyt* or *slay*, and *smeeth*, *smea*, or *smece*.

In "Mixing and Matching: A Study of the Woking Street-Namestock" (*JEPNS* 33: 115–46), A. Rosset and H. Daniels examine the current street-naming practices within the borough of Woking in Surrey, identify the generics in the street-names there as well as their Old English or other sources, and classify the generics of the Woking street-names into fifty-nine semantic categories. They note that about 25% of the specifics are unique to the borough. R. Gray and D. Stubblings, in *Cambridge Street-Names: Their Origins and Associations* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2000), present a highly readable and entertaining history of the university and of the city of Cambridge with reference to street-names that reflect this history. The Anglo-Saxon period is covered on pages 4–8. It is not something a names scholar would need to read except for pleasure.

M. Diaz suggests, in "A Two-Fold Development of Old English *æ* in 12th- and 14th-Century Kentish Place-Names" (*JEPNS* 33: 21–54), that the distribution of place-names features in Kent reflects a geographical (east/west and north/south) and social pattern. She shows that the reflexes of OE *æ* in Kentish Middle English were *e* in the first element of place-names in the eastern half of Kent in the twelfth century but that the reflexes are predominately *a* in the northern half of Kent in the fourteenth century. However, she concludes that the reflexes of OE *æ* in the second element of Kentish place-names were primarily *a* in the twelfth century but *e* in the fourteenth century. She ties these differences to certain areas being more linguistically conservative than others.

In "J. McN. Dodgson and the Place-Names of Cheshire" (*Northern History* 38: 153–57), G. Fellows-Jensen eulogizes and reviews the work of the late place-name scholar John McNeal Dodgson, particularly *The Place-Names of Cheshire* with its five parts and multiple volumes as well as the twenty-five years between parts 4 and 5. Fellows-Jensen also has high praise for A. Rumble's completion of Part 5 from Dodgson's notes.

J.D.C.

*Works not seen*

Diaz, M.A.M. "Old English *æ* in Middle Kentish Place-Names: A Geographical Approach." *Variation and Variety in Middle English Language and Literature*. Ed. F.J.C. Rodriguez et al. Barcelona: Kadle, 2000. 65–74.

## 9a. Archaeology, Numismatics, Sculpture for 2000

### a. Excavations

Philip Abramson, in "A Re-examination of a Viking Age Burial at Beacon Hill, Aspatria" (*Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeol. Soc.* 100 [2000]: 79–88), discusses burial in a barrow excavated in 1789, after which all the grave goods (sent to the British Museum) and all visible traces of the barrow have been lost. A recent excavation carried out in advance of the construction of an antenna platform for a mobile phone company identified the probable site of the grave and recovered further fragments of artifacts assignable to the Viking Age. The well-illustrated coverage of both past and modern excavations provides a pertinent comment on the maxim "excavation is destruction." There are useful and well-illustrated brief accounts of important excavations in the popular archaeological journals. In "Sedgeford: Exploring an Early English Village" (*Current Archaeology* 171 [2000]: 122–29), Dominic Andrews *et al.* introduce an ambitious long-term project started in 1996 which is intended to look at all aspects of village development back to pre-history. The main excavation so far has concentrated on "Boneyard Field," a late seventh- to eighth-century Christian Anglo-Saxon cemetery from which over 200 hundred burials, some disturbed, have been excavated. There is evidence for an extensive nucleated eighth- to ninth-century settlement after this cemetery fell out of use, and possibly for a monastic settlement, with window glass, styli and painted plaster. The evidence is useful in prompting a series of questions about settlement sites of this date, which archaeologists hope to be able to answer. In "Wharram Percy" (*Brit. Archaeol.* 52 [2000]: 22–25), James Bond describes the importance of the forty years of excavation at this site in transforming our understanding of medieval village life and organization (headings such as "clean living," intended to explode the myth of a squalid lifestyle give the flavor of the article), but the thrust of it is to encourage a reading of the full excavation report.

### b. Regional Studies

*Early Deira: Archaeological Studies of the East Riding in the Fourth to the Ninth Centuries* (ed. Helen Geake and Jonathon Kenny [Oxford: Oxbow, 2000]), a collection arising from a conference held in York in 1995, provides a useful introduction to the region from a wide variety of approaches, including numismatics, art history, and bio-archaeology as well as purely archaeological

studies. Most papers look at the wider context, both geographical and political/temporal, and all grapple with recent developments in the relevant disciplines. "Early Deira" is perhaps slightly misleading as a title because the volume is mostly concerned with eastern parts of the region, but it is nevertheless an indispensable survey of work in progress in the region. It is regretted that time constraints have not permitted a detailed analysis of the various papers.

Katharina Ulmschneider ("Settlement, the Economy and the 'Productive Site': Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire A.D. 650–780," *MA* 44 [2000]: 53–79) explores the implications of the vast amount of metalwork discovered by metal-detecting over the last twenty years, with reference to the study of the Middle Saxon economy and the identification of previously unknown "productive sites." These are defined by their inland location, relation to routes of communication, the large numbers of eighth- to ninth-century coins found (over ninety at one site), and significant quantities of ferrous and non-ferrous metalwork, as well as evidence for the practice of other crafts. The region seems to have been one of outstanding wealth in the period under discussion. A valuable survey of the arguments as to whether these sites were "monastic" or secular concludes with the importance of the church (rather than the monastery) in the development of trade and the economy, possibly through the close connections of bishops, abbots, and abbesses with kings and palaces. This possibility is interesting because a connection between the church and the establishment and protection of markets also characterizes the post-Conquest period.

In "Identifying Anglo-Scandinavian Settlements" (*Cultures in Contact: Scandinavian Settlement in England in the Ninth and Tenth Centuries*, Stud. in the Early Middle Ages 2, ed. Dawn M. Hadley and Julian D. Richards [Turnhout: Brepols, 2000], 295–309), Julian Richards suggests that attempts to identify Scandinavian settlements have proved elusive. The problem is similar to that identified in other papers in the same collection, "that in England, Scandinavian culture rarely exists in an undiluted form" (302). He unpacks a number of studies that have tried to identify Scandinavian settlements, and suggests that the term "Anglo-Scandinavian" is more appropriate, "implying as it does the invention of a new identity during cultures in contact" (303). An excavated farmstead at Cottam in Yorkshire is proposed as an exemplar, occupied as it

was from at least the eighth century, but after being relocated and developed in the Viking Age in the tenth century it acquired an impressive gatehouse and new artifact types, including some in distinctive Scandinavian styles and others with a mixture of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon features. Richards denies these changes imply a change of ownership, especially as there is no sign of a violent takeover. He concludes that it demonstrates "a new ethnicity created through the interaction of cultures in contact."

### c. Urban Studies

In "Anglo-Scandinavian Attitudes: Archaeological Ambiguities in Late Ninth- to Mid-Eleventh-Century York" (*Cultures in Contact*, ed. Hadley and Richards, 311–24), R. A. Hall helpfully explains how the use of terms such as Danish, Anglo-Scandinavian and Viking evolved in antiquarian and other academic disciplines in writing about York from the nineteenth century to the present. Until recently, however, the absence of closely dated excavated data has made it difficult to discuss the material culture in relation to the political context. Appreciation of what the terms might mean has changed as archaeologists have become aware of material from across the British Isles and Scandinavia. An example of the potential ambiguity is exemplified by a discussion of a trefoil brooch, described on the one hand as of the Scandinavian Borre style, and on the other as demonstrating Winchester style applied to an object of typically Scandinavian form (318–9). In this masterful survey of the classes of material found in York and their relationship to parallel material, what emerges is a balanced view of continuity and change in a time of shifting allegiances, in which art styles can be sometimes read as statements of allegiance to one side or another, or where hybrid styles suggest expressions of compromise, of "playing safe." The firm evidence for Scandinavian trading contacts receives its due emphasis.

E.C.

### d. Migration and Identity

In "Archaeology and Migration: Approaches to an Archaeological Proof of Migration" (*Current Anthropology* 41 [2000]: 539–67), Stefan Burmeister positions the movement of Germanic peoples from the continent into late- and post-Roman Britain within a wider context of theoretical and methodological analyses of migration. Noting that debate over the Anglo-Saxon migration has been constrained by the competing models of "elite dominance" and mass population movement, Burmeister assesses the archaeological

evidence from England and the continent against characteristics common to modern migrations in an attempt to develop a more nuanced methodological framework. In examining the different ways in which particular practices are adopted and modified (or not) within immigrant populations, Burmeister emphasizes the importance of a processual perspective. Drawing on Pierre Bourdieu's notion of distinctions between external and internal cultural domains, Burmeister argues that the spread of cultural traits will vary with specific contexts. However, Burmeister's essentially functionalistic approach yields few conclusions. Commentary by Marc Andresen, David W. Anthony, Catherine M. Cameron, John Chapman, Manfred K. H. Eggert, and Heinrich Härke is followed by a reply from Burmeister. A number of these scholars criticize the limitations (and perhaps even datedness) of Burmeister's conceptions of material culture, style, and function, his rejection of the role of ethnicity as a useful theoretical tool, and his focus on macro-social units of analysis at the expense of the individual and the community. The omission from this paper of the works of American anthropological archaeologists, such as Diana DiPaolo Loren and Stephen Siliman, who have more successfully theorized issues of colonialism (the prevailing reading of the "elite dominance" model) and ethnicity, is unfortunate given Burmeister's publication venue.

A different approach to the demographics of the Anglo-Saxon migration is presented by J. L. Lloyd-Jones in his indexed Glasgow University thesis, "The Biological Affinities of Several Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Populations as Shown by Dental Morphology" (*Index to Theses* 49 [2000]: 1211–12). Drawing on a sample of remains from 799 individuals excavated at seven Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon sites and controlling for claudistic effects, Lloyd-Jones finds statistical support for biological continuity over time. These results suggest the Anglo-Saxon migration involved little population change.

Looking towards the north of the British Isles, Stephen T. Driscoll tackles the centrality of material culture to the construction, articulation and negotiation of ethnic identity in "Christian Monumental Sculpture and Ethnic Expression in Early Scotland" (*Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. William O. Frazer and Andrew Tyrell [London: Leicester UP, 2000], 233–52). Comparing archaeological, historical, and linguistic evidence, Driscoll argues that during the sixth to the eleventh centuries, the Christian Church provided a non-militaristic arena for discourse between the linked concerns of (broadly defined) ethnicity and

political power. The erection of stone monuments, such as gravestones, crosses, and decorated architectural features, and the propagation of saints' cults fostered and naturalized aristocratic power through patterns of patronage, claims to sanctity, and representations of elite activities. The regional identities of the ninth-century petty kingdoms were based on bonds between the local community and a ruler. The siting of monumental stones in and around churches, argues Driscoll, associated centralized religious activity with this emergent land-owning elite.

Jörn Staecker, in "The Mission of the Triangle: The Christianisation of the Saxons, West Slavs and Danes in a Comparative Analysis" (*Archaeol. Rev. from Cambridge* 17.2 [2000]: 99–116), likewise acknowledges the importance of a regional approach in the investigation of religious change. Combining historical sources with archaeological finds of objects bearing Christian symbolism, Staecker assesses the introduction of Christianity during the eighth and ninth centuries into the area of modern Schleswig-Holstein. Three different outcomes are detailed. The West Slavs resisted the introduction of Christian doctrine and material culture until they were subjected by the Carolingian emperors. Although Christianity likewise represented the loss of tribal identity for the Saxons, the circulation in this area of Frankish jewelry indicates cultural accommodation from the ninth century. The Danes achieved greatest success in maintaining a distinctive identity that, by the tenth century, had matured into an independent kingdom whose Christian faith legitimized royal power. The Danish accomplishment of subverting a religion associated by the Saxons and West Slavs with colonial coercion raises intriguing questions about the role of belief systems in medieval nation-building.

#### e. Artifacts and Iconography

Morphological and microscopic analyses of mineralized and waterlogged organic remains from Anglo-Saxon sword scabbards and knife sheaths are presented by Esther A. Cameron in two publications, first as an indexed University of Oxford thesis (*Index to Theses* 49 [2000]: 1614) and again as a monograph published with the same title (*British Archaeological Reports, British Series* 301 [Oxford: Archaeopress, 2000]). In "Sheaths and Scabbards in England AD 400–1100," Cameron addresses leather-processing techniques, such as hardening and vegetable tanning, which demonstrates the dynamism of Anglo-Saxon craft production. During the fifth century, Germanic and native British traditions of hide production

prevailed. Vegetable tanned leather may have first been imported into Anglo-Saxon England as a trade good, but between the seventh and ninth centuries, indigenous leather production and working activities developed at Ipswich, Lindisfarne, and Flixborough. Ninth- to eleventh-century leather finds at York and an eleventh-century tannery at Winchester testify to industrial growth. Cameron also notes that changes over time in the visual elaboration of scabbards and sheaths may indicate the decreasing importance of weaponry in public display. The decorative bindings of fifth- and early sixth-century scabbards became less popular in late sixth and early seventh centuries and, by the eighth to eleventh century, scabbards assumed a functional appearance. A descriptive corpus of principal sheaths and scabbards in the longer publication provides a useful data source for researchers.

The premier collection of early medieval jewelry in North America resides at the Metropolitan Museum in New York City. Largely amassed by financier J.P. Morgan and donated to the Metropolitan by his son in 1917, with additional acquisitions through more recent gifts and purchases, these collections include objects from such significant early medieval sites as Vermand, Szilágy-Somlyó, and Herpes. In "Eclectic Art of the Early Anglo-Saxon Jewelry" (*From Attila to Charlemagne: Arts of the Early Medieval Period in the Metropolitan Museum of Art*, ed. Katharine Reynolds Brown, et al. [New York: Metropolitan Museum of Art, 2000], 282–91), John Hines examines fourteen items of women's jewelry, largely of "Kentish" style, predominantly decorated with Style I animal ornament, and primarily of sixth century date. Hines's presentation is mainly descriptive. Although he masterfully situates the bird brooches, miniature square-headed brooches, pendants, and single disc brooch with Anglo-Saxon and continental metalwork repertoires, Hines's discussion of the great square-headed brooch demonstrates the author's virtuoso knowledge of this brooch type's distribution, design elements, and stylistic development.

Papers presented in a symposium examining the Gandersheim Casket held at Braunschweig on March 24–26, 1999, form the basis of the volume edited by Regine Marth: *Das Gandersheimer Runenkästchen* (Braunschweig: Herzog-Anton-Ulrich-Museum, 2000). These collected papers demonstrate the rewards of subjecting a single object to acute and intimate study, as contributors engage in a scholarly dialogue in which interpretations and results are variously amplified, contested, and re-interpreted. An introduction to the casket's composition and construction is presented by Hans-Werner Pape in "Das Gandersheimer



Runenkästchen—Technische Analyse, Material und Montage" (19–34). Pape demonstrates that the proportions and layout of the casket are dominated by three geometric shapes—circle, square, and equilateral triangle—derived from architectural design. The casket is determined to have been made from panels of walrus tusk (an assessment which Leslie Webster disputes in her volume paper) bound by brass alloy fittings. X-ray fluorescence spectrometry indicates that the alloys from which the casket's metal components were fabricated are approximately identical, although the workmanship exhibited by the individual fittings differs in quality and techniques. Evidence for reworking suggests that the casket's original shape has not been preserved. Carol Neuman de Vegvar, in "The Iconography of the Gandersheim Casket" (35–42), situates the identification of zoomorphic compositional elements within a discussion of the casket's role as a reliquary or chrismal. Scenes representing griffins whose extended body parts interlace with curling plant branches decorate both end panels and the center of the front and back panels of the lid. Neuman de Vegvar associates these images specifically with the beliefs about the true vine of Christ's body and, ultimately, eucharistic redemption and martyrdom. Other early medieval reliquary buckles, sarcophagi, chancel screens, and altar cloths iconographically connect the plant-entwined griffins of the Gandersheim Casket with images of eternal life in both reliquary and eucharistic contexts. The iconographic knowledge and implied quantity of models on the continent suggests that the casket was created in either a continental center or an Anglo-Saxon workshop with strong continental connections. Neuman de Vegvar identifies other creatures portrayed elsewhere on the casket as most likely representing foxes, an animal widely reviled in early Church writings through associations with heresy. The combination of the worldly and fantastic images decorating the casket, concludes Neuman de Vegvar, indicates that its walls mediated between its sacred contents and the mundane world outside. The production site of the Gandersheim Casket is positioned more specifically by Richard Bailey, who argues in "The Gandersheim Casket and Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture" (43–52) that the casket's sculptural links with monastic Peterborough indicate a Mercian origin. Stone carvings from Peterborough, its religious colonies at Castor and Fletton and its more distant neighbors at South Kyme, Breedon, and possibly Ely bear affinity to the range and combination of zoomorphic, scroll, and interlace motifs worked in walrus ivory or whale bone and copper alloy on the casket. Bailey does not rule out the possibility, however, that the aesthetic tastes illustrated by the Gandersheim Casket were current in

other media, such as metalwork, whose distribution extended beyond that of the localized stone carvings on which his argument is based.

While acknowledging affinities between early medieval sculptural and manuscript art, Leslie Webster's "Style and Function of the Gandersheim Casket" (63–72) focuses its attention on analogous eighth- and ninth-century metalwork and bone and ivory carvings. The find spots of stylistically related metalwork, concentrated predominantly in the east Midlands and East Anglia with outliers in Kent, Wessex, and Northumbria, support a Mercian origin for the casket. Webster argues that the rigorous architecture of the casket with its geometric symmetry and variation of design, numerological referents, and centrally-positioned spiraling image of creation articulates cosmological order. Within this harmonious and divinely-constructed arrangement, the curling foliage ornamenting the end walls and lid iconographically unites messages about Christ's redemptive sacrifice and eternal life. According to Webster, these images, which evoke the eucharist's central themes, indicate that the casket served as a chrismal to contain the consecrated host. The Gandersheim Casket's similarities to other early and high medieval boxes or caskets are examined by Egon Wamers in "Zur Funktion des Gandersheimer Runenkästchens" (73–82). Wamers distinguishes the Gandersheim Casket both from the Merovingian, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian boxes often found as containers for textiles and other paraphernalia in women's graves and from the Viking-period chests used to store provisions, clothing, and equipment. While the Gandersheim Casket can be closely associated with a group of early and high medieval rectangular boxes to which a sacral or liturgical function has been attributed, the casket best parallels a group of house-shaped reliquaries and chrismals. These small shrines appear in Frankish and Mediterranean milieux from the sixth century and in Anglo-Saxon, Irish, and Carolingian contexts from the eighth century. The exterior of these boxes are typically ornamented with designs whose iconography recalls the Christian concerns of salvation, holy relics, and the eucharist feast; the shape of these boxes evokes church buildings or tombs. While Wamers identifies the morphological and iconographical similarities of the Gandersheim Casket to these house-shaped shrines, he interprets its sacral function broadly as either a reliquary or a chrismal. Victor H. Elbern, in "Das Gandersheimer Runenkästchen—Versuchen einer ikonographischen Synthese" (83–90) further considers the Gandersheim Casket within the iconographic schema of early medieval house-shaped shrines. According to Elbern, the

representation of beasts dwelling in the air, land, and water, in conjunction with the numerical symbolism of the panel arrangements, alludes to the six days of creation. A comparison with manuscripts, reliquaries, and baptismal fonts moreover indicates reference to God's life-giving powers through use on the casket of the trumpet spiral motif and the tree-like vine scrolls. This iconographic representation of "all things in Christ, both which are in heaven, and which are on earth" (Eph 1:10) enables an understanding of the casket's role as a chrismal in the individual sacraments of re-creation—baptism and confirmation. The runic inscription engraved on the metal base frame of the casket is variously considered by Gaby Waxenberger, Elmar Seebold, and Tienieke Looijenga and Theo Vennemann. Waxenberger, in "The Inscription on the Gandersheim Casket and the Runes in the Old English Rune Corpus (Epigraphical Material)" (91–104), compares the runes of the Gandersheim Casket with others in the Old English corpus. Epigraphically, the Gandersheim reading is composed both of runes that occur elsewhere in Old English inscriptions as well as unusual and anomalous characters.

In "Die Runeninschrift auf dem Gandersheimer Kästchen" (105–09), Seebold notes that the inscription, crafted of eighth-century English runes, was copied twice from a pattern. Seebold considers the language of the text, translated as referring to a housing for clothing, to most likely be Anglian. This reading suggests to Seebold that the casket served as a reliquary for pieces of the Virgin's clothing. A very different interpretation is offered by Looijenga and Vennemann, in "The Runic Inscription of the Gandersheim Casket" (111–20) who read the runic legend as a baptismal evocation. Looijenga and Vennemann interpret the star rune in the inscription by itself and in combination as a chrism and as the sacred chi-rho monogram. References to the star rune, number mysticism, and a reading of the runic text suggest that the casket contained holy oils. These oils and the chrism, all of which receive episcopal consecration together, may represent the professional equipment of a bishop. The introduction on the continent of an Anglo-Saxon confirmation ritual at the same time that this Mercian or Northumbrian box was fabricated, argue Looijenga and Vennemann, suggests a missionary context for the casket's use. The casket, currently in the collection of the Herzog Anton Ulrich-Museum, Kunstmuseum des Landes Niedersachsen, Braunschweig, takes its attribution from the former imperial convent at Gandersheim. In a closing chapter entitled, "Zu Kirchenschatz und Kunstbesitz des Reichsstifts Gandersheim" (139–52), Johannes Zahlten attempts to reconstruct

the casket's provenance. The casket is not listed in extant twelfth-, sixteenth-, or seventeenth-century convent inventories, but appears first in an 1815 citation placing it in the Herzogliches Museum in Braunschweig. Zahlten suggests that the casket may have been housed in the convent's library and gallery prior to the collection's dispersal when the convent was dissolved in 1810.

In "The 'Robed Christ' in Pre-Conquest Sculptures of the Crucifixion" (ASE 29 [2000]: 153–76), Elizabeth Coatsworth considers the chronology, distribution, and stylistic affinities of a particular iconographic image of Christ's crucifixion. Demonstrating the use of this image in manuscripts, bronze plaques, ivory carvings and stone sculptures, Coatsworth identifies a group of pre-Viking works whose high quality, emphasis on certain details, and regional interpretations of popular iconography underscore the cultural hegemony of early medieval monastic centers. From the ninth century, depictions of Christ covered by a loincloth prevailed over those of the "robed Christ" in Anglo-Saxon England. However, this image continued in popularity perhaps as late as the thirteenth century in the Irish church and, to a lesser extent, in Ottonian Europe. Coatsworth suggests that during the late pre-Conquest period the "robed Christ" was re-introduced from Ireland in Northumbria in areas of Scandinavian settlement. The simplified iconography and crude manufacture may represent a copying from older models in the furtherance of religious observations not recorded in documentary sources.

G.C.F.

Lloyd Laing, in "The Chronology and Context of Pictish Relief Sculpture" (MA 44 [2000]: 137–53), tentatively proposes a new scheme for re-dating Pictish relief sculpture based on representations of artifacts (mainly weapons) that can be dated archaeologically, decorative elements that can be associated with the Viking period (such as motifs possibly inspired by Jellinge ornament), and details of animal ornament. This method leads the author to date a number of sculptures to a later period than is the usual practice. The paper is well illustrated with both drawings and photographs, but the fact that Viking period animal ornament, e.g., can develop motifs already found in earlier Anglian sculpture and in Hiberno-Saxon manuscripts is not considered as a balancing factor. A short but important paper in the same issue of MA, "A Seventh-Century Pectoral Cross from Holderness, East Yorkshire" by Arthur MacGregor (217–22), offers a detailed description of a gold and garnet inlaid pectoral cross found in 1999. Its importance lies in the

fact that, though an artifact of Christian significance, its method of manufacture and aspects of its design "speak of continuity rather than change" (221). David Parsons, in "Odda's Chapel, Deerhurst: Place of Worship or Royal Hall" (also *MA* 44: 148), disposes of a possible argument that the phrase *regia aula* in the most significant of the two dedication inscriptions from this site could refer to a royal hall rather than the small building close to St. Mary's Deerhurst and usually identified as a small chapel. He cites other sources that show that the phrase was widely used in reference to a basilica (as a hall of the King of Kings).

Richard Bryant and David Viner in "A Late Saxon Sculptural Fragment from All Saints' Church, Somerford Keynes" (*Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.* 117 [2000 for 1999]: 155–58) take the opportunity for a fresh study occasioned by the need to conserve and re-display a recently broken fragment of Anglo-Saxon sculpture. The most unusual and fascinating feature of the fragment, first cited in 1893, is that it is cut to the shape of the two Ringerike-style beasts it represents. Somerford Keynes is near Bibury where the same style is also found, which suggests a local workshop operative in the first half of the eleventh century. The authors convincingly suggest that the fragment is part of the head- or foot-stone of a grave. In "A Newly Identified Figure of a Virgin from a Late Anglo-Saxon Rood at Great Hale, Lincolnshire" (*AntJ* 80 [2000]: 285–94), Paul Everson and David Stocker record a single find of great importance from the wider study for the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Sculpture* (vol. 5, 1999, on Lincolnshire). The piece was re-used as the west jamb of a window in the south wall of the west tower of the church, which, though the tower had been studied previously, had never been published. The stone was part of a larger group, clear from the fact that the edge molding is absent on two of its sides. It is almost certainly the figure of the Virgin from a large crucifixion group, made like the small group of other surviving examples on separate slabs. The iconography is briefly discussed. One of the most interesting suggestions is that the stone was clearly intended to remain visible in its new position: the "iconic" re-use of earlier sculpture is noted elsewhere in their Lincolnshire study.

One of the same authors, David Stocker, again draws on his work on Lincolnshire pre-Conquest sculpture for "Monuments and Merchants: Irregularities in the Distribution of Stone Sculpture in Lincolnshire and Yorkshire in the Tenth Century" (*Cultures in Contact*, ed. Hadley and Richards, 179–212). He argues that from the evidence of Lincolnshire, the surviving

stones at many churches represent "a relatively large percentage of the original total number of monuments provided at each church" (180–2); that generally each church only ever had small numbers (one, two or three at each site); and that they were the exclusive monuments of a lordly elite, set up as "the founding monuments in a new generation of parochial graveyards" (182). The handful of churches in Lincolnshire having larger numbers of surviving monuments that do not fit the pattern, he suggests, present evidence for a "free mercantile [Anglo-Scandinavian] elite," noting the association of these groups with evidence for beach markets or strands suitable for trading ships. Although it is far from certain that every site has been combed for all possible evidence of sculpture, and despite the evident removal of sculpture for buildings, rockeries, and road-making, the analysis is interesting and may have validity for tenth-century sculpture in Lincolnshire, where, the author points out, "individual burial under a stone was apparently novel." The Anglo-Scandinavian association is also apparent in the art styles, which derive from Hiberno-Norse prototypes that can be traced to Yorkshire, northwest England and the Isle of Man. However, the author also believes that the patterns he has identified hold good for the same period in Yorkshire, even though he acknowledges the region shows a strong pre-tenth-century tradition of stone sculpture and a previous and continuing association with ecclesiastical sites. The analysis is less convincing for this more complex situation, although it is strong enough to merit serious consideration even if it is finally rejected. His discussion of the significance of the bear carvings on hogback monuments is very interesting (198–9).

Phil Sidebottom ("Viking Age Stone Monuments and Social Identity in Derbyshire," *Cultures in Contact*, ed. Hadley and Richards, 213–35) puts forward a theory already expounded in an article reviewed last year, that "rather than being merely a product of contemporary fashion, most Viking Age stone monuments both reflected and contributed to distinct social groupings which may be revealed by analysis of their iconography and distribution." Few art historians would consider any art form or style evolved divorced from its social context. However, art style and style of carving must have some weight in dating and grouping sculpture: analysis of decorative elements could never be enough, given that some elements have an immensely long history. Divorced from the analysis in the thesis on which this is based, it is not possible for a reader to decide the validity of the groupings relating to secular land-divisions and a consequent re-dating of some pieces.

Technological study of Anglo-Saxon metalwork continues to attract considerable attention, as does the group of early medieval metalwork from southern England of the fifth century linked by the features identifying the "Quoit-brooch Style." The two are combined in Peter Inker ("Technology as Active Material Culture: the Quoit-brooch Style," *MA* 44 [2000]: 25–52). As the author points out "while the Quoit-brooch style is accepted as a formal art style, art historical approaches have failed to 'explain' the Quoit-brooch style." He proposes that technology and technique "result from social behaviours and are active indicators of social meaning, albeit of a less-conscious kind [than art styles and 'material culture' generally]." He is rightly concerned with healing the conventional split in thinking about artist and artisan, which here is traced to the industrial revolution, although a case can be made for its inception in the ideas of the Renaissance. While noting that technique plays its part in the development of style (27), in practice he accepts art-historical bases for the style to provide a body of material for study. The technological study of this material is an analysis of punch marks examined under a scanning electron microscope, and it is not quite clear in the end how it can be put together with the study of style and motif from visual examination. Gabor Thomas ("Anglo-Scandinavian Metalwork from the Danelaw," *Cultures in Contact*, ed. Hadley and Richards, 237–55) suggests that the abundance of Anglo-Scandinavian metalwork discovered in recent years, especially in northern and eastern England, not only provides information about contemporary occupation sites and metalwork production but also about "the nature and process of cultural assimilation between the Scandinavian immigrants and local British populations" (237). A useful discussion of the nature of the evidence and its use (and abuse) in identifying, for example, ethnicity or status, concludes with the discovery that "Winchester style" metalwork was being manufactured as well as circulated in the region. It highlights the mixed cultural and artistic milieu of the Danelaw. The ensuing discussion of the new material illustrating this point focuses on one brooch type and strap-ends, and is well-illustrated by examples and distribution maps.

A fascinating account of the effect of an industrial process on the development of the medieval landscape is provided in Margaret Cox *et al.*, "Early Medieval Hemp Retting at Glasson Moss, Cumbria, in the Context of the Use of *Cannabis Sativa* during the Historic Period" (*Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian and Archaeol. Soc.* 100 [2000]: 131–50). The landscape in question came to notice in

1976 after the most serious of a series of fires following drainage intended to facilitate peat extraction. Aerial photographs and fieldwork between 1996–7 suggested that natural pools within Glasson Moss were used for hemp retting (part of the process of the production of flax). Water levels were controlled by the construction of narrow ditches and possibly by simple sluice systems. One pool, which had been used for retting from the seventh century, was examined in detail, using radio-carbon dating and historical research. The historical work (e.g., a study of field and place names in Cumbria relating to retting) and laboratory work (e.g., pollen analysis) is described in sufficient detail for the expert reader. This is an important article because flax and other vegetable fibers used in textile and cordage rarely survive in the archaeological record. Also of importance is the suggestion of medieval environmental management in restricting this polluting process to an area isolated from both humans and cattle.

#### f. Death and Burial

Two papers from *Treasure in the Medieval West* (ed. Elizabeth M. Tyler [Woodbridge, Suffolk: York Medieval Press, 2000]) cover the burial practice at Sutton Hoo and its relationship to the poem *Beowulf*, but in very contrasting styles. Martin Carver in "Burial as Poetry: The Context of Treasure in Anglo-Saxon Graves" (25–48) comes across as polemic, at times witty, on the various notions of "value" and "meaning" attached to Anglo-Saxon burials. The first section is partly a history of how burials including "treasure" were defined and dealt with up to and including the 1996 Treasure Act; it concludes with a bitter but possibly just analysis of the process of transferring Sutton Hoo from private to public ownership, in which the author "soon discovered the weakness of negotiating for any value that could not be expressed in money." The second part looks at the attempts by twentieth-century archaeologists to explain the significance of the "treasure" found in Sutton Hoo Mound 1. He is scornful of the "explanation" that the goods in the grave represented the personal possessions of an individual in preparation for his journey to the next world and of the attempt to relate the burial and the eighth- to tenth-century poem *Beowulf* to a common East Anglian/Danish milieu. He makes a strong plea for seeing the both as "statements" arising out of a particular mindset—which of course raises the problem as to how this mind-set itself is defined. The idea that Sutton Hoo should be seen as "innovative and unexpected" in the context of its own time and "not a lingering on of previous practice," for which the

evidence is hard to seek (37), however, offers a valuable insight. The section in which the burial is seen as a specifically un-Christian, anti-European text is less successful, particularly in view of recent research suggesting that furnished burial cannot be seen as clear evidence of paganism (see Halsall, below). In the same volume, Leslie Webster's "Ideal and Reality: Versions of Treasure in the Early Anglo-Saxon World" (49–59) is a much less heated assessment of the same period of deposition and of its relationship with the later poem. It begins by relating the importance of constantly circulating and massive amounts of treasure to the contemporary ideas of the king and kingship. This movement contrasts with the immobility and selectiveness of treasure deposited in a burial which at the time of deposition gave "a carefully constructed and wholly public message about how the 'princely state' is maintained by fighting, tribute and treasure" (52), with the burial of the Merovingian king Childeric at Tournai in 481–2 as a type. The situation of Britain, on the periphery of the treasure culture from Roman and Byzantine sources, is shown to be different, with the exception of Kent's connections to Merovingian Gaul. Taplow and Sutton Hoo, both outside Kent, are defined in relation to this: Taplow as a statement of Kentish hegemony; Sutton Hoo Mound I as a statement of East Anglian dynastic claims made through a "deliberate evocation of Germanic tradition and Roman antecedence" (56). *Beowulf* is related to its cultural context, in which earthly treasure brings only grief and is again assigned to the earth: it specifically does not relate to Sutton Hoo or any such actual royal burial for "nothing [outside the poem] more graphically suggests the distance travelled between the free-booting gold-hungry *realpolitik* of the Anglo-Saxon Dark Ages and the Augustinian Brave New Worlds beyond" (59). Impressive in the range of literary, documentary, and archaeological sources employed, this paper comes to a view quite opposite to Carver's in the paper discussed immediately above.

In "The Viking Presence in England? The Burial Evidence Re-considered" (*Cultures in Contact*, ed. Hadley and Richards, 259–76), G. Halsall brings to bear his experience of the funerary data of the period 350–700 to the attempt to use remains from "Viking" burials as evidence for Scandinavian settlement in England. He points to the "diverse and dynamic nature" of burial practice throughout the first millennium. He uses the fact that at least ten changes in the method of placing the dead have been identified in the first seven and a half centuries to suggest the need for caution in assessing arguments which "attribute any divergence from generally assumed 'norms' to immigrant 'peoples'"

(261). The diverse nature of burial practices in Scandinavia is also a problem. He shows that convincing evidence for Scandinavian cremation burial comes down to one site (Heath Wood, Ingleby, Derbyshire), while evidence for other rites is even less decisive, especially since he believes furnished burial did not die out with such finality in the eighth century as has often been assumed. He emphasizes that there is no necessary opposition between Christianity and the deposition of grave goods, as have other writers in recent years. He also considers that the practice of depositing valuable weapons in rivers did not cease with conversion. He concludes that "all in all, then, very little of the material from the furnished burials of ninth- to tenth-century northern England may be assigned to a Scandinavian origin" (269), even though some such graves contain some objects of Scandinavian or possibly Scandinavian type. A few graves, however, all falling around c. 900 can be read as texts illustrating a time of change tied to the creation of the Scandinavian Danelaw earldoms and the kingdom of York, although it cannot be assumed that those buried in the graves were themselves of Scandinavian origin. Some of these ideas are now becoming commonplace, but it is not clear how those graves that can be so read can be distinguished from other late furnished burials. Martin Paul Evison ("All in the Genes? Evaluating the Biological Evidence of Contact and Migration," *Cultures in Contact* ed. Hadley and Richards, 277–94) is similarly cautionary. He provides a useful history of attempts from the nineteenth century onwards to analyze biological evidence relating to the peoples of early medieval Britain, which were made in the hope of distinguishing immigrant communities from indigenous groups. The descent into racism of some of these ideas is not overlooked. The author is sceptical of the likelihood of success for many of the methods employed, although he prefers genetic measurements (which are not subject to environmental influence) over measurements of physical characteristics, such as height (which are). The similar genetic make up of adjacent European populations may not allow clear distinctions to be made between "native" and "incoming" groups, although some hope is expressed for the future use of maternally inherited mitochondrial DNA and paternally inherited Y chromosome polymorphisms. However, the only plausible genetic evidence he concedes is one reflecting the Scandinavian influx, but only in regions such as Cumbria and northeast Derbyshire which were relatively sparsely populated prior to Scandinavian settlement. A fascinating study, well explained for those non-biologists interested in the possibilities of these techniques.

E.C.

In "Grave-Goods in 'Conversion Period' and Later Burials—a Case of Early Medieval Religious Double Standards?" (*Double Standards in the Ancient and Medieval World*, ed. Karla Pollmann; Göttinger Forum für Altertumswissenschaft, Beiheft 1 [Göttingen: Duehrkohp & Radicke, 2000], 149–66), Sonja Marzinzik considers whether use of the furnished burial rite during the seventh and eighth centuries among the Anglo-Saxons, Franks, Burgundians, Alamans, Saxons, and Bavarians represents a conflict between individual practice and religious orthodoxy. In so doing, Marzinzik rejects the peculiarities of local history and casts Anglo-Saxon England into a wider Germanic cultural sphere in which similarities of behavior are assumed to mark similarities of meaning. While the advent of Christianity has in the past been considered instrumental in the disappearance of grave-goods, the incorporation of Christian iconography into dress accessories adorning the dead and the existence of furnished burials within churches suggests that the Church accommodated these practices. A more recent explanation posits the furnished burial rite as an arena for social interaction in which families sought prestige and power through the public display of conspicuous wealth. While Marzinzik considers this "socio-anthropological" interpretation to be unsatisfactory, its advocates do articulate the importance of the family as a corporate unit in a way akin to Marzinzik's own emphasis on burial as a family affair. Relying on written continental sources, Marzinzik argues that the dead were prepared for burial with dignity and dressed appropriately to their social identity and that these practices, considered the province of the family, were accepted by the Church. By the ninth century, the elite had abandoned the furnished burial rite as structural changes removed its economic motivation and means.

Religious belief as a behavioral motivation during a period of political and spiritual unrest is further explored in Aleks Pluskowski, "The Sacred Gallows: Sacrificial Hanging to Óðinn" (*Archaeol. Review from Cambridge* 17.2 [2000]: 55–81). The ritual of sacred hanging, as presented in the writings of Procopius, Tacitus, Ibn Rustah, and Adam of Bremen and as evoked in eddic and saga poetry, argues Pluskowski, provides a context for assessing two groups of execution burials excavated at Sutton Hoo. Through associations with cultic sacrifices to Woden, these burials may manifest the defiant paganism with which the East Anglian elite of the late sixth and early seventh centuries confronted Christian hegemony. Closer chronological control over the execution burials, particularly in view of their broad sixth to tenth century

dates, would bring needed rigor to Pluskowski's argument. However, the siting of religious motivations within a network of political and economic relationships is most refreshing.

Recognition that modern definitions of gender and even of biological sex are culturally proscribed has led to a reconsideration of early medieval gender identity. Christopher Knüsel and Catherine Ripley, in "The 'Berdache' or Man-woman in Anglo-Saxon England and Early Medieval Europe" (*Social Identity in Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Frazer and Tyrell, 157–91), examine early Anglo-Saxon burials in which artifactual and osteological analyses produce conflicting results for the gender of the deceased. Noting that "third sex" or man-woman individuals can be identified in cultures worldwide, the authors suggest that such apparent discrepancies in early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, which generally take the form of female-associated grave-goods furnishing a biologically male skeleton, may represent the presence of gender-ambiguous individuals. Drawing lavishly on historical and ethnographic literature from outside the Anglo-Saxon world, Knüsel and Ripley propose that socially and sexually liminal man-woman individuals assumed the role of ritual specialists or shamans. However, by basing their conclusions on finds from only four cemeteries, the authors' analysis and interpretation are compromised by sampling bias. For example, Knüsel and Ripley's claim that weaving implements did not furnish osteologically male skeletons buried with female-associated gravegoods is contradicted by finds from burials at Beckford A, Castledyke South, and possibly Edix Hill, all sites not included in their survey. Moreover, the presentation of the data in chart form, without any sort of statistical testing, unfortunately draws into question whether any of the associations discussed are empirically valid and, if so, at what level of significance.

Much of the current archaeological writing on Anglo-Saxon gender identity equates particular artifact types with undifferentiated, and generally binary, categories of gender, thereby essentializing the diversity of individual experience. Nick Stoodley, in "From Cradle to Grave: Age Organization and the Early Anglo-Saxon Burial Rite" (*World Archaeology* 31.3 [2000]: 456–72), marks a welcome development from such objectification by illustrating how the construction of gender identity changed during an individual's lifetime. Drawing on a sample of 1230 undisturbed burials from forty-six Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, Stoodley seeks to identify broad patterns of age organization. Attributes relating to wealth (as measured by the number of gravegoods and number of objects incorporating precious metals)

and a standardized burial ritual (single, supine burial in a coffin or marked grave) are shown to differentiate between age groups. Male and female lifecycles followed separate gender patterns: for males, the principal threshold occurred in the late teens, perhaps in association with entrance into a warrior role; in contrast, females passed through four distinct stages. Gender identity was not constructed solely around biological developments: "physiological aging acted as a template around which a cultural system of classification was defined" (469). Stoodley's work is an important demonstration that gender was neither the sole dimension of social role nor even of constant quality during an individual's life.

G.C.F.

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## 9b. Archaeology, Numismatics, Sculpture for 2001

### a. Excavations

A trenching excavation conducted near Fakenham (Norfolk) is reported by Andy Shelley with contributions by Sue Anderson, John A. Davies, Julia Huddle, Lynne Keys, and Alice Lyon in "Excavations at North and South Creak, 1997" (*Norfolk Archaeology* 43 [2001]: 566–88). The large quantity of finds produced through prior metal-detecting activity, including a tenth-century Viking chain terminal, a St. Edmund memorial penny (AD 895–905) and Saxon mounts and brooches, indicated early settlement in the area.

The excavation, which shadowed the course of a pipe trench at the width of 0.7 meters for nearly one kilometer, produced a series of features dated to Saxon through the medieval periods. Of particular interest here is the discovery of two tenth- or eleventh-century corn-drying kilns containing the residues of wheat, oat, barley, rye, arable weed seeds, and heathland plants; one kiln also held the remains of land and marine shells and animal bones. The discovery of smithing "hearth-bottoms," possibly incorporated into the floor of one kiln, indicates that metal-working and corn drying were contemporaneous. However,

associated farm buildings were not located. Despite recovery of local Middle and Late Saxon pottery and a possible Ringerike-style mount or harness fitting, as well as other metalwork, the excavation yielded surprisingly little evidence for the intensity of settlement indicated by metal-detecting finds, which suggests that these objects may have been displaced from actual sites on higher ground nearby.

In Cambridgeshire, excavations within two Fenland villages of known medieval origin inform on earlier stages of local settlement. "Late Saxon and Medieval Village Remains at Longstanton, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Excavations at Home Farm 1997" (*Four Sites in Cambridgeshire: Excavations at Pode Hole Farm, Paston, Longstanton, and Bassingbourn, 1996-7*, Birmingham University Field Archaeology Unit Monograph Series 4, British Archaeological Reports British Series 322 [Oxford: BAR, 2001], 63-103) by Peter Ellis and Stephanie Ratkai details the results of geophysical survey, fieldwalking, and area excavation at Home Farm. The nature of Late Saxon activity, as indicated by ditches and ceramics, could not be characterized in the absence of structural evidence. Nevertheless, the location and intensity of Late Saxon and earlier medieval finds suggests an expansion of settlement area outside of the core village during this time. The absence of evidence for settlement shift (as opposed to expansion) is interpreted as indicating a pre-twelfth-century origin for other polyfocal villages in Cambridgeshire.

In "Saxon and Medieval Occupation at Bassingbourn, Cambridgeshire: Archaeological Excavations in Church Close, 1997" (*Four Sites in Cambridgeshire*, 104-28), Peter Ellis, Catharine Mould, and Stephanie Ratkai describe excavations conducted just north of the presumed village center. While limited evidence of medieval activity was found, Early/Middle Saxon, Late Saxon, and Saxo-Norman finds enable an understanding of settlement development in this community. The Early/Middle Saxon features, dated by ceramic evidence, consist of ditches and possible structures. Early Saxon activity appears unrelated to the subsequent village development, and the authors hypothesize instead that these ditches mark a connection with an isolated farmstead or a large estate of Romano-British origin. Changes in ditch layouts associated with Saxo-Norman domestic activity indicate the creation during the Late Saxon period of the allotment divisions and village formation extant today. As at Longstanton, settlement areas at the polyfocal village at Bassingbourn shifted over time.

G.C.F.

Peter Hill's paper on "Whithorn, Latinus and the Origins of Christianity in Northern Britain" (*Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, ed. Helena Hamerow and Arthur MacGregor [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001], 23-32) is concerned with the difficulties thrown up by the history of St. Ninian and Whithorn from documentary sources, and focuses on the probable historical context for the earliest archaeological and epigraphic evidence. He accepts Charles Thomas's view that the *Latinus* stone is "not a simple memorial in inaccurate provincial Latin ... but a significant and enigmatic statement composed by a scholar and intended for a literate audience" (24). He reprises the archaeological evidence for a fifth-century settlement with a lime-washed (white) church, and relates the evidence from these two sources to the diaspora of Pelagians after this doctrine was declared heretical in 418. It is a lively, speculative account, but frustrating if the reader has not read (and accepted) Thomas on the epigraphy. Deirdre O'Sullivan in the same volume ("Space, Silence and Shortages in Lindisfarne: The Archaeology of Asceticism," 33-52) offers a very interesting discussion on the implications for archaeologists of the many areas of monastic ideology, of which asceticism is one example, not obviously accessible through the surviving material culture. Nevertheless, as she points out, monasteries often developed as significant economic institutions, probably leading to tensions between materiality and spirituality. She discusses the physical landscape of Lindisfarne as itself the spiritual landscape, with possible traces of a processional way surviving in the plan of the present village. On a front straddling the economic and the spiritual, she identifies a specialized production site with quantities of juvenile cattle remains, possibly for the production of calf skins for the monastic scriptorium. Among the sculpture she considers there is a lack of monumentality, and in the archaeological finds-record a lack of personal possessions such as dress fittings. She concludes that Lindisfarne is important in attempting to assess early medieval ideas of space and place, and that economic determinism alone will never provide an adequate approach to the archaeology of monasticism. "Wealth, Waste and Conspicuous Consumption: Flixborough and its Importance for Mid and Late Anglo-Saxon Settlement Studies" by Christopher Loveluck (79-130) demonstrates the changes which took place on the site from the seventh to the tenth/eleventh centuries. Its origins show a rural but high status site, going through first a period in which there was considerable evidence for craft activity, notably textile production, and literacy (both in the eighth to ninth centuries); then a period

of decreased craft production; and finally a period in which the scale and diversity of craft specialisation had definitely decreased, but large new buildings suggest continuing or renewed affluence. The evidence is discussed in relation to the difficulty of identifying a site as monastic or not. In the absence of documents, he suggests that the evidence for literacy, including the discovery of styli at the site, cannot in itself be assumed to point to a monastery rather than a secular site. Many of the finds appear to suggest high status consumption. This paper, which also considers the quality of available evidence, and O'Sullivan's in the same volume, represent important contributions to this ongoing debate.

### b. Regional Studies

The 2001 bibliography contained two regional studies, both collections of papers based on previous conferences, and both covering a wide range of aspects of material culture as well as archaeology and history.

The first, edited by Michelle P. Brown and Carol A. Farr (*Mercia: an Anglo-Saxon Kingdom in Europe* [London: Leicester UP, 2001]) is concerned with the definition and development of this area in the pre-Viking period, but it does not always prove easy to stick to these limits. Martin Welch, in "The Archaeology of Mercia" (147–59), provides an overview of current knowledge of the North Midlands of England from solely archaeological sources, which he believes are beginning to be numerous enough "to reduce the traditional dominance of architectural and art-historical studies for the archaeology of the Christian period" in this area. Della Hooke ("Mercia: Landscape and Environment," 161–72) discusses the problems inherent in assessing an early landscape in terms of territorial units, but in so doing provides a fascinating account of a development from early territories through a process of fragmentation into the townships and proto-manors of the late tenth and early eleventh centuries, while the early minster *parochiae* were similarly broken up into ecclesiastical parishes. The development of woodland areas is related to an increased interest in hunting by late Anglo-Saxon kings; the development of the open field system of agriculture is shown to coincide with the increasing nucleation of settlements, again in the late Anglo-Saxon period. The discussion of trade and communications overlaps with Welch's paper, but shows the importance of introducing the relevant contemporary documents into the discussion. David Hill's "Mercians: the Dwellers on the Boundary" (173–82) is a lively account of the uncertainties of the Mercian frontier with Wales until the Norman Conquest,

marred only by the smallness of the maps and absence from them of some features mentioned more than once in the text. Gareth Williams in "Mercian Coinage and Authority" (21–28) outlines the development of the coinage largely based on the classification of C.E. Blunt, and discusses the problems (some caused by the growing body of metal-detector finds) which this model has raised, and the implications of attempts to revise it. Particularly interesting are aspects of the coinage on matters with appeal to non-numismatists, such as the significance of silver pennies in the name of Offa's queen, Cynethryth (possibly, Williams concludes, a conscious imitation of Roman practice rather than a demonstration of unusual authority for a Mercian queen); the silver coins in the name of the Archbishop of Canterbury; and the survival of gold coins, only one or two, but so far unique among late Anglo-Saxon kingdoms. The story of Mercian issues of coinage is usefully continued until the introduction of a unified national coinage under Edgar. A number of papers look at aspects of iconography and the evidence this provides for the function of art objects. Jane Hawkes ("Constructing Iconographies: Questions of Identity in Mercian Sculpture," 230–45) contests the thesis that plant scrolls forms in Southumbria, allowing for local divergences, are sufficiently alike to be grouped together as the products of a "Greater Mercia." This construct, she argues, cannot accommodate the ninth-century sculptures from Sandbach, Cheshire, western Mercia. Instead, she shows the influence of metalwork prototypes in relation to the function of the monuments: "At Sandbach, the institution of the church, by virtue of its sign, the cross, has been removed from the confines of a building and made monumental in the landscape, permanently visible, for all to see" (238). The figural scenes are concerned with the universality of the church's message and witness to its authority: the iconographic comparisons are supported by reference to contemporary biblical commentary and homiletic literature, and relate to tendencies of the Mercian royal and ecclesiastical hierarchies "to imitate things prestigious and Carolingian" and the contacts through trade and diplomatic activity that made that possible. Richard Jewell ("Classicism of Southumbrian Sculpture," 246–62) follows Kendrick in defining classicism by the use of naturalism and modelling to achieve its effects, as opposed to the "barbaric" expression of organic forms in dynamic abstract and linear terms, and claims that Southumbrian sculpture of the late eighth to early ninth century shows a distinct leaning to classicism so defined. He is concerned largely with the sculptures at Breedon and a few parallels at Fletton, Castor and Peterborough, for which he finds parallels in Italian sculpture

from the sixth to the early ninth centuries. In these cases, he sees the Carolingian Renaissance as a parallel development rather than a direct source of inspiration. But can this process of attribution really make it possible to place these few sculptures in specific decades between c. 770 and 830? The final paper to be considered is concerned with fine metalwork of the area: "Metalwork of the Mercian Supremacy" by Leslie Webster (263–77). She too sees this as a period when new influences, Mediterranean and Oriental, were absorbed into all the decorative arts, but says the metalwork tends to be overlooked since none is securely dated by an accompanying coin hoard, for example. Like many others, she makes the point of the changed picture through the great accession of metal-detector finds, which has allowed for a much more detailed picture of distribution. This allows her to define a set of characteristics which define a "style province [with] ... a marked concentration not only in the Mercian heartland, but ... an area dominated by Peterborough, its daughter foundations such as Breedon, and other religious centres such as that of Brandon, Suffolk." This definition allows her to argue that objects such as the Ormside Bowl, which shares the defined characteristics, is found where it is because it is from a Viking furnished burial, and not because it was made in Northumbria. Other important artifacts are swept into the argument, and in the case for example of the St. Ninian's Isle treasure, seen in relation to diplomatic contacts between Mercia and the Picts, sense is made of close similarities between far flung objects. All the papers on material culture in this collection make interesting reading together, although not everyone will agree with all the conclusions reached.

The second collection is edited by James Graham-Campbell, Richard Hall, Judith Jesch and David N. Parsons, *Vikings and the Danelaw: Select Papers from the Proceedings of the Thirteenth Viking Congress, Nottingham and York, 21–30 August 1997* (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001). Mark Blackburn, in "Expansion and Control: Aspects of Anglo-Saxon Minting South of the Humber" (125–42), argues strongly for coins as an important source of historical evidence, though he acknowledges that their interpretation is by no means straightforward, especially in an area disrupted by changing political control in the period of Viking invasions. He detects evidence for two distinct cultures, one based on a coin economy, the other on bullion: nevertheless he also sees the readiness of the Danes to adopt and adapt Anglo-Saxon economic practices, albeit at a lower level of literacy evidenced by coin inscriptions. The collection contains several important papers on burial practices. James Graham-Campbell's

"Pagan Scandinavian Burial in the Central and Southern Danelaw" (105–23) is a thorough survey of existing knowledge of pagan Scandinavian burial in the territory of the Five Boroughs, East Anglia, and southern England. "Boundaries and Cult Centres: Viking Burial in Derbyshire" by Julian Richards (97–104) attempts to assess the evidence for new burial rites and identities as social propaganda through the use of monumentality as a means of legitimizing land seizures or political overlordship in the Scandinavian homelands and on the frontier between Anglo-Saxons and Danes in the ninth century, and finishes with the evidence from the recent excavations at Repton in Derbyshire and from other sites where he sees parallels with sacrificial burials of a type also found in the Viking Age remains on the Isle of Man. There are points of disagreement with the interpretation of James Graham-Campbell, which it is useful to have side by side. Similarly the paper by Martin Biddle and Birthe Kjolbye-Biddle ("Repton and the 'great heathen army' 873–4," 45–96) provides the background to the discussion of Repton by Richards. David Stocker and Paul Everson's "Five Towns Funerals: Decoding Diversity in Danelaw Stone Sculpture" (223–43) is also concerned with monuments, in the form of stone sculpture of the tenth century from Lincolnshire and Nottinghamshire. At the great majority of sites there was only a small number of monuments, evidence both for the cultural aspirations of an elite and for parochialization at an early date. Monuments imported from one area to another provide evidence for trading contacts, for example between York and North Lincolnshire at the precise period of the rule of York by Dublin Vikings. This area can then be contrasted with the more overtly Christian monuments of Nottinghamshire and South Lincolnshire, and political alignment with Anglo-Saxons under Edward the Elder. Other evidence is adduced to show the continuing sensitivity of monumental style to the changing political affiliations and relative stability over time of these areas. Kevin Leahy and Caroline Patterson ("New Light on the Viking Presence in Lincolnshire," 181–202) could be read in conjunction with Stocker and Everson, because it uses different types of evidence—place-names, the situation recorded in Domesday Book, the distribution of various metalwork types—in support of a strong Scandinavian presence in Lincolnshire in general. Two papers discuss the influence of Scandinavian style on art produced in England. The first of these, by Olwen Owen ("The Strange Beast that is the English Urnes Style," 203–22), first describes and explains the Scandinavian origins of the style, then discusses its influence and spread in England from the mid-eleventh century, especially new evidence from the growing corpus of

copper alloy mounts. She explains its relative lack of impact on sculptural style by reference to the impact of the Norman invasion and subsequent "Normanisation" on sculpture, mainly produced in ecclesiastical contexts. Philip Dixon, Olwen Owen and David Stocker ("The Southwell Lintel, Its Style and Significance," 245–68) expand on Owen's study by discussing one of the few sculptures which shows the English Urnes style. Evidence is produced to show that it was originally a chest-type grave cover, re-cut on three separate occasions and moved more than once before ending in its present position. It is a fascinating study which achieves much by detailed study of the stone and its history, and its probable relationship to the history of the building in which it remains.

R. A. Hall's "Scandinavian Settlement in England—the Archaeological Evidence" (*Acta Archaeologica* 71 [2000]: 147–57) needs to be read along with the collection discussed above, because it surveys from the point of view of a major archaeologist of the area the changing picture of the Danelaw brought about since the 1960s first by the establishment country-wide of archaeological units which undertook field surveys and excavations, often in advance of development which threatened many sites; and secondly by the growth of metal-detecting as a hobby. His survey includes his take on many of the sites (such as Repton and Heath Wood, Ingleby, both Derbyshire), the classes of material, and the issues of the changing patterns of settlement and urbanization, also discussed in *Vikings and the Danelaw*.

John Naylor, "York and its Region in the Eighth and Ninth Centuries AD: An Archaeological Study" (*Oxford Jnl of Archaeology* 20 [2001]: 79–105), examines the impact of *emporia* on the surrounding region in the period in question, rather than their role in long-distance exchange. His evidence is based on distribution patterns of coinage, pottery, and stone artifacts such as querns and whetstones. He concludes that while York was the major center in the region for long-distance exchange, more locally it may have been one of a number of trading centers, and that regional exchange assumed greater importance in this period.

### c. Architecture

Jason R. Ali and Peter Cunich's "The Orientation of Churches: Some New Evidence" (*AntJ* 81 [2001]: 155–93) is a very detailed and highly technical study, accompanied by a sufficient account of the methodology employed as well as tables and graphs, which allow other researchers to check both the data and

the conclusions drawn from them. It appears that there is no evidence for the use of the magnetic compass, which is first mentioned in the literature only in the late twelfth century, to align church buildings in the early medieval period. On the other hand, the authors believe that they have found that both sunset and sunrise positions on patronal feast days account for 43% of orientations; and sun-based Easter Day and equinoctial day orientations account for many of the remainder. The theory has limited application to the pre-Conquest period, where in many cases years of building and dedication are not known, although for the eleventh century as a whole twenty-eight of the thirty-nine churches listed are classified according to this hypothesis. "Alnmouth Old Church" by A. Aspinall, F. Bettess, and R.B. Connell (*Archaeologia Aeli-ana* 5th ser. 28 [2000]: 137–46) is an admirable short survey showing what can be achieved on even an unpromising site using a multi-disciplinary approach. Detailed topographical survey, documentary search which led to architectural reconstruction, and a geophysical survey are used to prove the existence, extent, and probable appearance of a major church surviving only as two fragments on a much-eroded hill top. The authors leave open the question of why such a major church was built at such a remote spot and its foundation date: the site is important because substantial remains of an important Anglo-Saxon cross were found there.

T. Eaton in "Old Ruins, New World" (*British Archaeology* 60 [2001]: 15–19) provides a foretaste of a recently published book by the same author, showing how Roman ruins were plundered by Anglo-Saxon church builders from the sixth to the tenth centuries for major new buildings. The most interesting aspect of the piece is his evidence for showing that this was not an economic necessity, nor even necessarily the obvious pragmatic solution to the need for a supply of building stone: the ruins plundered were often at some distance and not easily accessible by water transport, and large monumental blocks and inscribed and carved pieces were selected in preference to readily available small facing blocks. The motivation seems to come from a desire to be associated with the past and present glory of Rome (with crypts echoing Roman catacombs) and to appropriate the past for present aggrandizement.

### d. Artifacts and Iconography

Martin Carver's inquisitive "Why That? Why There? Why Then? The Politics of Early Medieval Monumentality" (*Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early*

*Medieval Britain*, ed. Hamerow and MacGregor, 1–22) defines monumentality to include burial mounds, churches, illuminated manuscripts, and sculpture as objects involving major investment and as comprising “the vocabulary of a political language, fossilised versions of arguments that were continuous and may have related more to what was desired than what had occurred” (1). He argues that it is as permissible for archaeologists to develop a model on the partial evidence of the surviving remains, as it is for historians on the basis of incomplete documentary evidence. It is impossible to cover Carver’s whole argument here, but he points to the richness of Anglo-Saxon contacts with their various neighbors and their likely knowledge of ideas and forms relating to the past, which gave them a reservoir from which they could select, revive and reinterpret according to their needs. In this light, he then explains as reactions to the developing role of Christianity the trend from numerous small burial mounds in sixth-century Kent to larger more solitary burial mounds (in response to the arrival of the Christian mission in 597); the reasons for an apparent hiatus in the monumental record 625–75 (“a period in which Christian power [was] briefly effective”); and the probable social and political roles of standing stone monuments in relation to the tension between bishops, monasteries and Christianized autocrats. One can agree on the variety of models available and the Anglo-Saxons’ ability to be eclectic and selective in their choice of models for different purposes at different periods, and that there is no single theoretical exegesis which fits all expressions of a heterogeneous culture (2), but Carver comes close to applying one such model in the development of his thesis. It has been often pointed out that the church never attempted to use its power to stop furnished burials, for example. Nancy Edwards, in “Monuments in a Landscape: the Early Medieval Sculpture of St David’s” (same volume, 53–77), provides a useful catalogue of the monuments from this area, which she considers in relation to the light they throw on the cultural contacts of the area from the fifth to the seventh century, for example with the Mediterranean world and Gaul in the fifth and sixth centuries and with Anglo-Saxon England in the eighth to ninth centuries. The strongest contacts however are with Ireland, including evidence of Hiberno-Norse influences. The increasing prestige of St. David’s in the eleventh century is also attested. This paper relates to some of those considered in the subsection on Inscriptions (below). A useful companion piece by the same author, Nancy Edwards, “Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculptures in Wales: Context and Function” (*MA* 45 [2001]: 15–39), thoroughly surveys this body of material and includes

brief descriptions of the changing forms and decoration of the stones, with each placed in relation to its location within the landscape and to the evidence of functional changes for the church and society over time. It is an important survey in advance of the full publication of the three-volume *Corpus of Early Medieval Inscribed Stones and Stone Sculpture in Wales*.

The volume *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson* (ed. Paul Binski and William Noel [Stroud: Sutton, 2001]) includes as is fitting a number of papers concerned with artifacts and their iconography. Steven J. Plunkett, in “Some Recent Metalwork Discoveries from the Area of the Gipping Valley, and Their Local Context” (61–87), is concerned to show how the finds in question, from an area close to the important early urban center Ipswich, illustrate the processes of artistic change which accompanied the social transformation of the local economy from its pagan Germanic origins to participation in the wider context of a Christian kingdom. Both the historical and the geographical context are considered, and there is a detailed description and good illustration of a wide range of finds. Most thought-provoking is the evidence for “the use and reuse of old ornament” (83) and for how “high-status objects from many different sources might fall into a pool of dissociated and derived materials in which their varied styles, ages and significances of status or cultural association were jumbled together” (81). Three papers are concerned with early medieval sculpture. John Mitchell (“The High Cross and Monastic Strategies in Eighth-Century Northumbria,” 88–114) discusses theories of the origins of the Insular high crosses, and explores the possibility that they were “composite creations devised by learned ecclesiastics and ingenious masons who looked to a number of different sources in an endeavour to give effective expression to a particular constellation of ideas” (90). He catches a number of current preoccupations, including the possibility of influence from Late Roman and Antique art, perhaps transmitted through small-scale cross-reliquaries richly decorated with figural scenes, and a current central preoccupation with their function. The illustrations are particularly useful in relation to the comparative material. In “‘This Wonderful Monument’: The Cross-Slab at Nigg, Easter Ross, Scotland” (115–47), Isobel Henderson analyzes a monument rightly described as outstanding in the corpus of early medieval sculpture in Britain and Ireland. Every aspect is considered: its location and immediate context, its format and technique, and its iconography, the latter particularly well served by both photographs and drawings. The full iconographic program,

she concludes, is "a visualisation of the Resurrection and Salvation comprising the empty cross, the positive nature of the serpent, the scene of Paul and Antony celebrating in the desert, and David as type of Christ and Christian kingship saving his flock from the raving lion." Very few monuments apart from the Ruthwell cross have been afforded such detailed treatment, and the result justifies the effort. A particularly interesting aspect is the geographical range of areas of influence, which include northern Mercia and the Isle of Iona. This leads to a valuable discussion of routes of communication as routes of artistic exchange in the second half of the eighth century.

The last piece to be considered from this volume is that by Rosemary Cramp, "The Pre-Conquest Sculptures of Glastonbury Monastery" (148–62). She notes that at the time of the Norman Conquest Glastonbury was the wealthiest monastic house in England, of which the history and archaeological vestiges have been a source of interest ever since—but of which now only a few fragments of sculpture survive. Included is a thorough discussion of the "pyramids" first noted by William of Malmesbury, which leads into a valuable discussion of the value of early descriptions and drawings of monuments, compared with the modern understanding of examples also drawn and described earlier but which have survived. Discussion of the surviving fragments concentrates on the animal ornament, in relation to which links with western Mercia and Southumbria are noted. The paper ends by suggesting that the quality of the carving suggests a flourishing school of carving in the eighth to tenth centuries which was capable of responding to the prevailing fashions of the age.

Catherine Hills, "From Isidore to Isotopes: Ivory Rings in Early Medieval Graves" (in *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain*, ed. Hamerow and MacGregor, 131–46), identifies a growing body of evidence for imports in Anglo-Saxon cremation and inhumation cemeteries. She identifies the rings in some graves as elephant bone (not walrus or re-used mammoth bone) through both size and pattern of breakage and radio carbon dates, and the source as long-distance trade with Africa via the Mediterranean, disrupted in the seventh century by the era of Arab Conquest. The rings are usually accepted as bag-handles, though Hills acknowledges the difficulty of this explanation when only one ring is present. They appear in female graves in both England and the continent, and, Hills believes, suggest connections between Germany, Lombard Italy, and England, which can be supported by other evidence.

Jane Hawkes and Éamonn Ó Carragáin with Ross Trench-Jellicoe in "John the Baptist and the *Agnus Dei*, Ruthwell (and Bewcastle) Revisited" (*Antf* 81 [2001]: 131–53) takes issue with the revisionist interpretation by Paul Meyvaert of the figure with a lamb at the top of the Ruthwell cross and the equivalent figure on the Bewcastle as an apocalyptic image of the Deity rather than John the Baptist. Mayvaert's view is strongly contested on the grounds that close visual observation of neither the inscription on Ruthwell, nor of the details of the figures, supports his description of them. The authors also show that in early medieval images of John the Baptist, he was depicted "in association with the Lamb, usually in aspects of authority and majesty, and sometimes in apocalyptic contexts" (140). The discussion of the image's context in eighth-century liturgical practice and biblical commentary, and the contemporary awareness of the controversy between the Eastern and Western churches concerning depictions of the Lamb, and the consequent introduction of the *Agnus Dei* chant into the mass by Pope Sergius (687–701) is a model of its kind.

E.C.

That Sleaford may have supported a larger early Anglo-Saxon population than that known through nineteenth-century excavations is suggested by M. J. Turland's note, "Anglo-Saxon Cruciform Brooches Found at Sleaford" (*Lincolnshire Past and Present* 41 [2000]: 14). Turland attempts to clarify the provenance of an Aberg Group II cruciform brooch found at Old Sleaford in 1916 and to identify its connection, if any, with a similar cruciform brooch found at Graylees in 1828. The dispersal of finds from the Sleaford area into private and municipal collections over the past two centuries challenges an integrated interpretation of Anglo-Saxon activity in Lincolnshire.

Proceedings of the Fourth International Conference on Insular Art held at the National Museum and Gallery, Cardiff, on September 3–6, 1998, are presented in *Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art* (ed. Mark Redknapp, Nancy Edwards, Susan Youngs, Alan Lane and Jeremy Knight [Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2001]). Although the papers are grouped into thematic units, a wide spectrum of scholarship is captured by the diversity of the objects examined and the range of analytical approaches adopted.

In "Strap-ends and the Identification of Regional Patterns in the Production and Circulation of Ornamental Metalwork in Late Anglo-Saxon Britain" (39–48), Gabor Thomas summarizes the analysis of 1,500 strap-ends dating c. 750–1050 AD. Thomas notes

that a large percentage of ninth-century zoomorphic strap-ends distributed across much of Britain represent broad metalworking traditions paralleled by Trewiddle-style metalwork. However, regional groupings within this larger pool are evident. The stylistic uniformity and concentration in Lindsey and Northumbria of one such group points to their production in a "York-based" workshop, although a fragmentary mold from Carlisle indicates that manufacturing was conducted beyond York and its hinterlands. Likewise, a group of strap-ends incorporating niello inlaid with silver wire, derived primarily from East Anglia, may indicate in their variability the decentralized work of itinerant smiths or low output production sites. Thomas associates the tenth-century appearance of tongue-shaped strap-ends with Carolingian prototypes whose adoption in Britain may have been mediated through Viking activity. Within the Danelaw and other areas of Viking settlement in Britain, distinctive Anglo-Scandinavian artistic traditions developed a class of Borre-style strap-ends centered in East Anglia and, extending to the north, a group of ribbed strap-ends. This latter cluster, as well as a group with zoomorphic terminals and split-ends whose characteristics are shared with a contemporary class of Insular Irish strap-ends, illustrate the contacts, also identified in contemporary sculpture and place-names, enjoyed by Viking communities between the Eastern Danelaw and the Irish Sea region.

As is well known, Alexander Curle's excavations at the Mote of Mark (Kirkcudbrightshire) produced significant evidence for extensive early medieval metalworking. In "The Mote of Mark: the Archaeological Context of the Decorated Metalwork" (75–90), David Longley refines and expands Curle's interpretation of the metalworking workshop within the setting of a defended settlement. Some 121 fragments of crucibles, used primarily for casting, but also for cupellation or parting, and 480 clay mould fragments have been identified. Penannular brooches, buckles and strap ends, studs, mounts, and decorative plates are recognizable workshop products. Excavations in the 1970s sought to clarify the structural history of the defenses, establish the number of occupation phases, and determine the relationship between occupation and defensive structures. Drawing on diagnostic artifacts, primarily among the imported pottery and glass, and radiocarbon dates, a chronological sequence was applied to stratigraphic horizons at the site. A small quantity of early to mid-sixth-century pottery suggests the early exploitation of the location. Metalworking was present prior to the one-phase construction of the ramparts, dated to the second half of the sixth century.

The receipt of imported E ware ceramics and Continental glass, initiated before rampart construction, continued throughout much of the seventh century. High-quality metalwork of consistent technology and style was produced until the middle or later seventh century. In the later seventh century, occupation of site ended abruptly with the burning of the defenses and subsequent destruction of the ramparts. Longley interprets the discovery of mold fragments of "axe blade" plates as illustrating a familiarity with and a market for Anglo-Saxon-type objects contextualized within the fluctuating relationship between the kingdoms of Rheged and Northumbria. The destruction of the Mote of Mark during the third quarter of the seventh century may have been associated with the fragmentation of the kingdom of Rheged around this time.

Strategies for facilitating the materials analysis of metalwork are discussed by Paul T. Craddock, Jonathan M. Wallis, and John F. Merkel in "The Rapid Qualitative Analysis of Groups of Metalwork: Making a Dream Come True" (117–124). The authors argue that although scientific techniques such as energy dispersive X-ray fluorescence (XRF) can identify the components of non-ferrous metals used in the past, the expense of analysis and the distance between analytical facilities and collections has limited this technique's utility. To evaluate the feasibility and potential of routinely conducting materials identification, approximately 100 items of metalwork from the multi-period site of High Down Hill (Sussex) were examined. Because XRF is a surface analysis, burial corrosion and prior conservation treatments can affect the accuracy of elemental readings. However, by analyzing large volumes of material, the authors were able to modify existing reconstructions of alloy use by demonstrating that bronze continued for a longer period as the prevalent alloy during the first millennium AD than previously argued. XRF analyses of over 250 medieval Celtic (largely Irish) objects in the British Museum's collection indicated a transition from bronze or leaded bronze to brass or a mixed alloy occurred, presumably in connection with the Viking settlement, during the ninth and tenth centuries. The ore sources and production sites for these Celtic objects appears to have been localized. Even when no longer visually evident, particular materials and techniques associated with gilding or silvering were detected by XRF, indicating a greater exploitation of precious materials among insular smiths than previously appreciated.

The potential of metallurgical analysis is exemplified by Caroline Paterson's study of copper alloy belt fittings from Scotland and Ireland. In "Insular Belt-



fittings from the Pagan Norse Graves of Scotland: A Reappraisal in the Light of Scientific and Stylistic Analysis" (125–132), Paterson employs XRF and scanning electron microscopy to consider the origin, date, and function of these artifacts. Metallurgical analyses indicate the existence of different alloy traditions for Insular and Scandinavian metalwork. Brass, which was reintroduced to the British Isles during the Norse period, was largely restricted to objects of Scandinavian manufacture. However, Paterson demonstrates that brass imports, recycled into Insular belt-fittings, found their way into Norse graves. On stylistic and technical grounds, belt-fittings from ninth- and tenth-century graves at Bhaltois (Lewis), Ballinaby (Islay), Kildonnan (Eigg), Cnip (Lewis), and Ardskenish (Colonsay) are determined to be of Insular origin. The presence of zinc- and tin-bearing copper alloys in the Cnip and Kildonnan items suggests that these fittings were produced, perhaps in a Hiberno-Norse environment such as Dublin, from a combination of Scandinavian brass and native bronze. An imprint of a Norwegian-type twill textile on the reverse of the Cnip buckle supports its manufacture under Scandinavian influence. The Scandinavian taste for belts, perhaps affected by the availability of Insular examples, may have fostered the interaction between different metallurgical traditions.

In "An Aspect of Seventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Goldsmithing" (133–140), Michael Pinder explores the manufacture of the reeded gold strips often incorporated into early Anglo-Saxon composite disc brooches, pendants, and buckles. While largely restricted to the seventh century in England, reeded strips continued in longer use on the Continent. Pinder reviews the techniques that early Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths may have used to create these decorative strips: chasing (using punches to make linear designs onto the plain strip), swaging (hammering the plain strip against a patterned profile cut into a block), carving (scraping a grooved tool along the length of the plain strip), or draw-swaging (pulling the plain strip between a shaped die and a flat surface). The absence of particular working marks leads Pinder to dismiss chasing and swaging as manufacturing techniques for these reeded strips. The labor requirements and the resulting coarseness and "chatter" marks on the metal suggests that a carving technique was not likely. Noting that the frequency of reeded strips indicates an ease of manufacture, Pinder argues that early Anglo-Saxon goldsmiths produced these decorative lengths of metal through draw-swages. Pinder's paper anticipates the themes and methodology characterizing his masterly analysis and presentation in *The Art of the Anglo-*

*Saxon Goldsmith* (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press [2002]), co-authored with Elizabeth Coatsworth.

*Pattern and Purpose in Insular Art* concludes with two very different analyses with implications for the relationships between stone sculpture and manuscript art. In "The Date of the Aberlemno Churchyard Stone" (241–251), Lloyd Laing argues for a reassessment of the monument considered widely to be one of the earliest examples of Class II Pictish sculpture. Laing notes that each side of the Aberlemno stone may not be contemporaneous. While acknowledging that the ornament on the front of the Aberlemno bears affinities with eighth-century Insular manuscript art, Laing suggests that the carving may represent an early eleventh-century revival associated with the Columban foundation at Iona. The battle scene on the reverse side is argued to date no earlier than the mid-ninth century on the basis of the shape of the outline sword. To this reader, it is questionable whether the photographs provided support the author's rendering of the sword and whether the style of the sword in any case needs to be contemporary with the stone's carving.

Robert D. Stevick discusses the proportional relationships that determine the formal qualities of early free-standing stone crosses of Ireland. In "High Cross Design" (221–232), Stevick argues that this geometric grammar guided not only the dimensions of stone crosses but also those that appear on the pages of manuscripts such as the Lindisfarne Gospels, Book of Kells, and St. Gall Gospel. The generative codes that determined cross design did not incorporate the number symbolism documented in medieval Latin Christianity nor manifest evolutionary or model/copy relationships.

The late James Lang's study of pre-Conquest sculpture has been published posthumously as *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*, Volume VI, Northern Yorkshire, under the editorial direction of Rosemary Cramp and Derek Craig (Oxford: Oxford University Press [2001]). This volume details sculptures from the North Riding, with the exception of Ryedale and the city of York, and includes within its scope the significant collections from the Anglo-Saxon monastic site of Whitby and the Anglo-Scandinavian cemetery at Lythe. During the late eighth and early ninth centuries, York established relationships with the Continental church that were manifest in the iconography and classical style of some regional sculptures. With the Danish conquest of York in 866/867, new stylistic connections with Cumbria and perhaps even with Ireland prevailed. Lang discusses the North Riding sculptures as

functional groups: grave-stones (grave-markers, grave-covers, and hogbacks), free-standing crosses (cross-shafts, cross-heads, cross-bases), and architectural sculpture and church furnishings. Following an analysis of ornament, Lang identifies schools or workshops that may have produced the sculptures. Whitby Abbey, most active during the seventh to mid-ninth centuries, is associated with a large group of plain crosses. Their ascetic decoration and, on some, the form of lettering may represent the earliest Anglo-Saxon three-dimensional stone crosses. Other sculpture groups identified on the basis of design elements are the chevron group, with stylistic parallels to Ripon and sites beyond in Bernicia and Cumbria, and the lorgnette or spine-and-boss group, whose decoration is linked with Anglian metalwork. The work of an individual carver is attributed to the Uredale master whose hand can be seen in the use of common templates, unit of measurement, and the drill. Lang distinguishes Anglo-Scandinavian workshops in Allertonshire, Brompton, Lythe, and lower Wensleydale. Analysis of the design layout of the Allertonshire sculptures demonstrates that this group is part of the Brompton workshop. Motifs from both schools can be related to those from Co. Kildare, Ireland. Hogbacks, a monument type that may have originated at Brompton, form nearly the entire corpus of sculptures from the cemetery at Lythe. Although the unique forms at Lythe exhibit Irish influences, the restricted distribution of these stones reflects the output of a local workshop. In addition to Lang's synthesizing discussion of the sculptures, contributions by Rosemary Cramp, Derek Craig, Louise Henderson, D.N. Parsons, and John R. Senior, and John Higgitt's analysis of the inscriptions found on twenty-three of the stones, information about each of the sculptures is presented in corpus listings, a form and motif table, and photographs.

In "Three Sculpted Scenes on a Stone from Brycheiniog" (*Peritia* 15 [2001]: 363–68), David Howlett and Charles Thomas reinterpret a carved column from the Welsh site of Trecastle in the Usk valley. The stone, also inscribed with Ogham and Roman text, carries three carved panels along one side. Howlett and Thomas associate the images in these panels with three chronologically and typologically ordered scenes from the Latin bible. The first panel illustrates scenes from Genesis 6–9 that reveal, through Noah, man's covenant with God. In the central panel, the escape from Egypt (Ex 14–16) and the healing of the Israelites (Numbers 21) connects Moses with the Ark of the Covenant. The battles of David (1 Sam 17), who fulfilled the covenant of God's anointed, are depicted in the third panel. As patriarch, lawgiver, and king,

these three biblical leaders may represent the ecclesiastical order of deacon, priest, and bishop. Howlett and Thomas suggest a date of 520x550 for the memorial inscriptions and a date of c. 600 for the Christian carvings.

Significant insight into early Anglo-Saxon metalworking is provided by A Smith in *Lindsey: The Anglo-Saxon Grave at Tattershall Thorpe, Lincolnshire*, by David A. Hinton (Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph ser. 16 [London: Society for Medieval Archaeology, 2000]). In 1981, a unique assemblage of tools, fragments of metal, glass, and garnets, and other materials was found in a grave located on the floodplain the River Bain. The burial, from which human remains were apparently not preserved, is dated very approximately to 660–670, largely through artifact *termini post quos*; however, some of the finds, such as an iron bell, are of types in circulation during the eighth century. A comparison with the contents of a generalist's tool chest from Mästermyr (Gotland, Sweden) and a woodworker's hoard from Flixborough (Lincolnshire) indicates that the inclusion of tongs, an anvil, and snips in the Tattershall Thorpe deposit represents the kit of a specialized smith. Other identifiable equipment from the Tattershall Thorpe burial included hammer-heads, a draw-plate (nail-making iron), clips, punches, files, knife blades, cones, and a possible graver and soldering lamp. While most of these tools are appropriate for iron-working, the "needle-file" and perhaps a burin and lead sheet suitable for use as a backing plate suggest the working of non-ferrous metals. Cut garnets and a glass fragment may have been used in cloisonné jewelry. However, no compelling evidence for gold-smithing, such as the presence of gold scrap or mercury or of equipment such as chisels, tweezers, dies, molds, and crucibles, was identified in the deposit. The Tattershall Thorpe assemblage revealed access to widespread resources, as it included continental goods, such as an openwork disc from the upper Rhineland, studs from northern France or the Netherlands, and garnet. Hinton considers the Tattershall Thorpe evidence to be ambiguous as to the individual's position as either itinerant smith or bond-man to a particular lord.

The strength of an indigenous decorative metalwork tradition is represented by recent finds of a decorated copper alloy sheet and an enameled fitting from a bowl found at the seventh- to eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon site at Flixborough (Lincs.). In "Insular Metalwork from Flixborough, Lincolnshire" (*Medieval Archaeology* 45 [2001]: 210–20), Susan Youngs discusses these components from two luxury vessels.

A fragment of copper alloy sheet, re-made into a ninth- or tenth-century mid-Saxon type of strap-end, was found in a mid-tenth- to eleventh-century deposit at Flixborough. The incised hatched curvilinear design is most closely paralleled with a small group of eighth- to ninth-century metal-mounted buckets, originally of liturgical function, that are known primarily through Viking-period burials in Scandinavia. Youngs assigns the manufacture and use of these buckets to Ireland but situates them more broadly within an "Insular" cultural context, one determined by tradition, wealth and politics as much as by geography and ethnicity" (215). The milieu that fostered the native British elements of technique and tradition, proposes Youngs, is evidenced by sixth- to eighth-century finds of non-Anglo-Saxon metalwork from Kent. The second item of Insular metalwork is an axe- or fan-shaped hanging bowl mount. Dated stylistically to 650-700, this mount derives from a well-known series of luxury imports, largely recovered from late-sixth- to seventh-century Anglo-Saxon graves in eastern and southern England. The Flixborough component notably comes from a settlement in an area whose cemeteries have produced a significant fraction of these hanging bowls. Youngs positions the deposition of the Flixborough bowl mount to sometime around the early eighth to early ninth century. While the hanging bowl mount, unlike the bucket sheet, does not appear to have been modified for re-use, both items may have arrived at Flixborough either as part of complete vessels (in which case the original Christian context of the bucket must be assessed) or in their fragmentary forms. The discovery of these luxury vessel components at Flixborough reveals an appreciation for culturally distinct metalwork.

In "The Development of Irish Brooch Forms and Pins in the Viking Age, c. 850-1170" (*Peritia* 15 [2001]: 321-62), Ruth Johnson discusses the dating, cultural origin, and decoration of six types of Irish early medieval dress fasteners: pseudo-penannular brooches, brooch-pins ("ring-brooches" or "hinged pins"), ringed pins, bossed penannular brooches, thistle brooches, and kite brooches. The deposition of these brooches outside of Ireland, as with the plain-ringed loop-headed variety of ringed-pin in the ninth century, was through the agency of Norse seafarers. Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxon scholars will be Johnson's analysis of ninth- and early tenth-century bossed penannular brooches. Despite similarities with Scandinavian jewelry and ninth-century Anglo-Saxon metalwork, Johnson argues that the network of bosses and the style of animal art ornamenting the bossed penannular brooches are best paralleled among Irish sources. Following the work of Graham-

Campbell, Johnson considers the inclusion of bossed penannular brooches in hoards from northwest England, such as Cuerdale (Lancashire) and Goldsborough (Yorkshire), to be indicative of a secondary diffusion from Ireland associated with Norse activity. Like bossed penannular brooches, fragments of late ninth- to mid-tenth-century thistle brooches found in coin-dated silver hoards from northwest England and beyond represent their secondary diffusion from Irish workshops. Johnson suggests that the increasing availability of silver to ninth-century Anglo-Saxon metal-smiths may have produced new techniques and styles of ornamentation that in turn influenced jewelers working in Hiberno-Norse contexts in Ireland during the late ninth century.

In the initial essay in her edited volume, *Glass in Britain and Ireland, AD 350-1100* (British Museum Occasional Paper 127 [London: The British Museum, 2000], 1-32), Jennifer Price provides a succinct introduction to Late Roman glass vessels. Finds of fourth century glass from rural and urban settlements are predominantly of drinking vessels and bowls, with high status rural sites often exhibiting the greatest range of vessels. While cups and beakers are the forms that most commonly furnished burials, few prestige vessels or large groups of glass are absent. Price arranges the corpus of Roman vessel glass from Britain as a chronological typology of drinking vessels (cups and beakers), bowls, jugs, flasks and unguentaria, and bottles. Although the range of vessel forms remained stable from the middle of the fourth century, the quality, quantity, and use of glass became increasingly restricted. A simplification of production processes is indicated by the increased number of vessels that were formed and decorated simultaneously. In addition to the late Roman glass forms common to other areas of the Empire, Price argues that much of the ordinary vessel glass from late Roman Britain was produced locally. Limited evidence for glass-working suggests this activity was rurally-based and may have been associated with pottery production. Although a bowl fragment from Tintagel indicates that late Roman glass may have continued in circulation as late as the middle of the fifth century, changes in vessel form and decoration, production details, and chronological discontinuity separate this tradition from that associated with Anglo-Saxon glassware. Price concludes with an appendix note about glass with wheel-abraded decoration of Mediterranean origin from fifth and sixth century areas of Celtic Britain and Saxon England, most notably the fragmentary conical bowl from Holme Pierrepont (Notts.) and the High Down Hill (Sussex) flask.

In many ways, the keystone of *Glass in Britain and Ireland, AD 350-1100* is Vera I. Evison's contribution, "Glass Vessels in England AD 400-1100" (47-104). Building on Donald Harden's work on glassware from Anglo-Saxon England, Evison partitions finds into four stages. The early Anglo-Saxon period is approximated by Period I (AD 400-550) and Period II (AD 550-700), Middle Saxon times by Period III (AD 700-900), and the Late Saxon period by Period IV (AD 900-1100). Evison assigns to Early Saxon Periods I and II such well-known vessel forms as bowls, cone beakers, bell beakers, and claw beakers, and she notes during Period II the development of new varieties such as palm cups, globular beakers, pouch bottles, bag beakers, and horns. Some vessels were most probably imported from the Continent, such as bowls and cone beakers with arcaded decoration in the fifth and early sixth century, cylindrical bottles in the sixth century, and possibly some palm cups in the seventh century. However, Evison considers many of the vessel forms, including Kempston-type cone beakers and early claw beakers, to have been insular products and, more controversially, suggests that insular glass blowing may have continued unbroken from Roman times. Evison suggests that finds of Roman glass at early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries and settlements indicate that these recycled fragments, rather than imported raw materials, were the most frequent glass source during Periods I and II. The concentration of vessels in east Kent, particularly around Faversham, indicates a probable production site. While production techniques demonstrate little change between the Early and Middle Saxon times (Periods II and III), glass quality and coloration reveal marked improvements. Evison attributes these developments to the importation of glass from new foreign sources and/or to the arrival of foreign glass workers, both perhaps from the Mediterranean. Only fragmentary glass from Middle and Late Saxon Periods III and IV has been found in England, hampering our understanding of the vessel forms from which they derive. While bowls, palm cups, globular beakers, bottles, claw beakers, and horns continue in currency into Period III, cone, bell, and bag beakers apparently drop out of usage. Fragments of footed beakers found at monastic sites may represent eucharistic chalices. The Middle Saxon Period III also marks the introduction of non-vessel glassware such as linen-smoothers and imitation jewels. In the tenth and eleventh centuries, the introduction of less durable potash glass is associated with the increasing scarcity of glass finds.

More than seventeen Anglo-Saxon sites dating from the late seventh to eleventh centuries have produced notable amounts of window glass. Hundreds of

fragments from Jarrow (Co. Durham), Wearmouth (Co. Durham), Whithorn (Galloway), and Winchester (Hants.), and sizeable collections from other sites now enable meaningful analyses. The distribution of these finds is uneven with a geographical lacuna in Kent and an apparent chronological gap in the ninth to tenth centuries. In "Anglo-Saxon Window Glass" (105-115), Rosemary Cramp summarizes the documentary and archaeological evidence for glass-working and possible glass-making and discusses the manufacturing techniques and physical characteristics of window glass from Anglo-Saxon contexts. Physical inspection indicates that most window glass was cylinder blown, perhaps following variant techniques, although some fragments appear to have been of crown manufacture or even cast. Finds of Continental window glass, as at San Vincenzo al Volturno, Molise, and Farfa Abbey, Lazio, in Italy, have been compared with those from Wearmouth and Jarrow. The controlled use of colorants is discussed in light of two-colored glass that Cramp argues was intentionally produced. That the Anglo-Saxons carefully controlled the visual effects of glazed windows is suggested by the similarities in skills and techniques employed by jewelers and glass-workers and an aesthetic governing both manuscript illumination and glass-setting. Continued chemical examination will facilitate understanding of temporal and regional developments in Anglo-Saxon glass-working traditions.

The character of glass-working in Anglo-Saxon England is further considered by Margaret Guido and Martin Welch through an examination of glass beads. In "Indirect Evidence for Glass Bead Manufacture in Early Anglo-Saxon England" (115-120), Guido and Welch argue that at least three classes of beads may have been produced in England beginning in the sixth century. Translucent pink or crimson manganese glass beads, perhaps from the recycling of Roman vessels, are associated by the authors with the fifth-century population migrations from the Lower Elbe and Jutland. Translucent beads decorated with opposing swags of contrasting colors are proposed as an insular British product of the seventh century. A third group is the terracotta-colored beads with twists, bands, or cables of green and yellow glass that derive primarily from sixth- and seventh-century contexts in East Anglia. While lacking either the *in situ* workshop debris or re-deposited waste products that would inform directly on bead manufacture, the distribution of these three classes of beads, as well as evidence for enamel working in East Anglia and glass vessel production in Kent, suggests that glass bead production was conducted in these two areas.

In "An Approach to the Study of Anglo-Saxon Glass Beads" (121–130), S.M. Hirst presents typological and statistical schema for glass bead analyses in anticipation of the publication of finds from the Mucking (Essex) cemetery. Hirst's typology is based on technical distinctions (wound or pierced beads, blown and drawn beads, "gold-in-glass" type beads, beads made from reused vessel glass, and polychrome beads incorporating applied, reticella, mosaic, and colored core techniques), color and opacity, size, form, and in the case of polychrome beads, decorative motifs. For the Mucking sample, these attributes are combined to create type series, a selection of which appear in frequency tables. Given this preliminary presentation, little space is devoted to articulating an explanatory research design or discussing the implications of the methodology developed, particularly regarding the selection of statistical techniques. Work on similarly large and intransigent datasets, such as Lewis Binford's classic regression analysis of pipestems from the colonial United States, indicates that these beads could sustain attention from more robust and subtle statistical analyses than those presented here. While bead frequencies from the entire site are summarized, it is unclear whether these aggregated frequencies obscure the potentially more meaningful variation evident in individual bead strings or within individual graves at Mucking. A welcome discussion of individual grave contents, as well chronological information, will appear in the final site publication.

Through the elemental examination of glass set into sixth- and seventh-century Anglo-Saxon jewelry, Mavis Bimson and Ian C. Freestone explore the relationships between these inlays and contemporaneous glass vessels and consider the source of these artificial gemstones. In "Analysis of Some Glass from Anglo-Saxon Jewellery" (131–136), the authors employ energy dispersive X-ray analysis (EDXA) on nine samples, including Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) millefiori probably derived from the purse (white opaque, garnet red transparent and blue opaque glass samples), the Wingham (Kent) disc brooch (blue opaque glass), the Faversham (Kent) brooch (green transparent glass), jars from the Broomfield (Essex) burial (two blue transparent glass samples), and the Taplow (Bucks.) buckle (green transparent glass) and beaker (yellow-green transparent glass). Elemental analyses indicate that all of the glasses are of the soda-lime-silica natron type. This material is similar to that used for contemporaneous vessels, suggesting that the glass inlays in Anglo-Saxon jewelry do not represent a special glass type. The similarity of the natron glass in Anglo-Saxon jewelry to Roman glass wares raises questions about the

channels through which the Anglo-Saxons may have received raw or recyclable materials, the existence of local technical knowledge required for glass-working, and the presence of an infrastructure supporting this craft specialization. On the basis of compositional similarities, Bimson and Freestone propose that first millennium glass was made from raw materials derived from limited areas around the Mediterranean. The discovery of late Byzantine-early Islamic period tank furnaces at Hadera suggests that exportable glass was produced on a massive scale along the coast of Israel. In addition to this manufactured raw glass, the Anglo-Saxons would have had available intact and fragmentary Roman-period vessel glass. In this context, the opacity and coloration of Anglo-Saxon glasses most likely finds its source in the re-use of Roman glass, either directly or as an additive.

In "Glassworking in Early Medieval England" (137–142), Justine Bayley surveys a body of evidence composed of crucibles, glass off-cuts, cullets, and features thought to be glass-melting furnaces. Although vessels, window glass, and some beads were made of soda-lime-silica glass, colorants and opacifiers were added to produce the high lead glass used in beads, trinkets, and enamels. Glass formulation began to change in the tenth century with the introduction of potash-lime-silica wares. Noting the absence of evidence for the manufacture of later potash-lime-silica glass, Bayley focuses on the production of soda-lime-silica glass and high lead glass, summarizing the archaeological and documentary evidence for glass working in Early Saxon, Middle Saxon, and Late Saxon/Viking England. A possible sixth-century pit at Buckden (Cambs.) has yielded the earliest example of post-Roman glass manufacture: crucible sherds whose chemical composition is nearly identical to glass sherds from a third- or fourth-century context at Catsgore (Somerset). During the Middle Saxon period, glass working was conducted at Hamwic and, most notably, Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset), and possibly at Jarrow. The glass debris found at Barking Abbey is re-considered to be of Late Saxon date. With an exception from Coppergate, York, finds of high-lead glass predominate in Late Saxon/Viking England. At Gloucester, York, and Lincoln (as well as possibly at Jarrow), high-lead glass was made or re-worked during the tenth and eleventh centuries. The identification of multiple glass working sites at York and Lincoln raises questions of chronology and craft specialization. The localized continuation of glass working is suggested by twelfth- and thirteenth-century glass debris from the Shambles, York. Beginning in 1955, excavations at Glastonbury Abbey (Somerset) produced evidence for Saxon-

period glass working. The seminal work of Donald Harden on these finds is summarized and analyzed by Justine Bayley in "Saxon Glass Working at Glastonbury Abbey" (161–188). Drawing on Harden's publications, manuscripts, correspondence, field notebooks, notes, and draft catalogue, Bayley describes four furnaces and a number of other features associated with industrial activity. Some 262 finds, including beads, vessel and window fragments, crucible fragments, and glass working waste, provide uncontestable evidence of glass-working. In the 1950s, limited spectrographic and quantitative analyses demonstrated three blue-green glass samples to be of soda-lime-silicate composition. More recently X-ray fluorescence was used to identify colorants in eleven samples. Iron was probably incorporated to color green-brown and olive glass and copper alloys to yield greenish glass under oxidization and reddish when reduced. Bayley reconstructs three discrete glass-working areas to the east of the contemporary buildings. Glass, arriving at the site either for use or as broken vessels and window glass, was melted in crucibles over a furnace. Glass-blowing was performed on site, and vessels and window glass could have been the products. If all three glass-working locations were functioning simultaneously, the scale of operations might bear comparison to the Roman or late medieval industries. Based on information about the building phases at the site and Saxon glass manufacture, Bayley proposes that glass-working was conducted at Glastonbury Abbey in the seventh or eighth century. Bayley concludes with an edited version of Harden's catalogue of glass from Glastonbury.

Also grounding her work upon Harden's catalogue, Vera I. Evison develops a contextual analysis in "The Glass Fragments from Glastonbury" (189–200). Specific fragments are assigned to each of the four furnaces. Glass-working debris, fragments of window glass, a fragmentary bed, and vessel sherds are summarized by find-spot in an appendix. It is regrettable that Bayley's and Evison's separate catalogues could not be fused into a single venture, as the reader is forced to shift between two different organizational schemes and sets of object descriptions. The suggestion that one glass trail (now lost) may indicate the production of millefiori rods and possibly enameling activity is intriguing but unsubstantiated. The window glass is comparable in color, quality, shaping, and thickness to middle Saxon material from other ecclesiastical sites. Only two forms of vessel can be proposed from the fragmentary evidence: a tall palm cup or funnel beaker and a globular beaker. Evison identifies two periods during the history of Glastonbury Abbey when

windows and vessels may have been commissioned by the Anglo-Saxon church. The first episode occurred at the monastery's founding by Ina in the late seventh to early eighth century. The second period, which followed a decline in the late ninth or early tenth century, was connected with Dunstan's reorganization of the monastery from around 940. Due to the absence of potash glass, which was introduced in the late ninth century, Evison assigns glass-working at Glastonbury to the earlier period of monastic activity in late seventh and eighth centuries.

A descriptive presentation of newly-discovered metalwork from East Anglia appears in "Archaeological Finds in Norfolk 2000" ("Middle Saxon," "Late Saxon," *Norfolk Archaeology* 43 [2001]: 694–707), edited by David Gurney. The objects, largely found through metal-detecting, are itemized by parish; grid references are omitted. Among the notable early Anglo-Saxon objects are a putatively seventh-century gold finger-ring set with red glass(?) from Cawston, whose curved openwork band recalls the spirals on the shoulders of the finger-ring from Snape (Suffolk); early seventh-century mounts from Fincham and Tacolneston paralleled by finds at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk); and fragments of lead models, apparently for cruciform brooches, from Quidenham. Significant Continental connections are evidenced by a Middle or Late Saxon circular mount, possibly lost from a Carolingian composite disc brooch, and a late ninth- to late tenth-century bronze handle from an iron strike-a-light, both found at Postwick; a German penny of Otto III (AD 983–996) and copy from Alby with Thwaite; a ninth-century copper alloy triangular stud or mount from West Acre and a ninth-century copper alloy brooch or mount fragment from Quidenham, both decorated with a Carolingian-style foliate design; and a copper alloy Ringerike-style buckle frame discovered at West Walton.

Thanks to its long history of intensive archaeological research, Suffolk is a rich resource for examining questions of economic, religious, industrial, and ethnic change associated with kingdom-formation during the Anglo-Saxon period. In "Some Recent Metalwork Discoveries from the Area of the Gipping Valley, and their Local Context" (in *New Offerings, Ancient Treasures: Studies in Medieval Art for George Henderson*, ed. Paul Binski and William Noel [Stroud: Sutton, 2001], 61–87), Steven J. Plunkett examines finds from the Coddtenham and Ipswich areas within this broader social context. The environs of Coddtenham, particularly Ladycroft field, have yielded numerous sixth- and seventh-century metal objects and a

group of eight late seventh-century English base-gold coins and a Merovingian tremissis fragment. Plunkett's dating should perhaps been extended in light of an apparent Viking-period earring and a finger-ring unparalleled in Anglo-Saxon contexts. The fragmentary state of these finds, which range in date, quality, and style, is interpreted as reflecting episodic industrial or economic activity. Dress ornaments and metal fittings from the Ipswich cemeteries at Hadleigh Road, Boss Hall, and Buttermarket demonstrate changing patterns of cemetery use, as the sixth- to seventh-century burial grounds at the two former sites were abandoned with the early seventh-century expansion of *Gipeswic*. Plunkett spotlights finds of garnet keystone brooches and composite brooches from Coddenham and Boss Hall to emphasize the sustained popularity into the seventh century of Kentish-derived jewelry styles. The lack of affinity between the precious jewelry found in the Gipping Valley and that buried at Sutton Hoo suggests that at Sutton Hoo a uniquely skilled jeweler, supported by royal patronage, created an assemblage not typical of East Anglian craft skills. Although Plunkett frames provocative socio-economic explanations for the changes observed in artifact use, re-use, and destruction, his interpretations might be more fully informed by recent archaeological writings about agency, identity, and social technology.

G.C.F.

### e. Death and Burials

In "Sheffield's Hill: Two Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries" (*Current Archaeology* 15 [2001]: 310–13), Kevin Leahy and David Williams present an account of paired cemeteries situated on the crest of Lincoln Edge, north of Scunthorpe (S. Humberside). Following the surface discovery of seventh-century gold and garnet pendants and beads, excavation produced evidence for two separate cemeteries. Cemetery I, dated to the sixth century, consisted of randomly positioned inhumations, two enclosed by ring ditches, and cremations. Graves in the "Final Phase" Cemetery II exhibited a distinct wealth spread: most contained few if any furnishings but a small number yielded precious metal and gemstone jewelry and pattern-welded swords. Leahy and Williams suggest that these rich burials, clustered together, may represent an elite family that was able to access and exploit resources. No continuity was apparent between the two cemeteries. Due to the acidic soil, human remains were left as pseudomorphs of the bodies; some organic materials such as vessels and plant materials likewise appeared as stains facilitating analysis of these often invisible components of the burial deposits.

In "A Possible Iron Age Barrow Monument and Anglo-Saxon Cemetery Site at Kirkby la Thorpe" (*Lincolnshire Archaeology and History* 35 [2000]: 21–34), Linda Bonnor and Mark Allen report on the 1997–1998 excavation of a multi-period site near Sleaford (Lincs.). Nine adult inhumation burials, three of which have been osteologically determined to be males and two to be females, were identified. The graves, aligned roughly west-east, are considered to represent a portion of a cemetery extending to the east. To the south of the cemetery, three features interpreted as square ditches may have served as foundation elements for timber walled structures contemporaneous with the Anglo-Saxon Saxon cemetery. Finds from the three clearly furnished graves include a seax and personal gear. In an interpretive contribution, Kevin Leahy argues that Kirkby la Thorpe represents a seventh century "Final Phase" cemetery. Within the local context, large cemeteries such as Sleaford, just three kilometers to the west of Kirkby la Thorpe, are believed to have been replaced in the late sixth or early seventh centuries by smaller burial grounds, of which Kirkby la Thorpe may be an example. Although the excavation of numerous early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries has produced a well-known model of mortuary patterning which contrasts the furnished, irregularly aligned, inhumation and cremation graves of the sixth century with the west-east oriented and frequently unfurnished seventh-century "Final Phase" inhumations, the paucity of other seventh-century cemeteries in Lincolnshire renders the wider appropriateness of this model difficult to assess.

An example of a seventh-century burial community from Norfolk is detailed by Trevor Ashwin and Sarah Bates in *Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91, Part I: Excavations at Bixley, Caistor St. Edmund, Trowse, Cringleford, and Little Melton* (East Anglian Archaeology Report 91 [Dereham: Norfolk Museums Service, Archaeology and Environment Division, 2000]) and by Kenneth Penn in *Excavations on the Norwich Southern Bypass, 1989–91, Part II: The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Harford Farm, Caistor St Edmund, Norfolk* (East Anglian Archaeology Report 92 [Dereham: Norfolk Museums Service, Archaeology and Environment Division, 2000]). The first volume presents the history of human activity at the several sites near the confluence of the Rivers Tas and Yare, and the second volume serves as the Harford Farm site report. In the latter volume, Penn's well-crafted discussion of the excavation, grave catalogue, grave-goods, grave structure and burial practice, and local and regional contexts is supplemented by excellent specialist reports on the two sceattas (Mark Blackburn), human

remains (Sue Anderson), textiles (Elizabeth Crowfoot), fiber analyses (Penelope Walton Rogers), beads (Birte Bruggmann), precious metal objects (Duncan Hook and Susan La Niece), and the runic inscription on the composite disc brooch (John Hines). At Harford Farm, two groups of inhumation burials, believed to represent a single cemetery, were situated among a cluster of prehistoric barrows. While most of the thirty-one Anglo-Saxon graves in the northern group, Area A, were unfurnished or equipped only with a knife and buckle, three, probably all female, were lavishly outfitted. Among the gear furnishing these burials were such typically "Final Phase" accoutrements as a composite disc brooch, relic box containing dress-hooks and a partial pin suite, gold pendants, and silver-wire ring necklaces. While the Area A burials were arrayed in rows, those to the south in Area C/D were loosely oriented around a prehistoric barrow. Except for a single burial outfitted with a Roman intaglio pendant, shears, and a bag holding another silver-wire festoon, the fifteen burials in Area C/D were likewise generally furnished with knives and buckles. The date of 690-710 provided by two sceattas from the site is in accordance with other grave-goods, none of which needs to be considered much earlier than 650. Penn notes the adoption of restrained Roman or Byzantine inspired fashions and burial practices, arriving in Anglo-Saxon England either directly or via France, may have voiced a Continental ideological and cultural affiliation within the Christian East Anglian kingdom. In Norfolk, our understanding of the changes in early medieval burial activities and their relationship to settlement patterns remains limited as Thornham is the only other "Final Phase" cemetery to date identified. However, the location of the Harford Farm cemetery, separate from any known church and unenclosed by boundary structures, demonstrates use of the landscape prior to the popularity of churchyard burial in the eighth century. Penn suggests that the Harford Farm cemetery may have been prominently sited on high ground overlooking an estate boundary defined in part by the Rivers Tas and Yare. On the far bank of the River Tas, approximately one kilometer to the southwest of the Harford Farm cemetery, is located the Roman settlement of *Venta Icenorum*. As reported by Ashwin and Bates, finds of some thirty seventh- and eighth-century coins (including Merovingian issues and sceattas from Kent and Essex), Middle Saxon strap-ends, pins, and a "Coptic" bronze bowl from the town's environs suggests its continued economic importance into the eighth century.

Further north, recent archaeological work is presented in "The Anglo-British Cemetery at Bamburgh:

an E-Interview with Graeme Young of the Bamburgh Castle Research Project," by Michelle Ziegler (*Heroic Age* 4 [Winter 2001]: n.p., online). Although the cemetery at Bamburgh suffered the predations of antiquarian interest in the nineteenth century, the site was re-discovered in 1998. As of 2001, some twenty or thirty grave cuts had been identified and six relatively intact burials had been excavated; extrapolating from their density, Young suggests that the seventy meter by forty meter cemetery may have enclosed as many as 1,000 burials. Fifth- or early sixth-century long cist burials, culturally affiliated to the British population, represent the earliest known interments. Radiocarbon dating of the Anglo-Saxon phase extends into the eighth century and possibly beyond. The remains of four adult males, one adult female, and one juvenile of unknown sex were identified. The excavated burials contained few or no furnishings. Only one individual, dated radiometrically to 560-670, was definitely outfitted with grave-goods—a mid- to late seventh-century knife and a buckle—although animal bones were found in other burials. Young meshes the cultural affiliations derived from burial practices with analyses of oxygen, lead, and strontium isotope ratios drawn from the teeth of five of the interred individuals. This isotopic analysis indicates that none of the sampled individuals was native to the Bamburgh area but instead came from the wider area of Bernicia or, in one instance, from near Iona or the north of Ireland.

G.C.F.

## f. Inscriptions

*Roman, Runes and Ogham: Medieval Inscriptions in the Insular World and on the Continent* (ed. John Higgitt, Katherine Forsyth, and David N. Parsons [Donington: Shaun Tyas, 2001]) brings together a fascinating collection of papers on this topic, many of them helpful to those interested in the development of the material culture of the period, especially its sculpture. R. I. Page ("Inscriptions and Archives," 94-102) entertainingly discusses the pleasures and pitfalls, and the occasional serendipity, of research into runic material which survives only in written/archival form. He underlines the importance of such research, showing that archives can have more or less convincing records of inscriptions now lost, or may preserve transcriptions of inscriptions which have survived but are now more decayed or damaged than when first recorded. Inscriptions and their style are important for dating monuments, and in some cases for illuminating their historical and social context. Michael P. Brown's "Aspects of the Scandinavian Runes of the British Isles" (103-11) is



an updating of a listing of objects with Scandinavian runes first published in 1993. It is valuable because it records both accessions to the corpus and also information about previously included inscriptions lost since then or since proved to be forgeries. The remainder of the paper considers the evidence in each area of the British Isles and Ireland, in relation to the communities, settled or temporary, which produced them. Katherine Holman, in "Reading the Runes: Epigraphy and History of the Northern Isles" (112–20), fills in the detail for Shetland and Orkney, which were settled by the Norse in the ninth century and belonged to the Norwegian crown until the fifteenth century. Fifty-seven separate inscriptions in Scandinavian runes testify to this history. The runic-inscribed objects are briefly described along with archaeological and documentary evidence which identifies the locations at which they were found as (for example) royal or ecclesiastical. Ogham inscriptions are also noted where they occur, although she notes that there is nothing in any of the runic inscriptions that implies interaction with a Pictish population (119). Differences between the social and territorial organization of Orkney and Shetland are noted: for example most sites on Shetland with inscriptions appear to be ecclesiastical; while in Orkney they appear to be high status but secular. This could raise valuable further discussion of the criteria for identifying sites as one or the other. The situation of both is contrasted with the greater Celtic survival in the Isle of Man, presumably a result in the Northern Isles of the stronger and longer continued contact with the Norwegian homeland. Anthony Harvey's "Problems in Dating the Origin of the Ogham Script" (37–50) is a highly technical, closely argued discussion of the difficulties involved in dating "the strange, Morse-code like script known as Ogham in which our earliest extant Gaelic language texts are preserved" (37). Various methods are considered, including orthographic developments relating to changes such as the loss, in Celtic languages, of final syllables and other sound changes, on the basis of which chronologies of inscriptions have been produced, all in Harvey's view taking "orthographic conservatism" too little into account. He proposes a chronology for the whole corpus (not of individual members within it) based on linguistic changes which suggest "the first century [CE] and the fifth century as the latest dates for the beginning and end respectively of the period in which the origins of the ogham tradition is to be sought." He acknowledges that his conclusions may not be accepted by experts with different backgrounds, and ends with an appeal for open minds to be kept on the subject. Carlo Tedeschi, "Some Observations on the Palaeography of early Christian Inscriptions in Britain" (16–25), is concerned

with inscriptions in Latin script and maintains that indeed the only extant evidence that we have for the period between the beginning of the fifth century and the second half of the seventh century lies in the Early Christian inscriptions of Britain. He is confident in his dating of the development, dividing the monuments of Wales into four phases, though he admits the possibility that his divisions may cause some argument. Jeremy Knight in "Basilicas and Barrows: The Latin Memorial Stones of Wales and their Archaeological Contexts" (8–15) is concerned with other problems of placing and dating monuments, including the history of removals and re-sittings of the memorial stones of Wales, which means that their original sites could have been very different from those by which they are now known. In the light of the available information, he explores the connection of Latin and ogham memorial stones with church sites or high moorland sites where no church would ever have been. The latter appear to have been shown to relate to nearby settlement sites, and possibly commemorate the descent of a local family and their property rights. Knight suggests these belong to a period after initial contact with Christianity but before a network of churches had developed, a period similar to the Anglo-Saxon "late phase" cemeteries in which goods including Christian artifacts appear in furnished graves. He also interestingly shows that the siting of some monuments in association with Bronze Age barrows may represent claims to descent from previous owners of the land buried in such mounds, a suggestion he regards as confirmed by the siting of one such stone near two mounds believed to be graves, but which are in fact natural formations.

An interesting aspect of *Roman, Runes and Ogham* relates to its exploration of various influences and connections. Walter Koch, in "Insular Influences on Inscriptions on the Continent" (148–57), points to the widespread influence of the Irish and Anglo-Saxon missions to the continent on monastic calligraphy up to the ninth century. The traces of influence of scribes with such a background on the already well-established tradition in sculpture based on monumental capital script, however, he finds to be slight, with the striking exception of one small tombstone in Worms. Mark Handley ("Isidore of Seville and 'Hisperic Latin' in Early Medieval Wales: the Epigraphic Culture of Llanllŷr and Llanddewi-Brefi," 26–36) argues strongly that the inscriptions from stones at these sites provide evidence of a Latin culture indigenous to Wales in the seventh and eighth centuries. He bases this on evidence he sees of an interest in "Hisperic Latin" which favored neologisms particularly through the use of

suffixes, to create an impression of learning: in one such neologism he detects the influence of the work of Isidore of Seville. John Higgitt in "Form and Focus in the Deerhurst Dedication Inscription" (89–93) analyzes this well-known inscription in relation to its layout, which contrives to highlight "the patron, family interests and secular authority." He suggests that the composer/designer must have been trained in clerical Latinity. A footnote reminds us that runic inscriptions with a centrally placed name are also known.

A short paper by Gary Brown, Elisabeth Okasha, Ray Page and Chris Pickard, "A Middle Anglo-Saxon Runic Inscription from the National Portrait Gallery and an Inscribed Fossilised Echinoid from Exeter Street, London" (*MA* 45 [2001]: 203–10), does a good job of putting the two inscriptions in question into several contexts: of London, where they are found on the industrial fringes of Anglo-Saxon Lundenwic; of other examples of runic and non-runic inscriptions generally and those on similar materials or on objects of the same type; and of the scholarly issues raised such as informal expressions of literacy, and the use of objects inscribed with practice letters and amulets with letter strings of presumably magical significance.

#### g. Miscellaneous

The volume edited by Helena Hamerow and Arthur MacGregor, *Image and Power in the Archaeology of Early Medieval Britain: Essays in Honour of Rosemary Cramp*, has been cited several times above but deserves mention in connection with its honoree, because it contains a comprehensive survey of Rosemary Cramp's career including her considerable contribution to archaeology and to sculpture studies (Christopher Morris, "From Beowulf to Binford: Sketches of an Archaeological Career," 147–61) as well as a graceful tribute to her as an inspiring teacher and groundbreaking scholar in many fields, through a survey of the contributions in the volume, all provided by her past students (Richard Bailey, "Preface," ix–xii).

John Blair, "Late Eleventh-Century Estate Memoranda Referring to Banbury, Thame and Aylesbury" (*Oxoniensia* 65 [2001 for 2000]: 446–47), briefly summarizes estate notes on a leaf of Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 718, recording the "very first stages of post-Conquest land-lordship ... suggesting the first meetings between Norman clerks and English tenants whose language they did not understand."

M.A. Hall's "A Possible Merels Board Incised on the Pre-Conquest Cross-Base at Addingham St. Michael's

Church, Cumbria" (*Trans. of the Cumberland and Westmorland Antiquarian Soc.*, 3rd ser. 1 [2001]: 45–51) is useful in putting forward a range of references to the evidence for early medieval board games, but ends by being rightly cautious in asserting his thesis that that a pre-Conquest cross-base with a socket framed by incised rectangles, was at some later date between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries adapted as a design for a variant of the board game merels, probably Five or Six Men's Morris. The evidence is at best ambiguous because the design appears to be incomplete.

E.C.

The Roman fort at Cramond on the south side of the Firth of Forth was an important military base during the Antonine occupation and Severan campaigns in Scotland. Although the fort was likely evacuated in AD 211 or 212, coin and ceramic evidence suggests that the site was not entirely abandoned during the 3rd and fourth centuries. In "Post-Severan Cramond: A Late Roman and Early Historic British and Anglo-Saxon Religious Centre?" (*Heroic Age* 4 [Winter 2001]: n.p., online), Craig Cessford considers the artifactual, place-name, documentary, and settlement pattern evidence for British and Anglo-Saxon occupation from the fourth to tenth centuries. An eighth- or ninth-century bronze mount set with millefiori and champ-leve enamel, perhaps lost from an ecclesiastical object, and the siting of the Cramond parish church over the *praetenturna* of the Roman fort are interpreted by Cessford as evidence of continued administrative or religious importance into the early historic period. Although Cessford speculates that, with its abandonment by Roman forces, ownership of the fort passed to the Votadini, the lack of any compelling evidence for early medieval occupation suggests that this control was not executed by a native presence. Indeed, it is open to argument whether the data represent more than a coincidence of chance losses, ambiguous documentary references, and the opportunistic re-use of resources.

"Archaeology Digest" (*Heroic Age* 4 [Winter 2001]: n.p., online), compiled by Michelle Ziegler, presents brief reports of newsworthy archaeological discoveries or recent research drawn from web-sites, newspapers, and journals. Although they are not always current, web-links to the original publications are cited. In Winter 2001, archaeological activities in England, Ireland, Scandinavia, and Scotland were spotlighted. Notable articles from England summarize field-walking, geophysical survey, and excavation at the Archbishop of Canterbury's palace at Teynham (Kent), the discovery of the sixth-century cemetery

adjacent to the later cemetery at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk), excavation of the late seventh-century cemetery and evidence for domestic occupation and metal- and bone-working industries at Hamwic, Southampton, the radiocarbon dating to 650-690 of a beheaded skeleton from Stonehenge, the discovery in Covent Garden of fifth- to sixth-century ceramics, and the sex identification of remains from Heslerton (N. Yorks.) through DNA analysis. From Ireland, the discovery of a sixth century bishop's crozier unearthed near Ferbane (Co. Offaly) and the excavation of fifty stone-lined graves, dated to the early Christian period, at Laytown (Co. Meath) were reported. Finds from Scandinavia included the largest Viking hoard to date; this Gotlandic hoard, totaling 70 kg of Arabic silver coins, Viking armbands and bracelets, silver bullion, and silver fragments, is dated to ca. 870. The discovery of a seventh- or eighth-century monastery at Papa Stronsay in the Orkney Islands and the re-assignment of the monastery of Portmahomack to the sixth century on the basis of the radiocarbon dating of human remains are featured in the Scottish section. An identical format is followed in the subsequent edition of "Archaeology Digest" (*Heroic Age* 5 [Summer/Autumn 2001]: n.p., online), also compiled by Michelle Ziegler. The increasing relevance of genetic research to historical issues is evidenced by reports on the proposed origin of HIV-resistance among Scandinavian populations and mtDNA (mitochondrial) analyses of Gaelic and Norse ancestry on Scotland's Western Isles, Orkney, Skye, and Iceland. Reports from England include the excavation of 437 burials at the fifth- to seventh-century cemetery and an adjacent apparently contemporary settlement at Lakenheath (Suffolk), the discoveries of an early Anglo-Saxon cemetery northeast of Aylesbury (Bucks.) and of an early Anglo-Saxon "warrior grave" near Weedon (Northants.), further details of the mid-sixth-century cemetery at Sutton Hoo (Suffolk) (including its own "warrior grave"), and the evidence for the mutilation of an individual whose remains were found at Repton (Derbys.). The discovery of a sixth-century cemetery on a coastal beach in Galway and the identification and preservation of St. Odhran's monastery at Latterah (Co. Tipperary) are included in the Irish section. Highlighted Scandinavian finds include an early Christian burial at Likness church in West Agder in Norway, a mid-ninth-century sword found in central Oslo, Norway, a deposit consisting of a bronze cup, possibly from Skåne, and a Rhenish or Byzantine blue glass bowl excavated at Uppåkra in Sweden, and an eighth-century grave furnished with weaponry and tools from Egersund, Norway.

G.C.F.

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## Abbreviations

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AB	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i>
ANQ	[formerly] <i>American Notes &amp; Queries</i>
AntJ	<i>Antiquaries Journal</i>
ArchJ	<i>Archaeological Journal</i>
ASE	<i>Anglo-Saxon England</i>
ASNS	<i>Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen</i>
ASSAH	<i>Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History</i>
BAR	<i>British Archaeological Reports</i>
BGDSL	<i>Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur</i>
BN	<i>Beiträge zur Namensforschung</i>
CCM	<i>Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale</i>
CSASE	<i>Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England</i>
DAEM	<i>Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters</i>
DAI	<i>Dissertation Abstracts International</i>
EA	<i>Études Anglaises</i>
EHR	<i>English Historical Review</i>
ELN	<i>English Language Notes</i>
EME	<i>Early Medieval Europe</i>
ES	<i>English Studies</i>
FS	<i>Frühmittelalterliche Studien</i>
HBS	<i>Henry Bradshaw Society</i>
IF	<i>Indogermanische Forschungen</i>
JEGP	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
JEPNS	<i>Journal of the English Place-Name Society</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Ecclesiastical History</i>
JML	<i>Journal of Medieval Latin</i>
JTS	<i>Journal of Theological Studies</i>
MA	<i>Medieval Archaeology</i>
MÆ	<i>Medium Ævum</i>
MESN	<i>Medieval English Studies Newsletter</i>
MLR	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
MP	<i>Modern Philology</i>
MS	<i>Mediaeval Studies</i>
N&Q	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
NM	<i>Neuphilologische Mitteilungen</i>
NOWELE	<i>North-Western European Language Evolution</i>
OEN	<i>Old English Newsletter</i>
PQ	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
RB	<i>Revue Bénédictine</i>
RES	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
SchM	<i>Schede medievali</i>
SM	<i>Studi medievali</i>
SN	<i>Studia Neophilologica</i>
YES	<i>Yearbook of English Studies</i>
ZAA	<i>Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik</i>

















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