OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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Old English Newsletter

Subscriptions: The rate for institutions is $20 US per volume, current and past volumes, except for volumes 1 and 2, which are sold as one. The rate for individuals is $15 US per volume, but in order to reduce administrative costs the editors ask individuals to subscribe for two volumes at one time at the discounted rate of $25. A subscription form is online and may be downloaded from http://www.oenewsletter.org/OEN/subscription_form.pdf. All payments must be made in US dollars. Individual back issues can be ordered for $5 US; supplies are limited.

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Submissions: The *Old English Newsletter* is a referreed periodical. Solicited and unsolicited manuscripts (except for independent reports and news items) are reviewed by specialists in anonymous reports Scholars can assist the work of *OEN* by sending offprints of articles, and notices of books or monographs, to the Editor.

The Year's Work in Old English Studies
2003

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Contents

Foreword

In New England 1816 is still remembered as the year of no summer, with snow in June and frosts in August that killed the crops, thanks to volcanoes across the globe that lofted ash into the upper atmosphere. Why do I mention this? The contributors to *YWOES*, like old New Englanders, might remember 2003 as the issue with no summer, but for reasons that have nothing to do with climate. In our effort to catch up with the backlog, we've had to impose deadlines that fall short of a calendar year, and one of those years inevitably had to cut out the summer months, when our contributors, like all academics, do much of their research and writing. (Not all of them met the deadline, but that's another story.) Despite the additional pressure the early deadline put on the reviewers, they came through handsomely and even verbosely, because this issue is probably the largest in the history of *YWOES*. In fact, more reviews were written than were necessary, as I'll explain below.

Disastrous weather had a direct impact on two of our reviewers, who live and teach in the area where Hurricane Katrina struck late in August of 2005: David Porter of Southern University in Baton Rouge and Robin Norris, then of Southeastern Louisiana University in Hammond. Each of them had to endure curtailed library services, not to mention the general upheaval from physical damage to the region and the influx of refugees, yet they managed to turn out reviews with professional polish as if nothing was amiss.

Robin Norris is one of a number of reviewers we added to compensate for the foreshortened publication year. Thanks to Katrina, hers was a baptism of water—not quite full immersion—and she has since moved from Louisiana to begin a new position at Carleton University in Ottawa. For this issue she contributed to "Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline." Similarly, Emily Thornbury of Churchill College, Cambridge, was added to "Manuscripts, Illumination, Charters."

The greatest turnover was in "Language," where we bid adieu, with our thanks, to Hal Momma and Kurt Goblirsch, whose departure leaves only Joe McGowan from the 2002 team. In their place we have added five: Mary Blockley of the University of Texas, Austin; Christopher Cain, Towson University; Glenn Davis, St. Cloud State University, Minnesota; Jeannette Denton, Baylor University; and John Harkness, Augsburg College. We are delighted to welcome all seven, and their number will not only help out in the practical business of distributing the workload but will also add to the diversity of voices among our reviews.

Usually editors confront problems that fall under the general category "too little, too late." Much energy goes into replenishing the ranks of our reviewers and cajoling prose from those who for whatever reason cannot meet the deadline. For one section in this issue, however, we had too much, on time. Lisi Oliver and Emily Thornbury dutifully worked up their contributions and submitted them punctually, but through an improbable sequence of crossed signals (no individual's fault) they ended up writing duplicate reviews for much of section 6, "Manuscripts, Illuminations, and Charters." Rather than suppressing one or cutting both, we decided to rejoice in this plenitude and publish many of the duplicates, which are marked with a Klaeberesque double dagger: ‡. We hope readers of *YWOES* will enjoy the double perspective (and the authors of the items under review should be flattered!), but we cannot promise to make it a permanent feature.

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. Contributors work from the *OEN* bibliography for the year under review, 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.

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

1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

a. Cultural History

Janet L. Nelson, David A. E. Pelteret, and Harold Short provide a cogent introduction to "Medieval Prosopographies and the Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England" in *Fifty Years of Prosopography: The Later Roman Empire, Byzantium and Beyond*, ed. Averil Cameron (Proc. of the British Academy 118; Oxford: Oxford UP), 155–67. Janet Nelson describes the genesis of the PASE (Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England) project, whose original mandate was to create "a database including every recorded Anglo-Saxon knowable from the primary sources (including epigraphic ones) from 597 to 1042, and to make this available on the Web" (158). David Pelteret details the careful thought that has gone into the way in which the collected data is organized and presented in the database. Harold Short of the Centre for Computing in the Humanities (CCH) at King's College London describes the wide range of collaborative projects with which the Centre is involved and discusses the relevance to academic research of "humanities computing." The Centre sponsors several web sites that might be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists, although as of 2006 the URLs printed in the article have been superseded. The following list gives the current URLs: the main web site of the Centre for Computing in the Humanities, King's College London, http://www.kcl.ac.uk/schools/humanities/cch; Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England, http://www.pase.ac.uk/; Prosopography of the Byzantine Empire, http://www.pbw.kcl.ac.uk/; and Clergy of the Church of England Database, http://www.theclergydatabase.org.uk/.

In an article partly taken from her inaugural lecture as Head of the Department of English at the University of Leicester in February, 2003, "Back to the Future: The Production of English Texts a Millennium Apart" (*English Assoc. Newsletter* 172: 1–4), Elaine M. Treharne reflects on the status of Old English studies in the UK. She laments the prevalent pessimism of scholars of early medieval subjects and suggests they take heart in "the explosion of interest in things medieval that has materialised in North America in the last two or three years" (2), a fascination driven by the *Lord of the Rings* movies and Seamus Heaney's *Beowulf*. Treharne identifies two fundamental problems facing scholars of the early medieval period: first are the prejudices and "preconceptions based on a lack of awareness of what the literature can offer contemporary readers" (3) and second are the effects of the "rigid periodisation" imposed

by academic programs at both the undergraduate and postgraduate levels. She reminds us of the timely themes with which much of the corpus of early English literature is concerned: "humanity's inhumanity, the futility of feuding, hopes and joys, a fear of mortality, the recognition of the inevitable demise of individuals and nations, the need and search for stability, for sanctuary, for a sense of identity and purpose" (3). Treharne argues that it is precisely the contemporary relevance of these themes which will resonate with students; as she so eloquently points out, "The prospects of our future are, then, inscribed in the writings of our past" (3).

b. Tolkien and Anglo-Saxon Studies

In *Tolkien the Medievalist* (Routledge Studies in Medieval Religion and Culture [London: Routledge]), Jane Chance has assembled a collection of essays focusing on Professor Tolkien's "medievalism." The fifteen essays are arranged in four parts: "J.R.R. Tolkien as a Medieval Scholar: Modern Contexts," "J.R.R. Tolkien's *Lord of the Rings* and Medieval Literary and Mythological Texts/Contexts," "J.R.R. Tolkien: The Texts/Contexts of Medieval Patristics, Theology, and Iconography," and "J.R.R. Tolkien's Silmarillion Mythology: Medievalized Retextualization and Theory." Many of the essays are reviewed elsewhere in *YWOES* 2003.

The Real Middle-Earth: Exploring the Magic and Mystery of the Middle Ages, J. R. R. Tolkien and 'The Lord of the Rings' (New York: Palgrave Macmillan) is a reprint of Brian Bates's *The Real Middle-Earth: Magic and Mystery in the Dark Ages* (London: Sidgwick & Jackson, 2002). Bates channels his early mentors, the scholar of Zen Buddhism Alan Watts and the psychiatrist R.D. Laing, to uncover what he calls "the magical world inhabited by people in the first millennium (A.D. 0–1000)" (4). Bates musters a body of "historical, literary, psychological and archaeological research" to reveal the customs and beliefs of the people who inhabited "the Real Middle-earth" (5). The twenty-one chapters of the book are organized into seven sections: "Rediscovering the Real Middle-Earth"; "The Doom of Dragons"; "The Enchanted Earth"; "Magical Beasts"; "Wizards of Wyrd"; "Dwarves, Giants and Monsters"; and "Voyage to the Otherworld."

J. Case Tompkins makes a compelling case in defense of the Oxford don as a latter-day Anglo-Saxon epic poet in "'The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's

Son': Tolkien as a Modern Anglo-Saxon" (*Mythlore* 90 [Fall–Winter 2002]: 67–74). Tolkien's poem, "The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth Beorhthelm's Son," picks up where the Anglo-Saxon poem *The Battle of Maldon* leaves off, and recounts the events that follow the defeat. Through a detailed analysis of Tolkien's poem, Tompkins argues that it is "a singular form of literature, a modern Old English poem, following the style of the Anglo-Saxon poets while at the same time making significant modern adjustments in both language and style" (68).

c. Research Resources, Print and Electronic

In "CD-ROMs und Internet in der spätantiken und mittelalterlichen Geschichtsforschung" (*Historische Zeitschrift* 274 [2002]: 367–86), Markus Sehlmeyer has created a list of patristic and medieval materials available on the internet and on CD-ROM. Although much of the Anglo-Saxon material (section II.3, 379-80) is widely known in the US (e.g., the Labyrinth through Georgetown University, Simon Keynes's pages on Anglo-Saxon History and Charters, and the Rawlinson Center pages), the classical and patristic materials will be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists as well.

Martin Foys continues to perform a vital service to the field by collecting and annotating electronic resources with "*Circolwyrde* 2003: New Electronic Resources for Anglo-Saxon Studies" (*OEN* 37.1: 46–53). Foy's annual essay is the mandatory first stop for anyone interested in a comprehensive list and evaluation of electronic resources in our field. Indeed, the essays ought to be collected and reissued (and revised for accuracy) on a three-year cycle.

Full reports on the genesis, status, and future directions of three major projects are to be found in the pages of the fall, 2003 volume of the *Old English Newsletter* (37.1). David Rollason of the University of Durham reports on the progress of the "Durham Liber Vitae Project" (23–24). This collaborative project between University of Durham and the British Library is funded by the UK Arts and Humanities Research Board. The project aims to produce an electronic edition of the Liber in London, BL MS Cotton Domitian VII. Publication is expected in 2006–07. Further information can be found at the project's website, http://www.kcl.ac.uk/humanities/cch/dlv. David Pelteret of King's College London gives an update on the "Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England Project" (24–25). Under the direction of Simon Keynes (University of Cambridge) and Janet Nelson (King's College, London), PASE aims

to compile a database on all named Anglo-Saxon persons living between AD 597 and 1042. A full account of the project can be found on the PASE website, which is now http://www.pase.ac.uk/. (This is an updated link; see the first entry under 1.a above in this section.) And finally, Malcolm Godden provides a full account of the history and progress of "The Alfredian Boethius Project" (26–34). The project hopes to publish a new hard-copy edition of the Alfredian Boethius through Oxford University Press sometime in 2007. The volume will include full texts of each of the two versions of the texts, a Modern English translation, with full introduction, commentary, and glossary. High-resolution digital images of the two Oxford manuscripts will likely appear with the Electronic Boethius edition that Kevin Kiernan of the University of Kentucky plans to publish. The project website contains additional information, including a bibliography of relevant works: http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius.

d. Essay Collections

Carole P. Biggam has edited a collection of papers from the First Symposium of the Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey at the University of Glasgow entitled *From Earth to Art: The Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England* (Costerus n.s. 148; Amsterdam: Rodopi). The fourteen essays are divided among four sections: "Landscape," "Human Sustenance and Comfort," "Plant-Names: Analysis and Recording," and "Art and Literature." Several of the essays are reviewed elsewhere in *YWOES* 2003. Two will be considered here. In "*Be hlafum and wyrtum*: Food Plants in Anglo-Saxon Society and Economy," Debby Banham provides a fascinating glimpse of the Anglo-Saxon feast table (119–31). Borrowing her title from Archbishop Wulfstan's injunction that the English should eat only bread and herbs and water, *be hlafum and wyrtum and wætere*, in order to spare them from the depredations of the Vikings, Banham demonstrates that such a fast would not have been particularly onerous since the average Anglo-Saxon diet consisted primarily of plant foods, particularly cereals such as barley and wheat. Although barley consumption gave way during the course of the Anglo-Saxon period to that of wheat, barley continued to be an important part of the agriculture economy as "the source of that other major component of the English diet, both then and now, beer" (122). Carole P. Biggam considers the various roles played by "The *æspe* Tree in Anglo-Saxon England" (195–230). Biggam presents a thorough word-study of the term *æspe* in Old English, which refers to any of the varieties of poplars growing

in Anglo-Saxon England. After a detailed etymological analysis and lexical comparison, Biggam suggests that "OE *æspe* should be defined as 'an aspen, black poplar and/or grey poplar. Depending on local conditions and individual usage, the term may refer to one of these, any two, or all three'" (215). The trees referred to as *æspe* in OE performed a number of functions within the society. As Biggam demonstrates, the trees themselves served as boundary markers, the bark as an ingredient in medicines, and the wood as a manufacturing material both in post and wattle construction and in the production of shields. Four appendices include a catalog, a list of related citations, dates and locations of the source texts, and a list of rejected items. The full data on which the paper is based can be obtained from the author.

In a fascinating collection of essays, *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse* (International Medieval Research 9 [Turnhout: Brepols]), Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño provide a glimpse of the medieval experience and understanding of time, which are as multifaceted and complex as our own. The thirty-one essays of this collection were selected from among papers delivered on the subject of "Time and Eternity" at the International Medieval Congress at the University of Leeds in 2000. The opening essay, "A Present Sense of Things Past: *Quid est enim tempus*?" contextualizes the fundamental problems in conceptualizing the nature of time and even in dating historical events. The remaining essays are divided into seven sections: "Time, Its Computation and the Use of Calendars," "Jewish Concepts of Time and Redemption," "Christian Philosophies of Eternity and Time," "Monastic and Clerical Conceptions," "Literary Representations," "Time and Art," and "The End of the World." Several of the essays are reviewed elsewhere in *YWOES* 2003.

Nigel Hiscock has edited a collection of essays, *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium* (International Medieval Research: Art History 10 [Turnhout: Brepols]), by scholars from a variety of disciplines, including archaeology, architecture, art history, liturgy, and social and ecclesiastical history. Taking its title from a metaphor used by Rudolf Glaber, a French monk who chronicled the years around the turn of the first millennium, to describe the church-building campaigns of Christians of the time, this collection of essays originated in a series of conference sessions at the University of Leeds at the turn of the second millennium. The essays explore the social, political, and cultural contexts of the construction boom as against millennial theories of the world

coming to an end. In his introduction, Hiscock claims that "the essays consistently demonstrate continuity in the history of the tenth and eleventh centuries seemingly uninterrupted by the year 1000" (xvi). Of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be Helen Gittos, "Architecture and Liturgy in England ca. 1000: Problems and Possibilities"; Nils Holger Petersen, "The Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia*"; and Malcolm Thurlby, "Anglo-Saxon Architecture beyond the Millennium: Its Continuity in Norman Building."

In *Anglo-Saxon Styles* (SUNY Series in Medieval Studies [Albany, NY: SUNY Press]), Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown have assembled fourteen essays that seek to explore the subject of "style" with regard to Anglo-Saxon art and literature. The essays cross disciplinary lines and examine various media from stone sculpture to manuscripts. Having posed the question of a characteristic Anglo-Saxon style, the editors argue that "We cannot speak of one unified Anglo-Saxon style, but we can say that Anglo-Saxon styles in general are characterized by (1) ambiguity, and (2) a love of complex pattern and surface ornament" (3). All but one of the essays in this volume are reviewed elsewhere in YWOES 2003. In his own inimitable style, Nicholas Howe explores "What We Talk about When We Talk about Style," his title a poignant echo of the Raymond Carver story on the unknowable subject of "love" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles*, 169–78). Using relatively recent examples, Howe demonstrates how scholarly assertions, in this case about style, come to be codified and can be passed on uncritically from one generation of scholars to the next. Citing the erudite criticism of later medieval English art by the art historian Erwin Panofsky, Howe argues that literary critics could do well to remember what Panofsky knew only too well, namely that "the study of style is a historical and cultural act that speaks to ideology in deep and sometimes witty ways." Howe concludes his essay by suggesting that perhaps "style" is "in some measure the 'human noise' we hear in the textual and visual materials of Anglo-Saxon England. That is why it so very hard to talk about style, and why we keep trying to do so" (176).

e. Varia

In "Anglo-Saxonists and eBay," (*OEN* 37.1: 40–45), Thomas A. Bredehoft turns on its ear the traditional position of disdain that scholars imagine they possess for such crass activities as on-line auctioneering in medieval items. Bredehoft argues that perhaps medievalists have a professional obligation to participate in

such activities since the on-line trading will continue with or without our participation, and museums and public institutions cannot possibly acquire every coin, strap-end, pin, or brooch found by amateur treasure hunters. Bredehoft suggests that by not participating, we run the risk of abandoning these items to the historical rubbish bin. Bredehoft's essay is fronted by a wide-ranging introduction by R.M. Liuzza, who contextualizes in light of recent history (the ransacking of the Iraqi National Museum in Baghdad in the aftermath of the US invasion and the discovery of a Viking-age hoard on the Isle of Man at roughly the same time) the issues raised by Bredehoft. Liuzza invites comments on Bredehoft's essay as the first in what he hopes will become an occasional series exploring ethical issues and responsibilities facing scholars in Anglo-Saxon studies.

Earl Anderson provides a glimpse of the Anglo-Saxon worldview through his linguistic analysis and historical reconstruction of early English taxonomic systems (*Folk-Taxonomies in Early English* [Madison, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson UP; London: Associated U Presses]). In his Introduction, Anderson defines "folk-taxonomy" as "a hierarchical semantic system that lexicalizes a domain in human experience or in nature, such as colors, plant and animal life forms, seasons of the year, directions, or the senses" (21), and tackles head-on the methodological pitfalls faced by anthropological and historical linguists in their efforts to reconstruct folk-taxonomies of historical languages (those for which native speakers no longer exist). In chapters 2 through 5, Anderson discusses taxonomies of color across contemporary and historical languages. Chapter 2 focuses on conceptual and perceptual difficulties of classifying color and considers the structures of abstract color vocabularies across contemporary languages. In chapter 3, Anderson proposes a reconstruction of color canons in Proto-Indo-European and other early historical languages while chapters 4 and 5 reconstruct the folk-taxonomies of color in Germanic languages, particularly Old English. Chapters 6 through 11 reconstruct Old and Middle English taxonomies respectively of seasons, geometric shapes, mind and soul, the senses, and plant and animal life forms. With chapter 12, Anderson rounds out his study with a discussion of taxonomies as universals and the implications of the study of folk-taxonomies across languages for the practice of translation.

In a brief report "York, Alcuin, and Sir George Newman," John Walker-Smith refers to Alcuin of York as a pioneer of education in Britain and the continent and describes his influence on another pioneer, Sir George Newman, first Chief Medical Officer of the UK (*Archives of Disease in Childhood* 85 [2001]: 440–41). After a review of Alcuin's career as an educator and cleric in the court of Charlemagne at Aachen, where he not only standardized the educational curriculum but also encouraged the study of the liberal arts as a means of fostering greater spiritual understanding, Walker-Smith demonstrates the extent to which Sir George Newman adopted these Alcuinian principles that were to guide his future career as a physician and chief medical officer. Walker-Smith concludes by arguing that "Alcuin's requirement that we must seek the cause of things, underpins the current emphasis on evidence based medicine, but equally his emphasis on the proper provision of resources for education is as relevant for medical schools as it has ever been" (441).

Michael S. Nagy provides a very useful edition of a previously unedited saint's life from the eME collection commonly referred to as the *South English Legendary* ("Saint Æthelberht of East Anglia in the *South English Legendary*," *Chaucer Rev.* 37 (2002): 159–72). In addition to his edition, Nagy discusses the sources of the vernacular life and reviews the scholarship on the text. He also explores the social, political, and religious contexts of the life.

Anglo-Saxon themes continue to preoccupy creative writers. From Susan Squires, winner of the "Golden Heart Award" for her *Danegeld* (which *YWOES* somehow missed), we now have *Danelaw* (New York: Leisure Books), a flesh-pounding, chainmail-rending, blood-throbbing, and ultimately mind-numbing fantasy set in Alfred's England. The narrative itself never exceeds the audacity of the cover, which sports an image of the hero and heroine mounted on a rearing stallion. The hero looks much like John Travolta on steroids, with either a disconcerting thatch of chest hair running from chin to groin or the carcass of a rabbit strapped to his torso; the heroine looks as though she just stepped out of the pages of a *Victoria's Secret* catalog (or so I'm told). The narrative is so desultory and the tale so implausible that the book is more likely to annoy than entertain.

With a self-conscious nod to Keats, Anne MacKay's "On First Looking into Heaney's Beowulf" (*Prairie Schooner* 77.3: 81–82) refigures the banquet after the hero has killed Grendel's mother as a goon-squad post-victory bash. Unfortunately, MacKay's poem is reductive, suggesting that the literary and cultural heritage of the Anglo-Saxon epic has done little

more than "to / inspire a millennium of brutal / bullet-pocked worlds to come."

Beowulf even captivated the mind of the American poet Robert Lowell ("Beowulf," *Robert Lowell: Collected Poems*, ed. Frank Bidart and David Gewanter [New York: Farrar, Straus and Giroux], 979–80). Lowell wrote a sonnet in the first person based on the scene in which the hero follows the trail to Grendel's mere. Ultimately Lowell seems to have abandoned the sonnet format, but continued writing for some additional forty lines in blank verse. The result is mildly interesting and suggests that what intrigued the poet most was blood, gore, and the hero's self-confidence.

In a self-reflective essay that deals with *Beowulf* only incidentally, "Grendel and Grendel's Mother," the prize-winning playwright, lecturer, and author Adrienne Kennedy reveals the depths of her own anxieties about race (*The Adrienne Kennedy Reader* [Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P, 2001], 300–05). Using the graphic violence of the Anglo-Saxon poem as a backdrop, Kennedy channels the hero's murderous rage as a means of expressing her loathing for her sons' white girlfriends, "[her] white students, [her] mother's white step-mother" (303). Kennedy claims to have been interested in making *Beowulf* into a play, but from this essay, at least, she seems to have been more inclined to hold on to the poem as a vehicle for exorcising her own demons.

R.F.J

Works not seen

Beck, Heinrich, *et al.*, eds. *Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde.* 2nd ed. Vol. XX: *Metuonis–Naturwissenschaftliche Methoden in der Archäologie.* Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter, 2002.

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Rumble, Alexander R. "Items of Lexicographical Interest in the Toller Collection, John Rylands University Library of Manchester." *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures.* Ed. Donald Scragg. Publ. of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 1. Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2003. 323–32.

Unebe, Noriko. "Uses of Seaweed in Anglo-Saxon England: From an Ethnographic Angle." *Jnl of Tokyo Kasei Gakun Univ.*, *Humanities and Social Sciences* 41 (2001): 85-94.

2. Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline

a. Tributes

Dorothea Walz has edited a festschrift for Walter Berschin of the University of Heidelberg on the occasion of his sixty-fifth birthday (*Scripturus Vitam: Lateinische Biographie von der Antike bis in die Gegenwart* [Heidelberg: Mattes, 2002]). Ninety-nine colleagues, students, and friends contribute the essays that make up this massive volume (over 1300 pages). The essays in the first section focus on questions of method, form, and evolution with regard to the study of hagiography. Those in the second section are devoted to the study of the lives of individual saints and their authors. The vast majority of the essays are found in the third and final section, which covers a wide-range of topics from the oeuvre of individual authors to thematic considerations within single texts. Although there is little in this volume

devoted strictly to Anglo-Saxon studies, the wealth of material on the development of "latin biography" will surely be of value to anyone interested in hagiography.

In *Runica—Germanica—Mediaevalia* (Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 37 [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter]), Wilhelm Heizmann and Astrid van Nahl have assembled an excellent collection of essays in honor of Professor Klaus Düwel. Among the sixty-one essays, several are bound to be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists and are reviewed in other sections in this issue of *YWOES*: Alfred Bammesberger, "Zu **fusæ** in der Runeninschrift auf dem Ruthwell-Kreuz" (see section 9); Hans Frede Nielsen, "On the demise of Old English"(section 3.b); Ute Schwab, "Runentituli, narrative Bildzeichen und biblisch-änigmatische Gelehrsamkeit auf der Bargello-

Seite des Franks Casket" (section 9); and Gaby Waxenberger, "The Non-Latin Personal Names on the Name-bearing Objects in the Old English Runic Corpus (Epigraphical Material): A Preliminary List" (section 8).

With *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss* (Münchener Universitätsschriften, Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 30 [Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang]), Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker have edited a fitting tribute to an internationally renowned scholar on the occasion of his seventy-fifth birthday. The ten essays in this volume are written by former students of Professor Gneuss, and most are reviewed elsewhere in this volume. In addition to a list of his writings and the doctoral dissertations he supervised, this volume includes a warm tribute to Professor Gneuss by Simon Keynes ("A Tribute to Helmut Gneuss from Cambridge: Munich, 4 November 2002," xi–xv).

Mark Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe have produced a collection of essays honoring the memory of the scholar and teacher, Edward Irving (*Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr*. [Toronto: U of Toronto P]). Each uncovering some treasure from the metaphorical concept of a *wordhord*, the fourteen essays of this volume fall roughly into three groupings. The first six offer critical interpretations of Anglo-Saxon texts and authors from a variety of theoretical perspectives. The second group revolves around issues of textual integrity and representation, notions of authorship, and techniques of editing. The final essays focus closely on the Old English lexicon and offer timely re-evaluations of individual words and concepts central to the Anglo-Saxon *wordhord*. This valuable tribute to the life, work, and memory of such a towering figure in Anglo-Saxon studies closes with a select bibliography of Professor Irving's publications. Although many of the essays in this volume are reviewed elsewhere in this issue of *YWOES*, one will begin the next section on the history of the discipline.

b. History of the Discipline

In "N.F.S. Grundtvig's 1840 Edition of the Old English *Phoenix*: A Vision of a Vision of Paradise" (*Unlocking the Wordhord,* 217–39), Robert Bjork examines the career and oeuvre of the Danish scholar, editor, translator, and poet. Ostensibly an exploration of the Dane's *Phenix-Fulgen* in light of the edition's reception and subsequent editorial history, Bjork's far-reaching essay

uncovers Grundtvig's scholarly ambitions and the nationalistic and political tensions that prevented them from being fulfilled. Frustrated in his desire to publish a ten-volume collection of Old English texts, Grundtvig sublimated his "nationalistic, aesthetic, religious, and scholarly interests" in his seventy-one page critical edition of the Old English *Phoenix* (219). With great sensitivity and care, Bjork unravels the Dane's scholarly introduction to reveal the heart and soul of Grundtvig's enterprise: a "polemic about the nature and importance of figurative language and its resurrection in the nineteenth century" (220). Bjork argues that far from a meaningless digression the episode is "the key to the entire book as both valuable cultural artefact and aesthetic unity" (220). Grundtvig believed that figurative language, which he equated with the human spirit, was poised to emerge from the oblivion to which it had sunk during the Middle Ages and remained in since the Reformation and that this re-emergence in the nineteenth century would coincide with the publication of his edition and translation of the *Phoenix* and the coronation of King Christian VII, "Heir of the Scyldings," to whom he dedicates his work. In an analysis of the entire work, Bjork demonstrates the extent to which Grundtvig first nationalized and then personalized his scholarly enterprise. From the dedicatory poem to the closing "Dansk Efterklang" [Danish echo], Bjork argues that Grundtvig's small book is itself a transformative tour de force in which the editor-translator-poet "actually becomes an embodiment of a coherent view of history and the place of the Anglo-Saxons and the Danes within it even as it celebrates a new era of the spirit in Denmark" (231). Bjork's essay retrieves for us a glimpse of one of the greatest nineteenth-century scholars of Old English in all his cantankerous glory.

R.F.J.

In "William Turner as Botanist and Plant-Name Scholar" (*From Earth to Art*, ed. Biggam [see section 1], 249–62), Mats Rydén designates the sixteenth-century English naturalist William Turner (ca. 1510-68) "the first Englishman to evince a *scholarly* approach to the native and scientific naming of plants … founded on a passion for accurate botanical identification and nomenclatural precision" (250, emphasis Rydén's). Turner's "works are the earliest authority for some 300 British plants" and he "was the first to give precise localities and habitats for British plants" (252). Linguists may find Turner's attention to regional and social variation of plant-names to be of interest; for example, Turner includes terms for *Myrica gale* used in the Netherlands, in Cambridgeshire, and by apothecaries, "forms of *gale*"

which "represent normal developments from OE *gagel*," according to Rydén (257). Turner himself draws occasional linguistic connections, as in his entry for wormwood: "I suppose that it was ones called worme crout, for in some part of Fresland (*from whence semeth a great part of our englysh tonge to haue come*) it is so called euen vnto this daye" (259, emphasis Rydén's). The article also reproduces the title-page of the *Herball* (1551) and one page from the Latin *Libellus de re herbaria novus* (1538), though Turner published primarily in English, reflecting "his concern for a widened use of the English language in scientific contexts" (256).

In "From Politics to Practicalities: Printing Anglo-Saxon in the Context of Seventeenth-Century Scholarship," Peter J. Lucas describes Archbishop Matthew Parker's "propagandist" desire "to present in authentic form older precedents for the liturgy and doctrine being adopted in association with the new Book of Common Prayer and the establishment of the *Ecclesia Anglicana*" (*The Library* 7th ser. 4: 28–48 at 29). "Size matters," notes Lucas, for Parker always printed Anglo-Saxon "in a larger type-size than the main text" to emphasize "the authority that his Anglo-Saxon types conferred on the matter enshrined in them" (31). Thus, of course, "access to printing Anglo-Saxon was seen as a privilege worth guarding" (38). Lucas also discusses practicalities such as the production and addition of special characters added "to an existing roman fount" (31). He examines sixteenth- and seventeenth-century books, printers' records, and surviving printing materials, a body of evidence that is fuller for the seventeenth century, and offers a detailed description and history of each of the following "main designs": "the Parkerian Great Primer Anglo-Saxon (1566-1646), the Parkerian Pica Anglo-Saxon (1576-1640), the Lambardian Pica Anglo-Saxon (1576-1670), the Spelmanian Great Primer Anglo-Saxon (1639-52), the Wheelockian Great Primer Anglo-Saxon (1641-52), the Junian Pica Anglo-Saxon (1655-)—for which many of the punches are still held by Oxford University—and the Somnerian Pica Anglo-Saxon (1658-)" (48). The Junian Pica Anglo-Saxon is, of course, the font used by Franciscus Junius, who acquired "[t]he punches for the new designs" and "thus kept complete control of their use; his 'printing utensils' were bequeathed to Oxford University" (42). Despite this desire for exclusivity and control, many of the scholars working at this time "knew, encouraged, influenced, and collaborated with each other" in "a social academic network" (43) that "extended to the continent" (44). There is also some evidence of "the influence of continuing contact with manuscripts" (45); for

example, the Somnerian font adds K and W, probably influenced by "the *Peterborough Chronicle*, now Bodleian Library, MS Laud Misc. 636, a manuscript widely used from Parker's time onwards" (47).

The opposition to Parker's Protestant politics is discussed in "Catholic Use of Anglo-Saxon Precedents, 1565-1625" (*Recusant History* 26: 537–55), in which Donna B. Hamilton declares, "The study of the use of Saxon precedents has long been the property of historians and others who have regarded interest in the Anglo-Saxons as a Protestant phenomenon. This overview of Catholic Saxonism corrects part of the record, including the record of Protestant response—most importantly in Foxe's *Acts and monuments*—to the Catholic challenge of the 1560s" (552). For example, "If one does not read the Louvanians, then Foxe's lengthy narration of the early history of the Britains [*sic*] and Saxons appears only to be an enlargement of what he had done earlier; when one has read the Catholics, one understands Foxe's additions to be a strategic response to their argument" (543). Thus, Hamilton examines the three primary topics for "the discourse of Catholic Saxonism": "the origins of Christianity in England, the opposition between papal and royal supremacy, and the succession question" and divides the article into three sections: "the first focuses on the 1560s, the second the period 1595-1606, and the third, on the early 1620s, a point in time when some of the books of the 1560s would be reprinted" (537).

Julie Towell begins the first chapter of her dissertation, "The 'Rise and Progress' of Anglo-Saxonism and English National Identity: Old English Literature in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Wayne State University) by recalling the "variable fortunes" of Anglo-Saxon studies from 1566 to 1755 (29). "The predominant eighteenth-century view of the Anglo-Saxon era was that it was a barbaric culture made up of barbaric people. Turner helped to establish a view of the Anglo-Saxons as noble savages, in a sense, and as the noble forebears of the English nation of later centuries," and thus Sharon Turner is the subject of Towell's second chapter (78). The third reviews the work of brothers John and William Conybeare, who brought Old English verse, including many poems of the Exeter Book, to a wider audience for the first time. Chapter four discusses continental philologists, including Rask, the Grimms, Thorkelin, and Grundtvig, who seem to have been more seriously interested in Old English than the English were. One Englishman who consequently took up his patriotic duty was Benjamin Thorpe; "Thorpe was a

disciple of Rasmus Rask, and he played a crucial role in bringing the systematic principles of Rask and of Jacob Grimm to bear on the philological work being done in Great Britain" (251). In chapter five, Towell traces Thorpe's preoccupations, such as "the privileging of professional scholarship" over amateur antiquarianism, through his prefaces (188). John Kemble becomes the subject of chapter six; his "articles and reviews clearly and forcefully herald the arrival of a fierce proponent of the continental philology of Jacob Grimm" (304), leading Kemble to start a debate about English versus continental Anglo-Saxonism in the pages of *Gentleman's Magazine*. Chapter seven explores the formation of the canon of Old English literature through the work of Henry Sweet and others. One influence Towell notes is that all of these scholars "show a marked preference for works that can be judged—on any of a variety of levels—as representative of a heathen period in Anglo-Saxon history"; as well, she adds, "Portrayals of and allusions to melancholy temperaments illustrating a supposed Germanic mood are welcomed" (458). Finally, in chapter eight, Towell examines the "Alfredophilia" of the nineteenth century (490), for "[t]he English nation was a nexus of liberty, order, and Protestantism, and Alfred was its apex" (533).

Lisa Darien further explores this phenomenon in her dissertation, "'Hero of Our Race': The King Alfred Millenary and the Construction of Anglo-American Imperial and Racial Identity" (Ph.D. diss., University of California Berkeley, 2002). "This glorification reached its zenith with the King Alfred Millenary, the celebration of the thousand-year anniversary of his death" in 1901 (1). In the second chapter, Darien explains, "By the early nineteenth century, the only major element missing from the portrait as seen by the millenarists was Alfred as a specifically racial hero. In the nineteenth century, both Anglo-Saxonism in general and the views of Alfred in particular were to take this racial turn" (37). Darien effectively uses the *OED* entries for 'Anglo-Saxonism' and 'imperialism', written around this same time, to bolster her argument. The third chapter "explore[s] Anglo-American rapprochement and its connection to racialist imperialism" (60). This section concludes with an examination of the American Admiral Tatnall's justification of his assistance of the British "in their imperialist endeavors" by citing the "racialist proverb" "blood is thicker than water," a situation which "clearly illustrates the way in which this nexus of racialism, imperialism, and Anglo-American friendship were inexorably linked" (83). The fourth chapter offers "the first detailed description of the King Alfred

Millenary in the literature" (84). Next, chapter five "demonstrate[s] that the King Alfred Millenary was not merely some unique, Victorian oddity, celebrating a particular ninth-century Anglo-Saxon king, but, more importantly, a celebration of the idea of English dominion and racial superiority" (97). In chapter six, Darien "argues that the King Alfred Millenary provided an opportunity for the United States and Great Britain to cement their ties through the use of the powerful symbol of Alfred the Great. Alfred was a key figure in the construction of an Anglo-American rapprochement that was based on a supposed common racial heritage. In turn, that racial heritage was also used to justify both British and American imperialist domination" (121). Finally, Darien's coda suggests that Alfred's reputation may be on the wane; his image was rejected for the school logo at Alfred University in upstate New York, and for members of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists who visited Winchester in 1993, it was as if the famed statue had become "a monument without meaning" (174).

Stephen Heathorn's "'The Highest Type of Englishman': Gender, War, and the Alfred the Great Millenary Commemoration of 1901" (*Canadian Journal of History* 37 [2002]: 459–84) makes an important contribution to our understanding of Anglo-Saxonism's influence on cultural constructions of masculinity. "[U]nanimity of praise" surrounding Alfred's greatness "disguised the struggle underway to appropriate the meaning of Alfred's legacy," Heathorn explains (461). Furthermore, Heathorn argues that "Alfred's memory was constructed from prevailing racial and elite gender ideologies, leavened with differing interpretations of the political meaning of his legacy that crystallized as a result of the Anglo-Boer War (1899-1902)" (461). For this reader, Heathorn's account of the divisive nature of the war, "a protracted struggle" (463) with "a slim majority of the population" in support (462), despite "public indignation" in response to mistreatment of enemy prisoners (463), has an uncanny resonance with the contemporary political situation in 2006. Awareness of the millenary's political context sheds new light on the message implicit in the Alfred statue, the choice of W. Hamo Thornycroft to sculpt it, and "the prevailing understandings of the Anglo-Saxons and of masculinity to which descriptions of Alfred between 1898 and 1901 were clearly indebted" (471). For example, Heathorn explains, "By the 1890s, elite masculine virtues had evolved into what recent historians have labeled 'imperial manliness', a code of deportment founded on the basis of moral righteousness, aggressive physicality,

male sexuality and camaraderie, self-control, and stoic attention to duty. Physicality became privileged over and against intellectualism, as did the repression, rather than the expression, of powerful emotions" (473); perhaps scholars of Old English literature will see here the origins of the so-called "heroic code," apparently more a Victorian invention than an Anglo-Saxon one. Indeed, Heathorn quotes a response to the statue by the *Daily Telegraph*: "In the ninth century of our era Alfred seems to have known and worshipped the ideals of the nineteenth" (478). Thus, Alfred's "determination against the odds" (478) becomes an argument "to persevere in the current war just as Alfred had persevered against the Danes" (479). At the same time, however, those wishing to question the Anglo-Boer War "were concerned to depict Alfred's martial exploits as limited, defensive, honourable, humane, and just; anxieties about contemporary imperial motives seem here to have been just below the surface" (480). Finally, Heathorn concludes, "The varying ways in which masculine values were applied to Alfred suggests that the repertoire of masculine identities is not simply imagined into existence but is the product of previously existing conceptions and conventions, reformulated according to the contingencies of the period in which they are deployed" (484).

Philip Chase explores William Morris's unique brand of Victorian medievalism in his dissertation, "William Morris and Germanic Language and Legend: A Communal Ideal" (Ph.D. diss., Drew University, 2002). The first chapter "trace[s] Morris's roots in the conservative radical tradition" (8), leading Chase to conclude, "The Old Norse catalyst had two important effects on Morris. The first was that it confirmed his belief in a communal ideal, which differentiated him from conservative radicals. The second was that it worked in combination with his convictions about art and society that he learned from conservative radicalism to push him to work more overtly for social change" (45). Chapter two examines the influence of "Teutonic Democracy, Morgan's and Engel's ideas on the *gens*, and the tradition of the Old North" on Morris's "conception of Germanic communalism" (117). Chase identifies "practitioners of Teutonic Democracy" as "the English historians who were interested in tracing the origins of Anglo-Saxon freedom but often mined Scandinavian sources for analogies or parallels" (61). The tradition of the Old North is another influence on Morris, through scholars who "insisted that the sluggish Anglo-Saxons had been completely corrupted by Rome and feudal ideas, and that England owed its democratic character entirely to the Germanic infusion of Northmen from the eighth

to eleventh centuries" (102). In his third chapter, an exploration of Morris's translation process and the reception of these texts, Chase offers a statistical analysis of the number of Latinate words used in Morris's writings. Chase concludes, "These percentages tell us that Morris's saga and *Beowulf* translations do indeed have a remarkably low number of Latinate words and therefore are quite Germanic in their vocabulary" (190). Another feature of Morris's *Beowulf* is that the translation "preserve[s] the additive feel of the Old English lines as they build on one another rather than converting them into the subordinative structure that moderns expect from literature" (226). This strategy makes Morris's translations useful "for someone actually interested in going beyond the surface of the plot to explore the language of the original and how it works artistically" (233). Finally, chapter four explores Morris's communal ideal as exhibited in the prose romances. In these texts, "while being entertained, the reader would get a full dose of Morris's communal ideal.… To embody this ideal within asterisk versions of that Germanic world, Morris used the language that he developed for his saga translations" (281).

Such nineteenth-century views of Anglo-Saxon social institutions, even those questioned by later legal historians, quietly retain their influence over our current reading of *Beowulf*. This is the argument of Stefan Jurasinski's dissertation, "'Ancient Privileges': *Beowulf*, Law and the Making of Germanic Antiquity" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University). Jurasinski notes that Thorpe "first worked with legal materials before attempting to edit the poem" and that Kemble "was himself a student at the Inner Temple" (10). However, Jurasinski explains, "Old English studies have moved from a period in which legal-historical problems were an intensive focus of philological work to a period in which such studies undoubtedly occupy the margins of the field and are rarely undertaken by specialists in literature" (11). The first chapter explores the ramifications of Jakob Grimm's suggestion in "*Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer* (1828) that *Beowulf* is to some extent an amalgam of Germanic legal formulas, i.e., formalized speeches and phrases that were once recited during legal proceedings" (20). The search for evidence of ancient Germanic law explains the fact that "Grimm took more interest in ll. 2884–2891 than in any other passage from *Beowulf*" (27). Jurasinski recounts the editorial history of this passage, from Wiglaf's speech to the deserters, and explains, "That the recovery of legal formulas was sometimes felt to be a more important goal than the recovery of the poem is not surprising, since the

formulas were necessarily older, and hence more precious to scholarship according to what were then the prevailing assumptions, than the archetype of *Beowulf* itself" (30). Chapter two explores readings of *Beowulf* l. 73 that depend on notions of Germanic communal ownership. In chapter three, Jurasinski re-examines the Finn episode in light of the Victorian fascination with bloodfeud, "a central criterion of archaism for nineteenth-century scholars" (89). Finally, chapter four explains how erroneous attitudes about accidental homicide have influenced readings of the Hrethel episode; in short, "The faith of *Beowulf* scholarship in the inability of Germanic law to distinguish between accidental and deliberate slayings has never faltered" (126). Such beliefs survive "because the scholarly tradition inaugurated by Grimm established the dominant paradigm for all subsequent study of *Beowulf*'s social setting" (31); "because Klaeber's *Beowulf* gave [longevity] to early nineteenth-century ideas that might otherwise have been forgotten" (31); and because of a "bifurcation" between disciplines that discourages contact between contemporary legal historians and literary scholars.

One scholar whose work ushered Anglo-Saxon studies into the twentieth century was T. Northcote Toller, who is the subject of three essays in the collection *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures*, ed. D. G. Scragg *(*Publ. of the Manchester Centre for A-S Studies 1; Cambridge: D.S. Brewer). In "Toller at School: Joseph Bosworth, T. Northcote Toller, and the Progress of Old English Lexicography in the Nineteenth Century" (283–300), Peter Baker writes of Toller's reputation, "His reward for getting it right, for turning Bosworth's work into a scholarly standard that has served us well for over a century, is that we do not abuse him—at least not any more" (284). In fact, Baker's article surveys the abuse to which Toller and his predecessor Bosworth had been subjected by their contemporaries. For example, John Mitchell Kemble described Bosworth in a letter to Jacob Grimm: "He is a sad dull dog, as I need not tell you if you have met with his grammar, and as he does not profess to read MSS I hope but little from him" (287). "It is easy and fun to find fault with Bosworth," and though critiques of his work do predominate here, Baker admits that "his dictionary did make some real contributions" (289). As for Toller, Baker "find[s] him deeply engaged in the conversation that is the essence of scholarship: listening, accepting, modifying, rejecting, giving all back in a new form that is Toller's as much as Grein's, Leo's, or Lye's. This kind of genuine engagement with the work of one's colleagues

and forerunners is what all good scholarship must have, and one notices, moving from G to H, that we have missed it in Bosworth, whose relationships with his sources are deeply dysfunctional" (295). The difference between the two is summarized in Baker's concluding remarks, in which he refers to Bosworth as "a man whose proper time was the eighteenth century," versus Toller's "assignment … to bring Old English lexicography into the nineteenth … and in the end [he] made us a dictionary that was worthy of the twentieth" (300).

Alas, Toller's contemporaries were not so generous. In "T. Northcote Toller and the Making of the *Supplement* to the *Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*" (*Textual and Material Culture*, ed. Scragg, 301–19), Dabney Anderson Bankert focuses on "the social and editorial history of the *Supplement* in which Toller invested forty-three years of his life" (302). Upon Bosworth's death, Henry Sweet advised Clarendon Press "to cancel Bosworth's dictionary, & begin a new one," advice which clearly was not followed (303). Indeed, Bankert agrees, "From the outset it was apparent that the decision to edit and enlarge Bosworth's materials rather than to create a new dictionary was probably a mistake. It was a decision that plagued the entire enterprise" and "taint[ed] Toller's reputation" (305). Bankert surveys the *ad hominem* attacks and negative reviews Toller faced, as well as the assistance he received from A.S. Napier, Max Förster, W.W. Skeat, T.O. Cockayne, and others. Bankert has also examined evidence of Toller's relationship with the publishers, including requests that Toller cut his material in the interest of printing costs, and evidence of delays in publication (due in part to the war), as well as disputes about remuneration (due in part to the unexpected length), which led Toller to lament that "there is no union for lexicographers" (317). Bankert muses, "It would be of considerable interest to know what Toller cut from the *Supplement* in 1919, but it may be impossible to reconstruct, given the fate of his papers and the various manuscripts," which were not deemed worthy of preservation, even by Toller himself (318).

Toller's career is more broadly examined by Joana Proud in "Thomas Northcote Toller: 'This Fearless and Self-Sacrificing Knight of Scholarship'" (*Textual and Material Culture*, ed. Scragg, 333–45). Proud begins by stating that Toller "is a figure of paradox, at once very familiar and completely unknown" (333). Her biographical sketch details Toller's birth, schooling, career as a professor at Manchester, family life, and publications. "During his retirement, he was awarded two honorary doctorates, one from Oxford in 1908 and

one from Manchester in 1912, in recognition of his achievement as a scholar of Anglo-Saxon" (342). Proud also notes that "Toller's tenacity and close attention to detail remained strong even in his twilight years. His continuing correspondence with both Oxford University Press and Cambridge University Press uniformly reveals a very persistent and meticulous nature, capable of occasional bursts of dry humour and even sarcasm. His commitment to academic rigour seems to have been a fundamental part of his personality" (342). While Proud's essay helps us better understand the man behind this familiar name, "Toller remains, as he would certainly have wished, a private figure, with great dignity and some distance" (345).

Though titled "150 Years of the Study of *Wics*: 1841-1991," David Hill's article actually begins in 1647 (*Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centers of Northern Europe*, ed. Hill and Cowie [see section 9], 3–6). Hill offers an annotated bibliography of sorts, arranged in chronological order. One of the primary, recurring questions here seems to be how to define a town. Hill describes the initial document-based approach to urban studies as a "mental strait-jacket" which was escaped first in Scandinavia (3), allowing scholars "to probe into earlier centuries before the first surviving documents" (3). Hill also recounts that after the Second World War, "the archaeological establishment studying the Anglo-Saxons began to throw off its fixation with the pagan cemeteries and the ordering of their grave goods" (4). Finally, "the new age of urban studies began in Britain" in 1961 with Martin Biddle's work on Winchester (4). "Biddle dealt with all the movements of the previous decade, pointing to the fact that as late as 1967 towns in England were being defined in legal terms, ignoring the work of Scandinavian and other continental scholars. He then went on to restate his criteria for a town," which became "the first attempt for England" (5). In 1982, Richard Hodges "associated the *wics* … with a wider framework of town development, one that explains in terms of a 'systems change' the disappearance of the *wics*" (5). Hill concludes by acknowledging that the recent explosion of information calls for the revisiting of fundamental questions, which is the work of the other essays in his volume, most of which are reviewed in section 9.

Mary Faraci revisits the 1936 Gollancz Memorial Lecture in "'I Wish to Speak': Tolkien's Voice in His *Beowulf* Essay" (*Tolkien the Medievalist*, [see section 1], 50–62). Faraci attempts to reread the lecture "in the light of speech-acts theory and discourse-analysis theory" to help us better appreciate the speaker's "layered identities, among them great critic and great writer" (50). Thus, Faraci argues, "Tolkien's 'I' enters into a dramatic relationship with the verbs according to the lost rules of opposition belonging to the ancient grammatical inflections of active voice and middle voice. The lost distinctions of voice, restored to the lecture, oppose active-voice agents—critics who have covered up the poem—against middle-voice agents—critics who surrender to the poem" (52). Unfortunately, "the category of voice in grammars of present-day English is not adequate to begin to reveal the middle-voice relation of the speaker to the verbs in the lecture" (53). Thus, the argument relies on Tolkien's use of agentless passives "to represent the acts of critics too arrogant to read the poem," as opposed to Tolkien's "arrogance-free style" in the lecture (56).

c. Memorials

Margaret Gelling commemorates the life of Kenneth Cameron (1922-2001) in her essay for *Proceedings of the British Academy* (115 [2002]: 103–16). The biography includes details of Cameron's childhood, details of his education, and a "spell in the RAF, from 1941-5 … at the end of his second year of English studies at Leeds University" (104). Cameron's work on place names began with his Ph.D. thesis while teaching at Sheffield. In 1950 Cameron moved to Nottingham, where he remained for the rest of his career, becoming head of department and serving on many university committees. Through his research, Cameron helped to revitalize the study of place names; for example, he "used the occasion of [the Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture in 1976] to explain and give authority to the revisionist writings of the preceding decade" (111). His "influential studies of Danish place-names in eastern England … accorded well with the growing belief that it is necessary to consider the physical setting of names in addition to studying them as linguistic phenomena" (113). Gelling concludes, "The present high academic status of place-name studies in England and the widespread public interest in them owe much to Kenneth Cameron's devoted work" (116).

Catherine E. Karkov writes "In Memoriam: Robert T. Farrell, November 16, 1938—July 31, 2003" (*OEN* 37.1: 6). Born in New York City and educated at Fordham, Farrell went on to study with Tolkien at Oxford. His first archaeological dig was supervised by Rosemary Cramp. Farrell returned to New York in 1967 to teach at Cornell, where he remained for the whole of his career, working in English, Archaeology, and Medieval Studies. "Bob's

scholarship was truly interdisciplinary, and he will be remembered in particular for his contributions to the study of Bede, the poem *Daniel*, and the Ruthwell Cross, but he also published important articles on both Chaucer and Tolkien" (6). Farrell's influence lives on through the Black Swan banquet, which he organized, the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture sessions at Kalamazoo, and the *Year's Work in Old English Studies*, for which he was a founding contributor.

Nicholas Brooks paints a loving picture of Henry Royston Loyn in an essay for *Proceedings of the British Academy* 120: 303–24. Loyn came from a working-class family but made his parents proud by excelling in school, where "he lost his Cardiff accent and learnt how to keep out of trouble" (305). Family finances led Loyn to enter University College, Cardiff. However, his studies were interrupted by tuberculosis, and Loyn spent two years at the South Wales Sanatorium at Talgarth. Ultimately, however, Loyn earned a double degree in English and History. Once he began teaching Medieval History at Cardiff, he developed a reputation among students "as a superb lecturer, particularly as one who gave beginners a lasting taste for his subject" (311). Brooks outlines other accomplishments, including Loyn's experience as a reviewer, textbook writer, editor, and dean. Loyn moved to Westfield College London from 1977 through his retirement. In 1994 he returned to the Cardiff area, where he died at the age of seventy-eight.

Henrietta Leyser remembers Timothy Reuter in an obituary for *German History* (21: 82–5). His death at the age of 55 seems unjust. Leyser describes him as having a "sure sense of purpose, combined with a certain shyness and reserve" (82). Yet at his funeral, Jinty Nelson observed that Reuter played the role of "missionary and intermediary," explaining British historical thinking to

Germans and German historical thinking to Britons (85). In fact, Reuter's first book was an edited collection of papers on Boniface. Leyser observes that "Boniface, a man acutely aware of the ties that bound England to Germany, seems now a peculiarly, and poignantly, fitting subject for Tim's first book" (84).

Finally, John Insley offers a sketch of Victor Ernest Watts's career in the *Jnl of the English Place-Name Society* 35 [2002–03]: 59–60. Watts "was fully conversant with Continental literature" and translated Boethius's *Consolation* for Penguin, but his specialization was onomastics, and his work "stood apart in its lucidity and philological exactitude" (59). Watts saw that contact between Romance and Germanic on the continent had "methodological implications" for "an Anglo-Scandinavian context" (60). Watts's most important project was the *Cambridge Dictionary of English Place-Names*, "a book on which he had worked since at least the 1980s" (60). Insley concludes, "It is a major tragedy that he did not live to see it appear," but the project "will be a worthy memorial" (60).

<div align="right">R.N.</div>

Works not seen

Enkvist, Nils Erik. "The Era of Uno Lindelöf in Finland's English Philology." *Language, Learning, Literature: Studies Presented to Håkon Ringbom*. Ed. Martin Gill, Anthony W. Johnson, Lena M. Koski, Roger D. Sell, and Brita Wårvik. English Dept. Publ. 4. Turku, Finland: Åbo Akademi Univ. Press, 2001. 1–14.

Raumolin-Brunberg, Helena; Minna Nevala, Arja Nurmi, and Matti Rissanen, eds. *Variation Past and Present: VARIENG Studies on English for Terttu Nevalainen*. Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 61. Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2002.

3. Language

a. Lexicon, Glosses

Alfred Bammesberger presents a brief argument for entering just *henn* in a dictionary of OE as the feminine form corresponding to masc. *hana* and eliminating "The Entry *henna* in Dictionaries of Old English," *N&Q* n.s. 50: 258. The form *henna* is to be taken as precisely that, a form of the fem. *jō-* stem *henn* (cf. Campbell, *Old English Grammar* [Oxford, 1959], §592), the nom. pl., with oblique cases in *henne* (Campbell §§590–92: nom./acc./gen. pl. *henna*, though also nom./acc. pl. *henne*). The apparent "ghost-form" of masc. *n*-stem

henna—found in all the major lexica—rests upon a curious passage from the OE version of Halitgar's *Bussbuch*: *Gif swin oððe henna oððe æniges cynnes yrfe ete of mannes lichaman oððe of his blode <drince>, slea man þæt yrfe 7 sylle [hit] hundum*; as Bammesberger is arguing that both *swin* and *henna* are to be taken as plural here, he translates: "If swine or hens or an animal of any kind should eat of a man's body or drink of his blood, then one shall kill that animal and give it to the dogs" (258). The subjunctive verb forms *ete* and *drince* are singular though "this does not necessarily mean that their subjects must also be in the singular"; what

seems at first a simple argument for excision of a ghost-form requires of itself some tricky footwork: "There is no doubt that *æniges cynnes yrfe* 'an animal of any kind' is singular, and this is the immediate subject of the subjunctives *ete* and *drince*. It is certainly possible that *swin* represents a plural, because in the paradigm of a neuter with a long root syllable the plural is formally identical with the singular.… Consequently there can hardly be any objection to parsing *henna* as the nominative plural of the noun *henn*" (258). Banished to the notes, understandably for Bammesberger's argument, is that the closest Latin source reads *Si porcus, vel gallina, vel cujuscunque generis animal de corpore hominis ederit, vel sanguinem ejus biberit, occidetur animal, et detur canibus* (cited from Benjamin Thorpe's *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England* [1840]; 258 n.7; Raith's source text also begins *Si porcus vel gallina*.…); that is, *porcus*, not *porci*, and *gallina*, not *gallinae*, which seems, on surface, to vitiate Bammesberger's argument for the plural sense if not for the excision itself. Of some significance too is that Bosworth-Toller, Sweet, Clark Hall, and Holthausen should have carried a masc. *henna*: it is perhaps rather less a case of an unnecessary form based on one occurrence than a simpler solution to a passage offering some difficulty. The lexicographers, in a fashion similar to conservative textual critics, sought the remedy that did less violence to the text: they altered one word (positing a masc. *henna* occurring here in the nom. sing. for the sake of the translation), whereas Bammesberger's proposal involves a collapsing of forms (to get the plural *swin*), an apparent mistranslation or at least free one, and quite some reinterpretation. Though there can be a general sense that too much gets published in the current academy, here is one case where expansion would have assisted greatly. Though tangential to the linguistic point, the passage from the OE Halitgar seems of some cultural interest.

The collection *From Earth to Art: The Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. C.P. Biggam (Amsterdam: Rodopi), which "presents most of the papers from 'Early Medieval Plants Studies,' the First Symposium of the Anglo-Saxon Plant-Name Survey (ASPNS), held at the University of Glasgow, 5th to 7th April, 2000" (15). It includes, as one might expect, a contribution from Peter Bierbaumer, whose *Der botanische Wortschatz des Altenglischen* in three volumes (Bern: Lang, 1975–79) (based on the author's 1969 Graz dissertation, with the third volume, on plant-names in the corpus of OE glosses), is enormously useful not just in study of the OE botanical lexicon but in wider glossographical studies. Bierbaumer is also a contributor to

the ASPNS project and his contribution "Real and Not-So-Real Plant-Names in Old English Glosses," 153–60, offers a few examples, essentially, of "what not to do": here Bierbaumer has relatively stern words for previous editors of plant-name entries from the *Harley Glossary* who have misread what the manuscript has (such as printing *couourðrote* for what is the plant-name *eoforðrote*; Clark Hall-Meritt gloss 'carline thistle'). Exercising "ein gesunder Zweifel" (156) Bierbaumer sets to rights about a half-dozen such failings, the dogged pursuit and public flogging of which has always been a hallmark of German scholarship. Somewhat more speculative is his interpretation of *boxa* from the Harley entry *belsarum þyfela ł boxa* not as 'box-tree' (the reading implied as the entry has gone unremarked) but as the gen. pl. of OE **bosc* 'bush' (with analogy to the gen. pl. form *fixa* for *fisca*). Bierbaumer then turns to Greek words "sometimes wrongly interpreted as Latin words" (157) with interesting results: the *Durham Glossary* entry *trycnos manikos foxes gloua* has behind it the Greek lemma *strychnos manikos*, the interpretation here the fault of the glossator as *manikos* was taken as Lat. *manica* 'glove.' Bierbaumer builds to a call for a sort of "empathic" reading of OE glosses: "in our work with Old English glosses, we must show the quality of empathy, by this I mean we must put ourselves into the shoes of the Anglo-Saxon glossators and scribes and try to find out what they knew and—even more importantly—what they did not know" (158). As the collection *From Earth to Art* was dedicated to Bierbaumer "in recognition of his massive contribution to the study of Anglo-Saxon plant-names" (13), the reader can tarry tolerantly as he first indulges in "personal reminiscences which explain why and how I started my work on the botanical vocabulary of Old English" (153–55) before getting to the corrective advice.

Anthony Esposito of the *OED* offers some history of the treatment of medieval plant-names in the *OED* and seven sample entries from the in-progress *OED3* in "Medieval Plant-Names in the *Oxford English Dictionary*," in *From Earth to Art*, ed. Biggam, 231–48. While Bierbaumer's contribution to this collection had ended on the note that "Since I am convinced that most of them [Anglo-Saxon glossators] were not experts in botanical matters, I do not think that it has been a real disadvantage for me not to be a botanist" (158–59), Esposito notes that Sir James Murray, general editor of the original *OED*, "himself took a considerable amateur interest in the subject (he possessed his own botanical collection); however, he also regularly consulted experts in the course of the preparation of the *OED*: chief among

them were Sir William Thiselton-Dyer, director of Kew Gardens, 1885–1905" (232–33) and James Britten, also of Kew Gardens) and co-author (with Robert Holland) of *A Dictionary of English Plant-Names* in three Parts (London: Trübner, 1878–86). On offer are a half-dozen plant-name entries under letter *M* from the *OED3*, the first five of which involve expansion of coverage, especially in spelling history and etymology: *madder* (OE *mædere*, *mæddre* 'madder,' *Rubia tinctorum*; the *OED* gloss goes from 'a herbaceous climbing plant' to 'a herbaceous scrambling plant'); *march* (early OE *merici*, *merice* [from the glossaries], *merece*, *myrce*; Clark Hall-Meritt sends one all over the place with spelling cross-references and glosses 'smallage, wild celery,' and *DOE* 'wild celery, *Apium graveolens*'); *marigold* (from ME *maregowlde*, *marie-goold*, and variants, and deriving from charming Marian legends); *maroile* (also from ME, though as a gloss to *mar(r)ubium* it may pre-date 1300: 'white or black horehound'); *marrube/marrubium* (a significantly revised entry, particularly in terms of antedating, if *marubium* in glossary use is seen as at least someway naturalized, though the note in the *OED3* entry "More common in Old English in the more fully naturalized form *marubie*" is not entirely clear as the earliest attestation given is the Vitellius MS of the *Herbarium*: *Genim þas ylcan wyrte marubium & wermod & elehtran*). The sixth sample entry, for *maythe*, involves collapsing of three separate entries from the *OED2* (*maythe(s)*, *maythen*, *mather(n)*). Thus the many variant spellings of OE *mægða* ('mayweed') are to be found under the single headword *maythe*.

Philip G. Rusche takes on the valuable task of looking to sources (Latin and, ultimately, Greek) to OE glossary plant-name entries in "Dioscorides' *De materia medica* and Late Old English Herbal Glossaries" (*From Earth to Art*, 181–94). Rusche restricts his analysis to relevant entries from four of the bilingual Latin-OE glossaries (Cleopatra, Brussels, Durham, Laud Herbal) and particularly looks at what has been termed "Greek in Latin garb": here, a batch of lemmata from the Brussels MS including *ascolonia*, *ambrosia*, *cinoglossa*, *ieptefilos* (which is a glossator's error for λεπτόφυλλος 'with thin leaves,' referring to a variety of *artemisia*). With this last lemma Rusche departs from Bierbaumer in identifying *ambrosia* in the glossaries as 'water agrimony' (*Eupatorium cannabinum*) or 'wood germander' (*Teucrium scorodonia*), rather, with the aid of the entry *artemisia: mugwyrt*, associating the lemma with *Artemisia vulgaris*, 'mugwort.' Rusche parlays the sample bundle or *fasciculus* from the *Brussels Glossary* into a broader consideration of a possible "archetype glossary" and its

sources ("at least one of the sources for the plant-name glossary was Dioscorides' text…. In fact, a primary source for the original glossary"; 185–88). The errors made by glossators and scribes are important in tracing the path back to an *Urglossar*, whose "original order … must have followed the textual order of the *De materia medica*" (189). Rusche uses as an instructive example the fate of σίνηπι (Ionian for σίναπι) 'mustard plant' (*Sinapis alba*), which appears late in the *Brussels Glossary* as *sinapdones* and is matched with OE *cærsan* 'cress,' a connection that has baffled editors; Rusche explains it by the order of entries in Dioscorides, in which following σίνηπι is a discussion of κάρδαμον, Lat. *nasturcium* 'cress'. Rusche sees an eye-skip at work: "At a very early stage in the copying of the glossary, when the glosses still followed the textual order of *De materia medica*, a scribe, having written *sinapi(ones)*, or something like it, jumped accidentally to the next entry for the gloss *cærsan*" (189). This is a reasonable hypothesis, though the "mustard" may not have been all that odd to begin with: κάρδαμον is glossed by Liddell-Scott as 'nose-smart, *Lepidium sativum*, of which the seed was eaten like mustard' and the sense of *nasturtium* (*nasturcium*) is literally that: 'nose-smart, turning one's nose' (as by pungent odor). So the mustard connection is a little more deeply rooted, and our glossator may have had it in mind. What becomes evident from Rusche's initial investigation of just these eight lemmata is how much work will be involved in looking through all of the extant glossaries for the plant-name entries and bundles of entries, and also how valuable the yield would be. The only other quibble with Rusche's very detailed preliminary investigation of this important vein of early medieval botanical knowledge is the quite natural attribution to one of the few known sources of knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England: "More research on these plant-name glossaries will not only provide more light on the medical practices of Anglo-Saxon England but will also add to our growing knowledge of the influence of Greek texts in the school of Theodore and Hadrian" (192). As important as Theodore and Hadrian and their school at Canterbury increasingly look, there is also the risk of developing a monogenesis explanation for any knowledge of Greek in Anglo-Saxon England.

Hans Sauer treats "The Morphology of the Old English Plant-Names" in his contribution to *From Earth to Art* (161–79). Sauer has been publishing consistently significant work on medieval English morphology (e.g., *Nominalkomposita in Frühmittelenglischen* [Tübingen: Niemeyer, 1992]) and, increasingly, on the

morphology of OE glossary interpretations (especially in the *Épinal-Erfurt Glossary*) and plant-names. Here Sauer offers part of a work in progress on the patterns of forms (by and large nominal compounds) and where this would inevitably lead: "The morphologic analysis must, of course, be supplemented by a semantic and an etymologic study, as well as by the attempt to identify the plants. This also leads from the more strictly linguistic analysis to knowledge of extra-linguistic reality, that is, the question as to which plants were denoted (or are still denoted) by these plant-names" (176). As "simplexes are not or no longer analysable morphologically, morphologic analysis deals mainly with complex words" (161), and so Sauer turns to patterns of word-formation in the OE botanical lexicon and sees about eight patterns extant (a ninth category, N + pres. part., as in OE *men-lufigende*, he has found no examples for yet among the plant-names): N + N (*feld-wyrt*); N (gen.) + N (*foxes glōfa*); ADJ + N (non-bahuvrihi-type compound; *hwīt lēac*); N-ing + N (Sauer brands these "a problematic type with few examples" and "difficult to interpret" [165]; *smering-wyrt*); V(stem) + N (though "it is not always easy to decide whether the first element should be interpreted as the verb stem or as a deverbal noun" [165]; *spring-wyrt* 'spring plant' [= 'caper-plant'], or *snid-streo* 'straw which is cut' [= 'carline thistle']); N + deverbal N (without suffix) (*hunig-sūge* 'honey-suck' [later 'honeysuckle']); Numeral + N (bahuvrihi compounds, wherein the surface structure does not indicate 'plant': *þri-lēfe* is not the literal 'three-leaf/trifolium' but a plant having such, the 'wood-sorrel'; Clark Hall-Meritt glossed 'trefoil? wood-sorrel?'); and N + Adj (not a productive pattern; *āttor-lāþe* 'cockspur grass'; Clark Hall-Meritt glosses s.v. *ātorlāðe*, 'plant used as antidote to poison, betonica?'). Next Sauer turns to the matter of processes of word-formation: prefixation was apparently very rare for plant-names (Sauer records three examples: *sinfulle* 'houseleek', *singrēne* 'houseleek' (both, in their literal sense 'ever-full' and 'ever-green,' perhaps loans based on Lat. *sempervivus*), and *unfortrædde*); suffixation (with sub-sections on types of suffixes: *-dor, -dur*; *-el, -il, -ol*, etc.); zero-derivations, that is, without suffix. An area of particular importance, *Lehnbildungen*, is given rather brief treatment, especially as these loan-formations "normally … are morphologically complex" (170). Of interest is Sauer's suggestion that the aforementioned *āttor-lāþe* may have given rise to Med. Lat. *venenifuga*, which would be a reversal of the normal pattern of loan transmission.

Along the way toward providing proof to his hypothesis that "the first arbitrary athematic feminines [with inanimate referents] arose through the conversion of feminine diphthongal nouns to zero-grade *i-* and *u-* stems" (18), Paul W. Brosman, Jr., considers, in "The Cognates of the Latin *ti-* Abstracts," *Jnl of Indo-European Studies* 31: 1–19, evidence to the origin of such nouns as one finds in the Latin fifth declension (*rēs, diēs*) as "the inheritance of the cognates of the Hittite *ai-* and *au-* stems permits an explanation for the origin of what were termed arbitrary athematic feminines (athematic feminines not referring to females)" (1). The present study is another installment of a larger project (one is referred to Brosman's earlier "The IE cognates of the Hittite *ai-* and *au-* stems," *Jnl of Indo-European Studies* 12 [1984]: 345–65) that considers more broadly that "Anatolian and Indo-European inherited eight types of diphthongal noun consisting of *ēi-, ēu-, ōi-*, and *ōu-* stems of each original gender" and, in turn, even more broadly, the matter of gender in IE: "The proposal was based on the assumption that the gender system inherited by Indo-European is preserved in Hittite. There were thus two genders, animate and inanimate or neuter, membership in which was determined entirely by form" (1). Concerning the fate of the eight types of diphthongal nouns inherited by IE Brosman mentions that "[f]our methods of elimination were proposed: conversion to zero-grade *i-* and *u-*stems, transfer to the *ā-* or *ī/yā-* stems, thematicization and levelling of the long vowel of the nominative within the paradigm" (2). Helpfully, Brosman's argument is divided into seven steps with further division of all but the concluding step into subsections. And the argument becomes clearer in the sections to step 2 when relevant forms start to be cited; thus we learn that twenty-nine forms are particularly relevant, the "twenty-three extended and nine unextended Latin nouns with cognates in **-ti-*" reduced by three because of "duplication between the two groups, *gēns/nātiō, mēns/mēntiō* and *sors/insertiō* " (5). Of the twenty-nine, twenty-two with extra-Italic cognates in IE "were certainly involved in variation as to gradation and/or accent" (6), six are ambiguous and one (Latin *sitis*, Greek *φθίσις* and Sanskrit *kşíti-*) "apparently stemmed from an etymon consistently containing accented zero grade" (6). OE plays a role here in the IE cognate information: thus the "ambiguous" Latin *ti-* abstract noun *fors* is supplied with the unaccented zero grade OE cognate *-byrd*, and *gēns* with full grade ON *kind* and unaccented zero grade OE *cynd* (7). Gender comes up in that "[t]he twenty-nine Latin forms apparently include five original masculines, the same number as occurred among the sixteen Gothic forms with cognates in other branches of Indo-European" (8); and here OE *tyht* is brought into play with the discussion

of Lat. *ductiō* as "it appears plausible that the masculine gender of *tati-* and *vectis* is to be explained by their acquisition of concrete referents, in contrast to several of the Germanic masculines, such as OE *tyht* 'rearing, education' and ON *burðr* 'bearing, carriage, birth', which remained abstract in meaning" (9).

The publication of the *Dictionary of Old English: A to F*, the work of editors Angus Cameron, Ashley Crandell Amos, and Antonette DiPaolo Healey (Toronto: U of Toronto P), in CD-ROM format marks an important point in the evolution of the project, and not just in terms of accessibility and utility. The publication of *A–F* will be considered in next year's section with the individual issue of fascicle *F* (*Dictionary of Old English: F* [Toronto: U of Toronto P, 2004]).

The Functional-Lexematic Model (FLM) is employed by Javier E. Díaz Vera to distinguish "Lexical and Non-Lexical Variation in the Vocabulary of Old English," *Atlantis* 25: 29–38. The approach was given much play in the collection of essays edited by Díaz Vera last year, *A Changing World of Words* (New York: Rodopi, 2002; reviewed in *YWOES* 2002) and the present study is a sample of the larger work-in-progress "GermaLex: Diccionario onomasiológico contrastivo del léxico verbal de las lenguas germánicas antiguas" (29). A lucid foreword explains the conception of "the lexicon of the language as a grammar" and an argument that the "relative position of an Anglo-Saxon lexeme within the semantic architecture of OE can be calculated in terms of—at least—three diffferent [*sic*] types of variation: onomasiological, syntactic and morphological-derivational" (29). Twice observed are "the shortcomings of historical lexicology and semantics" (29, 38). Nonetheless, the study depends upon these fields for what data is used to bolster the theory-heavy argument: the *DOE* Corpus and the *Thesaurus of Old English*. Though the emphasis of the project is on verbs in OE and ON, "To put it in Labovian terms, [Díaz Vera's] main interest is in how to use the present to explain the past" so that he can apply "the theoretical findings of the synchronic version of the FLM to the lexical analysis of past states of language" (30). The appeal to Labov may be gratuitous, more worrisome however is the appearance of some circularity in argument: the contemporary findings of the model will be applied to the earlier Germanic evidence, which had previously been used to support the model to begin with. Word-frequency is turned to "as a preliminary indicator of archilexematic status"—namely, that *(ge)scinan* "is by far the most frequently used verb of LIGHT in OE texts," though given too is

the interesting caveat that "our corpus of OE is small and probably not representative enough of the lexicon of the Anglo-Saxons" (32). Neither assertion—the direct one that the OE corpus is too small to be representative and the implied one that the extant lexicon is smaller (to whatever degree) than that of the spoken language—is given any more detail. A distinction is drawn between the approach of the *TOE* to a kind of "principle of lexical domain membership" by which the thesaurus's semantic groupings and sub-domains are based on "their sharing any meaning component," while "the FLM postulates that lexemes can be grouped on the basis of a common core meaning" (33). Two further principles are treated in the study with an admirable lucidity: the "lexical iconicity principle" by which the "greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme is, the greater its syntactic variation," and the "lexical derivational principle," which formulates that "The greater the semantic coverage of a lexeme is, the greater its number of derivational formations" (37). The latter principle in particular is largely unobjectionable to those working in "historical lexicology," but a troubling trend in FLM studies of the Spanish school emerges here again: a relatively light use of the OE evidence in support of a theory clearly aimed elsewhere. More troubling is some of the "evidence": in a schematic of complementation patterns of OE verbs of TOUCHING one finds listed for *hrinan* the following passage from *Beowulf*: *Oþ ðæt deaþes folm hran æt heortan*. This is listed as line 2267 of the poem and given the literal translation "Until the hand of death touched at the heart" (36). An interesting image, but not that of the *Beowulf* poet, who wrote: *oð ðæt deaðes wylm / hran æt heortan* (2269b-2270a), lest anyone add this new passage to a study of the "hand of death" imagery in *Beowulf*.

Hans-Jürgen Diller employs the resources of the *Historical Thesaurus of English* in "The Growth of the English Emotion Lexicon: A First Look at the *Historical Thesaurus of English*," in *Of Dyuersitie & Chaunge of Langage: Essays Presented to Manfred Görlach on the Occasion of His 65th Birthday*, ed. Katja Lenz and Ruth Möhlig, Anglistische Forschungen 308 (Heidelberg: Carl Winter, 2002), 103–14, to test conclusions drawn in his forthcoming (and apparently unrevisable) study "The English Emotion Lexicon: Growth and Internal Structure," in *Lexical Change and the Genesis of the English Vocabulary* (forthcoming from Mouton de Gruyter). The study begins with some very basic observations about lexical innovation and semantic change—"And if an innovation is successful, that suggests that the need is shared by the language community. If the

lexicon in a given semantic field increases, that is a sure sign that the language community's need for distinctions is increasing, too" (103). It also puts forward the rather undaunting premise: "My purpose is to find out to what extent my earlier findings have to be revised in the light of *HTE* data" (104). The answer, reassuringly or not, is "not much": "We can only conclude that the intuition of linguistic lay people and a computer-aided thesaurus provide models of actual word use that are remarkably and reassuringly alike" (113–14). Though the verb *lufian* does put in a brief appearance (at 106), this is a study aimed rather at contemporary semanticists and psycholinguists than OE specialists. The sometimes cloying postmodern "I" narrator is present throughout: "When I asked for material in February 2001, I was kindly and promptly given access to nine ASCII files.… I will take care, whenever necessary …" (104). But this style, on occasion, gives rise to unexpected (and unintentional) delights, such as: "The strong position occupied in Diller (f[orth]c[oming]) by Happy, which lumps Joy and Love together, seems entirely due to Love: always less numerous than Joy, it has almost reached its rival in the twentieth century" (110). Oh Joy.

Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen have edited a very important collection of studies in a neglected field with *The Celtic Roots of English*, Studies in Languages 37 (Joensuu, Finland: U of Joensuu, Faculty of Humanities, 2002). Reviewed in this section will be the editors' introduction and a study of Celtic loanwords by Andrew Breeze; reviewed elsewhere are a place-names study by Richard Coates (in section 8); one from historian Nicholas Higham (sect. 7); Stephen Laker's phonological study (sect. 3b); Peter Schrijver's study of British Latin (sect. 5); and Hildegard Tristram's English and Welsh morphological study (sect. 3b). Not appearing in the bibliography from this collection but also of interest are: Juhani Klemola's "Periphrastic DO: Dialectal Distribution and Origins" (199–210), which concerns itself with the *Peterborough Chronicle* and later; Erich Poppe's "The 'Expanded Form' in Insular Celtic and English: Some Historical and Comparative Considerations, with Special Emphasis on Middle Irish" (237–70; the section "Two Notes on the History of the English Progressive" [258–61] briefly considers the OE evidence); and Theo Vennemann's "Semitic → Celtic → English: The Transitivity of Language Contact" (295–330), the collection's final chapter and easily its most controversial (Bede's account of the *adventus* is considered 301 ff.). In their introduction to the collection—the first footnote on page 1 explains, in the

spirit of a group project, the breakdown in labor in the introduction's seven sections, though "The final version was put together by Markku Filppula and revised jointly by the three authors"—Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen deal rather less with "Early Contacts between English and the Celtic Languages" than with theoretical concerns: namely, a disciplinary bias against seeing much (sometimes, nearly any) Celtic influence on the history of English: "The prevailing view holds that the influence of the Celtic languages upon the early forms of English is almost negligible and is restricted to some place-names, river-names, and just a handful of loanwords" (1). Their second section begins with the postulation that "Textbooks on the history of the English language provide a good illustration of the prevailing canon in philological research on English-Celtic contacts" (1), which is arguable as textbooks often replicate endlessly "chestnuts" of radically oversimplified information. The authors then quickly survey the "received wisdom" from Otto Jespersen's still very useful *Growth and Structure of the English Language* (Leipzig, 1905) to Barbara Fennell's *A History of English: A Sociolinguistic Approach* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2001). And, to be sure, one is struck by the lack of range in opinion in nearly a century—a century that saw very significant work in loanword studies and the linguistics of the Celtic branch of IE. More distressing is a passage quoted from Fennell in 2001: "It has been suggested that the limited influence of Celtic on the language stems from the fact that the Celts were a submerged race in the Old English period. Once again, it appears that they were neither sufficiently well organized or centralized, nor militarily or culturally superior, so that their influence was extremely limited" (Fennell 2001: 89–90 at Filppula *et al.* 2). This is disappointing on a number of levels: the mixing of historical and linguistic period categorizations, the language presupposing a "deficit hypothesis," a default suspicion of recourse to Celtic for explanation—even a borderline triumphalist Anglo-Saxonism (and this in a work supposedly informed by leftish "sociolinguistics"). Irritating too is the convenient collapsed form of "Celtic" when it suits authors—peoples, languages, military forces, cultures, onomastics—which reverts to a deeply skeptical and critical interrogation of any use of "Celtic" by Celticists. The authors follow with what is arguably called "the Germanist view" and challenges to it (3–7); and fairly quickly a problem, methodological and theoretical, arises for the collection: while one understands their aggrieved position, the sentiment runs the danger of becoming the thesis. In the end, at least with languages, the facts do matter: in part, few Celtic etymologies have been proposed for English

words—barring outright transparent loans—largely because nobody is looking in that direction. Perhaps even more significant is the nature of modern, highly specialized disciplines: few medieval English specialists are trained as highly in Celtic, so etymologists of English stay within the Germanic branch because it is what they are trained to do, which is rather more remediable a problem than some others. So by the time the reader gets to their "Early Dissidents in Linguistic Scholarship" (8–12) one feels an inter-disciplinary battle-cry rather than a call to look at the evidence—though, to be fair, the authors do this as well. The last two sections before their brief conclusion essentially outline the content of the papers in the collection, a number of which offer many concrete details. Unfortunately, consultation of the specifics is greatly hampered by a lack of any index; in a work of 330 pages by many authors, a good portion of which deals with linguistic forms, the absence of any register of forms cited is crippling. And while there is some very fine linguistic work in the collection, such as the chapters by Tristram and Ahlqvist and others, in addition to the highly detailed contributions of Schrijver and Laker (who makes the interesting suggestion that Brythonic-speaking natives substituted near equivalent χw- for OE kw- and hw-; 193), there is not enough coverage of phonology. Place-names and loanwords, understandably, predominate in the consideration. In what is, as collections nearly always are, a sometimes uneven contribution to a vitally important emerging area of study (Celtic-English contacts) one senses the need for even greater methodological precision in the face of entrenched, often reflexive, objection; thinking of debates over even Bede's name, the centrality of this concern to the history of the English language, at least, seems unimpeachable.

"Seven Types of Celtic Loanword" are discussed in Andrew Breeze's contribution to the collection *The Celtic Roots of English*, ed. Filppula, Klemola, and Pitkänen, 175–81. The brief study offers not, as the title might lead one to anticipate, a morphological analysis of the "types" linguistically speaking as the sources or direction or paths of transmission: "Brittonic words in Old English; Irish words in Old English; Welsh words in Middle English; Irish in the same; and Welsh, Irish, and Scottish Gaelic words in Early Modern English" (175). As the first two sections are the ones immediately relevant their contents include: a proposal that OE *syrce* (often *serce*, *sierce*) 'sark; coat of mail' derives from Welsh *seirch* 'armour; trappings,' and can be counted among some sixteen other words in OE having Welsh origin (the *mil-* of *milþæþ*; *hrēol* 'reel'; *dēor*

in the sense 'brave'; *billere* 'watercress'—drawing on a number of studies from his own pen and one from Alfred Bammesberger; 176); and that OE *cursung* 'cursing' is from Old Irish—not laid out here is how so, as the form is evidently that of a Gmc. feminine abstract noun. And Breeze is also here summarizing his prolific series of one- to three-page notes on Celtic etymologies for English words—some sixty contributions in the period 1991–2002, which could helpfully be put together in a collection with indices themselves. Breeze's proposals for origin are sometimes controversial, or at least go against the grain of the received wisdom of the lexica; for instance, with *sierce*, Holthausen (in his *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1939]) was certainly not looking at Welsh as a source as he cited ON *serkr* and *Berserkr*, turned to Finno-Ugric with Finnish *sarkki* 'Hemd/shirt,' then back to IE with Lithuanian and Russian forms: apparent here too is how much more work needs to be done with the etymology of OE, as Holthausen's magisterial work at times devolved to summary and tentative citation of forms whose connection was no further probed. And Breeze sometimes relies on summary where more detail would be warranted, as with OE loans from Old Irish via ON: "The most famous instance here is *cross*" (176), citing Campbell (*Old English Grammar* [Oxford, 1959] §565), a source for several of Breeze's examples, but which leaves out the infrequency of the term in OE (as opposed to ME)—Campbell lists only the place-name *Normannes Cross*—and its ultimate origin in widely available Lat. *crux*. Breeze's hope is that his brief offering "should also encourage the search for unrecognized Celtic loans in English, of which many surely await discovery" (175): one clear *desideratum* is a compendium of such loans with full phonological and morphological analysis.

In "Names for Tussilago farfara L. in English Dialects," *Onomasiology Online* 4: 15–21, Joachim Grzega, who nearly singlehandedly keeps this small online journal going, assembles data for the many names associated with this plant, much of it from older, established sources (Harold Orton and Eugen Dieth's *Survey of English Dialects* [Leeds: Arnold, 1964–71] and James Britten and Robert Holland's *A Dictionary of English Plant-Names* [London: Trübner/EETS, 1886] in English, along with the massive German resource in the five volumes of Heinrich Marzell's *Wörterbuch der deutschen Pflanzennamen* [Leipzig: Hirzel, 1943–79]) and the newer resources of the *Thesaurus of Old English*. Citing Marzell, Grzega records that "already Pliny, in his *Natural History*, noted the effect of the plant against cough"

(15): the remedy is even earlier as Pliny, in *HN* XXVI.30 (*Bechion tussilago dicitur …* where he offers a relatively complicated cure against the *veterem … tussim*), is following Hippocrates, who discusses the same effectualness of βήχιον (= *Tussilago farfara*) in his περὶ ἄρθρων ἐμβολὰς. And so the commonly-known *colt's-foot* was also known as *coughwort*, as well as by a number of other *-foot* and *-hoof* names. Grzega's assembly of the names of this plant is arranged into three groupings: "Names with Clear Etymology and Iconymy" (15–16); "Names with Assumedly Clear Etymology and/or Iconymy" (17–19); and "Names with Unclear Etymology and Iconymy" (19–20). By and large we get a teasing out by Grzega of what the naturally compressed dictionary entries are saying, and we get rather less on "iconymy": quite often, as seems the case with MdE *coltsfoot*, the motivation for the name is the shape of the plant's leaves (or at least an impressionistic interpretation of the shape). The *Antwerp Glossary* entry *caballopodia uel ungula caballi: cologræig* Grzega brings up (17–18), for which the reading *coltgræg* has been proposed, and which he warns against identifying as *Tussilago farfara*, is discussed in Peter Bierbaumer's contribution to *From Earth to Art* (reviewed above), in which he suggests that "the only plausible reading of the original gloss is *coltnægl* or *coltes nægl*, which would be the literal translation of *ungula caballi* and thus a perfect name for *Tussilago farfara*" (158).

Runica–Germanica–Mediaevalia, ed. Wilhelm Heizmann and Astrid van Nahl (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter), is a massive (1,024 pages) and impressively produced collection of over sixty studies offered in honor of linguist and noted runologist Klaus Düwel (a bibliography of his publications 1964–2002 appears on pp. 1007–1024). Reviewed immediately below is the study by Anatoly Liberman, and elsewhere in the issue those of Alfred Bammesberger (sect. 9), Hans Frede Nielsen (sect. 3b), Ute Schwab (sect. 9), and Gaby Waxenberger (sect. 9). Not listed, but of interest to OE specialists too will be: Elmer H. Antonsen, "Where Have All the Women Gone?" (9–19), which looks at female names in early runic inscriptions (mentioned are intriguing references to female rune-carvers [on fibulae] and the form *SaligastiR* [cognate with *selegiest* from *Beowulf*; at 17–18]); Theo Vennemann, "Germania Semitica: **sibjō*" (871–91), who mentions OE *mægð*, *mægburg*); and Egon Wamers, "Io triumphe! Die Gebärde der ausgestreckten Hand in der germanischen Kunst" (905–931), an illustrated consideration of the iconographic representation of the outstretched hand[s] from imperial Roman coinage to Germanic bracteates and other media).

In "Christian Influence on OE *dream*: Pre-Christian and Christian Meanings," *Neophilologus* 87: 307–22, Kazutomo Karasawa attempts to show a shift away from a "pre-Christian" sense of *drēam* (the absence of diacritics hurts Karasawa's reporting of etymological and linguistic detail in the article), to wit: "a view of the world as a complex consisting of two alien areas: on the one hand, populated, civilized, secure, and glorious areas (often represented by a feast in a lord's hall), whose existence is heavily dependent on an ideal lord-retainer relationship, and on the other hand, uncivilized, insecure, inglorious ones often inhabited by exiles, outlaws, animals, and monsters" (307). Nonetheless, given this expansive connotative range, we are told that "under the influence of Christianity, the word enlarged its semantic range, weakening the connotation it originally carried" (307–8). By and large Karasawa's is not in the narrow sense a linguistic or philological study, rather one more concerned with contextual use of *drēam* in OE poetry, and as such has its interest as it charts the course toward "the joy developed in the heavenly lord-retainer relationship" (318). The first difficulty is that this seems, given how much is suspended connotatively from the "pre-Christian" *drēam*, less an expansion in semantic range than a semantic shift. And there are other difficulties: naturally, any such division between pre-Christian and Christian in OE vocabulary and literature is fraught with uncertainties: one can under-read and over-read Bede's sparrow. More to the point of this section, Karasawa's study begins on shaky etymological grounds; the reference to Pokorny's *Indogermanisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* (Bern, 1959/1994) should read "p. 255" not "225," and critically missed is the fact that Pokorny describes the proto-form as a *Schallwurzel*: Karasawa dispenses with the sonic association immediately: "its original meaning might have been 'joyful sound,' or more concretely, 'music, melody, harmony' and 'mirth especially in the mead-hall'" (307). The last associative interpretation is critical to the study, if not the etymology, and results in a looseness in interpretation.

Anatoly Liberman's contribution to the genuinely significant collection *Runica–Germanica–Mediaevalia*, "*Bird* and *Toad*" (375–88), considers the two titular forms but begins with a disciplinary analysis: "It was probably in the sixties, when the young lions of the Chomskyan persuasion began history anew, that the verbs *revisit* and *rediscover* entered into the jargon of the humanities.… The stronger traditions in a given area are, the less time is wasted on 'rediscovering' old solutions, or, even worse, on repeating someone else's

research. Etymology is a conservative science, but traditions are hard to establish in it" (375). Liberman, in bibliographical work conducted toward his projected "Feist" (Sigmund Feist, *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache*, 3rd ed. [Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1939]) for English, seeks to rescue neglected solutions or work toward solutions for etymologies in English ("One of the conclusions I have drawn from my work is that countless valuable ideas concerning the origin of English words have passed unnoticed"; 375). And so to *bird* and *toad*, words that have been in English throughout its history, traceable to OE *brid(d)* and *tāde/tādi(ġ)e*, neither of which has been linked plausibly to forms outside English (the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology* lists both OE forms as "of unkn. orig."). Besides the lack of any known Gmc. cognates, difficulties abound with *brid(d)* ~ *bird* from the start: the form in OE is (Liberman follows the Toronto *DOE* concordance) predominantly found as *bridd*, and the traditional explanation that it underwent metathesis to *bird* (though this form already occurs in Northumbrian glosses) is usually justified by recourse to analogy with *ð/þridda* > *ð/þirda*. Liberman queries the *OED* citation of a proto-form *bridjo-z. The relevant entry states: "There is no corresponding form in any other Teutonic lang., and the etymology is unknown. If native Teut., it would represent an original *bridjo-z: this cannot be derived from BROOD, BREED, and even the suggestion that it may be formed like these from the root **bru-* appears to be quite inadmissable" (s.v. *bird*; quaint-seeming is their first gloss: "The general name for the young of the feathered tribes"). Liberman notes that such a proto-form "may never have existed," as *brid(d)* "supplanted *fugol* (MnE *fowl*), the common Germanic name of a feathered animal, just as ME *pigge* < *picga 'pig' and OE *docga* 'dog' supplanted *swīn* and *hund*" (376). He then expands consideration to the range of reference of such animal terms, with a view toward their often broad applicability—*stag* in English the 'male deer,' in Northern English 'horse,' ON *steggi* 'drake' and so forth—and, in the case of *bird* its use "with reference to all kinds of young animals … applied to adders, bees, fish, serpents, foxes, wolves, as well as human beings and even fiends" (377). Some uses may be "metaphorically transparent" and Liberman, seemingly discounting broad semantic extensions in the vernacular, finds that "it is hard to imagine a wave of slang that would allow whelps, cubs, young devils, etc. to be called *bird*" (377). At any rate, reconstructing the proto-forms of seemingly isolated OE forms as *brid(d)* and *stagga* and "projecting [them] and the like to Common Germanic and Indo-European is a risky, uncontrollable procedure" (377).

Liberman then considers etymological proposals for *bird*, and carries on what the examination of *bird* and *toad* really purposes: a history of etymology of English, its foibles, its lost or buried successes, the matter of method and adjudging the good from the bad. He ranges over the etymological literature for *bird* from John Minsheu's 1617 *Ductor in linguas* to Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicum Linguæ Anglicanæ* (1671) to Junius (*Etymologicum Anglicanum*, 1743) to Skeat to Eric Hamp ("Two Young Animals," *Papiere zur Linguistik* 24 [1981]: 39–43). *Brid(d)*, its earliest appearance ca. 800 in the *Corpus Glossary* (*pullus: brid*) has been subjected to all sorts of speculation: "[William] Sommer derived *bird* from Greek πτερόν 'feather, wing'—not a bad idea, considering that πτερόν is a gloss for and a cognate of *feather*" (379) and Holthausen in 1909 proposed and later rejected (well before his still standard *Altenglisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* [Heidelberg, 1934]) a connection to Lat. *fritinnire* 'chirp' which occasions the methodological comment: "It is open to doubt whether onomatopoeic words are allowed to have cognates in the strict sense of this term, but the negative answer should not be taken for granted" (380). Liberman deals quickly with the most recent suggestions from M.M. Makovskii that the Corpus entry was misconstrued somehow, as *pullus* "allegedly also meant 'board, plank' and so OE *bred* (in Clark Hall-Meritt 'surface, board, plank,' and Ælfrician 'tablet'), the "letter" connection, by comparison with Latvian *bùrts* 'letter,' being seen as more deeply rooted and "allegedly connected with 'the birds' script,' a sacral language of the inhabitants of heaven," which Liberman tersely dismisses: "All of it looks like a postmodernist joke" (380). Liberman had stated from the outset that "My objective is to upgrade *bird* and *toad* from the category 'of unknown etymology' to that 'of disputable origin' (376), and he offers for *bird* that "'born one, (some)one born; young creature' is possible," but as the data was preserved from relatively late sources (and with no cognates in the rest of Gmc.), "Whether this solution requires a price in excess of its value is clearly a matter of opinion" (381). While OE *tosca* 'frog, toad' has cognates in Scandinavian, OE *tāde/tādi(ġ)e*, despite its occurrence in compounds, has been highly problematic, particularly its form as Liberman, putting aside Max Kaluza's suggestion (in *Historische Grammatik der englischen Sprache*, vol. 1 [Berlin, 1906]), that OE *ā* must derive from *ai, and surveying the historical attempts at explanation that have accrued to *tosca* and *tāde*, declares that, at least, "Practically everyone who wrote about the prehistory of OE *tadde* agreed that the geminate in it is of expressive origin, while *a* is understood as *ā* shortened before *dd*" (383).

As Liberman came to offer 'young creature' as the core historical sense to *bird*, so he heads toward basic senses as motivations for *toad*: "Perhaps the toad was thought of as a small round creature. Perhaps its warts gave it its name; not inconceivably, the toad's manner of moving in short steps ('toddling, tottling') provided the sought-for motivation" (385). And, as this is really a study of etymological moves and methods, Liberman draws a conclusion from the particular to the general: "But in both cases we have either to cut our losses and admit that the proposed solution is in principle acceptable and preferable to no solution or to seek the safety of 'no ruling' ('origin unknown')" (386).

Seija Helena Kerttula's Helsinki dissertation, "English Colour Terms: Etymology, Chronology, and Relative Basicness" (Helsingin Yliopisto, 2002; *DAI* 64C [2003]: 19) was reviewed in this section last year, p. 36; it is now published under the same title as part of the Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki series, volume 60 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2002).

Elise Emerson Morse-Gagné's linguistics dissertation "Viking Pronouns in England: Charting the Course of THEY, THEIR, and THEM" (U of Pennsylvania, 2003; *DAI* 64A [2003]: 1237) presents a highly organized, thorough diachronic treatment of the matter of the third person plural personal pronouns and their transfer/shift/borrowing (the latter is the prime focus of the investigation). Morse-Gagné's analysis was some time in the making (judging from a list of conference presentations dating back to the late 1980s) and presents more the perspective of a Scandinavianist. A brief preface gives a perfunctory summary of "previous scholarship" (xix-xxiii) and sets out questions, aims, and methods, with a caveat concerning long-held assumptions; in brief, Morse-Gagné concentrates on four topics: "the historical situation, the pronoun paradigms of Scandinavian and England [*sic*] at the time of contact (as far as they can be determined), the gradual appearance of the Scandinavian pronouns in Middle English texts, and current models of language contact situations" (xxiv). The first two chapters establish the "historical situation," the Scandinavian-English contact situation; here Morse-Gagné surveys with a critical eye assumptions regarding the nature and duration of the contact and the particularly troublesome and critical matter of the numbers of Scandinavian settlers in England; as Morse-Gagné argues throughout for a more precise understanding of the transfer of such "closed-class" forms as the pronouns in question (and develops her argument to reject past explanations of "avenues" of

transfer/borrowing), it is a little troubling to encounter oversimplifications in the descriptions of the pre-OE and OE eras, whether as to matters historical ("In the 400s and 500s, Germanic tribes from the Continent invaded and settled in Britain") or linguistic ("This earliest stage of English is not recorded, with the exception of individual words cited in Latin contexts" [3]: if this is referring to the epigraphic corpus, it is too simple a declaration). The coverage of OE moves too quickly, too sweepingly at times to make full sense; for example, the statement "Ringe (personal communication, 1999) considers that '*none* of the dialect differentiation of OE is certainly referrable to the continental period'" (4) makes little sense as deployed, and oversimplifies the admittedly very vexed matter of OE dialectology (all the more so with early OE dialectology). But the core focus of the study is eME-ME, and here the details come: of the eighty tables in the study, all but the first dozen or so concern Old Scandinavian (Norwegian and Danish) and ME forms. This is natural, on the one hand, as the preponderance of evidence—especially of dialectal provenance—is from the post-Conquest period. Nonetheless, OE specialists will find Morse-Gagné's discussion of *þæge* in the OE Gospels (221–230) valuable; Campbell's *Old English Grammar* treated the form only briefly ("ON *þei-r* they, is borrowed as *þæge*, showing -*æġ*- for ON -*ei*-, and the addition of the pronominal nom. pl. -*e*"; §713). Valuable too is Morse-Gagné's attempt at sociolinguistic explanation, which might at first seem anachronistic (theory-wise) or doomed (for want of native informant evidence). That such an application can be made had been primed earlier in the study; e.g., "Early Middle English scribes—perhaps especially when copying legal documents written in Old English—usually aimed for accurate reproduction of their original" (158 n.55). The matter of "Anglo-Scandinavian koineization" (the appropriation of the term referring here to "mutually intelligible dialects") is taken on, but it is discomfiting that one finds Morse-Gagné putting as a test of mutual intelligibility a "100-word Swadesh basic vocabulary list for Old English and Old Norse" (282 ff.). Necessary to an argument for koineization as the process for explaining the adoption of (rather than shift to) THEY THEIR THEM is "a dialect whose pronouns represented a compromise between English and Scandinavian forms" (287; but does this mean in late OE, or early ME, or in the transitional stage [or contact variety or interlanguage], or between these stages?). Morse-Gagné helpfully notes that "Pidginization typically involves more extreme linguistic simplification than we see direct evidence for in Middle English" (289); and the application of koineization

(here glossed as "the mutual convergence of two or more groups of speakers upon a new intermediate speech variety") may work for "interactions among the first three generations or so of Scandinavian immigrants to northern England" (290). Looked at too are the possibility of convergence, as between Scandinavian dialects or a "putative insular Scandinavian koine," and diglossia for the East Midlands (and "perhaps also the North" 290). Helpful, if not conclusive, is the observation that "the likelihood is that over the course of two or three centuries every conceivable form and outcome of language contact occurred" (291). Morse-Gagné goes quite some way to answer some of her preliminary questions, such as "What circumstances might prompt or allow pronoun transfer, which is almost universally acknowledged to be unusual?", but others remain: "Why is there such a long delay between the Viking onslaughts and the appearance in written English of the Scandinavian pronouns?" (xxiii). The emphasis in the latter question, of course, should be on *written*. But a larger problem is the unfortunate neglect of OE in the study, especially as the mid- to late-OE period was the crucible of change. As Campbell had noted in his *Old English Grammar* that he would include no sections "on 'origin of forms', as the pronominal paradigms could be adequately discussed only on a basis of the forms of all the early Germanic languages" (§701), one would have thought this was the opportunity to take the matter from PGmc. to ME: but there is very light coverage of proto-forms. The relative neglect of OE (the *Chronicle* is referred to, the OE Gospels mined at least for *þæge*) is compounded by overlooked recent scholarship on the subject: Michiko Ogura's "Late West Saxon Forms of the Demonstrative Pronouns as Native Prototypes of *they*," *N&Q* n.s. 48 (2001): 5–6, and Nicholas Ritt's "The Spread of Scandinavian third person plural pronouns in English: optimization, adaptation and evolutionary stability," in *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger, (Frankfurt am Main, 2001), 279–304 (both reviewed in *YWOES* 2001, pp. 26 and 29–30). Neither article appears in Morse-Gagné's bibliography or study; published in 2001, they would have been available and highly pertinent; one desires some reaction to Ogura's hypothesis that *they* does not come from Scandinavian, and Morse-Gagné does touch upon, and to an extent contradict, Ritt's explanation.

The fourth edition of Bill Griffiths's *A User-Friendly Dictionary of Old English* (Loughborough: Heart of Albion, 2002), presents a starter glossary of Old English with modest aims. The relatively brief *Wortschatz* (some sixty pages, though the last page is dominated by an advertisement for the author's *Meet the Dragon: An Introduction to Beowulf's Adversary*) is organized on an uncommon principle—at least in terms of the history of lexicography—in that "Words are listed by order of their consonants; vowels are only taken into account in ordering words within an identical consonant profile"; this is to alleviate the perceived difficulty in other lexica that obtains with "The variation in Old English (OE) in stressed vowels at different times and in different dialects" (3). A brief guide to OE pronunciation and "inflexions" is interposed. The glossary proper begins with * —that is, non-consonantal forms. The pointer at the start of things "look for *mānscaða* under M*N and SC* and combine the meanings of the two elements" (3) proves not quite so easy to follow: The simplex *mān* is the first entry under M*N, glossed 'crime,' and the compounding *mān-* follows, glossed 'evil'; finding *-scaða* is also tricky: one passes by *scō* and *scyld* and *scrīð-eð* to arrive at *sceaða/scaða* 'harmful or dangerous person; enemy,' which the reader can compose to form 'evil enemy' (though Clark Hall-Meritt indicate another direction of use with the second interpretation to their glossing 'enemy, sinner'). Any number of similar examples could be adduced to suggest the difficulty of approaching OE vocabulary in this manner. Stephen Barney's *Word-Hoard* (2nd ed.; New Haven, 1985) this isn't. One use for Griffiths's brief glossary, though not among its stated aims, is as a kind of register of alliterative forms.

Ursula Kalbhen's 2001 Munich dissertation has been published as part of the Münchener Universitätsschriften series (Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie 28) under the title *Kentische Glossen und Kentischer Dialekt im Altenglischen: mit einer kommentierten Edition der altenglischen Glossen in der Handschrift London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.vi* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang). As Kalbhen notes in her "Vorwort" the suggestion to investigate the "Kentish Glosses" in Vespasian D.vi came from her director Helmut Gneuss, and the format of the published dissertation bears the imprint of the rigorously programmatic method of the "Munich School," which is to say that everything within a narrowly defined focus is carefully examined, and that it still reads like a dissertation. After a two-page "Einleitung" comes first a description of Vespasian D.vi (13–31), which expands upon the report of Ker's *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, item 207, but differs substantively only in recording the first gathering as 1⁶ for Ker's I⁸, though the collation given by Phillip Pulsiano matches Ker's (*Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile*

4: *Glossed Texts, Aldhelmiana, Psalms* [MRTS, 1996]),
where one also finds: "F. 2 worn and darkened, suggest-
ing that the codex was without a cover for some time
… table of contents tipped in before f. 2 and numbered
f. 1" (14–15). The description of contents is fuller than
in Gneuss's *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* (item
389), whose list in turn is fuller than Ker's. The third
section considers the Latin text: that is, first of all, Prov-
erbs, which appears here in "one of only two known
Anglo-Saxon instances of complete Old Testament
books being copied into non-biblical codices" (Richard
Marsden, *The Text of the Old Testament in Anglo-Saxon
England* [Cambridge, 1995], 307–8); as Marsden notes,
"the copyist's knowledge of Latin was inadequate for the
task in hand and the result was persistent error" (309).
Kalbhen has tedious lists of such errors; the reader may
find Marsden's treatment more illuminating (308–14 in
his book). Vespasian D.vi also contains Alcuin's *De vir-
tutibus et vitiis*, the *Disticha Catonis*, and *Vita Sancti
Wilfridi*, among other shorter extracts. And Vespasian
D.vi is one of the manuscripts annotated by antiquarian
John Joscelyn, who puts in an appearance in Kalbhen's
section 3.3.5.3 "Korrekturen durch Josecelyn" (66–9).
The OE matter of the manuscript, the glosses and brief
texts (including the *Kentish Hymn* and *Kentish Psalm*)
are described in section 4 (89–113), and then at last the
text of the glosses and the brief OE tract on "the age of
the world" (115–62). Some 1200 glosses are printed: the
Prv glosses are matched to the verses, though the con-
sistency in citing whole or partial verses as lemmata is
variable: sometimes a whole verse is cited when only
one Latin form is glossed, which manages to bury the
lemma; other times, a truncated verse citation obscures
the real lemma; e.g., Prv 31.2 *(Quid) dilecte mi* is glossed
eala ðu min gecorena: the reader can find the lemma
to *min gecorena* only by consulting the Vulgate's *Quid
dilecte mi quid dilecte uteri mei quid dilecte votorum
meorum*. While one can appreciate the amount of work
that went into this study, there are a number of difficul-
ties with the edition presented: e.g., section 6 offers a lin-
guistic commentary (163–239) on the "Kentish Glosses"
but none on the glosses to Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*
nor the prose "Age of the World" extract (159–62), both
texts of interest to a consideration of Kentish, even
while section 7 ("The Kentish Dialect," 241–71) suggest
a focus less on the text of the "Kentish Glosses" than on
a linguistic investigation of the Kentish dialect. Until
Kalbhen's study the "Kentish Glosses" were most read-
ily found in T.F. Hoad's revision of Sweet's *Second Anglo-
Saxon Reader: Archaic and Dialectal* (2nd ed.; Oxford,
1978), 172–98; this remains a more readable text of the
glosses. But if the glosses were presented rather more

as an aid to studying Kentish (belied by the belaboring
of the manuscript details) the linguistic consideration
that closes the study in its last third is not nearly long
nor detailed enough. In the first instance, the tenth-
century "Kentish Glosses" are in a manuscript localized
to St. Augustine's, Canterbury, a point that could have
been given more emphasis, dialect-geography-wise.
And there are significant gaps in the scholarship cited
in the final section ("Der kentische Dialekt"); there is a
significant over-reliance on German scholarship, some
of it quite dated. Franz Dietrich's observations are of
historical interest (*forma illa quae est in Kenticae dia-
lecti* [1854]; 243), but Alistair Campbell is to be found in
the many footnotes sandwiched between Zupitza, Siev-
ers-Brunner, Luick, and Bülbring. It is helpful, how-
ever, to be reminded of classic German philological
works such as Rudolf Wolff's *Untersuchung der Laute
in den kentischen Urkunden* [Heidelberg, 1893] and
Richard Taxweiler's *Angelsächsische Urkundenbücher
von kentischem Lokalcharakter* [Berlin, 1906]). One of
the few concessions to recent work in English is cita-
tion of the first volume of Richard Hogg's *A Grammar
of Old English* (Oxfor, 1992). The restriction largely to
German-language scholarship—omitting, for example,
the linguistic commentary on the "Kentish Glosses" in
R.D. Fulk's *A History of Old English Meter* (Philadelphia,
1992, at 286, 296)—seems to deform and limit Kalbhen's
observations on Kentish.

In what reads like a small monograph, in 88 sections
(marked as one would find in a grammar or handbook),
Peter Kitson's two-part "Topography, Dialect, and the
Relation of Old English Psalter Glosses (I-II)," *ES* 83
(2002): 474–503 and 84 (2003): 9–32, examines presup-
positions and under- or unexamined positions in
glossed psalter interrelations. Kitson's purview is dia-
lectology: his goal is to provide a stemma that allows
for a chronology and geography of the OE glossed psal-
ter tradition. His first few sections deal with
preliminaries—the extant manuscripts, known rela-
tionships (D-type, A-type), and the caveat that as the
extant manuscripts are probably only a fraction of those
produced, and as "relations between extant glosses
would normally be at best indirect, this suggests an
environment where common readings might much
oftener arise by a sort of osmosis within a linguistic
community than by common inheritance from earlier
manuscripts" (§2; 475). Kitson was apparently unable
to consult Phillip Pulsiano's *Old English Glossed Psal-
ters: Psalms 1–50* (Toronto, 2001), and there will be for a
reader using the first volume of a projected four in the
collective edition of OE glossed psalters some difficulties

in the use of sigla: Pulsiano uses O for the Paris Psalter (Paris, BNF lat. 8846), Kitson uses P; furthermore, Pulsiano applied O only to the portions of the Roman text in this 'triple psalter' glossed by OE (that is, the twenty-six OE interpretations to twenty-two Latin lemmata), while τ refers to the Gallicanum Lat. text of the Book of Psalms and τ* the Romanum Lat. text. By 'triple psalter' what is meant is that the Paris MS, like "Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter" (siglum E; Cambridge, Trinity College R.17.1), contains three versions of the Book of Psalms: a Roman text glossed in OE, a Gallican with Latin gloss, and the Hebraicum with Anglo-Norman gloss. And, further, the use by Pulsiano 2001 of lower-case Greek sigla for unglossed psalters owned or written in early medieval Britain can conflict with the use of α and δ by Kitson and others for the hypothesized ancestors behind the A- and D-type glossing traditions; at §4 Kitson notes that α "denotes the manuscripts (undoubtedly plural) lying behind all the extant manuscripts of the A-type" and δ "the manuscript(s) (conceivably singular) at the head of the D-type before any further definable entities branched from it" (476). Kitson also notes that "variation in the Latin of gloss manuscripts even within the Roman or Gallican tradition" will largely not be noted: fortunately such variants are given their apparatus in Pulsiano 2001. A review of psalter-gloss tradition scholarship follows in brief, divided into "pairwise relations between glosses" (e.g., the work of Pulsiano) and "computerized number-crunching" such as the work of Ogura (reviewed immediately below); Kitson quibbles with both approaches, but seems to reserve more criticism for the latter: "And computers sorting agreements and disagreements mechanically can tell you the general level of similarity between glosses but cannot tell which items are probative and which are merely random. Nor can they correct their programmers' mistakes in defining what is agreement or disagreement" (477). Ogura 2003 warns that "the decision to emphasise the conformity or to stress the variability depends very much on the aim of the investigation" (6), which is as true for her work as it is for Kitson's. In recent computer-assisted corpora investigations into OE reviewed in this section there has been a disturbing trend of allegedly "surprising agreement" between the investigators' original proposals and what the computers found out; the investigators feed in data they have selected, the computers spit out only what they can, given the data, and the computer results confer a new and unearned degree of authority upon the investigators' proposed findings. Here at least Kitson openly states his purpose: "The problem became acute for me when, for a book on Old English dialects … I

wanted to do more with psalter-glosses.… All are dialectally inconsistent as they stand, even the famously nearly consistent A [the Vespasian Psalter: London, BL, Cotton Vespasian A.i]. One would like to be able to say more than that the dialect of final redaction should be glimpsed in items in which a particular text happens to disagree with all the others (or all we intuitively think related), or which it cultivates more strongly than any of the others (or any we intuitively think related). Whether in phonology or vocabulary, strongly individual items which can be reliably located geographically will be few. Only through stemmatics can we get close to determining what reflects the extant gloss-scribe's active dialect, what merely his passive literary usage, not alien enough to be edited out when found in an exemplar but not properly native either. Both stemmatics and non-literary kinds of dialect data are needed to tell how far gloss dialects are unitary, closely reflecting spoken dialects, how far literary constructs deliberately mixing elements from different spoken dialects, and how far merely accidental *mischsprachen*" (§7; 477). While Ogura 2003 had emphasized, in a computerized corpus study, the need to evaluate data from function forms and syntax, Kitson's approach is more like that of an editor, relying upon the Housmanian "mother wit" to discern what—and this word is repeated throughout his two-part study—data are *probative*. And there are concerns with this approach too; while Kitson warns that "Manuscript provenance is not much help in tackling these questions" (§8; 478) as the eighth-century Vespasian Psalter is usually associated with Canterbury but its gloss is "notoriously west Mercian" (Sherman Kuhn, editor of *The Vespasian Psalter* [Ann Arbor, 1965], had offered in his studies of this psalter one of the fuller dialectal investigations of a psalter gloss), such arguments do nonetheless provide *some* help. The work of Mechthild Gretsch on the Junius (B) and Regius (or Royal; D) psalter gloss traditions has used this approach: manuscript provenance, spread of liturgical custom and practice, contact between ecclesiastical centers and influences one upon another, the development of a Winchester *Schriftsprache*—all highly detailed, careful work, even if some of the conclusions should prove somewhat controversial (see her *Intellectual Foundations of the English Benedictine Reform* [Cambridge, 1999], and "The Junius Psalter gloss: its historical and cultural context," *ASE* 29 [2000]: 85–121). The earliest known OE glosses to a psalter are also Mercian: the Blickling Psalter (M), a mid-eighth century product, contains, as its oldest layer of glossing, twenty-six interlinear and marginal OE interpretations in red ink "in a hand of the late 8th or early 9th century" (Pulsiano

2001, xxxvii; dating of psalter manuscripts that follows is taken from Pulsiano 2001; one can also consult, with some slight variations, Mechthild Gretsch, "The Junius Psalter Gloss: Tradition and Innovation," in *Edward the Elder, 899–924*, ed. N.J. Higham and D.H. Hill [London, 2001], 280–91, and Gretsch's other studies cited in this review). And here is where the different approaches can reach the fork in the road: while "Most palaeographers and art-historians say A is from Canterbury" the dialectologists look to the linguistic evidence of the OE gloss to posit other provenances: Lichfield (Kuhn), somewhere a little further south, possibly Wootton Wawen (Kitson). The proposals for the provenance of M (Blickling Psalter), with its important early glosses, are so varied as to risk weakening confidence in the whole enterprise: Canterbury, Lincoln, Winchester, Melrose, southern England, central or western England, northern England, Northumbria, or "any unknown area influenced by Northumbria and Canterbury" (Pulsiano 2001, xxv–xxvi). But there are enough glossed psalters associated with Winchester as to have given Gretsch plenty of material to work with: Junius Psalter (B, s. x[1]), Regius (D, s. x), Vitellius (G, s. xi[med], New Minster), Tiberius (H, 1050-75, Old Minster), Lambeth (I, s. xi[1]). Kitson's approach is to work with more "mappable features," among which he considers some high frequency functional forms (such as "words for 'between', which have five distinct morphological forms, six phonetic variants, and a choice of two cases governed"; §9, 478) with a view toward seeing if evidence from more "mappable" texts (e.g., charter boundaries) might provide some sort of fit. This parallels to some extent the approach in Ogura 2003 and goes against the tests of other psalter scholars such as Celia and Kenneth Sisam (in *The Salisbury Psalter*, EETS o.s. 242 [London, 1959]) and Pulsiano (who had worked with lower-frequency, "conceptually salient ones, where the chance that deliberate rewriting by the lights of some contemporary religious school would obscure underlying relationships is actually the highest"; 479). His *modus operandi* is seemingly simple enough: "Where a gloss has more than one source, part of what we are investigating is how it moves between them for details. I may use statistics in places, but the aim of this study is not statistical; it is to sort out logical consistency or inconsistency of possible models of historical descent, to find one commodious enough to account for practically everything in the observable combinations of the glosses but not so vapid as to allow freely all possible combinations. To this end I have in building hypotheses eschewed close use of previous scholars' work" (§10; 479–80). No doubt this was good for a fresh start, as Kitson notes that along the way he

"discarded some dozen provisional stemmata" (480). The reliance upon stemmatics is a cornerstone to Kitson's study, not just as he makes it so but as it must be, troubling if only that stemmatics and the whole "calculus of variants" apparatus has taken some knocks in recent decades and does not enjoy the prestige (nor engender the trust) it once did. And it entails of course some speculative work: "There is much greater time-depth among extant manuscripts on the α side, whether E [Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter] is counted among them or as neutral, and the number of witnesses is much smaller on that side. So it is not to be expected that very much of a stemma should be found there. Conversely, since δ manuscripts cover little more than a century, the likelihood of establishing a useful stemma of them should be high. And since the Gallican psalter was not much used in England till the mid-tenth century, there is especially likely to be definable a single archetype of Gallican-psalter glosses within the δ tradition" (§12; 480), to which Kitson assigns the siglum χ. Ironically, Pulsiano 2001 assigned the same siglum to Salisbury, Cathedral Library 180, an unglossed Gallican psalter written in Britany ca. 900 and brought to England (though the date of arrival in England is problematic, there are a few other unglossed Gallican psalters that may come in under Kitson's dating). Despite Kitson's eschewing of "close use of previous scholars' work" his own hewing to dialectology does not prevent conclusions regarding the validity of these scholars' work; for example, "the absolute chronology of the lost stages [as of δ behind the D-type tradition] is a matter of speculation depending on our view of general cultural probabilities. Mine is that δ is likeliest to belong to Alfred's reign, χ to Athelstan's. Gretsch [1999] makes a case that even δ is even later than Æthelstan, from intellectual affinities especially with Aldhelm-glosses … ascribed to Abingdon … [or] to Canterbury. She credits both them and δ to the intellectual leadership of Æthelwold, who would have had time for heavy scholarship only before becoming abbot of Abingdon, therefore between c. 940 and 955.… But her linguistic supporting argument, D's lack of 'early West Saxon' *ie* and *o* for *a* before nasals, fails completely both because the features themselves are problematic and because she does not adequately distinguish δ from D. The extant manuscript of the Paris Psalter does not have these features either, but no-one adduces that as a reason to deny ascription of the prose portion to King Alfred" (§13; 480–81). After extensive consideration of the dialectal evidence, this disagreement extends to the scholar's own province: "Assigning δ to c. 939–c. 954 as Mechthild Gretsch does is unconvincing even in her own culture-historical

frame of reference. Putative echoes of δ in Alfred's own part of P [= O, the Paris Psalter] naturally fit a date in his time" (§83; 29). As Kitson has not published his monograph on OE dialects one cannot see to what extent, if at all, he has himself employed a "Procrustean bed" (as he said of Frank-Günter Berghaus' *Die Verwandtschaftsverhältnisse der altenglischen Interlinearversionen des Psalters und der Cantica* [Göttingen, 1979]). Kitson works particularly with toponymic data, especially hydronyms, and an example of *burna* 'bourne' ('brook, stream') in Ps 17:5 *et torrentes iniquitatis conturbauerunt me* produces mixed results: while *burna* with Lat. *torrens* is not remarkable, the near uniformity among psalter glosses (forms of *burna* with some variant spelling) obscures its utility: only the Lambeth Psalter (I; s. xi[i], Winchester) offers any significant variation with *burnan ł flownyssa*. But Kitson argues here that there should have been more variation in the glossing: "The normal word elsewhere was **brōc** 'brook', with a minor stratum of stream-names in -**wylle**.… There is a chronological element in this, with **brōc** tending to replace **burna** and -**wylle**; **burna** is present in established names in all relevant counties including Warwickshire, enough for plausibility that if inherited in a gloss it would not be felt to need alteration, but in the tenth and eleventh centuries it is not the current word, and the essential contrast between **burna** south-eastern and **brōc** West Saxon and Anglian was probably already present by the end of the sixth century" (§16; 482). The beginnings of Kitson's proposed stemma appear: "We know from modern dialect 'burn' that **burna** was also a northern word. So the ambience to which it points might not be so much that of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury after 669 as that of either Wilfrid or his Irish-influenced opponents in the church of Northumbria in the mid-seventh century" (§17; 482). And so "A [Vespasian Psalter] shares 'Anglian smoothing' of *īo* to *ī* with Northumbrian texts and the early glossaries whereas other west midland works do not" (§19; 484). Kitson builds his stemma with more potential isoglosses or "mappable features"—*ēow(o)d(e)*, *stīg* ("probative" as "Charter boundaries show it was native to a broad Hwiccean area of north Somerset, Gloucestershire, west Oxfordshire, Warwickshire, all but extreme west Worcestershire, and south Staffordshire, and to no other part of southern England"; §21; 485), *betwēoh* vs. *betwēox*, and many others. Kitson reviews, challenges, and offers new interpretations of so many points of interrelations among glossed psalters that their discussion would require as much space as he employed in making them. Kitson so often goes against the "received wisdom" of glossed psalter scholarship that it will take

some time, in what is not an overpopulated field, to test the validity of each point and its ramifications. The heart of the matter is the stemma Kitson works toward: he proposes (32) a chronology of ca. 650–1150 or, in terms of manuscripts, from his O (a "Possible Northumbrian original") to E ("Eadwine's Canterbury Psalter"). A broken line indicates a "distant" relationship (§78; 27) between this hypothetical Northumbrian original and α, connected by a solid line of direct descent to the Vespasian Psalter (A), but also, more distantly to π (ancestor to the Roman text in the Paris Psalter, and also a source to E: the relationship of the Paris and Canterbury Psalters has always been a contentious matter) and to his β, which produced not δ ("Archetype of D tradition") but by direct or more distant descent nearly all of the extant glossed psalters—to be fair, a stemma even half as complex as that Kitson proposes for the OE glossed psalters cannot be reproduced in words; it can only be seen and studied. But this stemma, as Kitson remarks, presupposes many, many gaps, as he tabulates roughly that there may have been 150 psalter manuscripts in England of the period, and "Some, perhaps many, non-cathedral churches will have had their Old English psalters as well. Our sample probably significantly underrepresents distant derivatives of α, which until the spread, in the last century before the Conquest, of Gallican derivatives of χ must have been very numerous. A sample mainly from major centres of the new usage in the eleventh century probably very much understates the incidence in the late tenth century of texts like L [Bosworth Psalter] mixing α and δ types. So even on a sceptical view, which I am far from endorsing, about the likelihood of derivative manuscripts for private worship (which would have had far less chance of survival than those laid up in monastic libraries), a figure in the low hundreds would seem in order" (§88; 30–31). There are a number of matters in psalter tradition that Kitson either covers briefly or not at all; his concern is the role of the glossed psalters in the history of OE dialects, which is naturally very large, given the sample of texts offering the same or substantively the same lemmata with more than a dozen witnesses to the OE interpretations, the chronological depth of the tradition, and a number of other factors. Left out of the stemma are those unglossed psalters written or owned in Anglo-Saxon England (see Pulsiano 2001, xxvii–xxx), which report other lines of evidence in the overall tradition, as do the provenance of some of the manuscripts written outside Anglo-Saxon England that were imported (those from Brittany, Ireland, or Irish-influenced Northumbria). The first volume of Pulsiano's collective edition of the OE glossed psalters offered no

such stemma, naturally enough, as the edition seeks to produce in three volumes (vol. 2, Pss 51–100, ed. Pulsiano/McGowan) the corpus of lemmata and glosses with all variants that would enable a fuller consideration of psalter gloss interrelations in a planned fourth volume. Kitson, in producing a study of OE dialects, needed a stemma to hand in advance, which entailed a great deal of work outside what is immediately dialectal/linguistic. It will be interesting to compare the fruits of these labors as the full corpus becomes available.

"The Variety and Conformity of Old English Psalter Glosses," by Michiko Ogura, *ES* 84: 1–8, suggests a subject vast in scope, nearly maddening in details, and seemingly of little interest outside of glossed psalter scholarship. Ogura's brief study is rather concerned with an observation of limited scope upon a larger-scale matter: the dialectal evidence (Mercian, West Saxon, late West Saxon, and presumably others) presented by the glossed psalters and pressed into service in the "standardisation by the Winchester school" hypothesis (1). Nowhere mentioned in Ogura's study, but clearly in mind, is the work of Mechthild Gretsch on this subject, especially her work on the Junius Psalter gloss (B; see *YWOES* 2002: 30–32, for a review of several important studies by Gretsch). Ogura culls examples from five of the thirteen or so continuously glossed Anglo-Saxon psalters: the Vespasian Psalter (A); Regius Psalter (D); Vitellius Psalter (G); Tiberius Psalter (H); and Arundel Psalter (J; full discussion of the MSS and sigla can be found in Pulsiano's *Old English Glossed Psalters: Psalms 1–50*). The study looks to "variety and conformity" among dialectally distinct psalter traditions: Vespasian (A) in Mercian, Regius (D) in early West Saxon, and the D-type glossed psalters (G, H, J) in late West Saxon and often assigned to Winchester in the third quarter of the eleventh century. The matter is made more complex in that the Vespasian Psalter (A) with Mercian gloss and Regius Psalter (D) with early West Saxon are Romanum texts of the Book of Psalms, while the D-type psalters are of the Gallicanum. And to these variables of date, dialect, and base text, Ogura adds other considerations: "When a difference is found among the D-type glosses, it should be called variety (rather than non-conformity)," which serves as principle 5 on Ogura's scheme of psalter-interrelation. A wide net is cast: differences are sought in "meaningful words, the difference in prefixes, in suffixes (including inflectional endings), and in syntax (including function words like relative pronouns, negative particles and additional prepositions without Latin counterparts)" (2). Why Ogura chose to use "the Authorized Version … in its

seventeenth-century spelling" [2]) rather than the psalter texts (Romanum, Gallicanum, Hebraicum) in the Collectanea Biblica Latina series (Rome and Vatican City; see Pulsiano 2001 for fuller references) is not clear, and it obscures some potentially significant variants: Ps 34:8 AV as quoted by Ogura *in laque[o] incidant in idipsum*, in Pulsiano 2001 *et in laqueum incidant in idipsum* (his apparatus of Latin variants cites some twenty-six English or insular MSS, the majority of them Gallican versions). Unhappily, in Ogura's first example Ps 34:8 is printed as 38:4. And there are other more substantive difficulties. The corpus sampled is at first impressive: "I have sampled 3967 items that show differences between *A* and *D*, 245 of which are based on the Roman-Gallican difference. Among them 2623 items (66.1%) represent the difference in meaningful words, 842 (21.2%) the difference in prefixes, 219 (5.5%) the difference in suffixes or inflectional endings, and 283 (7.2%) the difference in syntax" (5). This seems to elide some important distinctions, particularly the role of translation (the figure 245 based on "the Roman-Gallican difference" seems low, but there is no way of checking from what Ogura prints). As soon as one sees precise-seeming statistics in works dealing with the interrelations between psalter MSS, one has to suppress the urge to head for the door, an urge made all the more pressing when one reads "The result can be presented as a diagram" (6). On the other hand, anyone working with the corpus of glossed psalters (the reviewer is presently editing volume 2 of *Old English Glossed Psalters*) can sympathize with any attempt to make sense of the sheer mass of data they present. But the caveat issued by Kitson (reviewed above) seems pertinent: the data extant is likely fractional, with who knows how many gaps in the manuscript tradition. Nonetheless, Ogura's own caveat that "the decision either to emphasise the conformity or to stress the variability depends very much on the aim of the investigation" is cogent—as true in Ogura's study as in any other—"but the so-called Winchester standardisation seems an oversimplification" (6). But equally oversimplified is Ogura's obvious poke at the Gneuss-Gretsch (if it may be called that) theory of Winchester's significant, if not formative, role in the rise of a standard OE, as Gretsch has painstakingly pointed out that a "Winchester Vocabulary" is not the same thing as a prototype of a "future West Saxon *Schriftsprache*"; and though Gretsch perhaps attaches a cultural significance to the Junius psalter gloss that seems somewhat exaggerated (she suggests that "the Junius Psalter gloss … can now emerge as a fascinating witness to the ongoing process of the unification of England" in "The Junius Psalter gloss: its historical and cultural context," *ASE*

29 [2000]: 85–121, at 120–21), her assignment of a central place to Winchester in late OE developments is based upon extensive manuscript and gloss-tradition evidence. Pulsiano 2001 may not have been available for Ogura to consult in time for her 2003 *ES* study; but apart from that, one feels, more acutely at some times than others, that scholars working on the interrelations among psalter MSS are not reading each other's work.

The Gothic "etymological limit" to OE and OHG verbs of "Praise and Honor (Gothic *hazjan*, Old English *hergan*, and Russian *čest'*)," in *Language in Time and Space: A Festschrift for Werner Winter on the Occasion of His 80th Birthday*, ed. Brigitte L.M. Bauer and Georges-Jean Pinault, Trends in Linguistics Studies and Monographs 144 (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter), 233–39, is the subject of a brief study by Yuri Kleiner. Kleiner naturally enough cites the Northumbrian form of the OE verb (though the epigraph from "Cædmon's Hymn" has *Nū sculon hergan* for *Nu scylun hergan*) and notes the etymological uncertainty to the Gothic form *hazjan*, which increased from Sigmund Feist ("keine sichere Etymologie") to Winfred Lehmann's new version ("No etymology") of the *Gothic Etymological Dictionary* (*Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der gotischen Sprache* [Leiden, 1939], Lehmann's revision published in 1986), which lies behind verbs 'to praise' in OE (*herian/hergan*) and OHG (*harên*). The problem has been with connecting the Gothic verb to other IE forms; attempts were made to compare it to forms such as Lat. *cēnsēre*, but the matter of the nasal infix has seemed troublesome: adduced have been examples such as 'stand' verb forms (OE *standan ~ stōd*). Following a suggestion by George Dunkel that *hazjan* derives rather from **kes-* 'arrange', Kleiner offers such wide-ranging cognates as Grk. κόσμος (here in the sense 'order, arrangement'), Old Church Slavonic *česati* ('comb, arrange [hair]'), Russian *kosa* ('braid'); a semantic-based argument seems in the offing as he turns to ON *haddr* ('hair') < PGmc. **hazd-* and the Gothic verb is traced to a core sense of 'praise' = 'arrange (words),' 'compose (a hymn).' This tentative argument becomes a little more slender with the association of other **kes-* derivatives with the 'process of scratching' (Grk. ξέω, Bulgarian *češa*, etc.) and by extension implements used for scratching, though, as one sees where this is going: "None of the cognates of **kes-* has any connotations bearing on poetry. This does not exclude that, at some stage, 'scratching' may have come to mean 'retrieving' words from the lexicon and 'arranging' them into a poetic text, in the same way that hairs are 'scratched' from a medley to be then 'arranged' into *haddr* or *kosa* 'braid', which is the result

of the action described by *češat'*, both 'scratch' and 'comb'" (234). While some semantic-extension musing in etymological studies can indeed be too clever by half, this line of associative play seems nearly postmodern. Kleiner offers a parallel example in ON *rún* that does not really seem applicable, but some further cognate-related offerings, such as Avestan *čisti-* 'thinking, understanding' and Proto-Slavic *čьstь* and Sanskrit *cittis* 'intention, understanding' (though the verbal root *cit* and derivative *cittih* can be compared against the form with nasal infix *cint*, 'to think, have a thought or idea, reflect, consider') offer some grounding. These are speculatively connected to a "reconstructed **hisan* and attested *hazjan* 'to praise' or more precisely 'to honor'" (236).

Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss, edited by two of the esteemed Munich professor's former students, Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker, offers a number of important studies reviewed elsewhere in this issue, among them Mechthild Gretsch's "In Search of Standard Old English" (33–67; in sect. 3b) and, while the tone of tribute sometimes waxes nearly hagiographic, the list "Doctoral Dissertations Supervised by Helmut Gneuss" (xxxi–xxxiii) reminds one just how influential and productive Gneuss's "Munich School" has been: a survey of the dissertations directed 1971–2002 shows not just indefatigable energy (twenty-six dissertations in the span of three decades) but a lasting legacy; many of the former students—Karl Reichl, Mechthild Gretsch, Michael Korhammer, Hans Sauer, Walter Hofstetter, and others—have gone on to produce significant work of their own. The one curiosity of the collection, issued as a smaller format paperback by Peter Lang in the Münchener Universitätsschriften series, is that there were not more papers on manuscript studies. But there are plenty on early English philology, among them Ursula Lenker's "*Forsooth*, a Source: Metalinguistic Thought in Early English" (261–88), which is really about a curious reference in Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1775) to *forsooth* having "once been a word of honour in address to women" (262), a sense the *OED* did not record. Lenker finds support for this "lost" sense of *forsooth*, as an honorific rather than adverb or conjunction, in a comment from the eighteenth-century Anglo-Saxonist Elizabeth Elstob: "it is not only a note of Affirmation, it is used as a word of Compliment and Respect, which we find exacted with great Niceness from their Children, by the meaner sort in and about the City of London" (285, quoting Elstob's *Rudiments of Grammar for*

the English Saxon Tongue [1715]); alas, the pioneering female scholar Elstob had her foibles, as the "meaner sort" of the City could attest. Along the way to rescuing Johnson from nodding with regard to *forsooth*—should he need it—Lenker does discuss briefly (265–268) OE adverbial *soþe* and *soþlice* (and *soþes*), and the phrasal *to soþe* and *to soþolice*, of which, by far, *soþlice* was the most frequent (4806 occurrences in OE) and was "employed quite frequently as a phrasal emphasizer modifying an adjective or adverb" (267).

Though mentioned in the title, "Ist Griechisch *kankýlē* wirklich mit Altenglisch *hengest* 'Hengst' verwandt?" *General Linguistics* 40: 71–74, OE *heng(e)st* plays a minor role in Norbert Oettinger's brief but highly detailed study. Rather, Oettinger seeks to sunder the accepted etymological connection between Lesbian Greek *kankýlē*, found only in an entry from the fifth century A.D. glossary of Hesychius of Alexandria, and the reflexes of Gmc. *hanhista-. The connection has also been semantically tenuous: between words for 'stallion' (or 'horse' more generally: adduced too was a PCelt. *kanksikā- behind Welsh *caseg* and Old Cornish *cassec*, both meaning 'mare') and a form having to do with 'bubbling forth,' 'welling,' and, associatively, with what bubbles or wells forth—thus 'blood' and, by an associative step again, the dye from the murex. For the relevant Hesychius entry—*kankýlas . kēkídas Aioleîs*—Oettinger offers two possible translations: one, that the form represents "what the Aeolians call that which trickles or seeps forth or out" is narrowed more concretely ("konkreter"; 72) to "die Purpurfarben," that is, the murex dye again. This may be a little leading as the etymological connection between Gmc. *hengest* forms presumed an etymon with the sense of 'springing,' and the Greek connection provided a southern IE sense of 'bubbling up,' 'welling forth'—a not implausible reach. The reason behind Oettinger's desire to sever the presumed tie between north-western IE forms (Gmc., but also Celtic and Baltic) and the southern (represented seemingly only by the Greek) becomes clearer shortly before his conclusion: "In den Sprachen der nördlichen Hälfte Europas … finden sich nämlich viele Wörter teils nach-indogermanischen und teils nicht-indogermanischen Ursprungs. Es handelt sich dabei einerseits um Substrat- und Wanderwörter, die durch die nördlich der Alpen ansässigen indogermanischen Sprachgemeinschaften übernommen wurden, und andererseits um gemeinsame Neuerungen ebendieser Gemeinschaften, nämlich der sprachlich noch nicht stark differenzierten Vorläufer der Kelten, Italiker, Germanen, Balten und Slaven" (73). The *Hengst* forms are being pressed into

a larger duty here, and one is reminded of other projects on substrate (Dirk Boutkan) and superstrate (Theo Vennemann; see below in this section) influences on IE by non-IE languages or language families in the prehistoric linguistic period; the caveat from Anatoly Liberman (in his "Origin Unknown," in *Studies in the History of the English Language: A Millennial Perspective*, ed. Donka Minkova and Robert Stockwell [Berlin, 2002], 109–23; reviewed in this section last year, pp. 37–8) seems apposite: "extreme caution is needed to prevent the substrate from becoming a respectable-looking dump for words of unascertained, and often unascertainable, origin" (at 120). Here there did not seem an inordinately troublesome matter to begin with: the connection between the 'springing' *Hengst* and 'bubbling' *kankýlas*, while tenuous, is no more so than many another entry in the etymological dictionaries. Secondly, the form in Hesychius—a collector of the rare poetic and dialect forms (our entry belonging to the latter)—is not otherwise unknown: the verb form κηκίω (Doric κακίω) 'gush, bubble forth' is attested, and the fem. noun κηκίς covers 'anything gushing or bubbling forth,' welling blood or fat or juices drawn out by fire, and κηκίς πορφύρας is the 'dye of the murex.' The need to find "eine 'europäische' Wurzel *kʼehₐk-/*kʼəₐk- oder *kʼāk-/*kʼak- 'springen'" (74) may have predisposed the dismissal of a relationship between *hengest* and Greek *kankýlē*.

Vladimir Orel's *A Handbook of Germanic Etymology* (Leiden: Brill) offers what is really a comprehensive dictionary of Gmc. proto-forms. The dictionary proper, pages 1–476, is arranged by etyma and—since these are all reconstructions—every single headword or proto-form is prefixed with the asterisk, which is a tedious but necessary reminder of how to take the forms and of one use of this "handbook": as a sort of reverse dictionary of reflexes. Orel is an experienced worker in historical and etymological IE and non-IE handbooks and dictionaries, having published, also with Brill, a *Hamito-Semitic Etymological Dictionary* (with Olga Stolbova [Leiden, 1995]) and *The Concise Historical Grammar of Albanian* (Leiden, 2000). While the work, on the one hand, seems within the Russian school of mass comparison with a view toward "super-family" connections (e.g., Nostratic, though not immediately relevant to this dictionary), Orel's methodology is apparent from the extra-dictionary materials in the volume. In his introduction, Orel declares that: "The dictionary includes the following categories of (Proto-)Germanic words: (a) words attested in two or three branches of Germanic; (b) words attested in only one Germanic branch

but having precise external cognates or being sources of wider attested Germanic derivatives; (c) words attested in only one Germanic branch but representing ancient loanwords that might have penetrated Germanic at the Proto-Germanic level" (p. xi). The last of these qualifiers might lead one to suspect a prominent substrate presence in the entries, but Orel's work overall seems conservative: in the index of forms from non-IE languages (p. 683), only six appear: Georgian *aludi* and *ludi* (in a consideration of *aluþ*, whence OE *ealu*), Finnish *lunnas* (as an attestation of the form of Goth. *luns* 'ransom'; s.v. *lunaz*) and *siika* (identified as a loan from Gmc. to Finnish for 'a kind of salmon,' as in ON *síkr*; here the picture is more complex as a presumably non-IE source is posited for the Gmc. form [borrowed into Finnish] and behind Slavic and Baltic forms), and Etruscan *śuplu*. Orel actually dismisses the latter as connected to *sweʒlō(n)*, whence OE *sweʒel* (only in the tentatively assigned sense 'music'; glossed normally as 'sky, heavens, ether'), though in noting that Lat. *sūbulō* < Etr. *śuplu* Orel elides mention that for this onomatopoeic form the *Oxford Latin Dictionary* glossed the Etr. form as "perh. itself a borrowing from L. *sibilus*." Though well-indexed as to all forms from recorded languages, it is up to the reader to go through the individual entries to find whether an IE or possibly non-IE source for the Gmc. proto-forms is suggested. Orel extends conservatism in approach also to sources as he seeks to "return to the main lexicographic sources for most of the involved Germanic languages (and occasionally, to texts).… It is well-known how misleading translations of translations of translations can be—I did my best to control them and to replace them with originally coined English glosses whenever possible (that applied primarily to Gothic, Old Norse and Old English). Numerous ghost-words and ghost-meanings appearing in linguistic publications … were pitilessly eliminated" (xii). The list of references (xv-xxxvi) contains all the standard lexica and disciplinary journals; it is supplemented by Orel's particular background in and access to Slavic sources (one of the principal innovations in this dictionary is the inclusion and consideration of Slavic to a far greater extent, whether always warranted or not), but the entries themselves are packed with many more references. The entries are often very brief, none of them occupying as much as a column of space in the lexicon's double-columned text. But initial appearances can be deceiving, while in the main Orel presents state-of-the-art summations of what the various lexica and studies offer, less often but not infrequently Orel packs into entries discourses that challenge common opinion or, lacking any extra-textual citation, presumably

are his own. Thus for *aluþ* (OE *ealu*, OS *alu-*), a protoform about which much has been written, Orel notes that the Germanic forms are either connected to Old Prussian *alu* 'mead' or were the source—which seems entirely unobjectionable—and extends the view to Lithuanian *alùs*, proto-Slavic *olъ* and Scyth(ian)*alut-* (the surprise in the list), which too are said to derive from Gmc. and are "indicative of the early chronology of Germanic contacts with East Iranian." The conservatism in reporting consensus views in many entries is at times overturned, something Orel explicitly set out to do as "this book is to prepare grounds for a future serious revision of the etymologies (mainly, root etymologies) automatically accepted today and sanctified more by habit than by reason" (xi). At times, as with *aluþ* and the excursus into East Iranian, one feels hackles rise; in a dictionary of several thousand proto-forms it is difficult to say exactly how often Orel ventures into more speculative realms, but perhaps one-tenth of the entries is a reasonable estimate. One senses at times, too, some other purpose being served, as if the main point of the dictionary is not so much in service to *Germanistik* as to a larger project of Orel's; for example, the entry for *īxwaz*: "ON *ýr* 'yew-tree', OE *eóh* id[em], OS *īh* id., OHG fem. *īwa*.… Despite formal difficulties, cannot be separated (as a loanword to Celtic?) from OIr. *éo* id., W *ywen* id.… On the other hand, Celtic forms hardly can be be isolated from Lith *ievà* 'bird cherry', Slav *iva* 'willow; band, edge'. A difficult word." Only at the end of the entry does one find that a source for this somewhat cryptic, compressed discusion is Orel himself, from a study (whence the suggestion of "'willow' as a tree 'walking' along the river-banks, from *ei-* 'to go'") he had published in the Russian journal *Ètimologiia* in 1985. For OE specialists, the usefulness of Orel's dictionary is as a compendium of literature on the individual proto-forms—the reference section evidences how festive etymologists can be with its list of more than eighty *Festschriften*—and as a sort of reverse companion to the *Oxford Dictionary of English Etymology*: the *ODEE* working back to the Gmc. proto-forms as Orel works from the other direction. OE occupies a significant place in the entries. The index of forms cited for OE occupies pages 541–69, that for ME and MnE 569–70, and this allows the reader to gauge also where OE is not cited, where it does and does not match up with fellow WGmc. and other Gmc. languages.

With "Zur Etymologie von Germ. *runa*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 58: 29–37, Marc Pierce takes stock of recent work modifying the traditional etymological account of Goth. *rûna*, OE *rūn*, etc.,

during which he recounts the history from Wilhelm Grimm's *Ueber deutsche Runen* (Göttingen, 1821) to the recent work of Richard L. Morris ("Northwest Germanic *rūn*- <rune>: A case of homonymy with Gothic *rūna* <mystery>," *BGdSL* 107 [1985]: 344–58), who sought to differentiate between homonymous **rūnō* 'mystery' and **rūnō* 'rune' (one can now consult Orel's *Handbook of Germanic Etymology* [2003], reviewed above, s.v. **rūnō*), and Christine Fell ("Runes and Semantics," in *Old English Runes and their Continental Background*, ed. Alfred Bammesberger [Heidelberg, 1991], 195–229), who had, with her usual skepticism, attempted to dispel a core sense of 'secret' and emphasized the Christian use of the term in the OE period. After sketching the traditional history of the etymology, Pierce takes up these two (to varying degrees) dissenting views and, while acknowledging each to be of value—"Obwohl die Arbeiten von Morris und Fell sehr wertvoll sind" (36), the initial conjunction essentially knocks each down. As "Die Verbindung zwischen Schrift und Zauber ist wohlbekannt" (30) Pierce finds abundant evidence, *pace* Fell, for the persistence of the pre-Christian sense of **rūnō* and, though the etymological detail is discussed much less than the cultural, does not find Morris's explanation compelling enough to replace the traditional one. In a point about later semantic change and the perils of employing it to overturn traditional etymologies Pierce, who usually writes in English, gives somewhat weak examples from American English ("In meinem Dialekt des Englischen"; 36) of the intensifying *wicked* (as in the "wicked good" usually associated with the Boston area) and *book*, the informal verb meaning "to take off, leave quickly" (as in "let's book on out of here"—now dated, but once very common in New England and Mid-Atlantic states): there is a perverse pleasure in seeing the latter vernacular form glossed in German as "schnell laufen" (though minus any exclamation point) or, better yet, *it's wicked good to see you again* rendered "es ist sehr angenehm, dich wiederzusehen," which calls to mind Mark Twain's observations on the German language.

Aldred's attempt at maximal clarity in equivalence and fidelity in rendering with regard to OE glosses to Latin coinage terms from the Bible is the subject of Sara Pons Sanz's brief "Aldred's Glosses to Numismatic Terms in *The Lindisfarne Gospels*," *The Grove: Studies on Medieval English Language and Literature* 8 (2001): 111–20. In dealing with Biblical texts there was naturally some problem in equivalence, even when dealing with New Testament Greek to Latin translation: the references in Lc 19 have *talentum* for Greek *mina* (in Attic

the contracted form *μν* is used for this measure, equivalent to 100 drachmae). Unfortunately, the Benedictine Revival did not always improve Anglo-Saxon scholarship: Aldred glosses *talentum* throughout Mt as *cræft* (112). Glossing by Aldred of numismatic items could be either quite literal (*triginta argenteis: ðrittig seolferne*; capitulum to Mt 55) or an attempt at native equivalence: *scilling* could be matched with *argenteos*, *numisma*, *obelus* (Pons Sanz is not quite clear here in distinguishing terms—the obol is one-sixth of a drachma), *drachma*; as Pons Sanz briefly mentions, there is some disagreement in the literature about what *scilling* and *penning* were meant to represent (the form could denote a coin or 'unit of account'). One can sometimes hear Aldred counting change: Mc 12:42 *duo minuta quod est quadrans* is glossed *tuoege stycas þ[æt] is feorðung penninges* (117). Especially as the subject involves a matter that often required some precision, there are some unfortunate infelicities: "As explained above, the *quadrans* was a bronze coin equivalent to of an *assarion*" (118), the sense of which would be more complete by observing that the *quadrans* was the fourth part of an *as*, or three *unciae* (which is what Horace tells us a bath cost in the Rome of his day). Hampering Pons Sanz's discussion too is a reliance upon older sources for numismatic information (the Barnes & Noble reprint of A.R. Frey's *Dictionary of Numismatic Names* [1947]), as there have been great advances in the numismatics of Anglo-Saxon England in the past few decades, such as the British Academy's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles* series).

Jane Roberts traces the history and scope of the *Thesaurus of Old English* (1995; revised impression 2000) as part of the planned *Historical Thesaurus of English* project, and mentions too the anticipated *TME* (*Thesaurus of Middle English*) in her "Mixing and Matching Meanings Makes a Thesaurus …," *The Grove: Studies on Medieval English Language and Literature* 8 (2001): 111–20 (unfortunately the header throughout appears as "Mixing and Marching"). The brief progress report and demonstration of the *TOE*'s usefulness derive from a talk given at the Universidad de Jaén in 2000, and remains colloquial in style; a brief history of the *HTE* project from its founding by M.L. Samuels in 1965 is given as are (after an example from ME of "Food and Drink" terms from the Prologue to Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*) examples of "Some Metaphoric Compounds of Old English Poetry" (127–31). The difficulties in what to do with such hapax legomena as *ealuscerwen* (*Beowulf*) and *meoduscerwen* (*Andreas*) led, interestingly, to both of them being grouped under

the sub-heading "Great fear, terror, horror" (128). Some informal observation as to the inside workings of revisions by staff to the *TOE* follow (131–35), and, of more historical interest, she notes that while the *HTE* is to be organized around twenty-six major semantic domains in three broad sections (The External World, The Mind, Society), the *TOE* had been restricted to eighteen without the broad tripartite division, ranging from "The Physical World" to "Leisure." A comparison of the two methods of grouping reveals not so much an evolving preoccupation with the "mental world" as more obvious societal changes: not in the *TOE* of course were such modern-sounding semantic domains as "Communication, the Media" and "Travel and Transport": perhaps more arguable is that we should have only "Religion" for the OE period, "Institutional Religion" for the modern.

In another in his series of articles on "Germania Semitica," Theo Vennemann proposes an unorthodox potential solution to, specifically, the *-aþ-* in Gothic *magaþs* 'girl' in "Germanic Semitica: Pre-Gmc. **-at-* in E *maiden*, G *Magd / Mädchen*, Goth. *magaþs*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 56 (2002): 1–16. As before, Vennemann looks to non-IE superstratal influence to explain otherwise unexplained etymologies in Germanic (though Vennemann seems to be exaggerating here the difficulties with *magaþs* [Gothic] / *magað* [OS] / *magad* [OHG] / *mæg(e)þ* [OE]). Though a densely detailed etymological argument is deployed, the proposed solution once again involves a spectacular speculative leap; for instance, "Although accentual systems of these extinct [Atlantic] languages are unknown … word accent systems based on strong expiratory stress seem to have existed, e.g. in Phoenician which, on account of its extension along the Atlantic coast even in early historical times, is likely to be especially closely related to those Atlantic languages that were in contact with pre-Germanic" (8; the citation, somewhat tendentiously, bolsters an unknown concept [the "Atlantic languages"] by conjoining it with a known [the Semitic languages]). Sources (such as Edward Lipiński's *Semitic languages: Outline of a comparative grammar* [Leeuven, 1997]) are dubiously appealed to in contexts their authors could hardly have imagined. The entire idea of an Atlantic-speaking "elite" whose "prehistoric colonial language of Northwestern Europe [is] related to Semitic" (14) and was the source-language for the "superstratal loan complex" that produced *magaþs* and company seems largely to come from only one pen: Vennemann's. Even moreso than in his 2001 essay "Germanic Semitica: **aþal-* (OE *æðel-*, G *Adel*) 'Nobility': With an Appendix

on Gk. "Ἄτλας" (under his Rheinland alias surname Vennemann genannt Nierfeld, *Sprachwissenschaft* 26: 189–204, and reviewed in this section last year, pp. 49–50), Vennemann's argument is entirely linguistic and, once it leaves behind Gmc. and IE, in which the author has a long and distinguished record of publication, the details become fuzzy. In his reconstruction of the linguistic prehistory of Europe, developed over some two decades, Vennemann has increasingly come to posit that Europe emerged from the last Ice Age to be settled by Vasconic-speaking pastoral groups (that is, groups speaking languages now extinct that were related to Basque) and then, along the Atlantic seaboard from the Iberian peninsula north to Scandinavia, by speakers of "Atlantic" languages, the only medieval survival of which generally mentioned is Pictish (a sketch of this appears in Vennemann's "Pre-Indo-European toponyms in Central and Western Europe: *Bid-/Bed-* and *Pit-* names," in *Proceedings of the XIXth International Congress of Onomastic Sciences, Aberdeen, August 4–11, 1996: Scope, perspectives and methods of onomastics*, ed. William F. H. Nicolaisen [Aberdeen, 1998], II: 359–363). This is fascinating and stimulating material, though one feels rising trepidation at the Greenberg-like broad comparison of languages of which an author may not have extensive personal knowledge and mass comparisons of data with tenuous or still-unknown connections. Here, following the late Dirk Boutkan (in his "A new etymology of 'herring,'" *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 53 [2000]: 1–6), Vennemann is "convinced that Goth. *magaþs* is not a native, viz. Indo-European word," though he departs from Boutkan who saw substratum activity here. While Vennemann has followed Boutkan in looking at "non-native-looking words" (14) in Indo-European, his approach has been to take them (he has given an estimate that perhaps one-third of the etyma in Gmc. may be non-native) as superstratal. This is a study with a highly particular premise: that IE etymological explanations for Goth. *magaþs* are unlikely—namely that it is to be derived from a PIE stem **magho-* (Gmc. **maga-*) with the IE suffix **-ti-* (producing a sense 'junge Weiblichkeit') or, following Seebold's revision of Kluge (*Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*, 23rd ed. [Berlin, 1999]), that the Gmc. forms are, like Celtic forms associated with 'youth,' 'suckling,' and ultimately, via a "Grundlage **mā-*," connected with a sense of 'Mutter, Brust' (Kluge/Seebold, s.v. *Magd*). Vennemann does not like what Kluge/Seebold and other major lexica have for the etymology, and does not find the Celtic forms adduced, Welsh *magu* ('feed, nourish, nurture, sickle') and Irish *macc* (*maccu/moccu*) and others, as presenting any help as

Seebold and others have found phonological problems in associating the Celtic 'son' forms (Welsh *mab*, etc.) with the PGmc. **maguz* ('boy') and **magaþiz* ('girl'). Rather, Vennemann asserts, "[t]here is no such problem if they are all considered loan material reflecting a set of related words in the giving language" (3). Thus when the highly particular premise of the study yields to its real intent—to find another etymological complex to be added to the store of "Germania Semitica"— two major problems in this methodological enterprise become readily apparent. The first is that "traditional" intra-IE explanations are dealt away with hastily, and perhaps somewhat unfairly. Seebold's entry in the revised editions of the Kluge are a little more complex (s.vv. *Magd*, and diminutives *Mädchen* and *Mädel*; and see also *Mägd(e)lein* and *Maid*, 'maiden'); also of interest, but not cited by Vennemann, is J. Wittmann's University of Colorado dissertation "A Semantic Study of Five Words for 'Girl' and 'Woman'" (1982). This entails both rejecting out of hand, on methodological and somewhat partisan grounds, the possibility of substratum influence and opting for, essentially, what is the *lectio difficilior*: that despite evidence within IE (namely the oft-loathed Celtic) we are to look outside the family, well outside it. Secondly, Vennemann is eager to get back to his "Atlantic languages" theory: "I have suggested that these words and their Celtic relatives show the influence of the matrilinear culture of prehistoric Atlantic colonizers of the Northwest, and I have tried to make a case that they are thus loanwords from languages closely related to Semitic" (4); Here Vennemann cites himself (his intriguing "Atlantiker in Nordwesteuropa: Pikten und Vanen," in *Language and its Ecology*: *Essays in Memory of Einar Haugen*, ed. Stig Eliasson and Ernst Håkon [Berlin, 1997], 451–76) and moves rather fully into a self-referential and circular phase of his argument. Since IE cannot be the source for the etymon we are off to the "Atlantic" languages, which are, depending upon the account, either Semitic or closely related to the Semitic branch of Afroasiatic (his "Semitidic"). OE makes a few brief appearances in the argument; one such instance comes with Vennemann's proposed etymology for the **-aþ-* suffix to **magaþiz* 'girl': "We are obviously dealing with a feminine denominal **(a)þ*-derivate from the same base that appears as a masculine **u*-derivate in PGmc. **maguz* 'boy'" (4). Citing Hans Krahe's *Germanische Sprachwissenschaft* (7th ed., 3 vols., ed. Wolfgang Meid [Berlin, 1969]), he refers to "OE *mæg* (dat. sing. *mæged*) 'virgin' (< **magaþ-*)" (4); this elides some difficulties, despite the obvious attractiveness of an OE *mæg* / *mæged*; the form is likely *mæg*, the fem. form glossed by Clark Hall-Meritt as

'female relation, wife, woman, maiden' and occurring in the poetry (specifically, Exeter Book *Riddles*: the MS has for *Riddles* 31:9 *mæg da*, which has usually been read *mægða*: see *The Old English Riddles of the Exeter Book*, ed. Craig Williamson [Chapel Hill, 1977]). One expects *mæge* for the dat. sing., and Campbell had noted for *mægeþ* and syncopated *mægþ* that "the uninflected form is retained in gen. and dat. sg." and, furthermore, that "[t]he existence of **mæġ*, supposed to be the true nom. sg. of *mægeþ*, is very doubtful; the instances rather belong to *mæġ* (kins)woman" (*Old English Grammar* §637 and fn. 1). And so on to a Semitic origin for 'boy' and 'girl': "It is a well-known fact that in the Semitic languages, 'the feminine is marked by the ending *-t-*, like in Ancient Egyptian and in other Afro-Asiatic languages'" (5), here citing, not convincingly or relevantly, Lipiński's *Semitic languages: Outline of a comparative grammar* (1997). And the tendency is present here again to use sources for Semitic information liberally or to use sources that may not represent the latest information available (such as the reliance upon the 1980 reprint of *An Introduction to the Comparative Grammar of the Semitic Languages: Phonology and Morphology*, Sabatino Moscati *et al.* [Wiesbaden, 1963]). One's hackles rise with statements such as "A concise answer to our question concerning PGmc. **magaþiz* and **maguz* can be derived from a single sentence in Lipiński" (5); other statements contain oversimplifications: "… where the vocalization can be reconstructed from Coptic, because it was written in Greek letters" (6). And it does matter, methodologically and linguistically, whether the "Atlantic languages, Semitic languages or languages closely related to Semitic" (7), are one or the other. The marshaling of all the Coptic, Berber, Berber Tamazight, etc., evidence in the world does not seem relevant unless there is a better methodological basis for comparison in proposing a hypothetical language family source for a known Germanic (and in light of what are likely Celtic cognates, Indo-European) etymological complex. In attempting to draw on parallels for his promotion of "Atlantic" as the source of what became **-aþ-* in Goth. *magaþs*, etc., Vennemann turns to Goth. *mitaþs** ('measure,' gen. pl. *mitadē*; like the fem. *-jōn* stem *mitadjō*, 'measure' also, the Gothic form is not extant in all case forms), with other intra-Gmc. cognates (ON *mjotuðr*, OE *me(o)tod*, OS *metod*) and, eschewing again an intra-IE explanation, turns to Semitic evidence (Akkadian, Hebrew, Arabic, modern and ancient stages of languages lumped together) and notes: "the Hebrew word *midat* 'measure' looks disquietingly similar to Goth. *mitad-* (with Grimm's and Verner's Laws < **medat-*) 'measure'" (11); disquieting

too is the association based on the "look" of superficial similarities. Here, in the speculative leaps of a seasoned historical linguist, one feels not just a shifting but a veritable falling away of the ground beneath the disciplinary methodology. Admittedly, one is dealing with a hypothetical "prehistoric" language family supplied to explain real or perceived "gaps" in the etymological record of IE, Gmc. in particular. But one would like to see, in the first place, some corroborating evidence—archaeological or otherwise—for an "Atlantic" culture of elites whose colonization of early Germanic areas led to this hypothesized linguistic influence. The "Atlantic languages and elites" theory seems a closed system: the family (or branch of Semitic) is hypothesized to fill in the prehistoric gap of the language picture of Northwestern Europe and problems are found in Germanic etymology seemingly only to find gaps to be filled by "Atlantic." Thus one finds in a discussion of Goth. *fahēþs* (OE *ge-fēon*) that Winfred Lehmann's revised version of Sigmund Feist's *Gothic Etymological Dictionary* (Leiden, 1986) is cited in the text as it glosses "No etymology" while we find banished to a footnote: "Pokorny postulates an Indo-European root" (12 fn. 21). The arrangement of views is telling. And so is the self-referential circularity of this closed system of argumentation: "I propose in this paper that the Germanic *-aþ-/*-ad-* suffix is a loan-suffix borrowed into pre-German from an Atlantic language, i.e. a prehistoric colonial language of Northwestern Europe related to Semitic. If correct, this analysis supports my earlier proposal that the entire word group clustering around **maguz* 'boy' and **maguþiz* 'girl' is an Atlantic loan complex" (14). Linguistic prehistory is a fascinating if speculative subject, and, by nature, the level of certainty with reconstruction without written records diminishes the further one goes back. One wants to fill in the record, naturally, but the invention of an "Atlantic" group of languages (with little to no extra-linguistic "evidence" brought to bear), which is then used to fill in gaps in the written record, and then the use of its "success" in filling in such gaps used as "proof" of its existence, can serve to undermine one's confidence in the few certainties that have indeed been developed in methodical historical linguistics. Vennemann's body of work in the Vasconic, Atlantic, "Semitidic" fields is massive (a useful compendium also appeared in 2003: *Europa Vasconica–Europa Semitica*, ed. Patrizia Noel Aziz Hanna; Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs 138; [Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter]) and he acknowledges going against the grain: "As a result one is exposed to the criticism of specialists and most likely various forms of dissociation. Yet the field of research is thereby given a chance in that

younger and more competent scholars become aware of the problems and at least have some material at their disposal with which to begin their own research—whether this material be right or wrong is then of little consequence" (xi). And in what rounds off a busy year for these studies, one archaeologist—the esteemed Indo-Europeanist Colin Renfrew, whose Anatolian agricultural diffusion hypothesis is controversial—does weigh in on the matter in the collection *Languages in Prehistoric Europe*, ed. Alfred Bammesberger and Theo Vennemann (Heidelberg: Universitätsverlag Winter).

<div align="right">J.P.M.</div>

In "*Gefeoh* and *geblissa* or Happy Birthday! On Old English *bliss* and Modern English *happy*" (in *Variation Past and Present* ed. Raumolin-Brunberg *et al.*, 59–76; see section 2) Kanerva Heikkinen and Heli Tissari explore the contexts and semantics of words expressing happiness. The authors focus their attention on "what makes people happy" (60), and in so doing, they discover "how the concept of happiness developed from religious and communal to implicit and personal" (74). "In Old English, the noun *bliss* was the central term for 'happiness'" (73). The first half of the article concentrates on Old English *bliss*, as found in the electronic *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The nature of the available Old English texts is heavily religious since the majority of Anglo-Saxon writers were learned clergy. The authors therefore assume "that the Old English words expressing happiness were given shape in the Anglo-Saxon intellectual and linguistic environment influenced by the Christian Latin culture" (61). Accordingly, the contexts in which *bliss* was found were overwhelmingly religious; 436 out of 531 occurrences of *bliss* had a religious sense in a religious context, but only 72 occurrences had a secular sense in a religious context, 23 had a secular sense in a secular context, and none had a religious sense in a secular context. Some excerpts of these occurrences are provided as illustration. The authors conclude, "the occurrences of *bliss* accurately reflect the Christian idea of happiness as the result of God's creation and the life, death and resurrection of Jesus Christ" (64). Even the secular occurrences of *bliss* relate directly to religion in that people often achieved happiness through the pursuit of full membership in a community, which usually consisted of religious activities such as weddings and funerals. The adjective *happy* is first attested in 14th- and 15th-century texts, used in the sense of 'fortune' or 'good fortune.' The second half of the article aims at "characterising what kind of 'good fortune' is associated with the adjective *happy*, and

whether this changes" (66). The authors examine two corpora of Early Modern English (the CEECS and the HC) and two contemporary corpora (the FLOB and the somewhat ironically named FROWN). The central questions of this part of the investigation are as follows: "(1) Who is described as happy? (2) What is the cause of this happiness? (3) In which domain of happiness can this cause be situated?" (68) They describe four principal "domains of happiness": social relationships, material circumstances, personal satisfaction, and mental and spiritual circumstances. As the authors predicted, there was a change found in the meaning of *happy*: "The importance of the social and metaphysical domains has obviously receded in Present-day English from what it was in Early Modern English, while the material and personal domains have become more important as sources of being happy" (71). There was also a shift from happiness being caused by other people (in OE and even in early MnE) to happiness arising from the individual, "as if all people are expected to have the prerequisites for happiness in society and themselves" (74). The authors discuss other happiness words formed since 1500 (found in *The Historical Thesaurus of English*), many of them being borrowed from Latin and Greek, and "involving both religious and secular happiness" (72). Over time, some of these words have fallen into disuse, while others have undergone shifts in meaning. While *happiness* in Present-day English has a physical, material sense, the word *bliss* is often used in a "quasi-religious sense." Modern usage of these two words suggests that "*[b]liss* seems more absolute than *happiness*, emphasizing the intensity of the experience" (72).

Grzegorz A. Kleparski's "*Churls, Harlots, and Sires*: The Semantics of Middle English Synonyms on *Man*" (*Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 39: 47–54) collects twenty-five Middle English terms "for the conceptual macrocategory MALE ADULT HUMAN BEING" (48) and analyzes their etymologies and semantics, observing that: 1) while a "great share of Middle English synonyms of *man* are of Germanic origin (*wer, sc(e)alc, guma, here, rink, segge, freke, carman, mother's son, hind, buck, guest, fellow*, and *horse*), there are also "a substantial number of Romance importations, such as *piece, sire, harlot*, and *sergeant*" (51); 2) "the Middle English influx of French borrowings into the field HUMAN BEING may have been largely responsible for either the disappearance or the change of meaning of a number of synonyms of *man*" (51); 3) "apart from the two categories *carman* and *mother's son*, all Middle English synonyms of *man* are morphologically simple forms" (52) as opposed to the

large portion of terms for *girl/young woman* and *boy* which are morphologically complex; 4) "the majority of Middle English synonyms of *man* are polysemous" but "do not exceed the boundaries of the conceptual macrocategory MALE HUMAN BEING" (52); 5) "the historical appearance of the sense 'man' is either preceded or followed by the rise of the sense 'servant,'" a pattern found elsewhere in semantic developments of "Old English lexical categories linked to the conceptual category HUMAN BEING" (53); 6) "two cases of zoosemic development [*buck* and *horse*] merely signal a large-scale operation of animal metaphor in English at a later period," which here conforms to "a general tendency to form evaluative and/or emotionally charged semantic extensions from the conceptual domains MAMMALIA and BIRDS and not, for example, AMPHIBIANS, FISH or INSECTS" (53).

Faced with Germanic words whose etymologies, though widely discussed, remain unclear (what Markey has called "monstrosities"), Victor Lewickij in "Zur germanischen Etymologie," *Historische Sprachforschung* 116: 100–107, proposes that new, non-traditional approaches are necessary, specifically recourse to the anomalous "vokalwechsel *ei—eu—e* (statt der 'normalen' *ei—oi—i*)" (100). So for Germanic *aik-* 'oak' Lewickij proposes a Proto-Indo-European **aig- / aug- / ag-* meaning 'grow.' The last of these forms would be the source of OE *æcern* 'acorn,' thus kindly etymologically reuniting the mighty oak with its humble seed. For the **aug-* form, Lewickij cites Old Irish *fer*, Welsh *gwair* 'grass', and OHG *wuihhar* 'fruit of the earth, fetus' (though, oddly, he does not mention the many better known and widespread reflexes of the established Indo-European root **aug-*, from Latin *augeo* to Old English *eac*). For further support of his reconstruction, Lewickij links this root with Lithuanian *azuolas, aizuolas, auzuolas*, which he does not define but presents as variants of the same word. Lewickij next turns his attention to Germanic **baina-* 'bone', which has no certain cognates outside Germanic. Noting that Proto-Indo-European **ost-* has been derived from **es-/os-* 'to be,' Lewickij proposes that Proto-Indo-European **bhu:-* could be derived from **bhe- / bhe:-* with extensions of *-u-* and *-i-* yielding **bheu-* and **bhei-*. The latter, after acquiring a further *-n-* extension, gave rise to the Germanic. Finally, to explain Germanic **snell-* 'quick,' Lewickij cites earlier work where he proposed that a Proto-IE root **senə-/sne:-* 'cut, bind' which could produce three variants, **snei-, *sneu-* and *sne-,* each with a possible dental (or other) extension. The first variant would yield German *schneiden* and its relatives. From the second, Old Norse

snøggr and Old High German *sniumo*, both 'quick.' It is the third reflex which yields Germanic *sne+d-la- > *snella, whence German *snell*. This semantic development is also seen in the related German *schneiden* 'cut' > *schneidig* 'plucky, dashing' from which the change to 'quick' is not difficult.

In his brief but tightly argued article "On the Origin of the Germanic Verb *neman-" (*Historische Sprachforschung* 114: 302–307), Otto Lindeman posits a new Proto-Indo-European verb root *x'ex' parallel in structure to that seen in *ses- 'sleep' (though one might note that its likely onomatopoeic origin somewhat lessens the value of this root for this type of structural comparison). A more standard transcription for *x'ex' would be *H_1eH_1-; in either case the consonants represent members of the proposed class of so-called laryngeals, presumably fricatives or glides articulated in the back of the mouth. While accepted as a class of sounds in the reconstructed language by most Indo-Europeanists, their exact phonetic nature is a matter of some dispute. Though this proposed *x'ex'- as such yields no forms in any of the attested Indo-European languages, Lindeman proposes that the root extended by a suffix *-em- meant 'to take' and 'to give,' and that this extended form yielded the well established Proto-IE root *x'em- (from reduplicated *x'x'-em- with normal reduction of the double fricative), the source of Latin *emo*, perf. stem *em-* (from reduplicated *x'e-x'm-), Umbrian *emantur* 'accipiatur,' Celtic *em-* in compounds of the type *ari-wo-em (cf Old Irish 3 sg. pres. *ara-foim* 'who receives'), Old Prussian *imt* 'to take,' Old Church Slavonic (perfective) present *ime-* 'takes' and a number of other forms. His more intriguing suggestion is that this root *x'em- had a nasal present *x'-ne′-m- with third singular *x'-ne′-m-ty and third plural *x'-n-m- e′nty, the first *n* being vocalic. Regular loss of prevocalic laryngeals outside of Anatolian yields *nmenty (again, with vocalic *n*-) from the latter form, which in turn provides the basis for a new (non-Anatolian) root *nem- 'to take, give' which yields Greek *nemo* 'deal out, give, bestow' and Proto-Germanic *neman, Old Englsih *niman*. The shift from athematic (without a stem in -e-) to thematic is paralleled in athematic *leyg'h-ti 'licks' (Vedic *redhi*) which show up as thematic *leyg'h-e/o- in Greek *leikho*. This latter proposal nicely links two Indo-European roots, and the argument holds just as well, it seems to this reviewer, without the rather dubious proposed root *x'ex'-.

In "Two Extremes of English out of the Standard: Cant and Old English," *Revista canaria de estudios ingleses* 46: 85–98, Margarita Mele Marrero points out that there were two varieties that played important roles in the early definition of standard English, cant and Old English. Standard English was distinguished as different from because superior to cant, but it was closely identified with Old English and was validated by that identification. That these decisions were not linguistic is shown by the fact that cant was quite close to Standard English, differing mainly in certain lexical items. For instance, many terms for 'man' are exclusive to cant: *ruffler, prigger, palliard, frater, dummerer, jarkman, patrico, swaddler, curtal, toyle*, and *glimmerer*. But many others are mere metaphorical extensions of the standard usage: *hooker, angler, rogue, abraham man, fresh water mariner, counterfeit crank, tinker, swingman, washman, queer bird, bawdy basket, doxy*, and *dell*. Old English, in contrast, was far different not only in vocabulary but in morphology, syntax and orthography. Nonetheless, its age was used to legitimate both Standard English and the policies of the Anglican Church. One of the first Old English texts to be edited and published with its Latin text and annotations was Ælfric's *Sermo in Die Pascæ*. "The purpose of the annotations to the text is to subtly lead the reader to the assumption that defended the non-corporeal existence of Christ in the Eucharist" (94). This instrumental use of Old English combined with nostalgia for the past in the Renaissance and the Reformation helped establish it as a praised variety, in spite of its strangeness, while cant continued to serve as the unofficial language to which official standard English established itself as supposedly superior.

In a rigorously scholarly approach to certain off-color lexical items in Old English, "Praefenda Anglosaxonica" (*SN* 75: 3–10), Joseph P. McGowan begins by noting that *drisn(e)*, in its two occurrences in the glossaries "is most likely to be glossed 'imperfections, impurities, flaws' such as those found in gems and crystals of Isidore's lapidary discourse" (4) rather than other proposed meanings 'frightful,' 'terrible,' or 'fecal.' Compounds beginning with *ears-* are the next to be treated: *earsþyrel* is shown to mean only 'arse-hole' and not 'ear passage'; *earslira* "seems to refer to the 'buttocks,' 'the muscled part of the rump,' or, quite literally, 'arse shanks'" (6); regarding *ærsling*, McGowan notes, "The *Paris Psalter* glossator has made a curious choice [in *arsling* 'ass-backward'] as he had at his disposal Old English *bæcling* and *hinderling*, both more closely meaning 'back-wards' […] it is difficult to imagine the Paris glossator meaning to convey the force (and tone) of 'O Lord, mine enemies shall be ashamed and terrified, and they shall walk ass-backward.' […] At present, the semantic import of this *Paris Psalter* gloss is

uncertain" (7); *earsode* 'arsed, having an arse' is "ostensibly derived from the past participle of the weak class II verb *earsian*" (7); *earsgang*, on the other hand, seems to be "a more specific term for *gang* 'privy' […] literally, 'what passes/has passed out of the arse'" (7). The analysis of a string of other *gang-* compound concludes with the observation: "Thus we have an entire technical vocabulary being 'at stool', its detail suggesting perhaps that nothing vulgar was seen in the enumeration." Next, McGowan affirms the venerable Indo-European pedigree of *feorting* despite its single occurrence in the whole Old English corpus. The final term treated is *fisting* which occurs twice in the glossary both times for the lemma *fesiculatio* in the sense of 'the noise made by the release of such a 'bladder' of air" (8). McGowan's final note: "We can say that Old English had two words—in all likelihood closely synonymous—for breaking wind: one passed into obscurity, the other into common informal usage" (8-9).

   "Sticks or Stones? The Story of Imma in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 of the *Old English Bede*, and Old English *tan* ('twig')" (*MÆ* 72.1: 1–12) by Peter Orton begins by pointing out that in Bede's account (in the *Historia ecclesastica gentis Anglorum)* of the story, Imma, "a Northumbrian aristocrat," is captured by Mercians, but "it proves impossible to restrain him: any bonds placed upon him mysteriously fall away. His puzzled captor asks him whether he 'has about him any loosing spells such as are described in stories' ('litteras soluterias, de qualibus fabulae ferunt, apud se haberet')" (1). As Orton puts it: "It is clear enough that Imma's captor's question alludes to some magical procedure for dissolving bonds involving the use of the written word. What is uncertain is whether runic writing in particular is to be understood as an element in the process" (2). Much of the rest of the article sets out to determine whether this constitutes an, or rather the sole, example of an Old English author describing runes as having magical properties. Of the later Old English versions of the story, while all others agree on *þa stafas* ('the letters' corresponding to *litteras* of Bede's Latin), the eleventh-century B Manuscript of the *OE Bede* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41) shows *þa stanas*, apparently 'the stones' at this point. Orton's suggestion is that *þa stanas* here "is in fact a misreading of 'þas tanas' […] and that 'þas tanas' was deliberately substituted for 'þa stafas … awritene' in the original" (2). As R.I. Page has pointed out, neither *litteras* nor *stafas* need refer to runes—they could refer to roman letters or, plural as they are, merely mean 'a letter or document, or characters or words' (3). However, "Ælfric, in

his rather free adaptation of the story of Imma, written near the end of the tenth century, actually uses the word 'runstafum' ('runic characters')": "þa axode se ealdorman þone hæftling hwæðer he ðurh drycræft oððe ðurh runstafum his bendas tobræce" (in Page's translation, 'then the ealdorman asked the captive whether he broke his bonds asunder by means of sorcery or *runstafum*', 4). But Ælfric's "rather free adaptation," Orton points out, is "not a dependable guide to the meaning of the source" (5). In the B Manuscript of the *OE Bede*, Imma is asked "hwæðer he þa alyfedlican rune cuðe and þa stanas mid him hæfde be swylcum menn leas spell secgað and sprecað" ('whether he knew permitted *rune* [?secrets] and had the stones with him, such as men tell idle tales of', 5). As the parenthetical question mark suggests, Page and others have been understandably puzzled by this cryptic passage. Orton's suggestion is that *alyfedlican rune* does mean 'allowable runes' which, he claims, makes sense in the context of the mid-seventh century when the church was allowing the use of most runes but rejecting others. But *þa stanas* cannot so easily be interpreted literally here since "although plenty of stones inscribed with either runic or roman writing survive from the Anglo-Saxon period, none of them are small enough to exemplify the kind of portable stones that 'stanas' would suggest in this context"(5). Hence Orton's reading of *þas tanas* for *þa stanas.* "The only meaning of *tan* that comes close to suiting our passage occurs just once, in compound form, in *The Nine Herbs Charm* (*Metrical Charms* 2) line 32 'wuldortanas' ('glory-twigs')" (6):

> ða genam Woden   VIIII wuldortanas
> sloh ða þa næddran,   þæt heo on VIIII tofleah

> 'then Woden took nine glory-twigs and struck the snake, so that it flew into nine pieces.'

From this evidence, and from the fact that it is not only *þa stafas* but also *awriten* which is replace by *þa stanas* (for Orton *þas tanas*), Orton concludes that "'tanas' means 'inscribed twigs'" (7) with the implication that the inscriptions were in fact runic.

   After a brief overview of the formal history of *wic*, Alexander R. Rumble, in his "Notes on the Linguistic and Onomastic Characteristics of Old English *wīc*" in *Wics; the Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*, ed. David Hill and Robert Cowie (1–2; see section 9) sides with Eilert Ekwall (and against A.H. Smith) in affirming that, beyond the meaning of 'farm' and 'village,' the Old English word could also denote: 1)

a "'major site of salt manufacture' in names in Cheshire (Middlewich, Nantwich, Northwich) and Worcestershire (Droitwich), in particular"; 2) 'town, port' including "several of the places now recognized as having been major trading centres in the Middle Saxon period, for example, Southampton (Hamwic), Ipswich, Norwich, Fordwich, Sandwich"; and 3) 'harbour' in "Swanage, Harwich, as a development from 'temporary dwelling-place' to signify 'a temporary place of shelter for a ship and its crew" (2). Finally Rumble suggests that "the archeological and historical evidence for the economic importance of some Middle Saxon settlements in English with names in *wic*, as well as their geographical location, is adequate reason for thinking that *in these few cases* the word signifies 'a major market-centre with facilities for international maritime trade'" (2). Rumble, unfortunately, gives no specific examples of this last definition.

As his title implies, T.M. Smallwood suggests that there exists "A Second Adjective dern(e) or dearn(e) in Middle and Early Modern English" (*N&Q* 50: 162–172): the first with the well-established meaning 'secret or dark', the second, which Smallwood argues is distinct and not derivable from the first, meaning 'stern, determined, or raw (of weather)'. The second *dern(e)* (henceforth, following Smallwood, *dern(e)²*) has to be further distinguished from the adjective *derf/derv* [/*deru*] from ON *djarfr* 'bold … valiant … audacious … fierce, difficult' (the variant spelling *deru* and our *dern* "could on occasion seem to have the same form" since "written *u* and *n* can of course be confused" (163). Having cleared up this potential confusion, Smallwood proceeds to "the clearest evidence of *dern(e)²* … found in word lists and dictionaries" of the mid-sixteenth to late eighteenth centuries (167). Here the meaning of *dern(e)²* can range from 'brave, fierce, and furious' in martial contexts to 'audacious, energetic, and willful.' It can even "emphasize the fervour of chaste (not clandestine) love." The parenthetical comment is to make clear that the intensity denoted is not derivable (as has been claimed) from the meaning 'secret' of *dern(e)¹*. Based on context, translations from Latin, glossed word lists, and the usage of its adverbial form *de(a)rn(e)ly, dern(e)²* "maintained much of [its] essential Middle English range of sense" (168) through at least the seventeenth century. "By contrast, *dern(e)¹* and its corresponding adverb underwent a remarkable change or extension of sense during the same period" (168) from 'secret' to 'secluded, desolate, and forlorn' on the one hand, and to 'shady or dark' on the other. "As a result, in or close to the first half of the seventeenth century, *de(a)rn(e)¹* could be used

to describe moods, situations, or places that were discomfiting or forbidding, and accordingly its sense and that of *de(a)rn(e)²* could at their margins, come close to each other" (169). Blurring of the two senses "would have been all the more possible because by now both words were falling out of use in Standard English" (169). Smallwood rejects the derivation in *MED* of the meaning 'fervently' from 'secretly' through 'inwardly' and 'clandestinely' noting that such semantic developments cannot be found in any other European language.

William Cooke's "'Aluen swife sceone': How Long Did OE *ælfen/elfin* Survive in ME?" (*ELN* 41.1: 1–7) takes both the *MED* and the *OED* to task for listing a ME *elve(n)* as meaning "An elf or fairy (of either sex)" (1) when in fact in all clearly attested cases it refers only to the female of the species, as does the OE. The confusion springs from outright errors, possessive plurals, adjectival forms, weak plurals, and one case of either a MS corruption or a variant spelling.

Volker Harm's "Zur semantischen Vorgeschichte von dt. *verstehen*, e. *understand* und agr. *epistamai*" (*Historische Sprachforschung* 116: 108–27) shows that, while the Germanic forms are related, the Greek form, in spite of sharing the odd feature of a verb of knowing derived from the common Indo-European root for "stand," is the result of a completely independent development. The two Germanic forms in the title, along with their numerous Germanic cognates, show early variation with similar forms with the pre-verb **and(a)-*. All of these point to semantics originally from the legal sphere: "to stand before (a court)." The Greek form, on the other hand, shows early meanings related to mastery of specific items and skills, presumably from the idea of "standing above" quite distinct from the Gmc. meanings and development. There are (essentially inconsequential) flaws in the discussion of the puzzle of the Greek form: at one point Harms seems to analyze the *-a:-* in *epista-* as a stem when in fact it is part of the root. He also posits a development of *epi-* + *hist-* > *epist-* with loss of intervocalic *-h-*. While such loss is generally regular in Greek, it is otherwise unattested in exactly these morphological conditions (the expected form should be **ephist-* with aspiration of the *-p-* of the pre-verb) so the solution is *ad hoc*, that is, not a solution at all—the puzzle remains. But these minor problems have little bearing on his larger impressively argued points.

Toshiya Tanaka's "The Indo-European Background of Old English *ge-neah* 'Is Sufficient': Application of a Non-Brugmannian Method," *Gengo Bunka Ronkyu*

[*Studies in Language and Culture*] (Fukuoka) 14 (2001): 127–139, applies a theory (developed by Lehman and others) about the aspectual nature of Proto-IE verbs to the reconstructed verb root **Henk'-* "attain" (ancestor to OE *ge-neah* among many others) to conclude that it was not an active root. This conclusion is based on a careful perusal of all the relevant forms in the various IE languages, applying criteria developed by the theory. Unfortunately the central criterion for excluding a verb from the active class seems to be the absence of an agentive noun in **-tor-*. Even if one accepts the other elements of this somewhat controversial theory, this kind of argument *ex silentio* is, of course, a very dicey one, given the ease with which individual items can drop out of the lexicon or be replaced.

Though it looks back at the Old English situation in only a few examples, Isabel Moskowich's "The Adjective in English: The 'French Type' and its Place in the History of the Language" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 23.1-2 [2002]: 59–71) is essentially a loosely statistical corpus analysis of late ME texts, broken down by genre, to determine the relative frequency of post-posed attributive adjectives (the "French Type") of the sort "The rules aforeseid," and "In tymes passed." Much of the article is taken up with defining and delimiting the topic and in explaining the various choices and exclusions in data selection. In the discussion of the actual findings, the author notes, "certain formulae containing words of Latin/French origin are repeated (such as *spiritual* and *temporal*)" (68). Repetition of such fixed phrases is exactly the kind of problem that can render quantified, text-based studies such as this inconclusive or even meaningless, yet beyond this note, no indication is given as to how many cases of post-posed adjectives involve these kinds of formulae. The data presented seems to show that laws and documents, handbooks, drama, histories and sermons were the genres that had the greatest frequency of post-posed attributive (versus all other attributive) adjectives, varying in frequency from about 7-15%. No indication is given, however, of the statistical significance of the rather narrow difference between the most and least frequent cases, an important shortcoming given the rather limited number of total samples for each genre. The conclusion that "the relative order of attributive adjectives in the Noun Phrase in the history of English […] seems to depend more on syntactic factors and on the etymological origin of the terms themselves than on morphological or any other type of constraints" (68) is doubtless right, even if the statistics used here to support it are less than compelling.

"*We Give You to Wit*: Semantics and Grammaticalization of the Verb *Wit* in the History of English" (in *Variation Past and Present* ed. Raumolin-Brunberg *et al.,* 13-32) by Päivi Koivisto-Alanko and Matti Rissanen follows the fortunes of the verb *to wit* from Proto-IE **wid-* "to see" to the main verb for "to know" in Old English (and many other Germanic and IE languages), to its marginal existence as an appositive linking expression in certain genres of present-day English. This final use can be traced back to OE *hit/þæt is to wittenne* turning to eME *it/that/this is to wit*. While the full verb remains more common than *know* until the mid-fourteenth century, it increasingly narrows its range of meanings and collocations (17). The confusion of forms commonly seen in verbs on their way to obsolescence can be seen in Shakespeare's *wots* and *wis* (19). 1640 seems to mark the date after which the word becomes restricted to the phrase *to wit* in the modern sense. In the transition to the modern use, the authors note increasing subjectification (more reference to the speakers attitude seen in such formulae as *wit well* and *God wot*), an aspect of grammaticalization explored especially by E. Traugott. It is noted that "the increase in scientific writing in LME reinforced the role of *that is to wit* as a translation for various Latin expressions" such as *sciendum est, scilicet,* and *videlicet*. Oddly, "in EME *it is to wit* disappears while *that is to wit* survives, gradually giving way to *to wit*" (27). The authors see "as strong tendency toward subjectification followed by the near disappearance of the verb, which coincided and was probably supported but not caused by the loan translation *that is to wit*, which is shortened to the link *to wit* in the 16th century and remains practically the only surviving use of the verb from the end of the 17th century" (27). The possibility that the longer phrase *that is to wit* was reanalyzed as a tautology before the shortening is not explored but seems likely, especially in light of the many redundant uses of the phrase, particularly after colons and dashes, cited at the end of the article.

Francisco José Rodriguez and Dolores Torres Medina's "Old English Verbs-of-Running: Linking Semantic Representation and Morphosyntactic Representation" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 24.1–2: 153–174) provides a good brief introduction to some of the current formal linguistic theories which attempt to bridge the gap between the semantic representation of a lexical item and its syntactic and morphological patterning. They focus particularly on the application of the Functional Lexical Model to verbs related to running in OE. After some lucid discussion of the issues involved, the following semantic formula is proposed for "[t]he maximal

lexical template to both Old and Present day English [for] verbs-of-running: [**do'** (w,o)] CAUSE [**do'** (x, [**move.quickly.in.a.manner.toward.**(α)' (x,y)]) & BECOME **be-**$_{\text{LOC}}$ (z,x)]; where α = y" (162). It is to the authors' credit that this reviewer could make some sense of this formula (even if problems with various assumptions remain) based on their clear introduction and only distant and rusty memories of graduate coursework in semantics. Unfortunately, this well-introduced if rather elaborate apparatus does not seem to do much work in actually explaining the idiosyncrasies of the syntax of OE verbs-of-running. The first two "case assignment rules for Old English" presented are: "a. Assign nominative case to the highest ranking macrorole argument; b. Assign accusative case to the other macrorole argument" (166). Even with the helpful introduction, it is not completely clear to what extent these are essentially tautological. In any case they cover only the most obvious, plain-vanilla cases: nominative and accusative. What we really want such a theory to do (and what it seems to promise to do in a non-ad-hoc way) is to "motivate the syntactic and morphological behavior" of the most difficult cases "of OE verbs from their semantic structure" (153). But just when we hope the theory may be turning toward such sticky cases, the third "rule" disappoints: "c. Assign dative case to non-macrorole arguments (default: may be overridden by specific lexical units or constructions)" (166); that last clause leaves a loophole big enough to sail the Sutton Hoo ship through. Here is the chance for the theory to do some heavy lifting—to explain, for example, why *behofian* is consistently followed by a genitive object—it defaults to an ad hoc, item-by-item assignment no better than mere dictionary entries. Perhaps it is too much to ask for this level of explanation from these theories at this stage, but the suspicion is that they are not up to the task and perhaps cannot be.

"On Intensifiers and Grammaticalization; The Case of *swiþe*" (*ES* 4: 372-391) by Belen Mendes-Naya constructs a development of OE *swiþe* from lexical adverb 'strongly' to intensifier 'very'. Most of the historical meanings are already present in the earliest texts, so the proposed development is largely a reconstruction based on the expected stages of development according to theories of grammaticalization, especially as developed by Paul Hopper. But having used the theory to construct the semantic history, Mendes-Naya then uses this reconstructed semantic development to "illustrate a number of characteristics of grammaticalization" such as subjectification, semantic bleaching, reduction in scope, layering, and divergence (387–8).

No acknowledgment is made of the near perfect circularity of this procedure. Mendez-Naya points out that "'quickly' is the only possible interpretation of *swiþe* in construction with verbs in the examples extracted from M2, M3, M4 and E1" (384), but does not address the fact that this runs exactly counter to the dictates of grammaticalization. Thus the one clear development in the textual evidence goes against the theory used to reconstruct the rest of its semantic history. Clearly semantic change is not unidirectional and applying a theory such as grammaticalization, which based on a set of observed tendencies as if it predicts unidirectional certainties, is a flawed project. That being said, many individual observations made in the article are interesting, whatever their theoretical value. The collapse of the use of *swiþe* as intensifier during M1 and M2 in the face of *ful*, *very*, and others is striking, though a consideration of social influences on the language may have been more illuminating than viewing the change merely as a language-internal competition between lexical items.

Before his untimely death, Dirk Boutkan, the author of "On Gothic *magaþ* ~ Old Frisian *megith* and the Form of Some North European Substratum Words in Gemanic" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur neueren Germanistik* 58: 11–27), was drawn by the lure, irresistible to many scholars young and old, to attempt the reconstruction of elements of proposed substratum languages, in this case the hypothesized language(s) which presumably existed in northeastern Europe before and for a while alongside of the historically attested Indo-European language groups. The idea of the existence of such a language goes back at least to Meillet. But positing the existence of such a language and claiming to be able to reconstruct even isolated specific elements of it are two very different things—the first is already somewhat speculative, while the second is much more so. The uncertainties inherent in any linguistic reconstruction are multiplied many times: we don't know, for example, how many languages we might be dealing with, nor what their internal or external relations might be, even if we accept the premise that they exist at all; we don't know what kinds of time depths might be involved in the process of the proposed borrowings; we don't know what kinds of changes in phonology, phonotactics, morphology may have been operative in any of these stages of borrowing. Still many of us find it irresistible to attempt to apply the powerful techniques of linguistic reconstruction to the tantalizing area of unattested substrate languages, and Boutkan is certainly more careful and disciplined here than many others who have ventured into this hazardous area.

Beginning with a careful consideration of Old English *mægiþ* and its many well known cognates in OE and Germanic, Boutkan reconstructs **mæg-/mag-*, meaning "family member that didn't directly belong to the male lineage" (15). This odd root ablaut is considered further evidence of substratum status, as seen also in the "poppy" etymon **mæn/man* (15). Connections beyond Germanic, including Old Irish *mug* "servant, boy," *macc* "son", and Old Welsh *map* "son," show "variation of different root-final consonants […] reminiscent of a specific layer in Germanic" identified by Kuiper (16). The variation in the second syllable vowel of the extended form **mag-a/iþ* is the impetus for the examination of ten other disyllabic reconstructed forms with similar variations. An obvious problem at this point is that every element except the first *m-* shows variation. Even with proposed parallels for each variation, this leaves a slender thread from which to hang all of these supposedly related forms. (And why stop here? Hittite shows a fascinating form *nag* "sister," which is unique in ancient Indo-European terms for humans for being female and yet the unmarked member of a female/male pair, the male equivalent being *nagna*, a clearly derived form. If we accept variation of *m~n* along with all the other variations proposed for Boutkan's root, we may as well include these forms as well!) Such exercises, like various proposals of long-distance linguistic relationships between language families, are tantalizing but ultimately unsatisfying, given the multiplications of uncertainties involved.

Richard Dance, in *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of the South-West Midland Texts*; Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies 246 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies) presents an apparently narrow topic that has larger consequences for our understanding of the history of English and of the mechanisms of linguistic borrowing. The scholarly strengths of a reworked thesis such as this are identical to its weaknesses in readability: meticulous attention to detail, careful definitions, elaborate footnotes, multiple appendices, comprehensive coverage of a focused subject, laborious discussion of the various limits to what can be known, and constant hedging on nearly every conclusion. What stands out as most notable from this mass of detail is first of all the claim, contrary to received wisdom, that "there is no positive proof that [direct borrowing from ON into South-West Midlands Middle English] ever occurred"(287). Instead, inter-dialectal transference, indisputable (because of their widespread dialect distribution) in such words as BAÐE

'both,' CNIF, DEIEN, LAHE 'law,' SKILE, and WONTIN 'fail,' is taken to be the only likely source for most of the other cases as well. Unfortunately, there is also little linguistic evidence pointing to such borrowing of ON-derived words from one ME dialect into another. Therefore, Dance proposes that most of the items were borrowed into the SWM area from the Danelaw at a point before most of the developments that distinguished the Middle English dialects. "This transference was probably achieved in at least two ways: there was a clear spread of items suited to legalistic contexts and current in 'official' prose usage in the eleventh century […]; and there was a much more general diffusion of other common (and often later 'core') items from the direction of the Danelaw probably at a fairly low level of lexical field penetration as marked variants, and probably in everyday speech" (328). This latter concept of mechanism of widespread diffusion of items from the North and North-East Midlands area—first as marginal variants but later in certain cases acceptance into the main vocabulary—is a major contribution of this work to the larger field of the history of the English language. It is also the only likely explanation for cases such as BONE 'boon' (from OWN *bón* versus native-derived *bene*) which "appears to have been considerably *more* popular in the SWM than in regions further north and east" (309). This theory would be yet more convincing if in the stylistic analysis some set of these words was found to be recognizably in some "lower" register. Instead, the words are either fully accepted into the core vocabulary (such as those listed above), or they were "'marginal' or 'non-core' items with literary-stylistic functions" contributing to the "esoteric, 'interesting' flavor of a text" (266). This then is another conclusion of the work, that literary and stylistic considerations were major factors in the inclusion of certain words in these texts. So ILLE 'ill, evil' was "available as a rare form in the SWM and therefore ripe to be exploited in unusual or emphatic circumstances there, but entirely commonplace and indeed lexically core in many dialects further north" (268). These words, therefore, "must have been thought of as part of the common stock of 'marked' vocabulary available for exploitation in stylistically-charged contexts, and no longer as a separate 'Norse-derived' set" (269).

Ana Laura Rodriguez and Eugenio Contreras's "*Ongitan*: A Case Study of Evidentiality in Old Englsih Perception Verbs" (*SELIM* 11 [2001-2]: 97-115) begins by pointing out that the meanings of *ongitan* fall into two broad categories: non-evidential, with meanings involving direct perception such as 'see, hear' and 'feel'; and

evidential, where the source of the information is not direct perception using the senses. The middle section, dealing with collocations of *ongitan* with other verbs of perception such as *geseon* is particularly unsatisfying. A number of tacit assumptions are made without explicit argumentation, specifically that the verbs in these constructions are not essentially tautological in these contexts, and that the ordering of the two verbs has an effect on the meaning. Instead, it concludes that, when the sense-based verb follows *ongitan*, the meaning is: "From whatever I/we/they know and have experienced, I/we/they become aware of a certain event which I/we/they also see with out eyes" (106). But when it precedes *ongitan*: "I/We/They perceive a situation directly and I/we/they understand and realize that situation" (107). Here again *a priori* assumptions are presented as proven conclusions without the inconvenience of any argumentation or close examination of the texts for confirming evidence. The article concludes with a not-very-useful catalogue of the conjunctions that can be used with *ongitan* in its evidential sense.

<div align="right">J.U.H.</div>

Works not seen:

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Mearns, Adam Jonathan. "The Lexical Representation of Monsters and Devils in Old English Literature." Ph.D. Thesis, U of Newcastle upon Tyne, 2003. *Index to Theses* 52 (2003): 11839.

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Шапошникова, Екатерина Анатольевна [Shaposhnikova, Ekaterina Anatolievna]. *Семантика Древнеанглийских Поэтических Наименований Славы (Опыт Текстоцентрического Анализа)* [*Semantika Drevneangliyskix Poeticheskix Naimenovanii Slavy (Opyt Teksto-chentriceskogo Analiza) = The Semantics of Old English Poetic Terms for Glory: A Texto-centric Analysis*]. Ph.D. Diss. Ivanovo State U, 2001.

Вишневский, Андрей Вадимович [Vishnevsky, Andrey Vadimovich]. *Семантические* Особенности Наименований Битвы в Древнеанглийской Поэзий [*Semanticheskie Osobennosti Naimenovanii Bitvy v Drevneangliyskoy Poezii = Semantic Peculiarities of Terms for Battle in Old English Poetry*]. Ph.D. Diss. Ivanovo State U, 1998.

b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Aspects

Syntax

Many articles in 2003 consider pronouns and adverbs as diagnostics of verb position and of basic or canonical word order, and argue from expected and unexpected patterns in sub-sets of the texts for evidence of things unseen in the structure of the clause.

Only a few pages of Olga Fischer's review essay of *Grammatical Relations in Change* (Amsterdam, 2001), a collection of papers on diachronic grammar edited by Jan Terje, directly address Old English (*Jnl of Indo-European Studies* 31: 491–505), but they do so in ways that, somewhat unusually, make linguistic evidence out of literary translations. Fischer (495–97) takes to task Elly van Gelderen's conclusion from an examination of the impersonal expression in *Beowulf* that expressions with a dative experiencer "occur significantly more often" in the 3rd person than in the other two, arguing from this and from their conflation of dative and accusative pronoun endings that the 1st and 2nd person lost inherent case (replacing it with structural case) before the 3rd person did. Fischer addresses the difficulties of defining the impersonal construction and takes particular issue with van Gelderen's choice of Modern English translations of *Beowulf* that supply a personal subject as further support for the idea that the impersonal became personal—that is, would come to take a personal pronoun subject—first in the 1st and 2nd person, by offering as counter-evidence the impersonal translations found in Chickering's dual-language edition and others. More briefly (499–500), Fischer offers objections to Gary Miller's conclusion that the passive interpretation of OE *he is to lufianne* as "he is to be loved," which he terms a gerundial construction, was influenced by Latin gerundials (499–500), here citing papers by herself and Bettelou Los published in 2000 that maintain that a word order change from OE SOV to ME SVO better accounts for the types and distribution of active and passive infinitival constructions in OE.

The mysterious ways of Old English pronouns and of the unexpressed yet understood arguments in finite as well as infinitive constructions have proved irresistible to syntacticians of the Minimalist Program persuasion

for over a decade. The desire to divine from the more explicit morphology of OE finite verbs the subtle structure of the English sentence has produced more papers that make widely divergent theoretical conclusions from the data of this closed corpus.

The "core" in Eric Fuss's "On the Historical Core of V2 in Germanic" (*Nordic Jnl of Linguistics* 26: 195–231) is his argument that despite apparent evidence to the contrary from Gothic and Old English word order, verb-second order is indeed like that of MnE, making the "loss" of V2 an illusion. In Minimalist terms, Fuss claims Verb–to-Complement movement triggered in the context of an operator, as in *wh*-questions like Gothic *hva skuli þata barn wairþan* "what shall that child become," where the Greek source has verb-final order. In Gothic, the author claims, places where the translator instead replicates Greek word order obscures this structure in constructions with certain particles and 1st and 2nd person pronouns. The OE predicate constructions that problematize V2 also involve particles and pronouns, but crucially involve non-operators (e.g. adverbial phrases) in clause-initial position, followed by an order Fuss calls "pseudo V2" in that the topicalized initial phrase moves to SpecCP, while noun subjects remain in VP and pronoun subjects move (either to the left edge of IP or to t) so that the topic is merely linearly adjacent to the verb, and not in a Spec-head relation. The author attributes the position of nominal subjects in ME to the development of the EPP [Extended Projection Principle; roughly, all subjects must be expressed] as a new feature in T.

A case-sensitive distinction of syntactic elements (like that of t/T) comes up in an even more basic way, in that Naoshi Nakagawa's title should be corrected from the form it has in the *OEN Bibliography* for 2003 to "Bare vP Analysis of the Infinitival Clause in OE: Historical Development of *Tough* Constructions," *English Linguistics: Jnl of the English Linguistic Soc. of Japan* 18 (2001): 507–3. It is not "VP" but "vP" that is here the locus of investigation. After reviewing work by Van der Wurff and by Fischer, Nakagawa claims that the derivation of the OE *tough* construction, unlike that of its Modern English descendant, "involves A-movement of the null NP that is base-generated as a complement of the infinitive" to the specifier position of the vP, with A-movement being movement of an NP to an argument position and "vP," sometimes called "little-vP" being the functional head that is part of the complement of TP under T-bar, and that itself has VP as its complement. While *tough* constructions in ME and after have

A-bar movement, or movement of the NP to a non-argument position, Nakagawa makes a closely argued and sure to be controversial case for understanding the earlier form of the language as having external arguments and theta-roles for the Old English infinitive, rejecting separate recent proposals made by Kageyama and Tanaka to conclude that the unusual position proposed for Old English PRO here gets some independent support from Baltin's pre-little-vP 1995 proposal for "[+actualized] Case" in Modern English, a feature that "cannot be checked off by v," though it can check the theta-role. The change from Old to Middle English infinitives therefore involves a change from NP-movement to *wh*-movement, a replacement Nakagawa characterizes as "drastic."

Anna Bondaruk and Magdalena Charzyńska-Wójcik, "Expletive *pro* in Impersonal Passives in Irish, Polish and Old English," *Linguistische Berichte* 195: 325–62, reconsiders Old English data drawn variously from *OED*, Visser, the Helsinki corpus, and from Mitchell and Robinson's textbook to argue that while the impersonal passive, which as they define it disappeared in English about 1200, lacks the dedicated morphology of Irish and Polish, its structure has more in common with these languages than with the OE personal passive. The personal passive is never inflected, and while "the Cases typical of the impersonal passive are exclusively GEN and DAT … the personal passive imposes no restriction on the possible range of Cases (with the obvious exclusion of ACC), with the proviso that NOM is obligatory there." And yet, "clausal arguments in OE bear the same Case and theta-role as their corresponding NP arguments, hence the passivisation of the two types of structures proceeds in the same way." Their major claim then follows, that "the OE impersonal passive is genuinely subjectless, in violation of the EPP [the Extended Projection Principle]"; see also Fuss, above.

Several dissertations draw on the special character of the OE predicate, EPP or no, to illustrate semantic and pragmatic principles at work in English. The 2003 Brandeis dissertation of Jong Sup Jun, "Syntactic and Semantic Bases of Case Assignment: A Study of Verbal Nouns, Light Verbs and Dative," [*DAI* 63A, 4293], makes only passing use of Old English, in theorizing the factors contributing to the OE construction with the dative experience. The author investigates the claims of syntactic and semantic principles in determining case and develops formal criteria from the theory of conceptual semantics and from case-in-tiers theory. Hyo-Chang Hong's dissertation ["Discourse Functions

of Old English Passive Word Order Variation," Ball State Univ., 2002; *DAI* 64A, 483] argues from a survey of the periphrastic passive in three Alfredian translations (*Orosius, Pastoral Care,* and Bede) that there are three main types of passive, differentiated from each other by the way they thematize their grammatical subjects. Variation in the position of the non-finite verbal is, the author claims, a determinant of contribution to the information structure ("information structure" as defined by linguists such as Molly Diesing) made by the subject of the passive clause.

A substantial review article by Shin-Ichiro Tomine ("Review Article: Verbal Morphology and Its Syntactic Reflexes," *English Linguistics: Jnl of the English Linguistic Soc. of Japan* 18 [2001]: 619–44) reviews far more than it summarizes. The author actually advances the theoretical program addressed in testing the proposals of a University of Massachusetts dissertation by B. W. Rohrbacher based on data from eight modern Scandinavian and Romance languages against data that Tomine draws from Old English and subsequent developments in the English language, particularly Middle English. Rohrbacher's 1994 dissertation argued that a language has V to I raising if in at least one number of one tense of its regular verb paradigm, both first and second person forms are minimally distinctively marked, a concept captured in the invaluable initialism, MDM. (Even Modern English has a distinction between *was* and *were*, but does not otherwise qualify.) Tomine observes MDM in Class I weak verbs to 1500, and that therefore one would expect that the position of negative adverbs relative to the finite verb would shift from *V-never* to *never-V* and, even more interestingly, that "the lack of MDM must have had immediate influence on the grammar of the succeeding generation." The shift with respect to *never* is complete within the 16th century, according to the data within the Helsinki Corpus. Tomine finds counter-evidence, though, in a survey of Margaret Paston's letters (as edited by Norman Davis, 1971, 1976). Rohnbacher assumed that Old English auxiliaries were already beginning to be reanalyzed as pre-modals, belonging to the functional category of Mood and taking a position higher up in the clause to dominate V. However, the change was less immediately visible in clauses with auxiliary verbs than in those with simplex verbs because OE verb-final VP obscured V-to-I raising as a vacuous string until the underlying word order changed in ME to SVO, making the position of adverbs like *often* and *always* after the auxiliary indications that the authors of such sentences had V-to-I raising, though the work of Pintzuk

and others might be taken as indicating that OE had more than one underlying order in variation with the V-final clause structure. Tomine ends with a preliminary and "cursory" consideration of expletive and referential *pro* in OE, and the ways case might be assigned to this null subject with MDM.

Pintzuk's analysis of the position of OE pronouns is compared unfavorably with van Kemenade's clitic analysis of them in Masayuki Ohkado's "On the Position of Subject Pronouns in Old English," (*Jnl of the College of Humanities* [Kasugai, Aichi] 5 [2001]: 37–61). Ohkado looks to both main and subordinate clauses with "Subject-Verb-Inversion," particularly at verb-initial clauses with a subsequent personal pronoun subject, using Thorpe's edition of the first series of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* and devotes considerable though not exhaustive space to illustration of the clause type, which runs to well over a thousand examples within this corpus. Among the subordinate clauses Ohkado finds nine examples of sentence elements intervening between personal pronoun subjects and the initial complementizer, several involving *forðan*. The author concludes that "all the examples … are cases where their status as subordinate clauses is controversial," making the strong claim that therefore "there are no subordinate clause examples with intervening elements between finite verbs and personal pronominal subjects, which are introduced by genuine subordinators" and that, as van Kemenade predicts, clitic pronoun subjects, unlike NP subjects, are confined in OE to a position immediately adjacent to the finite verb.

The difficulties of transliterating *hangul* into the less elegant orthography of English may be a cause of confusion for identifying Korean authors. Hee-Chol Yoon, whose name is transliterated in the *OEN Bibliography* for 2003 as Hee-Ch*eol* Yoon, writing from the University of Edinburgh "On the Clitic Analysis of Old English Personal Pronouns" (*Hyondamunpop yon'gu* [*Studies in Modern Grammar*] (Seoul) 28 [2002]: 151–89) contributes a solid paper providing a clear overview of many of the methodologies and issues raised in other papers, to which this summary cannot do justice. Yoon draws data and analysis from modern EETS editions, including Bately's *Orosius* and the three most recent volumes of Ælfric, citing, for example, the introduction to Pope's *Homilies* on the use of unstressed particles in supporting alliteration. Yoon concludes that these pronouns are not cliticized, and certainly not as Romance pronouns are, nor does the idea of the weak pronoun as associating with an XP position rather than being attached to

a head as clitics must be. The asymmetry of pre-verbal position for subject pronouns in topic-initial sentences and post-verbal in *ne*, *þa*, and *wh*-headed clauses is illusory, in that the "canonical positions" they assume are also taken by NPs, which do not cliticize. "Canonical" is used in the sense of expected, usual or normal for the context, though this frequently-found term of linguistic art has no standard published definition. The position of object pronouns before nominative arguments is movement into a Specifier of TP and motivated by the deletion of uninterpretable features in the functional head T, a head whose agreement features are associated with EPP features. But "object pronouns have no reason to be attracted by the remote functional head T rather than by the local head [little] v" and so the movement of object pronouns to pre-verbal position in subordinate clauses, while cliticizing, is a subtype of "middle-distance scrambling associated with a definiteness effect to represent information structure at the syntax." "Information structure" here is used in the sense of new information in the discourse being drawn forward, out of the VP that contains old, presupposed information. In Modern German, such scrambling appears with NPs as well as with object pronouns.

Another, briefer word order paper by Judit Górász ("Objects and Adverbials and the Loss of OV Order in English," *The Even Yearbook* [Budapest] 5 [2002]: 49–56) considers "the role of weight" and semantic completeness in the variety of positions taken by prepositional phrases in OV clauses from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The very brief reference list, while citing Fischer *et al.* (2000), and Pintzuk and Kroch (1989), gives no indication as to whether this idea is related to Thomas Wasow's investigations of "grammatical weight" in Heavy NP Shift through the 1990s, Randolph Quirk's 1972 "Principle of End Weight," Arthur Rezkiewicz's 1966 book *Ordering of Elements in Late OE Prose in Terms of their Size and Structural Complexity*, or has some other source. Likewise, pre-verbal prepositional phrases are claimed to be [+obligatory], with post-verbal prepositional phrases are said to be [−obligatory]. "The paper attempts to show a connection between the loss of OV and the syncretism found in the nominal inflection of OE, especially with regard to the nominative vs. accusative distinction."

S. Hiyama's dissertation "Studies in Old English Element Order with Special Reference to the Vercelli Homilies" (Univ. of Glasgow, 2002; *Index to Theses* 52, 5433), referenced in some Glasgow websites as "Studies In the Word Order of the Vercelli Homilies," under the supervision of Jeremy J. Smith, considers the verbal-auxiliary (V–v) pattern in Old English prose with special attention to any element except *ne* intervening (V…v). Hiyama argues that the V…v pattern is demonstrably a result of Latin influence, though it occasionally seems to function as a stylistic device giving prominence through its placement of the nonfinite verbal. (This summary draws from a later, article version by Hiyama, which will be reviewed in *YWOES* 2004.)

In Michiko Ogura's brief yet fully illustrated article about syndetic and asyndetic parataxis in infinitives, "*Have Do Make* and *Have Do and Make* in the Paston Letters" (*N&Q* n.s. 50: 8–10), OE plays only a supporting role to ME, but the author provides a context for the rise of one complex auxiliary in another, documented from the *DOE* database. Before "have do" appeared in ME, the imperative construction could be varied by an *utan* construction in which anticipatory *don*, as the possible origin of periphrastic *do*, "served to retain the main verb in its proper position (see *DOE*, s.v. *don*, II B.1.a)," and was a construction favored by Wulfstan. In a long footnote Ogura gives a complete list of the many occurrences of *utan don* + infinitive and *uton don* … *utan* infinitive in OE texts, as well as related constructions involving co-ordination.

Hee-Chol Yoon's "Economy Considerations and the Derivation of DP in Old English" (*History of English* [Seoul] 13 [2002]: 201–26) deals with the theoretical implications of the semantics of noun phrases headed by demonstratives in a language without the definite article, yet still with a motivation to distinguish between definiteness and indefiniteness. An uninterpretable feature of the functional head D(emonstrative *or* efinite), [+R(eferential)] is deleted at the interface through association with the EPP features, and accounts for all the other demonstrative elements that are inherently definite, such as the adnominal genitives, possessives, and proper names in the genitive case. Yoon uses "Referential" in the sense of Stephen Neale's referring descriptions, for individuals presupposed to exist. Data from various prose texts, in many cases as it appears in Mitchell's *OES*, illustrates the analysis of what forces movement and deletion, satisfying the Chomskian principle of Greed. Yoon argues against the Agr (G) P analysis of Haegeman and Guéron (1999), noting that "they undermine their argument by misquoting an example from Mitchell." The example in question, from p. 8 of Sedgefield's 1899 edition of Boethuis, is *þæt min murnende mod*, and Yoon rightly points out that their *mine* for *min* "must be a misspelling." The citation in Yoon's lacks

the second *n in murnende*, a morphologically insignificant but unfortunate slip in the otherwise good editing of this paper. Yoon concludes, explaining the order of possessive—demonstrative, that "The functional category DP, whose presence is substantiated on independent grounds, is the only one postulated for the analysis" and "does not rely on the proliferation of functional categories and subsequent movement operations."

Matti Rissanen's "On the Development of English Adverbial Connectives" (*Current Issues in English Linguistics*, ed. Masatomo Ukaji, Masayuki Ike-Uchi, and Yoshiki Nishimura; Special Publ. of the English Linguistic Soc. of Japan 2 [Tokyo: Kaita-kusha], 229–47) is an overview of the development of the sub-category of adverbial clause subordinators within the class of "connectives" that stretches from prepositions to subordinating conjunctions. Rissanen notes that in 2002 Huddleston and Pullum chose to conflate adverbial subordinators with prepositions in their comprehensive description of the grammar of Modern English. Old English has by Rissanen's structural analysis two classes of prepositions and four of adverbial subordinators. One-morpheme prepositions (*for*) and two-morpheme ones (*beforan*) are frequently derived from adverbs. Scholars have yet to study in detail the "semantic, textual, and contextual differences" that enable a simplex form like *ær* to flourish alongside a duplex form like *beforan*. The four classes of adverbial subordinators include (1) the basic, restricted to *gif* and *ðeah*, (2) the simple, such as *ær* and *butan*, which derive from adverbs or prepositions, (3) the complex, formed around a noun such as *ða hwile ðe*, and (4) the complex subordinators formed with a demonstrative pronoun, such as *mid ðam (ðe)*. Rissanen notes that the first two classes of adverbial subordinators are restricted, with only seven members in (2), and that there are a number of "prepositions indicating adverbial relationships" that do not become adverbial subordinators. The addition of the final particle (*ðe* or less commonly, *(ðæt)* in subordinators of Type 4 "increases rapidly" over Helsinki sub-periods OE2 through OE4, becoming the majority sometime in the eleventh century, and becoming further grammaticalized in Early Middle English.

M.B.

In "Particle Verbs in Early Middle English: The Case of *up*" (*Linguistics in the Netherlands* 20: 45–57), Marion Elenbaas examines the link between syntax and semantics in the development of early English particle verbs. Elenbaas argues that in late Old English, evidence of topicalization suggests that the particle is part of a small clause structure, and further, that "the semantics of *up* is invariably transparent: its meaning is directional, indicating 'vertical movement upwards'" (51). In early Middle English, however, where the Old English small clause has been reanalyzed as a verb + particle structure, the particle develops metaphorical meanings "which are extensions of the transparent meanings," as seen in *þat he alle his castles scolde iiven up* (55). The syntactic change Elenbaas describes, from preverbal (OE) to postverbal (ME) particles, "may be further linked to the semantic development of particles in Middle English" (54). The author suggests two possible reasons for this change. The first is the influence of Old Norse, which had postverbal particles, and the second is the influence of the surface order of Old English on the analysis of the construction: "In Old English main clauses, the verb often surfaces left of the particle as a result of V-movement" (55).

Junichi Toyota ("The Preposition *by* in the English Passive," in *Proceedings from the 8th Nordic Conference on English Studies*, eds. Karind Aijmer and Britta Olinder; Acta Universitatis Gothoburgensis: Gothenburg Studies in English 84 [Göteborg: Dept. of English, Göteborg University], 107–20) explores the historical development of the English passive construction. Toyota argues that the use of the preposition *by*, now widely assumed to be the only preposition used in Present-Day English passive constructions, is "a mere accident and that other prepositions can also function similarly," including *of*, *from*, and *through* (107). Most relevant to scholars of Old English is Toyota's discussion of a change in the passive construction from stative to dynamic, which "seems to have happened during the Old English period" (118). The preposition *by* is not compatible with the OE stative passive, Toyota claims, which explains why it does not appear in print until ca. 1300.

In "Historical Changes of Verbal Complements in English: The Case of Causative Verbs" (*Eoneohag: Jnl of the Linguistic Society of Korea* 29 [2001]: 85–107), Hyeree Kim sets out to debunk two claims: 1) that since the complex transitive construction is more common in Present-Day English than in either Old English or Middle English, the "modern infinitival complement is a development from finite clausal complement," and 2) that since bare-infinitive constructions are more common in Old English than in Present-Day English, that "*to*-infinitives historically replaced bare-infinitive" (86). To accomplish this dual goal, Kim focuses on the

complements taken by four causative verbs in Present-Day English along with their Middle English and Old English counterparts, even when these earlier cognates might not be truly causative: *let/leotan/lætan, make/maken/macian, have/haven/have, do/don/don.* Kim takes a "particularistic approach" to the study of these verbs, treating them individually instead of as a class, which reveals important differences in their development. In fact, only *let* occurs with a causative infinitive structure throughout its history, taking a bare-infinitive complement that is an indicator of its semantic integration; it has never taken the *to*-infinitive or the *that*-clause complement. Iconicity is given as a reason: "We can see causative verbs are more integrated than the other verbs such as *tell* which can have complex transitive construction. We will see that iconicity applies to early English too. The presence of iconicity then will prohibit a true causative (with the greatest integration) from having *to*-infinitives or *that*-clauses. The verb *let* had this property throughout its history … *let* is therefore the most similar in its syntactic properties to modern causative verbs" (103). Kim draws both synchronic and diachronic conclusions from the study: first, that "bare-infinitive and *to*-infinitive are NOT isomorphic" and "*to*-infinitive and *that*-clause are NOT isomorphic," and also that: "*to*-infinitive is NOT a diachronic replacement of bare-infinitive" and "*to*-infinitive is NOT a diachronic replacement of *that*-clause" (105).

Johanna L. Wood's dissertation ("Definiteness and Number: Determiner Phrase and Number Phrase in the History of English" [Arizona State Univ., 2003; *DAI* 64A, 881]) argues that Old English has DP but no NumP, which does not develop as a distinct category until the Middle English period. After an introduction and discussion of theoretical approach, the study is divided into two main sections: one on DP (Chapters Three and Four) and one on NumP (Chapters Five and Six). In the first section, Wood argues that even though Old English has no overt marker of definiteness, it nonetheless has DP, and in this way patterns along with Icelandic, Welsh, and Arabic, which "have no definite article but indicate definiteness with a demonstrative and indefiniteness with a bare noun" (61). To support this claim, the author appeals to evidence from word order ("word order of the prenominal elements in OE is not free"; morphology ("the morphology also indicates that there is some structure preceding the noun, as strong adjectival inflection has to be realized at least once in a nominal"; and movement ("evidence for a DP also comes from proper nouns with post-nominal attributes of the type *Alfred king* and *God almighty* in which the nouns

move to the head of DP in OE and are in complementary distribution with the demonstrative *se*") (242). In the second section Wood claims that NumP is a new category in ME, citing the appearance of the indefinite article in after the end of the OE period as an indication of this change. She argues that numerals 2 through 19 are adjectival "from a syntactic point of view" in OE, and therefore associated with AgrP; numerals over 19 "are heads themselves and assign genitive case to a following noun" (192).

In a departure from a widely held belief regarding the status of Old English indefinite pronouns, Linda van Bergen (*Pronouns and Word Order in Old English with Particular Reference to the Indefinite Pronoun "man,"* Outstanding Dissertations in Linguistics [New York: Routledge]) argues that *man* should be classified as a pronominal subject and not a nominal one. To support this claim, the author provides evidence of the behavior of *man* in clauses with topicalization (Chapter Two), where, like pronominal subjects in the same environment, it does not invert, at least in clauses without negation or the presence of a subjunctive. She explains those apparent exceptions to this pattern by showing that the inversion in clauses with negation is triggered by the negation itself and not by anything to do with *man*; the same holds for clauses with the subjunctive (57). Chapter Three identifies two more problematic constructions in which *man* appears to follow the behavior of nominal subjects: in subordinate clauses and in clauses "with inversion of all types of subject" (79). The author addresses another potential set of counter-examples in this chapter, as well: "the main problem with classifying *man* as pronominal is that personal pronoun objects can precede *man* in contexts where they can precede nominal subjects but not personal pronoun subjects … the evidence suggests that *man* forms a cluster with such preceding object pronouns, unlike nominal subjects under similar circumstances" (100). Chapters Four and Five provide theoretical evidence to support that claim, suggesting that *man*, along with OE personal pronoun subjects and objects, should be classified as clitics and not weak pronouns, as others have argued: "[w]hen several of these pronominal clitics are found in the same structural position, they form clusters. These are subject to an ordering constraint, specifying that personal pronoun subjects precede personal pronoun objects, whereas *man* follows them. This [is] supported by the fact that *man* is never separated from a preceding personal pronoun object in subclauses and clauses with inversion" (211). She concludes that topicalized constituents move to CP in Old English, which

"allows us to specify the placement of pronominal clitics simply as left edge of IP" (211). This means that pronominal clitics in Old English should be understood "either as phrasal affixes or as X^{max} clitics" (211).

Toril Swan ("Present Participles in the History of English and Norwegian," *NM* 104: 179–95) traces developments in the English present participle that distinguish it from the same form in other Germanic languages. The author first explores the morphological changes in the present participle marker, notably from *-ende to -ing*, and then provides comparative evidence from Norwegian, here used as a representative of the more typical development of the participle in Germanic languages, in order to demonstrate how English's present participle developed as adverbial and verbal, whereas in other Germanic languages, it is adjectival. The essay's final section offers an explanation for this divergence, namely that a structural ambiguity present in Old English and Old Norse was analyzed differently by speakers of each language, resulting in the grammaticalization of the progressive aspect in English: "In view of the date from Norwegian and Old English, it is likely that participles in the *be* + participle constructions in the older Germanic languages are neither fully verbal nor simply adjectival, belonging to one, inherently ambiguous category" (189). That is to say, the participle in the clause "He wæs wundriende" could be analyzed adjectivally ("He wæs [wundriende]") or verbally ("He [wæs wundriende]"). A sociolinguistic hypothesis for this change is offered in the conclusion, where Swan suggests that the contact between Middle English and French speakers helped to reinforce the newly grammaticalized function of the participle.

Michiko Ogura's essay ("'Reflexive' and 'Impersonal' Constructions in Medieval English," *Anglia* 121: 535–56) claims that the Old English preference for the use of "reflexive" and "impersonal" constructions is a function of its lack of a morphologically realized middle voice. (Ogura defines "reflexive" in inverted quotes as "a verbal construction with a coreferential pronoun" and "impersonal" with the same typographic marker as "the construction with a person or personal pronoun in the oblique case which may take a nominative case in the corresponding personal construction," e.g., *him licaþ* and *he licaþ*).) The study is both synchronic and diachronic: synchronic in the way it describes the functions of Old English "reflexives" and "impersonals," and diachronic in its comparison of their use in the *West Saxon Gospels* and the later Wycliffite version of the *Gospels*, which the author undertakes to demonstrate

how medieval English has developed a variety of syntactic constructions to compensate for its lack of a morphological middle voice. In a conclusion, Ogura plays on the grammaticalization chestnut ("today's morphology is yesterday's syntax") by stating that "Germanic morphology is Anglo-Saxon syntax, or classical morphology is medieval syntax" (553).

Marta M. González Orta ("Linking the Syntactic and Semantic Representation of Complex Structures within the Old English Domain of Speech," *Miscelánea* 25 [2002]: 77–91) explores the utility of lexical templates (as defined by Pamela Faber and Ricardo Marial Usón, 2000) for analyzing the connection between syntax and semantics in complex structures found in Old English speech, including core cosubordination, core coordination, clausal subordination, and sentential subordination. She suggests that the following basic template should be used in such an analysis, with alterations made for each individual structure:

do' (x, [**express**.(a).to.(b).**in.language**.(γ)' (x,y)])^[**in**'(w)]&[BECOME **aware.of**' (y,z)], where y = β, z = α, [**in**' (w)] = γ

The template she provides "contains the logical structure of an active accomplishment, characterised by the semantic features [+static] [[+telic] [-punctual], where a speaker says something to a hearer who becomes aware of it …, three internal variables *α, β, γ* referring to the content of the expression, to the addressee and to the language used, respectively, and four external variables *x, y, z, w*, where *x* refers to the speaker, *z* to *α* or the content of the expression, *y* to *β* or the hearer, and *w* to *γ* or, [**in**' (w)] the language used" (81).

Dagmar Haumann ("The Postnominal '*and* Adjective' Construction in Old English," *English Language and Linguistics* 7: 57–83) examines the inconsistency of the behavior of postnominal adjectives in sentences like "Soðfæstne man & *unscyldigne* ne acwele ðu þone næfre," where the adjective in question is strong, and "Se leofa cuma & *se lufiendleca*," where the adjective in the same position is declined as weak. Rather than rely on a non-uniform analysis that requires treating the postnominal strong adjectives as predicates and the postnominal weak adjectives as substantives, Haumann proposes a uniform analysis that treats both as "instances of regular DP coordination with an empty pronominal, *pro*, in the second conjunct" (65). The author also argues that the adjective in the postnominal "*and* adjective" construction "is an attributive adjective modifying *pro*."

In "The Change that Never Happened: The Story of Oblique Subjects" (*Jnl of Linguistics* 39: 439–72), Jóhanna Barðdal and Thórhallur Eythórsson challenge the commonly held notion that oblique subject-like NPs in Old Gmc. impersonal constructions were treated as syntactic objects, not subjects. Such an analysis requires the presence of a change from object to subject at some point during their progression to their modern cognates. The authors argue that such a change never occurred, since evidence from Old Icelandic and other Older Gmc. languages, including OE, suggest that these impersonal NPs have always analyzed as syntactic subjects. The authors work primarily against the arguments of J.T. Faarland, who in a series of studies between 1990 and 2001 claimed that "there are no structures that call for an oblique subject analysis in Old Scandinavian, and that the existence of this phenomenon in Modern Icelandic and Faroese must therefore be due to a later development" (440). The authors refute Faarland's claims by demonstrating how the oblique subject-like NPs behave like subject NPs in the following tests for subjecthood in Old Icelandic: syntactic position, long distance reflexivization, subject-to-object raising, subject-to-subject raising, and control infinitives. The authors argue instead that "Nominative Sickness," "[t]he change whereby oblique subject-like NPs become nominative" (467), which has affected all Gmc. languages to some degree, is responsible for the differences between Old and Modern Icelandic subject NPs.

Eugene Green ("On *habban* + Second Participle in Old English Poetry," *Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 8: 191–242) makes a context-based argument about the distinctions between OE *habban* periphrases and simple preterits using pragmatic, semantic, and grammatical approaches. Green identifies the "pertinence of the two pragmatic acts—assessment and determinacy—for utterances composed with the *habban* periphrasis," and further, that at least in Old English verse, the use of *habban* periphrases "is strongly context dependent" (238). He finds that, for example, the *habban* periphrases are "linked more fully with detrimental than with amerliorative or tensional contexts, or acts, also, of determinacy" and also that "these verbs express the aspects achievement and accomplishment significantly more often than the aspects activity and stative." Finally, Green suggests that "Anglo-Saxon poets chose forms of the auxiliary *habban* to help establish relatively recent and remote episodes, whether of their own experience or those of their characters" (241).

G.D.

Works not seen:

Martín Díaz, María Auxiliadora, and Francisco J. Cortés Rodríguez. "The Meaning-Syntax Interface of Writing Verbs: Templates, Constructions and Linking Rules within a Lexical Grammar of Old English Verbal Predicates." *Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 47 (November 2003): 13–35

Reviewed in YWOES 2002:

Pasicki, Adam, "Some Meanings of the Adnominal Genitive in Old English," in *Language Function, Structure, and Change: Essays in Linguistics in Honor of Tomasz P. Krzeszowski*. Ed. Wieslaw Oleksy. Polish Studies in English Language and Literature 5. (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang, 2002), 91–105

Phonology

In "'Weil Die Schrift Immer Strebt …': On Phonological Reconstruction" (*NOWELE* 43: 3–20), Elmer Antonsen reviews the intellectual history of phonological reconstruction with respect to the analysis of umlaut in the Germanic languages (early German dialects receive considerably more attention than Old English, however). The quotation in the title comes from Grimm, which Antonsen takes as emblematic of a long-standing problem in historical linguistics—namely, the difficulties in separating phonological analysis from orthography. Certainly, so many scholars have pointed to the muddle of orthography and phonology in historical linguistics often enough that it is usually taken as an intractable difficulty to be addressed (or finessed) on an *ad hoc* basis: some analyses benefit from the discouragement of firm conclusions provided by the obscure relationship between sounds and letters in ancient languages, while the same obscurity does injury to still other analyses. Antonsen apparently sees phonological analyses that systematize orthographical variation as non-starters, since such analyses are, for him, hardly more than descriptions of orthography, and the case of umlaut provides him with a richly illustrative example of how scholarship sometimes plays a sort of shell game with orthographic evidence. In rather Gordian fashion, though, Antonsen ties together several strands of argumentation (none new)—like the orthographic representation of segments that act as phonological triggers, leveling, and symmetry—in an attempt to characterize umlaut as a phonological process that operates beyond the capacity of orthography to capture its intricacies. His demonstration that some scholars' over-reliance

on orthographic evidence that confuses descriptions of phonology and orthography indicates that the matter is far from settled (as does the recent rich bibliography on umlaut, although Antonsen consults little of it). The article concludes by suggesting that current intense interests in phonetically motivated analyses of umlaut are misguided, since they tend to ignore the relationship between phonology and morphology in umlaut phenomena in the Germanic languages.

Thomas A. Bredehoft considers "Secondary Stress in Compound Germanic Nouns in Old English Verse" (*Jnl of Eng. Linguistics* 31: 199–220) within the scope of a larger critique of Sieversian metrics. Following Sievers, Campbell (1959: 36) states that the second elements of compounds retain secondary stress only when they are themselves dissyllabic or when the addition of an inflectional syllable renders them dissyllabic. Bredehoft points out that this linguistic pronouncement is derived from scholarly descriptions of the meter of Old English verse within the formalism developed by Eduard Sievers, and he then commences a careful examination of the metrical contexts of compound personal names in *Beowulf*. Crucially, Bredehoft employs Geoffrey Russom's "word-foot" theory of Old English meter to analyze the compound personal names in *Beowulf*, making his study one of the very few in Old English metrics that abandons the basic terms of description of the Sievers-Bliss-Cable tradition and demonstrating the usefulness of Russom's theory in connecting metrical and linguistic analyses. The author points out that verses like 501b (*wæs him Beowulfes sið*) and 396b (*Hroðgar geseon*) present an apparent contradiction with respect to the metrical treatment of the compound name in each, since, if proper scansion is allowed, in 501b -*wulf*- must not be ictic (and therefore must not retain secondary stress) while -*gar* in 396b must be ictic (and therefore must retain secondary stress). While the traditional view developed by Sievers and adopted by most Old English metrists holds that 396b illustrates an exception to the principle followed in 501b, Bredehoft builds an argument for the normal metrical treatment of the second elements of compound names in Old English verse as locations of ictus and thus secondary stress, so that poets could then suppress secondary stress in compounds to suit metrical requirements. As evidence, the author considers scansions like that above, alliterative patterns, and spacing between compound elements in the manuscript. Bredehoft finds that cross-alliteration or secondary alliteration license metrical patterns that derive from the recognition of secondary stress on the second elements of compounds

and that the overwhelming tendency of the scribes of the *Beowulf* manuscript to separate the elements of the compound names provides graphemic evidence for secondary stress. The essay concludes with the suggestions that the metrical analysis of compound names proposed should prompt a reconsideration of the metrical treatment of other compounds, like *garsecg*, that theories of Old English meter must attempt to account for patterns of cross-alliteration and secondary alliteration, and that the Sieversian restriction against double alliteration in the b-verse may be in need of reevaluation in the light of the analysis of compound personal names proposed here.

Jeannette Marshall Denton takes up the difficult task of "Reconstructing the Articulation of Early Germanic *r" (*Diachronica* 20: 11–43). This lengthy, carefully written article examines and weighs all of the phonetic possibilities for the articulation of Proto-Germanic */r/ in the light of the complex and seemingly contradictory sound changes triggered by the reflexes of */r/ in the later Germanic dialects. As the author points out, the articulation of rhotics is extremely varied, as confirmed cross-linguistically, so the reconstruction of such an omniform sound class is exceptionally complicated. The article begins with consideration of the handbook description of Proto-Germanic */r/ as an apical trill, a designation that derives from comparison with other Indo-European languages and from the merger of Indo-European */r/ and */s/ in North and West Germanic, pointing out that rhoticism alone provides no direct evidence for an apical trill. Furthermore, recent phonetic research shows that apical trills have a variety of articulatory patterns and confirms that coarticulation in rhotics (such as, for example, the tongue shape of apical trills, which incorporates the high and front gesture of the tip of the tongue with lowering of the body of the tongue) may account for some of the ostensibly contradictory sound changes triggered by them. The article then devotes considerable attention to a number of some of the most important sound changes in the early Germanic dialects conditioned by the presence of *r*, for example the lowering of high vowels in Gothic, the monophthongization of Proto-Germanic */ai/, the effects of North Germanic /ʀ/, and Old English breaking. The author concludes that none of the evidence she scrutinizes indicates that Old English *r* was ever an apical trill (contrary to the pronunciation tradition of classroom grammars of Old English) but rather a tap/flap in strong syllable position and an approximant in rhyme position, and that early Germanic *r* had different realizations in different syllabic positions and in different

dialects. In its comprehensiveness, the essay persuasively recommends that the reflexes of Proto-Germanic */r/ indicate, in fact, that the proto-phoneme was an apical trill, but that the complex articulation of this particular rhotic maps to a variety of articulations, which may explain the large number of *r*-conditioned sound changes in the Germanic languages. Although studies of historical linguistics have been mostly limited in the past to the historical evidence alone—making studies of phonology in large part an exercise in simple logic—the author makes noteworthy use of recent phonetic research that pinpoints the articulatory complexities of rhotics in a cross-linguistic framework to identify the most likely phonetic conditions that explain the actual effects of *r*-triggered sound changes.

Development in Prosodic Systems, ed. Paula Fikkert and Haike Jacobs (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter) is a collection of thirteen papers on the principles of various suprasegmental features, mostly in Germanic languages (although Korean, Basque, Latin and Ligurian receive attention), from a viewpoint that can generally be called "metrical phonology," a complex of related but alternative theories of suprasegmental phonology. The book organizes the papers around 1) tone, stress, and quantity; 2) evidence from metrics; 3) analogy and loans; and 4) competence. Most of the papers in the collection theorize prosodic processes that are both synchronic and diachronic, and while most have little relevance to the study of Old English, those who wish to gain some exposure to current theoretical perspectives on the study of diachronic prosody will find the collection useful. Of particular interest to scholars of Old English are papers by Thomas Cable ("Kaluza's Law and the Progress of Old English Metrics," 145–58), reviewed in section 4a, and another two discussed here. In "The Prosodic Structure of Prefixed Words in the History of West Germanic" (315–48), Paula Fikkert examines patterns of stress in native and borrowed prefixed words mainly in English and in Dutch. The paper surveys many of the forms that defy the handbook explanation that prefixed nouns have stress on the prefix, while prefixed verbs have stress on the root, and maps these exceptions to borrowings in Middle English. An explanation for the difference in stress between such types *abstráct*[VERB] and *ábstract*[NOUN] is posited: By the Middle English period, prefixed verbs with stressed particles (like Old English *ǽfterfòlgian* 'to pursue') had disappeared, leaving the language with only prefixed verbs with primary root stress. Furthermore, since disyllabic verbal roots did not exist in the language, the borrowing of disyllabic verbs was

interpreted as {PREFIX} + {ROOT}, placing the stress on the second syllable. Middle Dutch is shown to have utilized a much different strategy for calculating stress in loan words, primarily since Dutch never lost prefixed verbs with stressed particles. In the same collection Chris McCully addresses historical and theoretical concerns in "Left-Hand Word-Stress in the History of English" (349–93). McCully presents a detailed overview of scholarly approaches to the change in English from the calculation of stress from the left edge to the right edge of the word, and he weighs explanations based on parameterized rules against recent optimality-theoretic accounts that locate this change in the English stress system as a function of a shifting set of constraints. McCully points out that all of the important theories of stress before Optimality Theory (OT) assume that an earlier parameter of left > right iteration was re-set to right > left, while an OT analysis posits the re-ranking of the Alignment and Footing constraints. The author places particular emphasis on critiquing the standard explanation of this phonological change, namely that the massive importation of French and Latin loan words, with their right-strong calculation of stress, resulted in the complete reorganization of the stress system in English. This "blame English stress on the French" analysis, as McCully says, is logically and theoretically untenable. McCully tests for sociolinguistic variation in terms of core lexical items (i.e., frequency) by performing a synchronic experiment in which native and non-native English speakers were asked to read back bi- and polysyllabic words of mostly French origin in several contexts. McCully's findings suggest wide variation in the patterns adopted by individual speakers for parsing stress in such lexical items, and he briefly compares some of those findings with Chaucer's use of bisyllabic loan words in verse and argues that "speakers, in the late fourteenth century as now, may have an uneasy sense that some item is 'foreign' (and may be so pronounced, for reasons of prestige, earnestness, or sheer bafflement)" (367). McCully then proceeds to consider the possibility that the English stress system did not undergo the radical about-face that is usually assumed but that elements of the stress system persist diachronically in the form of constraints on well-formedness, especially Non Finality ("No foot is final in the PrWd").

In "An Explanation for the Changes *kw-*, *hw-* > *χw-* in the English Dialects" (*The Celtic Roots of English*, ed. Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen [Joensuu: University of Joensuu], 183–98), Stephen Laker suggests that the reflexes of the initial consonant

cluster of Old English *cwicu* in northern British English (*kw-* in most of the north with *hw-* in the extreme northeast) developed as a result of the Celtic substratum. Laker casts doubt on the usual interpretation of this variation as a function of linguistic contact with Scandinavian languages in the north by arguing debatable chronological and language-specific details, by denying that such contact can explain *hw-* > *χw-*, and by pointing out that later dialectal distributions of *hw-* in several southern dialects cannot be owing to Scandinavian influence. The author posits that Old English *kw-* and *hw-* merged as *χw-* in formerly Celtic speaking areas, since *kw-* and *hw-* were absent from the phonemic inventory of Celtic (more properly Welsh, as Laker points out) but native *χw-* approximated both, and he provides a list of examples of English loanwords with initial spellings <qu-> and <wh-> that surface in Welsh with initial <chw->. The replacement of *hw-* and *kw-* by *χw-* resulted in aspirated *hw-* in most Early Modern English dialects and finally *w-*, with the exception of the northernmost counties.

Donka Minkova employs early English versification as a heuristic tool in *Alliteration and Sound Change in Early English* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP). The seven chapters of this book present an overview of scholarship on the phonology of Old and Middle English, a critique of this scholarship, and a proposal for a new (sometimes radically so) understanding of the shape of the phonological system in Old English especially. The first two chapters, "Social and linguistic setting of alliterative verse in Anglo-Saxon England and Medieval England" and "Linguistic structures in English alliterative verse," offer in their own right a useful introduction to the basic cultural and linguistic foundations of verse, with a particular emphasis on the Anglo-Saxon period. The five chapters that make up the core of the book consist of detailed studies of the alliteration of velars and palatals ([k] ~ [ʧ] and [g] ~ [j]) in Old English verse, the alliteration of vowels in Old English verse, alliteration of the word-initial clusters *sp-*, *st-*, *sk-* in Old English verse, alliteration of word-initial clusters in Middle English verse, and, finally, the simplification of such clusters in Middle English. Some of Minkova's conclusions represent dramatic revisions to the outline of early English phonology that obtains in philological handbooks and linguistic histories. For example, Minkova argues for a phonetically motivated understanding of why velars and palatals like [k] and [ʧ] alliterate in verse. In short, she suggests that these consonants are acutely sensitive to articulatory gradience, and she demonstrates that the framework of Optimality

Theory neatly captures gradient linguistic phenomena, so that alliteration in Old English versification is shown to function, in part, as a set of constraints on features, like coronality, continuancy, and voicing. But place features, in Minkova's analysis, are the violable constraints that account for the alliteration of velars and their front allophones. This analysis clears the way for a revision of Old English phonology devoutly to be wished for, since it is no longer necessary to posit the early phonemicization of the front allophones of [k] and [g], and she posits that [ʧ] (and [ʃ] in a separate discussion) did not become phonemic in English until after ca. 1000, while the palatal fricative [j] merged with the pre-existing /j/ at some time in the tenth century. This new chronology nicely unites the alliterative practices of the Old English poets with the orthographic evidence that has occasioned some head-scratching among scholars of Old English poetry. But part of the persuasiveness of Minkova's argument depends on the willingness of her readers to adopt a more highly nuanced definition of alliteration than that which is usually taken for granted: in Minkova's view alliteration is not simple phonic identity but a complex interplay of constraints on segmental features and perceptual cues. Such a baroque approach to what seems the simplest aspect of Old English poetics is bound to strike students of Old English literature as over-complex from a compositional point of view. From a linguistic point of view, however, this book provides plausible explanations for a number of the most linguistically troubling verse phenomena in Old and Middle English.

Don Ringe provides a new analysis of "Syncopated Present Indicative Forms in Old English" (*Verba et Litteræ: Explorations in Germanic Languages and German Literature: Essays in Honor of Albert L. Lloyd*, ed. Alfred R. Wedel and Hans-Jörg Busch [Newark, DE: Linguatext], 125–56) largely through a revised chronology of sound changes. After an overview of the earlier explanations of syncope, Ringe suggests that the final syllable of the Proto-Germanic endings *-isi, *-iþi (< PIE *-ési, *-éti) survived until the period of syncope in Old English and that apocope of final short high vowels after stressed heavy syllables followed syncope. Ringe reviews all of the assumptions underlying the traditional views of the relevant forms (several of which he demonstrates to support his proposed chronology in the course of his study) and places particular emphasis on showing that Alois Walde's explanation that syncopation occurred when an unstressed subject pronoun immediately followed the verb (and spread to other environments by analogy) is implausible in the light of

recent work on syntactic change in Old English. Ringe enumerates the patterns for syncopation among verbs with light root syllables, where those ending in voiceless stops and *h*, which almost always show syncopation, and those of the type *nerian*, which never show syncopation, represent the extremes, and he shows that the frequency of syncopation in light roots with resonants shows a wide variation. Ringe briefly points out that nominal forms in which a heavy syllable precedes -iCi (where C is an obstruent) show the same pattern as verb forms, and he surveys a number of potential objections to his hypothesis, especially the widely held belief that the final vowel of the endings *-isi, *-iþi deleted much earlier than his analysis posits. Ringe's chronology of sound changes is: 1) apocope of *-i in the 3pl. ending; 2) i-umlaut; 3) syncope of *-i- in the 2sg. and 3sg. endings; 4) apocope of *-i and *-u after stressed heavy syllables. And, here, Ringe admits that his argument is weakest, since he has to posit a theoretically inelegant (though not impossible) reiteration of apocope, but the implications of his chronology for the treatment of vowels in weak syllables is so sweeping that his hypothesis awaits further testing against the broader chronologies of Old English phonology.

The evidence of place-names is used to establish a chronology of the metathesis of *r* and a vowel in stressed closed syllables in "De chronologie van de *r*-metathesis in het Nederlands en aangrenzende Germaanse talen" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 57: 141–67) by Jozef van Loon. The author draws on data from Maurits Gysseling's *Toponymisch Woordenboek* (1960) in an effort to track the spread and development of *r*-metathesis mostly in the history of Dutch but with some commentary on the WGmc. languages. Metathesis in Old English and Old Frisian is contrasted with the operation of metathesis in Old Dutch: in England and Frisia, metathesis is viable over a long period of time, resulting in repeated applications of the rule diachronically (van Loon adopts the term "replication rule"). In other parts of the Germanic *Sprachbund* (such as the Low German and Dutch areas), metathesis applies synchronically, making it a more reliable phonological change for the purposes of chronology and dialectology. Using the evidence of place-names, such as those with the element *brunno*, van Loon identifies the earliest traces of metathesis in eleventh-century Münster, but he suggests that additional evidence indicates that Dutch metathesis developed independently and later.

Jerzy Wójcik theorizes the restoration of *a* in Old English before back vowels in "[æ]-[a] Alternations in Old English—a Government Phonology Approach" (*PASE Papers in Language Studies; Proceedings of the 8th Annual Conference of the Polish Association for the Study of English*, ed. Bozena Rozwadowska [Wroclaw: Aksel], 349–59). Phonological representation in Government Phonology (GP) is captured by an asymmetrical binary relationship between two skeletal positions that map to segments. Segments themselves are composed of three primitive phonological units, A, U, and I, which correspond to *a*, *u*, and *i*. Other vowels are composed of a combination of these units in which one is the head that governs the operation of the other, a relationship that functions to produce the phonetic realization. Unlike other explanations of the *æ~a* alternation in Old English that rely on analogy and syllable structure, Wójcik contends that the alternation can be accounted for on strictly phonological grounds within a GP framework. The author analyzes the alternation as a function of the h[ead]-licensing principle of GP, which has been used to explain processes of vowel harmonization in other languages. Problematic forms like *cræftas* and *wæter*, then, can be explained as forms that fail to satisfy the (somewhat *ad hoc*) conditions of h-licensing.

<div align="right">C.C.</div>

K.G. Goblirsch, in "The Voicing of Fricatives in West Germanic and the Partial Consonant Shift" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 24: 111–52) provides a comprehensive literature review of the conditions for voicing of the Germanic fricatives, *f*, *θ*, *x*, in each of the West Germanic languages. He discusses the influence of dialect, orthography, and the roles of other consonants in the phonological inventories, especially the occlusion of the Germanic voiced fricatives, *β*, *ð*, and *γ*, and the voicing of the stops. Goblirsch concludes that West Germanic fricatives had non-distinctive voicing and were voiced in voiced environments from the time of the first transmission of texts. In those areas in which voiced stops shifted to voiceless realizations in some or all positions (e.g., High and Low German, English and Frisian), the allophonic voicing of fricatives also tended to be lost.

In "Glottalization, Preaspiration and Gemination in English and Scandinavian" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 58: 5–10) F. Kortlandt argues that several variant realizations of voiceless stops in dialects of North and West Germanic are archaisms which can be traced to Proto-Germanic preglottalization. He ties the northern English preglottalization documented in Tyneside to that of vestjysk stød, which has also been claimed to be an archaic retention. Kortlandt outlines a

number of developments whereby the sequential glottal and buccal closures of the Germanic preglottalized stops were reanalyzed, resulting in the preaspirated stops of northern Scandinavia, the affrication of voiceless stops in the High German Consonant Shift, and a number of gemination process in North and West Germanic.

K. Moulton's "Deep allophones in the Old English laryngeal system" (*Toronto Working Papers in Linguistics* 20: 157–173) presents a synchronic analysis of the assimilatory voicing of fricatives, its relationship to general voicing assimilation of obstruents and to the syncopation of vowels. The application and interaction of these rules suggests that Old English fricatives must be specified as voiceless in a contrastive hierarchy (Dresher 1978) in which the voicing feature takes scope over all obstruents. Moulton argues that an allophonic rule which spreads voicing to the surface variants of fricatives from adjacent sonorants must precede syncope and a general neutralization rule of obstruent voicing assimilation. Because the voicing of fricatives is established by a fairly early, even lexical, rule, the author labels them "deep allophones".

J.S. Smith in "The Origins of Old English Breaking" (*And Gladly Wolde He Lerne and Gladly Teche: Essays on Medieval English Presented to Professor Matsuji Tajima on His Sixtieth Birthday*, ed. Yoko Iyeiri and Margaret Connolly [Tokyo: Kaibunsha, 2002], 39–50) proposes that breaking was spurred by contact between the Saxons and Anglians. He suggests that Anglian retained back articulations of /l/ and /r/ due to earlier North Germanic influence. These back articulations, in conjunction with a fairly late-developed velar /x/, were adopted by the Saxons and even spread to Mercia and Kent in some cases. Smith's argument is founded on the assumption that backness would have been an effective trigger of diphthongization, though he ascribes the diphthongization before a following /w/ to back umlaut. Smith's "The Quality of the Middle and Early Modern English Short Vowels" (*Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 47: 45–57) investigates the chronological development of the reflexes of Old English short vowels in the Middle English dialects. Smith examines the effects of lengthening before homorganic consonant clusters, open syllable lengthening, and closed syllable shortening, and pays special attention to the quality of lengthened /i/ and /u/. Many of the examples of the lowering of lengthened high vowels through Middle English open syllable lengthening are either problematic or are northern forms. Smith concludes that lowering was

sporadic or rare in southern English, occurring well after open syllable lengthening had ceased to operate. Furthermore, lengthened short vowels generally had closer realizations in the south than did their northern counterparts, but northern realizations were spread into London varieties through immigration from the Midland dialects.

Other Aspects

Peter S. Baker's *Introduction to Old English* (Malden, MA: Blackwell) presupposes no prior knowledge of any foreign language and so the grammatical portion of this text opens with a basic grammar review. Most subsequent chapters begin with a "Quick Start" section introducing the fundamental structures covered in that chapter. Students can use these introductions to begin reading simple Old English texts early in the course. Unfortunately, the tables here and elsewhere are so pared down that they can be confusing to new students. Historical linguistic information is downplayed or omitted entirely, yet Baker anticipates areas of potential trouble by highlighting paradigmatic patterns as well as similarities and differences of structure. Numerous Old English "minitexts" of about a paragraph are provided for illustration and practice. The first half ends with chapters on poetic grammar and style and on reading Old English manuscripts. The second half of the book contains fourteen prose and poetic readings with notes and a substantial glossary. The entire text is available on the Internet and is also keyed to additional interactive practice exercises on the Old English Aerobics web-site.

In *Englisc: Old English for Beginners* (Harleston: Edgeways), David Parry's goal is to get the student reading a "modest amount of Old English literature" as quickly as possible. Using a colloquial and even chatty style, Parry exhorts his student readers to employ their Present Day English intuitions about Old English structures when translating from Old English. Each chapter of the grammar is centered around a one- to two-page text to which the grammatical descriptions and explanations are keyed. Excerpts are taken from Bede's "Description of Britain," *The Phoenix*, *Apollonius of Tyre*, *The Chronicle*, *The Battle of Maldon*, *The Dream of the Rood*, "Satan in Hell," and *The Husband's Message*. Following each text is a section of notes, which include glosses, grammatical identifications, and brief explanations. Most chapters are under five pages long, yet each successive chapter presents progressively more detailed information on most of the grammatical categories and

structures, focusing on those which appear in its text. Downloadable sound files of the literary excerpts provide additional practice for the student. A simple glossary rounds out this short book.

In *A Firstbook of Old English*, rev. ed. [Eugene, OR: Wipf and Stock]) Robert D. Stevick's goal is for students to learn Old English by internalizing its grammatical rules from the Old English texts themselves. Stevick introduces each new topic (and sub-topic) with a brief grammatical explanation and a detailed chart of the paradigm in question followed by copious lists of Old English phrases and passages exemplifying the structure. The phrases are meant to be used as drills which repeatedly expose students to Old English structures without the Modern English interference which word-for-word translating tends to introduce. The last third of the book contains a selection of prose and poetic readings: Aelfric's Sermon on the Nativity; Aelfric's *Passion of St. Edmund, King and Martyr*; *The Legend of St. Andrew*; Aelfric's *De Fide Catholica*; "The Harrowing of Hell"; *The Blickling Homily X*; *The Battle of Brunanburg*, *The Wanderer*, and excerpts from the *Paris Psalter*, *Andreas*, *Christ and Satan*, *Christ I*, and *Judith*. English translations are provided for the first two and a half prose readings, while the verse readings have glosses on facing pages. There is no central glossary section in the text, so students must employ a dictionary to translate the remaining prose selections.

J.M.D.

Works not seen

Yang, Seon-Ki. "An Optimality-Theoretic Analysis of *h*-Deletion in Old English." *History of English* (Seoul) 13 (2002): 91–115.

Sigsworth, C. "On the Morphophonology of Old English Weak Verbs: A Synchronic and Diachronic Approach." Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Edinburgh, 2000.

4. Literature

a. General and Miscellaneous

Theses

2003 was a bonanza year for theses; given the richness of the offerings that completed the apprenticeships of so many Anglo-Saxonists, it seems appropriate to group them together at the head of this section. The order is loosely chronological, and moves from general studies to more specific approaches to individual texts or stylistic features. Claudia Di Sciacca starts us off with "The *Synonyma* by Isidore of Seville as a Source in Anglo-Saxon England" (U of Cambridge, 2002; *Index to Theses* 52: 8713), which surveys Isidore's life and activity before introducing the *Synonyma*, traces the Anglo-Saxon manuscript tradition of Isidore including at least eight manuscripts containing the *Synonyma*, posits an early date (ca. 650) for the arrival of the text, and then addresses translations, adaptations and use of the text in OE texts. This includes Vercelli Homily XXII and the *ubi sunt* topos, especially in Vercelli Homily X. Suzanne Christensen Crase (U of Nevada, Reno, 2002; *DAI* 64A: 1644) addresses "Manifestations of diminishment in the traditional terror of the devil and hell in Old and Middle English literature." Crase uses OE texts to set up a historical study of ME and observes the grandeur and sense of place in an OE hell as opposed to the grisly tortures and absence of geography in the corresponding ME version. She also compares the devil and demons as bodily beings in early medieval literature as against the absence of description of the devil's body in ME ones. Patricia Anne Dailey considers medieval women's visionary literature throughout the medieval period in her "Promised bodies: Embodiment and the time of a literary text" (U of California at Irvine, 2002; *DAI* 63A: 2865). She addresses the uncanny effects produced once the body is introduced in a literary text as the host of a phrase or as the paradigm for dwelling in the world; she refers to *Beowulf* and *The Ruin*. Her principal concern is the liminal border-crossing from the body to language in women's visions. Another thesis which treads cheerfully over the boundary between OE and ME is Britt Alex Mize, "Perspective and sympathy in medieval English life-writing" (U of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003; *DAI* 64A: 1248). The thesis focuses on reception and response, and on identifying patterns of subjectivity. Mize concludes that the emphasis on interior experience is integral to OE verse, and calls it an aesthetic of mentality that will allow reconsideration of much OE verse hagiography. The dissertation argues for a discriminating reader of medieval hagiography, not a sympathizing one. Hagiography is also the subject of Cynthia Lynn Wittman Zollinger's study "Sanctifying history: Hagiography and the construction of an Anglo-Saxon Christian past" (Ohio State U, 2002; *DAI* 63A: 2537). She considers the relationship between

hagiography and history in Anglo-Saxon England, arguing that hagiography provides a coherent framework for situating and exploring the cultural history of the period. More specifically, Wittman Zollinger investigates the late antique context of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, contemporary hagiographies such as the lives of Cuthbert and of Gregory the Great, the different versions of the hagiography of Guthlac, the heroic and hagiographic verse of Cynewulf, and Ælfric's sermons on Gregory the Great and Cuthbert.

P.A. Shaw looks at mythography in "Uses of Wodan: the development of his cult and of medieval literary responses to it" (U of Leeds, 2002; *Index to Theses* 52: 14775), re-contextualizing the evidence for Germanic heathenisms within which to locate the cult of Wodan. Shaw establishes a model of the cult as geographically limited, beginning in the first century C.E., separate from the cult of Óðinn, and reshaped by eighth-century scholarly redevelopments of Wodan. Finally, the thesis considers the development of these traditions, and the further overlapping of these two figures, in Anglo-Saxon England and Scandinavia. Another dissertation addressing cultural conceptualization in Anglo-Saxon England is Jacqueline Ann Stodnick, "Writing home: Place and narrative in Anglo-Saxon England" (U of Notre Dame, 2002; *DAI* 63A: 3547). Stodnick addresses the concept of England between the eighth and eleventh centuries; she uses Bede, list texts, catalogues of resting places and other sources to deduce the textual processes which created the entity of "England," with reference to the theories of Anthony Smith, Michel de Certeau, and Foucault. Erin Eileen Mullally, "Giving gifts: Women and exchange in Old English literature" (U of Oregon, 2002; *DAI* 63A: 2883) looks at the conventions of heroic narrative and argues that through Christianity women can act outside of the conventions assigned to them in traditional criticism. She notes that women enter the gift exchange process in certain genres, especially in *Judith*, *Elene*, and *Juliana*, and argues that goods are crucial to any transformative moment. The three female figures are each involved in these moments, and the process of exchange catalyzes a radical transformation of identity. Wendolyn Aubrey Weber also considers the role of women in literature in "*Hild under helm* and the witch in the rose garden: The rise and fall of the heroic woman in medieval Germanic literature" (Brown U, 2003; *DAI* 64A: 1247). She addresses Old Norse and Middle High German as well as OE, working from the eighth to the thirteenth century and focusing on the Nibelung cycle. She argues for considerable fluidity in gender roles in early Germanic

culture, addressing the heroic women in *Judith*, *Elene*, *Juliana*, and *Beowulf*.

Several theses focus explicitly on OE poetry, starting with Manish Sharma, "Movement and space as metaphor in Old English poetry" (U of Cambridge, 2002; *Index to Theses* 51: 12579). Sharma uses the Christian metaphor that conceives of existence as exile from God and heaven (drawing from Augustine) as a way to approach the literal and figurative representation of movement and space in the poetic corpus. This allows a reconsideration of the notion of exile, and of movement and space as holding primary importance in *Daniel*, *Guthlac A*, *Exodus*, *Elene*, and *Beowulf*. Each text delineates an initial alienation from God and Christian truth, and then develops movement across the intermediate space. Holly Elizabeth Jagger explores the perception of the self through representations of the body in "Body, text and self in Old English verse: A study of 'Beowulfian' and 'Cynewulfian' rhetoric" (U of Toronto, 2002; *DAI* 63A: 4306). She focuses on *Beowulf* and on the Cynewulfian group (expanding the latter to include *Judith*, *Guthlac B*, and *Andreas*) and notes that despite the individuality of each poet's notion of the body there are striking linguistic and imagistic parallels among the works. She proposes that Cynewulf was familiar with *Beowulf*, that *Guthlac B* is closely connected with Cynewulf, and that the *Andreas*-poet borrowed from both *Beowulf* and Cynewulf. Another approach to the existence of the body is Glenn Michael Davis, "Perception and anxiety in Old English poetry" (U of Texas at Austin, 2002; *DAI* 64A: 139). He discusses sensory anxiety in all its textual manifestations, particularly in *Beowulf*, *Genesis B*, *The Wanderer*, *Soul and Body I*, and the riddles. Three related somatic anxieties are the focus in the analysis of these texts: the failure of experiential knowledge, sex, and the physical vulnerability of the body. A useful throwback to approaches more common a decade or so is Angela Ann DeVito, "Gendered speech in Old English narrative poetry: A comprehensive word list" (U of Arizona, 2003; *DAI* 64A: 1645). She uses an online text of the *ASPR* and a specifically designed computer program to tag the lines assigned to male and to female speakers, eliminating supernatural speech and irrelevant proper nouns. The thesis then parses and classifies the raw word lists, and draws some initial conclusions about the differences between male and female speech patterns in some poems. Similarly old-fashioned but equally welcome is Rachel Mines, "Kuhn's laws and Old English Metre" (King's College, London, 2000; *Index to Theses* 51 [2002]: 14720), which notes the serious inconsistencies in both word

classification and meter of Kuhn's two laws of Germanic syntax. Mines resolves these inconsistencies by classifying words into lexical and nonlexical categories, as content and function words, in order to establish a more consistent definition of the word and the linguistic components of the rise and the dip. She argues that the word order effects identified by Kuhn are in fact a result of the rules of prose syntax and a stylistic preference for placing "light" function words at or near the beginning of the clause.

Elisa Miller Mangina, "Selfhood and the Psalms: The first-person voice in Old English poetry" (Cornell U, 2002; *DAI* 62A [2002]: 4158), examines the influence of the Psalms on the first-person voice in OE poetry, particularly *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*. Her approach uses the psalm commentaries of Augustine and Cassiodorus and first-person poems in Old Icelandic for comparative purposes. The thesis passes through models of first-person discourse including the Christian confession of sin and the Germanic tradition of self-justification, the complaint traditions of Latin and Germanic literature, and the notion of the divided self. The self's inner vision and its presentation in Anglo-Saxon literature is the concern of Patrick David Murray-John in "The poetics of 'knowing' in Anglo-Saxon visions" (U of Wisconsin, 2003; *DAI* 64A: 1646). Murray-John considers the problems and potentials of a dream or vision in Anglo-Saxon England, then considers Bede's presentation of "Cædmon's Hymn," *Daniel*, and *Elene* as demonstrating the efficacy of a dream to produce greater Christian belief. These texts also demonstrate a belief that the visionary experience can adequately be expressed in language, albeit a tension does develop between the unity of inner belief and its outer expression in language. *Genesis B* and *Dream of the Rood* demonstrate yet more clearly the disparity between knowing through a vision and knowing through language. Language in a different sense is the focus of J. Steen, "Latin rhetoric and Old English poetic style" (U of Cambridge, 2000; *Index to Theses* 52: 214), which addresses the rendering into OE poetry of such Latin texts as *The Phoenix*, *Judgment Day II*, two OE riddles whose sources are riddles by Aldhelm. Finally, Steen considers the four poems of Cynewulf in order to determine how some of the previously identified "Latinate" patterns are used more freely in OE poetry. Homilies, the thesis suggests, also act as a mediating influence in the application of "Latinate" rhetorical patterns in OE.

Some theses also focus on generic groupings of OE: J.C. Weale, "Context and content: a new reading of selected verse present in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (U of Wales, Bangor, 2001; *Index to Theses* 51 [2002]: 2225, 4176) argues that the verse and alliterative prose passages in the Chronicle suggest a particular interest in the events which receive this heightened rhetorical attention. Weale believes these reflect precise historical and cultural interests, and examines ten of the seventeen passages of this ilk in terms of their social milieu and the historical events they record. R.J. Dewa, "The Old English elegies: coherence, genre, and the semantics of syntax" (U of Nottingham, 2000; *Index to Theses* 51 [2002]: 4116) engages in linguistic analysis of the nine texts called "elegy" in the Exeter Book. After some background on the terminology and the poems, Dewa uses Systemic Linguistics to approach the functional properties of OE syntax and for the concept of Theme. Each poem is analyzed, and Dewa's conclusions propose new textual boundaries in two cases, and new titles and generic classifications for the poems. A more neglected genre, though quickly coming into its own, is the charm. Richard Scott Nokes, "The Old English charms and their manuscript context: British Library Royal 12 D.xvii and British Library Harley 585" (Wayne State U, 2002; *DAI* 63A: 3940) addresses these texts in the manuscript context and compares the resulting findings with the scholarly traditions. For example, the *Lacnunga* is the most unrepresentative of all the major charm texts, being an eclectic collection of items, not unlike a commonplace book. Finally, J. Carroll examines the poetry of Anglo-Scandinavian England in "Poetic discourse in Viking Age England: texts and contexts" (U of Nottingham, 2001; *Index to Theses* 51 [2002]: 4114). Carroll's focus is the panegyric, both in the Chronicle poems and in a small corpus of ON skaldic verse. The evidence for a native OE eulogistic tradition is sparse, but the Anglo-Saxons knew the idea of court poetry, and oral tradition may have meant that the record of this material is lost. However, evidence for the literary influence of Scandinavian verse on OE poetry is scant and often unreliable, so the thesis turns to examination of the specific texts in relation to history-writing, time, leadership, and religion. Analysis of the OE poetry focuses particularly on the *Battle of Brunanburh*, using a systemic-functional approach. Finally, the thesis addresses the structure and performance context of six long skaldic poems. Collectively these theses suggest healthy trends in OE scholarship: a reconsideration of issues that in other fields might be called cultural studies, a forthright application of theoretical paradigms where they are useful, and a surprising (and heartwarming) regrowth of stylistic analysis of OE texts.

General Collections and Studies

Reprinted this year was a series of the Toller Lectures edited by Donald Scragg in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures* (Woodbridge: D.S. Brewer). Four are relevant to this section: George Hardin Brown, "The Dynamics of Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England," 183–212; Roberta Frank, "The Search for the Anglo-Saxon Oral Poet," 137–60; Michael Lapidge, "Textual Criticism and the Literature of Anglo-Saxon England," 107–36; and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe, "Source, Method, Theory, Practice: On Reading Two Old English Verse Texts," 161–81. All four (from 1994, 1992, 1993, and 1990, respectively) have stood the test of time very well. The updates they provide are particularly enlightening: O'Brien O'Keeffe contents herself with a bibliography adding twenty-two items; Brown meticulously adds extra references to twelve of his footnotes; Frank with brevity and wit engages with those who have not ignored her lecture; and Lapidge adds four pages of analysis of the vast array of recent works on editing, especially on those who disagreed with him. His conclusion seems to be that editors nowadays use the notion of the primacy of manuscript readings as a cloak for their own philological ignorance.

Steven R. Serafin and Valerie Grosvenor Myer edited *The Continuum Encyclopedia of British Literature* (New York: Continuum). A folio volume in two columns, the encyclopedia contains about a half dozen articles of interest to Anglo-Saxonists: Elizabeth Trelenberg on Cynewulf is not controversial, Robert Yeager on Old English considers the language for four columns, and literary writing (sadly, all poetry) for one column, and Martin K. Foys on Alfred the Great mistakenly credits Alfred with the whole of the Paris Psalter (though he is hardly the first to do so). More provocative is Stephen Harris on Bede: his last sentence states that "[h]is model of interpretation became standard when it was employed in the *Glossa Ordinaria*, a popular, multivolume work that might be described as a twelfth-century Christian version of the Talmud." As a Talmudic scholar might say, well, yes, it might; but then again, it might not. Robert Yeager on *Beowulf* also offers up some controversial assertions: "The single manuscript has been shown to be a copy of a preexisting written text" (86) and, concerning the five works in the manuscript, "Linguistic arguments, accepted for many years, placed the copying and collecting of these works in Northumbria. These lately have been questioned, and alternative origins proposed for the manuscript in the Midlands and

the south." The scholarship in the volume ends at about 1997. Wulfstan does not appear except in the entry "Sermon" but Ælfric receives an encomium by Stephen Harris. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* appears only in the entry on Alfred.

More importantly, this year saw the publication of the first serious general study of Old English literature in two decades, R.D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain's *A History of Old English Literature* (Oxford: Blackwell). The division of the chapters by genre is not new, although a separate chapter on literature of the Alfredian period cuts across the generic division, and the brief conclusion considers a new concept: the "cultural work" of Old English literature. The notes and works cited are extensive, providing almost one-third of the book's length. The introductory chapter offers a social history of Anglo-Saxon England and its literature: many general surveys of Old English do, like this one, start with Tacitus, but few follow with an analysis of gender and authority before addressing the issue of conversion and then Latinity. There is a slightly vertiginous feel here, even for the experienced reader, but the authors are clearly being careful and judicious, and trying to offer a general overview of the literary implications of OE social history. At the end of the chapter they focus on OE poetry and do not refer to the prose. This focus on poetry may be traditional and appropriate (since it is the poetry that draws many of us to study the period), but it would be nice to see prose get its fair share of attention. Given Fulk's previous work establishing relative dating of OE texts, it is not surprising that the first chapter addresses the chronology and varieties of OE literature; what is surprising is that the chapter is barely ten pages in length. More surprising is that the chapter is really an introduction to the approach by literary text-type and kinds of texts in general produced in Anglo-Saxon England. The chapter elegantly draws together the entire surviving corpus, juxtaposing the individual texts and assessing whether and where they fit in the chosen taxonomy. The next chapter is the nongeneric one, commenting on literature of the Alfredian period, which they consider to be largely Alfred's own work. The analysis bears some signs of earlier surveys, especially Greenfield and Calder, but is generally original and fresh. Oddly, the entire manuscript known as the Paris Psalter, both the Alfredian prose version of the first fifty psalms and the anonymous verse translation which appears for the last hundred, appears here. So too does the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, getting somewhat short shrift. Prose comes into its own in the third chapter on homilies and the fourth on saints' legends

(written by Rachel S. Anderson). Both are careful and up-to-date expositions of scholarship on these texts, Anderson's ranging more widely and finishing with the five OE versified saints' lives. The next chapter, on biblical literature, moves quickly through a general consideration of the medieval Bible and its texts to a discussion of translations into OE, and a slightly longer discussion of the poems in MS Junius 11. I note with a wan tear that the glossed psalters, that hotbed of scholarly excitement, do not merit a mention here. On a more positive note, the next chapter treats liturgical and devotional texts in far more detail than might have been expected. Fully twenty-seven pages of wholly new analysis march judiciously through the psalms, the divine office and its translations, penitential texts, *libri vitae*, canonical rules, and *Christ I* (in one of its many proper homes as a liturgical text here). The devotional texts incorporate Aldhelm, Alcuin, the *Menologium* (which the authors rightly point out is a misnomer), some generally overlooked short poems such as *The Seasons for Fasting* and *Vainglory*, the bestiary poems, and poetic and prose vision texts. This chapter is a great strength of the book, though those focused on the "major" poetry will cavil that some minor poems get more space than, e.g., *The Seafarer*. Fulk and Cain next tackle legal, scientific, and scholastic works in a shorter chapter (but with more manuscript illustrations, the number of which is a real asset in the book). Their coverage is close to comprehensive: even texts such as *Gerefa* and the *Rectitudines singularum personarum* garner brief mention. Byrhtferth gets a somewhat cursory treatment, but medical texts and teaching texts are clearly explained. The chapter on wisdom literature and lyric poetry combines two text-types that need combining and benefit from it; here and in the last genre-based chapter the authors let themselves off the leash of word-limits and write more expansively, with more detailed examples giving the flavor of the individual text and placing it more firmly in its literary context. Each poem gets its long paragraph and benefits by it, though there is less of a sense of synthesis in these sections. *Beowulf* gets the opening twenty pages of chapter nine on Germanic legend and heroic lay, with a detailed introduction to the poem and its scholarship, and an especially good survey of different contemporary scholarly approaches. The remainder of the chapter seems to tail off slightly, returning to poem-by-poem presentation and finishing, of course, with *Brunanburh* and *Maldon*. The conclusion briefly sketches the history of Anglo-Saxonism, something which some might argue should appear at the beginning and not the end of the book. It also briefly highlights the problem of presentism that is marginalizing

OE studies in the academy. In general, the focus in the book is on providing modern scholarship on these texts to the discerning reader, with careful assessments of the scholarly consensus. A reader looking for excitement or provocative ideas should look elsewhere, but anyone wanting to know what areas of agreement and disagreement, of debate and discussion, exist in the field of OE literature should look here first.

Cultural Concepts

"Culture" as a critical term has been creeping into Anglo-Saxon studies; in some respects we might argue (and many of us do, frequently) that our work has always been interdisciplinary and cultural, but since many scholars are now making explicit their culturally-inflected approaches to the surviving texts, it seems worth devoting a section to work in this area. Edward Christie covers a lot of ground in "The Image of the Letter: From the Anglo-Saxons to the *Electronic Beowulf*" (*Culture, Theory & Critique* 44: 129–150), starting with the digital revolution, electronic textuality, and Kevin Kiernan's focus on the recovery of the individual letter in the *Electronic Beowulf*. Christie sketches the philosophical or theological curiosity about the signifying power of written language that exists in Anglo-Saxon literature, the relationship between text and image in the iconoclasm controversy, runic writing, Alcuin's didactic dialogue with Pippin on letters and words (referring to Martin Irvine), the custodial role of the letter in later Anglo-Saxon charters as protecting ancient decrees, and Alfred in the *Soliloquies* seeing the letter as a supplement to inadequate human memory. He then moves to the historiography of Anglo-Saxon studies, especially to the role of letter forms from the sixteenth century onwards, both in typography and its ancillaries and more generally in theology and history, considering the Anglo-Saxon fonts of Archbishop Parker and his circle as making their contact with the past wholly transparent in their own conception. In the nineteenth century, typography is also "deployed to encode a nationalist continuity with the past" (140) with the plans for an edition of Alfred's works, a monumentalizing task. Today, digital procedures, especially photography, follow a similar trajectory of recovering the past, but without sufficient attention to the limitations. Using Roland Barthes and Johanna Drucker, Christie argues for a more careful approach to the codes, both visual and linguistic, inherent in these images; he uses the concept of "remediation" to argue that the desire for immediacy is also a desire for origins. Thus, Kiernan's work elevates modern scholarship above the

fragmentary origins as a more perfect witness of the ideal and original text; at the level of the letter itself the digital copy becomes more authentic than the original as we read with a "penetrating gaze" to find the text despite its palimpsestic history. Without drawing further conclusions, Christie intelligently notes that this advance in technology, among others, inflects the role of the letter as a custodian of history.

Two sections of *After Rome*, part of *The Short Oxford History of the British Isles* series, edited by Thomas Charles-Edwards (Oxford: Oxford UP; see section 7 below) fall under the purview of this section. Andy Orchard gracefully delineates "Latin and the vernacular languages: the creation of a bilingual textual culture" (191–219), beginning with ogham, runes, Latin inscriptions, Pelagius, Patrick's "rustic" language, Gildas, Latin learning including the *Liber Commonei* and the Cambridge Juvencus Manuscript, Welsh literature including Taliesin and Aneirin, Llywarch Hen and Heledd, and the explosion into view of Latin learning in Ireland in the seventh century. Orchard's sketch of Irish Latin literature is particularly strong, leading into manuscripts glossed in Old Irish and vernacular Irish writings such as the *Amra Cholium Chille*, an elegy on Columba written shortly after his death in 597, and the "Primer of the Poets" *Auraicept na nÉces*. Finally, Orchard turns to Anglo-Saxon England after 597, identifying texts and individuals and schools of knowledge: Felix, for example, demonstrates in his *Vita S. Guthlaci* the influence of Aldhelm and of Bede. Latin learning fell dramatically after the turn of the eighth century; Alfred's bald statement of loss is wholly accurate. The "long and sorry history" (217) of using linguistic criteria to date OE poetry remains unresolved, but literary history and the discerning of influence is still possible; Cynewulf echoed *Beowulf*, and *Beowulf* may be echoing vernacular biblical verse. From ca. 900 onwards, Old Norse also enters the rich mixture of insular vernacular literature. Orchard's views towards the end of the review reflect less critical consensus than those in the opening pages, but this is a good survey linking together insular approaches to learning and literature.

In the following chapter Robin Chapman Stacey addresses "Texts and society" (220–257), impressively using the life of St. Wilfrid to demonstrate that although texts do, of course, matter (for example, the competing *vitae* of Wilfrid and Cuthbert, Wilfrid's many letters and his papal documents), Wilfrid was an imposing historical figure, a physical presence, a great homilist and debater, an individual at home in a sophisticated

oral world. The chapter moves on to discuss genres that were the important everyday documents in early insular society, such as law codes, charters, saints' lives, genealogies (especially royal ones), annals, and inscribed stones, including the Pictish symbol stones which so mysteriously invoke a lost culture. Stacey next addresses the survival rate of such evidence, and the difficulties encountered when certain types of texts are plentiful from one region, but not from another. Sometimes the existence of these texts is noted elsewhere, but sometimes it seems that a perfectly literate society simply chose not to produce a certain kind of text; for example, early Scotland provides virtually no manuscript record and Wales no legal record before 1200. Roman occupation and the advent of Christianity are relevant features of this record, but important differences mark the learned traditions of Britain and Ireland. Stacey then turns to specific anonymous examples to consider the ramifications of these points, including two inscriptions on a stone found at Castelldwyran in Wales, an ownership dispute over land granted by Cenred of Wessex between 670 and 676, and an Irish legal verse in the miscellany on the law of contract called *Di Astud Chor*.

Alfred K. Siewers uses ecocriticism as his central paradigm in "Landscapes of Conversion: Guthlac's mound and Grendel's mere as expressions of Anglo-Saxon nation-building" (*Viator* 34: 1–39). *Beowulf* and the Guthlac texts are "landscape narratives both of conquest and possession, and of the formation of cultural identity" (2). Moreover, they are based on environmental utilitarianism. After a discussion of the impressively imperial opening of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Siewers turns to Mercia and the spectrum of approaches to the landscape in the Guthlac *Lives*, from a literal to a more allegorical style. In Felix's *Vita* the complex ethnicity of Mercia inflects the fens, and the demons therein are exorcised by Guthlac so that he can live on the sacred island at the center (familiar in various respects from insular traditions). Anglo-Saxon culture required a more unified ethnic identity that was also ecclesiastical, unlike Irish or Welsh traditions, so that when the central place of the barrow is reconfigured for English versions of Guthlac's life it cannot be associated with a mythic otherworld or a family resting-place but must be a hegemonic appropriation of the haunted barrow for Christ, a seizing of the land by Guthlac. Siewers briefly considers continental and Irish hagiography to establish the contrast among the Guthlac texts. Guthlac seems almost to lift a curse from the landscape, especially in the poetic version. In *Beowulf*, otherworldly waters frame the haunted barrow which is Grendel's

mere, associated with the sea which also divides the reader from the land and marks the beginning and end of the poem. The seascape frame embodies Anglo-Saxon notions of exile and Augustinian notions of alienation. The sea itself is both realistic and allegorical, an expression of subjectivity which is far from the everyday landscape. Grendel's mere is the most prominent landscape of *Beowulf*, and a "geographical interiorizing of the Anglo-Saxon seascape of exile, representing its transfer to the interior of the countryside" (33). Siewers provides extensive quotations to analyze Beowulf's exorcism of Grendel's mere and extinction of the Grendelkin, then closes with a brief landscape analysis derived from Julia Kristeva.

Not landscape but its plant life is the concern of Jennifer Neville in "Leaves of Glass: Plant-Life in Old English Poetry" (*From Earth to Art*: ed. C.P. Biggam, 287–300; see section 1). Neville argues that the "representation of the natural world contained in this literature is a literary convention with specific and limited aims" (287), and analyzes that representation in Old English poetry in terms of four roles that limit and define human nature, Anglo-Saxon society, individuals' power, and God's power and relationship with humanity. She uses examples from both prose and poetry to demonstrate these points, then turns to plant life, noting that the plants, like other features of the natural world, do not delineate an external reality but rather a conception of the world and of social roles. Thus, there is the idyllic scenery of the Garden of Eden in *Genesis A*, the earthly paradise in *The Phoenix*, the blooming trees which create paradise for the saint in *Andreas*, and the idyllic but temporary plant life in *Judgment Day II* or *The Seafarer*. Threatening scenery also abounds, most famously in the depiction of Grendel's mere, the description of hell in the prose vision of St. Paul, and in the enigmatic *Wife's Lament*. Finally, plants in the riddles are occasionally anthropomorphized, but identified as generalized trees, not specific species.

Magic is another way of explaining the world which seems primarily cultural in its ethos; at least, so argues Monika Schulz in "*Nigon wyrta galdor*: Zur Rationalität der *ars magica*" *Zeitschrift für Literaturwissenschaft und Linguistik* 130: 8–24. Schulz argues that magic is a way of making sense of the world, though she goes somewhat farther than one might expect by arguing that the object is to implant a new health or function onto the aura given off by a particular living being. The Nine Herbs Charm of her title, from London, BL, MS Harley 585, is examined as a lament, connected to medieval

European medical knowledge, considered as an exemplum, and then compared in some detail to a Mesopotamian baby charm (in German translation) and finally to a Baroque charm, in order to find the structural and ideological similarities among the three texts.

Susan M. Kim's "The Donestre and the Person of Both Sexes" in *Naked before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox (Morgantown: West Virginia UP), 162–80, uses the illustrations of the Donestre in the two surviving *Wonders of the East* manuscripts to note their emphatic genitalia colored in red—the nakedness and the depiction of the genitalia being both indices of monstrosity. Her focus, however, is the way in which the female Donestre both reveals and conceals her genitalia at the same time; Kim uses this visual representation of the monstrous to destabilize points of identification of the monstrous, and to indicate the ways in which the monstrous transgresses readings even of the monstrous itself. She analyzes the illustrations of the Donestre in the Tiberius, Vitellius and *Liber Monstrorum* manuscripts to discuss the Donestre's mixed nature: the seduction, killing and eating, and then the lament of the death of the humans who were attracted to the Donestre. The monsters are monstrous because they are so emphatically presented as having the essential characteristics of men. Moreover, they have speech: we recognize both their difference and their sameness. Jonathan Wilcox closes out this collection with a wide-ranging paper: "Naked in Old English: The Embarrassed and the Shamed," 275–309. Wilcox starts with Lady Godiva, who exposed her body but (because of the length of her hair) concealed it at the same time, thus both posing and disposing of questions of decorum and sexuality. Wilcox notes the Anglo-Saxon decorum in these matters, but argues that there are many naked bodies in the corpus and that approaching them from the point of view of shame or embarrassment could be very productive. He defines embarrassment at some length, distinguishing it from shame as defined by modern psychologists, and arguing for it as a temporarily awkward emotion depending upon a public self-consciousness. He considers the OE vocabulary for embarrassment, and the somewhat interconnected vocabulary for the body, which appears to suggest some unease with the sexual body. However, in Ælfric's homily on Judgment Day the man who has unconfessed sins is described as someone who is suddenly naked and needs to cover his *sceamigendlican*, his "naughty bits." This motif of being shamed before the confessor rather than before all at Judgment Day recurs in OE, and Wilcox addresses its many occurrences—

embarrassment at sudden nakedness is clearly a powerful simile. The discovery of nakedness in the Garden of Eden is the obvious locus for such study, and Wilcox moves there next by analyzing the relevant passage in the OE Heptateuch (Genesis 3:7–11), and notes that the embarrassment is not internalized, but has to do with a viewer. Elsewhere in Ælfric's writings (in the "De Initio Creaturae," the opening text of the *Catholic Homilies I*), he links the shame of Adam and Eve explicitly to their being naked. Similarly, in the illustrations in London, BL MS Cotton Claudius B.iv, nudity is clearly a source of shame, more than embarrassment. In *Genesis A* 858–871, the poet emphasizes the need for clothes, the immediate discomfort which is highlighted in God's ensuing speech (872–81) about Adam's being *sceomiende*. Wilcox describes God as harping "rather mercilessly on Adam's requisite sense of shame at the fundamental sin of disobedience" (293). Wilcox analyzes the scene in some detail, as well as the later Genesis scene in which Noah is exposed and laughed at (9:21–23), also in *Genesis A*, and drawn in MS Junius 11. His conclusion that there is a firm link between shame and nudity in Anglo-Saxon culture is clear, and he provides further examples to explain various nuances of this conclusion: the Paris Psalter rendition of Psalm 108:29, Ælfric's homily for the Twenty-First Sunday after Pentecost and his homily on the Life of St. Lawrence, Wulfstan's *Institutes of Polity* and judgment scenes in *Christ and Satan*, *Christ III*, Blickling Homily 10, the life of Mary of Egypt, and eight riddles. This is a significant study of an issue more important than it might appear, since it ranges from the Garden of Eden to the Last Judgment.

The most intriguing work in this section, however, is Stephen Harris, *Race and Ethnicity in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (New York: Routledge). A monograph that fights hard to throw off the dense foggy cloak of the thesis and emerge into the light of clear argument, this book does rejoice in a fine collection of endnotes, and a bibliography whose qualifying adjective "select" demonstrates the author's sense of humor. The title's opening phrase seems to be a very popular one (my own university library catalogue has fully twelve titles starting *Race and Ethnicity In*, most of them published in the last ten years). Nonetheless, the meat of the book is in the six chapters, the first serving as an introduction, after which we traverse the familiar itinerary of Bede, history, literature, to an end with the *Battle of Maldon* (perhaps someday someone will start a book with the *Battle of Maldon* and move forward from there, proclaiming new opportunities rather than lost values and traditions). Harris begins by noting that ethnicity

changed significantly over five hundred years in Anglo-Saxon England and that the literary culture of medieval Europe was profoundly tied to ethnicity. Ethnicity has biological, archaeological, historical, and social aspects—and is also, Harris argues, a narrative phenomenon both literary and historical. The introduction ranges through theories and approaches, questions the evidentiary value of the *Germania*, and canvasses the nineteenth-century approach to the ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Saxons (though rather strangely missing the work of E.G. Stanley). Harris then turns to the constructedness of the literary tradition of racial identity, to the enabling mythos of self-definition to which fiction contributes, and concludes that a good opening position for considering ethnicity is not Benedict Anderson's "imagined communities" (which rely upon a modern print culture) but Anthony Smith's development of a symbolic framework which mobilizes and stabilizes a group of people, which Smith terms *ethnie*. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* has a curatorial focus, so that for example in the famous story of Pope Gregory in the marketplace what Bede really does is "articulate racial difference in religious terms" (47); he meticulously builds a scene to expound his theology of grace and predestination. Harris considers the historical reception of this scene, and especially its Old English translation. He then turns to Bede's participation in reading, his patterns of citation and acknowledgment of authority, in order to reconstruct how he understood communities. This leads to consideration of Bede's version of the martyrdom of St. Alban, and, obviously, to the well-known debate about Bede's construction of the *gens Anglorum*. Newcomers "who suddenly found themselves at home" (71), his subjects are both *gens* and *natio*. In similar terms Bede discusses the Picts and their Irish nations. His subtle distinctions are also evident in his attitude to boundary water, to rivers and seas which suggest the environmental demarcation of the extent of a race's purview. An ethnic group, according to Bede at the end of the introductory chapters of the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, has territory and traditions and a secure textual identity (created by the text itself). Harris's argument thus doubles back upon itself elegantly and simply, and he therefore turns to the next "authoritative, textual kernel of tradition"—the reign of King Alfred. Here he argues for the next major reconception of the ethnogenesis of the Anglo-Saxons, now a part of Christendom. The Old English Bede provides a way in, offering as it does the origin of the longstanding debate whence came the Geats. Harris agrees with those who argue for a linkage between Germanic *imperium* and Roman Christianity, a broad-ranging ethno-religious

identity also reflected in Germanic (Geatish) genealogies and called by Harris Christendom rather than Christianity. Orosius's *Historia* merits comparison with Bede and deserves more attention (which is certainly true). Harris focuses on the OE attitudes to Rome; he proposes that the change in approach from the original text to the translation, from the notion of Rome as still imperial but reprimanded by God to the conception of Rome as a fallen empire, reflects a new conception of the Anglo-Saxons. The chapter closes with a brief look at Alfred's treaty with Guthrum, in which Alfred welcomes Guthrum "into the religio-ethnic family of Christendom" (104). The last three chapters of the book consider the last two generations of Anglo-Saxon England and their later reception, starting with the St. Brice's Day massacre of Danes in 1002. Wulfstan, Harris argues, reconfigured the textual kernel of English identity by arguing in his *Sermo Lupi* that the Viking invasions were the result of Anglo-Danish sin, the sin of a single English people. He thereby applies an Old Testament logic, and establishes a distinction between Christian Danes in England (who are part of the English) and heathen Vikings. Their invasion is a scourge, meant to convince the English to turn away from both sin and lawlessness. The analysis of detail in the *Sermo* is particularly strong; in a more wide-ranging chapter Harris next looks at the interaction between Germanic ethnogenesis and the Anglo-Norman stories of origins after the Conquest, which substituted Troy for Woden. Harris examines the historiography of Anglo-Saxon England, notions of the homogeneous nature of the Normans, Æthelweard's *Chronicle* (for its reinterpretation of Bede), Woden's apparent status as an historical person (in Aelred of Rievaulx and Symeon of Durham as well as Æthelweard), Henry of Huntingdon's presentation of two competing stories of ethnogenesis, and Geoffrey of Monmouth. If Norman origins began at Troy, then the English ethnogenesis had to grow to become part of that family tree. Finally, back-tracking somewhat, Harris argues that the poet of *Maldon* "engages both an ethnic similarity to and a legal and religious distinction from the attacking Vikings" (158). Here he departs from his previous practice of picking out the items important for his thesis, and engages in a review of the poem, its milieu, its reception, its scriptural echoes, scholarly approaches to it over the ages, and the use of the verb *þolian*. He argues that Byrhtferth of Ramsay's report of the events at Maldon links them with scripture and Israel; the English, like the Jews, are suffering invasion from the north. Harris suggests that the *Maldon* poet may offer the same connection, given the opposition between Christian and heathen in

the battle, and the myth of migration and displacement which may be invoked by the image of water (as argued earlier with respect to Bede). Harris's detailed study of the poem in this light is worth consideration, even if the typology of the river estuary as parallel to the crossing of the Jordan may not be absolutely convincing. Harris closes with the argument that in *Maldon* as in Bede "the interlace of local and Scriptural history is … rendered immediately significant by its participation in textual culture" (183). In the last three chapters the argument occasionally seems somewhat disjointed, but the book raises important questions, and what is more, provides some of the answers.

The most enjoyable work in this section is Daniel Donoghue's *Lady Godiva: A Literary History of the Legend* (Oxford: Blackwell). Some readers will remember an earlier version of this work delivered as an after-banquet address at a long-distant ISAS conference; the story has lost none of its humor or verve, though it has gained in scholarly trappings and detail (but is not, unfortunately, accompanied by chocolates). Donoghue suggests that the book is a study in the lady's two bodies—the historical and the fictionalized—with two foci: medievalism and the dynamics of the voyeuristic gaze (the story is the origin of the idea of "Peeping Tom"). It is also a reclamation project, an attempt to remind Anglo-Saxonists of the features of their period that are most likely to catch the popular imagination, although in the present day the legend of Godiva has become increasingly trivialized. The first chapter describes the real historical Godgyfu, probably from the area around Nottingham and Lincoln and married to Leofric, earl of Mercia. It perforce does so with a brief historical and social background of England in the early eleventh century and especially of that adroit but shadowy figure, Leofric of Mercia, statesman and noble. The rights of aristocratic women, especially of married women and women as landholders, are discussed next. Finally, Donoghue assesses the lands that Godgyfu owned in eight counties, and donations that she made, many of them jointly with her husband, to religious institutions, especially in Coventry. He delineates the education, areas of responsibility, and daily life that Godgyfu might have had, and notes that she and Leofric made arrangements to be buried beside each other in the abbey they jointly founded in Coventry. She had one son, two grandsons, and one granddaughter, Edith, briefly queen of England. Godgyfu died in 1067. The second chapter turns from this conventional portrait to the sensational story that began to circulate at least a hundred years later in accounts by Roger of Wendover

and Matthew Paris, a story that makes Godiva an erotic scold, almost a "scheming wife" of the fabliau tradition but also a saintly figure saved from humiliation by her hair. The St. Albans chroniclers were followed by Richard Grafton in the mid-sixteenth century and William Dugdale in the mid-seventeenth, two Warwickshire antiquarians who appear to have consulted a local manuscript before it disappeared—a chronicle attributed to Geoffrey, prior of the monastery at Coventry from 1216–1235. Other early versions of the legend include a verse chronicle by John Hardyng, written about 1465; discussions by two other fourteenth-century historians, John of Tynemouth and John of Brompton; and Ralph Higden's *Polychronicon*, the basis for several other mentions in the late Middle Ages. Donoghue chronicles Godiva's further progress, including processions and re-enactments, ballads, accounts in journals that attest to the growing role of Peeping Tom, Edwin Landseer's painting *Lady Godiva's Prayer* exhibited at the Royal Academy in 1866, the domestication of the legend during the nineteenth century (as reflected in gifts from Queen Victoria to her husband Albert), Tennyson's "Godiva," Leigh Hunt's poem and many other manifestations of the enduring popularity of this figure who retains no trace of her historical predecessor. Donoghue's final chapter ranges from Drs. Seuss and Freud, to the 1926 founding of Godiva Chocolatier, and to the movies, novels, plays, and films that have pretended to know Godiva, finishing with Sylvia Plath's poem "Ariel" told "from the subjective point of view of the rider who breaks free of the possessive gaze of the voyeur" (124).

Origins, Sources, Localizations

Maria Amalia D'Aronco, "Anglo-Saxon Plant Pharmacy and the Latin Medical Tradition" (in C. Biggam, ed., *From Earth to Art*, 133–51; see section 1), decries the way in which the editors and students of medical manuscripts pay no attention to the manuscript images, which were there to help experienced practitioners recognize the species they sought. The manuscripts copied both texts and illustrations from their sources; d'Aronco's own research on London, BL MS Cotton Vitellius C.iii has previously demonstrated this, and here she provides examples to demonstrate that, despite differences in style, the illustrations are often readily traceable to the parallel Latin texts for the *Old English Herbal*. Sometimes, the Anglo-Saxon branch of the tradition differs, as with the *uica peruica* or greater periwinkle. Establishing the stemmatic relationship of the Latin sources is impossible in the absence of a reliable critical edition, but the OE translator seems

to use a model with links to Montecassino. D'Aronco concludes that the translator had a project to create one work dedicated to herbal remedies and another for animal-based cures; to find the specialized materials necessary for this endeavor at the end of the tenth century the translator must have been at a location with an excellent medical library, good quality illustrated editions from the late Classical period or good Carolingian exemplars. Some argue for Winchester, others Christ Church, Canterbury; d'Aronco postulates a copy made at Canterbury of a copy (or original) from Winchester in square insular script (based on some archaizing features of the script) and perhaps championed by Æthelwold himself.

José Carlos Martín in "La tradition indirecte de la *Chronique* d'Isidore de Séville" (*Revue d'Histoire des Textes* 31 [2001]: 167–225) provides a classic old-school analysis, heavily reinforced with references, of Isidore's *Chronicle* and its two versions, two manuscript traditions and manuscripts with mixed texts. The descendants range from the north Italian *Continuatio Hauniensis Prosperi*, to the *Renotatio librorum diui Isidori* by bishop Braulion of Zaragoza just after Isidore's death, to the Chronicle of Fredegar from Burgundy around 660, to the *Anonymus ad Cuimnanum* from Ireland at or near the turn of the eighth century, and so on up to number thirty-seven in the series, which is John Capgrave's 1417 *Chronique sur l'Angleterre* or *Abbreuiacion of Cronicles*. Along the way are some entries of direct relevance to Anglo-Saxonists: Bede, *De temporibus liber* and *De temporum ratione* (Martín suggests Bede knew the first redaction, but through a close intermediary); the anonymous *Historia Brittonum* from 829/30, for which the first version of Isidore's *Chronicle* was a source; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* from Wessex and a milieu very close to Alfred the Great (Martín quotes Janet Bately, *ASE* 1979, on the source as Isidore's first redaction). Many other texts and connections are elucidated; the serious student of Isidore and his inheritors will delight in scrutinizing each line of Martín's article.

Andrew P. Scheil provides the first section of a longer historical project in "Babylon and Anglo-Saxon England" (*Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36: 37–58). The relevant tropes of Babylon include the Tower of Babel, life on earth in captivity awaiting the eventual return to the Celestial City as in Psalm 137 (136), and the unmatched power and magnitude of the city and empire as represented in *Genesis A* 1628b-36 concerning Nimrod and in Orosius 2.4 which expands the description of the first and great of all cities, Babylon. Scheil

finds both reverence for this mighty urban work and acknowledgment of its transience, a common trope in OE poetry. Three more tropes of Babylon are the deadly exoticism and evil of the city, mentioned in the *Wonders of the East*, the exotic Eastern sensuality (unmentioned in Anglo-Saxon texts), and the acknowledgment of Chaldean learning and cultural achievement which appears in *Daniel*. A predictable component of Western orientalism, Babylon is a reference point also for simultaneous energy and collapse, for accomplishment and decay. Scheil examines this aspect of Babylon with respect to King Alfred's translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, when he equates the Titans with Babylon and Nimrod, expanding the original and then christianizing the story into a battle of giants against the divine power of God destroying the Tower of Babel. *Solomon and Saturn II* has a pagan opponent whom Solomon explicitly warns against the Chaldeans or Babylonians on several occasions. Finally, of course, *Daniel* seems to move in response to these Chaldean traditions, and Babylon punishes the Israelites, enjoys cyclical access to power, has vainglorious kings, and has imperial powers that work both good and evil. The considerable body of allusive thought associated with Babylon in Anglo-Saxon England prompts Scheil to propose a "Babylon complex" which is at the same time a grim history, a moral exemplum, a rumor and a myth.

Pointing her camera lens in an entirely different direction, Marina Smyth examines "The Origins of Purgatory through the lens of seventh-century Irish eschatology" (*Traditio* 58: 91–132). For most Christians, judgment will occur at the end of time when the divine judge arrives in the Second Coming. Smyth rehearses the early Christian theology on this point, and works through the relevant Irish texts, Latin and vernacular, prose and poetry, and hymns and hagiography. Invocations for the dead in the liturgy also support this notion, although the palimpsest sacramentary in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Clm 14429 (from Ireland or Northumbria, probably in the third quarter of the seventh century) has a prayer requesting that the deceased be worthy of the *prima resurrectio*, the resurrection of the elect who had been resting in the bosom of Abraham. However, the *Vita sancti Fursei* undermines this assumption, since in Fursey's vision the fate of each soul is determined at death. Smyth examines this material, its structural similarities to the long Latin version of the *Visio Pauli*, the puzzling absence of a judgment scene, and the rights of devils at death as explained also in Athanasius's *Life of Antony* translated into Latin by Evagrius. These unconventional ideas also appear in

Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* from the very end of the seventh century. Devils and angels engage in airborne dogfights for control of the soul at various points in the narrative, and the results are no foregone conclusion. Smyth adduces other examples of this unusual belief, including Sulpicius Severus's account of the death of St. Martin and Gregory the Great's references to it in the *Dialogues* (more as angels accompanying the good soul than the reverse, although on one occasion devils try to prevent a Christian soul from crossing a bridge and angels provide aid). Adomnán might have acquired a copy of the *Vita Antonii* on one of his trips to Northumbria; it will remain unknown whether he knew that these views were at variance with the received wisdom on the fate of the soul. Where Gregory does have a private determination at death and a long and painful period of cleansing for the soul during which intercessory prayer can be valuable, Adomnán overlooks these aspects in favor of proving the truth of the vision. Smyth therefore attempts a sequence of events to explain some of these awkward doctrinal shifts, and concludes with some indication of how this material led eventually to the doctrine of purgatory. While not perhaps directly relevant to Anglo-Saxon eschatology, this material and this analysis provide essential background reading.

Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda offers a careful study of "La Croce nella tradizione poetica anglosassone (secc. VIII–X)," *Romanobarbarica* 17 (2000–2002): 333–59. After some preliminary remarks, Fadda considers the terms available for "cross" in OE, investigating usage and origin for each: *cruc*, *cros*, and *rod* (which especially refers to the *lignum crucis*). She then turns to the Ruthwell Cross, which in image and text presents its audience with a special understanding of scripture and of the Passion of Christ; the last section of the article concerns *Dream of the Rood* and its presentation of the triumph and sacrifice of the cross and Christ. These texts provide surprising and profound understandings of Christianity, focused for teaching and understanding the scripture. The article also contains very useful, if somewhat dated, bibliographic entries in the footnotes.

Heide Estes offers a study which crosses many boundaries in its consideration of the figure of Judith in "Feasting with Holofernes: Digesting Judith in Anglo-Saxon England," *Exemplaria* 15: 325–50. She follows tradition in reviewing the somewhat ambivalent and complex commentaries of Aldhelm and Ælfric on the Book of Judith, and suggests a similar ambiguity animating the poem *Judith*. The poem "grapples substantially with issues of Judith's religious and tribal identity" (331), and

Judith transgresses the boundaries of the poem, which tries to contain her in a Christian interpretation. Estes argues that the material was familiar to the audience, and engages in a close reading of the poem to demonstrate the focus on the Hebrews, a tribal affiliation allegorically aligned with Christianity, rather than the Israelites, a religious term historically aligned with Jewishness. However, the poem's depiction of the plunder of battle complicates this interpretation, since Judith accepts the treasure, linking herself to a non-Christian world. Estes compares the careful attitude to treasure in *Beowulf* and *Exodus*, and Asser's presentation of the Vikings as plundering the helpless and robbing their victims. Anglo-Saxon texts, she posits, understate or elide the act, unless it is done by the enemy. Also complicating the interpretation of Judith is the language which connects her with the dangerous sexuality of women: *ælfscinu*, *wundenlocc*, and *blachleor* (describing Judith's servant). Her sexuality is emphasized in the beheading scene, conjoining sex with danger. Estes uses the transgressed boundary of the "flynet" (*fleohnett*) and the city walls to indicate Judith's tendency to break outside boundaries and remain there. Finally, the poem omits the character of the castrated servant Vagao and the circumcised Ammonite Achior; in the biblical story, she notes, these characters envelope the beheading in important ways. Some may find this part of the argument less convincing, since so much else is also adapted and reconstructed in the poem. Nonetheless, Estes makes intriguing arguments about the poem and its ambivalent interpretation.

A more traditional approach is the careful study by Stephen Lake, "Knowledge of the writings of John Cassian in early Anglo-Saxon England" (*ASE* 32: 27–41). His specific concern is the usage of Cassian in Anglo-Latin sources between the later seventh century and the middle of the eighth century. With a plenitude (indeed a veritable cornucopia) of references, Lake recapitulates Cassian's life and work (his death being generally supposed to be about 435), and discusses the contents of his writings: the *De institutis*, the *Conlationes*, and the *De incarnatione* against Nestorius. These texts are evidenced in three Anglo-Latin texts unequivocally, and in two others with less certainty. The Leiden Glossary contains lemmata from every book save one of the *De institutis*, in the order in which they appear in each of the eleven such books. The manuscript source, Lake posits, may be a close relative of Paris, BNF, MS lat. 12292, copied at Lorsch in the late ninth or early tenth century. Secondly, Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* draws material from Cassian in four ways: nautical imagery,

in a reference to Basil's claim to have known no woman yet not be a virgin, in a fourfold paradigm for the interpretation of the Bible, and most extensively in his discussion of the eight principal vices. A possible verbal echo of Cassian is in the anonymous *Vita sancti Cuthberti*, but Lake suggests that the echo may not be more than a vague conception whose origin may be Cassian (or Gregory the Great). Fourth, the ninth *Responsio* from Gregory to Augustine in Canterbury refers to whether a priest should celebrate mass on the morning after a "nocturnal seminal emission" (36, to use Lake's very circumspect translation). Lake disagrees with the parallels previously proposed to Gregory the Great, and proposes Cassian's *Conlatio* XXII, *De nocturnis inlusionibus*, which may not offer exact parallels but has a number of broad similarities. It is apparently important that the priest not have enjoyed the experience. Finally, Bede appears to use Cassian's biblical expositions in several details in his writings, which suggest attentive reading of Cassian. Unfortunately, there is no extant insular manuscript of Cassian from this period, probably not even the one fragment listed by Lowe. Cassian received a wide range of usage in Anglo-Saxon England, but during a tight time frame and among a limited circle of learned individuals.

Devotion, Religion, Conversion

A most intriguing collection of papers is found in *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Kathryn Powell and Donald Scragg (Cambridge: Brewer), five of whose nine offerings fall under the purview of this section. The editors provide a short preface to indicate the origin of the papers in a Manchester conference of July 2001, but Frederick M. Biggs is entrusted with the task of producing "An Introduction and Overview of Recent Work" (1–25). He focuses on advances in the past twenty years, identifying the importance of considering both what is now apocryphal, and what attitude the Anglo-Saxons had to the material. To begin, Biggs investigates the surviving Anglo-Saxon Bible manuscripts of the Old Latin Bible, and the apocryphal texts included (e.g., Psalm 151, Tobit, and many others) and also excluded (e.g., Baruch) from them. He considers modern definitions of the apocrypha and the pseudepigrapha, and the difficulty of establishing a closing date for the production of apocrypha, before addressing patristic and Anglo-Saxon uses of the term—which would have involved both interest in and distrust of the apocrypha deriving from Jerome and Augustine in particular. Although the Anglo-Saxons in general were cautious, there were

significant differences in the views of Bede, Aldhelm (who knew the *Apocalypse of Paul* but appears not to have respected this kind of material), and Ælfric, who is very anxious to reject the apocrypha, and almost seems to see these texts as sprouting about him to lead him into *gedwyld* 'heresy'. The final section reviews recent scholarship on the circulation of the apocrypha, including recent thinking about the role of Irish scholars, Theodore at Canterbury, and New Testament apocrypha about Christ, Mary and various apocalypses in later Anglo-Saxon England.

Charles D. Wright turns to one of these apocalypses for his topic in "The *Apocalypse of Thomas*: Some New Latin Texts and their Significance for the Old English Versions," 27–64. He begins with the history of the three recensions of Thomas apocalypses and their gradual discovery and publication, sadly without a complete critical edition. However, yet more texts have now been discovered, one a complete interpolated version and two abbreviated versions (previously noted), and also three additional abbreviated texts found by Wright himself. None are immediate sources for the OE translations, but they do provide some parallels for Latin readings and enough insular connections to testify further to the particular popularity of this material in insular texts. Wright analyzes each of the manuscripts involved, starting with the eighth-century Homiliary of Burghard, and working through and comparing all the abbreviated versions, the last of which is the only English manuscript of the Latin text. Wright notes in particular that other citations in sermons and hymns on the Day of Judgment will probably be found, particularly a three-day sequence of signs which is based on a version of *Thomas*. Four independent translations into OE adapt the eight-day sequence of the Latin, three of them altering it. He addresses some specific Latin readings in order to determine the parameters of the lost immediate sources of these texts, comparing the renditions to the point where it becomes clear that an original or archetypal text cannot be reconstructed since these texts were redacted, interpolated, and abbreviated. The analysis closes with a consideration of the two kinds of texts in which Thomas material is found: homiletic compilations, often involving eschatological sermons, and the chronological and computistical contexts in which the text appears to be effectively a *de temporibus*. In an appendix, Wright prints six new Latin texts of the Thomas material in parallel-column format.

Patrizia Lendinara addresses "The *Versus Sibyllae de die iudicii* in Anglo-Saxon England" (85–101), elegantly summarizing this complex set of texts and indicating how these Greek Sibylline prophecies responded to Christian needs and became apocryphal material. She provides a detailed example with Book VIII, the most well-known of these texts, an acrostic with versions by Augustine in *De civitate Dei* (extensively available in the Middle Ages including in a pseudo-Augustinian sermon), by Isidore of Seville, in the Tiburtine Sybil (a popular new medieval oracle), and in other versions as well. From several countries also come descriptions of performing the Sibyl's song, including in Catalan and in the Anglo-Norman *Jeu d'Adam*. In Anglo-Saxon England the acrostic was quoted three times by Aldhelm, and appears in an unusual version in a manuscript probably from Orléans now found in Leipzig. Augustine's translation of the acrostic is in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 173, with several variant readings, and in a hitherto unstudied version in London, BL, MS Royal 15 B. xix. Lendinara also catalogues other appearances of this material, including the collection of poems now known as *Milred's Sylloge*. The "iudicii signum" referred to the Last Judgment with close paraphrases of scriptural texts; Lendinara closes with a brief overview of this material and its parallels in other apocryphal materials.

Aideen M. O'Leary, "Apostolic *Passiones* in Early Anglo-Saxon England" (103–119), starts with Irish traditions to consider the apostolic apocrypha which had arrived in England in a collected group and by 731 since Bede used the material in his *Retractatio in Actus Apostolorum*. She briefly speculates as to how the material reached England—citing the usual suspects, Theodore and Irish imports. Aldhelm used several of these passion-legends, probably a distinct collection; O'Leary notes that *passiones* provided source material for at least six apostles in Aldhelm's fourth *Carmen*, and demonstrates the parallels between the Passion of Peter and Paul by pseudo-Marcellus with Aldhelm's description of Simon Magus. Similarly, she links a *passio* of Andrew, perhaps the "Letter of Priests and Deacons of Achaia" with Aldhelm's depiction of Andrew's delight in and eagerness for martyrdom. O'Leary adduces other parallels for Bartholomew, and for John and Thomas, who are highlighted in his prose *De uirginitate*. While other sources provide much of the material Aldhelm uses, he chooses events and details from this collection. O'Leary then suggests that the collection may have moved northwards in the early eighth century so that Bede could use it in the *Retractatio* and in some of his hymns, especially the apostle's speech to the cross in the second hymn for the feast of St. Andrew, which also resembles

the "Letter of Priests and Deacons of Achaia." Three prayers in the Book of Cerne also duplicate material in the *passiones*, including the address of Andrew to his cross, the prayer of John the Evangelist before drinking poison, and St. Peter's prayer before his crucifixion. O'Leary closes with a more general discussion of which collection of *passiones* might have circulated in Anglo-Saxon England, on the insular veneration of the apostles including the distribution of church-dedications, and on possible political involvement in the treatment of the apostles.

Joyce Hill provides a brief but provocative sketch of these papers to close the volume in "The Apocrypha in Anglo-Saxon England: The Challenge of Changing Distinctions" (165–8). In particular, she cautions against imposing terms of reference upon these texts which would not have been recognized in the specific contexts in which they found themselves, and notes the complications which abound in treating the apocryphal material. Here, as always, history was written by the winners of these battles, but the distinctions made before, during, and after must remain our focus.

Nicholas Howe's contribution to the ongoing debate on the coherence of MS Junius 11 is "Falling into Place: Dislocation in the Junius Book" in *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.*, ed. Mark Amodio and Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Toronto: U of Toronto P), 14–37. He starts with Psalm 136 and its imagery of exile as it appears in both the Paris Psalter and the Utrecht and Harley Psalter illustrations, then turns to the central images of banishment and dislocation. In the context of the manuscript, a reader would focus on the *utgang*, line 419, in *Exodus*, which also marks the geographical range of the four poems in the manuscript—between the biblical seas. In the poem, the Israelites are *eðelleas* 'without a homeland' on two occasions, and the narrative ends when they cross the Red Sea and survive, as the chasing Egyptians meet their end. *Daniel* concerns the exile and captivity of the Israelites, evoking the past, the experience of exodus and wandering, and leading into an understanding of "bitter knowledge" which "comes from living in a fallen world of many places and no final habitation" (27). Nebuchadnezzar also experiences exile and fulfills Daniel's prophecy about the humbling of his pride. Finally, *Christ and Satan* fulfills the theme of place and displacement with the cosmic fall of the angels from heaven to the exile of hell. Here too there is geographical specificity: the infernal regions are direct and vivid, and Satan's laments of exile

a threnody of despair and description. In short, Howe argues for a geographical underpinning of the carefully-coordinated four texts in the Junius manuscript.

An unusual entry in this category is Marthe Mensah's *Vies de saints d'angleterre et d'ailleurs* (Turnhout: Brepols), which recounts the lives of the chosen saints in a manner which forcibly calls to mind Catholic children's hagiographies rewritten for adults, with good footnotes. Mensah gives the most space to Thomas à Becket, St. Brendan, and the Purgatory of St. Patrick, but depends on OE sources (mixed with the South English Legendary) for her lives of Chad, Gregory the Great, Cuthbert, Oswald, Edmund, Guthlac, Augustine of Canterbury (very briefly), Edward the Martyr, Dunstan, and the Seven Sleepers.

Peter Dendle's "Pain and Saint-Making in *Andreas*, Bede, and the Old English Lives of St. Margaret" (in *Varieties of Devotion in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Susan C. Karant-Nunn [Turnhout: Brepols], 39–52) argues that *Andreas* marks a crossroads of two competing traditions about the role of pain in Christian hagiography. The poem reflects an older tradition in which the saint genuinely suffers; Dendle analyzes the bodily agony of the saint and its correlatives in early hagiographic accounts and those from the fourth to sixth centuries in the Greek tradition which reflect both a belief in spiritual warfare and the idea that wisdom is purchased through suffering. Bede propounded this agonistic view in which pain is integral to spiritual development—in order for Cuthbert and Hereberht to die at the same time, for example, Hereberht must suffer an especially severe illness (he has to catch up with Cuthbert in accumulated sanctity by way of his suffering) before death. However, the majority of OE saints' lives reflect a tradition in which the saint is invulnerable or immune to torture. Bede's *Martyrology* is a catalogue of tortures; the *OE Martyrology* consistently adds comforting or mitigating details. The two vernacular versions of the life of St. Margaret also show this dichotomy: the version in the Tiberius MS depends on physical violence (first the dragon swallows the saint, then she rips it open from inside), while in the Cambridge variant she makes the sign of the cross and destroys the dragon from a distance so far away that she never even sees the dragon face to face. Dendle tentatively suggests that penitentials require suffering, as does the trial by jury or ordeal, so any suggestion that the agonistic approach gave way to the anesthetic one is too simplistic; he suggests that more study of these allegories of violence and their context will be rewarding.

Juliet Hewish goes quite a long way to make her point in "Eastern Asceticism versus Western Monasticism: a Conflict of Ideals in the Old English Translations of the Works of Sulpicius Severus?" *Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic* 4: 115–28. Her argument pertains to a conflict in late Anglo-Saxon England between asceticism and coenobitism. She starts with the origins of both approaches, their spread to the West through the dissemination of Evagrius's translation of the *Life of Antony* and, unusually, the spread of Arianism. In Anglo-Saxon England, depictions of the anchoritic life exist, but some writers seemed uneasy with its potential for excess; an example is Sulpicius Severus's life of St. Martin as translated in the Vercelli Book, the Blickling Homilies and Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*. In OE, the radical withdrawal from society by men of humble origins (the defining characteristics of Egyptian eremiticasceticism) is wholly absent. Martin's eremitic leanings in childhood disappear, as do his times as an anchorite—except in Ælfric, who does refer to time spent on the island of Gallinaria living on vegetable roots. However, Ælfric also deplores excessive fasting, and presents Martin as wholly moderate and temperate. The focus in all these texts is on the communal nature of Martin's life, with the saint surrounded by brothers in life and in death. Sulpicius Severus, on the other hand, has all the villagers mourning Martin's death, not the brothers of the religious community. The focus is on obedience and humility, and two scenes in which Martin challenged authority, especially imperial authority, are gone from the OE save one which appears in Ælfric, but he notes Julian's apostasy twice in the ensuing lines and perhaps makes it clear that Julian's authority cannot be trusted. Ælfric also includes other incidents in which Martin flouts secular authority (in contrast to the Vercelli and Blickling homilists); Hewish suggests that he evinced an increasing faithfulness towards Sulpicius in his second translation (in the *Lives of Saints*) and that Ælfric's intended audience of monks would be capable of winnowing the fruit from the chaff of Martin's life. It is to be hoped that Hewish takes the argument farther afield, since evidence from the reception history of other saints might help to support her thesis.

Augustine Casiday's concern in "Thomas Didymus from India to England" (*Quaestio Insularis* 4: 70–81) is the *Acts of Thomas* for its central importance to the Christianity of early India, beginning with the point at which the apostles cast lots and Thomas attempts to reject his commission to evangelize in India. Casiday reviews the text in detail, providing ample bibliography,

and turns to the teachings of Thomas, especially his insistence on celibacy. Casiday considers the competing evidence in the *Acts* of the poems in the text, but also the Syriac tradition of celibacy underlying the work. He notes his controversial conclusion that what the text reflects is simply a school of thought about celibacy that did not become dominant, and reviews the scholarship which traces the development of orthodox as opposed to Gnostic interpretations of this text, first in the accurate but awkward Greek translation and later in the two Latin translations of the mid-fourth century (the *Passio* and the *Miracula*). He arrives at Anglo-Saxon England at the end of the paper, citing the *Passio* as having circulated there because of the direct quotation from it in Aldhelm's *De Virginitate*. Casiday identifies the specific source in ch. 12 of the *Passio*, an advance on previous scholarship and makes the tentative proposal, following Michael Lapidge's argument that Aldhelm wrote the *De Virginitate* for the nuns of Barking, that the emphasis on celibacy in the *Passio* and its source may have been something that Aldhelm found "ideally suited to his purposes" (80).

Sarah Larratt Keefer ponders the way in which Anglo-Saxon poetic style reflects devotional approaches in "'Either/And' as 'Style' in Anglo-Saxon Christian Poetry" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Karkov and Brown, 179–200; see section 1). Her argument starts with the philosophical proposal that Anglo-Saxons contained polarities in their culture, with a "pulsing movement between the two disparate elements, shifting from one to the other and examining the one in light of the other" (180). This contained contradiction is reflected in her "either/and" structure in which one reality is superimposed upon another. *Kentish Psalm 50*, whose opening has David both as miserable sinner and *sigecempa* "victory-champion" is one example; *The Dream of the Rood* is a veritable gold mine for this kind of analysis. Keefer discusses the poem's opening as well as its central focus on the way in which God transforms, converts, and moves between the divine and the human. The poem pivots at line 77, which also reflects the visual morphing in the early part of the vision and the superimpositions of the Rood's address to the Mystic in the final section of the poem.

Oral Approaches

Unlike recent years, this was a good year for the study of oral/traditional poetry/narrative. The journal *Oral Tradition* provided an online cluster of short papers on the topic. Mark Amodio, "Medieval English Oral

Tradition," 211–213, introduces the group with a discussion of the "richly associative oral poetics" of the English tradition, a single tradition which evolved from Anglo-Saxon into Middle English. He proposes accepting both eras as reflecting non-performative traditions, so that *Beowulf* is as fully a written text as is *Sir Gawain*. This "entexted" oral poetics reflects a complex cultural matrix. Lori Ann Garner, "Medieval Voices," 216–18, argues for broadening the scope using folklore scholarship (for example, considering OE charms as components of healing rituals, not just as lines of verse), approaches to translation that acknowledge the Anglo-Saxon traditional register, and reference to disciplines such as archaeology and architecture. Heather Maring, "Oral Traditional Approaches to Old English Verse," 219–222, delineates the history of formulaic approaches to OE verse and the range of approaches now being used by scholars, especially ethnopoetics. John D. Niles, "Prizes from the Borderlands," 223–4, propounds that when literate individuals intervene in the practices of oral texts the resulting hybrid texts have elements of both oral and literate approaches and are a *tertium quid*, a kind of prize captured in the borderlands where literacy and orality meet. Oral theorists may not have won the war of Parry and Lord, but they have changed the terrain of literary studies. Finally, Andy Orchard provides "Looking for an Echo: The Oral Tradition in Anglo-Saxon Literature," 225–7. He notes that 2003 is the fiftieth anniversary of the first application of oral-formulaic theory to OE verse, and reviews the opening of the field away from sterile either/or arguments about whether OE poetry was oral and towards the ways in which Christian Anglo-Saxons composed texts (in both Latin and English) which were influenced by vernacular verse at every level of composition. The debate, thanks to John Miles Foley and others, now concerns individual artistry and intertextual influence, and the tools include databases and electronic texts. Orchard concludes with a review of his own project on "Anglo-Saxon Formulary."

John Niles elsewhere sets his sights on Roberta Frank's notion of the absent oral poet, reopening the search for that individual in "The Myth of the Anglo-Saxon Oral Poet" (*Western Folklore* 62: 7–61). He rejects Aldhelm and Alfred as minstrels and bards since their stories come from William of Malmesbury, deletes Bede as bard from the historical record on the grounds that he was a Latinist's Latinist and would never have composed in the vernacular, argues that Frank should have engaged with scholarship following on from the Parry/Lord methodology into the present day, and argues

that the *scop* was a major figure for the Anglo-Saxons themselves in such texts as *Beowulf*. When a poet sings in honor of Beowulf's killing of Grendel within a day of the deed, this might be a non-realistic moment in which an imagined past is being evoked, but the representation of his having done so is quite explicit in the poem. Niles suggests that this is the "Anglo-Saxons' mental modeling of their ancestral past" (12), and that they approached their poetry as grounded in the art of ancient Germanic singers and as demonstrating truth, faith, and nostalgia in its formation of the cultural myth which explained their Germanic origins. Niles then reviews two moments: Bede's story of Cædmon, noting that Bede is far more interested in the poem's content than the poet's orality; and Æthelweard's *Chronicon*, the unexpected work, however derivative, of a talented layman. In this cosmopolitan period of the late tenth century, when many literary activities were taking place, it remains worth searching for traces of the Anglo-Saxon oral poet. Niles turns to the Exeter Book of Leofric to look, not surprisingly, at *Widsith* and *Deor*, focusing on the refrain of the latter and retranslating it as "He (or she) got over that trouble; I can get over mine, too." If the whole poem functions with this first-person reference to the poet, then the speaker, at the end of the poem in the presence of a Germanic hero, addresses the audience very directly. The nostalgia at the heart of *Deor* pervades *Beowulf* as well; he argues that this longing for things longer ago, more specifically a presence that "gnaws on absence" (35) but which does not necessarily involve loss or despair, was the primary mode in which the Anglo-Saxons conceived of their past. Niles concludes that oral poets did exist, *Beowulf* does crystallize an earlier fluid verbal performance, that the myth of the oral poet must have some foundation in reality, and that the Anglo-Saxons themselves actively propagated that myth. They did so, Niles postulates, because they yearned for simpler master/man relations than the complex relationships of political power they were now encountering.

Jonathan Watson addresses two great divides: oral/literate and Old/Middle English in "The Minim-istic Imagination: Scribal Invention and the Word in the Early English Alliterative Tradition," *Oral Tradition* 17 (2002): 290–309. He considers the scribal variants of *The Siege of Jerusalem*, using the notion of scribal reperformance based on an understanding of the deep structure of alliterative verse. His example partakes of a compositional unit previously designated by Watson as "Óðinn's Storm" and comparable to the scene in *The Wanderer* in which the image of the lord dissolves

into winter, the sea, and bathing seagulls (ll. 45–48). He traces one aspect of this, the "dinning earth" motif in which the earth makes great noise, through Old Norse verse, in *Beowulf* 2556b–58 and 767a, *Finnsburh* 28 and 30b, and into Laȝamon and later texts. Watson suggests that a gradual move toward denotative precision, together with confusing minim-clusters, led to the earth dimming rather than dinning. The birds of battle of the *Siege* also participate in the "dinning" and resultant awkwardness; Watson compares *Judith* 204b–16a, in which making noise and shaking feathers are part of the "Óðinn's Storm" locus, provides the other well-known references to the birds in battle and proposes that the *Siege* passage is no literary borrowing but a dynamic hybrid of the two methods. The sky may be both resounding and darkening.

Brita Wårvik is well aware of the complexities of the ground she is treading in "'When you read or hear this story read': Issues of orality and literacy in Old English texts" *Discourse Perspectives on English: Medieval to Modern*, ed. Risto Hiltunen and Hanne Skaffari (Amsterdam: Benjamins), 13–55. She starts very broadly, with definitions and discussions of orality and literary, the oral-formulaic model, the aspect of reception or performance, the tendency towards technological determinism (writing changes things) and its opponents, comparative ethnographic studies, the notion of a transitional continuum between orality and literacy, and reviews of recent work on the interaction between orality and literacy in early German and Middle English texts. The second part of the paper reviews linguistic approaches, noting the differences among speech, orality, writing, and literacy with respect to the structure of discourse, the use of repetition, the degree of context-boundedness, and expressions of interaction and involvement and considering the ways in which these features have been studied. The last section selects data (prose samples only), from the *Helsinki Corpus* and investigates metatextual cues about reception formats using the linguistic features previously elucidated. This pilot study focuses on prototypical features of orality and literacy in several genres, producing frequency tables for parataxis, repetition, use of first person pronouns, use of second person pronouns, private verbs, and discourse markers. She particularly identifies differences among genre, so that religious treatises, for example, place themselves between the oral and the literate. History follows oral patterns in many features, but homily follows literate patterns. The conclusion identifies the need to consider larger samples, with different genres and reception formats.

A more interesting survey, though oddly divided into short studies of particular issues, is Dáibhí Ó Cróinín's "Writing" (*From the Vikings to the Normans*, ed. Davies, 169–200; see section 7), which cautions in the opening against ready acceptance of Alfred's dire statements about learning in England and then compares the evidence of surviving texts and their scripts against the works produced and written in Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and England. For example, the manuscript known as "St. Dunstan's Classbook" (Oxford, Bodl. Lib., MS Auct. F.4.32) might best be taken as reflecting the "eclectic nature of Welsh library holdings" (172); the Cambridge Juvencus (Cambridge, University Library MS Ff.4.42) reflects intellectual contacts between Ireland and Wales. Evidence for Scotland is nonexistent, perhaps deliberately destroyed in the sixteenth century or (though the author considers this less likely) by Vikings. A third explanation might be an anti-Gaelic attitude developing in the twelfth century. On the well-known question of literacy and the laity, Ó Cróinín reviews manumissions from England (extremely rare outside England), charters, and the growth of the vernacular in royal and secular documents; there is no conclusive evidence that the vernacular replaced Latin in liturgical matters. Alfred recruited manuscripts from Brittany, but did not recruit Irish scholars, preferring continental figures such as John the Old Saxon and Israel the Grammarian (perhaps Breton, though perhaps Irish), who brought with them the hermeneutic Latin style. In a later generation Abbo of Fleury brought his knowledge of arithmetic and computus, and a revolution in educational practice which Byrhtferth learned and advanced upon in his own work. Although the major poetic manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon England come from this period and there was extensive traffic of individuals from Ireland to England, Ó Cróinín perceives a focus in this period on Latin and a hardening against the vernacular as a literary medium. By contrast, in Ireland at the time there were many translations created, and a flowering of creative writing in the vernacular. This includes collections of materials, prose sagas, and other texts complementary to the earlier Hiberno-Latin tradition (in a more conservative vein). Marianus Scottus in particular engaged in biblical studies and technical chronology or computus, and composed a *Chronicle*, a prologue and three books of world history. In Wales in the tenth and eleventh centuries, Hywel ap Cadell may have begun the revision and codification of Welsh law, and the Four Branches of the *Mabinogi* may have been composed; Ó Cróinín also highlights the importance of Sulien, bishop of St. Davids in the late eleventh century, and his sons Ieuan and Rhigyfarch.

Another installment of the massive and important project Matthew Townend has undertaken with respect to rethinking Anglo-Norse poetry and its transmission also appeared in this year: "Whatever happened to York Viking poetry? Memory, Tradition and the Transmission of Skaldic Verse" (*Saga-Book of the Viking Soc.* 27: 48–90). Townend's consideration of the York-Dublin dynasty in the middle of the tenth century considers both the paucity of the surviving skaldic verse and the way in which the traditions about the time arrived in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Iceland. He starts with the argument that what is kept of an oral culture is kept on purpose, and considers ways of thinking about memory. The poems themselves, two certain (Egill Skalla-Grímsson's *Hofuðlausn* and *Eiríksmál*), and two probable products (Glúmr Geirason's poem for Eiríkr and *Darraðarljóð*) are considered for the authenticity, origin, date, manuscript context, political and historical context, meter (including especially the almost-complete absence of *dróttkvætt*), and other stylistic comparisons. Townend then considers what lost literature might have been composed, including praise-poetry, before returning to the central role of Eiríkr and briefly reviewing his position in Icelandic tradition. Before turning to the three lost predecessors of Eiríkr, however, the paper considers the transmission of this material by noting the 'homeostatic' nature of oral tradition and the anecdotal evidence for memorization of skaldic poems. Although there is some evidence for others learning stanzas, in general skalds are most likely to have learned and memorized poems, passing them from poet to poet (helped by kinship relationships among the poets). Townend adduces some specific examples of this kind of transmission, and also considers the genealogical impulse in transmission which drove descendants of well-known poets such as Egill to learn his texts. In general, if both the author and the name of the poem are known, the work was more likely to attract attention. External context is thus important, particularly genealogical context (Townend makes good use here of the arguments of Sarah Foot about reminiscent memories and learned memorials). Finally, Townend considers what traditions about the dynasty were preserved, beginning with the account of Northumbrian history in *Heimskringla* and other texts. There are few details of any individuals—especially the three lost kings Sigtryggr caoch, Ólafr Guðfriðsson and Óláfr cuaran—between the sons of Ragnarr and Eiríkr. Townend sifts the relevant evidence and concludes that the first great king of Scandinavian York and Dublin is unremembered, the second remembered only as a king of the Scots, and the third remembered only as a king of Dublin. Thus, only the poems relevant to Eiríkr survive.

John Miles Foley makes two contributions in this year. The first is "How Genres Leak in Traditional Verse" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Brien O'Keeffe, 76–108). He argues for thinking of traditional verse as "*an ecology of genres*" (78, his emphasis) with interactions among the elements that are themselves shifting constantly. In oral poetry, Foley suggests, genres fertilize each other systematically but idiosyncratically depending upon the tradition in which they are found. He supports his thesis with detailed examples from the Ancient Greek genres using the hexameter, then the octosyllables performed by women as opposed to the decasyllables performed by men in South Slavic oral poetry and their interactions, and finally considers alliterative license in OE poetry. He suggests that the OE tradition is the most interactive, with a "free-flowing, aesthetically productive sharing of expressive strategies" (91). He looks at two riddles, then at riddling signals in the *Advent Lyrics*, especially in the eighth lyric based on the antiphon of the *Magnificat* for Advent. The advent of God into the world is a riddle, a puzzle beyond solving, and the poet by using this riddling language has added depth to the depiction of Advent. Foley also examines dialogues in both *Solomon and Saturn I* and *II*, especially the riddling discussion of the book, and finishes his thoughtful discussion with *The Seafarer* and its ecosystems, focusing on the privations at sea and the traditional theme of exile in OE poetry—a theme which migrates readily. If a poetic genre is a species, then the tradition is its ecosystem; both are subject to implicit rules. Foley here covers well-known ground, but surveys it from a new perspective. In *How to Read an Oral Poem* (Urbana: U of Illinois P, 2002), Foley refers only sporadically to OE examples. The book is intended for the nonspecialist and includes many examples, starting with a Tibetan paper-singer, a North American slam poet, a South African praise-poet, and an Ancient Greek bard. The first example from OE comes in the definition of oral poetry, when he demonstrates the poetic line and alliteration with *Beowulf* lines 51–54. He later proposes that a category of oral poetry should be "Voices from the Past" (46) since OE texts, among others, require a way in which to address themselves as products of oral poetic traditions. He introduces notions of literacy and reading, performance theory, and ethnopoetics with its idea of scoring oral poetry (using *Beowulf* as an example, 102–7, to apply the structural focus of Dell Hymes). A set of maxims for thinking about oral poetry, a set of case studies,

and a study of the ecology of South Slavic poetry (as in his discussion noted above) round out the book.

Genre, Style, Meter

Catherine A.M. Clark, "Envelope Pattern and the *locus amoenus* in Old English verse" (*N&Q* n.s. 50: 263–4), follows Ananya Kabir in finding *locus amoenus* imagery, but argues for its use in the rhetorical feature known as the envelope pattern in *The Phoenix* 71–80a, *Guthlac A* 742–8a, and *Durham* 1–3a and 16–19. Syntax (despite several cases of editorial mispunctuation) also encloses the figure of the *locus amoenus*. Thomas A. Bredehoft continues his reconsideration of OE meter in "The three varieties of OE hypermetric versification" (*N&Q* n.s. 50: 153–6), following Geoffrey Russom's approach to hypermetric verses. Type 1 hypermetric versification has SSS in a-verses and xSS in b-verses (Bredehoft refers to a-lines, but that is just too confusing), with *Beowulf* 1162b–69b providing the example and Bredehoft the detailed analysis. In this structure, if the third S foot alliterates, the verse is hypermetric; if not, not. Similarly, hypermetric b-verses always begin with an xx-foot. Type 2 is an alternative system, and Type 3 a further loosening of the rules. Bredehoft's argument is most convincing for Type 1, although his proposition that particular works use only one particular type of hypermetric versification is intriguing.

Thomas Cable revisits Kaluza's Law of resolution, using Seiichi Suzuki's consideration of relative stress to construct both the traditional notation and a grid which reflects the contours of stress ("Kaluza's Law and the progress of Old English metrics," *Development in Prosodic Systems*, ed. Fikkert and Jacobs, 145–58; see section 3.b). As always, Cable delineates the issue clearly and carefully, focusing on final syllables in the second element of compounds (and also in separate words in the same metrical context), and noting that the central issue may be whether the syllable was historically long or short. He recasts Suzuki's conclusions with respect to *Beowulf*, noting that in this respect, too, the poem shows an intriguing regularity of metrical usage. Thus "vowel quantity and syllable weight, at least in *Beowulf*, follow precise patterns" (154). At the same time, he does not want to return to the positivistic mapping of stress types onto verses, simply to recognize that the poem has a "four-position meter" and should no longer be compared to unsophisticated metrical structures such as folk meter and nursery rhymes. The paper is particularly valuable for the elegant synopsis of contemporary metrists and their positions.

Dennis Cronan tackles an insufficiently-studied field with "Poetic meanings in the Old English poetic vocabulary" (*English Studies* 84: 397–425), addressing simplex nouns and adjectives that have poetic meanings different from their prose meanings. His first example is the misunderstood *ceol*, which is neither a synecdoche nor a poetic usage, since it does not mean a "keel" but rather a "ship." He also identifies twenty words to which poetic meanings have been wrongly attributed. Cronan then considers the fifteen words from this group whose poetic meanings survive from older meanings, six of which altered under the influence of Christianity. In this group he includes *lofgeorn*, which Cronan sees as meaning, in its one occurrence in poetry, 'eager to practice praiseworthy generosity'. The other nine words include *rand* 'rim, edge, border' but in poetry 'shield' (thereby synecdochic in origin) and *mere* 'sea' in poetry but in prose 'lake or pool', in other words an inland body of water. The earlier meaning seems likely to be the more general, encompassing both the ocean and also the later more specific meaning. Cronan also identifies what he calls "unintentional" transfers such as *brytta* 'distributor of treasure' in prose but 'lord' in poetry. Intentional transfers also exist, which Cronan chooses to call *heitis*; these include weapon-names which are synecdochic in reference to the material from which the weapon is named, or sometimes the part for the whole (e.g. *æsc* 'spear'). Metaphoric *heitis* include *weall* as it appears in *windige weallas*, the windy cliffs of *Beowulf* 572, and, more commonly *swat* 'sweat' for 'blood'. *Heitis* by expansion include plurals such as *streamas* or *næssas* to mean the ocean or a cliff. By analogy, words such as *scealc* 'servant' come to mean 'retainer, warrior' in poetry. Cronan also briefly considers *cist*, produced by shortening to mean 'picked host', and two remainders: *bill* 'sword', and *milts* 'mercy, compassion; kindness'. After this careful analysis, the paper draws modest conclusions: some of the *heitis* are clearly part of the inherited poetic *koiné*, some are uncertain, and a final group may well be almost a usage we would call figurative, though the poetic meanings developed during the historical period. Two appendices list compounds which were formed independently in poetry and prose or glosses, and words which do not have the poetic meanings with which they are credited.

A traditional reconsideration of the elegy, following on from Lois Bragg's book, is Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso, *El discurso poético elegíaco del inglés antiguo* (Vigo, Spain: Publicacións da Universidade de Vigo, 2001). Bueno Alonso takes an anthropological-literary approach, investigating each elegy in turn for its

involvement with religion, thought, society, and so forth. Thus, the opening analysis of *The Seafarer* first considers the non-verbal level (the physical world of the poem, its psychological realism, and the intelligible world of the text), then the symbolic with respect to the somatic system of the individuals, the kinetic system, the para-language, and the contextual system, and then addresses the conceptual level: religion, society, thought, space and time, the progression through life, and ecology. He follows the same process for *The Wanderer*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, *Deor*, and *The Wife's Lament*, the most representative group of elegies for Bueno Alonso. He traces the horizontal lines of time and space in the narration, as opposed to the transverse lines of past reflections and possible futures. Biophysical and psychological traces of the individuals lead Bueno Alonso to conclude that *The Seafarer* and other elegies have a central axis which is introspective, a psychological expression of the individual. This internal reflection may come from Celtic Christian origins, but more important is the absence of a particular individual in favor of a personal and psychological exploration of the lot of the individual. Bueno Alonso follows the same structure in his study of *The Wanderer*, again concluding that the poem focuses on the personal and psychological study of the individual, the innovation of the text being its focus on internal reflection, on introspection. The immense complexity of *Wulf and Eadwacer* makes it more like a riddle, but one which presents the poem as a psychological expression. *Deor* is a catalogue of ill fortune for individuals, a complex text examining suffering and anguish, psychological expressions in the named figures. The poem is a brilliant thematic structure which allows the reader or listener to recognize his or her own suffering, and the transitory nature which directs both life and the world. The final case study, of *The Wife's Lament*, follows the same pattern of analysis, spending more time on ecological issues, and concludes that we are driven back to the poem, to the words that are there to create a contextual world. Bueno Alonso's general conclusions, in the last chapter, are that elegiac poetry consistently depends on two kinds of realism: psychological and physical (except *Deor*, which exchanges the latter for historical reference), and only one kind of specific and unique space but with a bidirectional sense of time, past and present. He notes that paralinguistic considerations are optional at the symbolic level, but the somatic, kinetic, and contextual are always present. *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* include religion, society, thought, space and time, passage through life and ecology, while the other three poems have only three of these five elements. This

model offers a series of parameters at three different levels, and provides new options for considering other kinds of texts. Condensed into an article and addressing a slightly wider range of texts so that the parameters of the analysis could be challenged, this would be a very intriguing set of hypotheses.

In "Time and Eternity in the Anglo-Saxon Elegies," *Time and Eternity* (ed. Jaritz and Moreno-Riaño, 23–30; see section 1), John Dennis Grosskopf is struck by the role the passage of time plays in the elegies. Quoting and referring only to Kevin Crossley-Holland's translations, Grosskopf argues that whereas the Seafarer is searching for sanctuary from the passage of time so as to extend his spiritual opportunities, the Wanderer is trapped in time. He quotes St. Augustine and Frank Kermode on the apocalyptic facets of time, and links the Seafarer to a monastic model of the search for an eternal life, while the Wanderer, unable to leave behind secular concerns, connects to the heroic tradition.

Loredana Lazzari surveys the dialogue genre of late Anglo-Saxon England in "I *colloquia* nelle scuole monastiche anglosassoni tra la fine del X e la prima metà dell'XI secolo" (*Studi Medievali* 3rd ser. 44: 147–77). Her interest is in the purposes of the dialogue, and she therefore begins with a discussion of the Benedictine reform and its emphasis on schools and teaching before turning to the colloquia, often involving a student or students, a teacher, and questions. She considers Donatus, the *Hermeneumata Pseudodositheana*, and the *Hisperica famina* before turning to Ælfric, Ælfric Bata, and the manuscript copies of their colloquies—most of which are to be found in manuscripts with other examples of the genre. Lazzari then analyzes, in some detail, the efficacy of Ælfric's *Colloquy* for teaching Latin grammar, concluding that he does a very impressive job. She compares issues of case and conjugation in the three major surviving manuscripts, and in particular compares Ælfric to Ælfric Bata. Finally, she considers the colloquies as witness to the historical and social worlds of late Anglo-Saxon England, looking at the vocabulary of farming, the monastic background, the role of the abbot, and other features of the surroundings that appear in the texts. Her conclusion is that the reality of the world around the creators of the colloquies is subordinated by them to their grammatical and scholastic foci.

Sarah Larratt Keefer offers two papers which are largely stylistic analyses, though both tread over the border into cultural considerations. The first is "'Ic' and

'We' in Eleventh-Century Old English Liturgical Verse" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Brien O'Keeffe, 123–46), in which she addresses the question of whether the "ic" of OE poetry is a single individual, a representative of a corporate group, or something else. Her concern is the development of private prayer and the possibility that OE liturgical verse "as a subgenre can represent meditative acts of cogitation" (126). She divides the texts into those directly liturgical, those devotional within the context of liturgy, and those inspired by liturgy. Among the latter are *Dream of the Rood* and *A Prayer*, which has many liturgical references and echoes, perhaps, of Wulfstan and "articulates a personal relationship with God through the lens of sacramental penance" (132). The *Gloria*, by contrast, uses the second-person pronoun singular to glorify God and turn away from the individual, while the *Pater Noster* uses "we" for the speaker's pronoun and departs greatly from the Latin text. The *Creed* may in its use of pronouns suggest an early example of Marian devotional worship and it uses *ic* throughout rather than *we*. Keefer argues that it is difficult to classify these poems, but that they appear to suggest a transition in which the personal becomes communal, and individual devotion becomes both a self-conscious literary construction and a spiritual exercise. The second paper, focusing on a similar set of texts, is "In Closing: Amen and Doxology in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Anglia* 121: 210–37). Keefer starts with the Hebrew and Christian meaning of 'Amen,' meant to "signal congregational approval to the petitions of a celebrant" (211); sometimes the term is absent because scribes simply indicated at the end of petitions an abbreviation for the preceding phrase and the amen, sometimes the term was transliterated, and sometimes there are vernacular equivalents: the Lorica of Laidcenn in the Book of Cerne renders amen: *sy swa*. The predominant translations provide this optative sense: *swa hit gewyrðe* or *sy hit swa*. Sometimes the sense does not imply closure according to Keefer, when *amen*: *soðlice* appears in texts such as the Rushworth and Lindisfarne glosses, and the West-Saxon version of the Old English *Pater Noster*. The glossed psalters include some unusual usages (the Eadwine Psalter, not too surprisingly, follows the Regius Psalter in usage). Secondly, Keefer examines doxologies, the "word of praise" including both the Lesser Doxology and Greater Doxology, and the doxologies which invoke Christ or the Trinity as a mediator concluding each Christian prayer. Thus Keefer interprets the phrases often preceding the "amen" as doxological closure phrases. They include elements such as words of praise to the Father, Son, and Holy Spirit, and invocation of time past, present, and

time to be or eternal time. She provides examples from glossed texts such as the hymns in Durham Cathedral MS B.III.32, a service of devotions to the cross in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 391, and several versions of the *Gloria*. The doxological closures in Wulfstan's writings vary, according to Bethurum, by the scribe, so doxology was apparently not a feature of Wulfstan's composition. However, Ælfric, especially when the closure phrases are in rhythmical prose, appears to write his own. The *Gloria II*, as it is known, has a verse doxology which "is self-referential in terms of its function rather than its content" (229), but the *Gloria I* has an apparently free-standing poem, simple and unremarkable but clearly suggesting a real concern with the Lesser Doxology. Keefer concludes that these signs of closure in OE texts are worth attention, and that when there is a translated "amen" there seems to be some choice at work, and Keefer tentatively posits a center of education.

Finally, Andy Orchard contributes a study of stylistic details in Cynewulf in "Both Style and Substance: The Case for Cynewulf" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles,* ed. Karkov and Brown, 271–305; see section 1). He begins with the usual parallels (and more examples) across the four generally accepted texts of Cynewulf: the runic signatures, paronomasia, polyptoton, rhyme, and homoeoteleuton. These "sporadic stylistic connections" (272) he places in the context of a complete study of all the words in the four signed poems (14,500) divided into 400 groups of examples which constitute formulae. After eliminating formulae shared with other poems, 140 groups of examples are unique to the four signed poems. The repetition involves entire lines, but more commonly repetition across the caesura, and most interestingly sixty-eight sets of near misses with poems not among the four recognized pieces by Cynewulf. (though *Andreas* and *Guthlac B* have received attention elsewhere in this regard, notably in the monograph by Claes Schaar in 1949). Orchard notes connections also to *Guthlac A*, *The Phoenix* and *Christ III*. However, agreeing with Fulk, Orchard does not posit the same authorship for these texts, but compares several passages from *Andreas* and *Juliana* for the intensely formulaic and similar phrasing; he finds *Andreas* to be far the more likely borrower, having been influenced by *Juliana* rather than vice versa. Orchard agrees here too with Schaar, though his approach is perhaps less polemical. The *Andreas*-poet is often analyzed as having borrowed from *Beowulf*; Orchard adds *The Fates of the Apostles* into the mix, arguing from the opening lines of the poems that *Beowulf* was first, then

Fates, then *Andreas*. Orchard closes with a brief discussion of the possibilities for thinking about *Guthlac B* in this context, as perhaps a conscious composition to be a companion to *Guthlac A,* and perhaps paralleling Cynewulf's composition of *Christ II* as the center of the *Christ* sequence—suggesting exciting new possibilities for analysis of Booklet I of the Exeter Book.

<div align="right">M.J.T.</div>

Works Not Seen:

Conde Silvestre, Juan Camilo. "Recursos épicos en la caracterización de los demonios en la literatura anglo-sajona." *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 11 (2003): 53–85.

Gvozdetskaya, N. Yu. "Semantics of the Old English Poetic Formula." *Linguistics at the Turn of the Millennium* (Moscow: Russian State Humanities U, 2001), 61–63.

Holderness, Graham. *Cræft: Poems from the Anglo-Saxon.* (Nottingham: Shoestring, 2002).

Kasper, Muriel. "Angebot und Nachfrage: Der mittelalterliche englische Schreiber auf dem Weg vom Skriptorium zum *bookshop.*" *Das Mittelalter* 7.2 (2002): 33–47.

Lee, Insung. "The Significance of the Terms for the Deity in Anglo-Saxon Gnomic Verses." *Medieval and Early Modern English Studies* (Seoul) 11.1 (2003): 7–20.

Lendinara, Patrizia. "La poesia anglosassone alla fine del X secolo e oltre." *Annali dell'Istituto Orientale di Napoli: Sezione Germanica* n.s. 11 (2001): 7–46.

Mitchell, Bruce. "Some Differences between the Syntax of Old English Prose and of Old English Poetry." *Language and Language Behavior* 5 (2002): 40–51.

Scholz, Katalin Halácsy. "A Working Definition of *Variation* in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." *'What, Then, Is Time?' Responses in English and American Literature* (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Catholic U, 2001), 56–70.

Stanley, E.G. "Celebrating English Nationhood." *Poetica: An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* (Tokyo) 55 (2001): 1–21.

b. Individual Poems

Andreas

Jonathan Wilcox is far too fine a scholar to claim that the roots of British humor are to be found in Anglo-Saxon saints lives, or that *Monty Python* owes anything to the Old English *Andreas*. A less serious scholar might have asserted both as fact. In "Eating People is Wrong: Funny Style in *Andreas* and Its Analogues" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Karkov and Brown, 201–222; see section 1),

Wilcox dispels the myth that Old English saints lives are "monologic" and exclusively didactic and demonstrates convincingly that these narratives, more so than their Latin counterparts, exhibit an "underremarked aspect of [...] style, namely their use of comic violence" (203). Critics have concentrated on the typological aspects of *Andreas*, and have "not been sympathetic to reading humor in the poem" (203). In the course of his analysis, Wilcox highlights several passages in the poem to show how the Old English poet has developed traces of humor already present in his Latin sources. The scene at ll. 1523-35a, for example, which describes the flood of water that Andrew commands to pour forth from the stone pillars to consume his enemies, "provides a climax of comic incongruity" (215). This kind of incongruity, Wilcox notes, is appropriate and "the essential kernel of humor, and therefore encourages a reading of this scene as funny. That a set of grave issues—cannibalism and torture, death and conversion—are here figured through something as ungravid and indecorous as a heavy drinking session provides the kind of gulf that humor thrives on" (216).

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

Works Not Seen:

Powell, A. M. "Verbal Parallels in *Andreas* and its Relationship to *Beowulf* and Cynewulf." Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2002, *Index to Theses* 52 (2003): 8535.

Battle of Brunanburh

In a tribute to the famously sensitive close readings of Old English texts published by Ted Irving, Don Scragg offers a close reading of *The Battle of Brunanburh* in "A Reading of *Brunanburh*" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Keefe, 109–22; see section 2). Unlike previous readers, however, Scragg reads the poem in its manuscript context. Following a detailed overview of what is known about the manuscript transmission of the poem and its scribes, Scragg provides a statement of purpose: "… to show that all of Scribe 3's entries, prose and verse, which are common to ABCD were composed by the same chronicler-cum-poet, someone working necessarily after the end of Edmund's reign" (113). He further aims to answer the question "of whether the poems were composed for inclusion in the ASC" (113). Scragg compares *Brunanburh* to another ASC poem, the *Five Boroughs*, a work acknowledged to be the first political poem in English. He argues compellingly that *Brunanburh* should also be read as a political poem, and adds: "Not only should we see the two poems as having a common authorship, we should also view

them as part of a larger design that extends into the prose entries" (117). The linguistic patterns, common subject matter and exclusive interest in the three sons of Edward and their influence on the north all point to their having been composed by one author for the context in which they have been preserved. Moreover, Scragg concludes, they were composed by a chronicler, for the chronicle (119).

                                                            D.F.J.

The Battle of Maldon

In "Norse Ships at Maldon: The Cultural Context of *Æschere* in the Old English Poem 'The Battle of Maldon'" (*NM* 104: 261-80), Marijane Osborn scrutinizes the crux *æschere* in the poem to draw some important conclusions regarding the style of the ships used by the Vikings in the historical attack. Her purpose is "to aid the reader of the poem in imagining the scene of action from both the physical and emotional points-of-view of the Anglo-Saxons engaging in that battle against the Vikings invading their homeland" (261). This article is part of the author's larger project that "advocates close attention to details of the cultural sites and artifacts mentioned in a literary work, in the present case on the theory that the imagined style of particular artifacts, represented when people of different backgrounds are in confrontation, may reveal cultural identities and convey cultural messages" (261). If we can imagine the style of the ships referred to in the poem, Osborn argues, we will be in a better position to appreciate the threat they were meant to convey. "Thus the artifact of the ship has resonance both inside the poem and in the history following the event, and it will clearly have a strong resonance for any coastal community in England in the later poet's time" (265). There follows a detailed philological section that establishes the crux word as a Scandinavianism, and claims for the poet "a studied projection of Norse otherness upon the Viking invaders" (269). Rather than taking the term as referring to a particular kind of wood (ash), Osborn argues that it denotes a specific kind of ship type, one that "was closely associated with the Vikings' ethnic identity— much as in American culture certain car styles may be said to have specific associations, ethnic or other, today" (269). Furthermore, Osborn brings archeological evidence to bear to suggest that the *æsc* element is synecdochic rather than a straightforward reference to the material from which it was built. The ship type under discussion is characterized by a construction using oak for the bottom-planking, and ash or pine for the upper strakes (271). Osborn's compelling conjecture: "since in

Germanic cultures names and sobriquets tend towards synecdoche, frequently describing a memorable part of the person or creature named (like Eirik the Red and Harold Fairhair), possibly those occasional strakes of ash led ships being called *askr*, and the warriors who travelled on them ash-men, a group of such warriors as ash-army" (272).

                                                            D.F.J.

Christ I

In "The Maternal Performance of the Virgin Mary in the Old English *Advent*" (*NWSA Jnl* 14.2 [Summer 2002]: 38–55), Mary Dockray-Miller argues that while Anglo-Saxon culture follows Christian Europe in celebrating the Virgin Mary for her idealized feminine traits—humility, purity, and passivity—the *Advent Lyrics* in the *Exeter Book* depend on Mary as "a necessarily female, maternally embodied, active subject in spite of the text's traditional figurative language" (38). The mother/child bond of Mary and Christ "both demonstrates and unsettles an oppositional masculine/ feminine paradigm" (39), to the extent that Mary may be read as humble and passive, but also as embodied and active, displaying agency as well as obedience, and to the extent that (paradoxically) her maternity complicates her femininity. The two major foci of Dockray-Miller's article are the seventh lyric (ll. 164–213) and the ninth (ll. 275–347): a dialogue between Mary and Joseph about the nature and legitimacy of her pregnancy, and praise for her as the Virgin Mother of Christ, respectively.

   The traditional view of Mary as a figure that must be interpreted metaphorically has required her to be disembodied, that is, understood apart from an understanding of her physical nature, even though the very epithet by which she was known, *virgin*, refers explicitly to her body. Dockray-Miller reviews interpretations of *Advent* by Edward Irving and Robert Burlin, demonstrating that for their interpretations, Mary's body must be "allegorized and described in metaphor" (42), that it must in essence disappear as a physical body and become a sign for something other; she becomes, not a woman, but the gates through which the divine enters the human sphere. Mary's body is necessary as a body to the narrative, but must also be immediately transformed into something other than a body, to be "both fetishized and neutralized" (42). Syntactically, she is reduced to an object or a passive subject (43); even within her own speeches, she is made an object, as when she says "now I his temple am made" (ll.206b-207a), or

lacks agency even when an active subject: "must I bear life's glory" (ll. 204b-205a) (44).

However, Mary begins to gain agency when, by the end of the lyric, she begins to instruct and even command Joseph (45); "[t]o assume such a position of authority, she relies on her body and her maternity" (45). The authority that is granted to her is based upon her relationship to Christ, which is almost wholly dependent upon her female, maternal body (45). Dockray-Miller points out that "in the midst of majesty and mystery and metaphor, the baby must nurse at his mother's breast" (46). She notes that other critics have studiously avoided mention of Mary's lactating body, but insists that the power of Mary's body to sustain the child and the reality of both that lactating body and the suckling child "forces the reader to focus on her in the nativity tableau" (47). Further, "[t]he power implicit in Mary's maternal performance is the power of the nurturer; caring or nurturance is not *taken* by the child but *given* by the mother. The child is the one in need. No wonder *Advent* shies away from a focus on Mary as woman/ mother, focusing instead on Christ while disembodying Mary through metaphor in the process" (47).

The remainder of the essay discusses the dating of the poem and the possibility that the text may have been available for devotional use by women as well as men, and that women who may have comprised part of the audience "may have been drawn to *Advent* through some sense of personal identification with the embodied maternal performance of Mary," given that "many professed religious women of the Anglo-Saxon period were mothers" (49). Such an identification could empower aristocratic women, whose own maternal performance had produced the powerful men of their society, just as Mary had produced and nurtured Christ.

Barbara Raw's "Two Versions of Advent: The Benedictional of Æthelwold and *The Advent Lyrics*" (*Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 34: 1–28) posits that, although the Benedictional of Æthelwold and *The Advent Lyrics* were contemporary with each other and derived from a similar liturgical background, "they present very different interpretations of the season of Advent" (1). Such a difference is partly traceable to the widespread but inconsistent attitude toward the season: was it a beginning or an ending, celebration of Christ's birth or anticipation of his coming in judgment? Or was it both, the celebration of the nativity pointing towards the need to embrace faith in the incarnate Christ in order to fare well at his second coming?

Raw begins by describing the content of the Benedictional, comparing it to other contemporary liturgical texts, such as the related Benedictional of Archbishop Robert, and asserts that the theme of the Advent reading in the Benedictional of Æthelwold is the twofold coming of Christ, the first into human history at the nativity, the second at the last judgment. "Belief in Christ's first advent is linked to trust that release from sin will allow the believer to face the coming judgement without fear" (4). She then explores the relationship between the Benedictional's readings and illustrations, demonstrating that the details of the illustrations do not uniformly conform to the text in some cases, and showing how differing identifications of particular objects in the illustrations may alter the interpretation of the image and consequently its relation to the text. For example, the object in Mary's hand has variously been interpreted as a distaff or shuttle, associated with weaving and thereby with Eve or with the veil of the temple; as a paten, associated with Eucharist and incarnation; or as a vessel containing the bitter waters described in *Protevangelium Jacobi* that Mary and Joseph were made to drink to prove their innocence (7).

For Raw, "[t]he paintings of the Annunciation and the Second Coming, like the others in the Benedictional, are not simply beautiful decorations for an exceptionally sumptuous book; they are aids to meditation for its user" (12), and are meant to relate those two events in the minds of that user, to the end that such a one may live a life that will ensure a place in heaven. "The focus of the Benedictional, therefore, is on the future judgement rather than Christ's birth. *The Advent Lyrics*, on the other hand, are concerned with God's intervention in human history through one who, unbelievably, was both God and man" (13). Further, she suggests that *Advent* is not to be understood as a series of twelve lyrics, but as a poem in five sections. The first (ll. 1–70) introduces "two major themes: the hope of heaven and the mystery of Christ" (13). The mystery of incarnation permeates the rest of the poem. The second section (ll. 71–163) begins with an address to Mary, cast here as a figure of authority already in heaven, who does not fully explain the mystery but insists upon its efficacy. The third section (ll.164–274) also focuses on Mary, who continues to reveal truth to those who doubt, in this case Joseph. The fourth section (ll. 275–377) addresses Mary once more, but here she is not simply an authority figure—she is the queen of heaven, earth, and hell; the bride of Christ; the locked gate of Ezekiel's prophecy. According to Raw, "the poet departs quite radically from the text of the relevant antiphon" on which *Advent*

is based (16). The fifth section (ll. 378–439) leaves Mary as the focus of the discussion and returns to the dual nature of Christ.

In her conclusion, Raw insists that "[t]he vision of heaven in the final section of the poem, with its promise to humans of eternal happiness, is therefore the culmination of a series of references to Christ as the one who unites the divine and the human in his own persona and who can therefore mediate between God and man" (20). The treatment of Advent in Æthewold's Benedictional and in *The Advent Lyrics* is quite different, as the Benedictional presents a clear sense of the passing of time, focuses on the celebration of Christ's birth as preparation for judgment, emphasizes the gulf between the divine and the human, and presents a static world; the Old English poem, in contrast, has no clear time sequence, does not mention judgment but focuses on the hope of heaven, presents a relationship of intimacy between the petitioning poet and Christ (and his mother), and presents a world in which the mystery of incarnation provides a developing narrative, which reaches a climax in the closing section (20–1).

M.K.R.

Deor

In "'Less Epic Than it Seems': *Deor's* Historical Approach as a Narrative Device for Psychological Expression" (*Resvista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 46: 161–72), Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso claims that historical references in *Deor* work as a narrative tool that is used to highlight the psychological component. The latter is the real core of the poem, in his view, and is what makes the poem elegiac, rather than epic. Bueno Alonso develops this argument in the course of the article by attempting to demonstrate "how the poet decided to adopt a historical approach to express the psychological component by depicting history as a background subject to a higher thematic aim: i.e., to introduce the reference to individual misfortune through and exemplary depiction of historical suffering" (1). Bueno Alonso reads each stanza of the poem closely, explicating the historical content and drawing out its psychological component. His conclusion: "the emphasis is placed on the expression of the mental and psychological distress of the main historical characters—a catalogue of "historical misfortunes," where the "misfortune" is more relevant than the "historical"—by means of a gradual depiction, moving slowly from a general overview of *exempla* to the more personal sphere of the last stanza. This

feature not only distinguishes *Deor* from other heroic-legendary catalogues of the same tradition but also links it very strongly with some other elegiac poems, making its membership to this Anglo-Saxon poetic discourse almost undeniable" (170).

D.F.J.

Dream of the Rood

Works Not Seen: Jan Henrik Schumacher "Drømmen om korset—og angelsaksisk spiritualitet" ["*The Dream of the Rood* and Anglo-Saxon Spirituality"]. *Ung Teologi* 36.2: 73-89.

Elene

In "*Elene* and the True Cross" (Ph.D. Diss, Univ. of Alabama, 2002; *DAI* 63A, 4305), Michel Pieter Aaij highlights the Cross as a tool in conversion, object of desire, and text in Cynewulf's *Elene*, in a study comprising three chapters and a conclusion. Aaij observes that Constantine's famous vision, "psychologically and politically enhanced by Cynewulf, is the defining moment in the emperor's life: fatherless, and aiming to right the wrong perpetrated by his father on his concubine Helena when he abandoned her, Constantine creates a union between his mother, whom he reinstated as empress, and himself—a symbolically incestuous union mediated by the Cross and enacted in her quest, which results in the encasement of the symbol as fetish" (vii). The Cross's mastery is indicated by means of Cynewulf's perpetuation of written knowledge. As Truth, the Cross stands for the willful murder of Christ, just as it is "the key to unlock truth when used correctly to interpret Jewish scripture as prefiguring Christ" (viii). Moreover, Cynewulf's version of the legend "derives much of its meaning from historical circumstances: more than the finding of the Cross in Jerusalem, *Elene* is the account of Anglo-Saxons reclaiming their own stock for Christianity" (200). Aaij's three chapters situate the Cross in *Elene* in terms of its historical context, psychological significance, and status in the "opposition between orality and textuality" (202). He concludes by scrutinizing the text more clearly in the context of its literary sources, the *Acta Sanctorum* and the *Inventio*, self-professedly going beyond the stylistic and typological appreciations of previous critics.

Stacy Klein's study of queenship in *Elene* ("Reading Queenship in Cynewulf's *Elene*," *Jnl of Medieval and Early Modern Studies* 33: 47–89) constitutes a superbly thorough reading of the poem with respect to the

concept of queenship. [The essay won the inaugural Best Essay Prize For Publications 2003-2004 awarded by the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists.] After situating itself in relation to formulaic and typological readings of *Elene*, the article goes on to offer an insightful historical/political assessment of the poem. "'Remembering' the Roman empress through all of the various discourses of Anglo-Saxon queenship at his disposal, Cynewulf creates a queen whose typological, literary, cultural, and historical multivalence discredits any unequivocal interpretation of a text. Just as it condemns slavish adherence to literal levels of textual analysis and insists at every turn that characters and events are polysemous, so too does *Elene* militate against reading any representation of social hierarchy as either temporally or historically fixed" (79).

D.F.J.

Exodus

In "Old English *Exodus* 118a: The Use of Wolf Imagery" (*N&Q* n.s. 50: 259–61), Jun Terasawa examines *Exodus* 118a, which in the MS reads *har hæð* 'grey heath' and is generally regarded as metrically incomplete. The half-line has variously been emended *har hæðbroga* 'grey heath-terror' and *har hæðstapa* 'grey heath-stalker'; inflectional tinkering has led to emendations *hares hæðes* and *harre hæðe*. Terasawa rejects these inflectional changes and *har hæðbroga* in favor of *har hæðstapa*, citing no attested instance of *har hæðbroga* elsewhere in OE literature. Further, "gray" is never associated with the notion of terror, save in the rejected emendation. As evidence for *har hæðstapa*, Terasawa demonstrates that *hæðstapa* occurs twice in OE verse (*Beowulf* 1386; *Fortunes of Men* 13); in OE the color gray is often associated with wolves (*The Wanderer* 82; *The Battle of Brunanburh* 64; *The Battle of Finnsburh* 6; and *Maxims I* 148, 150); and in *Exodus*, the Egyptians are often associated with wolves (181, 182, 176, 165, and 147). In this reading, the "grey heath-stalker" is Pharaoh, who pursues the Israelites to destroy them.

M.K.R.

Works Not Seen:

C. Lynch. "Enigmatic Diction in the Old English *Exodus*." Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2001. *Index to Theses* 52 (2003): 212.

Fortunes of Men

E.G. Stanley tackles two long-standing emendations in "Old English *The Fortunes of Men*, lines 80-84" (*N&Q*

n.s. 50: 265–68). The emendations under review have been accepted by all editors since first being proposed, but such unanimity, states Stanley, is "often proof, not of rightness of solution, but of poverty of invention" (265). The lines upon which Stanley brings his own abundantly intelligent invention to bear are these:

> Sum sceal mid hearpan æt his hlafordes
> fotum sittan, feoh þicgan,
> ond a snellice snere wræstan,
> lætan scralletan gearo se þe hleapeð:
> nægl neome cende; biþ him neod micel.

The first crux is *gearo* of l. 83 above, in whose non-alliterative place *scearo* and *sceacol* have been suggested. Stanley posits a solution that makes the line somewhat metrically heavy, but which seems altogether more plausible. In so doing he makes a further point that bears repeating here: "It would be foolish to reject all the emendations that have been proposed to improve the versification; but it may be wise to remember that it is possible that not every Anglo-Saxon was as keen to get the alliteration right as are many highly competent, modern Anglo-Saxonists" (265). Stanley would here shift the offending word to the end of the first half line, and supply an alliterating adjective:

> lætan scralletan gearo se þe scylle hleapeð

The second major emendation is in line 84, where Grein suggested *neomegende* for *neome cende*. Stanley demonstrates convincingly that, in addition to being the original reading, *neome* as it stands is both etymologically and morphologically the better reading (267). He argues further that the most likely interpretation of this line would take *neome* as a feminine accusative strong noun, with *nægl* serving as subject of the sentence: *nægl neome cende* "the plectrum brought forth (or proclaimed)" (268). Stanley's edition of the text in question would look like this:

> Sum sceal mid hearpan æt his hlafordes
> fotum sittan, feoh þicgan,
> ond a snellice snere wræstan,
> lætan scralletan gearo se þe [scylle] hleapeð:
> nægl neoma[n] cende; biþ him neod micel.

And his proposed translation: "Another is destined to sit at his lord's feet with a harp, (destined) to receive rich rewards, (destined) at all times keenly to pluck the harp-string(s), (destined) to let it (the plectrum) shrill loud and clear, as it dances sonorously; the plectrum

brought forth the melody. Great is the delight of it" (268).

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

Genesis A and B

In "A Note on *Genesis A*, Line 22A" (*N&Q* n.s. 50: 6–8), Alfred Bammesberger notes that the temporal subclause in ll. 22 and 23a seems to lack a predicate: "ærðon engla weard / for oferhygde / dæl on gedwilde." Noting that editors have emended the text in a variety of ways to solve this problem, Bammesberger argues that the manuscript reading should be allowed to stand as is, rendering unnecessary both G.P. Krapp's emendation of *dæl* to *dwæl* and E.G. Stanley's emendation of *engla weard* to *englum wearð* (7). Bammesberger's translation deviates slightly from A.N. Doane's "before a part of the angels *were* in error," preferring "before a part of the angels (=some of the angels) fell into error because of pride" (8).

In "Breasts and Babies: The Maternal Body of Eve in the Junius 11 *Genesis*" (in *Naked Before God*, ed. Withers and Wilcox, 221–56; see section 7), Mary Dockray-Miller extends her discussion of the maternal body to the *Genesis* poems (see *Christ I*, above). For her purposes, she considers *Genesis A* and *B* as a single unit; further, she distinguishes between the "illustrated text" and the "poetic text," highlighting a tension between the illustrations and the poetry that serves as partial foundation for her argument that "while the poetic text continually reinforces an opposition of masculine Subject/feminine Other, the illustrations present a number of conflicting gender performances of dominant feminine, acquiescent masculine, and even active maternal" (221). Dockray-Miller notes that scholarship to date has focused on the binary, ignoring any ambiguity in, or complication of, that tidy opposition. However, Eve's status as female and mother is prominent in the illustrations and while the poetic text attempts to efface her significance, the illustrations emphasize her "maternal agency" (245) in ways that complicate the poem's message.

Following the introduction, the first section discusses the manuscript and its critical history, especially noting the paucity of scholarly attention to the illustrations. Also, the footnotes in this section are especially helpful in following the argument for considering *Genesis A* and *B* as a single unit within the manuscript. The second section surveys the scholarly attention paid to the masculine Subject/feminine Other binary and notes

that "the poetic text of *Genesis* itself overtly reinscribes this opposition" (230). The third discusses the iconography of breasts as markers of the female in distinction to the male penis (absent in these illustrations) as identifying the male. Section four relates maternal subjectivity to the illustrations, explaining how the Eve's maternal body in the illustrations claims an agency and authority absent from, or at least diminished in, the poem. The essay ends by suggesting how Anglo-Saxon women may have related to the text, as potential readers or producers of the illustrated text.

Also in *Naked Before God* (257–74), Janet S. Eriksen's "Penitential Nakedness and the Junius 11 *Genesis*" explores the ways in which nakedness in Anglo-Saxon texts is "both the focal sign of sin and part of an encouragement to confess and receive penance" (257) by arguing for "an explicitly penitential view of nakedness in Anglo-Saxon England, one that allows the good Christian little room for bare bodies and unconfessed sin" (258). After the Fall, Adam and Eve's physical nakedness conveys their spiritual condition: sinful and in need of confession and penance through the increasingly popular rituals of the church. Where nakedness had been a sign of innocence before the Fall, when they were naked yet unashamed, afterward it highlights the physical and spiritual vulnerability of humankind, requiring material clothing to protect the body and figurative clothing—including confession and penance—to safeguard the soul. In Eriksen's view, "[t]he Old English narrative emphasized, more clearly than a more literal translation of the biblical text does, that the Fall is not just an end to Edenic existence, but the beginning of the teacher/Church-student/sinner relationship promoted in religious texts such as the homilies and penitential handbooks" (262). The material coverings Adam and Eve attempt to fashion out of fig leaves to cover their physical nakedness fail, so that God must provide clothing for them; Eriksen argues that this illustrates their dependence upon God to provide a way to cover their sin through confession and penance. In this way "the repeated use of nakedness as a metaphor for the state of the soul before confession allows the *Genesis* poem to anticipate and reinforce, if not directly name, the more explicit dictates of the confession ritual" (273), and thereby encourage the Anglo-Saxon audience to right behavior in seeking confession and penance to cover their own spiritual nakedness.

Michael John Wilson's work on "The Rhetoric of *Genesis A*" (Ph.D. Diss., Kent State Univ., 2002; *DAI* 64A, 157) explores changes made to the biblical account by

the poet and investigates the rhetorical structure of the poem. Admittedly, his project is complicated by lacunae and by the insertion of *Genesis B* into the *Genesis A* text, but his discussion of the poem as a series of tightly delineated episodes is interesting in its description of the poet's use of a complex envelope pattern, repetition, and other rhetorical strategies. His review of scholarship in the first chapter supports his assertion that *Genesis A* has not received as much attention as perhaps it deserves because of the more usual focus on *Genesis B*. Wilson argues that the poet crafts a work of Germanic art from the biblical source, emphasizing themes and motifs familiar to the Anglo-Saxons, such as loyalty and exile, beasts and battles. "All the human figures are delineated in greater depth than in the source … and there is a notable development of the women of the story, starting with Eve, who is shown as equal in dignity with Adam, and continuing with Sarah and Hagar, whose emotions are as vividly conveyed as Abraham's" (414). Whether or not the violence of the Flood and the subsequent re-greening of the earth "seem to reflect a peculiarly northern storm and springtime" (415), as Wilson suggests, he is certainly correct that "the poet's accomplishment goes far beyond dry paraphrase and transforms the Genesis narrative, enabling the biblical author to speak to an Anglo-Saxon audience with a truly Anglo-Saxon voice" (415).

M.K.R.

Guthlac A and B

A hot topic in medieval studies, how we understand and construct identity, is a primary concern of Jeffrey J. Cohen's *Medieval Identity Machines* (Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P), wherein he argues that human identity necessarily exceeds the boundaries of the physical. In chapter 4, "The Solitude of Guthlac" (116–53), Cohen examines the inadequacy of "human" as a category to encompass all possible identities by drawing extensively on the philosophical writings of Gilles Deleuze and Félix Guattari as well as scholarship in Anglo-Saxon studies to discuss the ways in which demons, celibacy, and colonialism provide Guthlac with part of his identity.

Following a brief introduction, the chapter is further divided into five subsections, each dealing with an aspect of Guthlac's identity. "The Sacred Body of Guthlac" examines the *vitae* of the saint, especially the relationship of the OE versions to Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, noting the irony that "[a]lthough he is revered for having fought his entire life against disconcordant

multiplicities in favor of a singular, unitary mode of being-in-the-world, numerous and conflicting Guthlacs appear in a diversity of lives" (120). Further, Cohen concurs with F.M. Stenton, Kenneth Sisam, and others' suggestion that the Guthlac material is Mercian in origin, and goes beyond this identification to suggest that the inward and outward trajectories of the legends are in keeping with the colonialist ambitions of eighth century Mercia. The scene wherein the angels and demons vie for the saint's body enacts "a fierce psychomachia waged for its ownership" (124), and thereby its identification as solitary or one in community.

"The Many and the Few" delves further into the tension between isolation and community, as Cohen asserts that "[t]he antagonism between the singular and the multiple is the slender pivot upon which the rhetorical architecture of *Guthlac A* balances" (125), which reflects the waning of Germanic collectivity in the face of Christian isolation. After conversion, Guthlac "can only reject his turbulent history and convert to the solitary stability of a life discontinuous with its own past" (127). Interestingly, according to Cohen, the language employed to describe and define masculinity does not change from the martial terms used in tales of the *comitatus*, but "the source of its signification is radically altered" (128). Still, that radical re-inscribing is never quite complete and the language as well as the identity it signifies remains multifaceted, perhaps necessarily so, not because of the incompleteness of Christian re-imagining but because of the inability of human beings to be identified monolithically.

In "Saints and Heroes," Cohen continues his discussion of the masculine imagery and identity utilized by hagiographers to describe and define saints like Guthlac, who have nevertheless rejected the communal bonds inherent in those terms. Because of that rejection the terms must be invested with new signification; through the writings of authors like Cædmon, "Christianity colonized native identities and social structures in order to render its own strangeness familiar" (130). Even though Guthlac has rejected the traditional role for a Germanic man, his "essential maleness is never in doubt even as he reinvents what masculinity *should* signify" (134). This is made explicit in the elegies, in which solitary survivors "invoke an absent community in order to perform its loss as irrecoverable" (136), thereby acknowledging communal values while simultaneously placing them completely out of contemporary reach. The saint, then, is free to redefine himself against another paradigm, one dependent on isolation,

in which his solitary body enables him to become "most fully himself" (140).

In "The Nation, the Body, and the Possible," Cohen uses the ideas of Deleuze and Guattari to examine Guthlac's encounter with the demons as the saint's colonization of their former home, which also reenacts the dispossession of the Fens by the various northern tribes who began to settle there in the fifth century. "Representing the Britons as banished demons and Guthlac as a man singularly in possession of himself offers a culturally useful fantasy of a male body whose identity is uncomplex, internally imperturbable. Guthlac's *stabilitas*—his immobile, granite-like, and unconflicted subjectivity—embodies everything Anglo-Saxon England in general and eighth-century Mercia in particular as potentially corporate identities were *not*" (144).

The final section, "Guthlac's Possible Body," continues Cohen's consideration of Guthlac's body as representing Mercia and argues that, so far from rejecting the multiplicity represented by the demons, "Guthlac's body seamlessly incorporates each affect to produce a tranquil whole … a social body that can proclaim its superiority to the incoherent Britishness of the demons, whose *corps morcelés* figure a racialized corporeal otherness not amenable to "Anglo-Saxon subsumption" (150). At one point, Guthlac even becomes his demons in a middle space necessary to his ultimate triumph over them; in this reading, Guthlac must be read *with* his demons rather than *against* them, for only in identifying with them for a time and then rejecting them can he be understood as individuated from them and can know himself as himself.

Robin Norris turns to the Guthlac story in order to elucidate "The Augustinian Theory of Use and Enjoyment in *Guthlac A* and *B*" (*NM* 104: 159–78). Norris begins by examining the relationships of the poems to each other and to Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*, insisting that the poems be read as the manuscript dictates, with an eye to reader reception rather than the usual focus on authorial intention. She follows Zacharias Thundy's observation that *Guthlac B* celebrates spiritual friendship and seeks to demonstrate that both poems are influenced by Augustine's theory of love, "that the doctrine of use and enjoyment explained in Book I of Augustine's widely circulating *De doctrina Christiana* had a profound, though perhaps indirect, influence on the poets of both *Guthlac*-poems" (162). Norris convincingly argues that Augustine's theory would have been widely available in Anglo-Saxon England, then

explains the theory in detail and elucidates the distinction between what for Augustine is to be used and what is to be enjoyed; this last is God alone, for all else is an unworthy goal, fit only to be used not sought and loved for its own sake. Even in human relationships, the other person is to be loved for the sake of God, not the individual's own (164). The difficulty arises from the fact that the OE verb *brucan* can mean either "to use" or "to enjoy," which sets the stage for profound confusion on the part of an Anglo-Saxon reader; perhaps even a reader with good Latin would be puzzled by the distinction. Norris suggests that Guthlac's life is instructive because he consistently exemplifies proper use and enjoyment, "especially when faced with three main concerns: youth, heaven, and friendship" (165). Guthlac defends the young monks and argues that they cannot properly bear spiritual fruit because they do not yet understand proper enjoyment. Noting that heaven is nevertheless portrayed as the seat of eternal youth, Norris suggests that the earthly young misdirect their enjoyment, whereas youth in heaven is characterized by proper enjoyment. Such improper enjoyment is illustrated by Beccel. "If Guthlac's tranquility in the face of death comes from a mastery of use and enjoyment, then we may begin to understand why Beccel is so broken-hearted; he has abused charity by loving Guthlac not in God but by seeking blessedness in the company of the holy man and despairing over the concomitant loss of both" (174). According to Norris's argument, the fundamental difference is that Beccel enjoys Guthlac, while Guthlac enjoys God; both relationships would have been laudable to an Anglo-Saxon audience familiar with the *comitatus* relationships, but Augustinian theology requires that the friendship Beccel desires be seen as defective at best, sinful at worst.

M.K.R.

Husband's Message

Understanding the runes in the concluding passage of *Husband's Message*, transliterated as "S-R, EA-W, and M", as more "literary ploy" than actual runes is the aim of John D. Niles's article "The Trick of the Runes in *The Husband's Message*" (*ASE* 32: 189–223). In Niles's view "runic lore may be in play in this passage only partially rather than crucially" and "the poet may have introduced a false lead to his puzzle, encouraging us to 'get runic' when a strong effort in that direction will only lead one astray" (193). Niles argues for the runic characters in *Husband's Message* as a type of playful "runification"—"a special type of defamiliarization that appeals

to writers who wish to cast a cloak of real or apparent mystery over their text" (196). Since runes predate the roman alphabet, Niles argues that an Anglo-Saxon text that includes runes can be seen as having been "*distressed*, in the sense in which poet and literary scholar Susan Stewart uses that term," in order to denote the "finishing of furniture and similar objects so as to lend them the semblance of antiquity" (196). The runes in *Husband's Message*, then, add to the poem a "mystique that, while suggestive of a more primitive era, has little to do with a knowledge of runes as a system of writing" (197). For Niles, the real question behind the mystery of the poem "is not 'What do they say?' but rather 'Who speaks them?'" (198). After reviewing some of the longstanding debate over whether the speaker of the poem is a human messenger holding a rune-stick or a personified rune-stick, Niles makes the provocative argument that the speaker of the poem is a ship, "or, to be more precise, it is one prominent part of the vessel: it is *the ship's personified mast*," which "would naturally have been traveling far and wide at its master's behest." Niles bases this argument partly on the assumption that *þisne beam* at line 13b ought to denote an object far larger than a rune-stick, and because the speaker "is said to be located *on ceolþele* 'on the (or a) ship's plank' for reasons having to do with the architecture of sailing ships" (204). Further,

> The voice that issues from the ship itself calls attention to the runes as material signs while at the same time, apparently, sounding out either their names or their phonetic values. Like a secular analogue to the Ruthwell Cross or the Bewcastle Cross, the mast bears witness through its runic epigraphy to the truth of the story that it tells. (205-06)

The other puzzle remains to be solved: what are the rune-like letters carved on the mast imagined to stand for, and what is their message? Whereas some readers interpret the runes—commonly assumed to signify 'sun,' 'road,' 'earth,' 'joy,' and 'man'—as a solemn, perhaps magic, oath sworn between the two lovers, Niles has a problem with this since, while "[t]he phonetic value of the runes may have been common knowledge … the same is not necessarily true of their names," because over time the names associated with specific runes vary and are not stable (207). Niles's own translation of the runic message is "Take the *segl-rad* (sea-road). If you do, there will surely be good fortune (*wynn*) in store for you, an *eadig wif ond mann* (happy wife and husband)" (212). The "message," then, is simply "the

repeated encouragement that the woman will never go wrong if she steps aboard the ship to rejoin her former lover" (213). In order to provide further support of his argument, Niles also examines closely Cynewulf's signatures in *Christ II* and *Juliana*, where he believes Cyneuwlf was also engaging in "different strategies of runification" (214) and was therefore interested in "ludic" and felicitous riddling. Niles concludes by looking briefly at the Old Norse poem *Sigrdrífumál* and a passage from Tolstoy's *Anna Karenina*, in order to provide some comparative and transhistorical examples of strategies of playful "initialism." How, finally, might the woman to whom *Husband's Message* is addressed have reacted? Although no answer, obviously, can be found to this question within the poem itself, Niles sees the question as an "irrepressible part of the poem as a phenomenological experience" and argues there is "no harm in imagining them reunited" and in also considering *Wife's Lament* as a companion piece, where the speaker of each poem is "reflecting on the very same situation from a violently different perspective" (221, 222). The Exeter Book as anthology of intertexts, as it were.

E.A.J.

Judith

Long a favorite of modern readers, the OE *Judith* has defied straightforward categorization, as Haruko Momma notes in "Epanalepsis: A Retelling of the Judith Story in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Language" (*Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36.1 [Spring]: 59–73). She notes that the complexity of the poem arises, at least in part, from the poet's simplification of the Latin source, as well as from the truncated manuscript version, with the beginning and end of the poem missing. However, it is not simply that portions of the text are lost; the poet consciously altered the social relationships recorded in the Latin version, eliminating characters extraneous to his purpose and thereby highlighting the actions of the remaining major players, especially Judith and Holofernes. Further, "what the poet has achieved through these omissions is the removal of overt references to organized religion" (60). What he does instead is expand the scenes that an Anglo-Saxon audience would have understood well: the feast and the battle. Momma notes the poet's manipulation of figurative language, which alters significantly the connotations of compounds such as *fletsittende* and *bencsittende*; in so doing, she sheds light on the way the language helps determine the varying fates of the warriors, Assyrian and Hebrew. They suffer radically different fates

because they follow radically different lords, Holofernes and God. While perhaps unfair to compare a mortal commander with the divine, Momma stresses that Holofernes is not a poor commander only in relation to God, but also in relation to the Anglo-Saxon ideal: had he not been a lecher, a drunk, and a tyrant, Holofernes would have been an admirable leader, though still no match for the Hebrews' God.

M.K.R.

Juliana

In a brilliant piece of detective work, Michael Lapidge has identified what may well be the very manuscript Cynewulf used while composing his *Juliana* ("Cynewulf and the *Passio S. Iulianae,*" *Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Keeffe, 147–71). The exemplar of the *Passio S. Iulianae* Lapidge claims is similar to and possibly identical with that used by Cynewulf is Paris, BNF lat. 10861. Before making his case for the manuscript, Lapidge contextualizes the legend of Juliana and its written transmission in Europe and England. The manuscript in question belongs to the so-called Würzburg family, a sub-group of which includes BNF lat. 10861, which is also the oldest one. On paleographical and art-historical grounds it is undoubtedly an Anglo-Saxon production. Thus: "Given that the text of the *Passio S. Iulianae* in the Paris manuscript belongs to the same textual group as that which was used by Cynewulf, and that Cynewulf is thought to have been active at some time in the ninth century, it is worth asking whether BNF lat. 10861 could have been the very manuscript from which Cynewulf produced his *Juliana*" (152). Having established that Cynewulf's text follows the *Passio S. Iulianae* represented by the Würzburg recension very closely, Lapidge sets out to identify "individual readings which are found uniquely in Cynewulf and the *passio*, and then to weigh these against readings where the two texts diverge" (152). A discussion of five instances of departure in Cynewulf's text from the Latin ensues, for each one of which Lapidge provides a logical explanation. Only one of these remains an objection, as Lapidge admits: in the *passio*, events in chapter 1 are situated in *ciuitate Nicomedia*, whereas Cynewulf situates the same events *in þære ceastre Commedia* (152). This error could well be attributed to the scribe of the Exeter Book. Most compelling, of course, are the two instances in which *Juliana* and the *Passio S. Iulianae* share errors against the rest of the tradition. The first involves a misreading of "his dixit ad **filiam** suam cum magno furore," which the Paris manuscript renders "his dictis perrexit ad **familiam** suam cum magno furore." This may explain the puzzling reading at ll. 89–

92 of *Juliana*: "The statement that the 'young woman,' *fæmne* (note: not 'daughter') was 'guarding the household' (*wic weardian*) is nonsensical in context, and can best, perhaps only, be explained on the assumption that Cynewulf had the reading 'perrexit ad **familiam**' in his exemplar" (154). Even more compelling is the error in c. 22 of the Latin, where we are told that Eleseus and his companions are killed at sea. The Paris ms. reads 'mortui sunt uiri numero .xxxiiii', against 'mortui sunt uiri numero .xxiiii.' in all the other manuscripts Lapidge has consulted. The number in Cynewulf is spelled out explicitly, and agrees only with the text as it is found in the Paris manuscript:

> Þær XXX wæs
> ond feowere eac   feores onsohte
> þurh wæges wylm …   (678-80)

Lapidge concludes that this manuscript could have been Cynewulf's exemplar, though he concedes that final proof is lacking. Whether it was or not, the text Cynewulf used would certainly have been closely related to the Paris text. As a further service to students of Cynewulf, Lapidge prints an edition of the text of *Passio S. Iulianae* in which he indicates in boldface all passages that Cynewulf selected for translation.

D.F.J.

Riddles

Riddle 12 (traditionally solved as "ox") has received some concerted attention in recent years, mainly because of its racialized sexual connotations. In "The Wanton Hand: Reading and Reaching into Grammars and Bodies in Old English Riddle 12" (*Naked Before God*, ed. Withers and Wilcox, 29–59), Sarah Higley undertakes a close study of the OE word *swifeð* in the riddle and proposes that, instead of the usual translation of intransitive 'moves', that it means "something more akin to the meaning (transitive) that it developed in Chaucer's day"—i.e. Higley wants to make *swifeð me* (line 13a) "yield its probable, vulgar and most 'dangerous sense' of unveiled coitus" (29). Because the swiving woman of the riddle was "naked" before "the servants of God in a poem recorded and read by learned men," Higley sees the poem as addressing the fraught issues of both hermeneutics *and* sexuality, as well as the tension between what she terms "critical desire and careful philology" (30). Higley begins by looking at a much later work, Walter Hilton's fourteenth-century *Scale of Perfection*, which includes an image of a "mysterious dark idol" that Higley believes is "peculiarly resonant with

the distracting, mysterious, and dark body of the *wale* ["Welsh woman" or "foreign woman," line 8 in Riddle 12], perhaps reflecting a corresponding Anglo-Saxon fear of foreign faces, foreign coloring, and the foreign terrain of female sexuality" (30-31). After providing an "overly literal" interlinear translation of the poem (based on W.S. Mackie's edition) and reviewing various translations of the problematic lines 7b to 13a—by John Tanke, Mackie, Paull F. Baum, Craig Williamson, Kevin Crossley-Holland, and Nina Rulon-Miller—Higley points out that there is a disparity between the more literal and grammatically "correct" translations (by Mackie and Tanke) and the more "popular" and "obscene" translations (by Crossley-Holland and Rulon-Miller), and it is this disparity she wants to address, especially through the connotations of the *sweartne* ("dark thing") of line 13, an image that Higley feels has preoccupied modern readers of the poem, even "enticing us to bend the rules of Old English grammar in some of the more difficult and suggestive passages" in order to locate prurient meanings (35). What might this tell us about our hermeneutic practices, and how interpretation, over time, is "an unclothing of a passive and silent corpus" (37)? How, also, might scholarship on Riddle 12 reveal how particular critical assumptions "tempt" different (and possibly *too* transgressive) translations and understandings of the riddle's meaning, especially with respect to line 13a—*Swifeð me geond sweartne*—which has proved most difficult to translate? This line has, more recently, been taken to imply some sort of onanism, perhaps with a dildo (suggested by Rulon-Miller). Higley writes that, "since it has become licit to discuss sex openly in articles, and even *de rigeur*, what the servant girl is doing has taken center stage" and the body has become, "as it was in the Middle Ages, a revered and reviled object of critical scrutiny, mysterious and compelling, beautiful and repellant, closed and permeable, and inextricably associated with glossing" (37). It is not Higley's intention to quibble with other translations (indeed, Higley agrees with other interpreters that female masturbation may well be part of the obscene subject matter of the riddle), so much as it is to unravel the layers of existing interpretation in order to reveal some of the critical desires and anxieties that have circulated around the poem, the grammar of which is ultimately a "deep … interpretive bog" (40). Higley jumps into that bog herself and devotes a good part of the essay to exploring the problems attendant upon translating "me on fæðme sticaþ / hygegalan hond" (lines 11b-12a) and "swifeð me geond sweartne" (line 13a), finally offering her own suggestion that "the speaking object is something the woman puts into herself or washes her rear end with"

(56). While some commentators on the riddle, such as Tanke, have wanted to see in its depiction of onanism an image of female autonomy and transgression, Higley argues that the woman of the poem is, finally, "controlled by the riddler, held up for scrutiny and derision by a male audience in her most intimate of activities—her race, her morals, even her color laughed at.… She is as unfree as the beast of burden who serves lords and washes pots" (57-58). Ultimately, Higley wants to suggest that Old English grammar "is itself a kind of dark body that can amaze and elude us" and "provide us a source of transgressive pleasure" (58). But she is worried, too, about the "mindfulness" of Old English scholars to the laws and limitations of a dead language and to the "implications of tinkering with its corpse," especially in an era where psychoanalytic and cultural studies are predominant, and OE studies are increasingly being marginalized.

In "The Last of the Exeter Book Riddles" (*Bookmarks from the Past*, ed. Kornexl and Lenker, 69-80), Michael Korhammer addresses an Old English riddle (number 95 in Krapp and Dobbie's edition) that has produced wildly various solutions over the years, ranging from "wandering singer" to "moon" to "thought" to "prostitute," among others. More recently, the solutions offered have clustered around the theme of writing: "book" by Craig Williamson, "writing, (holy) text" by Helga Göbel, and "riddle book" by Pinsker and Ziegler, and it is Korhammer's intention in his short essay to corroborate that Göbel's solution of "(holy) text" is "by far the best proposal" (70). Approaching the riddle in two- to four-line fragments, from beginning to end, Korhammer provides overviews of other scholars' translations of those lines, including Göbel's, while also sharing additional evidence to support Göbel's solution. But Korhammer also wonders if it is possible to "perhaps narrow down the range of the '(holy) text' even more," and since the riddle "says that wise men have a particular liking for it, but that even they can sometimes not follow it," could it be "a difficult Latin text of the Fathers"? No, Korhammer ultimately decides, because the riddle also indicates that the object in question is "celebrated among high *and* low" (76). Casting about for a text that can claim it is noble, appeals to wise men, yet is celebrated among all classes of society, Korhammer settles upon "Holy Scriptures" or "Bible" as the more narrow solution, which seems especially apt to Korhammer since the Bible would have been "the greatest enigma of all in a Christian society" (77). But this reviewer wonders, too, what *other* "(holy) text" might Göbel have been thinking of—in other words, doesn't

her suggestion naturally imply, given socio-historical context of the Exeter Book, "Bible"? But if she does not explicitly state that in her work *Studien zu den altenglischen Schriftwesenrätseln* (Würzburg, 1980), then Korhammer does so on her behalf. Korhammer ends his essay with a textual "recitation" of his own felicitous translation of the riddle.

Mercedes Salvador's "The Key to the Body: Unlocking Riddles 42–46" (*Naked Before God*, ed. Withers and Wilcox, 60-96) attends to what she calls a "notorious group of riddles … which have a clear sexual component" and their "puzzling" close proximity to Riddle 40, "a solemn poem on divine Creation." Salvador is further interested in exploring the paradox of these obscene riddles being included in an anthology (the Exeter Book) whose compilation "was affected by the Benedictine Reform, which imposed an increasingly strict ecclesiastical control of social habits," the body, and sensuality (61). Her essay tries to answer the questions this paradox raises: "what was the function of these obscene themes in the collection, and how is it that they were preserved given that, as a group, their presence in the manuscript was more visible than single occurrences? Also, if the Exeter Book was a didactic compilation, what were the sexual riddles supposed to teach?" (62) Salvador's exploration of those questions is predicated on her assumption that Riddles 42–46 "were concatenated in the manuscript to provide a cohesive series" (an idea that she feels has never been fully addressed elsewhere in the scholarly literature) and that the main concern of the series "might have been to present the notion of the body in an instructional context, illustrating the conflictive twofold nature of human beings—carnal and spiritual, rational and irrational, female and male, and so forth." Therefore, instead of the obscene material being purposefully hidden, as it were, within the riddles, "this series could have been designed to be read allegorically, presenting a warning against the dangers of the body, as expressed in Riddle 43," which is devoid of sexual content but addresses the division of soul and body. Most of Salvador's essay is taken up with individual analyses of each riddle in the series in order to show that they "make use of well-known symbols and metaphors which are present in both the scriptures and medieval exegetical commentaries" (63), and therefore were produced by and for a learned, ecclesiastical profession. Riddle 42 ("cock and hen") "implicitly warns potential riddlees of the dangers of the sins of the flesh which can be triggered by the contemplation of animal or human sinners surrounding them," and also promotes the "power of literacy" (a phrase borrowed

from the work of Seth Lerer) "as the best protection of the spirit against the sins of the body" (70, 71-72). Riddle 43 ("soul and body") possesses obvious religious and instructional overtones, and Salvador sees it as a deliberate continuation of the "carnal/spiritual reflection" begun in Riddle 42, but whereas "the cock and hen of Riddle 42 allegorically represent the battle between fleshly desires and spiritual aspirations, Riddle 43 represents this conflictive dichotomy in a literal dimension" (75). Riddle 44 ("key") provides explicit allusions to male and female pudenda, but Salvador also detects allusions to sexual imagery used in the Song of Songs—sexual imagery that, in traditional exegesis, has been interpreted as an allegorical reference to the love of Christ for his bride, the church, or as symbolizing the intimacy of a love for God in the human soul. Therefore, in Riddle 44, the "key" and the "lock," in addition to signifying a pair of lovers (male and female), might also be "a metaphor alluding to Christ and the human soul, an idea closely related to the preceding dichotomy of the body and soul in Riddle 43" (78). Riddle 45 ("dough") provides a double entendre whereby the act of a woman kneading, and of dough rising in an oven, can be associated with the sexual act, but Salvador also sees an association between the image of swelling dough and the sin of immoderation or vainglory, depicted elsewhere in the OE corpus as something that swells, or is increased by being "fermented" or "leavened," and like Riddle 44, it utilizes homely, domestic items (83-84, 86). Riddle 46 ("Lot and his daughters") obviously calls to mind a specific Biblical story (Genesis 19:30–38), especially the incest between Lot and his daughters. Therefore, the riddle is both obscene but also invokes, once again, the soul/body conflict that Salvador believes ties this group of riddles together. Salvador concludes that, regardless (and even because) of their sexual content, it "could be easily inferred that a contemporary audience of the Exeter Riddles, most probably belonging to the monastic 'learned elite,' would be trained to recognize the literal and allegorical dimensions of these texts," and the double pattern of each riddle (cock and hen, soul and body, key and lock, dough and oven, Lot and his daughters) indicates a structural link between the riddles of the group, as well as points to a common theme: "the concern with the body" (95).

E.A.J.

Works not seen:

Fiocco, Teresa, "Gli animali negli enigmi anglo-sassoni dell'*Exeter Book*" (*Simbolismo animale e letteratura*, ed. Dora Faraci (Rome: Vecchiarelli), 133-57.

The Riming Poem

Alexandra H. Olsen applies Whitney F. Bolton's advice to emend an Old English text only when necessary in "Subtractive Rectification and the Old English *Riming Poem*" (*In Geardagum* 24: 57–66). Olsen's aim is to establish a text that is closer to the manuscript version and consequently brings it more in line with the elegies in its development of the theme of regret (58). While praising O.D. Macrae-Gibson's translation of the poem in his 1987 edition, Olsen analyzes his emendations of the text, in each case noting when they seem strained, apparently reasonable, designed to improve rhyme or alliteration or are aimed to correct suspected scribal error. In most cases Olsen argues for retention of the manuscript original, invoking C.L. Wrenn's comment that "the modern critic who ventures upon emendation when a possible defense of the MS. is in view may seem to be assuming more knowledge and discrimination in Anglo-Saxon poetry in himself than is humanly possible" (59). The full range of emendations discussed by Olsen is not easily summarized. She does draw an interesting conclusion, however: "A number of the subtractive rectifications I have suggested only affect the Old English text, not the translation, because a word has the same meaning however it is spelled or only has minimal effect, like the difference between 'scræf' and 'græf' in line 71a" (64). She ultimately goes on to argue: "Every time Macrae-Gibson allows an emendation in his text, he lessens the similarity of the "Riming Poem" to elegies like "The Wanderer," a similarity he himself perceives" (65). Olsen claims that if her subtractive rectifications are applied, we will have a poem that may be recognized as good poetry, not just an end-rhyme *tour de force*, and one that more explicitly "shares a worldview with 'The Wanderer' and 'The Ruin' and asks us to think about the inevitability of loss in human life" (65). It seems to me that if this be so, the field would be well-served by a new edition of the poem.

D.F.J.

Rune Poem

In a short note, "*Tir* as Mars in the Old English *Rune Poem*" (*ANQ* 16.1: 3–13), Marijane Osborn argues that "[m]istaken understandings of both medieval and modern astronomy have interfered with the acceptance of an obvious meaning for the *Tir* stanza of the Old English *Rune Poem*," which, despite the reluctance of some scholars to accept the identification, Osborn identifies as Mars, "but only in a carefully limited sense" (3).

Before moving on to her own interpretation, Osborn first reviews Maureen Halsall's edition, which argues that, although the words *Tiw* in Old English and *Týr* in Old Norse commonly referred to the god Mars, she doubts "that the Christian poet seen so obviously at work in stanzas 1, 7, 10 and 12, would compose a paean in praise of a heathen god, endorsing in the process the heretical notions of magic and astrological influence" (qtd. by Osborn, 5). Much as she admires Halsall's interpretation of the poem as a whole, Osborn feels that Halsall "inadvertently misleads us by denying the presence of Mars," and further, like "many literary scholars unfamiliar with naked-eye astronomy and the real night-sky above us, she assumes that any medieval reference to a planet must signal astrology" (6), although it could, in fact, just as easily signal the sciences of navigation and astronomy. Osborn sees Halsall's reluctance to allow the planet Mars as the reference in the poem as a uniquely modern resistance to astrology which would not have been shared by those living in the medieval period, such as Isidore of Seville, who divided astrology into "natural" and "superstitious" categories (7). Therefore, not all astrology in the Anglo-Saxon period was necessarily considered "magical" (and therefore blasphemously pagan), and since the poem refers to Tir as *always holding its course* (line 49b), it again accords well with the planet, since Mars shifts its position "in relation to the constellations, but it always holds to its course along the ecliptic" (8). And while "the reference to the course of Mars across the night sky in the *Rune Poem* is the earliest strictly astronomical reference in English poetry, the only reason for the appearance of this planet in the poem is the need to avoid the impropriety of a culturally unacceptable association with a discarded pagan belief system" (9). In other words, the poet "reverses the morality implicit in the rune name: whereas the Norse Týr is admired for his expedient breaking of pledges, the *Rune Poem* admires the consistent keeping of them. The planet Mars 'keeps faith well' with its viewers specifically because it *does* always keep to the planetary path over the clouds and never *swiceþ* (fails, deceives, or wanders off)," and finally, to "worry about the astrological implications of Mars … is to reveal a modern anxiety irrelevant to the concerns of the poet" (9).

E.A.J.

Seafarer

It is well-known how much *Beowulf* (and also *Battle of Maldon*) likely influenced J.R.R. Tolkien's writing of *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy, but less may be known

about the influence of *Seafarer* upon that work. In her essay "Exilic Imagining in *The Seafarer* and *The Lord of the Rings*" (*Tolkien the Medievalist*, ed. Jane Chance [London: Routledge], 133–54), Miranda Wilcox aims to describe a "sequence of influence" of *The Seafarer* upon the *Rings* trilogy that "begins with scholarly textual engagement followed by creative linguistic manipulation resulting in fictive integration" (133). According to Wilcox, Tokien's "formal engagement" with the poem began after he joined the staff at Leeds University in 1920 and began collaborating on editions of Old English poetry with E.V. Gordon. Although they began a joint edition of *Seafarer* and *Wanderer* while at Leeds, after Tolkien's move to Oxford in 1925 and Gordon's sudden death in 1938, the project remained incomplete. In Wilcox's view, criticism of *Seafarer* "between the 1930s and 1950s was mixed, partly new critical and partly patristic-allegorical, and Tolkien reflects both these positions at various times in his criticism and fiction" (135). But Wilcox also sees clues to Tolkien's possible interpretation of the poem in Ida Gordon's 1960 edition of *Seafarer* (based, partly, on notes made by her husband E.V. Gordon and Tolkien), where she rejects allegory and instead "traces the themes of exile and wandering in terms of Old Irish and Old Welsh secular lyric elegy characterized by the personal lament and gnomic utterances, the plaint for the brevity of life in Latin scholastic poetry, and the vocabulary of Germanic heroic poetry" (136). Wilcox then traces some of the ways in which the subject matter, imagery, and tone of *Seafarer* found their way into various of Tolkien's stories and collections of stories, such as *The Silmarillion*, "The Lost Road," and "The Notion Club Papers." Wilcox sees in the theme of exile strong parallels between *Seafarer* and *The Lord of the Rings*, especially in relation to the Elves of Tolkien's trilogy, who "describe themselves … as being exiles tarrying on Middle-earth for a while before they follow their departed kindred over the Great Sea" (138). In order to delineate these parallels in more specific detail, Wilcox examines three levels—temporal, spatial, and spiritual—of "exilic dislocation" that the Seafarer and Elves experience, and she also analyzes "the process of departure from the exilic abode or the return to the true homeland where there is the greatest verbal resonance between the two texts" (139). According to Wilcox,

> The intensity of exilic experience increases with the combination of estrangements. On a temporal level, the memory of a more pleasant past conflicts with the sorrow of the present exilic experience. The limitations of the body govern the spatial level. On a figural level, the spiritual exile is estrangement from the divine, a rupture between an ideal state and a fallen state. (139)

It is important to keep in mind that individual experiences of exile are complex and cannot always be labeled in terms of narrowly-defined categories and often the boundaries between the different levels "blur." Having stated that, Wilcox goes on to outline her parallels between *Seafarer* and the *Rings* trilogy within the tripartite structure she sets up. On the temporal level, both the Seafarer and the Elves are burdened with memories of the past, which they lament as a "lost" golden age, and both suffer the physical hardships of their wide travels. But they both also accept the transitory nature of their lives and works, and the decay and political instability of the world in general. On the spatial level, the limitations of the physical body also govern the exile of both the Seafarer and Tolkien's Elves: the Seafarer, for example, understands he can only cross over to eternity through the death of his body, and "on Middle-earth, the immortal Elves experience a degree of mortality when they become more susceptible to being killed in battle" (141). For the Seafarer the spatial limit is the body, whereas for the Elves it is the environment in which they find themselves. According to Wilcox, Tolkien's depiction of the struggles that the Elves undergo due to the impassibility of their immortality (they must suffer, for instance, by not being able to die and having to mourn everyone else's passing) actually demonstrates Tolkien's interesting "twist" on the theme of mortal sadness so prevalent in Old English elegies such as *Seafarer*. On the figural level, "the Seafarer is in spiritual exile from God as a mortal being on earth," and the Elves "are removed from the wisdom and power of their divine Valar"; both, therefore, are seeking "to bridge the spatial and temporal dislocation that separates them from the divine" (143). Ultimately, in Wilcox's view, "the greatest textual similarities between *The Seafarer* and *The Lord of the Rings* occur during the process of decision-making the Seafarer and the Elves must complete before they embark on their journey from exile" and where they have to choose between past and future. Both embody what Wilcox, following the critic André Aciman, terms "exilic imagining," where "the inevitable passing of time propels the Seafarer and the Elves into the future, but their memories pull them back into nostalgic melancholy" (144). Wilcox then moves on to two passages in the respective works that she feels highlight how "[t]he sea becomes a conduit between the mortal and spiritual plane for both the

Seafarer and the Elves" and how, in both works, "the psychic instability between past and future is paralleled in the physicality of crashing waves and the tossing of birds" (144-45). She also looks at the theme of "possessive hesitancy" in both works: how both the Seafarer and the Elves look forward to a better future, but feel loss for the material things they have to leave behind. Finally, Wilcox notes how, for both the Seafarer and the Elves, possessive hesitancy is undone by the arrival of spring, which calls to mind the transitory and passing nature of the world and prompts departure from the exilic abode. In the end, both the Seafarer and the Elves remain "caught in a poignant gap between the past pains of mortality and future expectations of joy," and in Wilcox's mind "[r]eflecting on such texts helps us to capture a brief glimpse of the essence of exile" (152).

E.A.J.

Solomon and Saturn II

In "The Fall of the Angels in *Solomon and Saturn II*" (*Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, ed. Powell and Scragg, 121–33; see section 4a), Daniel Anlezark makes the case for a closer literary association between *Solomon and Saturn II* and *Beowulf* than heretofore suspected. He arrives at this conclusion through a close analysis of the account of the fall of the angels in the poem (ll. 441–66), in the course of which he calls attention to motifs found here that are common to the wider apocryphal tradition known in Anglo-Saxon England, but also to elements in *Solomon and Saturn II* that evince a range of sources and influences it has in common with *Beowulf*, most notably including the *Visio Sancti Pauli* and quite possibly the Book of Enoch. Many of the details discussed here by Anlezark combine to form a collectively compelling case: "It seems unlikely that the relationship between two poems which share an interest in pagan giants from the early history of the world and the demonic origins of evil can be defined only in terms of the influence on each by a lost (vernacular) version of the *Visio Pauli*. What is more likely is that these connections point not to the widespread character of the traditions which *Solomon and Saturn II* and *Beowulf* share, but to a closer literary association between them than has previously been supposed" (133).

Antonina Harbus studies "the language of wisdom and the enunciation of its mental context in *Solomon and Saturn II*" (97) in "The Situation of Wisdom in *Solomon and Saturn II*" (*SN* 75: 97–103). Her approach is a linguistic one, her specific target diction in the poem

that emphatically locates wisdom "within the mind of the human subject, and figuratively situate[s] an active engagement with wisdom in the course of a successful life" (97). Her analysis of the construction of wisdom in the world of the poet is based on close scrutiny of compounds with connotations of mind and wisdom (*mōdglēaw* and *wīssefa*) as well as those that contain one or the other of these two ideas (*brēosttoga*, *mōdsefa*, *ðrēamedla* and *ormōd*).

D.F.J.

Wanderer

In "Discourse and Ideology in the Old English 'The Wanderer': Time and Eternity" (*Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño [Turnhout: Brepols], 331–53), Juan Camilo Conde-Silvestre attempts "to stimulate the historical function of linguistic criticism by extending to the medieval world the correlation between text, discourse, and ideology which critical linguists are currently applying to contemporary cultural products." More specifically, he wants to analyze *Wanderer* "with the aim of understanding the meaning of its textual construction in connection with the ideologies and the world-views it construes," and he suspects that this kind of analysis of the poem will reveal "an interesting plural ideological structure" (332). Conde-Silvestre points out that early interpretations of the poem "tended to polarize around a religious or non-religious characterization" (the poem as Christian allegory or pagan lament about mutability), and he believes the "exclusiveness of this interpretive polarization can be questioned by looking at the narrative construction of the poem," which utilizes multiple voices, such as the external speaker-narrator and the internal Wanderer-character (332, 333). Critical attempts to impose a thematic unity upon the poem may be at odds with this multi-voiced structure and the ideals of the time in which *Wanderer* was written. What is needed, instead, is a linguistic analysis of the poem that understands that "contradictory perspectives may coexist on the surfaces of texts and that they may represent the problematic beliefs current within the particular society producing them." And since *Wanderer* possesses a "textual surface" that depends "on different discursive stances," that may help us understand "how contradictory values were transmitted in a remote culture" (336). Conde-Silvestre is especially interested in the function of time in *Wanderer*, since it "has a vital function in the organization of human experience, but also because of the subjectivity inherent in it," such that "it may be discordantly perceived in different societies,

at different stages of social or cultural development or by different individuals of the same society" (336-37). Further the subject of the passing of time itself is obviously so central to the poem's concerns and so much an integral part of *any* narrative structure, where authors are able to even create literary "pseudo-times." Through various strategies of narratological theory,

> [t]he possibility of foregrounding in literature discursive marks differing from the textual utterance of the events narrated favors the methodological split of "discourse" and "story" and allows readers and critics to observe the treatment of time both at the level of enunciation (*énonciation*) and at the level of enounced (*énoncé*): the fictive or real time of the act of narrating which shapes the textual material (*Erzählzeit*) or the time of the narrative itself (*erzählte Zeit*). (337)

But Conde-Silvestre also wants to caution against narratology's occasional characterization of narratives as "atemporal constructions," and he therefore favors Paul Ricouer's idea that "the author transfers into the text a 'prefigured' subjective experience of time (mimesis I) which is manipulated and 'configured' by resorting to artistic techniques and conventions (mimesis II) with the final aim of producing the desired effect on the addressees" who then "decode or 'refigure' (mimesis III) the author's own rendering of his or her personal experience of time by confronting it with their own, and with a critical awareness of the techniques and conventions used in the textual manipulation of this category" (338). Personal point of view is therefore intimately connected to narratological time, and it is with this connection that Conde-Silvestre begins his analysis of *Wanderer*. Following the model devised by Boris Uspensky in *A Poetics of Composition* (Berkeley, 1973), Conde-Silvestre treats point of view in *Wanderer* on four planes: the ideological, the psychological, the phraseological, and the spatio-temporal. According to Conde-Silvestre, "observing how the construction of point of view binds the organization of time and tenses in narratives should be the prime concern of analysis," and further, an analysis of the poem "at both the level of enunciation and the level of the enounced evinces a design in which the character's speech is twice placed in a non-specified past by the speaker-narrator's use of the preterite (*cwæð*) in lines 6a and 111a," but is also placed in the present by the narrator's use of *acwið*, the present tense of *cweðan*, in line 91 (346, 347). While some commentators have typified this tense

construction as illogical, Conde-Silvestre believes that "this alternation of present and preterite in the narrative framework has the discursive function of delineating the textual foreground and background, marking clear boundaries within the text and allowing what Paul Zumthor has called 'jeux de masque ou de perspective'" (347-48). In summary, the tenses accord with how point of view in the poem has been analyzed by Conde-Silvestre: "Although the speaker-narrator situates the enounced in the preterite and, therefore, determines the reception of the quoted-monologue as part of a past, subjective experience, the careful handling of present and preterite tenses in the sections allotted to the character are consonant with his apparent freedom from the former's perspective, and reflect the tensions in his mind due to the contrast between his sad past experiences and the necessity to find the kind of Christian consolation offered by the narrator" (351). As a result, *Wanderer* offers its audiences (both past and present) a "dynamic conception of time" that confronts and challenges the "one-dimensional, linear, and irreversible experiences of the temporal flow which completely agrees with the dominant Christian ideology," although it has to be admitted that the closing lines of the speaker-narrator affirm the dominant Christian belief in eternity (352, 353). Nevertheless, Conde-Silvestre concludes that *Wanderer* ultimately "evinces a plural ideological structure which agrees with the fact that Anglo-Saxon society did not exhibit a 'monolithic' conception of time" (353). Conde-Silvestre's sophisticated and compelling argument attends to a much-neglected subject in medieval scholarship: critical theories of temporality (see, on this point, Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's chapter "Time's Machines" in his book *Medieval Identity Machines* [Minneapolis, 2003]), but I fear, too, that scholarship on *Wanderer* almost never moves beyond what might be called, following the thought of Pierre Bourdieu, its historical critical *habitus*—in other words, the majority of recent scholarship on the poem continues to circulate around the question of the poem's "Christian" or "Germanic-heroic" ethos and the tension or assimilation or accommodation, or in Conde-Silvestre's words, the "ideological plurality" between and of the two world-views, and this interpretive hermeneutic, although it clearly has its important utility, can sometimes feel strangulating on what this poem might otherwise have to say to us, both about the Anglo-Saxon past and even our own present. The next two essays, both of which deal with aspects of *Wanderer* not usually addressed in the critical scholarship—in the first instance, its relation (through the trope of ruins and nostalgia) to the technology of writing and an emerging

English historiography, and in the second instance, its relation to an early development of modern subjectivity—are exceptions to this rule.

R.M. Liuzza begins his beautifully written and poetic essay "The Tower of Babel: *The Wanderer* and the Ruins of History" (*Studies in the Literary Imagination* 36.1: 1–35) with a rumination upon the "underappreciated" and "remarkably expansive" elaboration of the story of the Tower of Babel in the Old English *Genesis A*, which he sees as an appropriation of the Biblical narrative "into a kind of English *Landnámabók*; like the genealogy of Grendel in *Beowulf*, it inscribes a poetic vernacular tradition into Biblical history and finds a place for one story in the heart of another." More specifically, "[t]he sign of a ruined tower and the isolation of linguistic diversity are here joined to the story of migration that is, as Nicholas Howe has persuasively argued, part of the infrastructure of Anglo-Saxon cultural identity," and the ruined tower itself also an emblem of "the failure of memory and the isolation from a shared past" (4). As Liuzza remarks, many scholars have pointed out the ubiquity of the "ruin motif" as an evocation for the *topos* of mutability in Old English poetry, yet the story of the Tower of Babel in *Genesis A*, in Liuzza's mind, "points to the motif's imbrication in a far larger and more complex set of concerns, including divine punishment, migration history, and the cultural specificity of language." Through an analysis of the description of ruins in *Wanderer* "in the shadow, as it were, of the Tower of Babel, as a depiction of the nexus of migration history and language," Liuzza argues that "the mutability *topos* in the poem is an expression of a certain anxiety over the possibility recovering, recording, and reclaiming the past" (5). Liuzza first attends to the background of what he calls the "ruin motif," both in Latin poetry and its analogues in Anglo-Latin literature, Old English homilies and exegesis, Bede's *Historia*, the landscape and architecture of Anglo-Saxon England, and of course, the Old English *Ruin* poem. Liuzza notes that writers of vernacular poetry in Anglo-Saxon England "had a wide range of ideas and implications at their disposal when they turned a hand to the depiction of ruins; in the rich matrix of Anglo-Saxon culture, Latin-Christian and native vernacular lines of thought were hardly kept distinct, and the same concerns—mutability, judgment, language, pride, history—recur in varying proportions." And while it may not be easy to separate the ruin motif in Old English poetry from a Christianizing or generally moralizing perspective, Liuzza notes that the depiction of ruins in *Wanderer*, *Beowulf*, and *Ruin* "have less to do with the specific sins of the ruined city's

builders than with the more general and more complex questions of memory and forgetting," and in the case of *Ruin*, the poem "is less about pride and punishment than about the complex relationship between monuments and memory" (8, 10). Liuzza next turns to *Wanderer*, which, although its perspective is more personal, nevertheless "shares with *The Ruin* an emphasis on historical rather than the providential message to be read in ruins" (10). In a striking passage, Liuzza writes of that singular moment in *Wanderer* when the speaker comments on the ruins he encounters in the landscape (lines 88–105 in Krapp and Dobbie's edition) that

> There is no sense in the poem that this destruction is God's just punishment for sin, nor that it fits into an explicable pattern of loss and renewal that will be made right at the end of Time; it is nothing but a ghastly *memento mori*. The existential terror that grips the speaker lies in this equation of community with destruction, time with violence, and history with obliteration, the simultaneous vision of life and death, memory and oblivion, each superimposed upon the other: ruins are the broken mirror of the present. (12)

The loss figured in the ruins of the poem, then, is not so much the inexorable transience of the material world, as is often assumed in scholarship on the poem, as it is the loss of history and failure of language associated with the ruins' silent stillness and the fact that the speaker is cut off from his speech community. "In this sense," Liuzza writes, "*The Wanderer* participates fully in the tradition of commentary on Babel—it brings together images of destruction, failure of communication, and the problem of claiming and retaining a history" (13). Further, the ruins "are the figure of the anxiety of history itself, of being forever perched on the mute lip of oblivion," and as a result, "*The Wanderer* is a powerful instance of the nostalgia that accompanies any great cultural shift" (14), such as would have occurred during the conversion in early England, but also, Liuzza argues, by the rise of the technology of writing, and therefore, of a new type of historical consciousness:

> The locus of memory, and thus the center of cultural gravity, shifted from song to text, from court to cloister, from group memory to individual authority, and with this shift came not only new configurations of power but new conceptions of the possibilities and limitations of remembering and recording the past. (21)

And "what is not written down," it logically follows, "is not worthy of memory; what is not turned into text is consigned to oblivion." What Liuzza wants to suggest in relation to all of this is that "the *topos* of ruins deployed in *The Wanderer* is one way an Anglo-Saxon poet thought about the transition from memory to written record and the many acts of silencing and forgetting it entailed" (22). The poem's "images of ruins … may in the end also be reflections on the task of committing to the page the songs and stories of a living community. They are a *beacen* of the lost oral world the Anglo-Saxons had left behind, glimpsed from the textual world to which they had journeyed; the Wanderer and the poet are both *ungeþeode*, alienated from speech, nation, and history." Ultimately, as Liuzza writes, "[a]ny investigation of historiography, memory, and nostalgia among the Anglo-Saxons must end in the realization that we ourselves are a necessary part of the story" and like "the dazed builders of Babel, we stumble about in our own jumble of languages, trying to shore fragments against our own ruins" (23). Nevertheless, and somewhat paradoxically, "[t]he text survives where the song is silenced, and memory survives where the text fades; the will to remember resists the destruction and decay that are the fate of human beings, texts, and buildings alike" (24).

Anthony Low's "Exile in the Tenth Century: Alienation and Subjectivity in *The Wanderer*" (*Aspects of Subjectivity: Society and Individuality from the Middle Ages to Shakespeare and Milton* [Pittsburgh: Duquesne UP], 1-21), is essentially, with minor differences, a reprint of an essay Low published in 2001, "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). It was reviewed in *YWOES 2001*.

E.A.J.

Wife's Lament and Wulf and Eadwacer

Berit Kristina Åström's dissertation, "The Politics of Tradition: Examining the History of the Old English Poems *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer*" (Umeå Universteit, Sweden, *DAI* 64C: 811), addresses the traditional conservatism of Old English literary studies through an analysis of scholarship on *Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer*. Her investigation focuses for the most part on two aspects of scholarly research: "the emergence of a professional identity among Anglo-Saxonist scholars and their choice of either a metaphoric or metonymic approach to the material," and also how

scholars have traditionally approached the ambiguities of the two poems. One chapter is devoted to "concomitant changes within Old English feminist studies," and a comprehensive bibliography of scholarship on the two texts is also provided.

"How does the gender of an author or a speaker manifest itself in medieval poetry? In addition to the obvious grammatical markers, are there other devices that might be called 'poetic markers'"? These are the questions posed by Anne L. Klinck in her essay "Poetic Markers of Gender in Medieval 'Woman's Song': Was Anonymous a Woman?" (*Neophilologus* 87: 339–59). Klinck examines the questions, first, through an overview of traditional and more contemporary feminist scholarship on the question of gender and voice in woman's song (especially in the Romanist and Hispanist traditions), and second, through a comparative analysis of five pairs of woman's-voice love complaints written in medieval French, German, Italian, and Galician-Portugese, and in Old and Middle English. Two of the poems she analyzes are by women, three by men, and the rest are anonymously authored, and it is Klinck's belief that "the most fruitful approach" to the question of gender and sex in the poems "lies in comparing woman's voice poems of known male and female authorship with anonymous poems." Further, in the group she chooses (where *Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* serve as examples of anonymously-authored woman's voice poems), she wants "to consider whether the femininity constructed is more or less the same throughout the group, whether it is the same in each pair, and whether any distinction is detectable between the male-authored, the female-authored, and the anonymous poems." All of the poems she selects are monologues, and in all of them "the speaker addresses or refers to her lover with regret and reproach because he has disappointed her, either by definitive rupture, or merely by his absence" (346). What Klinck discovers is that gender markers "are not merely lexical or grammatical," but are also "culture- and genre-specific. Nevertheless, there are a few more general tendencies, notably the linkage of maleness with movement and violence, femaleness with detainment and enclosure." Klinck cautions, however, that this contrast "is not to be equated with activity versus passivity," for "most of these women speakers are self-assertive—those in the woman-authored poems strikingly so." Further, "[n]othing can be regarded as a reliable test of authorial gender—but there are no indicators that would align the anonymous with the female-authored rather than the male-authored poems" (339). Ultimately, "drawing

inferences about the sex of unknown authors is peril-ous, and in the face of so much uncertainty little can be inferred about the extent to which the female persona is affected by the author's sex" (354).

<div align="right">E.A.J.</div>

Wife's Lament

In 2002, the often-discussed crux of line 34b (*leger weardiað*) of *Wife's Lament* occasioned two articles by Thomas D. Hill and Kathryn A. Lowe, who differed in their interpretation of that line, with Lowe arguing for "they inhabit graves" and Hill for the more erotic connotations of "they share a bed" (both articles were reviewed in *YWOES 2002; OEN* 37.2 [2004]). In her short note "The Riddle of *The Wife's Lament* Line 34b" (*ANQ* 16: 5-8), it is Carole Hough's intention, not "to rehearse the arguments put forward by either scholar, each of whom presents a cogent and detailed case that deserves to be read in full," but rather "to attempt to cut the Gordian knot by suggesting a way of reconciling different interpretations of this and other cruxes within the poem" (5). In Hough's opinion, critical debate over the crux of line 34b "has been based on the pragmatic assumption that only one of the alternative interpre-tations can be correct," but when they are considered together, however, "the discussions by Lowe and Hill demonstrate that the text can be read convincingly in different ways, functioning coherently on more than one level." It may, in fact, be "a deliberate strategy of the poet" (6). In my review of Lowe's article in *OEN* 37.2, I wrote that "it's not much of a stretch to imagine a poet, adept at creating new metaphors, envisioning a mar-riage-bed as a kind of dwelling that two lovers 'keep' or 'hold' together, in the same way they would 'keep' or 'hold' a house together, or even, their mutual grave." In other words, as Hough attests, it is in the very nature of poetry itself to be somewhat felicitous with language, and to inflect traditional meanings of words with new connotations and associations—such is the very *rai-son d'etre* of the craft, while at the same time, of course, it has to depend on traditional linguistic denotations. Why do we assume that poets working in earlier peri-ods were not as inventive with their lexicon as poets are today? Hough sees in line 34b of *Wife's Lament* the same kind of "artful ambiguity" and polysemous quality that has long been recognized in the Riddles of the Exeter Book, which deal in both surface and hidden mean-ings, and other scholars have long pointed out the con-nections between *Wife's Lament* and the riddle genre. Why Hough's argument should have to be made at all at this point in the history of scholarship on Old English

poetry tells us something, I think, about the rigidity of our approach to the artistic forms of the period. The fact, too, that she makes her argument in a conserva-tive manner—by only using the immediate context of other poems in the Exeter Book—to make her point, is similarly impoverished. But I know why she did it that way, and I am grateful to her for doing it.

I have a sneaking suspicion that John D. Niles is working his way through the entire corpus of Old Eng-lish poetry, and I can hardly think of a better person for the job. 2003 was a good year, and in addition to his article on *Husband's Message* (reviewed above), we also have this year "The Problem of the Ending of *The Wife's Lament*" (*Speculum* 78: 1107–50)—yet another piece of work by Niles that demonstrates the rich-ness of a comparative ethno-cultural analysis of OE poetry which nevertheless does not neglect philology. Niles's main concern here is "how to construe a pas-sage of ten and a half lines at the poem's close (lines 42-52a), whether as the speaker's gnomic reflection on the sorrows of her life or as her outright curse upon a man who has wronged her." In Niles's view, "philol-ogy alone cannot resolve the problem" although it *can* "open up certain hermeneutic possibilities while virtu-ally ruling out certain others." Instead, Niles hopes to "develop a viable reading context for *The Wife's Lament* by directing attention to cursing as a social institu-tion and as a literary theme, both in the earlier Middle Ages in Europe and … in other times and places" (1107). Although there has been a seemingly infinite amount of debate over whether the speaker of the poem is male or female, human or semi-divine, alive or dead, Niles feels that "the consensus view that the speaker is a wronged woman emerges naturally from the monologue as a whole" (1109). Niles also favors the idea that the man in question in the poem is the speaker's husband (as opposed to a casual friend or lover), and further, that he is of high social rank. Niles also sees "no need to posit an allegorical meaning for the poem," because similar to other Old English writings, *Wife's Lament* "can only be understood within a Christian intellectual context" (1110, 1111). A more important consideration for Niles is "the poem's setting in a past time that, while never iden-tified, seems far more archaic than the late-tenth-cen-tury period when the text was written down," a period, moreover, that was "coterminous with the fall of Rome and the concurrent great migrations of the Germanic peoples of Europe"—the "favorite 'once-upon-a-time' of the Anglo-Saxon secular aristocracy" (1111, 1112). Niles first approaches the difficult closing lines of the poem through a careful philological analysis and sums

up by saying that "there are two schools of thought about lines 42-52a" that "could be called the 'genteel' versus the 'vindictive' school":

> According to the "genteel" interpretations, these lines are … gnomic. They express philosophical resignation concerning the lot of unhappy lovers of either sex who are forced to endure the absence of their beloved. According to the rival "vindictive" view, the woman speaks a curse. With bitter but unbroken spirit, she heartily wishes that her husband were just as miserable as she is, and she visualizes him suffering in some future time. (1115-16)

The "genteel" side, apparently, has long been the predominant scholarly view. After reviewing some of the scholarship on both sides of the divide, Niles indicates this his main purpose in his essay is to "show grounds" for the "vindictive" curse approach, but to do so with evidence that goes beyond the merely philological (which has proven problematic, in any case, due to the highly ambiguous language and grammar of the poem itself). In order to do this, Niles provides an historical overview of cursing "as both a social practice and literary phenomenon with particular attention to evidence from Anglo-Saxon England" (1119). His larger purpose in doing this is to "help undermine the two common stereotypes about Old English literature: namely, that it is both deaf to the voices of strong women and monotone in its call for resignation in the face of life's ills" (1120). Niles looks at a wide range of the literature on cursing and malediction, from the Anglo-Latin and Anglo-Saxon Bibles (chiefly Deuteronomy and the Psalms) to formulas for excommunication in Ælfric and other Old English writings to Old English law codes and manumissions to chronicle writings. Niles also delineates the ways in which "women were thought to be more likely than men to use spells and curses for illicit ends," and how it was the "general assumption that … people with evil tongues were more likely to be female than male" (1131, 1129). In order to place the Anglo-Saxon evidence for cursing within an even broader cultural-historical context, Niles includes a section in his article, "Toward an Historical Anthropology of Cursing," where he provides a "very selective review of cursing as a general practice" (1135). This includes early modern English historical works on magic, modern folklore on cursing in the British Isles, the tradition of cursing in ancient Rome and in medieval Ireland, and some examples of cursing in preindustrial societies from the literature of anthropology. One of his conclusions there is that,

according to "the available evidence for the western European tradition, *those who most commonly utter curses are women*," but the distinction is "relative rather than absolute" (1140). Because, as Niles points out (following, to a certain extent, the thought of Kristeva), "the voice of the dangerously abjected woman is naturally disturbing," it may be that the author of *Wife's Lament* "may have been aware of how the poem flirts with a situation that many readers, especially devout Christians and biological males, are likely to find disconcerting" and he "may have wished to defuse the poem's explosive potential by leaving the door open to different responses" that would answer to different readers' sensibilities. And the poem's rhetoric, then, may be deliberately ambiguous (1146). Ultimately, Niles believes the "anguished voice" of *Wife's Lament* "deserves our attention precisely because it does not chime with the voices of consolation that are heard so often in medieval literature," and as opposed to the "tender lament" that some hear in its lines, Niles hears "an imagined *cri de couer* that wells up from the depths of loneliness and pain and finds eventual expression in a curse directed against the speaker's estranged husband" (1149, 1150). The poem can also be read "as an exercise in primitivism, as well, for the woman's passionate, vengeance-driven cry" pertains not so much to a "relatively cosmopolitan" Anglo-Saxon England, but to a "more raw and primitive past that furnished Anglo-Saxons with many of their reveries and some of their nightmares as well" (1150). Simply wonderful, and I haven't done justice to even half of what is here.

E.A.J.

Wulf and Eadwacer

In "Reading the 'Animals' of *Wulf and Eadwacer* with *Hrabanus Maurus*" (*Medievalia et Humanistica* n.s. 29: 27-49), Marijane Osborn argues that "[e]vidence from the great Carolingian scholar Hrabanus Maurus (d. 856) opens up a new way of reading the animal signifiers of *Wulf and Eadwacer* and, hence, the poem as whole." Osborn points out that she does "not believe the poem is precisely an allegory; it is a poem about a woman in a net of emotional relationships, the political nature of which is suggested by animal allusions and by certain Biblical associations of those allusions" (27). After commenting on the poem's enigmatic nature, and also reviewing at some length the references to animals in the poem, Osborn turns to Hbranus's ninth-century *De Universo Libri XXII*, which she feels provides a context that offers a Christian meaning for *Wulf and Eadwacer*. In that work, Hbranus "defines and morally

aligns *lupus*, *canis*, and *catuli* (whelps), all three of the 'major' animals" in the Old English poem (38). In sum,

> Even if a secular Anglo-Saxon found in the drama of Wulf and Eadwacer the romantic meaning about an outlaw lover (which most modern readers prefer), the gloss on animals supplied by Hrabanus allows us to suppose what a scripturally informed audience could easily have made of it.… [Such readers] might understand the paradigmatic opposition of Eadwacer (the "blessed watcher") to Wulf as a Christian confrontation with the heathen. Thence readily follows understanding the "whelp" as a newly or partly converted *catulus* young in faith. Eadwacer perhaps as the spiritual guardian or father, and the sorrowing mother speaker as Ecclesia Gentis Anglorum, yearning to draw them all together, yet failing time after time, as the pagan or semi-pagan Scandinavian culture continues to clash with English Christianity. (39)

While Osborn favors the scriptural reading (which she derives not just from Hrabanus, but also from a passage in Ezechiel 19) over, say, a Germanic-heroic or mystic-pagan one, she sees the poem's content as ultimately "ambivalent": "The manuscript context invites us either to read it as a quasi-bestiary poem … or to read it first one way, then another, *in enigmate*," and in any reading, "the female speaker's ambiguous emotional attitude toward Wulf remains the paramount feature" of the poem (41).

<div align="right">E.A.J.</div>

c. *Beowulf*

Text, Language, Meter

In Chapter 2, "Manuscript and Text," *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'* (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), 12–56, Andy Orchard describes the sole extant copy of the poem, comparing it with other texts in the same manuscript compilation, the "Nowell codex," London, BL, MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv. He observes characteristic scribal habits and errors which can be of considerable help in evaluating proposed emendations and generating new readings, an activity which Orchard hopes to encourage even with regard to lines "which have so far escaped editorial attention" (54). He gives the example of line 33b *isig ond utfus* "icy and eager to be away" describing Scyld's funeral ship. Orchard is attracted on stylistic, philological, and paleographical grounds to emend the intelligible *isig* 'icy' to "a putative early form" **ilig* 'speedy', yielding "speedy and eager to be away" (54–55). [Other chapters from Orchard's book are reviewed in the sections below.]

A.N. Doane, in "'Beowulf' and Scribal Performance," (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Keeffe, 62–75 [see section 2 above]), reminds us that the work of Anglo-Saxon copyists was "an intentional activity demonstrating in its own right certain intellectual and cultural investments and habits of reception" (62). In particular, when scribes copied traditional vernacular texts, "they inevitably refashioned them according to their own competencies within the tradition" (63). Doane reviews the habits of the two scribes of *Beowulf* in terms of "(1) their differing attitudes to general appearance; (2) their differing approach to spacing; (3) the textual content of their corrections; and (4) what the modern canon of accepted emendations can tell us about their practices" (65). He concludes that Scribe A had a more "literary" approach and was more concerned with how the text appeared on the page, while Scribe B was "more orally inclined and in tune with the [vernacular] tradition," but much less concerned with visual features (66). Doane notes that traditional vernacular texts were "fluid, not fixed," leading "experienced scribes silently to introduce emendations and recompositions into poetic texts as they copied" (72).

R.D. Fulk writes "On Argumentation in Old English Philology, with Particular Reference to the Editing and Dating of *Beowulf*," *ASE* 32: 1–26. He urges "a more carefully formulated philological methodology in Anglo-Saxon studies, as well as more circumspect practices" (26), ones that rely upon the use of statistical probabilities for proposed emendations, punctuation, and judgments on the authorship or date of texts. In particular, Fulk insists that controversial hypotheses, such as that the *Beowulf* poet intended certain words or phrases to be construed twice, with both the clause preceding and the clause following it (that is, *apò koinoû* constructions), are not merely a matter of editorial opinion. Such proposals can be supported or falsified by statistical analysis. In addition, editors must apply tests of statistical probability consistently in all aspects of philological concern: meter, alliteration, syntax, lexicon, etc. Finally, the limitations of statistical analysis must be remembered: even though they can effectively disprove a hypothesis, Fulk insists, statistics can never *prove* one definitively, only indicate its degree of likelihood.

Michiko Ogura offers "A Note on *Ond* Spelled Out in the *Beowulf* Manuscript," in *Text and Language: 'Beowulf,' Chaucer and Related Works II*, ed. Shun'ichi Noguchi and Tadao Kubouchi (Tokyo: Centre for Medieval English Studies, 2001 for 1999), 1-8. The conjunction *ond* 'and' is normally represented by "a Tironian note 7" in the *Beowulf* manuscript (1). It appears in this form 290 times and, although not visibly apparent on twelve other occasions, is usually restored by editors, yielding a total of 303 instances of 7 used to represent *ond*. This conjunction, metrically unstressed and non-alliterating, is written out fully on only three occasions (in lines 600a, 1148b, and 2040b), or by our calculation, less than 1% of the time. In contrast, Ogura finds that the prefix *and-/ond-* 'against, without' is spelled out in place of 7 in seven of eleven cases where it bears stress as part of the vocalic alliteration of the line, or by our calculation, 64% of the time. A variant spelled-out form of the same prefix, *hand-/hond-*, also always participates in stressed vowel alliteration in another four instances (the initial *h-* being omitted by editors of the poem), which would thus yield eleven out of fifteen cases in all, or 73% of the time by our calculation. Furthermore, the prefix *and-/ond-* is represented by 7 on all four occasions when it does not bear alliterative stress. In spite of an overwhelming preference for representing the unstressed conjunction by 7 rather than the spelled-out form of *ond*, and an almost 3-to-1 preference for the spelled-out form of the prefix *and-/ond-* in stressed syllables which alliterate, Ogura chastely concludes that "emphasis, whether it is metrical, semantic, or syntactic" is not by itself "sufficient" to ensure that the word will certainly be spelled out (2). A comparative examination of *Andreas* reveals a roughly similar pattern: 7 is used for the conjunction in 168 of 175 cases, or 96% of the time according to our calculation; it is used for the stressed alliterating prefix only thirteen out of thirty-two times, or in 41% of cases by our calculation; and there are no instances of the non-alliterating use of the prefix nor of its spelling with an initial *h-*.

Edward Christie examines "The Image of the Letter: From the Anglo-Saxons to the Electronic *Beowulf*," *Culture, Theory and Critique* 44: 129–50. He admits that digital technology can turn texts into images that can be usefully manipulated for scholarly purposes, but warns that such images create only an illusion of "unmediated access to the past" of the text (129). In this sense, the *Electronic Beowulf* may simply perpetuate, but more insidiously, the distortions of the "discursive structure" it was supposed to supplant: the heavily mediated scholarly edition of the poem (148).

Alfred Bammesberger, in "The Sequence *sib ge mænum* in *Beowulf* Line 1857a," *ANQ* 16: 3–5, notes that "because *gemænum* is likely to function as an adjective referring to the nominative singular of the feminine noun *sibb*, 'peace'…, the ending *-um* cannot be grammatically correct" (3). He proposes that "the feminine for the adjectival *ija*-stem *gemæne* may be expected as *gemænu* within the system of Old English grammar" and suggests that "the authorial version of line 1857a exhibited this phonologically and morphologically correct reading," which was altered to *gemænum* because "a scribe may well have thought that *gemænu* was an abbreviated form for the common dative plural in *-um*, particularly because three forms in *-um* occurred in the immediately preceding text" (4). In "OE *befeallen* in *Beowulf*, line 1126a," *N&Q* n.s. 50: 156–58, Bammesberger suggests that *freondum befeallen* 'deprived of friends' refers not to *wigend* 'warriors' in the previous line 1125a, more correctly requiring the nominative plural form of the past participle (*befeallene*), but to "the neuter compound Frysland in the construction *Frysland geseon* 'visit Frysland' [in the following line 1126b] because in the accusative singular of the neuter the past participle *befeallen* would remain unchanged" (157). In addition to solving the grammatical irregularity, the new reading also would clarify the puzzling situation indicated by the traditional translation, in which warriors *leave* Finnsburh (presumably in Frisia), having been deprived of their friends who fell there, in order to *visit* Frisia. If *freondum befeallen* instead qualifies *Frysland*, the text means "the warriors, who were in Friesland already, went to visit a Friesland that was no longer as it had formerly been, since now it was 'a Friesland deprived of friends'" (158).

In "Grendel: Another Dip into the Etymological Mere" (*ELN* 40.3: 1–13) Felicia Jean Steele suggests that the name "Grendel is the product of a process of taboo word formation involving the verb *drencan* 'to give to drink, or to drown'" (1). She notes that "because of the strict taboo against cannibalism both in Germanic tradition and in Christian teaching," a creature who engaged in this sort of behavior, like Grendel, "would naturally fall under the shadow of taboo," making phonological deformation of his name very likely in order to avoid explicit utterance of it (7). Such "tabooistic distortion, primarily in the form of metathesis, extends our possible etymologies of *Grendel* beyond those deriving from a base form" schematized as *gr[VOWEL]nd* (8). Steele proposes that the original form of the unmentionable monster's name is the unattested *Drengel* 'Drinker,' related to the verb *drencan*, since Grendel is

characterized in the poem as a compulsive drinker of human blood.

Raymond P. Tripp, Jr., seeks to clarify "The Role of God in the Semantics of *þryðswyð*: *Beowulf* 131a and 736b," *In Geardagum* 24: 67–80, by proposing that "this peculiarly redundant compound, 'might-mighty,'" signifies "heavenly as opposed to earthly might" (68). He argues that *þryðswyð* ought to be assigned to God in line 736b, because to apply it to Beowulf makes the hero "guilty of an utterly uncharacteristic and unforgivable lapse of loyalty and heroic duty" as he "watches Grendel eat Hondscioh without acting in his thane's defense" (69). Hence, Tripp would render lines 736b–38: *"Almighty God* watched / Over Higelac's kinsman, how the evil thief / Would carry on with his sudden gripping…" (Tripp's emphasis, 71). Line 131a is more complex, but Tripp argues that here, too, "linguistic and narrative" contradictions entailed in alternative assignments of the compound can only be resolved if *þryðswyð* refers to God, yielding the following translation of lines 129b-33a: "The grand old king, / The good but daunted prince, sat dejected. / *God Almighty* was grieved, felt sorrow for these thanes, / After they saw the tracks of that hateful one, / Of that cursed spirit" (my italics, 80). In both cases the reassignment would also reflect the active role of God in the poem, the sense that he "intervenes directly and personally" in the characters' lives (72), although ironically Tripp sees God "acting" in these instances by deliberately choosing not to intervene in the depredations of Grendel.

In "Hrothgar's 'Admirable Courage'" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Brien O'Keeffe, 240–51), Jane Roberts proposes that *þæm ahlæcan* in line 646b "refers not to Grendel but to Beowulf" and ought to be translated with the dative phrase "to the fierce warrior," rather than as an instrumental "by the monster," noting numerous other instances in which the variously spelled noun *aglæca* is used to refer to fearsome human fighters. She would thus render lines 646b–47: "He [Hrothgar] knew that battle in that high hall was assigned to this awesome combatant [Beowulf]" (245). In this revised interpretation, Roberts reaffirms the view of the memorial volume's honorand Edward B. Irving, Jr. (*Rereading 'Beowulf'* [1989], 52), that the Danish king Hrothgar displays "admirable courage" in admitting to the young foreign hero "that his people cannot handle the crisis."

In the same collection, Janet Bately studies "Bravery and the Vocabulary of Bravery in *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon*" (274–301). She notes that an earlier examination of Old English dictionaries produced "no fewer than ninety-five words taken by their editors to be synonymous with the adjective 'brave'" (274). Bately then surveys the occurrences of these words in the two poems in order to provide her own "assessment of the items' claims for consideration as 'bravery' words," especially as words describing courage in a positive sense (275). She concludes that in the case of both poems "potential 'boldness/bravery' adjectives and nouns" describe specific instances of courage only rarely (294). The poets apparently prefer to let actions speak louder than words when displaying the character of their heroes.

William Cooke provides "Two Notes on *Beowulf* (with Glances at *Vafþrúðnismál*, Blicking Homily 16, and *Andreas*, Lines 839–846)," *MÆ* 72: 297–301. Cooke argues that the usual translation of line 1118b of *Beowulf, Guðrinc astah* 'the warrior was laid on the pyre,' is incorrect. He instead proposes, "the warrior mounted the pyre," with the implication that "the *guðrinc* is not Hnaef but some living warrior," citing "ancient Germanic funeral customs" in which "the honor of lighting the pyre belonged to the dead man's nearest living male kinsmen" (297). Cooke also disputes the common interpretation of *harne stan* in line 1415a as simply "grey stone" or "ancient stone." He believes that the poet's use of that phrase was not merely "to add to the 'eldrich' atmosphere of the haunted mere," but that the *har stan* is specifically "a monumental standing stone serving as a boundary marker [between] the world of men and the ogres' domain" (298). He cites other texts in which the phrase occurs: the Blickling Homily on St. Michael, where "the stone marks the frontier between this world and hell," and *Andreas,* where it marks the entrance to the city of the heathen cannibals. Finally, Cooke notes the occurrence of the phrase in lines 887b, 2553b, and 2744b of *Beowulf*, and argues that those, too, refer not merely to "stones standing alone in open country," but to those which mark the entrances to the barrows of dragons (300). (Cooke was anticipated in this second note by Michael Swisher in "Beyond the Hoar Stone," *Neophilologus* 86 (2002): 133–36.)

In an adjacent article in *MÆ* 72: 302–07, William Cooke offers a further "Three Notes on Swords in *Beowulf*." The first asserts that the *atertanas* 'poison-twigs' of line 1459b are "deadly magical runes etched or scored on the blade of Hrunting," first citing passages in which "twig" is used as a synonym for "rune" and others detailing the magical powers of runes, then

by presenting "further evidence of how runes were believed to kill": (1) runes carved on swords to obtain victory in *Sígdrifumál* and (2) a sixth-century sword inscribed with runes reading "increase to pain" (303). Cooke's second note provides his opinion on the terms *wreoþenhilt* and *wyrmfah* in line 1698a. He suggests that *wreoþenhilt* describes an iron sword-hilt "wound about with some more perishable material that afforded a softer and better grip," probably "a coiled strip of leather or fabric" (303). *Wyrmfah*, he argues, also refers to the hilt, rather than the blade, of the sword, one that was "adorned with one or more dragons or serpents" (304). In his last note, Cooke challenges the common view that Beowulf took the sword Nægling from the slain Frankish warrior Dæghrefn by translating the hapax legomenon *incgelafe*, used to describe the sword in line 2577a, as "heirloom of his people," implying that it was an ancient weapon already in Beowulf's possession before the battle in Frisia. The situation described in lines 2498b–2505 is thus one in which a "Frisian king had been fighting in the battle as the ally or (more likely) the vassal of the Franks and had been slain, presumably by Beowulf. Dæghrefn, the Frankish standard-bearer, had then engaged Beowulf to recover the dead king's war-gear, which Beowulf would otherwise carry off as booty; but Beowulf had slain him, too" (305). The connection between the trustworthiness of Nægling and the fight during which Beowulf slew Dæghrefn is simply that "the fight in Friesland was the first in which Beowulf used the sword" (306), though apparently not, it should be pointed out, on Dæghrefn himself, since our hero killed that enemy with his bare hands. In addition, the body armor in dispute has been assumed by most commentators to belong to the hero's fallen king Hygelac, not a separate Frisian vassal of the Frankish king.

E. G. Stanley considers the vocabulary of national consciousness in the poem as part of a wider-ranging essay, "Celebrating English Nationhood," *Poetica: An International Journal of Linguistic-Literary Studies* (Shubun International, Tokyo) 55 (2001): 1–21. He notes the poem's rich lexicon of words for "country, homeland, kin, nation, race, realm, tribe" (6), and that two of these words appear only in *Beowulf*: *eardlufu* 'beloved homeland' (line 692a) and *eðelwynn* 'enjoyable homeland, enjoyment of a homeland' (lines 2493a and 2885a). However, in spite of its strong expression of what could be called patriotic feelings—love of country and/or nation—Stanley stresses that this English poem never once mentions England or the English people *per se*, in spite of Bede's "recognition"—"the earliest recorded"—

"of an English nationhood" in the early eighth century (14).

In "Lexical Recurrence of Alliteration in *Beowulf*," *Bull. of the Yokohama City Univ., Humanities* 52 (2001): 7–28, Tadakatsu Miyazaki examines "lexical and semantic characteristics found between or among alliterating words which are chosen repeatedly in certain contexts" (7). Specifically, Miyazaki focuses on a "sequence of alliteration" involving three lines in relatively close proximity, where different words carrying alliteration in the first two lines appear together in the third (10). Such a sequence occurs with *searwum* 'arms' (line 323a) and *sæmeþe* 'sea-weary' (line 325a), which reappear as *Sæmanna searo* 'arms of the seamen' in line 329a. The author describes other sequences following the same pattern in which the "lexical collocations give rise to more semantically complicated relations," as when *Metode* '(Divine) Intelligence, Spirit, Ruler' (line 169a) and *modes* 'heart, mind, spirit' (line 171a) are followed by forms of both words, *modsefan* and *Metod*, in line 180. Miyazaki notes, following Rosier (1977), that *mod* and *Metod* are often similarly linked in Old English biblical poetry (13).

Hideki Watanabe supplies a number of corrective "Notes to Clark Hall's Treatments of the Hapax Legomena and Hard Words in *Beowulf*," *Gengo Bunka Kenkyu [Studies in Language and Culture]* (Osaka) 27 (2001): 211–32. Watanabe lists thirty-two misprints in the citation of line numbers of the poem in Clark Hall's *An Anglo-Saxon Dictionary*, 4th ed. with suppl. (1960), as well as seven words that are now considered to be erroneous by more recent editors of *Beowulf*, and twelve words that were corrected or added in Merritt's supplement to the fourth edition. Watanabe also notes eight instances when Clark Hall, for various reasons, supplied two headwords for the same word or phrase in the poem, that is, by offering alternative nominative possibilities for an oblique form, by isolating components of compound words, by supplying separately both a manuscript and an emended form, by supplying alternative emendations of a form not listed, etc. In an appendix Watanabe provides a long list of all the entries that contain a reference to a line of *Beowulf* in numerical order from the beginning of the poem.

Chris Golston and Tomas Riad propose a distinctive theory of metrical "Scansion and Alliteration in *Beowulf*," *Jahrbuch für Internationale Germanistik* 35.1: 77–105, which assumes that the meter of the poem is based primarily "upon vowel quantity" rather than

prosodic stress, although the technique of alliteration is used to generate the two half-lines and thus "roughly, … four verse feet per line" (77). The authors observe that the "the number of syllables per line is 6-18, the number of stresses varies between 2 and 9 per line, and the number of moras [short syllable lengths] varies between 8 and 16" (88). Golston and Riad find this last constraint to be dominant, whereas the others are rather less forceful, including only a modest preference for four stresses per line, a phenomenon that by the authors' count is revealed in only 57% of lines.

Robert Payson Creed describes "How the *Beowulf* Poet Composed His Poem," *Oral Tradition* 18: 214–15, first by focusing on commonly used word pairs, then on the rhythm of the half-line. Adapting the metrical taxonomy of Eduard Sievers in *Altgermanische Metrik* (1893), Creed finds that only seven different types of measure are available for these half-lines. However, "the various combinations of stressed and unstressed syllables along with the measure-initial and measure-final rests, produce about fifty different subtypes" (214). That is, with seven possible combinations per half-line, 7 x 7 yields 49 possible combinations per whole line. Creed concludes, "the variety of these subtypes is the source of the complexity of the poet's prosody" (214).

In "Prosodic Features of Old English Preterite-Present Verbs: Evidence from *Beowulf*," *Studies in English Language and Literature* 51 (2001): 1–26, Toshiya Tanaka sets out to discover if Old English preterite-present verbs can be distinguished from non-preterite-present verbs (strong, weak, or anomalous) by any criteria other than their unusual morphology, that is, the appearance of archaic preterite forms with present meaning combined with a newer set of preterites formed with a dental suffix. Tanaka accepts that no syntactic or semantic distinction can be made between preterite-presents and other kinds of verb, so he concentrates on the use of preterite-presents in the alliterative measure of Old English verse. He finds that, whether they appear as auxiliaries with infinitives or as independent main verbs, preterite-presents reveal no "prosodic peculiarities" that would set them apart from other verbs (13). In addition, Tanaka tests Lehmann's 1974 observation that "finite verbs often occupy the second arsis/lift of the b-verse" (21), but again finds no "notable difference between preterite-present verbs and non-preterite-present verbs" in this regard (24). He concludes that the preterite-presents cannot be distinguished from other Old English verbs by any other means except their morphology.

Sources and Analogues

In Chapter 4, "Myth and Legend," pp. 98–129 of his *Critical Companion to 'Beowulf,'* noted above, Andy Orchard considers the poet's use of native Germanic traditions. With others, Orchard sees allusions to the death of Baldr in Hæthcyn's slaying of Herebeald, as well as to Loki's theft of Freyja's necklace behind the legend of the *Brosinga mene* 'neck-ring of the Brosings'. He accepts Dronke's 1969 identification of the hero's pyrrhic victory against a dragon in defense of his now-doomed people as a reflex of the mortally stricken Thor's technical victory over the world-serpent at Ragnarök. However, Orchard rejects the commonly accepted suggestion that the hero's name should be analyzed as *Beo-wulf* 'Bee-wolf,' meaning "Bear," offering instead *Beow-wulf* 'Wolf of (the god) Beow,' on the model of Norse *Þórólfr* 'Thor-wolf, Wolf of (the god) Thor' (p. 121 n. 117). He neglects to mention that Joseph Harris had already proposed this interpretation in "The Dossier on Byggvir, God and Hero: *Cur Deus Homo*" "*Arv: Nordic Yearbook of Folklore* 55 (1999): 7–23), a work that Orchard does include in his Bibliography. R.D. Fulk and Joseph Harris together presented a summary of this same analysis in "Beowulf's Name," *Beowulf: A Verse Translation: Authoritative Text, Contexts, Criticism*, trans. Seamus Heaney, ed. Daniel Donoghue (New York: Norton, 2002), 98–100.

Orchard discusses "Religion and Learning" on pp. 130–68 of his *Critical Companion*, noting various biblical, patristic, and hagiographical traditions that may have influenced the poet. He begins by considering arguments for the hero's status as a Christ figure and offers Latin literary analogues, both classical and Christian, for the design of the poem. He also explores biblical allusions, stressing similarities in the hero's encounter with the giant Grendel to the story of David and Goliath in 1 Samuel, finding many more points of comparison here than between the more often adduced parallels between Beowulf's monster-fights and those of the Icelandic Grettir, which Orchard had recapitulated in his previous chapter on "Myth and Legend." Drawing upon the work of Rauer (2000), Orchard notes parallels between the dragon-fight and those experienced by various holy men, especially St. Samson of Dol, and traces further resonances between certain passages of *Beowulf* and those of various homilies and other Old English poems.

John M. Hill, in "The Sacrificial Synecdoche of Hands, Heads, and Arms in Anglo-Saxon Heroic

Poetry" (*Naked before God*, ed. Withers and Wilcox), 116–37, sees these parts of a hero's body as potent symbols of his divinely sanctioned force. The pagan mythic archetype of this kind of symbolism is the right hand of the Germanic god Týr, who places it as a pledge of good faith in the mouth of the wolf Fenrir in order that the gods may bring the threat of cosmic violence under control with the establishment of binding legal forms. The heroes of Germanic poetry similarly place their hands at risk, especially Beowulf, who goes *mano a mano* with Grendel, but in this case forces the demonic monster to give up his own violent grip over the Danes. They hang up Grendel's claw and arm as a symbol of their deliverance from supernatural evil. A similar pattern may be seen in Bede's story that the pagan king Penda of Mercia displayed the head and hand of the Christian Northumbrian king Oswald on stakes until Penda himself was beheaded by Oswiu—"perhaps enacting what we might call the reciprocal 'trophification' of royal remains" (127). Oswald's recovered head was buried at Lindisfarne, his right hand displayed at the royal seat of Bamborough where it began to inspire miracles as a Christian "sacral sacrifice" (128).

In "Scyld Scefing and the Dating of *Beowulf*—Again" (*Textual and Material Culture*, ed. Scragg, 23–73), Audrey L. Meaney addresses critics of her 1989 argument that the poem was first composed in written form around the turn of the tenth century. She notes the improbability of "a vernacular traditional poem being written down in the early Christian period in England" (68) and discounts evidence for such an early date by adducing "an analogy from archaeology: if there is a closed context, be it a sealed layer or a burial with grave goods, it has to be dated by the latest element within it" (72). This latest element, she insists, is the figure of Scyld Scefing, whose name first appears in the early 890s in the genealogy of Æthelwulf of Wessex in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and Asser's *Life of Alfred*. However, Meaney admits that an oral version of the poem might have circulated much earlier, and notes that no conclusive evidence for the date of the original composition of *Beowulf* is yet available.

William Sayers suggests the possibility of a topos associated with "Grendel's Mother, Icelandic Grýla, and Irish Nechta Scéne: Eviscerating Fear," *Proc. of the Harvard Celtic Colloquium* 16-17 (2003 for 1996-97): 256–68. Sayers observes that "in close proximity to the introductory description of Grendel's mother, we find the OE word *gryre* 'fight, terror, shuddering' [lines 1282b and 1284a]" (258). This word provides "a semantic bridge

to one of the best-known narratives in early Irish tradition, *The Boyhood Deeds of Cú Chulainn*," in which that young hero encounters "Nechta Scéne and her three sons, who have killed more Ulstermen than are now living, an accomplishment comparable to Grendel's depredation of Heorot" (259). The second "element of the Irish mother's name, *Scéne*, is unambiguously 'fear, fright,'" Sayers notes (259), and he goes on to find another lexical and semantic analogue in an Icelandic list of names for female ogres: *Grýla*, "the Norse equivalent of OE *gryre*" (261). Sayers suggests that these monstrous women might be seen to personify "the initiate warrior's first obstacle to overcome, the natural human susceptibility to fear itself" (263).

In "*Consilium et Auxilium* and the Lament for Æschere: A Lordship Formula in *Beowulf*," *Haskins Soc. Jnl* 12 (2002): 71–82, Thomas D. Hill comments on the curious case of Æschere, "a character who never speaks and whose sole function is to die and eventually lose his head," yet "is lamented at considerable length" (71). Hill argues that although "his actual role in the narrative of the poem is marginal, the lament for Æschere is carefully structured" around "the widespread 'feudal' lordship formula *consilium et auxilium* ['counsel and aid']" (73). He notes the "close correspondence between the formula and the terms in which Hroðgar praises his old comrade," beginning with a description of Æschere's role as a counselor in both public and private matters, and concluding with an affirmation of "his zeal in war" (74).

Nicholas Wallerstein points out "The *Ubi Sunt* Problem in *Beowulf*'s Lay of the Last Survivor," *In Geardagum* 24: 41–55, noting that the speaker of this elegy in lines 2247a–2266b in fact poses no rhetorical question as to the whereabouts of his dead lord and comrades, and thus cannot technically be understood to invoke the Latin homiletic formula, *ubi sunt qui ante nos fuerunt* 'where are those who lived before us?' More importantly, Wallerstein notes that the sense of loss expressed by the question is characteristically answered in other texts with a concluding "Christian consolation" (48). This comfort is missing from the lay in *Beowulf*, Wallerstein argues, in order to stress the last survivor's utterly unmitigated paganism: his "hopelessness, therefore, is permanent, his fate fixed, and he remains in a state of despair, awaiting no salvation, only death" (55).

Tomoaki Mizuno adduces a Japanese analogue to the figure of Scyld Scefing in "The Divine Infant Coming over the Waves: An Old Nordic *Mare-bito* Figure," *Iris*

(Grenoble) 23 (2002): 37–52. Mizuno translates *Mare-bito* as "fortunate stranger" (39), a child or adolescent endowed with divine powers who arrives alone in a boat from over the sea and is fostered by the local people to become their new leader. The author compares the appearance of similar figures in Norse tradition and suggests that the *topos* symbolizes "a rite of passage" that is "closely connected with the ritual installation of a king" (48). Mizuno describes the opposite kind of figure in "The Dragon Conquest as a Holy Combat for the Stranger: Focusing on Beowulf and Thor," *Iris* (Grenoble) 25 (2003): 105–34. The dragon, like the other monsters in the poem, is a "terrible stranger," one that is identified as such by the terms *gryregiest*, *inwitgæst*, and *niðgæst* in lines 2560a, 2670a, and 2699a, respectively. Mizuno does not believe, however, that this "terrible" or "hostile guest" is really a newcomer to the court of the Geats. Instead, the dragon personifies a secret evil lurking within the old king himself. Beowulf is "an outsider among the Geatish royal family" (126), who wickedly won the throne, Mizuno asserts, by committing several subtle acts of treachery against them: (1) by engineering the slaying of Herebeald by Hæðcyn, just as Loki manipulated Höðr to kill Baldr; (2) by deliberating leaving his lord Hygelac exposed to his enemies on the battlefield in Frisia; and (3) by seducing queen Hygd behind Hygelac's back in order eventually to gain the throne for himself. Beowulf is thus a "terrible stranger" in disguise (118), whose final crisis is the public revelation of his own dragonish nature that brings destruction both to himself and to his people. In this regard, Mizuno compares Beowulf to Thor, another "stranger-deity in the Norse divine world" (133). However, the mutual destruction of Thor and the world-serpent results positively in the return of the younger gods and the renewal of the earth in Norse mythology. In *Beowulf*, Wiglaf unfortunately reveals the same hostile alien spirit as his Wægmunding predecessor as lord of the Geats. Wiglaf plunders the hoard and thus assumes "the character of the dragon as a terrible stranger and an exclusive hoarder anew" (134).

Criticism

Andy Orchard's *Critical Companion to 'Beowulf,'* three chapters of which have been noted above, describes key issues in criticism of the poem, framed by a short "Foreword: Looking Back" (1–11), which summarizes *Beowulf* scholarship a hundred years ago, and a shorter "Afterword: Looking Forward," in which the author tries to imagine what studies of the poem will address a hundred years from now (265–67). Chapter 3 describes the

"Style and Structure" of *Beowulf* (57–97), especially its double reflex of formulaic repetition with significant variation. Through this technique the poet produces "an intricate network of comparisons and contrasts" (97), a basic organizing principle which can be shown to operate at all levels of analysis: sounds, words, compounds, phrases, themes, and in larger divisions of the poem into two, three, four or more movements, or even into the forty-three or -four fitts of the manuscript itself. Orchard argues that "the numerous examples of sound- and word-play so freely employed by the *Beowulf*-poet are not simply ornamental, but instead offer strong clues to the ways in which the poet intended the text to be read (or rather heard)" (9).

Chapter 6, "Heroes and Villains" (169–202), reviews the cast of over seventy named characters in the poem, close to half appearing only once. Even frequently mentioned names, such as patronymics, ethnic markers or other terms of relation, serve primarily to identify characters more important to the story: "only the names Beowulf, Hrothgar, Grendel, and Hygelac occur as independent characters with any real frequency at all" (170). Orchard goes on to explore characterization in the poem, especially in the Finnsburh lay and the fights with the Grendel-kin. He notes the poet's interest in emotional reactions and interior consciousness, and observes his development of competing perspectives on the same action, including the viewpoints of the monsters and minor characters.

In Chapter 7, "Words and Deeds" (203–37), Orchard assesses the speeches that constitute almost two-fifths of the poem, many of them by our hero himself. Beowulf is thus revealed not as a tough guy of few words, but as a leader of sophisticated understanding, mature eloquence, even considerable wit. Orchard tabulates the forty speeches in the poem and notices a distinct difference in their patterning between the first and second parts of *Beowulf* (lines 1-2199 and 2200-3182). Most of the thirty speeches in Part I are "decorously patterned exchanges in which two speakers talk in turn" (205), revealing the courtly culture of Denmark and the confident optimism of the hero's journey thither. The five unanswered speeches in this first part consist of two formal boasts of the hero which are immediately followed by commensurate action, the farewell of the Danish coast-guard, who is rewarded with a sword, and Wealhtheow's two speeches angling for the succession of her sons which are, in contrast, met with ominous silence. Not one of the dramatic monologues in the second part of the poem is answered at all and several are

even interrupted, from the lament of the last survivor, to the hero's own reminiscences, to Wiglaf's scolding of the cowardly retainers, to the "anonymous messenger who foretells the doom of the Geats" (203): the "pouring out of words into unresponsive emptiness is simply the norm" (227) in the last part of *Beowulf*, a fact contributing to its bleak mood.

Orchard asks if *Beowulf* is "Beyond Criticism?" in Chapter 8, arguing that the poet undermines our confidence in any particular moral judgment on the human characters he presents: "There are levels of ignorance implicit in the poem, and the poet himself claims no ultimate knowledge" (244). The *Beowulf* poet "carefully views his subject through a number of distancing lenses," posing questions for which he supplies "no final answer" (264). Orchard even suggests, following others, that a certain ontological or moral equivalency between the old hero and the monsters is subtly implied in the language with which the poet refers to them. (This is a point Orchard also makes in his *Pride and Prodigies: Studies in the Monsters of the 'Beowulf' Manuscript*, first published in 1985, but reissued as a revised paperback [Toronto: U Toronto P, 2003].) In his *Companion*, Orchard further notes that the independent agency of both hero and monsters is sharply circumscribed in time and space, limitations which are revealed, for instance, "through alliteration of elements which do not normally carry either stress or alliteration: [the hero] was the strongest on *that* day of *this* life [in lines 196-97]. The poet repeats the phrase twice more in the battle between Beowulf and Grendel, using it once of each protagonist": Beowulf in lines 789-90 and Grendel in line 806 (240, Orchard's emphasis). Similarly, the poet compromises our impression of the quality of the royal family of Denmark in his allusion to their current friendship, but future falling out: *nalles facenstafas / Þeodscyldingas þenden fremedon* 'no wicked acts did the mighty Scyldings perform at that time' (lines 1018a-19). Orchard comments: "it is notable that the key word *þenden* ('at that time,' in line 1019b) is both stressed and carries alliteration, in a way which is unusual, to say the least" (245–46). A note observes that of the fourteen uses of *þenden* in the poem, only this one certainly carries the alliteration.

The chief original contribution of *A Critical Companion to 'Beowulf'* is thus its very close observation of how the poet generates special rhetorical emphasis by overturning formulaic expectations of prosodic stress, demonstrating the richness and density of the *Beowulf* poet's language, especially his use of alliteration, rhyme,

assonance, dissonance, punning, envelope patterns, incremental repetition, and other aural chimes and echoes within and between lines, indeed across wide expanses of the poem. Orchard notes these manifold verbal associations in detail throughout his whole book at almost every opportunity: they are quite convincing, or at least plausible, as intended phonic effects. There are three indices: (1) to lines and passages discussed, (2) to individual scholars cited, and (3) more generally to names, titles, and topics. There is also a full Bibliography of other bibliographies and encyclopedias; dictionaries and concordances; electronic corpora, databases, and useful websites; editions and facsimiles of *Beowulf*; translations; recordings; and scholarly monographs and articles (327–69).

In "Germanic Legend and Heroic Lay," *A History of Old English Literature*, 193–224, R.D. Fulk and Christopher M. Cain provide an overview of *Beowulf* scholarship from its early emphasis on philology and the poem's use as a "source for the comparative study of Germanic antiquities" to modern poststructuralist critiques (204). The authors note the numerous running controversies among students of the poem, such as whether it replicates ancient oral-traditional forms or is a learned innovation, whether it was composed for a religious audience or a secular one, whether its transmission was primarily oral or written, and the many different attempts to locate the time and place of its original composition. The authors do not offer their own opinion on any of these questions, stressing instead the lack of consensus on almost every question related to *Beowulf* as the defining theme of the last few decades' study of the poem.

Tom Clark mounts *A Case for Irony in 'Beowulf,' with Particular Reference to Its Epithets*, European Univ. Studies Series 14: Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature 402 (Bern: Peter Lang), by stressing the poem's "fundamentally contrastive" poetic style in which expectation or desire or an affirmed positive value is overturned by events in "the real world" of the poem (9). Particular techniques of irony include a dichotomy between words and deeds, the juxtaposition of very different characters, and litotes or laconic understatement. Clark focuses upon the poet's frequent use of epithets—phrases that identify or characterize persons or objects—in contexts that suggest some degree of discordance. He charts the numerous kinds of irony thus intimated in a systematic taxonomy in order to demonstrate that "*Beowulf* is filled with irony. Irony is abundant. It flows richly through every fitt, every turn of

the story. The names are ironic. The plot is ironic. The poetic voice is often clearly ironic. Its last word [*lof-geornost* 'most eager for renown'] is pointedly ironic" (287). Clark explains this last assertion: "The opening premise of the poem is that Beowulf was relatively little known, that the English knew much better the (problematically) established fame of the Danes. Beowulf is a great hero. He performs deeds not out of materialism, but out of eagerness for renown. To enhance his reputation, the Geats bury him in extraordinary splendour, to ensure his fame will echo down the ages. And yet, without this poem, the praiseworthy hero Beowulf would have vanished into obscurity—barrow, treasure, and all" (249).

James D. Thayer develops a similar argument about the poet's use of proverbs in "Fractured Wisdom: The Gnomes of *Beowulf*," *ELN* 41.2: 1–18. He concludes that, unlike other Old English authors, the poet did not use maxims to present "straightforward statements of accepted wisdom," but rather stretched "the sub-genre of the gnome within his epic to undermine its ability to govern, inform, and communicate" (6). For instance, Thayer notes Beowulf's seemingly unexceptionable comment to Hrothgar, after he assures the king that his son Hrethric will find many friends in Geatland, should he ever come there: *feorcyþðe beoð / selran gesohte þæm þe him selfa deah* 'distant kinsmen are better sought by him who himself is strong' (lines 1838b-39). The hero says this, according to Thayer, in order discreetly to urge caution with regard to the proposed marriage alliance with Ingeld of the Heathobeards whom he suspects will end up attacking Denmark. Beowulf uses the maxim "like a riddle, to obfuscate meaning rather than reveal it, and it perhaps works too well" (16), since Hrothgar fails to grasp the hero's point. While the ostensible meaning of the proverb appears to be conventional and reassuring, "the poet's experiment with the gnomes illustrates their limitations and even at times fractures the wisdom they contain, making [it] appear inadequate or inappropriate to govern the lives of the poet's audience and even the poem's characters" (17).

Francisco Santibáñez Sáenz sympathetically explores the irony of "Beowulf's Weaknesses," *Odisea: Revista de estudios ingleses* 4: 155–64, noting errors of judgment and a certain loss of "touch with reality" toward the end of the hero's life (164). For instance, the king loses his life by overconfidently seeking out the deadly dragon in its lair alone and dies believing that its "treasure will help his people to prolong the situation of prosperity that he has created" for them, not realizing that it will also be "completely useless" without him to protect them from their *human* enemies (163). "Beowulf, carried away by his good intentions," writes Santibáñez, "proves to be incapable of understanding the frailty of the peaceful harmony he has provided for his people. A truly tragic dimension is activated within the poem when we see the old king die with the idea in his mind that … he has managed to save his people" (162). The dying hero's misprision is "even more pathetic when compared with previous sections of the poem from which Beowulf emerges as an accomplished political analyst" (162). The old warrior is particularly bone-headed, one might say, when he breaks his good sword by striking the dragon's impenetrable skull, a mistake which "stands for his inability to adapt himself to the surrounding reality and, consequently, to evaluate appropriately the possible consequences of his actions" (163). However, Santibáñez stresses that these flaws are "necessary limitations of the hero's human understanding"; they do not "deny the heroic status of Beowulf's figure" (155).

Susanne Kries includes *Beowulf* in her discussion of "Laughter and Social Stability in Anglo-Saxon and Old Norse Literature," *A History of English Laughter: Laughter from 'Beowulf' to Beckett and Beyond*, ed. Manfred Pfister (Amsterdam/New York: Rodopi, 2002), 1–15. In particular, Kries uses the poem to suggest that "one of the main functions of laughter" in pre-Christian Germanic tradition was to symbolize "happiness and prosperity, … most often encountered in the royal hall" (3), where it served to strengthen "the bonds between the members of an aristocratic warrior society" (4). She points out that the laughter in Heorot of lines 611-12a is clearly represented as a communal rather than an individual activity. Laughing alone, which is what Grendel does in line 720, is not a good thing, although it ironically intimates the coming demise of that antisocial creature. Kries compares the overconfident laughter of Holofernes in line 23a of *Judith* and of Byrhtnoth in line 147a of *Maldon* to suggest the presence of a traditional *topos* where solitary laughter foreshadows imminent death. Kries finally observes that a remarked absence of laughter may also be highly significant, as when the dead Beowulf *hleahtor alegde, / gamen and gleodream* "has laid down laughter, / joy and the sound (= state) of glee" (lines 3020b-21a; Kries's translation, 10). The poet epitomizes the end of life for his hero, as well as the end of a happy communal life for the Geatish people as a whole, with "the end of laughter" (10).

In "Launching the Hero: The Case of Scyld and Beowulf," *Neophilologus* 87: 453–71, Judy King contends

that although Scyld and Beowulf are both pagan, they do not share the same ethos, arguing that "the poet is depicting in the portrait of Scyld a set of values which it is the task of the rest of the poem to challenge and redefine" (459). She contrasts "the violent, imperialistic deeds for which [Scyld] would be celebrated as the founder of the dynasty" with the poet's emphasis on Beowulf's restraint—"staying within his own borders, keeping only what is rightfully his, refraining from both feuding and from swearing oaths which he did not intend to keep" (458). The descriptions of the two characters' deaths are also different. Although "Scyld is not totally condemned by the poet," his ultimate fate is left unknown, in contrast to that of Beowulf, whose soul is said "to seek out the glory of the just" (465). King believes that these two heroes are thus contrasted to indicate the happier destiny of a righteous "pagan who follows quite different principles" than the militaristic Scyld (465).

Frederick M. Biggs suggests in "Hondscioh and Æschere in *Beowulf*," *Neophilologus* 87: 635–52, that the poet uses these two victims of the monsters to explore "the complex problem of royal succession" by "looking at what is good and bad in one of its supporting institutions, the kin" (648). Æschere's death prompts real sorrow and suffering for the Danish royal family; the poet uses it to dramatize the Scyldings' high regard for members of their own group. The negative side of this value will be revealed at the death of Hrothgar when there will be "too many equals trying to lead" (648). In contrast, Beowulf's callous sacrifice of Hondscioh reveals "that among the Geats kin loyalties have broken down" (642), a weakening of the solidarity necessary to present a united front against enemies and to ensure an adequate succession to the throne. On this same theme, in "*Beowulf* and Some Fictions of the Geatish Succession," *ASE* 32: 55–77, Biggs argues that the poet has introduced several innovations at the end of his story "to investigate the nature of succession, a political problem as real in his own world as in Scandinavia during the Germanic migrations" (58). The first "fiction" is that of the hero's lack of a son or other close kinsman of the Hrethling line to succeed him. Then the poet depicts Beowulf's young kinsman Wiglaf as the only leader capable in his absence, even though as a Wægmunding he is ineligible for the throne since he is not a member of the Geatish royal family himself. The crisis for the Geats at the end of the poem is thus caused in part by their "overly strict definition of succession … that would deny Wiglaf the chance to rule" (77). Even so, Biggs believes that the poet ultimately favors restricting the rules of succession

in his own day and age, since elsewhere in the poem he intimates the destructive consequences of competition among æthelings for the throne.

In "Heorot, Grendel, and the Ethos of the Kill," *In Geardagum* 24: 1–39, William Perry Marvin speculates on Hrothgar's reasons for naming "his great dynastic hall Heorot, the 'Hart'" and considers whether "this name [has] any bearing on the timing or nature of Grendel's carnivorous visitations upon that place" (1). He seeks "the meaning(s) of 'Heorot' in the context of Germanic hunting culture" (2), beginning with a review of "the legalities of killing and claiming quarry in Germanic antiquity" (6). Marvin contrasts the principle of "free capture," in which "wild beasts could in theory be hunted anywhere by anyone of free rank" (7), with the later codification of laws that linked hunting privileges to land ownership, so that "landowners were qualified to hunt only, but without competition, on their own land" (13). Marvin associates the former privileges with "heroic," egalitarian hunting societies and the latter with a more stratified pre-feudal social system, such as that created by the Scyldings in the poem. He asserts that "Heorot," the name of an ancient game animal, symbolizes "the obligating reciprocities expressed in gifting and feasting as reflexes of sharing venison among members of the hunting band" (20). Grendel, in this reading, "represents an extreme (i.e. monstrous) example" of the earlier heroic society's egalitarian freedom to hunt and kill at will (28). He thus attacks Heorot in "resistance to early-feudal subordination" because he is "angered by the Danes' appropriation of an egalitarian symbol" (34).

In his study of "The Social and Dramatic Functions of Oral Recitation and Composition in *Beowulf*" (*Oral Tradition* 17 [2002]: 310–24) John M. Hill provides "an overview of occasions for song, harp-playing, and oral performance among the Danes" (310). He suggests that the use of the harp and recitation is "more than decorative and merely celebratory," noting that in two instances the harp-songs provoke "an unpleasant, powerful onlooker": Grendel and Unferth (312). However, Hill finds that harp playing is more generally associated with victory celebration, while other terms—*gidd* and *spel*—are used to describe oral recitation on less happy occasions. Hill notes that the *Beowulf*-poet "removes moments of harp-playing, music, and celebratory story from the increasingly elegiac last third of the poem" (318). In an addendum, Hill considers the social status of the *scop* in late Germanic courts, but finds the evidence insufficient for a firm conclusion.

Ron Stein, in "Royal Name, Hero's Deeds: A Pattern in *Beowulf*" (*A Garland of Names: Selected Papers of the Fortieth Names Institute*, ed. Wayne H. Finke and Leonard R.N. Ashley [East Rockaway, NY: Cummings & Hathaway], 126–39) assumes that the status of the *scop* in pagan times was quite high in that his job was to invoke the sacral power of the royal family with tales of their divine and heroic ancestors. This status was threatened after the conversion of England to Christianity when the source of the ruling clan's power was reconceived as supernatural favor from the one true God earned by them with correct belief and support for the Christian clergy. Stein sees *Beowulf* as a subtle accommodation to this situation, a narrative "that could be understood as a *Christian* story by its Christian listeners, and one that could be understood as a *pagan* story by those who still held to pagan beliefs" (Stein's italics, 128). This pagan belief is revealed in instances when the hero's power surges after he is called by his "royal name" in the formula *mæg Higelaces* 'kinsman of Higelac' or variants thereof (lines 737a, 758b, 813b, 1530b, and 1574b). The appellation invokes Beowulf's blood-membership in the fierce Hrethling clan sprung from the ancient gods. On the two occasions when Beowulf is referred to by his non-royal patronymic *sunu Ecgþeowes* 'son of Ecgtheow' (line 1550b) or *maga Ecgðeowes* 'kinsman of Ecgtheow' (line 2587b), he is "virtually helpless" under Grendel's mother's knife or "about to perish" against the dragon (133). Stein concludes that the poet uses the aggressive pagan king Hygelac's name to "conjure supernatural powers that energize Beowulf" (133) into a "fierce battle frenzy" (134). At the end of the poem, however, the poet no longer identifies the hero by his kinship in the Geatish royal family nor even by any special favor he enjoys from the Christian God: "In Christian terms … the 'sacral king' has, through pride (his sense of superiority as a warrior) and perhaps through avarice, forfeited some degree of divine help in the combat that will follow.… From a pagan point of view, Beowulf may have forfeited his right to the support of his ancestors, because of his lapses on the field of battle," described in the disastrous raid against the Frisians and in the hero's subsequent failures against the Swedes (135).

Pamela S. Saur considers "Proto-Christian Heroes and the Beginnings of National Literatures in Europe," *CLA Jnl* 47: 75–92, by examining in turn Beowulf, Siegfried, Igor, Roland, and El Cid, and the epic poems in which they appear, with special attention to whether these works can be considered Christian literature. Saur agrees with many commentators that *Beowulf* evinces both Christian and pagan ideals, but writes

that "the precise identification of these values and how they are 'mingled' is obviously a complex and debatable question," one to which she attempts no answer of her own (77). Saur's discussion of the other heroes' Christian or non-Christian qualities is similarly inconclusive; she presents an array of scholarly views on each one in preparation for her conclusion, that "it is safest to put aside the simplistic questions," which she herself has raised, "of whether or not these heroes or epics are or are not Christian" (90). Although Beowulf and the other heroes may be icons of "a type of early or proto-Christianity," Saur claims, their greater significance is "as forefathers and founders of the national literatures of England, France, Spain, Germany, and Russia" (91). If so, the deep obscurity into which the poem *Beowulf* fell for almost a millennium might be considered an exception to the pattern Saur notes in the other traditions.

In "The Loved and the Honored: The Medieval Altars of Atonement" (*Proc. of the 11th Annual Northern Plains Conference on Early British Literature: April 4-5, 2003, Minot State University, Minot, ND*, ed. Michelle M. Sauer [Minot, ND: Minot State Univ.], 218–31) Ron Fischer sets out to explore the different understandings of sacrificial redemption expressed in *The Passion of St. George, Beowulf, The Song of Roland*, and *El Cid*, each work reflective of the cultural context in which it was conceived. He finds the monsters of *Beowulf* analogous to the evil antagonists of the *Book of Revelation*, not in terms of their precise allegorical significance, but as "representing the same forces of abusive power and law defying evil" (219). "*Beowulf* and the *Book of Revelation* portray an ongoing cosmic struggle of good and evil. *The Book of Revelation*, however, holds forth a final triumph" (220).

In "Narrative and Cognition in *Beowulf*," *Style* 37: 177–203, David Herman and Becky Childs explore the "ways in which narrative functions as a 'cognitive artifact,' i.e., something used by humans for the purpose of supporting or enabling cognition," thus "facilitating humans' efforts to organize multiple knowledge domains" and make sense of the world (177). The authors review five cognitive activities demonstrated in the poem: "[1] 'chunking' experience into workable segments, [2] imputing causal relations between events, [3] managing problems with the 'typification' of phenomena, [4] sequencing behaviors, and [5] distributing intelligence across groups" (178). For example, in this last category, the narrator describes several reactions to Grendel's attack, including what the monster himself feels, thus broadening the experience of the audience of

the poem by acquainting them with multiple subjective perceptions of a single event. The authors conclude by emphasizing the importance of narrative as "a powerful tool for the systematic organization of experience, … a basic human strategy for coming to terms with time, process, and change" (194).

Alfred K. Siewers takes an "ecocritical" approach to poetic descriptions of the physical environment in "Landscapes of Conversion: Guthlac's Mound and Grendel's Mere as Expressions of Anglo-Saxon Nation-Building," *Viator* 34: 1–39. He argues that the Augustinian doctrine of a categorically fallen world served the interests of Anglo-Saxon political elites, inspiring visions of a demonized nature that requires conquest and domination.

In "Monsters, Children of Chaos," *Parabola* 28.3: 20–25, David Appelbaum contends that the purpose of monsters is not merely to provide employment for heroes, but to warn us "against something forgotten or disregarded—the omnipresent threat of chaos" (21). Beowulf, for instance, ignores Grendel's significance as an embodiment of cosmic disorder and thus contributes to that disorder himself by violently killing the monster. The hero learns his "lesson 'too late,' in his final, unsuccessful battle against a monstrous dragon that ravishes [*sic*] his own kingdom" (21). The author recommends that the best strategy when faced with a deadly monster is not to try to kill it, but to "confront the danger of imminent destruction … without the hero's sword," thus "counterbalanc[ing] the force of chaos" by focusing on life rather than death (21).

Dissertations

In "Beowulf the Poet: A Deconstruction of Narratives," Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Wales, Bangor, 2000, *Index to Theses* 51 (2002): 2144, D.E. Williams argues that *Beowulf* is a sophisticated critique of the heroic ethos of violence and retribution. In particular, the poet mingles his own voice, which is critical of that ethos, with the more traditional views of the hero Beowulf in order to reveal the inherent contradictions within both the heroic code and the traditional poetry that sustains it.

Scott Bruce Lowry points out in "Ritual and Politics: Power Negotiations at Anglo-Saxon Feasts," Ph.D. Diss., U of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003, *DAI* 64A, no. 08A (2003): 2904, that the *Beowulf* poet lavishes more attention upon "the four feast scenes in the halls" of the two kings Hrothgar and Hygelac than upon the hero's

three encounters with monsters. He notes: "Three ritualistic activities dominate these descriptions: presenting drinks, giving gifts, and making speeches," ceremonies which "celebrate and strengthen the camaraderie, loyalty, and honor that provide Germanic kingdoms with the resolve necessary to withstand external enemies and the cohesiveness to avert infighting among their rulers." Even though Beowulf, Hrothgar, Wealhtheow, and Hygelac manipulate these rituals for their own purposes, Lowry admits, they "avoid the chicanery of many historical figures preserved in chronicles and other histories from the Anglo-Saxon period" and "respect the need for order as they compete in the halls of power."

Stefan Andrew Jurasinski, in "'Ancient Privileges': *Beowulf*, Law and the Making of Germanic Antiquity (Jacob Grimm, John Mitchell Kemble, Friedrich Klaeber)," Ph.D. Diss., Indiana U, 2003, *DAI* 64, no. 06A (2003): 2100, describes how nineteenth-century views of ancient Germanic law and society influenced Klaeber in his influential edition of the poem, which first appeared in 1922. Many of these views have now been "questioned or repudiated by contemporary legal-historical scholarship," a situation which Jurasinski tries to rectify by examining "the social and legal institutions portrayed in *Beowulf*" in a way more consistent "with contemporary knowledge of law in early medieval Europe."

A.M. Powell studies "Verbal Parallels in *Andreas* and Its Relationship to *Beowulf* and Cynewulf," Ph.D. Thesis, Univ. of Cambridge, 2002, *Index to Theses* 52 (2003): 8535. Chapter 5 discusses "the most striking and significant of the verbal parallels that are unique to" *Beowulf* and *Andreas*. Powell concludes that the phrasing of *Andreas* has been "influenced by that of both the *Beowulf*-poet and Cynewulf." In a similar study, Holly Elizabeth Jagger explores "Body, Text and Self in Old English Verse: A Study of 'Beowulfian' and 'Cynewulfian' Rhetoric," Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of Toronto, 2002, *DAI* 63, no. 12A (2002): 4306. Jagger considers the language in which physical bodies are described or used as metaphors and what this "corporeal rhetoric" reveals "about the individual poets' perceptions of the 'self' in relation to society, God and the world at large." In the first half of her work she focuses upon *Beowulf* (and *Judith*); in the second, Jagger examines Cynewulf's *Elene*, *Juliana*, *Christ B*, and *Fates of the Apostles*, as well as the "Cynewulfian" poems, *Guthlac B* and *Andreas*. Jagger agrees with Powell "that the *Andreas*-poet borrowed from both *Beowulf* and Cynewulf," but further concludes that "Cynewulf was familiar with *Beowulf*."

Patricia Anne Dailey also concentrates upon corporeal rhetoric in "Promised Bodies: Embodiment and the Time of a Literary Text (Hadewijch of Antwerp, Hildegard von Bingen, Julian of Norwich)," Ph.D. Diss., Univ. of California at Irvine, 2002, *DAI* 63, no. 08A (2002): 2865, examining "the interrelation between body, time, and text in medieval women's visionary literature … and in two Anglo-Saxon poems (*Beowulf* and 'The Ruin')." She describes "the uncanny effects produced once the body is introduced in a literary text as the host of a phrase or as the paradigm for dwelling in the world."

In "*Hild under helm* and the Witch in the Rose Garden: The Rise and Fall of the Heroic Woman in Medieval Germanic Literature," Ph.D. Diss., Brown Univ., 2003, *DAI* 64, no. 04A (2003): 1247, Wendolyn Aubrey Weber compares figures of heroic women in Old Norse, Old English, and Middle High German literature to trace "the transformation of a powerful female character type into an object of denigration and demonization." Among the female figures considered are those of the Old English poems *Beowulf*, *Judith* and *Elene*, where the courage, wisdom and authority of these heroines reveal "considerable gender role fluidity in the early Germanic culture." Weber blames the demise of the heroic woman in Germanic literature on "the rise of the Christian Church and major shifts in property dispersal and inheritance practice."

Translations and Translation Studies

Louis J. Rodrigues has translated *'Beowulf' and 'The Fight at Finnsburh': A Modern English Verse Rendering* (London: Runetree Press, 2002) with a facing page text of the poem based upon Klaeber's 3rd edition (1936), with input from Wrenn (1958), Kiernan (1986) and Jack (1994). Rodrigues has "endeavored to present as close an approximation to the meaning of the original Anglo-Saxon as possible," but chosen "a loosely 'alliterative' metre corresponding roughly to Sievers' [1893] six patterns or types: falling-falling (A); rising-rising (B); clashing (C); falling by stages (Da); or broken fall (Db); and fall and rise (E)" (5). For the challenging first word *Hwæt* and opening 11 lines of the poem, Rodrigues offers the following:

> Well, we have heard tell of the glory of the kings
> of the Spear-Danes, how in former times
> those princes performed courageous deeds.
> Oft Scyld Scefing seized the mead-benches
> from troops of foes, from many tribes,

> terrified their eorls, after he was first
> found destitute; he was comforted for that,
> thrived under the heavens, prospered in honour,
> until each one of the neighbouring nations,
> over the whale-road, had to obey him,
> yield tribute. He was an able king!

The apparatus includes a brief Introduction, Notes and Commentary with genealogical charts, an Index of Names, and a Select Bibliography that lists many much older translations of the poem, but not the more recent competition, such as Crossley-Holland (1968/1999), Alexander (1973/2001), Chickering (1977), Swanton (1978), Hudson (1990), Liuzza (1999/2000), and Heaney (1999/2000).

Howell D. Chickering reviews a number of modern renderings of the poem in the published version of a lecture he gave in Russia on 14 May 1999, in "From 'Lo!' to "So,": Modern Poetic Paraphrases of *Beowulf*," *The Linguistic Soc. of St. Petersburg Lecture Series*, ed. Yuri Kleiner and Nicolay Yakovlev, Supplement to *Yazyk i reche-vaya deyatel'nost'* [*Language and Language Behavior*] 4 (2001) (St. Petersburg: Linguistic Soc. of St. Petersburg, 2003): 5–19. "Lo!" was chosen by Charles Kennedy in 1940 to render the initial word *Hwæt*, but later translators rejected such self-consciously archaic diction. Edwin Morgan (1952) ignored the opening interjection completely, veering in the opposite direction to produce "a remarkably flat and prosaic" verse rendering whose "rhythms are nothing like the Old English …, although he uses a four-stress meter" (16). Burton Raffel's 1960 effort is judged similarly inadequate, in spite of its commercial success: "It was, in fact, the unseemly popularity of this translation, which so frequently misrepresents the plain sense and dignity of the original, that convinced me thirty-five years ago that the poem needed a dual-language translation," Chickering writes (16). (In his own 1977 version, it is interesting to note that Chickering rendered *Hwæt*, rather freely, as "Listen!") Chickering concludes with a summary assessment of other poetic translations that have appeared in the last few decades, suggesting that the "more successful ones have used a four or five stress line, with only light alliteration, and what the translator considered a restrained modern diction. The paraphrases that are most faithful to the poetic or illocutionary effects of the Old English are those that also imitate its syntax and rhetoric" (17). Although Chickering criticizes points even of his own translation, he would identify the best "recent" efforts as those of Kevin Crossley-Holland (1968), himself (1977), and Marc

Hudson (1990). Chickering had not seen Roy Liuz-za's 1999 translation at the time of his lecture, but had been shown some passages of Seamus Heaney's soon-to-appear rendering, without the benefit of the poet's fuller explanation of his choice of a diction based upon the "forthright" utterance of his "big-voiced" Ulster relatives. Chickering thus finds Heaney's opening "So," to have a surprisingly "grim and flat tone" for a declaration of the Scyldings' magnificent achievements in ancient times (18). In "Beowulf and 'Heaneywulf,'" *The Kenyon Review* 24 (2002): 160–78, noted last year in YWOES 2002, Chickering provides a more fully informed and searching critique of the Irish poet's translation.

We belatedly note Daniel G. Donoghue's essay, "Beowulf in the Yard: Longfellow, Alfred, Heaney," *Harvard Magazine* 102 (March-April 2000): 25–32, which reviews the efforts of three Harvard professors to translate part or all of *Beowulf*. In 1838 the poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Professor of Romance Languages, attempted "a few dozen lines in the *North American Review* within a long article on 'Anglo-Saxon Literature,'" which translation Donoghue finds to be "disastrously literal," as well as sometimes inaccurate (30). The next attempt by the English Department's William Alfred in the 1960s yielded a very accurate, literal translation, but this time into an idiomatic Modern English prose. The latest effort by Seamus Heaney, Ralph Waldo Emerson Poet in Residence, is less literal but most effective in Donoghue's judgment, creating a new verse line "which, though resonant with the old, is innovative at every turn" (25) and "succeeds in preserving the flow without sacrificing the vigorous alliterative rhythm of the original lines" (26). With regard to Heaney's occasional adoption of Hiberno-English terms, Donoghue finds these "Irish thumbprints" to be more "subtle" than have some other critics of the translation and insists that "most of the lines use a poetic idiom that would be at home in any variety of English" (29).

In "Seamus Heaney: Ulster, Old English, and *Beowulf*," in *Bookmarks from the Past*, ed. Kornexl and Lenker, 81–141, Inge B. Milfull and Hans Sauer consider the Irish poet's translation to be an integral part of his "continuous engagement with the past and his artistic method of illuminating the present by viewing it in the light of the past" (81). They demonstrate Heaney's interest in archaic traditions by examining his earlier poetry, in particular "Bone Dreams" (from *North* [1975]), and trace the influence of his *Beowulf* translation upon his subsequent work, especially *Electric Light* (2001). The authors find Heaney's use of a Hiberno-English

vocabulary to be effective, not because it is unobtrusive, but precisely because it adds a "touch of remoteness, which in a sense mirrors the remoteness of the Old English text" (128). They conclude that Heaney's poetry invokes, even appropriates the past as a way of constructively coming to terms with the violence and loss that is a part of all human history, but in particular, of the poet's own Northern Irish experience.

Graham D. Caie reviews the reception history of *Beowulf* in "A Case of Double Vision: Denmark in *Beowulf* and *Beowulf* in England," *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature* (Tokyo) 16 (2001): 21–36, beginning with the poem's own vision of a glorious heroic past common to the Anglo-Saxon and Scandinavian peoples "at a time when England was finally becoming united and strong within Europe" (26). This vision of an Anglo-Danish golden age came to fruition during the reign of Cnut in the earlier eleventh century, a fact emphasized by Saxo Grammaticus in his *Gesta Danorum* of the 1220s. A revival of interest in these northern connections after the Reformation ultimately led the Icelandic scholar (but Danish subject) Thorkelin to offer his 1815 edition and Latin translation of the poem in confirmation of "the nationalistic notion that the Danes ruled the world in earlier ages" (31). The Danish bishop Gruntvig became a passionate devotee of an archaic Anglo-Scandinavian (and decidedly anti-German) ethnic and cultural unity. He translated *Beowulf* in 1820 as "a reading book for all our children," one which would reveal the "missing link" between Denmark and England, and revive "the heroic spirit of the north through the release of the power of the spoken word, hidden in ancient myths" (32-33). Gruntvig recruited the Englishman John Kemble to produce an improved edition of the poem that appeared in the early 1830s, but remained disappointed in most English scholars' lack of interest in and low opinion of *Beowulf*, lamenting that the "Isle of the Angles neglects this pearl, and this treasure is regarded as a dung-hill there.… Far from being the dull stupid trash, that some English writers of no small name have chosen to suppose, it deserves the attention and admiration of cultivated minds.… The English neglect, and are unkind to their high-born kinsman" (32, translation of Gruntvig's Danish quoted from Andreas Haarder [1975]).

Matt Jordan argues in "Marxism, not Manhood: Accommodation and Impasse in Seamus Heaney's *Beowulf* and Chuck Palahniuk's *Fight Club*," *Men and Masculinities* 4 (2002): 368–79, that both works "reflect on the fate of manhood" (368) in "the age of globalization"

(372). While "Heaney attempts to secure a place for older forms of masculinity in what he construes as the ongoing story of world culture" (accommodation), Palahniuk dramatizes the inherent emasculation or disempowerment inflicted by global capitalism (impasse). The extreme response of Palahniuk's protagonist is intended to symbolize the necessity for violent resistance to such dehumanizing oppression.

(Warm thanks to Emily Merrill for her assistance with all aspects of this review.)

C.R.D./E.M.

d. Prose

Catherine Rooney's study of "Gerald of Wales and the Tradition of the Wonders of the East" (*Quaestio Insularis: Selected Proceedings of the Cambridge Colloquium in Anglo-Saxon Norse and Celtic* 4: 82–97) examines ways in which the first of the works of the prolific Gerald of Wales (1145-1223), the *Topographia hibernica* or "Topography of Ireland," appropriates the East for the West, adapting exotic tales of foreign places to an ostensibly familiar setting. To this end, Rooney argues, Gerald exploited contemporary interest in a variety of literary genres. First, she discusses the ongoing fascination in the West of the Wonders of the East, a tradition stemming from Greek sources, augmented by accounts of Alexander's conquests, translated into Latin, and surviving in multiple forms in Anglo-Saxon England. Second, she notes the interest in the East generated by the Crusades, which in France gave rise to the widely-popular *chansons de geste* or "songs of heroic deeds," often against Moors, Saracens, or fantastic foes (monsters, giants, and the like). Third, she points to the twelfth- and thirteenth-century interest in Bestiaries, which saw in exotic creatures symbolic Christian characteristics. Finally, she sets Gerald's work in the context of the twelfth-century passion for fabulous histories such as that of Geoffrey of Monmouth, which in turn fueled demand for Arthurian romances. Gerald's innovation was to capitalize on such complementary trends by weaving exotic people and creatures into his description of Ireland. Some bear distinct similarity to figures in the Wonders of the East; others seem implicitly to contrast with descriptions therein. Certain animals appear to derive directly from the Bestiary tradition. In making such connections, however, Gerald's point is not simply that Ireland is not devoid of wonders evocative of the mysterious East, but that the former indeed surpasses the latter: the East may abound in fabulous riches, but the rigors of its climate cannot

compare with the salutary nature of the Emerald Isle. Gerald's veracity may be questionable at points, and his endeavor seem opportunistic—writing popular material to secure patronage and advance his career—but by combining the West and the East, Rooney notes, he creates "an entirely new piece of literature" (96).

Victoria Thompson provides an intellectual and cultural context for Christian burial in ninth- to eleventh-century England in "Constructing Salvation: A Homiletic and Penitential Context for Late Anglo-Saxon Burial Practice" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds, Society for Medieval Archaeology Monograph 17 [London: Maney Publishing, 2002], 229–40). Having noted the inherent difficulties in such an investigation—the very act of grave-digging, for example, necessarily disturbing earlier remains in a delimited burial space (such as a churchyard)—she begins by outlining trends in burial practice during this period: from the ninth century, she notes, charcoal is often mixed with or scattered over the soil in the grave, bodies are sometimes buried in elaborate containers, and graves themselves are sometimes constructed from tile or stone rather than wood. All three practices, she suggests, control and confine the body, paralleling in the grave itself the increasingly important demarcation of the cemetery as a whole, which distinguished between those belonging to the Christian community and those relegated to unconsecrated ground. Thompson provides a wider context for such trends by turning to Old English literature: the troubling nature of corporeal decay in the *Soul and Body* poems, the physical incorruptibility of virgin saints in Ælfric's hagiography, and ecclesiastical law codes that underscore the necessity of separating the body from the soil. Finally, Thompson considers the potential importance of penitence as an influence on burial practice, ashes (or charcoal) perhaps symbolizing the contrition of the deceased and extending that process of mortification into the grave (240). While elaborate containers and graves might seem at odds with expressions of humility, Thompson notes that "burial is often the locus of expression of conflicting ambitions" (240); in both cases, moreover, the burial practice served to combat degradation and decay—whether of the spirit, jeopardized by the pride and appetites of the flesh, or of the body, threatened by worms which the graves sought to keep at bay.

Jonathan Walker analyzes "The Transtextuality of Transvestite Sainthood: Or, How to Make the Gendered Form Fit the Generic Function" (*Exemplaria* 15: 73–110).

Discussing gynecological treatises, medical texts treating women's bodies and reproductive capacities, Walker points to an emerging emphasis on secrecy from the thirteenth century—these texts being reserved for a male audience and equipping them to guard against the dangers of the feminine. He suggests that this trend grows out of an existing ideology, control over knowledge being already inherent in male-authored literature. He argues that this "paradigm of [male-controlled] concealment and revelation … forms a structural topos in the hagiography of transvestite women," making such works "transtextual"—i.e., reflective not simply of the conventions of the hagiographic genre but of wider ideologies (81). Walker examines a number of ideological influences on the Lives of transvestite saints, such as Paul's statement in Galatians that "there is neither male nor female, for all are one in Christ" (3.27–28), patristic commentaries that describe women pursuing Christ as becoming more "manly," gnostic practices of ritualistic cross-dressing to inculcate an androgynous ideal, and Greek romances and novels that parallel the transvestite Lives in privileging the reader (though not most characters) with information about the heroine, and in playing out cultural fantasies regarding female responses to societal expectations. While such Lives may seek to control or neutralize the perceived danger of women for monastic communities by masculinizing female saints—the narratorial manipulation of appearance actually reinforcing rather than endangering the audience's understanding of the "real" gender divide—Walker argues that the example of transvestite saints in fact "destabilizes" not only this clear-cut divide but the ostensibly-defined boundaries of the transvestite-saint genre. By effectively providing a "third gender" and a "third genre" through a series of texts whose underlying ideologies speak across generic boundaries (104 and 78), Walker states that such works offer a transtextuality in which "Gender and genre coalesce" (102).

A.K.

In "Going Round in Circles? Time and the Old English *Apollonius of Tyre*" (*Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Gerhard Jaritz and Gerson Moreno-Riaño, International Medieval Research 9 [Turnhout: Brepols], 297–308), Philippa J. Semper notes that both the Latin and OE texts construct narrative time in relation to other episodes and natural cycles, a method that seems vague to modern readers. The OE adds "nu" liberally to distinguish times in a simpler tense system than Latin's and to convey causality. Differences in duration between the Latin and OE presentations

of the same episodes illustrate the arbitrariness of the time references, but expressing specific times helps to convey emotion and meet expectations of lived experience. Repeated use of *þa* imparts a sense of simple progression even as *Apollonius* presents a complex cycle of fortune and misfortune comparable to *Beowulf* and the "Cynewulf and Cyneheard" episode in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. The Latin story's cyclic pattern fits Anglo-Saxon expectations, but other elements do not. Greeks or Romans would recognize Apollonius's prowess in swimming to Cyrene from a ship wrecked not two hours from Tarsus, and in his speed sailing to Antioch, but Anglo-Saxons could not, so the translator offers vaguer time references. Similar changes occur in non-temporal situations: Apollonius spins a top in the gymnasium rather than giving a massage; harping and acting at a feast become harping and unspecified talents at a *gebeorscipe*. Modern readers are distant from both classical and Anglo-Saxon contexts and perceptions of time, but studying the text's contradictions and surprises allows us to escape vicious hermeneutic circles.

The late antique *Disticha Catonis* became a popular Carolingian textbook, and the Latin text was copied in England by the tenth century, though its use as a schoolbook is uncertain. Elaine M. Treharne's "Form and Function of the Twelfth-Century Old English *Dicts of Cato*" (*JEGP* 102: 465–85) examines the three extant post-Conquest OE versions, none of which depend on each other or an extant Latin version, though they may share a lost exemplar. All three combine the *Disticha*'s four books of Latin hexameter into one prose book. All Christianize the text by omitting or de-emphasizing classical references, the keeping of secrets, relations with friends and slaves, and monetary considerations. The Latin is impersonal, but the OE employs a second person singular address. The oldest, Cambridge, Trinity College R.9.17 (ca. 1100), lacks glosses and contains a copy of Ælfric's *Grammar* without the *Glossary* and Preface that made the *Grammar* a schoolbook. Its final dict, on power and hierarchy, precedes a passage on governance attributed to Augustine that is found nowhere else. London, BL, MS Cotton Julius A.ii, a fragment, contains a metrical prayer, *Adrian and Ritheus*, aphorisms, and part of the *Dicts*. Despite attractive colored capitals, this text is difficult to read aloud because often it runs onto other lines, with only confusing indicators to point the reader in the right direction. The shortest version, it omits advice about friends and reputation but expands exhortations against wealth and for mercy, changes appropriate for a contemplative reader.

The third manuscript, BL Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, contains homilies, *vitae*, and other religious texts; it may have been a preacher's commonplace book. Lack of glosses indicates private or tutorial use. This text opens with an original exhortation to study wisdom; it contains Trinity's eighty-one dicts plus seven more on such matters as witchcraft, necromancy, bribes, and rule by a foreigner. This version suggests an audience with outside contacts, perhaps novices who came late to monastic life or still had public responsibilities. The Vespasian and Julius manuscripts may have originated at Rochester or Christ Church, Canterbury. While secular cathedrals took outside pupils, there is no evidence that these monastic cathedrals did. The *Dicts* seem aimed not at schoolchildren but at individual readers concerned with personal spiritual development, perhaps monks with poor Latin. Treharne concludes that these three versions of the *Dicts* undermine notions of late OE texts as uninteresting copies made out of habit. The copyists show active engagement with their texts, their varied audiences, and contemporary political issues.

The pre-Alfredian ninth century is often viewed as a time of cultural decay. Christine Rauer argues that "The Sources of the *Old English Martyrology*" (*ASE* 32: 89–109) demonstrate greater literary culture than previously thought. The martyrologist (or martyrologists) used roughly two hundred sources, usually a new source for each entry. The *Martyrology* might translate a single Latin compilation that does not survive, but in that case, a ninth-century *Latin* compiler did impressive work. Though he may have predated Alfred, this translator would also have been at home in Alfred's program. Close verbal ties between the OE text and many Latin sources suggest a literary rather than aural or memorial composition process, and the translator's Latin and general knowledge appear strong. He seems particularly interested in the miraculous, and he may have compiled the work as a reference for himself or for homilists. Many different books (more than twenty but probably well under the 200 needed if each source were in a different volume) must have been used. The *Martyrology* provides a convenient, accessible compilation of much material; the vernacular may be more for ease in consultation than for a Latin-illiterate target audience. The compilation may represent notes that the martyrologist made from sources *not* available at his home institution. Seventy-five percent of these source texts do not survive in early Anglo-Saxon copies, and their knowledge in England would not be suspected without the *Martyrology*; this text suggests a more literate early ninth-century than generally believed. Rauer's appendix lists certain or possible sources under "Named Authors" and "Anonymous Texts," the latter subdivided into "Biblical/Liturgical," "Apocryphal," "Historiographical," and "Hagiographical."

Alfredian Literature

Janet Bately's 1987 Toller Lecture, "Manuscript Layout and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," is reprinted with a new postscript containing new references in *Textual and Material Culture in Anglo-Saxon England: Thomas Northcote Toller and the Toller Memorial Lectures,* ed. Donald Scragg, Publ. of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies 1 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer), 1–21. Though A is the oldest extant copy, it is not always the most reliable, and a study of layout must consider all copies except F and G (copies of extant copies). Bately considers and rejects arguments that C depends on B. Common layout features include the use of annal numbers for every year including "barren" ones, *Anno Domini* dating, and enlarged capitals. A, B, and C usually place "fruitful" annal numbers in a separate column, and A and B offset the first letter of entries; D and E rarely offset the numbers. All but B place fruitful annal numbers on the left column, while B generally places them on the left of versos and the right of rectos. D places each annal on a new line whether fruitful or barren; the rest conserve space. The openings of A and E, with many barren annals, divide each page vertically into two. A and B sometimes put barren numbers at the ends of fruitful annals; C and sometimes B enter up to six barren annal numbers on one line. A, C, and E allow entries to spill into the annals above or below. Bately concludes that the manuscripts shared one archetype with annal numbers for every year in the left-hand margin and barren numbers that sometimes shared a line. It probably had two columns at first, then one as barren numbers decreased. Easter tables may have given the compilers some but not all the information they used, and they did not provide a model for format. They were not even kept in England until the seventh century, and most were destroyed after use. Bately reviews a number of Latin sources for the *Chronicle* and identifies important layout features that the *Chronicle* shares with Jerome's translation of Eusebius's *Chronicle*, Isidore's *Etymologies*, and Bede's *Epitome*. The compilers already had to reconcile *anno mundi*, indictional, and other dating systems from various sources; writing out each year *Anno Domini* helped, and then numbers were kept even if barren. Bately concludes that Latin historical sources were crucial to format as well as content.

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entries for 887-90 all mention Alfred's alms to Rome—except 889, which curiously records the *lack* of alms. Thus Susan Irvine begins "The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Idea of Rome in Alfredian Literature" (*Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter, Studies in Early Medieval Britain [Aldershot: Ashgate], 63–77). Entries for 883 or 884, and 885, also detail exchanges with Rome. Notice of a non-event demonstrates Rome's importance to chroniclers and Alfred, who visited it as a child. In his *Boethius*, Alfred expands and adds references to Rome's history, especially those related to good and bad rule; Rome provides analogues to England. Similarly, the *Orosius* does not disregard the original's apologetic purpose but adapts it. Orosius sought to show that the sack of Rome was not punishment for abandoning paganism but evidence of God's plan. Danish attacks on England gave similar opportunity for backsliding into paganism—or seeing the hand of Providence. Rome's standing as an intellectual, imperial, and religious center long interested Anglo-Saxons, but new tensions emerged in the Alfredian era. Letters from Rome and Rheims show little sympathy for English suffering under Vikings and criticize English tolerance of paganism. Alfred sought to maintain good relations and "did succeed in stemming the tide of papal hostility" in later letters (77), while his court's works showed ongoing awareness of the importance of Rome and relations with it.

In "King Cnut's Grant of Sandwich to Christ Church, Canterbury: A New Reading of a Damaged Annal in Two Copies of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Brien O'Keeffe, 172–90), Timothy Graham concisely presents the paleographical and historical backgrounds to this annal, which occurs only in *Chronicle* MSS A and F. In both, the Old English text is impossible to read in places, though the Latin text in F has previously been published. He concludes that the 1031A and 1029F annals are most likely the work of one scribe who carelessly entered the text under two different dates and sometimes used slightly different wording. He then offers editions of all three versions of the annal with extensive notes, using ultraviolet light to recover more text than has previously been published.

Janet Bately begins "The Alfredian Canon Revisited: One Hundred Years On" (*Alfred the Great*, 107–20) by noting that a century earlier, such a paper would have begun from William of Malmesbury's list of works by the king; though some scholars such as Bosworth put

specific years on texts, dating seemed more problematic than authorship. Now Alfred's canon is generally seen as the *Pastoral Care, Boethius, Soliloquies*, and Prose Psalms, perhaps in that order, a list that does not match William's. The *Orosius* may have been part of Alfred's plan (like the *Dialogues*) but was not his work. Bately predicts that ongoing work on Alfred will focus on authorship of specific passages or collaboration in the translations and gives three specific examples. The Prose Proem to the *Boethius* had its Alfredian authorship questioned in the nineteenth century but affirmed later; Bately renews the questioning, noting a lack of ideas and a mix of genuinely Alfredian phrases with some atypical of the king's known works. She follows Malcolm Godden in rejecting Alfred's authorship of the prose preface to the *Dialogues*, but unlike Godden, she argues against Wærferth's authorship, for some usages are atypical of Wærferth, and many are common in other texts. Finally, she finds the prayer at the end of the *Boethius* typical of late Old English vocabulary: if this prayer were not in Bodley 180, no one would ever think it Alfred's.

Allen J. Frantzen investigates "a signature preoccupation of Alfred and his court" (121) in "The Form and Function of the Preface in the Poetry and Prose of Alfred's Reign" (*Alfred the Great*, 121–36). Using musical preludes and overtures as analogues, and aided by Barthes's ideas of writerly and readerly texts, Frantzen first examines earlier prefaces. He deems the first fifty-two lines of *Beowulf* and the preface to the *Regula Pastoralis* readerly "overtures" that encapsulate the themes of the work. Latin hagiographical prefaces are writerly "preludes" that demand more work by readers and do not preview the whole text. The Latin prefaces share five features: address to a patron, advice to readers, explanation of the writer's method, modesty topoi, and "rhetorical density" (126). Alfred knew at least some of these prefaces but had no patron and rarely advises readers or expresses modesty. Rich with imagery, his prefaces are writerly preludes on which readers should ruminate. His verse prefaces are more readerly: that to the *Pastoral Care* "celebrates a direct and seemingly untroubled line of authority from Gregory to Augustine to Alfred" and implies bishops' shortcomings in learning (130), while that to the *Boethius* presents Alfred as storyteller. The *Boethius*'s prose preface, in contrast, seems "flat-footed, a meagre tissues of clichés" (132) asking modestly that readers not hold mistakes against Alfred; Frantzen doubts that this uncharacteristic opening is Alfred's own work. Multiple prefaces and chapter headings increase the structural complexity

of the translations. Frantzen wonders whether Alfred himself proclaimed aloud the vigorous verse prefaces and argues for studying the prefaces both in the context of the complete manuscripts and as possible public performances.

In "The Player King: Identification and Self-Representation in King Alfred's Writings" (*Alfred the Great*, 137–50), Malcolm Godden examines the *Boethius* and *Soliloquies*. In each Latin text, one author assumes two voices, creating a dialogue between narrator and interlocutor; as translator, Alfred appropriates both voices in each text. The *De consolatione philosophiae* presents Philosophy in dialogue with the first-person narrator Boethius; the *Boethius*'s Wisdom addresses a figure called by turns *Mod* (Mind), *Boetius*, and *ic*. Alfred adds biographical details that both historicize the character Boethius and remind the audience that he is long dead. Anglo-Saxons would recognize Wisdom's reassurance about Boethius's family as false, perhaps undermining Wisdom's authority. The translator also adds mentions of Theoderic and amplifies those of other kings—all tyrants. Moreover, several added analogies of kingship take the perspective of a courtier rather than the king himself. Only Chapter 17 uses a king's perspective, and Godden argues that giving that speech to an unauthoritative narrator who was never king, and having Wisdom correct him, undercuts the passage. The *Soliloquies* similarly historicizes Augustine and puts biographical details (some incorrect) in the narrator's mouth, lending "verisimilitude to a complete fiction" (147–8). Augustine appears as a courtier and makes analogies to serving a king. In both, the translator objectifies the narrators and reminds the audience of their historical distance, thus potentially undermining the texts' claims to universal truth. Most intriguingly, governance is nearly always treated from a courtier's perspective. Alfred may have written these analogies because of conversations with helpers, or because his fathers and brothers preceded him in kingship—but Godden closes by wondering whether Alfred's is the main voice behind these translations at all.

Malcolm Godden further explores "The Translations of Alfred and His Circle, and the Misappropriation of the Past" in the H.M. Chadwick Memorial Lecture for 2003 [Cambridge: Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic, 2004]).* Instead of focusing on the Preface to the *Pastoral Care*, a "perhaps even naive, and certainly misleading" explanation of Alfred's appropriation of Latin texts (2), Godden turns to the *Soliloquies* for Alfred's image of gathering wood to make a house.

Godden argues that here too Alfred misleads: the Church Fathers' texts are not natural, like trees from a forest, but houses the Fathers themselves built. Whose authority does a reader find here? Do these texts present transcendent truths or dated views? He focuses on translations of three late antique works, by Orosius, Boethius, and Augustine, that emphasize the narrators' voices and historical circumstances and downplay the translators'. The texts declare themselves voiced by the Fathers, but they objectify the original authors, whose stances they often question. The anonymous *Orosius* clearly presents Orosius as narrator speaking to his contemporaries while the translator silently updates and explains. Even the ending changes: Orosius's Latin text presents the Goths as leaving Italy, then being forced from Gaul to Spain by the Romans. The Old English concludes with the Goths staying in Italy, allied with Honorius. Even while the translator seems to claim Orosius's authority to rewrite history, he reminds readers of their distance from Orosius. The OE *Orosius* insists that the Roman empire lives, but Alfred's contemporaries more likely thought it dead. Orosius presents the Goths' damage as minor; did this parallel the *Chronicle*'s account of the Vikings as less harmful than pestilence and bad weather, or undermine Orosius's providential view of history? Similarly, Alfred's *Boethius* insists on a late antique narrator for whom it supplies a fictionalized biography. Wisdom assures Boethius that his family is safe, but Alfred's contemporaries knew that Theoderic executed Boethius and his father-in-law, and perhaps Boethius's sons. Ælfric seems to read Wisdom's truths as transcendent, but his contemporary Æthelweard calls the translation not philosophy but drama. Anglo-Saxon readers probably could not distinguish Alfred's changes from Boethius's text, even where the narrator argues, against Wisdom, that this life and government matter. The *Soliloquies* goes further, noting at the outset that Augustine wrote two books but radically altering the second and adding a third. That last book seems to indicate Augustine's *De videndo Deo* as a source, but it is only a minor source. Contradicting the argument of the original *Soliloquia*, Reason in the *Soliloquies* comes to insist on authority, using an illustration from Augustine's life that Augustine did not himself write. Moreover, Reason explicitly tells the narrator Augustine to read a book that the author Augustine wrote three decades after the *Soliloquia*, and the narrator responds that he does not have time to study it fully! The claims to authority are fictionalized and ironic. The *explicit* that might have pointed to a source breaks off without actually naming one. Most likely, the *explicit* pointed back to *Soliloquia*,

which was not a source for Book III—or simply ended without an attribution, a sort of joke. Godden concludes with three possibilities: that the translators innocently and unconsciously projected their ideas into the texts; that they purposely misdirected readers about the source of ideas; and that they took a consciously literary approach, using not fraud but fiction to create an Anglo-Saxon literature that acknowledged its debts to the Fathers. He concludes that whatever the Alfredian translators thought they were doing, they did invent portions and challenge their predecessors: the translators "were not reproducing the wisdom of the past, they were displacing it" (28).

Ross Smythe's "King Alfred's Translations: Authorial Integrity and the Integrity of Authority" (*Quaestio Insularis* 4: 98–114) explicitly addresses questions inspired by Godden's Chadwick lecture (above). In the preface to his Law Code, Alfred says he selected the best pre-existing laws and rejected others. In the Preface to the *Soliloquies*, likewise, the metaphor of gathering wood from the forest means selecting from the work of past philosophers. Being useful (*nytwyrd*) mattered greatly to Alfred: in the *Soliloquies*, Alfred changes Augustine's concession that he would give up friends who interfered with his search for divine truth to an insistence that all friends have some use. What authorized changes to authoritative texts? As an anointed Christian king, Alfred believed that God had chosen him to rule an earthly hierarchy that mirrored the heavenly. God had a plan for His people; Alfred had his program of translation and education. The *Boethius* speaks of a king's tools, which include books. Christ had authority to modify Mosaic law, and Alfred constructed his own code (with a lengthy Mosaic introduction), because divine law is eternal, but human realizations of law must adapt pragmatically to a society. So too, Smythe concludes, divine wisdom is eternal, but human realizations of it, in books, require adaptation to fulfill God's plan. God gave Alfred the authority to make changes and the responsibility to learn wisdom so that his changes would be those most useful for educating his people.

Susan Irvine explores one specific set of changes in "Wrestling with Hercules: King Alfred and the Classical Past" (*Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference*, ed. Catherine Cubitt, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 3, [Turnhout: Brepols], 171–88). In his *Boethius*, Alfred expands two mentions of Hercules from the source text while omitting a third. In his Chapter 16, Alfred not only fleshes out an allusion with explanatory details but also emphasizes God's favorable judgment on Hercules. He similarly expands a reference to the Hydra in his Chap. 39. Both times, Alfred presents Hercules positively, "as a kind of prototype of himself" (175) who wisely uses the proper tool for his *cræft*: fire defeats the Hydra as a sharp mind pierces a difficult text. Alfred omits Boethius's longest reference to Hercules, removing all the mythological references from Book IV, Meter 7 and expanding on the moral with a heightened prose style. Irvine argues that Alfred omits this passage because he finds Boethius's distinction here between wisdom and strength inappropriate; he prefers to emphasize the linkage of wisdom and honor "central to his ideology of Christian kingship" (179). Though Alfred calls classical myths "lies," he believes they can convey truths, and his favorable presentation of Hercules accords with some Carolingian models. Hercules was an ambivalent figure for some patristic and Carolingian writers, but as visitors to Alfred and his court described artistic depictions, most notably ivories of the Labors of Hercules, ambiguities might well become lost in translation.

Karl Jost established in 1920 that the extant twelfth-century manuscript of Alfred's *Soliloquies* was copied from an exemplar with disordered pages, and his reordering has been generally adopted. Malcolm Godden makes a detailed and persuasive argument for further rearrangement in "Text and Eschatology in Book III of the Old English *Soliloquies*" (*Anglia* 121: 177–209). He studies the argument, identification of speakers, and the length of segments that make sense and suggests that one quire, with its last three leaves blank, held nearly all of Book III in the exemplar. Later, someone detached the blank sheets for reuse, leaving three single leaves and only the central bifolium intact. This central bifolium was then put around the loose leaves, which were also disarranged. Godden proposes a new ordering: fol. 54r2-15; fols. 56v13-59r11; fols. 55v7-56v13; fols. 54r14-55v7; and fols. 59r11-59v18. His arrangement makes sense of the argument and the flow of the dialogue, which otherwise become so confusing that some scholars think Alfred discarded the dialogue format. Some problems remain. Godden suggests making new emendations, including taking "he is an" (fol. 56v17-18) as a miscopying of "heo minum" to restore Reason as the speaker in one passage. He would abandon others, especially a negative editors have added at 59r11 and their identification of *De videndo Deo* at the end of the work where the last sentence is cut off; he suggests *Soliloquia* is more likely, as the source of the whole. Godden then analyzes the re-edited text. In Book III, the

OE *Soliloquies* asserts that after death, both the good and the evil know about the living, know everything they want to know—and they will know even more after Judgment Day. These arguments go against Augustine and Gregory and have no exact parallels elsewhere. However, Julian of Toledo's seventh-century *Prognosticon* uses the Dives and Lazarus story, and quotations from Augustine and Gregory to demonstrate the dead's knowledge of the living much as Alfred does. Ælfric later adapted the *Prognosticon* into his own Latin *Excerpts* without acknowledging patristic misgivings. Moreover, where others would limit knowledge to the blessed, Alfred writes that both good and wicked will see God as He truly is, including after Judgment, going beyond even Julian (and later Ælfric). Alfred still suggests that individual capacities for wisdom may vary, but no one will *lack* wisdom in the afterlife. Godden concludes that Augustine and Alfred each displayed his own anxieties about personal identity after death, and that Alfred's *Soliloquies* is his most ambitious project, both in completing Augustine's unfinished work and in its radical theology.

Revising her 1997 Univ. di Padova thesis into "The Old English Translations of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica* and Orosius's *Historiuarum* [sic] *adversus paganos*: A Comparison" (*Linguistica e Filologia* 16: 191–213), Simonetta Mengato uses Eugene Nida's methods of quantitative analysis to examine changes in word order, omissions, additions, and structure. She compares the OE *Bede*'s first eight chapters with the corresponding section of the Latin *Historia ecclesiastica*, and I.10–21 and II.1–2 of the *Orosius* with *Historiarum adversus paganos*. For the *Bede*, Mengato numbers each word in the sample passages for comparison, but the *Orosius* had so many changes that broader analysis replaces quantitative methods. The *Bede* remains very close to its Latin source, but the *Orosius* diverges significantly, sometimes introducing long independent passages. Both translations favor SOV order and add explanations to teach their audiences. Yet the *Bede* frequently follows Latin syntax, including subordination, dative (for ablative) absolute, and accusative + infinitive; the *Orosius*'s syntax is far more independent of Latin and relies on parataxis. The *Bede* uses word pairs both for clarification and to satisfy audience expectations, while the *Orosius* employs fewer, for stylistic purposes. The *Bede* has a strong tendency towards noun + genitive, especially when that matches the Latin order, while the *Orosius* prefers genitive + noun (even with heavy genitives), an order common in late Old English. Mengato concludes that ideology guided larger changes. The *Bede* needs

few changes to teach Anglo-Saxons because it is already a history of England, although contrasts between England and Rome are greatly reduced. As a world history, the *Orosius* requires more elaboration, and the translator often minimizes portions not directly related to England. Together, the histories recount the translation of authority from Babylon, Macedonia, and Carthage to Rome, and thence to Alfred's England.

N.G.D.

Nicole Guenther Discenza provides a helpful examination of "The Unauthorized Biographies of Anicius Manlius Severinus Boethius" (given at the first annual symposium of The Alfredian Boethius Project, University of Oxford, July 2003; http://www.english.ox.ac.uk/boethius/Symposium2003.html).* The biographies include the Latin *uitae* of Boethius that circulated with Boethius's *De consolatione Philosophiae* and the historical introduction by Alfred the Great that prefaces his *Old English Boethius*. Of the six *uitae* that precede *De consolatione* in various manuscripts, Discenza suggests that Alfred may have drawn on all but the third as sources for his introduction. *Vitae* I and VI she reprints and translates in an appendix, showing both textual parallels between the *uitae* and Alfred and substantial passages in the former not incorporated into the latter. Noting that Alfred may have seen truncated versions of these *uitae* or simply be reproducing selections from memory (an option she deems unlikely given the close correspondence between the texts), Discenza argues that Alfred's choices in the introduction prepare the ground for themes in the larger work. Where the Latin depicts Boethius as a man embroiled in political plots complicated by family ties, the Old English portrays him as a family man engaged in political service. Where the Latin shows Boethius to suffer unjustly, the Old English casts him as a reluctant but virtuous martyr. Where the Latin has Boethius initially reject Philosophy's wisdom to languish in self-pity, the Old English has its protagonist humbly confess his sinful shortcomings and bow to Wisdom's counsel. The result in Alfred is a Boethius who serves both as a spiritual and political model, a repentant sinner who shuns not power altogether but selfish ambition for vain conceit. Alfred's adaptation of his biographical sources thus produces an introduction that, along with the *Old English Boethius* that follows, offers a narrator who "is not just a philosopher, but a Christian ruler—the kind of Christian ruler Alfred's whole program aims to produce" (14).

A.K.

Ælfric

Helmut Gneuss offers a general introduction to *Ælfric von Eynsham und seine Zeit* (Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, Phil.-Hist. Klasse, Sitzungsberichte, Jahrgang 2002, Heft 1 [Munich: Bayerische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 2002]). He begins by recounting early problems in establishing who Ælfric was and what we can know about him: that his teachers included Dunstan and Æthelwold, that Ælfric spent time at Glastonbury and later Winchester before going to the Cerne Abbey around 987 and becoming Abbot of Eynsham, and that he probably died by 1012 at the latest. Gneuss lists his works: over 160 homilies and saints' lives; adaptations (for homilies) and translations of the Old Testament; the Letter to Sigeweard; an abridged translation of Alcuin's *Interrogationes Sigewulfi in Genesin*; *De temporibus anni*; various tracts; and his *Grammar* and *Glossary*, and *Colloquium*, for the less educated. His Latin works include many letters, especially pastoral; his *Life of Æthelwold*; and a few other excerpts. Yet Ælfric is no mere translator or editor; his unique style and free reordering, abridging, and glossing of sources make him an author. Considering Ælfric's unassuming offices, the survival of over sixty Ælfric manuscripts out of only about 1200 Anglo-Saxon manuscripts extant, and their diffusion throughout England, is amazing. Ælfric's pastoral letters asked priests to preach in the vernacular and provided authoritative English homilies for the entire, complex church year, replacing older, theologically dubious ones. Ælfric drew on Paul the Deacon, Bede, and other church fathers, though we cannot identify his exemplars exactly. Ælfric cultivated a prose style and revised his own work; he had a lasting impact on English prose, helping to establish Standard Old English with consistent inflections, syntax, vocabulary, and usage, and borrowings from Latin rhetoric. He eschewed hermeneutic Latin, striving for clarity for readers and hearers in both languages. His OE rhythmic prose used the accents and alliteration of OE poetry without its difficult vocabulary or syntax. Ælfric's *Grammar*, the first grammar of Latin in a vernacular, was written after 992, probably at Cerne for monastic pupils. Though *Excerptiones de Prisciano* gave him a model, he offered examples in English and a grammar for both Latin and English. His *Grammar* became a model for Anglo-Saxon glossators, and his *Colloquy* for beginning Latinists was translated by one of his pupils, Ælfric Bata, into OE. Both *Grammar* and *Colloquy* helped fuel the development of Standard Old English. Nor did Anglo-Saxons utilize their native language simply because of poor Latinity; the Continent

had better resources, especially after years of war and poor economic conditions in England, but the English rebuilt libraries and compiled new texts after the devastation. Gneuss reminds us that Ælfric's role as abbot must not be forgotten though it is poorly documented. He could not live a "quiet life" of withdrawal in those unsettled times. The Benedictine Reform took hold in his early years, and he engaged with the duties of both monks and priests. He corresponded with Archbishops Wulfstan of York and Sigeric of Canterbury but also with lay nobles, even criticizing Sigeweard's drinking. Æthelweard and his son Æthelmær cultivated literary interests, the former writing a Latin chronicle and the latter founding Cerne and Eynsham, and both were patrons of Ælfric. Ælfric saw Edgar as a model king, ensuring peace and backing monastic reform; he was less enamored of Æthelred, though recent reassessments blame him less for his era's misfortunes than his contemporaries did. Ælfric saw Viking raids, famines, and pestilence as God's punishments for internal unrest after Edgar's death. Yet Ælfric believed war against Vikings just, using St. Edmund, Judith, and the Maccabees as examples; he also saw signs of the coming Apocalypse in the conflicts, though he was not a strict millenarian. Ælfric took part in the revival of learning at Winchester, an important center for production of liturgical and other manuscripts. Wulfstan Cantor developed original church music and hymns at this time, especially for Winchester's renowned organ; such work would also eventually develop into drama. Ælfric must have partaken in ceremonies that Wulfstan described for the new cathedral. Gneuss notes that Ælfric's works, especially his homilies and *Grammar*, were read and copied in England through the twelfth century. Then they lay dormant until the sixteenth century, when scholars and polemicists seeking to prove the ancient roots of their church, turned to his works, including Scriptural translation. Scholars also used Ælfric's *Grammar* and *Glossary* to learn Old English better. Gneuss closes by quoting a distich memorializing Ælfric that Manitius printed from a later manuscript apparently written by a Continental writer.

Helmut Gneuss also contributed a new introduction to *Aelfrics Grammatik und Glossar mit einer neuen Einleitung von Helmut Gneuss* (Hildesheim: Weidmann), ed. Julius Zupitza, which the title page calls a "fourth, unchanged printing." Gneuss's introduction gives brief but welcome background on Ælfric's text; describes all extant manuscripts (including three Zupitza did not use), four lost manuscripts, and transcripts; addresses confusion between the *Grammar and Glossary* and

a related glossary in two manuscripts; and explains Zupitza's editorial practices. After noting an explosion of Ælfric studies since 1982, Gneuss offers a short bibliography that includes L.M. Reinsma's crucial *Ælfric: an Annotated Bibliography* (New York: Garland, 1987) but omits Aaron Kleist's continuation for 1983–96 (in *Old English Prose: Basic Readings*, ed. P. Szarmach [New York: Garland, 2000], 503–52). He concludes with a table correlating the divisions in Somner's often-cited 1659 edition with Zupitza's text (1880). Zupitza's full edition and apparatus follow.

Helmut Gneuss begins "Ælfrics *Grammatik* und *Glossar*: Sprachwissenschaft um die Jahrtausendwende in England" (*Heilige und profane Sprachen / Holy and Profane Languages: Die Anfänge des Fremdsprachenunterrichts im westlichen Europa / The Beginnings of Foreign Language Teaching in Western Europe*, ed. Werner Hüllen and Friederike Klippel, Wolfenbütteler Forschungen 98 [Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2002], 77–92) by outlining Ælfric's life and works. In the era of Viking devastation, the Benedictine Reform led to new foundations and refoundations of monasteries that had to educate both oblates and *conversi* in Latin grammar and rhetoric. Few models were available, but Ælfric names in his Latin preface *Excerptiones de Prisciano*, a composite work that depends heavily on Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* but also uses Donatus, Isidore, and Bede. Ælfric shortens the text and adapts it for non-native speakers by comparisons of Latin and English. Who compiled the Latin Excerpts remains an open question, though Michael Lapidge suggests that Ælfric himself did. Ælfric adapts his own language by borrowing Latin words for English: he adds technical senses for existing words, creates calques, and finds native equivalents. Ælfric did not intend to write an Old English grammar but to use Old English to aid understanding of Latin grammar—yet he did create an OE grammar, and he demonstrated the common foundations of OE and Latin even as English lost inflections. He consciously furthered a standard Old English based on West Saxon but transcending regional dialects. Ten full and three partial copies still extant testify to the the *Grammar*'s popularity. Seven of the complete manuscripts contain Ælfric's *Glossary*, which went beyond the typical class glossary and was unparalleled except by the Antwerp-London Glossary, which may have shared Ælfric's lost source. Ælfric's work was used in the twelfth and even thirteenth centuries. Reformation antiquarians later brought it back into use, and today we still have many of the same linguistic interests and needs as Ælfric a millennium before us.

Loredana Lazzari studies "Il *Glossario* latino-inglese antico nel manoscritto di Anversa e Londra ed il *Glossario* di Ælfric: dipendenza diretta o derivazione comune?" (*Linguistica e Filologia* 16: 159–90). The unique glossary in Antwerp Plantin-Moretus M. 16.2 + London BL Add. 32246 (hereafter A-L) shares several features and hundreds of specific items with Ælfric's *Glossary*. Ælfric's *Glossary*, usually dated 997-99, contains 1262 entries under ten headings; the early-eleventh-century A-L contains nearly 3000 entries under fourteen headings, five shared with Ælfric's work. In both, the most common order is generic term followed by specific, but sometimes specific follows generic; corresponding masculine and feminine are paired; nouns or adjectives are paired with opposites; or nouns create metonymic sequences. In hundreds of cases where A-L has two or more lemmas, Ælfric simply offers fewer. Ælfric gives more lemmas or glosses than A-L only about a hundred times. Previous scholars have argued that A-L expands Ælfric's *Glossary*, but sometimes Ælfric's *Grammar* or *Colloquy* has equivalents to A-L that his *Glossary* lacks. Lazzari argues that both A-L and Ælfric used an earlier, now-lost bilingual glossary from the Benedictine Reform to which A-L remains closest (and BL Cotton Cleopatra A. iii may also testify). Both A-L and Ælfric's *Glossary* include many items specifically related to the key Reform concerns of liturgy and music. Ælfric sought to teach and championed a simple style, so he used less of the source. The A-L *Glossary* contains many more difficult words, including archaisms, neologisms, and grecisms—the hermeneutic vocabulary that flourished around the turn of the millennium among all writers *except* Ælfric. The Reformers brought books with erudite vocabulary from the Continent, and these glossaries include dozens of terms from Isidore's *Etymologia* in Isidore's sequence. Hermeneutic writers both used difficult Latin and Greek vocabulary (sometimes from Isidore) and invented their own English words, sometimes making English calques for Latin glosses in Isidore and creating *hapax legomena*. The lost source glossary may have resulted from an exercise at Winchester or Abingdon based on Isidore's *Etymologia*.

Aaron J. Kleist reviews "The Influence of Bede's *De temporum ratione* on Ælfric's Understanding of Time" (*Time and Eternity*, 81–97). Ælfric sought to spread orthodox teaching in the vernacular, to which his *De temporibus anni* contributed. On the subject of astronomical time, Ælfric insists that the stars do not determine fates but have theological meaning: like Bede, he makes the spring equinox, when light overcomes darkness, the start of the year. In his *Catholic Homilies*,

Ælfric treats eschatological time in the context of the Six Ages, which he compares to the six jars at Cana; the world is also like a man growing old, and Christ's circumcision on his eighth day like the purification of humanity in the Eighth Age. Kleist finds sources for these passages in Bede's homilies and *De Temporum Ratione*. Eusebius originally sketched out the influential scheme that Jerome and then Augustine adjusted, and Augustine elaborated it with comparisons of each age to a day (with promising morning, bright noon, and declining evening) and the sequence of six to stages of human life from infancy through old age. Bede develops Augustine's idea but replaces Isidore of Seville's Septuagint timeline with his own Vulgate one, setting Christ's birth not in *Anno mundi* 5196 but 3952. Also like Augustine, Bede argued that ages were not literal millennia, because Christ said that no one knows when the world will end. Early in life, Augustine believed in a seventh age of physical resurrection with saints ruling a thousand years on Earth, but he later rejected that for a period of rest, simultaneous with Earth's other ages, in which saints rule with Christ in heaven and God restrains Satan. Bede followed Augustine in opposition to literal millennarians, including some Anglo-Saxons. Ælfric in turn emulates Bede, starting the year with the spring equinox and seeing a world near a Judgment whose exact date we cannot know. Kleist concludes with a useful series of tables illustrating various forms of reckoning, the last of which helpfully notes for the Sixth Age: "You are here."

Laurenz Volkmann's *Homo oeconomicus: Studien zur Modellierung eines neuen Menschenbilds in der englischen Literatur vom Mittelalter bis zum 18. Jahrhundert* (Anglistische Forschungen 326 [Heidelberg: C. Winter]) treats in section 2.1 "Ælfric, Langland und die Konventionen mittelalterlicher Predigttexte" (39–63). In 2.1.1, "Ælfric: Colloquy. Der mercator als Teil der Gemeinschaft" (39–43), Volkmann writes that Ælfric's presentation of the merchant has been misunderstood as an attempt at realism when it presents an ideal, composite merchant selling all kinds of wares in support of the common good. Though earlier taxonomies such as the anonymous *De quattuor ordinibus* present traders as inclined toward avarice, Ælfric's merchant braves the dangers of travel to feed his family. The rest of 2.1 analyzes the literature and social context of the later Middle Ages in more detail, focusing especially on Langland as social and religious critic and on his Lady Meed, where Volkmann finds a regression from the social ideals that Ælfric represents in his *Colloquy*.

N.G.D.

A study of the role of English in grammatical instruction from the late tenth to mid-fourteenth century is supplied by Lucia Kornexl in "From Ælfric to John of Cornwall: Evidence for Vernacular Grammar Teaching in Pre- and Post-Conquest England" (*Bookmarks from the Past*, ed. Kornexl and Lenker, 229–59). Noting the long-standing pedagogical interrelationship of English and Latin—the grammatical rules of the latter being used to teach the former, and the vernacular being used to acquire Latin—Kornexl begins with "the standard manual of elementary Latin instruction in Late Anglo-Saxon England," Ælfric's *Grammar*, which in fact provides an introduction to both languages (233–34). Kornexl indicates two ways in which Ælfric's work, the first Latin grammar in any vernacular, is a watershed for the field: equating Latin grammar (as taught in the Priscian tradition) with "grammar" as a theoretical discipline, the *Grammar* suggested that other languages could best be taught through that framework (234); by translating Priscian for Anglo-Saxon students, moreover, the *Grammar* inaugurated the practice of using English to teach Latin—or at least gave a theoretical foundation to an existing informal practice (236). Kornexl then reexamines the scholarly assumption that after the Conquest English ceased to be used to teach Latin grammar until the second half of the fourteenth century. Considering the evidence of English and French glosses to Latin grammar manuals during this period, including late copies of Ælfric's *Grammar*, she underscores the difficulty of determining precisely what took place in classrooms during this time. Either the French forms were meant to supersede the English ones, providing native French speakers with access to the Latin, or they were inserted to aid English speakers who needed to acquire French as well as Latin, or the practice of teaching Latin by means of French survived anachronistically in university settings long after French as a native language had all but disappeared. The last possibility, Kornexl states, may put in perspective the mid-fourteenth-century work of John of Cornwall, who has traditionally been credited with reforming instruction so as to teach Latin by means of English rather than French. While John's influence on Oxford, the center for the teaching of grammar at the time, may be certain, Kornexl suggests that John's practice may more reflect a long-standing, larger trend than an innovation unique to himself: Oxford was at last acknowledging the predominance of English in the land at large. Though definitive conclusions cannot be made, therefore, it would seem that English "never completely lost its function as a vernacular key to Latin" (255).

In *Medieval Literature for Children*, Stephen J. Harris provides an introduction to and a translation of "Ælfric's *Colloquy*" (ed. Daniel T. Kline [New York: Routledge], 112–30). Like Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales*, Harris notes, Ælfric's primer on spoken Latin for children offers a glimpse (even if limited and in stereotypes) both of the monastic schoolroom and of the vocational world of Anglo-Saxon England, as apprentices of various trades describe their work to a monastic teacher and teach monastic students specialized vocabulary and grammar in the process. Harris provides brief background on Ælfric, the monastic classroom, the crucial importance of Latin for Anglo-Saxons' understanding of Scripture, the consequently central role of grammar in Anglo-Saxon education, and the influence of Ælfric's pedagogical works in this regard. Harris bases his translation on G. N. Garmonsway's Methuen edition (rpt. U of Exeter P, 1991), drawing primarily on London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A. iii, the only surviving copy preserving the continuous Old English gloss perhaps made by Ælfric's student Bata. Harris' translation stays quite close to the vernacular gloss, with italics noting places where the gloss differs from Ælfric's Latin. He follows Ælfric in assigning the characters—a baker, fisherman, blacksmith, and the like—grammatically accurate rather than colloquial speech despite their ostensible range of educational backgrounds, reflecting the text's conservative rather than dramatic (though occasionally humorous) tone. Notes explaining textual details and nuances of Old English and Latin terms further serve to make this an accessible and sensitive introduction to Ælfric's work.

In his "Editing Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*" (*Anglia* 121: 610–18), Donald Scragg offers welcome perspective on the strengths and shortcomings of two monumental achievements of recent Ælfrician scholarship: Peter Clemoes's 1997 edition of the First Series and Malcolm Godden's 2000 commentary on and glossary to the *Catholic Homilies* as a whole. Resisting calls of scholars championing electronic hypertext over traditional print editions, Scragg notes that while the former may provide readers with a multiplicity of possible readings, the latter can accomplish the same through well-crafted levels of apparatus. It can also reduce the "highly complex and detailed material to an immensely readable, authoritative and scholarly synthesis"—a trait Scragg ascribes to both Clemoes' and Godden's work (611). Godden's commentary supplements the best of earlier scholarship with his own extensive analysis of sources; his glossary similarly supplies a "remarkable linguistic window" on the vocabulary and spelling

conventions of this influential Anglo-Saxon figure (612). Turning to Clemoes's edition, Scragg praises its examination of linguistic, stylistic, and textual changes (both authorial and non-authorial) to the various stages of Ælfric's work. At the same time, he expresses reservations regarding a number of elements: Clemoes bases the edition on London, BL, MS Royal 7 C. xii, an apparently fair copy of Ælfric's initial draft of the First Series, rather than on Cambridge, University Library, Gg.3.28, a highly accurate representative of the final main revision of the Series that "comes closer to offering Ælfric's last thoughts rather than his first" (617). He raises the possibility of a synoptic edition, with the first and last stages of Ælfric's work printed on facing pages, with the latter being prioritized. He also suggests the value of a "Canterbury *Catholic Homilies*," based on the alterations to Ælfric's work made under Sigeric, as well as an edition highlighting changes made to the collection by later users. Ultimately, however, Scragg applauds the insight Clemoes offers into the dissemination of this complex collection and into the mental development of what Scragg quite rightly calls "the greatest English prose writer of the medieval period" (618).

A painstaking and useful study of one of Ælfric's later homilies comes from Carmen Butcher, who illustrates the potential for "Recovering Unique Ælfrician Texts Using the Fiber-Optic Light Cord: Pope XVII in London, BL Cotton Vitellius C.v" (*OEN* 36.3: 13–22). The manuscript is a key witness to Ælfric's developing style— John C. Pope's *Supplementary Homilies* II.17, for example, incorporates both Ælfric's "older plain prose" and later rhythmical prose—and contains certain Ælfrician sermons and passages not found elsewhere. In addition, however, it is one of those damaged by the infamous Ashburnham House fire of 1731. Butcher reexamines Pope II.17 in Cotton Vitellius C.v using fiber optic light, an approach that as recently as 2002 the British Library's Photo Studio suggested has "not been superseded" by newer technologies (22 n. 6). Her work reveals letters which Pope was unable to see, confirms characters partially visible to him, recovers words visible to Pope that have since become illegible to the naked eye, and supplies the rare readings that were not included in Pope's edition. The result constitutes a decided advance on the edition as it stands; Butcher warns, however, that the gains are frustratingly small for such a time-intensive investment. The accuracy of Pope's conjectures regarding damaged readings partly reflects our knowledge of Ælfric's vocabulary, style, and sources; even more importantly, it underscores the fundamental value of a skilled editor. For such an editor, however, faced with

a lesser known or more obscure text, Butcher suggests that fiber optic light may prove a very useful tool.

Carmen Butcher further provides a brief overview of Ælfrician theology in "The Feminine Nature of Ælfric's Works" (*Magistra: A Jnl of Women's Spirituality in History* 9.2: 87–115). As opposed to the bombastic rhetoric of the Blickling and Vercelli homilies or the stern morality of Wulfstan (90–91), Butcher describes Ælfric's sermons as "feminine" in their affirmation of God as merciful, nurturing, and forgiving, as well as in their own nurturing concern for the spiritual instruction of the English people. The dichotomy, naturally, is not absolute: Butcher notes that Wulfstan does not always dwell on the terror of eternal punishment to the extent that he does in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*; likewise, Ælfric is adamant in his denunciation of sin, particularly when speaking of heretics such as Arius or of the Jews—the latter being censured not for their nationality but as representatives of all those who reject Christ. Though Ælfric does affirm the need for sinners to do penance, however, he places "a feminine emphasis" on the inward reality of repentance (101–02). Though he at points vividly describes hell, he does so "without dwelling on its morbidity" (106). Though he does condemn the wicked, his focus on historical opponents of the faith (like Arius) is "feminine in its obliquity" (111). Butcher finds a similar "positive" perspective in Ælfric's treatment of other topics which she here surveys: the origin of evil, human free will, original sin, baptism, the Eucharist, the Judgment, and the afterlife. After a final swift treatment of Ælfric's use of word play and rhythmical prose, Butcher concludes that such stylistic techniques, combined with Ælfric's commitment to the "feminine leitmotif" of God's mercy, continue to give the sermons a modern resonance (115).

As opposed to early feminist medievalist studies of the 1980s and 1990s, Miranda Hodgson's "Impossible Women: Ælfric's Sponsa Christi and 'La Mystérique'" (*Medieval Feminist Forum* 33 [Spring 2002]: 12–21) questions the extent to which female figures in Anglo-Saxon hagiography provide "positive" examples for a female audience. On the one hand, describing hagiography as a form of religious propaganda, she notes that such narratives present idealized rather than "realistic" portraits of women; on the other hand, she suggests that such depictions were carefully constructed by the Church so as to keep this ideal beyond the reach of historical women—a "paradoxical and unattainable" characterization of female saints that results in her labeling them "Impossible Women" (12–13). Focusing

on Ælfric's Life of Agnes (*Lives of Saints* I.7), and drawing on terminology from John Searle's speech-act theory, Hodgson notes a number of ways in which Agnes's speech, though on one level an assertive act, is limited by Ælfric's depiction. First, she says, Agnes's discourse is reduced to a repetition of a small number of similar statements. Second, Agnes's role is restricted to providing answers rather than proactive declarations. Third, her mystical self-portrayal as a bride of Christ "works to obliterate her subjectivity" inasmuch as (a) such imagery defines her as a relational object rather than an independent subject, (b) her dependence on Christ diminishes her ability and responsibility to act in her own defense, and (c) the mystical nature of her language reduces its effect as a tangible weapon, instead relying on the capacity of her pagan opposites to interpret her words in a correct fashion—which they do not. Fourth, none of Agnes's speeches meet with any success. Finally, the very fact of Ælfric's authorship negates Agnes's identity as a speaking subject. While Agnes may employ sophisticated imagery and assertive rhetoric, therefore, Hodgson concludes that—the desires of certain theoreticians notwithstanding—Ælfric's Agnes "does not represent a positive example for real women to emulate" (19).

By contrast with Hodgson's study, Onnaca Heron sees an exemplum of feminine empowerment in "The Lioness in the Text: Mary of Egypt as Immasculated Female Saint" (*Quidditas: Jnl of the Rocky Mountain Medieval and Renaissance Assoc.* 21 [2000]: 23–43). Where standard interpretations of the legend tend to focus on the lessons in humility learned by Zosimus, the monk striving for perfection who encounters the saintly reformed prostitute in the desert, Heron suggests that investigating Mary's own story may even be more revealing of the gender dynamics in the narrative. On the one hand, Heron says, Mary displays virile or immasculated qualities before her repentance through her subversion of gender-specific social roles, pursuing pleasure as an unpaid prostitute and explicitly discarding her spindle, a symbol of traditional female livelihood. After her conversion, moreover, she becomes still more "manly" both in appearance (short hair, emaciated [non-voluptuous] body, and so on) and by association through imagery with male biblical figures (with Elijah being sustained in the desert, with Christ walking across the water, and so forth). At the same time, Zosimus is seen to be metaphorically feminized or emasculated: he repeatedly washes her feet with his tears (as Mary Magdalene with Christ), and demonstrates impotence in vainly attempting to see the saint or digging her grave—

i.e., penetrating the feminine *eorðe* with a little stick. Heron also discusses points of parallelism between the above account and the story of Tobit, alluded to in the eighth-century preface by Paulus of Naples appended to Mary's legend. Tobit literally loses his sight while Zosimus suffers spiritual blindness; Tobit finds himself unable to care for his family even as Zosimus is emasculated by his spiritual shortcomings; Tobit buries the bodies of slain Israelites as Zosimus seeks to bury the corpse Mary. In the same vein, chaste female figures in these texts (Sarah and Mary of Egypt) serve as helpers to the men overcome by blindness. Furthermore, Heron points out a third layer of parallelism: the shift in the Old English text, as against its Latin and Greek predecessors, of the gender of the lion that ultimately digs Mary's grave. Masculine in the classical sources, the lion here is feminine: upon the appeal of the impotent Zosimus, it accomplishes the task at hand with its powerful, immasculated body. In short, Heron says, while, ironically, later medieval images of Mary portray her in decidedly feminine terms, the Old English account emphasizes her female empowerment perhaps even more than the spiritual development of the male protagonist.

Paul Cavill's "Analogy and Genre in the Legend of St Edmund" (*Nottingham Medieval Studies* 47: 21–45) examines evidence for the historicity of Edmund's martyrdom as presented by Ælfric (*Lives of Saints* II.32) and his Latin source, Abbo of Fleury. Cavill takes issue with a trend in scholarship to see a historical core in the non-miraculous elements of the legend. While Abbo claims that the story ultimately derives from an eyewitness, Cavill describes such assertions as a commonplace of the hagiographic tradition. Where scholars view the nature of Edmund's torture as "recognizably Viking," offering apparent analogies from Scandinavian literature, Cavill draws attention to the marked differences between the accounts. Focusing on Ælfric's choice of vocabulary, moreover, he argues that Ælfric distances Edmund's passion from contemporary Germanic practice and situates it in the context of biblical and Roman martyrs. To scholars' association of Edmund's death with that of Ælfheah, likewise slain by Vikings, Cavill responds by showing not only how the two stories differ—Ælfheah refusing to allow himself to be ransomed; Edmund refusing (in more typical martyr fashion) to deny Christ—but how idiosyncrasies of Ælfheah's torment are the more characteristically Scandinavian. In short, Cavill concludes, nothing in Edmund's legend can be confidently attributed to a historical eyewitness account. To dismiss the legend as mere fabrication,

however, is to miss the point, the role of analogy in the hagiographic genre: it was not historicity but the familiarity of the pattern seen in Edmund's account that gave its audience "courage to express faith in the ideal world of the saints as against the harsh reality of their historical circumstances"—a courage all the more important in a time of Viking attack (43).

A sensitive study of Ælfric's approach to hagiography comes from Scott DeGregorio's "*Þegenlic* or *flæsclic*: The Old English Prose Legends of St. Andrew" (*JEGP* 102: 449–64). Traditional explanations of Ælfric's distancing of his homilies from the *gedwyld* or "error" of others' works have understood *gedwyld* primarily in terms of sensationalism or departure from orthodox authority. In the case of Andrew, the only apostle venerated with three Old English *uitae*, it is no wonder then to find Ælfric's account drawing on what scholars have deemed the earlier and more authoritative aspects of the Acts of Andrew, as against the Blickling homilist's emphasis on "more fantastical stories" of Andrew among the man-eating Mermedonians (452). Comparing the Ælfrician and Blickling accounts, however, DeGregorio argues that another factor may also have influenced Ælfric and set him apart from other Anglo-Saxon hagiographers: his conception of sanctity—or more precisely, his view of the pedagogical requirements for depicting sainthood. Where Blickling's Andrew is a *flæsclic man* or "man of flesh" who admits weakness, doubts in the face of suffering, and deserts new converts who beg for his ministry, Ælfric depicts a *þegenlic* or thane-like apostle who follows Christ with alacrity, endures suffering with courageous impassivity, and confirms new converts' faith with preaching even from the cross. Such a portrait, DeGregorio suggests, may reveal Ælfric's concern that overly-humanizing his protagonist might leave his audience with the wrong impression of the saint, leading them to misunderstand or mock that figure rather than hold him in awe as a representative both of virtue and the Church. While not the only factor in Ælfric's view of and relation to hagiography, therefore, here at least "the question of *gedwyld* goes beyond issues of sensationalism and authority to encompass the spiritual and cultural impact texts could have on the audiences that would receive them" (462).

Focusing on Ælfric's Lives of Matthew and of Simon and Jude (*Catholic Homilies* II.32–33), Jasmine Kilburn's "The Contrasted 'Other' in the Old English Apocryphal Acts of Matthew, Simon and Jude" (*Neophilologus* 87: 137–51) argues that the adversaries against whom the apostles battle are not one dimensional but the product

of complex symbolism and imagery. Ethiopia, first of all, the target of Matthew's mission and home of the magicians Zaroes and Arfaxath, is not a straightforward setting. A country of uncertain geographic location, it was shown by Tolkien to encompass a range of black non-European peoples, the names for whom (OE *silhearwa*; ON *blá-maðr*) meant not only "Ethiopian" but "swarthy devil"—potentially, at least, implicitly pejorative. Ethiopians were associated, moreover, with the exotic and mysterious, as well as with such evil practices as cannibalism and sorcery. As sorcerers, Kilburn notes, Zaroes and Arfaxath deceive the pagans—spiritual deception or error (*gedwyld*) being no light matter to Ælfric. In contrast to Matthew's true acts of healing, the magicians "cure" by revoking injuries they themselves have caused; claiming to represent gods, they align with Satan through association with dragons, idols, and death. Similar ironic contrasts follow the wizards when they flee from Matthew to Persia, where they face Simon and Jude. Here the apostles' poverty diverges markedly from the wealth of pagan priests, the devil's seeming power over people veils the deeper truth of God's sovereignty, the snakes by which the sorcerers attempt to bring about the apostles' deaths are turned (with merciful restraint) on the sorcerers themselves, and the idols ultimately defended by the Ethiopian wizards in foreign lands prove to be possessed by black Ethiopian demons. In short, Kilburn affirms, while the dichotomy between good and evil in these texts may not be subtle, the means by which Ælfric presents this dichotomy is anything but straightforward.

Alison Gulley's "Conversionary Tactics, Marital Vocation, and English Nuns in Ælfric's *Life of Cecilia*" (*Bricha Review: Jnl of the Blue Ridge International Conference on the Humanities and the Arts* 1-2: 22–31) begins by highlighting the central role of conversion in this Ælfrician saint's life. While virginity and martyrdom play a role, again and again faith appears as a vital virtue: Cecilia's husband Valerian, Valerian's brother Tiburtius, and the brothers' executioner Maximus all demand proof of Christian truths, but ultimately place their trust in Christ before receiving visual confirmation of their faith. Positing either a lay or monastic audience including "average Englishwomen" or nuns—both categories potentially including (alienated) wives and widows as well as virgins—Gulley suggests that Ælfric's association with Winchester may have given him experience with such an audience through the nearby convents of Nunnaminster and Wherwell. Gulley underscores the important role women were known to play in Anglo-Saxon conversion, reviewing examples of noblewomen

urged by clergy to bring their husbands to the faith; notes the prominence of noblewomen in the establishment or direction of nunneries; and surveys evidence for the existence of chaste Anglo-Saxon marriages. In sum, she reiterates the relevance of Ælfric's text for such a potentially diverse audience: as a noble-born, celibate Christian wife, Cecilia offers encouragement to virgin and formerly-married alike of the meritorious nature of their lives of faith in Christ.

Another discussion of Ælfric's homilies comes from Haruko Momma, who examines "Rhythm and Alliteration: Styles of Ælfric's Prose up to the *Lives of Saints*" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Catherine E. Karkov and George Hardin Brown, SUNY Series in Medieval Studies [Albany: SUNY Press], 253–69). Having noted the challenge of most Old English works given their lack of determinable external criteria (such as authorship, date, and place of origin), a pattern to which Ælfric stands in sharp contrast, given our knowledge of his history and writings, Momma traces the development of Ælfric's style in the *Catholic Homilies* and *Lives of Saints*. In the First Series of *Catholic Homilies*, which scholars have generally viewed as ordinary prose, Momma finds examples of loosely structured rhythmical phrases, usually consisting of two stressed words and an unspecified number of unstressed ones—rhythmical units, in other words, comparable to poetic half-lines though longer and less regular. Turning to Ælfric's homily on Cuthbert in the Second Series (*CH* II.10), typically described as one of Ælfric's first works composed in his developing rhythmical style, Momma notes the presence of non-rhythmical ("ordinary") prose, non-alliterative rhythmical phrases, and paired alliterative phrases as well, finally settling into a regular pattern of long lines more reminiscent of Old English poetry than much of his later work. In the *Lives of Saints*, where Ælfric's style has been said to be "perfected" (257), Momma examines ways in which Ælfric's alliterative prose (a term Momma prefers to "rhythmical prose," which she reserves for rhythmical phrases without regular alliteration) differs from traditional poetry. In terms of alliteration, Ælfric varies his patterns, using anomalous *xa | ay* and *ax | ya* arrangements in addition to the *a(a) | ax* pattern requisite for poetry; as a result, he often fails to mark the beginning or end of long lines with alliterating or non-alliterating stressed words, respectively. Such a tendency affects his syntax as well: unstressed words syntactically detached from words immediately following them, typically placed before the first stressed, alliterating word in a poetic clause, in Ælfric appear in various places because he does not consistently alliterate

his first stressed word. In addition, whereas Old English poetry exhibits a strong tendency to situate finite verbs at the end of the long line, where alliteration is prohibited, Ælfric places them equally at the end of the first or second phrase, perhaps because his employment of end-alliteration obscures the difference between the two. Ælfric is not unique, Momma points out, in employing poetic devices in "prose" works: rhythmical phrases and alliteration appear in the Vercelli sermons as well as Wulfstan's *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, and loosely constructed two-stress phrases are employed by Alfred the Great, on whom Ælfric draws for the *Catholic Homilies*. While Ælfric may make greater use of poetic devices than other prose writers, Momma refrains from calling Ælfric's work poetry: even when Ælfric comes to compose exclusively with alliteration, she notes, Ælfric readily combines early and later writings with markedly different styles. If Old English poems as a rule are internally consistent, Ælfric views the long line as a device to be freely mixed with other styles.

Paul Szarmach revisits the question of Ælfric's developing style in "Ælfric Revises: The Lives of Martin and the Idea of the Author" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Brien O'Keeffe, 38–61). Under analysis are Ælfric's lives of Martin in the Second Series of *Catholic Homilies* (*CH* II.34) and in the *Lives of Saints* (*LS* II.31), Martin being the only saint treated in both collections. Szarmach sets forth the manuscript evidence for the two texts, concluding that in each case at least one manuscript is close enough to Ælfric to provide an authoritative base-text, and that the other witnesses shed important light on their later reception and adaptation. Following a suggestion by Fred Biggs, Szarmach posits cautiously that the *LS* version might be seen not as a supplement but a replacement for the earlier text; the absence of Martin in later copies of *CH* might thus reflect Ælfric's suppression of his initial version, while its persistent presence in other copies might reflect reproduction outside of Ælfric's control. Turning to the issue of style in the two texts, Szarmach notes that the decision of Malcolm Godden and Peter Clemoes to follow manuscript punctuation in their editions of the *CH* "may place the reader closer to Ælfric (or at least his scribes), but … mask[s] the development of Ælfric's rhythmical prose and obscure[s] Ælfric's various rhythmical choices" (44–45). Between these two Lives, however, the change is a significant one: the *CH* Martin, with its incorporation of both rhythmical and non-rhythmical elements, is one of the primary examples of the emergence of Ælfric's rhythmical style in the Second Series, while the uniform use of this style

in the *LS* Martin might seem to denote a more mature Ælfrician product. Close comparison of episodes in the Lives leads Szarmach to conclude, however, that Ælfric continued to experiment with alliteration and rhythm and that the later text is not uniformly superior in these regards. In both cases, however, Szarmach paints a figure at odds with his surrounding tradition: inasmuch as he constructs a mnemonic style that eschews extravagant constructions and difficult language, Ælfric departs from the hermeneutic style sponsored by his mentor Æthelwold; inasmuch as he engages in self-conscious literary production, he contrasts with the sea of anonymous scribes who may degrade his works with inaccuracy and error. Where Foucault may suggest that "there are texts and no names" (53) therefore, Ælfric remains "at variance with a scribal tradition that would seem to meet the postmodern interest in texts, not in authors" (55)—in which latter camp, Szarmach argues, Ælfric very much saw himself.

A remarkable anomaly in Ælfric's careful affirmation of patristic authority and rejection of apocrypha is explored by Thomas Hall's study of "Ælfric and the Epistle to the Laodiceans" (*Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, 65–83). In his *De ueteri testamento et nouo* or *Letter to Sigeweard*, surveying the contents of the Bible, Ælfric includes the apocryphal Epistle to the Laodiceans among his list of authentic works by Paul. Likely composed in the second or third century, with each of its twenty verses adapting or drawing verbatim on statements from other Pauline letters, the epistle was the subject of some historical debate. Condemned almost from its inception, and by such authoritative figures as Augustine, Jerome, Cassiodorus, and Gregory the Great, copies of the letter nonetheless circulated in English bibles before and during Ælfric's lifetime. Hall posits three explanations for Ælfric's choice, despite his knowledge of such censure, to include the Epistle to the Laodiceans in his overview of the biblical canon. First, Hall points to the typological numerology which Ælfric emphasizes in the *Letter to Sigeweard*: just as the world was divided into seventy-two nations after the confusion of Babel, and just as Christ sent out seventy-two disciples as witnesses into the world, Ælfric says, so too the Bible is divided into seventy-two books—a number obtained only by including fifteen, not fourteen, Pauline epistles. Second, Hall notes an important ambiguity in Gregory the Great's discussion of the book in a passage known to Ælfric from the *Moralia in Iob*: while Gregory states that the Church accepts fourteen of Paul's letters as biblically canonical—the sum of the number of the gospels and commandments—Paul did

in fact compose one extra, a text one might understand to be the Epistle to the Laodiceans. Third, Hall hypothesizes not only that Ælfric had encountered the epistle in contemporary bibles, but that it was present in every New Testament he had known or studied—even if some, like the "Royal Bible" produced during Ælfric's lifetime (London, British Library, Royal 1. E. VII + VIII, the epistle from which Hall prints as an appendix), affirm that Paul's letters numbered fourteen. If so, Hall suggests, having to choose between patristic tradition and personal experience, in this rare case Ælfric makes his decision (at least in part) on the basis of the latter.

Anonymous Homilies

Samantha Zacher provides a valuable discussion of "The Style and Rhetoric of the Vercelli Homilies" in her 2003 dissertation from the University of Toronto (*DAI* 64A, 1249). Having treated the manuscript's date and origin, surveyed its contents, considered its possible audience and purpose, and outlined sources for and analogues to the collection, Zacher examines in detail five aspects of the homilies: verbal repetition, adaptation of Latin sources, recurring themes, connected metaphors, and mixed genres (ii). As regards repetition, her focus is the replication of material from Vercelli II in Vercelli XXI: where scholars have traditionally viewed the duplication as a compiler's error, and doubted whether any organizational principle underlies the collection, she interprets the duplication as a possible key to the organization. Coming to sources, Zacher considers "poetic" patterns and wordplay in the Old English prose of Vercelli X in relation to Latin sources and vernacular poetry. She then discusses thematic and verbal parallels between Vercelli XXII and eleven Old English versions of the soul's address to the body after death. Moving to metaphors and similes, she examines ways in which figurative tropes appear and are adapted in Vercelli XI–XIII. Turning to genre, finally, she not only distinguishes between poetic and prose homilies in the book, but considers ways in which two saint's lives, Vercelli XVIII and XXIII, problematize this seemingly-clear divide, fail to fit traditional homiletic patterns neatly, and resonate with vernacular poems found in the Exeter Book. In conclusion, Zacher underscores ways in which the study of rhetoric and style in vernacular prose might draw upon and inform the much less neglected field of Old English poetry.

Thomas Hall tackles the vexing question of "The Psychedelic Transmogrification of the Soul in Vercelli Homily IV" (*Time and Eternity*, 309–22). Noting the importance of the afterlife as a theme in Anglo-Saxon literature, as well as the contradictory and often unorthodox (if not sensational) nature of Anglo-Saxon depictions of the matter, Hall considers the case of Vercelli IV, a homily that draws on and supplies material for other Old English sermons, but that nonetheless remains unique in certain respects. Where such authors as Alcuin and King Alfred may associate intellectual facilities with the soul, Vercelli IV ascribes the ability to think and feel to soul and body alike. Where Alcuin and Ælfric may describe the soul as incorporeal, invisible, and colorless, Vercelli IV depicts both body and soul as having color and form. Where other texts may admit some transformation of the soul at judgment, Vercelli IV portrays the soul as progressing in turn through states reminiscent of humans, plants, minerals, and the heavenly bodies. Hall notes, however, that Ælfric does assert that the soul will be 'adorned' (*gewlitegod*) in heaven according to its earthly merits—an argument drawn from Alcuin and associated with the evangelist's statement that in heaven the just will shine like the sun (Matthew 13:43). Situating Ælfric's teaching in the context of other medieval texts associating the soul's ultimate color and appearance with its temporal sins and virtues, Hall explains the striking depiction in Vercelli IV as a concatenation of ideas: the influence of merit on the appearance of the soul, the luminescence of the virtuous soul as per Matthew 13, and "a more vaguely defined concept" of the soul's passage through ascending or descending stages, all three ideas being then applied in addition to the body (321). In the absence of a known Latin antecedent for Vercelli IV which might more directly account for the homily's imagery, Hall's analysis offers a plausible explanation of that imagery that also highlights its contradictory and unorthodox nature—underscoring both the homily's uniqueness and its larger correspondence to other examples of Anglo-Saxon eschatology.

Richard Kelly seeks to "complement" Richard Morris' nineteenth-century edition of the Blickling Homilies in Princeton, University Library, W.H. Scheide 71 (s. x/xi) with *The Blickling Homilies: Edition and Translation (with General Introduction, Textual Notes, Tables and Appendices, and Select Bibliography)* (London: Continuum). The volume offers a brief general introduction to such subjects as medieval preaching and the Carolingian influence on the Anglo-Saxon Church before outlining details regarding the manuscript and its contents. The edition itself silently expands abbreviations and modernizes punctuation, though it does not standardize spellings; it is accompanied by a facing-page

translation that slightly "updates" that of Morris (vii). Kelly does not provide alternate readings, though ten of the homilies appear in full or in part in other manuscripts, nor does he identify sources. Though Kelly indicates his intention to do both in a subsequent volume, these decisions considerably compromise the usefulness of the work: one review by Donald Scragg, noting "rife" misquotation, misrepresentation, or uncited incorporation of others' work, declares the edition to offer "no new advance in scholarship at all" (*Medieval Sermon Studies* 49 [2005]: 71–73, at 72). For newcomers to the homilies without access to Morris's edition, however, it may provide a helpful introduction, supplemented at some future date, perhaps, with a companion volume of higher critical standards.

In "'A wese\n/dan nacodnisse and þa ecan þistru': Language and Mortality in the Homily for Doomsday in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 41" (*English Studies* 84: 493–510), Sharon Rowley calls for a consideration of anonymous homilies in their entirety rather than focusing merely on their component parts. Published incompletely in separate parts, and studied primarily for its use of *The Apocalypse of Thomas* and "The Apocryphon of the Seven Heavens" and for its putative Irish origins, the Doomsday Homily in CCCC 41 in fact weaves together sources common in Anglo-Saxon England to produce a unique homily "of balanced contrasts and symbolic inversions," particularly in relationship to language (495). Rowley first takes up its putative Irish background. While the homily's discussion of the Seven Heavens (for example) shares elements in common with Irish treatments of the subject, and while scholars such as Charles Wright cautiously suggest that the Old English material was transmitted through the Irish tradition, Rowley posits that the Irish and Old English versions were independent, with the latter reflecting images popular in England. Second, as regards the unique nature of the homily, Rowley's comparison of motifs shared by the Doomsday Homily and other anonymous vernacular sermons highlights the subtle differences in these homilies' treatment of such material: either the compilers were mechanically cutting and pasting from slightly-divergent sources (now lost), or there was "a more active process of appropriation and adaptation than is usually attributed to the anonymous compilers" (502). Finally, Rowley draws a connection between the Doomsday Homily's discussion of the tongue and Augustinian imagery. Augustine, on the one hand, distinguishes between mankind's present knowledge of God, mediated by language, and the future unmediated (and thus wordless) knowledge

of God in heaven. Similarly, Rowley notes, the Doomsday Homily associates individuals' use of language with their knowledge of God on earth (prayer, for example, leading to salvation) and portrays the afterlife as beyond words: not only is the blessedness of the saints and the torments of the damned impossible fully to describe, but in hell the wicked are made incapable of speaking of God or of the joys of heaven—incapable, ironically, of using that facility that could have brought them bliss rather than condemnation. By publishing and analyzing the Doomsday Homily in fragments, Rowley concludes, scholars have "condemned the voice of the anonymous homilist to a similar silence" (510).

A.K.

Claudia Di Sciacca examines "Il topos dell'*ubi sunt* nell'omiletica anglosassone: Il caso di Vercelli X" (*I germani e gli altri: 3. Seminario avanzato in filologia germanica*, ed. Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza and Renato Gendre, Bibliotheca germanica 13 [Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso], 225–55). A popular theme for Latin writers, *ubi sunt* reached the West primarily through Isidore of Seville's *Synonyma*. Medieval writers combined the *contemptus mundi* of the *ubi sunt* with a separate strain (identified by Gilson and Liborio) of nostalgia for what has been lost, giving the topos eloquence and emotive power in two OE poems and eleven homilies. From Isidore's *Synonyma* (and ultimately Baruch 3:16–18), writers drew the rhetorical questions "Where are the lords?" and "Where is the wealth?" As James Cross demonstrated, Caesarius of Arles's *Sermo de elemosinis* contributed a variation similar to Wisdom 5:8–9: what good are riches after death? *Hwær comon* added variety to the *hwær syndon* formulation. Vercelli 10 illustrates homilists' love of expansion and variation. Scragg notes *Synonyma* as a source, but the imagery is expanded "in modo lirico e immaginoso" (241). Also relying on Isidore (and ultimately Wisdom 6:7 and Luke 12:48), Vercelli 10 declares that the greater the gifts, the greater the responsibility. The homily adds a progression from here and now to death (coming at the climax of a catalog of riches) and then to judgment. It asks two series of questions, the Isidorean *hwær syndon* regarding people and a more Caesarian *hwær comon* regarding riches. Other homilies borrowed freely from both traditions too. Susan Irvine has argued that Blickling 5's imagery of cloud and stream must share an antecedent with Vercelli 10's reference to clouds. Di Sciacca deems the resemblance superficial and supports McCord's identification of Blickling 5's source as pseudo-Basilius's *Admonitio ad filium spiritualem*, which refers to water,

though not clouds or streams. Isidore, Bede, and Ælfric all discuss different states of water, including as cloud or gas; the homilists independently developed water imagery from the same basic scientific knowledge. Di Sciacca concludes that the Anglo-Saxons did not distinguish between separate *ubi sunt* traditions, but freely combined them with each other and related themes such as the address of soul to body.

In the previous volume of the same series Claudia Di Sciacca takes up the theme of soul addressing body in "Due note a tre omelie anglosassoni sul tema dell'anima e il corpo" (*Antichità germaniche: 2. parte: 2. Seminario avanzato in filologia germanica*, ed. Vittoria Dolcetti Corazza and Renato Gendre, Bibliotheca germanica 12 [Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso, 2002], 223–50). The Macarius Homily, Napier 29, and Vercelli 4 all address the final disposition of soul and body, best known from the *Soul and Body* poems but also found in several other homilies and versions of the *Visio Pauli*. These three homilies specifically describe bodily changes after death: Verc 4 depicts the blessed body shining brightly, while the sinful body oozes and darkens 'like coal'; Macarius and Nap 29 describe only the sinful body oozing and changing, in less detail. Parallels can be found in Eastern Christian texts mediated through Ireland, including the "Three Utterances" apocrypha and related OE texts such as *Be heofonwarum 7 be helwarum*. Other correspondences include: ranks of angels or demons greet the soul, depending on its destination, or claim ownership (Verc 4 and Nap 29); the sinful soul regrets its birth; each dragon in a line swallows the soul and then vomits it to the next, and finally to Satan or hell fires (Macarius and Nap 29). The serially vomiting dragons have a parallel in the "Seven Heavens" tradition—a tradition that, like the *Visio Pauli* and the "Three Utterances," appears in Nag Hammadi texts. The Anglo-Saxons received rich and varied eschatologies from Eastern Christianity through Ireland and then elaborated them in imaginative ways. At various stages of the argument Di Sciacca supplies helpful lists of other texts that have comparable motifs, with full manuscript citations.

N.G.D.

Monastic Rules

Rohini Jayatilaka sifts through complex strands of textual history to provide remarkable insight into "The Old English Benedictine Rule: Writing for Women and Men" (*ASE* 32: 147–87). Previous interpretations of the relationship between the various adaptations of the

Old English translation of the Rule, traditionally attributed to Æthelwold, have been diverse. Arnold Schröer, author of the standard nineteenth-century edition of the Old English Rule, thought that it was translated initially for monks, feminized for nuns, and then revised again for subsequent generations of monks. Helmut Gneuss posited that Æthelwold's original was designed for one or more nunneries. Mechthild Gretsch, having initially envisaged the original as bilingual, more recently argued that it was an English version adapted for female use which Æthelwold later converted to a bilingual version tailored for male use (149). Detailed analysis of seven manuscripts from the tenth to early thirteenth centuries leads Jayatilaka to conclude, however, that at least three interrelated undertakings followed Æthelwold's initial effort. Jayatilaka views Æthelwold's original as a bilingual version for men which closely corresponded to the Latin. Not long after, she suggests, someone probably other than Æthelwold comprehensively converted the whole for a female audience, supplying different chapter headings, gender forms, and even chapter content. A later adapter modified these headings and contents still further, while yet another reviser transplanted the English chapter headings from the comprehensive version onto a text corresponding to Æthelwold's original, altering the latter superficially for female use. At least three efforts were thus made to feminize Æthelwold's translation, all of which Jayatilaka dates to the last half of the tenth century, shortly following his original production. The success of these adaptations was such, however, that they appear to have become more readily available than their exemplar, so much so that from the 980s, versions intended for male communities were adapted back from the feminized forms. In the process, two additional features of tenth-century communal life become apparent: not only was Latin literacy in monasteries and nunneries suspect during the period—male and female word-forms sometimes mixing erratically or chapter headings diverging markedly from their ostensible content—but likely candidates for nunneries included members of non-Benedictine female communities otherwise unidentifiable from contemporary records.

Brigitte Langefeld's *The Old English Version of the Enlarged Rule of Chrodegang, Edited Together with the Latin Text and an English Translation* (Münchener Universitätsschriften 26 [Frankfurt: Peter Lang]), a work based on her 1985 Munich dissertation, represents an important advance on A. S. Napier's 1916 edition of these texts. Chrodegang's original *Regula canonicorum*, compiled around 755 to provide the secular cathedral

clergy at Metz with a quasi-monastic Rule for communal life, played an influential role in the Frankish church reforms under Pippin the Younger (d. 768; father of Charlemagne). It drew from the work of Boniface (d. 754). In western France during the first half of the ninth century, Chrodegang's Rule was expanded from thirty-four to eighty-four chapters by an anonymous compiler drawing primarily on the original Rule and on the 816/17 Council of Aachen's *Institutio canonicorum*, the official guide for clerical reform under Louis the Pious (d. 840). Not only were Anglo-Saxon copies of this enlarged version of the Rule made through the mid-eleventh century, but it was translated into Old English as part of the tenth century Benedictine Reform along with Benedict's Rule and the *Capitula Theodulfi*, thus "neatly complement[ing] the ambitious programme of the reformers for a set of translations covering the three most important groups within the church: monks, clerics, and parish priests" (18). Langefeld provides historical background to the Continental and Insular development of the *Regular canonicorum*,

surveys the surviving manuscripts thereof, compares the vernacular translation with its Latin exemplar, and analyzes phonological and morphological aspects of the translation as well as the influence of Winchester on its vocabulary before editing the Latin and Old English texts. Langefeld bases both on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 191 (s. xi³ᐟ⁴), listing variants from all known manuscripts or manuscript fragments, silently expanding abbreviations, modernizing punctuation, and preserving manuscript spellings. She concludes with notes on the text, including a preliminary identification of sources, and a modern translation of the Old English.

<div style="text-align:right">A.K.</div>

Works not seen

Kozuka, Yoshitaka. "Variations in Translations of the West Saxon Gospels—with Special Reference to the Partitive Construction and Comparison of Inequality." *Jnl of Language and Culture* (*Osaka*) 11 (2002): 109–18. [in Japanese]

5. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

a. General

Several studies appeared in 2003 that should greatly advance our knowledge of the Latin language from Roman Britain to the late Anglo-Saxon period. First, Peter Schrijver presents an argument that should have wide-ranging implications for our ideas of the use of Latin in the Roman era and in the earliest Anglo-Saxon settlements. In "The Rise and Fall of British Latin: Evidence from English and Brittonic," in *The Celtic Roots of English*, ed. Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola and Heli Pitkanen (Joensuu: U of Joensuu, Faculty of Humanities, 2002), 87–110, Schrijver makes "a case for the considerable influence British Latin has had on Brittonic and on Old English" (87). The reason behind this "considerable influence" is Schrijver's hypothesis "that at least in Lowland Britain in the later days of the Empire the man in the street spoke Latin and possibly nothing but Latin" (87). Avoiding the superficial influence of lexical borrowing, Schrijver concentrates instead on phonological and morphosyntactical developments in late Latin and Brittonic, showing the similarities between many of them and suggesting that rather than early Romance borrowing from a substratum of Brittonic features, "it is more likely that Brittonic borrowed from Romance" (94). Schrijver argues that in the

early days of the Empire's presence in Britain, there was widespread lexical borrowing of Latin loanwords into Brittonic. As the increasing Romanization of southwest Britain continued, Brittonic was increasingly replaced by Latin as the language spoken by the "man on the street," a situation we see throughout the Empire. Brittonic itself, at least as spoken in lowland Britain, began to adopt phonological and structural features of Latin. What saved Brittonic from being completely replaced by Latin or early Romance, however, as Gaulish and other languages elsewhere in the Europe were, was the collapse of the Empire. With this collapse some Latin speakers shifted to speaking Brittonic, though with a heavy Latin substrate. It is at this point that Schrijver turns to Old English, since it is then that the major early Anglo-Saxon settlements arose. He first demonstrates a series of correspondences between the North Sea Germanic and Brittonic vowel system, but rather than suggest that these correspondences demonstrate a Brittonic substratum in Old English, he suggests that "a Brittonic substratum in British Latin and a British Latin substratum in prehistoric Old English transmitted features of the Brittonic sound system to Old English" (105). In other words, Old English was spoken with something of a British Latin accent.

Several other works examine Latin grammar and lexicon in the Anglo-Saxon period proper. *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, edited by C. Lanham (London: Continuum, 2002), assembles an interesting mix of papers addressing topics from Late Classical to Late medieval. Many medievalists will appreciate the broad coverage of both grammar and rhetoric, topics which have usually been studied in isolation. Paul F. Gehl ("Latin Orthopraxes"), Gregory Hays ("Tales out of School: Grammatical Culture in Fulgentius the Mythographer") and James W. Halporn ("After the Schools: Grammar and Rhetoric in Cassiodorus") address Classical pedagogical texts. Among the papers on early medieval topics are three directly related to Anglo-Latin: Carmela Franklin, "Grammar and Exegesis: Bede's *Liber de schematibus et tropis*"; Luciana Csaki, "De schematibus et tropis in Italian Garb: A Study of Bamberg Msc. Clas. 43"; and Scott Gwara, "The *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*, Latin Oral Fluency, and the Social Function of the Cambro-Latin dialogues called *De raris fabulis*." These will be reviewed in some detail below. A brief catalog of the remaining essays: Kenneth Mayers, "The Golden Line: Ancient and Medieval Lists of Special Hexameters and Modern Scholarship" edits and comments on a list of good and bad hexameters (basically a model which influenced Latin poets, though its terminology has not always been accurately interpreted by modern scholars); Diane Anderson likewise addresses a text on prosody in "Medieval Teaching Texts on Syllable Quantities and the Innovations from the School of Alberic of Monte Cassino"; Ralph Hexter examines the rhetorical criticism of Ovid in "Narrative and an Absolutely Fabulous Commentary on Ovid's *Heroides*"; Mary Carruthers traces Classical influence in Geoffrey of Vinsauf and others in "Late Antique Rhetoric, Early Monasticism, and the Revival of School Rhetoric"; Rita Copeland analyzes the juxtaposition of rhetoric and logic in twelfth-century schools in "Ancient Sophistic and Medieval Rhetoric"; and in "Weeping for Dido: Epilogue on a Premodern Rhetorical Exercise in the Postmodern Classroom," Marjorie Curry Woods reports on an experimental application of medieval pedagogy involving twenty-first century students.

Grammatical studies are further advanced by Carin Ruff's dissertation "The Hidden Curriculum: Syntax in Anglo-Saxon Teaching (Priscian, Aelius Donatus, Saint Isidore of Seville, Saint Aldhelm, Saint Bede the Venerable" (U of Toronto, 2003; *DAI* 64A: 1238). Ruff surveys the standards—Donatus's *Artes*, Priscian's *De nomine, pronomine, et verbo* and Book I of Isidore's *Etymologiae*—

to discover what was covered in the way of syntax and what gaps remained. Aldhelm's and Bede's works on prosody obliquely informed Anglo-Saxon students that language was "formally patterned," but it was Bede's *Schemes and Tropes* and *De orthographia* that provided the "most extensive arsenal of tools for negotiating continuous Latin text." A concluding chapter examines Carolingian and post-Carolingian developments. Ruff examines Ælfric's *Grammar* and Byrhtferth's *Enchiridion* to see how much they are "in continuity with the approaches of Bede and Aldhelm, and in what ways they reflect the Carolingian innovations to which their authors had access" (11). Finally, Fascicle VIII of the *Dictionary of Medieval Latin from British Sources*, containing the letter O, ed. by David Howlett (Oxford: Oxford UP) appeared, continuing the high quality of the previous fascicles.

Other works on general topics related to Anglo-Latin appeared as well. "The Emergence of *Anno Domini*" is Daniel McCarthy's contribution to *Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Jaritz and Moreno-Riaño, 31–53, and offers a fascinating account of the establishment of the use of dating by A.D. before Dionysius, who is often credited with devising that system. Through an examination of Eusebius's *Ecclesiastical History*, the *Annals of Tigernach*, Bede's *Chronica maiora* and other works, McCarthy comes to the convincing conclusion that "in Rome the Julian year we identify as A.D. 1 was explicitly associated with the birth of Christ amongst some well-educated and highly-placed Christians at least one hundred and seventy years before Dionysius implicitly employed it in his paschal table" (48). He suggests that dating from the year of the Incarnation originated with Eusebius, in the paschal table in his *Chronicle*, which no longer exists, probably because of "Eusebius's want of accuracy in chronological matters" (51). Eusebius miscalculated by two years, which allowed his paschal table to fade into oblivion. Dionysius, however, must have used Eusebius's tables, with the appropriate two year correction added. Thus, it is Eusebius, not Dionysius, who devised our present system of dating. Two other articles in this collection, by Ohashi on Bede and Verbist on Abbo, will be treated below under the appropriate sections.

A volume of essays in honor of Walter Berschin, *Scripturus Vitam: Festgabe für Walter Berschin zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Dorothea Walz (Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag, 2002) presents a wide-ranging collection of essays on hagiography, including four on Anglo- and Hiberno-Latin texts by Deug-Su, Meckler, Pabst, and

Rigg. These too will be reviewed below under the appropriate sections.

Bruno Judic discusses the formation of the collection of letters of Gregory the Great in "La production et la diffusion du registre des lettres de Grégoire le Grand," (*Les échanges culturels au Moyen Âge*, edited by Société des Historiens Médiévistes, 71–87; see section 7). Judic emphasizes the role not only of the central Vatican archives in creating and disseminating this collection (or collections) but also that of the "peripheral" locations which received the letters. Thus, he notes Bede's role, among others, in citing letters from Gregory's *Libellus responsionum* as well as others that were specifically sought out and brought back from Rome. As the letters were collected, their use changed from letters to specific individuals to theological works on the level of Gregory's other writings.

In "Psautiers abrégés et prières privées durant le haut Moyen Âge," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 33: 215–30, Jean-François Cottier begins with the request of Princess Adelide to Anselm for a selection of extracts from the Psalter, to which he then adds seven prayers for her private devotion. Cottier then turns back to examine how psalms, especially in abridged forms, became the instrument of choice for use in the growing practice of private devotional prayer. He looks in particular at Bede's *Collectio psalterii* and the Book of Cerne, before turning to Carolingian texts and Alcuin's role in connecting psalms with prayer.

Thomas Falmagne discusses the transmission of exegetical works written between 600 and 900 to the later Middle Ages in "La survie des ouvrages exégétiques du Haut Moyen Âge (600–900) aux XIIe et XIIIe siècles," *Recherches augustiniennes* 33: 231–43. Concentrating on the survival of these texts in twelfth- and thirteenth-century Cistercian libraries, he suggests that the exegetical writings of the Carolingian age did not replace the exegesis of the earlier Church Fathers; rather, they filled in the gaps for parts of the Bible for which the Fathers supplied no commentaries.

b. Early Hiberno- and Anglo-Latin

Among early Insular texts, Adomnán's *Vita S Columbae* received the most attention in 2003. Helen Conrad-O'Briain discusses how Adomnán presents the conversation of two "virtuous pagans," Artbranan and Emcath, in "Grace and Election in Adomnán's *Vita S Columbae*," *Hermathena* 172 (2002): 25–38. She shows

that Adomnán emphasizes the necessity of baptism and the Augustinian theology of grace in the salvation of these two men. Both are just men, living according to the natural law, and elect souls, "whom God has predestined to salvation." Thus, they "must of necessity have the word of God preached to them and be baptised to participate in the community of belief and faith which Augustine requires" (37). Columba is the instrument of God's foreknowledge through whom two elect souls are brought to salvation.

What did Adomnán have in mind when he said that Columba enjoyed a stellar Continental reputation? Self-aggrandizement, mainly, according to Jeffrey Wetherill's "Adomnán, Iona and the *Life of St Columba*: Their Place Among Continental Saints," *Heroic Age* 6 [online; n.p.]. Boasting of Columba would rub off on his successor Adomnán and simultaneously enhance the status of Iona and its monastic community. Close emulation of stylistic models, the *Lives* of saints Martin and Anthony, helped the hagiographer to find the right words.

Michael Meckler agrees that Adomnán looked to earlier hagiographic texts as models. His position in "Kinship in Adomnán's *Vita S. Columbae*," in the Berschin Festschrift (*Scripturus Vitam,* ed. Walz, 723–30), is that Adomnán departs from portrayals of other Irish saints by showing Columba as not overly "concerned with the material well-being of his kindred, especially his father's family, the very prominent Uí Néill dynasty" (725). He suggests that Adomnán was more concerned with portraying the saint according to the ideals of renunciation seen in earlier hagiography and in subordinating secular concerns such as kinship obligations to the more important spiritual concerns.

W. Julian Edens presents a wide-ranging discussion attempting to give support to Gildas's pilgrimage to Rome in the Life of Gildas in "Saint Gildas and the Pestilent Dragon: A Meander through the Sixth-Century Landscape with a Most Notable Guru," *Heroic Age* 6 [online; n.p.]. Rather than focusing on the literary or historical contexts of the saint's life, however, Edens chooses to concentrate on the episode where Gildas defeats a dragon, discussing along the way the methane gasses that erupt from the ground in the carboniferous areas of Wales, the fossils of various species of gliding lizards as possible explanations for dragons in the "Brythonic" landscape. He relates the dragon in Rome to the plague of c. 541–49, and after a lengthy digression on the historical events of the fifth and sixth centuries offers several possible dates for Gildas's pilgrimage.

Paolo Vaciago, in "From Canterbury to Sankt Gallen—On the Transmission of Early Medieval Glosses to the Octateuch and the Book of Kings," *Romanobarbarica* 17 [2000–02]: 237–308), presents an account of the extremely complex relationships between glossaries in the Rz Family, the name given to a series of biblical glossaries made on the continent but ultimately stemming from the commentaries of Theodore and Hadrian. He focuses on three glossaries from St. Gall and discusses their relationship with the Rz glosses and other glossaries as well. The relationships become quite intricate and difficult to follow, but lead to some interesting conclusions regarding the spread of these glossaries and how they developed layer upon layer from originally different sources.

In "Aldhelm's Jewel Tones: Latin Colors through Anglo-Saxon Eyes" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles,* ed. Karkov and Brown, 223–38), Carin Ruff asks interesting questions (How far are Anglo-Latin color terms influenced by antique and early medieval Latin? How far by an Old English linguistic substrate?), but, as Ruff explains, the article is a preliminary reconnaissance through a semantic minefield: Latinists' lack of agreement about Classical usage denies her a clearly defined baseline. Rather than definite answers then, the paper presents a state of the question via a review of the literature and a sample set of data. Aldhelm represents the Anglo-Saxon side, because he is a prolific author fond of color terms, while it is inevitably the much-studied Virgil who chiefly represents the Classical language. (The *OLD* and *DMLBS* with their citations are also cited frequently.) The terms studied are *caeruleus, flauus, fuluus, glaucus, purpura* and derivatives. The conclusion: gaps are found separating Aldhelm from Classical usage, but are these owing to a substrate or to Aldhelm's odd stylistic preferences? The substrate hypothesis is not refuted, but then neither is it resoundingly supported.

c. Bede

In "Reflections on 'Ethnic' Kingship in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*," *Romanobarbarica* 17 (2000-02): 309–31, Georges Tugene becomes an archaeologist of social psychology. He is after the primitive, elemental mentality surrounding Germanic kingship, and to this end his spade turns up a few artifacts in the *Historia*. There is Eanfrith, king and favorite son of Bernicia (*HE* II, 1), the ealdormen of Mercia, enthusiastic adherents of their native king (III, 24), and Sigeberht of East Anglia, a king turned pacifist monk whose presence gave moral support in his people's military struggle against Mercia

(III, 18). A close reading of Bede's Latin leads Tugene to the conclusion that "the relationship of king and nation suggest a sense of belonging together, of completeness," in other words a nexus, inherited from ancient *Germania*, of people, monarch, and religion. His thesis is that "the reader is led to suppose that it is vital for a people to have its own king, because only he can mediate with the gods in order to secure prosperity in peacetime or … victory in war." Post-conversion attitudes, even those of the hyper-orthodox Bede, are shaped by this age-old mentality. Bishops, for example, "often have ethnic rather than territorial titles," and Anglo-Saxons forced to accept an alien (extra-tribal) bishop are said by Bede to be "subjected" to him. Having recovered the interesting sociological construct of ethnic kingship, Tugene analyzes how conversion "disrupts that system and dislocates the sacral and ethnic nucleus which holds together king and nation." Because it disturbs the defining forces of social identity, Christianity paradoxically becomes a secularizing force. How did these pagan thoughts persist in Bede's writing? He was "immersed in the ambience of paganised christianity which … prevailed and which, at absent-minded moments, found expression in the written text." These ideas are greatly expanded in his book-length study, *L'image de la nation anglaise dans l'*Histoire Ecclésiastique *de Bède Vénérable* (Strasbourg: Presses Universitaires de Strasbourg, 2001), which examines the factors leading to both political and cultural unity as expressed through Bede's idealized vision represented in the *HE*.

Sharon Rowley examines the use of miracles in Bede's construction of history in "Reassessing Exegetical Interpretations of Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum*," *Literature and Theology* 17: 227–43. Though scholars are no longer embarrassed by Bede's inclusions of miracles, the newer exegetical readings that see Bede structuring his history to portray the English as God's chosen people treat the miracles as ahistorical and "as having a separate kind of symbolic meaning from the rest of the text" (230). Thus, by giving precedence to biblical ideals, this type of reading "diffuses any question of the truth-value of miracles and ultimately reasserts the status of Bede as an historian according to post-Enlightenment standards" (230). Rowley examines in detail the miracle stories of Cædmon, Oswald and Edwin. Central to her analysis is the role of grace in the pursuit of knowledge and salvation. While Cædmon's reception of grace allows him true knowledge and salvation that he was unable to attain with free will alone, Edwin's hesitation to accept Christianity, in spite of his thoughtful consideration, is portrayed by Bede as

a lack of grace and thus explains the lack of miracles in Edwin's reign or around his relics.

Two works on Bede's grammars appeared, both in the volume on *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric*, edited by Carol Lanham. Luciana Csaki's "*De schematibus et tropis* in Italian Garb: A Study of Bamberg Msc. Class. 43" (92–108) is an interesting paleographical study of a manuscript (ca. 800) of Bede's grammatical text. The results are surprising: script, strict orthographic consistency, and decoration derived from Classical books and Roman architecture show the manuscript to be a Roman product. It is thus a witness to unexpected sophistication in book production from a time and place where evidence is slim. It also attests the early circulation of Bede's work to the Mediterranean. Concerning the Bamberg text, future editors should note Csaki's radical revision of Calvin Kendall's manuscript stemma in the CCSL edition of the treatise.

For those who know *Schemes and Tropes* (*DST*) from the Corpus Christianorum edition, Carmela Franklin's "Grammar and Exegesis: Bede's *Liber de schematibus et tropis*" (63–91) offers a valuable supplement to the bibliography of secondary scholarship and to the understanding of Bede's sources. Franklin's account of an article in German by U. Schindel (*Classica et Mediaevalia* 29 [1968]: 169–86) has important consequences— unaccountably overlooked by scholarship in English, Schindel demonstrated that Bede's reliance on Isidore and Julian was indirect, via a lost Christian treatise of the seventh century. Voilà, the Corpus Christianorum apparatus (of 1975!) is rendered obsolete. As well, many editorial decisions made in adapting sources for the *DST* may be attributed, all or part, to the same lost *ars*: "Donatus, his principal source for the conception and organization of the *DST*, used only classical literary examples.… The Christian *ars* … which was Bede's other major grammatical source, used a mixture of secular and biblical examples to illustrate the schemes and figures. It may very well have the Christian *ars* that inspired Bede to employ only biblical examples." An especially important influence of the Christian treatise appears to have been Bede's great interest in, and extended treatment of, allegory (76), and emphasis which in turn shaped his treatment of the levels of biblical meaning. Franklin concludes that "Bede's theoretical work on the figures of speech, composed as an aid for the study of the Bible, and his exegetical writings illustrate the three-way connection he established among the Bible, grammatical works using biblical illustrations, and biblical exegesis." In other words,

Bede would take late Classical criticism and transform it by removing Virgil from the central position and substituting instead the Bible.

Bede's work on computus and the problem of the numerous tables used for calculating dates is the point of Masako Ohashi's "'Sexta aetas continent annos praeteritos DCCVIIII' (Bede, *De temporibus*, 22): A Scribal Error?" (*Time and Eternity*, 55–61). Several manuscripts of Bede's *De temporibus*, Ch. 22 give the years of the "sixth age" as 709, while elsewhere Bede says 703. Ohashi suggests that the discrepancy may be due to the different methods of dating according to the tables of Dionysius or of Victorius. Though Bede strongly condemned use of the Victorian cycle, it was in use in Gaul and it would give the year as 709. Ohashi says, "Chapter 22 could have been changed by a scribe (ignoring the main text of *De temporibus*) to give the years of the sixth age according to the Victorian calculation" (61).

Donald Bullough begins his essay "York, Bede's Calendar and a Pre-Bedan English Martyrology," *AB* 121: 329–55, where Paul Meyvaert left off in his "Discovering the Calendar (*annalis libellus*) Attached to Bede's Own Copy of *De temporum ratione*," *AB* 120 (2002): 5–64, (reviewed in *YWOES* 2002). He starts with a discussion of the very few places Alcuin mentions any architectural details of the buildings in which he lived and worked. One exception is his poem on York, in which he gives a brief description of *Alma Sophia*, the church built by command of Archbishop Ælberht. From this he moves to another notice of this church that has until recently been overlooked: Bede's Calendar as identified by Meyvaert. Bullough explains several of the odd dates found in the calendar, including the now clear reference to church at York at 30 October, *Titulus Agiae Sophiae*. He derives the entries in the calendar from a version of a martyrology brought to England at least by the seventh century and subsequently modified in the late seventh or early eighth century in Northumbria, whereupon it was used by Bede.

In a brief note, "An Unidentified Passage from Jerome in Bede," *N&Q* n.s. 50: 375, Rhonda L. McDaniel points out that the uncharacteristic first-person discussion of sex (and abstinence therefrom) in Bede's *In epistolas VII catholicas* depends on Jerome's *Adversus Jovinianum* 1.7.

In his poem on the wounds of the resurrected Christ, *Carmen* XI, Theodulf of Orleans relied on Bede, but was it on Bede's Commentary on Luke or on his homily

II, 9? In "Théodulfe et Bède au sujet des blessures du Christ," *RB* 113: 71–79, Paul Meyvaert and Anselme Davril compare texts to demonstrate conclusively the dependence on the homily (most likely transmitted to Theodulf via the homiliary of Paul the Deacon). Relevant sections of the three texts are persuasively presented as evidence. The authors conclude by noting a probable further influence of Bede's imagery: the hand descending from heaven, seen in the chapel constructed by Theodulf at Germigny, can be understood as that of the wounded Christ.

Christophe Vuillaume has provided us with a new French translation of Bede's commentary on the Tabernacle: *Bède le Vénérable, Le tabernacle*, Sources Chrétiennes 475 (Paris: Les Éditions du Cerf). The translation is presented on facing pages with the Latin taken from D. Hurst's 1969 CCSL edition and prefaced with an introduction on matters such as Bede's life, his method of exegesis, and the sources he used.

When the Herwagens published their Renaissance editions of Bede, they printed among the doubtful and spurious works two vocabularies. Both gave Latin interpretations to Biblical place and personal names found. Olivier Szerwiniack, "Bède et les interprétations des noms hébreux," *Recherches Augustiniennes* 33: 109–53, dismisses the longer of these as obviously post-dating Bede, but the shorter, a Latin list of proper nouns from the Psalms, is a different matter. A couple of factors point to Bede: the early attribution in manuscripts bearing Insular characteristics, and a close match between the identifiable sources and works which Bede is known to have read (Jerome, Cassiodorus, etc.). Szerwiniack presents an exhaustive edition, in parallel columns, of the important witnesses.

d. Alcuin and the Carolingian Period

The Study of the Bible in the Carolingian Era, edited by Celia Chazelle and Burton Van Name Edwards (Turnhout: Brepols), explores the massive field of Carolingian biblical studies. Chazelle and Edwards make a clear case in the introduction for the central role of biblical exegesis in the scholarly world of the Carolingians and provide an overview of the recent growth in studies of Carolingian biblical commentaries. The essays themselves are divided into two groups: those specifically on biblical commentaries and those on a broader array of topics, such as art, Saints' Lives or the Eucharist controversy. Many of the articles in the collection naturally concern Alcuin, but two others discuss the influ-

ence of other Insular scholars. In "Glossing the Bible in the Early Middle Ages: Theodore and Hadrian of Canterbury and John Scottus (Eriugena)" (19–38), John Contreni compares the biblical glosses from the Canterbury school with those of the Irish scholar. Although the glosses are virtually identical in the types of information they convey—information on flora and fauna, weights and measures, geography, etc.—they rarely overlap in specific content. Contreni notes some interesting pedagogical differences, such as an emphasis on the visual, especially personal observation, in Theodore and Hadrian, while John stuck more to textual sources. A more substantial difference is that while John concentrated on single words, the Canterbury glosses include explanations of numerous phrases, a feature that by the ninth century was reserved for the newly-revived tradition of biblical commentaries. This may partly explain the lack of interest in the Canterbury glosses in the Carolingian period. Another article in the collection considers Hiberno-Latin exegesis. Carol Scheppard, "Prophetic History: Tales of Righteousness and Calls to Action in the *Eclogae Tractatorum in Psalterium*" (61–73), discusses this psalm commentary in light of the ongoing debate over Bischoff's theory of Hiberno-Latin exegesis. She concentrates on the notion of the psalms as prophetic history as an indication of Irish affiliation. Taking its cue from the exegesis of Theodore of Mopsuestia, the *Eclogae* examine the psalms from a historical and prophetic point of view and indicate the connection to David as well as the actions of those who came later. The commentary departs from Theodore, however, by often adding anagogical and tropological readings as well, to urge righteous behavior among contemporary psalm readers. The articles on Alcuin start with Michael Fox's discussion of his commentary on Genesis in "Alcuin the Exegete: The Evidence of the *Quaestiones in Genesim*" (39–60). Fox follows a main theme of the collection by showing that Alcuin's commentary is more than just a derivative pastiche of earlier writings. For example, Alcuin often adds to his sources examples from the New Testament, revealing how the apparent inconsistencies can be explained and often complement each other. An inconsistency of another kind is the subject of Mary Alberi's contribution, "'The Sword Which You Hold in Your Hand': Alcuin's Exegesis of the Two Swords and the Lay *Miles Christi*" (117–31). Alberi discusses Alcuin's *Epistola 136*, written in response to a question from a layman concerning Christ's command to take up a sword in Luke and his statement in Matthew that those who take up the sword shall perish by the sword. In Alcuin's answer, "the sword, traditionally the symbol of the lay noble's

worldly status, military activity, and political power, is transformed into the symbol of the spiritual combat and moral conduct of the lay *miles Christi* within Christ's empire" (120). In "A Carolingian Hilary" (133–40), John C. Cavadini examines two controversies, adoptionism and predestination, and shows how Alcuin rescues Hilary, used by the adoptionists to support their position, by a more subtle use of quotations that gives to Hilary's writings a much more determined anti-adoption focus than Hilary presumably intended. In other words, he creates a new "tradition" for Hilary who now speaks strongly against adoptionism. Hincmar of Rheims does the same on the predestinarian controversy. Thus, the Carolingian authors did far more than simply stitch together passages from earlier fathers in their exegesis, or as Cavadini succinctly puts it, "Carolingian exegesis is very much an exegesis of exegetes" (133).

Alcuin is also the subject of the introductory essay in another collection on the Carolingians, edited by Catherine Cubitt, *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages: The Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference* (Turnhout: Brepols). In "Unsettled at Aachen: Alcuin between Frankfort and Tours" (17–38), Donald Bullough examines the poems and letters of Alcuin in order to lay out more clearly his activities after his return from England in 793. Included are letters to the English, to others in the Carolingian court, to the pope, and so on, many of which Bullough re-dates to give a more precise chronology of Alcuin's actions. Of the letters to England, he renews the hypothesis that Alcuin may at first have been suggesting himself as a possible successor to Archbishop Eanbald of York, and he also discusses the close if strained relationship between Alcuin and Mercian nobles and churchmen.

Michael Gleason examines the imagery of water, especially that relating to baptism, in Alcuin's *Versus de Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, in "Water, Water, Everywhere: Alcuin's Bede and Balthere," *Mediaevalia* 24: 75–100. Gleason corrects the view of scholars who see Alcuin's poem on York simply as a "complementary half of an *opus geminatum* with Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica*," suggesting instead that it is a rival version, not only adding in new events from the eighth century, but fixing or altering the presentation of errors on earlier events as Bede had presented them. Through it all runs the imagery of water: "Everything in Alcuin's version of history is discussed in terms of this imagery" (75). Gleason examines Alcuin's complex indebtedness to Bede and how he works and reworks Bede's material into his own poem, noting that Bede is the one figure for whom

there is no water imagery; however, immediately after Alcuin's brief biography of Bede, we find the story of Balthere, a hermit who walked on water. According to Gleason, Alcuin draws connections between Balthere's miracle and his own practice of writing these verses.

Alcuin's role in legal matters is explored by Rob Meens, "Tumult in Tours: Alcuin en Theodulf van Orleans in conflict over een asielzoeker," *Tijdscrijft over de Middeleeuwen* 17: 104–13. Meens begins with a brief comment on the ability of churches to offer asylum to people in flight from worldly powers. It then goes on to explore in detail the case that seems to lie behind a number of letters by Alcuin about the case of an asylum seeker which appears to have played out in Tours 801 or 802. On the basis of these letters the article reconstructs much of the specific details of the case in question and the precise limits of the rights to asylum that seem to have operated in Carolingian law and practice. On the basis of these letters, it seems clear, asylum was forbidden to those convicted of having committed offenses (as opposed to those merely accused of having done so). [reviewed by Dan O'Donnell]

Alcuin's influence on early medieval prayer and prayer books is discussed in two works. The first is Stephan Waldhoff, *Alcuins Gebetbuch für Karl den Grossen: Seine Rekonstruktion und seine Stellung in der frühmittelalterlichen Geschichte der Libelli precum* (Münster: Aschendorff Verlag). After a short introduction to the practice of private prayer in the early middle Ages, Waldhoff examines the manuscripts, including a number of Insular products such as the Books of Nunnaminster and Cerne. In the second part of the book, he turns to the evidence for Alcuin's prayerbook and attempts a detailed reconstruction of the contents of that work. He concludes with a discussion of the impact of Alcuin's work on later prayerbooks.

Jonathan Black's "Psalm Uses in Carolingian Prayerbooks: Alcuin's *Confessio peccatorum pura* and the Seven Penitential Psalms (Use 1)," *MS* 65: 1–56 follows from his edition of Alcuin's *De laude psalmorum* in the previous volume of the same journal. In that work Alcuin prescribed psalms for eight uses, and this article presents an edition and discusses the first use as it appears in manuscripts from the ninth through the eleventh century. In these manuscripts the use of the seven penitential psalms have been extended with capitula, collects, and prayers and is also prefaced by the confession "Deus inaestimabilis misericordiae," which is presumably also by Alcuin.

Alcuin's hagiographic works, the Lives of Willibrord, Vedast, and Richarius, are presented in a new edition with French translation by Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, *L'œuvre hagiographique en prose d'Alcuin: Vitae Willibrordi, Vedasti, Richarii: Edition, Traduction, Etudes Narratologiques* (Florence, Edizioni del Galluzzo). After a biographical introduction, Veyrard-Cosme presents the texts and translations, including, as "hypotextes," a Life of Vedast by Jonas of Bobbio and an anonymous *Libellus* on Richarius. These works are important for her following discussion of Alcuin's composition of the texts in which she discusses his use of earlier sources, his style (interlace, rhyme, wordplay), the structure of the Lives, miracles, biblical typology, and so on. Veyrard-Cosme focuses on Alcuin's reworking of the earlier in an article as well, "Alcuin et la réécriture hagiographique: d'un programme avoué d'*emendatio* à son actualisation," in a volume edited by Monique Goullet and Martin Heinzelmann, *La réécriture hagiographique dans l'occident médiéval: transformations formelles et idéologiques* (Ostfildern: Jan Thorbecke Verlag), 71–86. In a close stylistic and linguistic analysis of Alcuin's rewriting of the Lives of Vedast and Richarius, she shows how Alcuin shaped the texts to his own political and ideological ends, for example, portraying Richarius as *miles christi* chastising a member of the secular aristocracy along the lines of St. Martin.

A third work on Alcuin by Veyrard-Cosme reads Alcuin's letters as a panegyric on the character of Charlemagne. In "L'image de Charlemagne dans la correspondance d'Alcuin," in *L'éloge du prince: de l'Antiquité au temps des Lumières,* ed. I. Cogitore and F. Gloyet (Grenoble: Ellug), 137–67, she sees the correspondance as a rich and varied source: more than 300 letters addressed to movers and shakers, both ecclesiastical and lay, among them Charlemagne himself. Alcuin's references to the monarch typically exploit a diction of formal praise, and the article spells out this vocabulary in considerable detail. In terms of genre, Alcuin's panegyric recalls numerous Christian and Classical works, especially that of Eusebius on Constantine, the *basilikos logos*. Recalling a Merovingian practice, Alcuin's use of biblical appellations (Charlemagne is David) glorifies the sovereign in a similar way, and likewise melds religious and political elements. Among the multivalent associations of the figure of David, Veyrard-Cosme stresses the typological prefiguration of Christ, familiar from Carolingian exegetical works. Generally, then, one may say that Alcuin's portrait is of an ideal ruler whose political and religious roles complement one another. Of course this depiction, both in the letters

and in other of Alcuin's works, is quite self-conscious; it fits the presentation of Charles's kingdom as a reincarnation of the Christian empire of Rome. The letters themselves will have served to steer their recipients toward the realization of this ideal.

Kate Rambridge, "Alcuin's Narratives of Evangelism: The Life of St Willibrord and the Northumbrian Hagiographical Tradition," in *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, ed. Martin Carver (York: York Medieval Press), 371–81, places Alcuin's understanding of conversion as one of the central missions of the church, particularly in the aftermath of Charlemagne's successful campaigns into non-Christian areas, in the context of the Northumbrian ecclesiastical tradition in which he had been educated. She shows how in his letters and saints' lives, especially the *Vita S Willibrordi*, the influence of Bede and Gregory provide models for how, as an author and educator, he can participate through literary labor in the role of conversion.

Several other works of hagiography also received attention in 2003. I Deug-Su, "Leoba, la *dilecta* di Bonifacio: un caso di eloquenza del silenzio nelle fonti mediolatine," *Scripturus Vitam*, 335–48, continues his studies of Leoba, presenting a brief summary of what is known of her life from the primary sources.

Following the work of Walter Berschin on the problem of hagiographic texts that portrays few or no miracles, Friedrich Prinz examines the lives of Wilfrid and of Willibald and Wynnebald in "Hagiographie und Welthaltigkeit: Überlegungen zur Vielfalt des hagiographischen Genus im Frühmittelalter," *Hagiographica* 9: 1–17. Prinz runs through the events in these works and emphasizes the concentration on secular events and the complete or almost complete absence of miracles—a departure from what is commonly expected from the genre. He finds instead concentration on what one would find in secular biography, for example, discussion of political events and travelogue, leading him to question whether such works can even be considered hagiography.

The Life of the Anglo-Saxon hermit Sualo by Erminrich of Ellwangen has been criticized by its nineteenth-century editor for its lack of historical accuracy and by more recent scholars for its obscure and garbled Latin. In "Historical Fact and Exegetical Fiction in the Carolingian *Vita S. Sualonis*," *Church History* 72: 1–24, Lynda L. Coon seeks to rehabilitate the Life through

an exploration of the political and exegetical contexts that influenced Erminrich's writing. She shows how the Life is "part of a larger attempt by the Hrabanus circle to create a new spiritual landscape for *Germania* with Fulda as its hallowed hub" (6). Central to her argument is the Life's central miracle, an updated version of Balaam and the ass, in which Sualo on his mountaintop retreat is cast as a new prophet to the Franks who thus take on the role of the "new Israelites."

e. Asser and the Ninth Century

The volume on *Alfred the Great*, ed. by Timothy Reuter (Burlington: Ashgate), has two articles on Asser's *Life of Alfred*. The first, "Asser's Reading," by Michael Lapidge (27–47) presents a list of authors with whom Asser shares distinctive phrases. None of these authors is surprising—Virgil, Athanasius, Cassian, Orosius, Aldhelm, and others. The list is quite small compared with Bede or Aldhelm, but as Lapidge notes, it greatly extends our previous knowledge of works known to Asser. Since our knowledge of Latin learning in Wales at this time is so limited, Lapidge attempts to determine which works Asser may have known in Wales, suggesting plausibly Orosius and the *Proverbia graecorum*. Lapidge concludes with a devastating refutation of Smyth's hypothesis that the *Life* was written by Byrhtferth rather than Asser.

The second is David Howlett's "Alfredian Arithmetic—Asserian Architectonics," 49–61. Howlett provides a summary here of the conclusions reached in his earlier books, that the *Life* is "an integrated authentic work of architectonic genius" (49). To show this, he prints chapters XLI-XLII, first as divided by him into parts and sentences and then again arranged to illustrate chiastic and parallel relations. The only discussion comes on the last 2 1/2 pages where Howlett points out such instances as "In sentence 3 Asser marked half in the ninth of seventeen words, *dimidiam*" or "In sentence 24 there are sixty-six letters before | *sex*" (59). Unfortunately he provides little discussion of why Asser would be so careful to place words like *dimidiam*, *bifarie*, or *diuidere* in the middle of sentences or the rationale for why he would count by words in some places but by syllables or even letters in others. For Howlett, the numbers simply "guarantee the integrity of discrete sentences" (59).

Scott Gwara's "The *Hermeneumata pseudodositheana*, Latin Oral Fluency, and the Social Function of the Cambro-Latin dialogues called *De raris fabulis*" (in *Latin Grammar and Rhetoric*, ed. Lanham, 109-38) is an interesting paper on a set of Latin colloquies from ninth-century Wales. The colloquies are edited in an appendix. Gwara's approach is comparative: a couple of true scholastic colloquies of late Classical type (Leiden and Munich manuscripts, impossibly called *Hermeneumata pseudo-dositheana*, because they were traditionally attached to the grammar of Dositheus) betray various Latin-learning aims of vocabulary and oral expression. So different, both in type and in quality, are the *De raris fabulis* colloquies that Gwara concludes they must have functioned as a travelers' phrasebook, an early-day Berlitz phrasebook for Welsh pilgrims on their way to Rome.

f. Tenth Century and Beyond

Of the writers of late Anglo-Saxon England, Goscelin has been seeing more and more attention lately, particularly in his works on female saints. One of these is Linda Olson's essay, "Did Medieval English Women Read Augustine's *Confessiones*? Constructing Feminine Interiority and Literacy in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad*, ed. Sarah Rees Jones (Turnhout: Brepols), 69–96. Unfortunately, as Olson admits, there is almost no evidence to answer the question in her title, with the slight exception of Goscelin's advice in the *Liber confortatorius* to his "spiritual daughter" Eve that she read the book. Thus, most of Olson's discussion centers in fact on how men, specifically Goscelin and Aelred, use the *Confessiones* as models for expressing not only the "devotional affection" they themselves feel and want to encourage in their feminine readers, but also for portraying their relationship with their female audiences. Both men use the language of the *Confessiones* "to elevate and spiritualize" their relationship with women, referring to them in the same way Augustine calls out to God or to his soul. She concludes with a discussion of how Anselm uses the same affective tradition borrowed from Augustine in his own devotional texts, whose audience included two European noblewomen.

More attention is focused on Eve in Kenneth Russell's "Eve and Goscelin: the Nature of their Relationship," *Magistra: a Journal of Women's Spirituality in History* 9: 72–93. Russell attempts to argue that there was more to the relationship between the two than just one of spiritual companionship and that this may account for the hasty departure of Eve to a life of seclusion. He suggests that she was closer in age to Goscelin than his word *infantula* would imply and that her departure was an

attempt to rid herself of a relationship that fulfilled the spiritual and emotional needs of Goscelin but that she found "cloying and draining" (91).

Other writings by Goscelin are the focus of Bernhard Pabst's article, "Goscelin von St. Bertin und die literarische Biographie," *Scripturus Vitam,* ed. Walz, 933–47. Pabst attempts to turn the focus on Goscelin's writings away from historical study to an appreciation of his literary style. He discusses several of Goscelin's works such as the *Vita Ædwardi* and the *Vita Edithae*, but spends most time comparing the literary styles of Goscelin's *Vita Mildrethae* and the *Passio* of her two martyr brothers, Æthelred and Æthelberht.

A. G. Rigg's contribution to the *Scripturus Vitam* volume, "Historical Fiction in Walter Map: The Construction of Godwin of Wessex" (1001–1010), examines Map's story of Godwin's youth, not recorded in other historical sources. He provides a synopsis and suggests that Map derived much of his material from oral sources and perhaps intended it as a challenge to traditional ideas of historiography.

The *Vita S Ædwardi* has not been granted much authority by scholars such as Barlow or Stenton as a record of the events of Edward's reign. J.L. Grassi attempts to redress this situation in "The *Vita Ædwardi Regis*: The Hagiographer as Insider," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 26: 87–102. He would accept the Life as historically accurate, even where it disagrees with the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* or with John of Worcester. Although he may well be right that the Life has not been given its due, he unfortunately brings little evidence to support his position beyond statements such as "one can almost hear Edith giving the anonymous author of the *Vita* the version of events as he narrated them" (89) or "the verbatim report … will almost certainly have come from the lips of Edith herself" (99). Grassi often seems unwilling to believe that the author of a text may have had motives besides the straightforward narration of events. For example, when the author says that Tostig and Judith, married for fourteen years, took their "infant children" with them when they were forced into exile, Grassi counters the suggestion that this was an exaggeration with the point that "it is not unknown for marriages to be long barren but eventually productive" (96). When Edward has offered to redress "any injury which the rebels could prove Tostig to have done to them," Grassi takes the author's silence as indicating "that no such proof was forthcoming" (98), even though he has just shown how the author is attempting

to justify Tostig's harsh policies. In spite of these shortcomings, however, Grassi does note a number of points where the Life presents material from a different point of view than that of the Chronicle or other sources.

The liturgy of late Anglo-Saxon England is the subject of several essays. Christopher A. Jones, "Monastic Custom in Early Norman England: The Significance of Bodleian MS. Wood Empt. 4," *RB* 113: 135–68 and 302–36, examines the post-Lanfrancian customaries of the twelfth and thirteenth century. Through detailed verbal correspondence, he shows how the customs in the twelfth-century Bodleian manuscript are closely related to those in the later thirteenth-century versions from St Augustine's, Eynsham, Norwich and Westminster, among others. Most interestingly he shows how these all descend from a so-called "master customary" that apparently had an extremely wide area of diffusion in England. He ends with several possible conclusions, either that Lanfranc's customary was absorbed into this master customary which then went on to enjoy such widespread influence or Lanfranc himself was using an unknown Norman customary, perhaps from Fécamp, that also influenced other English customaries of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. Although not ultimately conclusive, Jones has done an excellent job of tracing out the connections between these customaries that suggests several areas for future research. Part II presents an edition of the customary in Wood Empt. 4.

Nicholas Orchard, in "A Supplementary Note on *Pater Sancti,*" *RB* 113: 298–301, finds a couple of late reflexes of a prayer used in early Anglo-Saxon England (the prayer was edited and analyzed by Orchard in *RB* 111 [2001]: 446–63, reviewed in *YWOES* 2001). Two continental pontificals (London, BL Egerton 1067 and Lyon, BM 565) have a probable provenance of southeastern France ca. fifteenth century. Orchard posits an English or Norman ancestor. Relevant excerpts from the manuscripts are edited in an appendix.

In two essays Nils Holger Petersen studies the *quem queritis* liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia* and related texts such as the Winchester Troper. There is much overlap in the two essays, though there is a slightly different focus in each. In "The Representational Liturgy of the *Regularis Concordia,*" in *The White Mantle of Churches: Architecture, Liturgy, and Art around the Millennium*, ed. Nigel Hiscock (Turnhout: Brepols), 107–17, and in "Les textes polyvalents du *Quem queritis* à Winchester au Xe siècle," *Revue de Musicologie* 86 (2000): 105–18, Peterson examines the liturgy, particularly of

the *quem queritis*, as presented in the normative and prescriptive *Regularis concordia*, in the Winchester Troper, which may reflect actual practice, and in the architectural setting of Old Minster, Winchester. In the earlier article, "Les textes polyvalents," Petersen uses the methodology of "interarts studies discourse" to relate the different genres. The later article introduces "representational" liturgy (as opposed to drama), i.e., "where a combination of words, music, and/or choreographic design seems to make present either a biblical narrative or some other kind of theological interpretation for the assembled congregation" (112).

Besides hagiographic and liturgical works, other areas of late Anglo-Latin received far less study. Andrew Breeze provides an explanation for the obscure word *iornum* in the tenth-century *Altercatio magistri et discipuli* in "A Welsh Crux in an Æthelwoldian Poem," *N&Q* n.s. 50: 262–63. He would read the word as Welsh *diornum*, "blameless, faultless."

In "Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques" (in *Learning and Literacy*, ed. Rees Jones, 7–29) Joyce Hill provides a brief over-view of Latin language instruction by concentrating mostly on Ælfric's grammar, glossary and colloquy. Her discussion of the colloquy highlights the various uses, or rather misuses, of the text by nineteenth- and twentieth-century readers who have seen the text as supporting a range of modern ideas or institutions, from flogging to Sunday School. Worse, however, is our common use not of the colloquy as Ælfric wrote it in Latin, nor even the one Old English gloss version that survives, but rather the version rewritten into "idiomatic Old English prose" by Sweet in 1897.

In "Abbo of Fleury and the Computational Accuracy of the Christian Era" (*Time and Eternity*, 63–80) Peter Verbist discusses Abbo's several attempts to correct the faulty dates of the Dionysian table. Verbist first details how Abbo recognized the errors in Dionysius; for example, the Last Supper, which was also the day of the Easter full moon, fell on a Thursday, but according to Dionysius's tables, the full moon in A.D. 34 was on a Sunday. Abbo first settled on a correction of three years to Dionysius's tables, but eventually came to suggest a twenty-one-year correction, giving the year of Christ's passion as A.D. 12.

6. Manuscripts, Illuminations, Charters

Editor's note: *items reviewed twice in this section are marked with the symbol ‡ at the end of the citation. For an explanation of this duplication, see the introductory Note to this issue.*

Several 2003 articles are notable for their use of manuscript studies to illuminate Anglo-Saxon social history. Elaine M. Treharne, "Producing a Library in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Exeter, 1050-1072" (*RES* 54: 155–72), shows how much the productions of the Exeter scriptorium can tell us about the personal preoccupations of Leofric, who held the bishopric for the first twenty-two years after it was moved from Crediton, and whose death seems to have put an end to a period of productivity (158–59). Significantly, ten of the twelve surviving Exeter manuscripts from this period contain Old English (157); Treharne argues, through a detailed examination of their contents, that most of these were produced for Leofric's own use (160–68), in a program extraordinary for a secular foundation of the period. Treharne's article shows clearly that the existence of vernacular preaching books should not be vaguely attributed to the needs of "a shadowy laity" (171); she concludes that it "is not possible therefore to extrapolate an 'Old English tradition' at Exeter in the late Anglo-Saxon period, because the production of vernacular manuscripts was entirely due to one person—Leofric himself" (169). Leofric emerges as a conscientious man, anxious to discharge his pastoral duties, and probably, after his continental education, uncertain not about his Latin, but his ecclesiastical Old English.

In "The Tremulous Hand of Worcester and the Nero Scribe of the *Ancrene Wisse*" (*MÆ* 72: 13–31), Christine Franzen uses the earliest efforts of the renowned glossator to illuminate his dialect and scribal training, which she compares to that of the scribe of the British Library, Cotton Nero A.xiv manuscript of the *Ancrene Wisse*. This earliest, D (for 'dark') layer of glosses—found in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MSS Hatton 115 and 113, and London, BL, MS Junius 121—is largely in the vernacular; it is also largely unpublished, since many of the glosses were scraped off, and can be read only under ultraviolet light (15). But the D glosses are a closer reflection of the tremulous scribe's own language, before his studies of Old English led him to reproduce it more exactly (14, 16–19); the consistency of spellings leads Franzen to conclude that "he had been taught to

write the vernacular or else had a very clear idea in his own mind of how to represent it" (19). Franzen compares the vocabulary, phonology, and spelling of the D gloss to the language of the Nero scribe, with a long list of correspondences (20–25). The scripts, moreover, are quite similar, bold and with short ascenders and descenders in proportion to the body of the letters (25–26, plate). Her conclusion is not that the scribes are identical, but "that the Nero manuscript and the D layer glosses cannot be far apart in either time or place" (27), and that thirteenth-century Worcestershire may have had a center in which scribes, working sometimes from much older English material, learned to write books in a modern vernacular (28).

Several articles appearing this year deal with Anglo-Saxon texts or books in Italian libraries. In "*De schematibus et tropis* in Italian Garb: a Study of Bamberg Msc. Class. 43," (*Latin Grammar and Rhetoric: From Classical Theory to Medieval Practice*, ed. Carol Dana Lanham [New York: Continuum], 92–108), Luciana Cuppo Csaki localizes Bamberg 43, a grammar book that also contains an important text of Priscian, to Rome ca. 800. This date is earlier than Bede's *De schematibus et tropis* had been placed in central Italy. One particularly interesting part of Cuppo Csaki's analysis links the manuscript's vine-leaf decoration with that in the reliefs of the *schola cantorum* in St. Clement in Rome (100–3). She also connects Bamberg 43 to a group of French manuscripts and argues that its many textual errors stem from the substitutions of a Romance-speaking scribe (104–5). Even more fodder for those with an interest in the dissemination of Bede's works is found in Michael Gorman, "Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata in the Eleventh Century" (*Scriptorium* 56 [2002]: 225–93).‡ Gorman's impressive detective work is aided by at least one scribe who liked writing his name in books, several Renaissance-era scholars, and a few giant books that were added to over some years, thus providing "the key to the scriptorium and library of the Badia Amiatina" (278). Along with evidence for use of the great Codex Amiatinus at the monastery (255), Gorman also lists some of the numerous Bede texts found in Amiatine manuscripts (265, 269–70); several appendices provide, *inter alia*, early modern sources for the library's contents and the manuscript tradition for a commentary on Matthew popular at Monte Amiata.

Two articles deal directly with the Codex Amiatinus, falling on either side of the vexed question of the Monkwearmouth-Jarrow scribes' use of the "Codex grandior." Michael Gorman, "The Codex Amiatinus: a

Guide to the Legends and Bibliography" (*SM* 44: 862–910),‡ argues that Cassiodorus's great pandect never came to England (866–7), and that the *Institutiones* could have provided the necessary influence on the prologue and the tabernacle diagram (869–72). Gorman's article will undoubtedly prove an extremely useful resource for future students of this great book: in addition to an overview of the "legends" about it, he provides texts and translations for medieval testimony about the Codex, and a select annotated bibliography. On the "pro" side of the "Codex grandior" question is Celia Chazelle, "Ceolfrid's Gift to St Peter: the First Quire of the *Codex Amiatinus* and the Evidence of its Roman Destination" (*EME* 12: 129–58).‡ Chazelle's reconstruction of the first quire's original order, and in particular the reinterpretation of the meaning of the man, lamb, and dove in the roundels on the pages depicting the different schemes for dividing the Bible, seems to me a bit forced, although further evidence on this point is promised (132–49, esp. at 147–8). Her analysis of the portrait of Ezra, in his combined regalia of scholar and high priest, as a realization of Bede's ideals of the papacy—and thus evidence that the Codex Amiatinus was from the beginning intended as a gift to the pope (149–57)—is interesting and very plausible. Chazelle's discussion, most helpfully, is fully illustrated; and she promises several more future publications on the subject.

Given that most modern books are printed in margin-to-margin long lines, it will probably never have occurred to many people to ask why almost all Old English books are also written this way; but in "Style and Layout of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" (in *Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Karkov and Brown, 151–68; see section 1)‡ William Schipper points out that Anglo-Saxons could, and very often did, make different layout choices when writing Latin texts, and goes on to explore the reasons for the use of long-lines for the vernacular. He concludes that the tradition of using this style of layout probably originated with King Alfred's court circle, and that the desire to immediately distinguish Old English books from Latin was likely among the reasons for the original decision.

In the same volume, Carol Farr's "Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (115–30),‡ investigates the question of stylistic influences on tenth- and eleventh-century scribes. Why might a scribe have chosen to emulate an older model? Farr emphasizes that such questions of intention are almost impossible to answer, but she does show that many high-status scribes—Eadui Basan

and "Scribe B" of the Copenhagen Gospels are two key examples—"consciously selected high-status models," and "possessed an impressive knowledge of stylistic features of visual images, textual layouts, and scripts as well as iconography of older manuscripts" (128).

In "House Style in the Scriptorium, Scribal Reality, and Scholarly Myth," (*Anglo-Saxon Styles*, 131–50) Michelle P. Brown overturns dogmatic beliefs in unified, undeviating "house styles" with a mass of counterexamples; selecting as her target "one of the greatest scholarly constructions of them all: the Lindisfarne scriptorium of the Durham-Echternach Calligrapher and Eadfrith" (131). Brown shows that while distinctive "house styles" could and did evolve (she provides the examples of Echternach, 134, and Anglo-Saxon "mannered minuscule," 144–46), the scriptoria of early Anglo-Saxon monasteries nevertheless clearly contained scribes working in quite different styles, collaborating on single books in (one assumes) harmony. Brown suggests that such apparent aberrations may, in fact, have been the rule.

Using a range of evidence, in "Reading Aldred's Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels" (*Speculum* 78: 333–77),‡ Lawrence Nees questions the historical reliability of Aldred's identification of the manuscript's makers by exploring the possible symbolic reasons the glossator might have had for inventing his information. In particular, the set of three early names (Eadfrith, Ethiluald, and Bilfrith) "completed" with Aldred's as the fourth would have mirrored the contemporary tendency to separate the evangelists in the same way: the three synoptic gospels, and the Gospel of John. Nees prints (with translation and plates) and analyzes the entirety of Aldred's additions to fol. 89 (the glossator, it must be said, emerges from it as a bit of a megalomaniac). This is likely to be a very controversial argument, but an important one that must be contended with; if Nees's reasoning is correct, the traditional date and place of origin of the Lindisfarne Gospels must be re-examined—thus affecting the entire history of Northumbrian book-art—and indeed he does provide some suggestions for alternative origins (373–77).

In "The Anglo-Saxon Contents of a Lost Register from Bury St Edmunds" (*Anglia* 121: 515–34),‡ Kathryn A. Lowe revisits the subject of her 1992 *NM* article on the relation of the charters, wills, and grants in London, British Library, Additional 14847 (A) and Cambridge, University Library, Ff. 2. 33 (F) to each other and to the lost register of John of Northwold (JN), abbot of Bury

St. Edmunds between 1279 and 1301. This is a complicated matter; Lowe examines the arrangement of the documents within the manuscripts (518–23), which allows her to conclude that the lost register "split the wills into two groups separated by the writs and some post-Conquest material" (523), an arrangement different from that of both surviving manuscripts. She also uses the testimony of two fifteenth-century copies of items from JN (Thurketel's will, Sawyer 1527, in BL Add. 45951, and a grant of land by the same Thurketel, Sawyer 1219, in BL Add. 14850); a close study of the spellings leads her to conclude that the scribe of part, at least, of JN was "that rare beast, a *literatim* scribe," who "went to the trouble to present his texts in imitative script" (527). This discovery, as Lowe points out, will lead Anglo-Saxonists to regret the loss of JN all the more; but it renders the linguistic updating of the thirteenth-century scribe of F valuable and reliable testimony to his own language (530–33). In a related article ("Sawyer 1070: a Ghost Writ of King Edward the Confessor" [*N&Q* 243: 150–2]), Lowe shows that S 1070 was an accident of eyeskip, in which S 1069 was conflated with S 1078, which must have been adjacent in the exemplar.‡ S 1070, however, can no longer help in deciding whether this was F, JN, or some other shared text.

The library of the abbey of Bury St. Edmunds also provides evidence for Richard Sharpe's "The Use of Writs in the Eleventh Century" (*ASE* 32: 247–91).‡ Here he develops a theory for the use of a sub-species of the diplomatic genus, the writ-charter, which he defines as "a writ addressed by the king to the officers and suitors of the shire court" (250). By illustrating the way in which the successive abbots at Bury obtained writs for the confirmation of various special privileges (the right to a mint, 257–62; rights over the lands of the Eight and a Half Hundreds "pertaining to Thingoe," 262–70; the tenure of the abbot himself, 270–79; and the abbey's exemption from scots and gelds, 279–83), Sharpe illustrates a clear pattern beginning well before the Conquest and continuing up to the reign of Henry I. Separate writs for each privilege seem to have been issued when a new abbot entered office, or when a new king began his reign, notifying the shire courts of the renewal of these rights; Sharpe shows some evidence that these were acquired all together at the first opportunity (285–86). This theory has the peculiar merit of being both eminently testable, and rather difficult to disprove; since, if Sharpe is correct, these writ-charters required regular re-issue, holders of privileges would have acquired sheaves of these documents at easily determined intervals—but, at the same time, would

have had no special motivation for preserving older versions. Sharpe discusses this difficulty (286–89); he also points to the need for electronic versions of the diplomatic corpus (253–54), which will enable further testing of this interesting hypothesis.

With the aid of a number of medieval charters, A.E. Brown, in "The Lost Village of Andreschurch" (*Transactions of the Leicestershire Archaeological and Historical Society* 76: 1–11),‡ identifies this "lost" village with "the perfectly healthy village known to everyone as Breedon-on-the-Hill" (1). Interesting to Anglo-Saxonists will be his suggestion that the Andrew of Andreschurch was not the saint, but a moneyer known to have worked in the east Midlands in the period 959-973 (5). A Burton Abbey charter (S 749) of King Edgar may help illuminate the surrounding area's history (and the financial doings of Æthelwold, bishop of Winchester) before the land came into the hands of Wulfric Spot, Burton Abbey's founder (6–9).

In "Trees in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: the Charter Evidence" (*From Earth to Art*, ed. Biggam, 17–39; see section 1),‡ Della Hooke contributes some early fruits (so to speak) from a forthcoming larger study on all trees mentioned in charters and place-names to a collection that also contains much to interest students of place-names and medical manuscripts. Hooke shows that even passing mention of tree-names can tell us a great deal about land management in Anglo-Saxon England (18–20). They were popular boundary markers, giving us "snapshots" of transient moments in the landscape; two of these are mapped (19, 32). Oak and ash trees seem to have been of particular significance (24–27, 34) though thorn trees are mentioned most often (27–28, 35). Even those without much concern about the details of the Anglo-Saxons' physical landscape will likely be interested in the evidence Hooke finds for the social function of trees: as places of meeting (24) and of judgement or execution, with which thorns seem particularly associated (27–8).

Those with an interest in calendars in their various medieval manifestations will enjoy the collection *Time and Eternity* edited by Jaritz and Moreno-Riaño (see section 1); if their specific interest is charters they will likely turn first to Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., "The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters" (501–14).‡ Appropriately for a conference held in 2000, Bremmer explores the millenarian elements of a series of charter proems from Edgar's reign (505–6). The most common of these quote Luke 21:10

(*surget gens contra gentem…*) or 21:31 (*cum videritis haec fieri…*); these formulations first appeared in charters of 959 and remained popular for only a couple years (507–8). Interestingly, this style of proem can be solely attributed to the scribe "Edgar A," whom Simon Keynes has identified as Æthelwold, abbot of Abingdon and later the reforming bishop of Winchester (510). As Bremmer points out, the chief question is not so much why Æthelwold held these views, as why he stopped putting them into charters as soon as he was promoted to a bishopric (511–13). Along with Anglo-Saxon views on the millennium, this article demonstrates that the "Edgar A" charters can be used to provide real insight into Æthelwold's intellectual development. Unfortunately, it is also poorly proofread (e.g. Edgar is exiled to the seventh century twice in one paragraph).

The title of Richard Scott Nokes, "The Old English Charms and their Manuscript Context: British Library, Royal 12.D.xvii and British Library, Harley 585," PhD dissertation (Wayne State Univ., 2002),‡ is somewhat misleading. By "manuscript context," Nokes appears to mean "collection of texts grouped together," rather than the context of these manuscripts as physical objects. Therefore, though by far the largest part of the dissertation is actually a survey of previous critical works, much of his discussion of the texts themselves is devoted to reconstructing the stages of compilation and transmission of the collections in these two MSS. His evidence is based largely, though not solely, on discrepancies between the main texts and the tables of contents. The work would have been improved by comparison to analogous medical compilations in Latin. Nokes is unfortunate in completing this dissertation only months after the issue of Edward Pettit's large edition of the *Lacnunga*, and Anne Van Arsdall's excellent 2001 dissertation on the Old English *Herbarium*, which overlaps with his Chapter Four.

I very nearly avoided saying that Peter Orton has gone out on a limb with his "Sticks or Stones? The Story of Imma in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 41 of the *Old English Bede*, and Old English *Tān* ('Twig')" (*MÆ* 72: 1–12); but the flesh is weak. Orton argues that the apparently nonsensical B-text reading of the story of Imma the miraculously delivered prisoner in the *OE Bede*—"hwæðer he þa alyfedlican rune cuðe and þa stanas mid him hæfde …" for Tanner's "hwæðer he ða alysendlecan rúne cuðe, & þa stafas mid him awritene hæfde…"—conceals evidence for runic magical practices; the theory being that the writer of an earlier exemplar deliberately substituted *þas tanas* ('these

[inscribed] twigs', in Orton's reading) and omitted *awritene* as redundant. Well, possibly. But a glance through the lists of B's variant readings in Raymond Grant's *The B Text of the Old English Bede: A Linguistic Commentary* (Amsterdam, 1989) shows that the scribes of the B text were so content to write nonsense (some favorites are "he ham cyrde mid his fynde" for "…his fyrde" and "on sciplande" for "sciplade"), that readings found only in B are slender reeds indeed on which to hang new meanings for a word. Given the sense 'lot' for the word *taan* in *Andreas* (11, n. 29), Orton's theory does not seem impossible; but the second B-text scribe is such a shifty, unreliable witness that his testimony is difficult to credit.

Those whose copies of Helmut Gneuss's 2001 *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* are already scribbled-over and dog-eared will have cause to abuse their volumes further, since 2003 saw the publication of Gneuss's "Addenda and Corrigenda to the *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*" (*ASE* 32: 293–305), and further addenda are promised "at more or less regular intervals" (293). This first installment contains a few corrections (several to shelfmarks) and deletions; some further thinking on provenance (in, e.g., nos. 1.5, 402.5, 585 and 669.6); a great many augmentations to, and refinements of, the contents lists of various manuscripts; and twenty-one additions. It was a good year for patristics, since newly-noted manuscripts include fragments from Augustine (30.7, 163.5, 521.2, 760.3), Jerome (155.6, 179.4), and Gregory (379.3); on the other end of the spectrum, two manuscripts of Horace have also been placed in England before 1100 (179.5, 681.5).

The new no. 902.9 in Gneuss's "Addenda" is courtesy of Birgit Ebersperger, "BSG, MS 2409 + Arsenal, MS 933, ff. 128–334: an Anglo-Saxon Manuscript from Canterbury?" in *Bookmarks from the Past: Studies in Early English Language and Literature in Honour of Helmut Gneuss*, ed. Lucia Kornexl and Ursula Lenker (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang), 177–93.‡ The manuscript that is now 2409 in Paris's Bibliothèque Sainte-Geneviève was formerly bound with that library's MS 2410, an interesting assortment of texts in prose and verse, including Juvencus, Sedulius, Israel the Grammarian's *De arte metrica*, and the sole medieval text of Odo of Cluny's *Occupatio* (when combined with Paris, Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal 903, ff. 1–52). BSG 2410 + Arsenal 903 has for some time been recognized as English (it is 903 in Gneuss's *Handlist*), and attributed to Canterbury of about the year 1000. Ebersperger provides an overview of the evidence for its origin on page 183; this evidence

ranges from the style of its decorated initials to the textual tradition of several of its component poems. Ebersperger argues that BSG 2409, completed by Arsenal 933, is also a Canterbury book of the same period; together these two manuscripts contain the only medieval testimony for most of Flodoard of Rheims's vast hexameter poem *De triumphis Christi*. Though comparison with an English textual tradition is therefore impossible, Ebersperger's case seems conclusive: the former association of BSG 2409 and the definitely English MS 2410 is indisputable, and the outline of the likely course of the books' ownership, including their fragmentation (180–2) is well-documented. She provides a descriptive palaeographical analysis, noting features pointing to an origin in Canterbury ca. 1000 (185–7), and three plates illustrate both books' English Caroline script. (One might have wished for more and larger plates, particularly of the glossed portion of Arsenal 933, but I realize publishing is an expensive business these days.) Deciding which of Canterbury's two foundations produced this book, however, is a much trickier business, and Ebersperger wisely declines to express certainty on this point (188–9). The book forms an interesting addition to our knowledge of Canterbury's library, and should provoke literary scholars to inform us how many people actually read the 20,000 lines of Flodoard's *De triumphis Christi*.

Nicholas Orchard's "The Ninth and Tenth-Century Additions to Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, 164" (*RB* 113: 285–97)‡ presents texts of some later additions to this early eighth-century sacramentary (Hildoard of Cambrai's *Hadrianum*). These collects and blessings, as he explains (288–91), are important for the study of English liturgical books because they uniquely parallel texts in the Durham Collectar (Durham Cathedral A. IV. 19) and in tenth-century English benedictionals. Of these last, Orchard writes that "English benedictionals evidently descend from a book initially prepared for some bishop of Cambrai"; he considers that "transmission of the Cambrai model to England in the time of Oda, archbishop of Canterbury (941–58), seems … most likely" (290–1).

In "The Earliest Manuscript of Bede's Metrical *Vita S. Cudbercti*" (*ASE* 32: 43–54),‡ Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge assemble and analyze an array of binding-fragments—Berlin, Staatsbibliothek zu Berlin, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm-Nachlass 132, no. 1; Budapest, National Széchényi Museum, Clma. 442; Budapest, University Library, Fragmentum latinum 1; and Munich, Stadtarchiv, Historischer Verein

Oberbayern, Hs. 733/16—which, astonishingly enough, represent parts of three quires of a single eighth-century Continental manuscript of Bede's metrical life of St. Cuthbert. Enough of the book survives, in fact, to allow the authors to reconstruct the text's likely distribution across the lost folios (the survival of the outermost bifolia of quires II and IV was particularly fortunate in this regard). An analysis of the script suggests it was written in Germany, probably Fulda, ca. 800 (46–8 + plate). The authors' close study of the fragment's textual affinities with other surviving manuscripts leads them to conclude that it provides "an important new witness to the earliest phase of the continental transmission of Bede's poem" (54).

Reviewing a review begins to run the risk of infinite recursion; but Helmut Gneuss's "Zurück zu den Quellen: Englands frühmittelalterliche Handschriften in der Forschung heute" (*Anglia* 120 [2002]: 228–43) is rather the apotheosis of a scholarly review, in which assessments of a number of recent publications (listed with full details 242–3, and by no means all palaeographical in character) are incorporated into a survey of the present state of scholarship on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. The comprehensive scope, and indeed the tone of the work (e.g. "I have mentioned these three works first, because insofar as they embody more or less revised dissertations, they conclusively demonstrate what can be achieved today … in terms of genuine and lasting contributions to knowledge in a first academic work" [232–3]) would make it ideal reading for a postgraduate seminar on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts.

E.V.T.

After several authorially chaotic years of covering manuscripts and charters, I finally stumbled on a logical arrangement of this section of the review: the items are arranged in approximate chronology of the manuscripts with which they deal. Collections covering a range of centuries are discussed at the end. This not only provides an easily navigable bibliography, but coincidentally allows me to start with this year's winner of the coveted Palme D'Or de la Bibliographie des Manuscrits Médiévaux.

The heaviest paperback ever published may be Michelle P. Brown's *The Lindesfarne Gospels: Sociality, Spirituality and the Scribe* (Toronto: U of Toronto P), but even those who don't regularly work out with weights will find themselves happily hefting it from room to room. Brown begins with a caveat that "[t]his book has been a challenging one to write. The circumstances

surrounding its production have meant that it seeks to accomplish three purposes simultaneously: to provide the technical detail required of a facsimile commentary, to provide the first full monographic account of one of the world's great manuscripts, which is geared to the needs of the scholarly community, and, in recognising that the Lindisfarne Gospels are of interest to a broader audience than many such monuments, to open up the research accordingly to the informed general reader. Each constituency of readers may therefore, in the course of reading my text, experience a sense of frustration when the needs of another are being addressed" (viii). The last statement is the only mistake in this superb book: one cannot conceive of a reader so churlish as not to be continuously engaged. Brown addresses the genesis of the gospels; their later history and provenance; text and stemma; physical preparation, writing and binding; illumination, and finally the greater meaning—the "preaching with the pen in the scribal desert" (vii). A brief notice could only be inadequate to describe a book so rich in detail. This reviewer's conclusion, then, is straightforward: buy it and enjoy it. We must consider ourselves fortunate that a picture is worth a thousand words, for if that number of words replaced each plate in this lavishly illustrated manuscript (many photographs taken by the author herself), one would require a forklift to move it. The book is accompanied by a CD listing the contents of the Lindesfarne Gospels; this is packaged not in a childproof container (despite one's initial impression), but in an envelope mounted backwards so that the flap is all but inaccessible.

Lawrence Nees turns a skeptical eye on the tradition of "Reading Aldred's Colophon for the Lindisfarne Gospels" (*Speculum* 78: 333–77),‡ pointing out that "The story that Aldred tells of its early history could actually be true, could reflect a remarkably accurate oral tradition, although without the evidence of the colophon it seems to me that on grounds of script and decoration scholarship would put the manuscript later, not in the first but in the second quarter, even toward the middle, of the eighth century" (377). Nees indicates that the others mentioned in the colophon—Eadfrith, Æthelwald and Billfrith—were quite significant in the community of St. Cuthbert in the tenth century, which debunks the traditional argument that their very obscurity argues for the veracity of Aldred's associating the manuscript with them. In fact, it seems equally possible that Aldred was inventing rather than repeating tradition, and could indeed have used for this purpose Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 183, a pastiche containing two chapters of Bede's *History* dealing with

Cuthbert and a listing of the bishops of Anglo-Saxon sees, including those of Lindisfarne. Furthermore, the evidence of contemporary Irish colophons suggests that "the tenth-century colophon added by Aldred was likely false, designed like the false colophons of the Books of Dimma and Milling to emphasize a connection with important early figures in the monastary" (362).

Michael Gorman aligns himself with the reading of Bruce-Mitford for the arrangement of the first quire as part of his survey of "The Codex Amiatinus: A Guide to the Legends and Bibliography" (*SM* 3rd ser. 44: 225–93)‡ and, noting that there are no quire signatures until fol. 16v, suggests "that the folios of the first quire were not bound in the book when it left Wearmouth-Jarrow. Evidently, when the folios in the first quire were bound for the first time (in Italy?), the Tabernacle bifolium was not included" (874). Gorman sketches the variant scholarly views of the history of the pandect, including the "Gregory legend" (that the volume was originally a gift to Gregory I); the "Italian scribe" and the "Roman scribe" legends, (both supposing that no Anglo-Saxon scribe would have had the skill to produce such a monument—the latter legend assuming that the codex was actually produced in Rome, then "taken by Ceolfrid to Northumbria where he had the epigram entered, and then brought back to Rome as a gift to the pope" [865]); the "Codex Grandior" and "First Quire" legends (that it was copied from a Codex formerly belonging to the library of Cassiodorus, and that the first quire had been detached from this volume). While Gorman discredits these, he does believe the tradition that "the first book of Cassiodorus's *Institutiones* served as a major inspiration for the monks at Wearmouth-Jarrow who prepared the Codex Amiantinus" (872). Gorman begins his discussion with the somewhat sweeping statement that "the Codex Amiatinus tells us more about Anglo-Saxon culture in England than do *Beowulf* or the booty recovered from the Sutton Hoo excavations" (863), but concludes that "it is difficult to think of another important Latin manuscript of which so much pure fiction has been written by so many for so long" (875). Part of the reason for this is the inaccessibility of the manuscript itself, due to which "writing about the book has been based more on bibliographical research than on codicologcial examination" (877), a situation which the recently-produced CD-ROM and facsimile should rectify. Appendix I provides supportive textual material, and Appendix II a bibliography.

Gorman's prodigious output on Amiata continues with "Manuscript Books at Monte Amiata in the Eleventh Century" (*SM* 3rd ser. 44: 225–93),‡ which essentially serves as a prolegomenon to a catalogue of the now-dispersed medieval library of which the book best-known to Anglo-Saxonists is the great pandect from Wearmouth-Jarrow. Gorman begins his reconstruction with a list in Vatican Barb. lat. 679 of books lent by the library elsewhere for copying, as well as with codices that contain the Monte Amiata *ex libris*, or manuscripts in which the scribal hand can be linked to known Amiatinus codices. "The most popular author by far at the Badia Amiatina was Bede, whose works are found in many codices Amiatini" (see 269–270 for listing). The only other Anglo-Saxon text seems to have been Alcuin's commentary on Genesis. (270).

Helmut Gneuss and Michael Lapidge set about reconstructing "The earliest manuscript of Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cudbercti*" (*ASE* 32: 43–54)‡ from four *membra disiecta* now contained in libraries in Berlin, Budapest (which has two) and Munich, but originally from "what (on paleographic grounds) is the earliest surviving manuscript" (44). Gneuss and Lapidge reconstruct a four-quire structure of which we have fragments of the last three, and provide a codicological description of the leaves we have. The version is closest to the α-recension of Werner Jaager's y-group. *Vita S. Cudbercti*'s first editor, Heinrich Canisius, had access to *antiquissimae … membranae*, but although his text is nearly identical to that in these fragments, "the physical arrangement of the leaves … precludes the possibility [that they were actually part of that exemplar].… Nevertheless, their textual affiliations with the α-recension of Bede's metrical *Vita S. Cudbercti* indicate fairly clearly that they were written in an Anglo-Saxon centre on the Continent rather than in England. They are thus an important new witness to the earliest phase of the continental transmission of Bede's poem" (53–4). The manuscript seems to have been broken up around 1600, and several leaves eventually found their way to being binding pages.

In a similar reconstruction, Birgit Ebersperger reunites, at least in a virtual sense, long-lost siblings in "BSG, MS 2409 + Arsenal, MS 933, ff. 128–334: An Anglo-Saxon Manuscript from Canterbury?" (*Bookmarks from the Past*, ed. Kornexl and Lenker, 177–93).‡ She presents the possibility that

> manuscripts of Flodoard's *De triumphis Christi* and Odo's *Occupatio*, two Christian devotional poems which were composed at almost the same time and place, should have traveled

together from France—possibly Laon—to Canterbury, where both texts were copied. These copies, accompanied by texts of a similar nature, found their way back to France, perhaps into the library of the Carmelites in Clermont, where the order of the four distinct parts may have been rearranged and the manuscripts rebound to follow separate roads: BSG 2409 and 2410 into the hands of the family de Martigny, who donated them to the Bibliothèque Sainte Geneviève, and Arsenal 933, ff. 128–334 and 903, ff. 1–52 into the library of the Discalced Carmelites in Paris, from where the disorders of the French revolution led them into the Bibliothèque de l'Arsenal, so that today the *membra disiecta* are not very far apart from each other once again. (189–190).

In "The Ninth and Tenth-Century Additions to Cambrai, Mediathèque Municipale, 164" (*RB* 113: 285–97),‡ Nicholas Orchard examines the texts added to Hildoard's *Hadrianum*, concentrating on "the material that is of importance for England, principally the first mass for St Denis (9 Oct.) on fol. 220, and the short series of episcopal benedictions on fols 241v–245v" (286). "The collect *Laetetur aecclesia tua deus* for St Denis and companions … has repercussions for [the Durham Ritual, as it raises the possibility that the Durham] collectar is actually a copy of a model from Cambrai" (288–9). Furthermore, "Cambrai MM 164 contains five blessings (added in the tenth century) that have hitherto only been found in English benedictionals and pontificals … which evidently descended from a book initially prepared for some bishop of Cambrai. If the blessings in Cambrai MM 164 were relatively new when they came to be added on fols 241v–245v, then Stephen (909–34) or perhaps Fulbert (934–56), would both be possible. Transmission of the Cambrai model to England in the time of Oda, archbishop of Canterbury (941–58) seems to my mind most likely" (290–91). The article concludes with select extracts from the additions.

Mechthild Gretsch examines both physical appearance and contents of "Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 57: A Witness to the Early States of the Benedictine Reform in England" (*ASE* 32: 111–46) to "uncover the ambience in which the ultimate exemplar of Corpus 57 was compiled and used, and to uncover the reason why this exemplar was copied into Corpus 57 and why it was copied in the fashion in which it appears there" (111). Her tentative conclusions include the possibility that "the collection of texts as found in Corpus 57 was

available at Glastonbury in the 940s, and that this predecessor of Corpus 57 was used as a chapterhouse book there [leaving open the question as to] whether the texts in question were first assembled there, or whether the hypothetical Glastonbury chapterhouse book was a manuscript (or a copy of a manuscript) that had been imported from the Continent at some point between the reigns of Alfred and Æthelstan" (144). Furthermore, "it is possible … that already the Glastonbury circle took the decision regularly to supplement the Latin Rule with the Aachen [reform texts], but to combine the Latin text alone with the Old English translation in bilingual copies of the Rule with the two languages alternating chapter by chapter. Though we cannot be certain whether such a decision was indeed taken at this early stage, judging from the manuscript evidence, there can be no doubt that a decision it was and that it was fairly rigidly adhered to in the transmission of the core texts of early tenth-century Benedictinism" (142). Finally, the deliberately archaic nature of the script in parts of Corpus 57 implies that "the monks active in [the scriptorium in which it was produced] were aware that they were copying a venerable exemplar which took them back to the origins of tenth-century English Benedictinism" (145).

Della Hooke continues to draw from charters to depict the countryside of Anglo-Saxon England in "Trees in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: The Charter Evidence" (*From Earth to Art*, ed. Biggam, 17–39; see section 1).‡ She provides a survey of varieties of trees that occur in charters and place-names, indicating, for example, that even then Cornwall was rocky, barren territory while Devon was much more fertile. Mention of trees such as the alder and the willow, which grow in marshy soil, indicates land that had not yet been drained for cultivation. Two of the most commonly named trees are the majestic and mythologically-prominent oak and the inherently contradictorily weapon-worthy and medicinal ash. Pride of place goes to the thorn, although this term seems to have been considerably extended to include the holly (*pric þorn*) and bramble briars (*brembel þorn*). As always, Hooke is a fund of entertaining information, such as the use of a pile of manure for a boundary marker, or the superstition that witches could turn themselves into elder trees.

Richard Gameson examines tenth- and eleventh-century cross-Channel Interlibrary Loans in his richly-illustrated "L'Angleterre et la Flandre aux Xᵉ et XIᵉ Siècles: le témoignage des manuscrits" (*Les échanges culturels au Moyen Âge*, ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes, 165–

206; see section 7). Following the Viking ravages, many Anglo-Saxon scriptoria turned to Flanders for exemplars to replenish their libraries. These included a vast array of materials: liturgy, homilies, penitentials and pedagogy. Interestingly, the Anglo-Saxon scribes don't seem to have altered either script or quire preparation practices, although the borrowings are probably the model on which later Canterbury carolingian script is based. Loans the other way date from as early as the tenth century, some perhaps in exchange for the borrowed models, but one, more entertainingly, sold by "deux religieux anglais 'dépravés'" who seem to have stolen it from its home library (170). Anglo-Saxon tenth-century manuscript decoration began to make its influence known on the continent in Saint-Bertin, where Abbot Odbert achieved a synthesis of Winchester frames and Canterbury initials and designs, all demonstrating Carolingian influence. Some manuscripts even appear to have been created by collaboration between insular and continental scribes and decorators. Prominent figures associated with pre-Conquest cultural exchange include Queen Emma, Bishop Leofric and Judith of Flanders. The years following the Conquest saw an increased flurry of exchange in both directions: Anglo-Saxon libraries brought in models to fill gaps in their collections, and Anglo-Saxon exiles took their books with them when they resettled in Europe.

Rolf Bremmer returns to the question of millennial references in "The Final Countdown: Apocalyptic Expectations in Anglo-Saxon Charters," (*Time and Eternity: The Medieval Discourse*, ed. Jaritz and Moreno-Riaño, 501–514).‡ Bremmer examines a series of apocalyptic proems containing the warning of Jesus that "the kingdom of God is nigh at hand" (508). These proems appear in charters beginning in Edgar's reign in 969, and continue for two years thereafter. Bremmer agrees with Keynes that the author of these proems may well have been Æthelwold, Abbot of Abingdon. He presents two hypotheses for the brevity of the style's duration: First, possibly "the links between the leaders of the Benedictine reform in England and Fleury, especially through the writings of Adso, will have given … Æthelwold and other draftsmen of charters new insights that made them tone down the cutting edge of these apocalyptic sentiments" (512). Second, the fact that the "demise of these 'surget' proems is identical with the year the Æthelwold was promoted from Abingdon Abbey to the important See of Winchester [may mean that] the challenging prospect of new pastoral and administrative responsibilities also made him suppress his expectations of the imminent end" (513). A word of caution to the reader: although it is fairly obvious that *Oonne* represents *Þonne* rather than the wife of Charlie Chaplin, it is less obvious that *657* and *659* actually refer to *957* and *959* throughout, which can lead to some confusion.

"The use of writs in the eleventh century" is examined by Richard Sharpe (*ASE* 32: 247–91)‡ with specific focus on the writ-charter, which has the form of a writ, "an address by the king to the officers and suitors of the shire court," and a function "similar to a charter, that is granting or confirming tenure of land or of rights that belonged to what in later ages would be called the royal prerogative" (250); this combinatory diplomatic spanned the Conquest, but "lasted in England for at most some two hundred years" (247). Sharpe concentrates on several series from Bury St. Edmunds dating from Edward the Confessor to Henry I confirming such rights as the maintenance of a mint or the exemption from scots and gelds. The crucial aspect is the temporality of the writ-charter (not unlike a modern driver's license): "It had to be an up-to-date writ charter confirming that the present king has agreed to allow the abbot to continue to hold the privileges so documented.… [T]he expectation was that each new abbot obtains a new set of writs from the king to preserve the king's right, and, in a more practical sense, in order that the shire is properly notified that he has been permitted to retain the privileges that his predecessor had held. For complementary reasons, when the king died, the abbot obtained a new set of writs to affirm that he was permitted to continue holding the privileges of this king as he had held them of his predecessor" (284). Sharpe speculates that "In Henry I's time, the growing perception of the church as a perpetual holder of lands, and therefore the holder of perpetual rights, may have influenced a general move away from" this diplomatic form (291).

In *Manuscripts in Northumbria in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries* (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer), Anne Lawrence-Mathers establishes a field that one might call manuscriptual archaeology: the reconstruction of a period of history from the physical indications discernible in remaining manuscripts. Her target of study is the monasteries of Northumbria, large and small, new and old, around and following the Conquest. Book lists provide her with information from which to deduce intellectual focus and pedagogical goals. The data she draws on for interaction among various monastic establishments include parchment preparation, quire arrangement, ruling and decoration. Her analyses allow her to argue for, among other

things, an "active scriptorium" at Durham by 1096 (48); several initial decoration styles, in particular the split-petal, which occur widely in manuscripts of Northumbrian provenance, "thus confirming a network of links between their libraries and scriptoria" (76); the building of a Benedictine library at St. Mary's, York in the first half of the twelfth century (132); "a network of contacts between the newer Yorkshire houses, and between them and Durham" (187); and an "emergence of a regional style of book production" under the Augustinians (193). An example of the range of inferences Lawrence-Mathers is able to draw from these manuscripts is contained in the conclusion to her chapter on the coming of the Cistercians:

> First, together with the Augustinians, they introduced, and put into practice, reforming ideas about limiting the interference of the king in the affairs of the Church. Secondly, this championship of reform was accompanied by the establishment of a group of very successful and influential monasteries, led by men whose spirituality and convictions provoked both reverence and controversy. Thirdly, whilst they played no part in the development of schools, their success in the recruitment of educated adolescents and adults is in itself testimony to the degree to which formal education had already spread among the free groups in society. Fourthly, a part of their very influential spirituality was a clearly defined attitude towards both reading and books. As a result of their participation in the network of contacts outlined in this chapter, this attitude influenced both the Augustinians and the monks of Durham, although St Mary's, York, may have been more resistant. Finally they made a major contribution to the design of a simple but technically sophisticated type of initial, which, by its ubiquity in Northumbria and absence in the south, helps to demonstrate the strong sense of cultural unity in the northern province (216).

This sense of cultural unity may be in some part due to Northumbria's greatest son, Bede: "He offered models for many of the projects undertaken by both 'traditional' and 'reforming' houses, and the popularity and status of his works contributed largely to the development of the network of intellectual contacts which is one of the features of Anglo-Norman Northumbria" (235). At the end of the twelfth century William of Newburgh "gave

the idea of regional history and regional identity wider importance by writing, at the request of the abbot of Rievaulx, to expose the 'fables and lies' of Geoffrey of Monmouth through contrasting them with the authoritative witness of 'our Bede'. Thus the exchange and the composition of histories brought Benedictines, Augustinians and Cistercians together in the twelfth century, in what was almost a collaborative enterprise, as well as one which further strengthened the sense of a shared regional identity" (252). Mathers-Lawrence provides a fine display of how much the physical evidence of manuscripts can contribute to the reconstruction of intellectual history. This book should be read, if nothing else, for its methodology and breadth of witness. It deserved better in the process of publication: the prose soars when discussing decoration, in particular figuration, but much of the rest would have benefited from a more assiduous copy editor. The plentiful sketches of initial designs scattered throughout the text are well presented, but the photographs grouped in the middle need captions to refer them back to the text.

The 2003 *OEN Bibliography* contains an entry for Oliver Traxel's Cambridge University dissertation*, Language Change, Writing and Textual Inference in Post-Conquest Old English Manuscripts: The Scribal Evidence of Cambridge, University Library, Ii. 1. 33*; since this has already appeared in print (Frankfurt: Peter Lang Verlag, 2004), I refer here directly to the published version. "This book analyses one of the few textual sources from twelfth-century England written in the vernacular: a manuscript [which] contains forty-two Old English texts, mostly saints' lives composed by Ælfric" (back cover). It "focuses mostly on the main scribes of this manuscript; it also includes an examination of its later use, as demonstrated by its additions, and deals with the work of one of its scribes in [CCCC] 367. It is thus neither a solely palaeographical nor a purely linguistic study. Rather, it picks particular paleographical, linguistic and textual aspects, and uses these to establish what lies behind the written evidence" (23). Traxel investigates the work of the four main scribes (previously thought to be only three), and locates them in the east of England, possibly at St. Augustine's, Canterbury. "A large number of additions and alterations … by Scribes 1 and 4 demonstrate their considerable involvement with the text and are evidence of language change during the twelfth century. This process concerns various phonological and morphological levels, but also the opposite, namely emendation to older forms. Lexical change is evident not only in alterations to the main text, but also in direct substitutions within

the text" (222). Although the manuscript fell into disuse, this cannot have been for long, as there are glosses in Middle English and Latin that Traxel dates to around 1300. Parker donated the book to Cambridge in 1574. Throughout the manuscript "there are additions from the modern period, made by various scholars of Anglo-Saxon" (24); of particular note are those made by Kemble in the nineteenth century. Traxel concludes that "CUL Ii. 1. 33 is but one of a number of twelfth-century manuscripts with much to contribute to knowledge of the use and preservation of Old English texts long after the Norman Conquest" (224).

In "the Anglo-Saxon Contents of a Lost Register from Bury St Edmunds" (*Anglia* 121: 515–34),‡ Kathryn A. Lowe examines "the structure of those sections of [two late thirteenth-century Bury St. Edmunds cartularies: BL Additional 14847 and CUL Ff. 2.33] that contain copies of pre-conquest texts. References to further copies of charters in other cartularies reveal that behind these manuscripts lies the lost thirteenth-century register of John of Northwold, abbot of the foundation between 1279 and 1301. [She] reconstructs[s] this manuscript's contents, and shows that it presented the same selection of pre-conquest charters as does Ff. 2.33, although laid out rather differently … [and shows] that at least two eleventh-century vernacular charters were copied *literatim* into the Northwold register, although it is unclear whether this unusual practice was adopted consistently for all text types." (515). An added bonus is the heretofore unpublished vernacular will of Edmund Thurketel, dating from the first half of the eleventh century. (524).

Katherine Lowe ghostbusts "Sawyer 1070: A Ghost Writ of King Edward the Confessor" (*N&Q* n.s. 50: 150–52),‡ arguing persuasively that the scribe "began to copy the text of S1069 from his exemplar…, accidentally picked up the text at an equivalent position on the line in S1078 (the charter immediately following) … and then returned to the remainder of S1069… Unaware of his error, he proceeded in normal fashion by copying the entire text of S1078" (151). Thus this writ, being "an entirely accidental conflation of two genuine texts, may be excluded from further scholarly attention" (152), including its use as evidence for the stemmata of the exemplars.

Catherine Karkov and George Hardin Brown have edited a fine volume on *Anglo-Saxon Styles* (SUNY Series in Medieval Studies [Albany: SUNY P]). Leslie Webster leads off the volume with "Encrypted Visions: Style and Sense in the Anglo-Saxon Minor Arts, A.D. 400–900" (11–30), in which she

> traces style, motif and the study of both over time and across media, exploring the ways in which the complexity and dynamics of visual style and language still defy our classifications.… Far from being a passive formal element in the works considered, she shows that style is not only an elite product, but also an aid in producing our image of the elite—especially in the works we so problematically label "minor"—as well as a general carrier of meaning in art.… Style for Webster is both an enabling art-historical tool and historically a facilitator in the transmission of new ideas" [from the Introduction, 5].

Webster's piece is followed by articles on plastic arts by Fred Orton ("Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Deprecation of Style; Some Consideration of Form and Ideology"); Jane Hawkes ("*Iuxta Morem Romanorum*: Stone and Sculpture in Anglo-Saxon England"); Perette E. Michelli ("Beckwith Revisited: Some Ivory Carvings from Canterbury"). The book concludes with essays focusing on style in language and literature by Nicholas Howe ("What We Talk About When We Talk about Style"); Sarah Larratt Keefer ("Either/And" as "Style" in Anglo-Saxon Christian Poetry"); Jonathon Wilcox ("Eating People is Wrong: Funny Style in *Andreas* and its Analogues"); Carin Ruff ("Aldhelm's Jewel Tones: Latin Colors through Anglo-Saxon Eyes"); Roberta Frank ("The Discreet Charm of the Old English Weak Adjective"); Haruko Momma ("Rhythm and Alliteration: Styles of Ælfric's Prose up to the *Lives of Saints*"); Andy Orchard ("Both Style and Substance: The Case for Cynewulf").

Particularly relevant to this section are the centrally located discussions on manuscripts and illuminations. From the Introduction:

> Carol Farr's "Style in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Questions of Learning and Intention" [115–130]‡ examines the meaning of copying, recycling, reforming, and rewriting. She asks us to consider what exactly constitutes a copy, and whether the assimilation and transformation of style might be the results of a learning process for scribes and artist.… Michelle Brown ["House Style in the Scriptorium, Scribal Reality and Scribal Myth," 131–150]

focuses on a related issue, mapping the limits of connoisseurship and the classification of works by means of style, hand, or motif in her study of style and attribution in a select group of manuscripts. Scribes can be selective and archaizing in their use of scripts, hindering all but the most concerted attempts at classification. Brown demonstrates the "pitfalls and potential" of identifying "house style" in several Anglo-Saxon scriptoria, including the problematic "Lindesfarne scriptorium." Bill Schipper ["Style and Layout of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," 151–168] demonstrates that the textual layout of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is as much a part of their style as script, illustration, or textual content. Schipper explores the possible reasons scribes (or patrons) might have chosen one type of layout over another, and what the implications of that might be for our understanding of the manuscripts. Examining evidence from a wide variety of texts, Schipper concludes that the Anglo-Saxons had a marked preference for long-line rather than two-column layout in their vernacular manuscripts, a preference he traces back to the program of education and translation begun by Alfred the Great [6–7].

Naked Before God (ed. Withers and Wilcox) contains a wide-ranging collection dealing with the human body in riddles, law, literature and art. Pertinent to this section, Catherine Karkov's essay "Exiles from the Kingdom: The Naked and the Damned in Anglo-Saxon Art" (181–220), examines

> the depiction of male genitalia on the fallen angels in Junius 11 … and demons in the Harley Psalter … [She] combines attention to the body with a particular focus on gender to elucidate how the ambivalence, fear and erasure of the female form that characterizes much of medieval culture manifests itself in Anglo-Saxon England through the addition of 'the male genitals and human bodies of demons in the drawings of the fall of the angels … as part of the largely male discourse of crime and punishment.… The appearance of the feminine body as a site of identity and difference also occupies Mary Dockray-Miller's essay, "Breasts and Babies: The Maternal Body of Eve in the Junius 11 *Genesis*." [221–257] At play here is the boundary not between the

known and unknown but between text and illustrations; Dockray-Miller builds her argument on the observation that the usual and verbal aspects of this extensively illustrated text are often split apart and isolated in modern scholarly studies. This disjuncture results in a failure to appreciate the richness and multivalency of the "full-text" created when text and illustrations are seen simultaneously.… Dockray-Miller points to the use of the breast, particularly the nipple, to differentiate the otherwise undifferentiated and sexless bodies of the prelapsarian Adam and Eve in the illustrations. Seen as a marker of the maternal function of breast-feeding, the nipple calls attention to Eve's role as a mother, and promotes closer attention to the unusually prominent mothers depicted in the genealogies that follow the Fall; these illustrations, Dockray-Miller contends, counter the centrality of the masculine body in the poetic text and problematize the dominant masculinist interpretations of poems in modern scholarship (from the foreword by Withers, 11).

L.O.

Michelle P. Brown's *Painted Labyrinth: The World of the Lindisfarne Gospels* (London: British Library; Toronto: U of Toronto P) is a short but well-illustrated book, presenting in an abbreviated form and for a broad audience the arguments more thoroughly discussed in her comprehensive *Lindisfarne Gospels* (reviewed earlier in this section). The book is constructed as a series of two-page spreads organized into three sections. The first section focuses on the context for the manufacture of the manuscript, in which Brown outlines her proposed redating of the manuscript (to the years ca. 710-725) and her thesis that the Lindisfarne Gospels are "the visual equivalent of Bede's History, celebrating the cultural and ethnic diversity of these islands and their contacts, and signaling that there was a place for everyone within the new order." (8) The second section discusses the content, structure, and construction of the manuscript and includes her demonstration of the use of lead point in the creation of the designs. The final third of the manuscript is devoted to describing the world of the Gospels and its place in a society more connected by travel and trade than is traditionally supposed. This section also discusses the potential meanings of the Gospels for the book's monastic makers (an act of devotion and meditation), its Anglo-Saxon audience (as a shrine and a visual manifestation of the Christian unity

of a multi-ethnic society), and for modern viewers (a testament to the spiritual aspirations and desire for harmony and unity).

In her "The Book of Enoch and Anglo-Saxon Art," (in *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, ed. Powell and Scragg, 135–50) Elizabeth Coatsworth asks "Could it be that The Book of Enoch was a direct influence on Anglo-Saxon exegesis of Genesis and related themes in poetry and art, as has been argued for *Beowulf*?" (139). Her specific concern here is the possible influence of the apocryphal Book of Enoch on the two manuscripts with extensive illustration of Genesis: London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius B.iv (The Old English Hexateuch) and Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Junius 11. Coatsworth notes that the illustrations in both manuscripts display features such as the scenes of the Fall of the Rebel Angels that likely derive from "extra-biblical material" such as patristic commentaries and apocryphal texts (though she rightly adds that for many visual details "convincing sources for this material have proved very elusive" and no direct iconographic connections can be traced, 137). It is this lack of firmly identifiable source material, Coatsworth postulates, that opens the possibility of The Book of Enoch as a source. Known today primarily through a fifteenth or sixteenth century Ethiopic version, The Book of Enoch appears to have been well-known by early Christian writers, including the authors of the Epistles to Jude and II Peter (fragments of the text also have been preserved at Qumran and in a partial Greek translation). Though the canonicity of The Book of Enoch was denied by Augustine, it nonetheless was known to medieval readers, and Coatsworth notes at least one case in which a condensed version of one chapter can be found in a ninth-century Breton manuscript that made its way to England by the tenth century. The narrative of the Book of Enoch purports to elaborate on the stories told in Genesis chapters 5 and 6 (or as some commentators argue, present earlier material summarized in Genesis). Enoch, an offspring of Seth in the seventh generation from Adam is described in Genesis 5:24 as a man who "walked with God; and was not, for God took him." In the Book of Enoch, the title character serves as an intermediary for God with man; major portions of the book fill and seek to explain the events found in chapter 6 of Genesis. This apocalyptic tale tells of the catastrophe resulting from the dealings of the daughters of men with a race of giants, seen by some as fallen angels who illicitly teach mankind a variety of forbidden skills, from the forging of weapons to the making of cosmetics. As Coatsworth summarizes, "the theme of I Enoch is judgment" (143); she

seeks to show that the illustrations in Claudius B.iv and Junius 11, particularly their unusual depictions of the Fall of the Rebel Angels, link themes of judgment and salvation in ways that echo the apocryphal book, particularly through visual references to the harrowing of Hell. This visual reference highlights another theme, that of redemption found in nascent form in the Book of Enoch and is made "explicit" in the physical placement of the illustrations within the poetic texts of Genesis found in Junius 11 (though, as Coatsworth rightly notes, it is difficult to be certain of a direct connection to Enoch because elements of the story are found also in the New Testament and "would also be familiar from many exegetical sources," 144). She then turns to the depictions of Enoch in Claudius B.iv and Junius 11. Noting that Enoch ascends toward the heavens by means of a long ladder, she considers two interpretations of the scene: one that it is a literal rendering of "Enoch ascending to 'walk with God'" while the second is that the ladder emphasizes Enoch's intercessory role, as a reference to Jacob's ladder and the cross (via an unexpected reference to Exeter Riddle 55). She argues that the Junius illustration emphasizes Enoch's role as an intercessor between God and the fallen angels (a key element in the Book of Enoch). One possible suggestion of this interpretation is the presence of the dragon depicted below Enoch's feet in the illustration (understood as the dragon of Revelation rather than via Psalm 51, as a christological symbol); another possible indication of the knowledge of the Book of Enoch is that he is shown twice in the second illustration (corresponding to his two ascensions as told in the Book). In the end, the evidence remains ambiguous. "Many details of the illustrations in the Hexateuch and Junius 11 accord with details from The Book of Enoch.… It is true that much of this detail could have been transmitted through biblical exegesis and homiletic literature rather than from direct knowledge of I Enoch itself … the aim seems to have been to enrich and emphasise pictorial exegesis of the theology of Judgement and Redemption, rather than to reassert I Enoch as a canonical work" (150).

Catherine E. Karkov, "Judgement and Salvation in the New Minster Liber Vitae," (in *Apocryphal Texts and Traditions*, ed. Powell and Scragg, 151–63) concentrates on the Last Judgment sequence (fols. 6v–7r) and role that the famous depiction of Cnut and Emma donating the cross (6r) plays in this drama in the context of the Liber Vitae (London, BL, MS Stowe 944). She argues that the Last Judgment here is a novel undertaking, because it is both the only surviving representation of the theme in Anglo-Saxon Art and a deliberately

original iconographic conception by Abbot Ælfwine and his artist. Particularly, she argues that "the pictorial representation of the Last Judgment was developed at Winchester in the eleventh century from a combination of generally popular textual sources (including apocrypha) and specifically Winchester iconographic and historiographic traditions, and that in addition to its spiritual significance it represented a potent coming together of the concerns of both the contemporary church and court" (152). The presence of Mary, Michael, and Peter is an "unusual element" in the iconographic program, a combination that Karkov sees as a possible reflection of the visual program of the tower built at the entry to New Minster in the 980s. As described in the preamble to the Liber Vitae, each of the towers's six levels received an individual dedication, which included Mary and her virgins in the lowest, All Saints on the fourth, and Michael and the heavenly powers the fifth. (The dedication of the church itself jointly to the Trinity, Mary, and Peter might argue for a prominent place for the latter in the fourth story.) The tower's position at the entrance to the church parallels the position of the illustration of the Last Judgment at the beginning of the Liber Vitae, Karkov notes. The bishop leading the procession of the saved at the top of folio 6r is identified as +*Algarus* provides a suggestive link to the tower, since this is presumably Æthelgar, first abbot of New Minster at the time the tower was constructed. She writes: "Admittedly, the tower does not provide an exact match for the Liber Vitae drawings, but it is unlikely that anyone in the Winchester community would have been unaware of the way in which the pages with the procession led by Æthelgar would have referenced their own entrance into the church, past the tower that he had built and towards the altar on which the book would have been displayed" (157–8). Contemporary texts, not the tower's possible iconography, provide the sources for the depiction of Mary, Michael, and Peter together as intercessors in the Liber Vitae, she argues. The ultimate source is likely the apocryphal Apocalypse of Mary, while versions of intercessory motif can also be found in several homilies (Vercelli Homily XV and the "Sunday Letter" among others); interestingly, it also provides a thematic tie between five prayers in Ælfwine's Prayerbook, made in the 1020s while Ælfwine was dean of New Minster. "The motif of the intercession of these three saints was particularly popular with Ælfwine, and that it was developed either by him, or under his direction, for the Liber Vitae, a book that is primarily by, for and about the Winchester community and its sense of its own identity under its new abbot" (159). Karkov's findings have broader ramifications. "It is interesting,"

she writes, "that the Last Judgment was as much a part of juridical, particularly royal juridical, discourse in the tenth and eleventh centuries as it was of liturgical texts" (159). She notes that about one quarter of the charters issued by Oswald in the 980s invoke Mary, Peter, and Michael in their sanction clauses. Though there is no clear reason for the sudden popularity of this, it may be that Oswald was influenced by familiar prayers and homilies. Karkov cites Simon Keynes's recent argument for use of similar imagery of heaven, hell, and the last judgment in Vercelli Homily XV, Blickling Homily VII and the charters of the scribe "Athelstan A" in the early tenth century. Though wary of pointing out any direct connection between these early charters and the Liber Vitae, she does argue that the similarities in thematic treatment are important because of the "Liber Vitae's oft-noted resemblance to the New Minster Charter of 966 and because the Liber Vitae is as much a written record of exchange as the charters" (160). Both the Liber Vitae and New Minster Charter present unusual combinations of religious and secular texts, serving both liturgical and archival function. As Karkov explains, the frontispiece of the New Minster Charter pictures Mary and Peter as intercessors for King Edgar as he presents a book to Christ and (implicitly) at the Last Judgment. The introduction and the text of the Charter develop and extend the theme of blessing and damnation for believers and unbelievers, patrons of the monastery and its potential despoilers. Edgar's royal donation to the abbey "is here explicitly linked to salvation" (162). The Liber Vitae frontispiece, as is well known, reflects and extends the iconography of the Charter; Karkov's contribution is to link the frontispiece to the Last Judgment of the succeeding folios.

In "Illustrations of Damnation in late Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *ASE* 32: 231–45, Sarah Semple examines several illustrations from the Harley Psalter (London, BL, MS Harley 603) attributed to "artist F" (who worked ca. 1010-1020). Semple makes the case that these illustrations portray a "uniquely late Anglo-Saxon vision of hell and damnation, a perception of eternal torment" which is the result of a "combination of three influences: political practice, Christian teaching, and local folk belief" (232). As Semple notes, the Harley Psalter is one of the best-known late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Long considered a copy of the Carolingian Utrecht Psalter, the Harley illustrations are increasingly appreciated for the inventive contribution of the Anglo-Saxon scribes and artists who adapted the earlier model for their own purposes. The work of artist F, even more so than his co-workers, departs inventively from the

Utrecht model; this is particularly evident in his creation of new compositions, his expansive and visionary landscapes, and his willingness to incorporate elements from contemporary visual culture into his work. Semple shows us that the Carolingian artists of the Utrecht Psalter depict hell or the opening to hell in four visual topoi: a flaming lake, a furnace/oven, a yawning, monstrous hellmouth, and as open pits or hollows in the landscape containing writhing figures of the damned. While the other Anglo-Saxon artists (artist A and artist B) generally follow these established iconographies fairly accurately, artist F "repeatedly deployed a much-modified form of [the landscape] motif while discarding other elements of Utrecht's iconography, suggesting the motif had a particular appeal to him." (235) She clarifies this observation by demonstrating how artist F introduces both minor and major alterations to the traditional iconography. Instead of "yawning maws and passages … filled with hordes of sinners" artist F prefers "small rocky openings and earth-covered pits containing single figures or small figurative groups." Stylized holes, fissures, and vents are identifying features (e.g. folio 73r); these "convey a feeling of multiple access points to hell, emphasizing the concept that hell and torment were literally immediately below one's feet" (236). More significant differences from Utrecht Psalter can be seen in three illustrations (fols. 71v, 72r, and 67r). Here, artist F depicts figures enclosed in "a space inside a hill or mound" (237). The figures are tormented by coals (71v), decapitated (67r), and punished bodily (adults with severed feet, 72r). All three illustrations, she argues, "may incorporate elements of late Anglo-Saxon secular practice and popular belief" (238). Documentary evidence provided by the laws of Æthelstan, Edgar, Æthelred, and Cnut demonstrate that decapitation and the severing of hands and feet were prescribed punishments; archeological evidence from gravesites show that what the laws proscribed was actual practice so that artist F can be seen to be "portraying contemporary Anglo-Saxon juridical practice. Perhaps more remarkable, it appears that he was also accurately portraying the common landscape context for execution burial" (238) in his evocation of hollows topped by mounds. She adduces further support for the interest in contemporaneous practices and influence of folk beliefs in the illustration of Mabres and Jannes from the "Marvels of the East" in BL Tiberius B.v part I, especially the reliance on the motif of the hollow earth filled with tormented individuals, and clawing monsters. Artist F represents "a distinctly Anglo-Saxon version of hell and damnation … a living-dead existence, trapped within the earth." The scenes evoke contemporary practices

for the disposition of "criminals, suicides, unbaptized, and other sinners in prehistoric and later barrows." (240) Coming back to the larger points of her thesis, Semple demonstrates how the illustrations combine elements of Christian practice, folk-belief, and juridical practice. For the latter, she contends that the work of artist F illustrates the appropriation and exploitation of features of the landscape, particularly barrows and ancient hill forts that are visually prominent, found on political boundaries, and with historical associations, as locations for executions. These marginal landscapes provided "locations that both reinforced the alienation of the criminal from society and allowed the executions to act as powerful warnings against breaking the law" (244). The use of such barrows for this purpose reflected—or initiated—the folk-associations of the barrows with evil; finally, the illustrations are like the sermons of Ælfric and Wulfstan, which describe and criticize popular practices, "using images from the contemporary world to reinforce the message of the biblical text." (245)

"Every pattern tells a story," asserts Derek Hull in the introduction to his *Celtic and Anglo-Saxon Art: Geometric Aspects* (Liverpool: Liverpool UP). Hull is a materials scientist, whose professional focus on the complex patterns formed on surfaces like glass, metals, and plastics set the stage for this detailed study of Anglo-Saxon art. Hull became interested in the geometric elements underlying the construction of Anglo-Saxon designs through chance encounters with Anglo-Saxon sculpture and the discovery of George Bain's book *Celtic Art*. The book contains scores of demonstrations of the construction of geometric designs, simple to complex. Most are taken from well known monuments such as the Book of Kells, the Linidisfarne Gospels, The Book of Durrow, as well as the Bewcastle cross and the Hunterston brooch, though he does include designs found on less-known examples such as the Margam cross and Lonan Old Church cross. As Hull sets out in his introduction, the book's eight chapters adopt a straightforward, linear approach. Chapter 1 introduces basic principles and historical parameters, including a brief overview of early medieval history and art. Hull describes his indebtedness to George Bain's understanding of the construction of geometric patterns, his reservations concerning Bain's approach, and the basic principles that have led Hull to write his own account. The book's trajectory begins with a focus on the larger elements of geometric design and the panels that organize the display of smaller-scale complex designs. Chapter 2 discusses the use of grids, often, but not

always, restricted to squares and rectangles, to generate the basic framework of the carpet pages in the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Donore and Kingston Brooches. This chapter also contains an outline of the methods and materials used in sculpture, metalwork, and manuscripts. Chapter 3 extends this analysis to include more complex "composite panel designs" in which individual panels forming a larger whole nonetheless appear to have been designed independently. Examples are taken from the Lindisfarne Gospels (fol. 210, exhibiting panels in a variety of shapes and sizes filled with spiral and zoomorphic motifs), the Rosemarkie Stone, a canon table (fol. 21) from the St. Petersburg Gospel, initial letters from the St. Gall Gospel Book and the Book of Kells, and the Hunterston Brooch. Chapters 4 and 5 follow a similar pattern, with the former outlining basic principles of the "rules and geometry" used in creating the principal motifs used in Anglo-Saxon art, including symmetry and repetition, while Chapter 5 delves into more complex cases. Again, the Lindisfarne Gospels and the Book of Kells provide most of the examples, though the Cross Page with Evangelist Symbols from MacDurnan Gospels (Lambeth Palace MS 1370, fol. 1v) and the Bewcastle Cross are also discussed. Chapters 6 and 7 move further afield, away from description toward interpretation and from manuscripts to monumental sculpture. Chapter 6, "Interpretation and reconstruction," is based on the work of the earlier chapters in seeking to use the geometric rules and practices to attempt to recreate patterns found on monuments damaged by weathering and destruction. Examples in this chapter come primarily from sculpture, including the partially-broken cross-slab Meigle No. 5, the broken cross-shaft in the Leeds Museum, the Hywel ap Rhys cross, the Abraham Stone in St. David's, the Kilnave Cross, and the Nigg Cross-Slab, though the cross-carpet page from the Book of Durrow (fol. 1v) is also discussed. Chapter 7 deals with the change in patterns in later monuments, where rules that prevailed in earlier centuries are misunderstood, ignored, or (perhaps) deliberately altered. Many of the examples show influence by Viking and Carolingian cultures, and include a variety of monuments in a variety of styles. There is much more room for interpretation here, for example in Hull's description of the cross found at Lonan Old Church (Isle of Man). The continuous interlace pattern on the interior of the cross changes from the regular pattern in the top arm to the more ragged, rule-bending and rule-breaking interlace in the other three arms. In Hull's words, "One has an image of an imperfect cross, a broken cross for a suffering world, a weary man struggling with the change and decay that is the fate of

all mankind—a metaphor in stone for the human condition." (213)

In *Anglo-Saxon Bibles and 'The Book of Cerne,'* (Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts in Microfiche Facsimile 7; MRTS 187 (Tempe: Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2002) A.N. Doane adds fourteen more items to the ongoing microfiche facsimile project. The examples described and presented here are widely varied, from the extensively illustrated Old English Hexateuch (London, BL, MS Cotton Claudius B.iv), the venerable Gospels of St. Augustine (Oxford, Bod. Lib. MS Auct. D.2.14), and a deluxe illuminated Gospel Book (BL Royal 1.D. ix) to the fragments of the "Legend of the Holy Cross before Christ" preserved in Lawrence, Kansas (Spencer Research Library, Pryce MS C2:1) and Cambridge (Corpus Christi College MS 557), and glossary fragments (Pryce MS P2A:1 and Bodl. Lib. Lat. Misc. a.3, f.49). The most extensive description is reserved for Cambridge University Library L.1.1.10, the ninth-century Mercian private prayer book known as The Book of Cerne.

Similarly, Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's contribution to the same series (*Manuscripts containing the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, works by Bede, and other texts*, ASMMF 10; MRTS 253 [Tempe: ACMRS]) adds eight more items, including two versions of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, the C-text found in London, BL, MS Cotton Tiberius B.i (along with the OE *Orosius*, *Menologium*, and *Maxims II* and the E-text or Peterborough Chronicle (Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Laud Misc. 636). Bede is represented by three versions of the *Vita S. Cuthberti* (BL Harley 526, BL Harley 1117, and BL Cotton Vitellius A.xix) and three versions of the *Historia ecclesiastica* (BL Stowe 104, Bodl. Lib. MS Bodley 163, and Bodl. Lib. MS Laud Misc. 243).

B.W.

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7. History and Culture

a. General, Sources and Reference Works

Several important collections of essays appeared this year. A major new collection on the reign of Alfred (*Alfred the Great: Papers from the Eleventh-Centenary Conferences*, ed. Timothy Reuter [Aldershot: Ashgate]) includes a nearly comprehensive survey of current scholarship on the Alfredian era. The volume brings together scholars from a variety of disciplines who all, to one degree or another, explore just how innovative the accomplishments of Alfred's reign were in contemporary terms. James Campbell's "Placing King Alfred" (3–23) is to be admired for its thoroughness as well as its willingness to catalogue the many uncertainties about Alfred's reign, some of which may well be fruitful subjects for future investigation. In "Ædificia nova: Treasures of Alfred's Reign" (79–103), Leslie Webster re-examines the unique attributes of the precious metalwork associated with Alfred's court and investigates possible sources of inspiration. After describing the iconography of the small corpus, which includes three related jewels as well as the famous æstel, the Fuller Brooch, and the Abingdon Sword, Webster considers iconography associated with the court of Charles the Bald for possible sources of inspiration for Alfred's metalwork. Although speculative, her argument of just such a connection is plausible given the cultural connections between Alfred's father's court and the Carolingian court as well as the presence of foreign craftsmen in England. But the greatest connection may be her suggestion that the much-debated image in the æstel is that of Solomon, "the embodiment of kingly wisdom," (102) an affinity for whom Alfred shared with Charles the Bald. Nicholas Brooks's "Alfredian Government: The West Saxon Inheritance" (153–73) considers whether Alfred's governmental and administrative practices were inherited or innovative. Among the practices Brooks considers inherited are a court writing office of sorts; the division of shires into smaller units; hidation for the purpose of defense and renders; and the practice of securing the allegiance of bishops and nobles. What was new, he contends, was that Alfred managed to get a lot more out of his nobles and ceorls, and that he garrisoned boroughs in such a way as to establish England's urban future. In "The Power of the Written Word: Alfredian England 871-899" (175–97), Simon Keynes explores the issue of whether literacy was dead in the decades leading up to Alfred's reign, as the king himself suggests in the preface to his translation of the *Pastoral Care*. Pre-Alfredian charters, Keynes contends, are indicative of a "tradition of 'pragmatic' literacy in Latin and the vernacular" (188) up to the 860s. At the same time, Keynes argues that Alfred's program for distribution of texts, because it appears to have been so well organized (two manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care* indicate at least six scribes working at once), is unlikely to have emerged *ex nihilo*. The topic of David Hill's contribution, "The Origin of Alfred's Urban Policies" (219–33), is the extent to which Alfred's urban policies were innovative for their time. Hill begins with a survey of pre-Alfredian fortified towns before moving on to consider possible continental models such as Pont de l'Arche and Vatican City. Ultimately, the author concludes that Alfred both overhauled an existing system of urban fortification and built new fortified towns as part of a pan-European policy of urban expansion already hinted at by the coinage reforms of his predecessors. Derek Keene's "Alfred and London" (235–49) investigates the king's dramatic effect on the city of London. Keene begins with a brief review of London's history between the seventh and ninth centuries, until which time the economic focus of the city was extra-mural. Ninth-century coins indicate the city was still under the control of Mercian kings until the Vikings drove them out. Alfred then appears in control, coincident with an economic shift from outside to inside the city walls. Keene interprets Alfred's cession of control of (but not autonomy over) London to Ealdorman Æthelred of Mercia as a sign that he envisioned the city as a "forward defense in a militarized zone" (242), perhaps even a royal seat consolidating West Saxon and Mercian identity. This was, of course,

not to be, as London did not emerge as such until well into the thirteenth century. Women do not appear all that frequently in the story of Alfred, then or now, but Pauline Stafford attempts to redress this imbalance in "Succession and Inheritance: A Gendered Perspective on Alfred's Family History" (251–64). Using record sources and other "unofficial" evidence, Stafford shows just how messy West Saxon family politics were in the second half of the ninth century, particularly leading up to Alfred's accession in 871. Among the topics she considers are how the reorganization of Alfred's father's lands in the 850s, an event not recorded in "official" sources, shook up the family; the importance of Judith, his father's widow and his brother, Æthelbald's, queen, both of whom are omitted from Alfred's will; and the story of the "evil Eadburgh," which is promoted as a reason for why West Saxons did not have consecrated queens. As Stafford shows, viewed from unofficial sources, "ninth-century Wessex looks more like the Carolingians, or like its own tenth-century English successor—messier and more contingent, driven not only by diplomacy and plans for unity, but also by family accident, rivalries, arguments and alliances" (264). Richard Abels considers "Alfred the Great, the *micel hæðen here* and the viking threat" (265–79) and concludes that although the *micel here* may have been great in size, it was not a single, organized army. Rather, the viking forces operating in England in the 860s through the 890s were composite bands that on occasion temporarily coalesced for mutual gain, but which were also constantly in flux in terms of their leadership and personnel. As F.L. Attenborough argued in 1922 (*The Laws of the Earliest English Kings*), *here* is best translated as a 'raid'. Ine's law stating that a group of mauraders numbering thirty-six or more should be called a *here* is not relevant to the size of armies, properly speaking, in early Anglo-Saxon England. Frankish sources show that numerous different viking bands were in various locales under a multitude of leaders, and as these same vikings criss-crossed the Channel in search of plunder, there is no reason to think that they organized their forces any differently when on English soil. And just as Charles the Bald struck an agreement with the viking leader Weland to drive a different band of vikings from the island of Jeufosse in the Seine, so Alfred established Guthrum in East Anglia. Finally, Abels suggests that the defensive system that Alfred created was designed to deal with simultaneous attacks by different bands, not to prevent a single organized conquest. If the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* presents the viking threat as such a monolith, it was to enhance Alfred's reputation. Alfred's ability to meet the viking threat is explored in Edwin

and Joyce Gifford's "Alfred's New Longships" (281–9). The authors report on trial results of half-scale models they built of two Anglo-Saxon ships: the twenty-seven meter ship from Mound One at Sutton Hoo and the smaller, fourteen meter trading vessel from ca. 900 Kent. Based on the performance of the former, they are convinced that the full-scale model was capable of an impressive half-day run from Canterbury to France and a three-day run from Suffolk to Jutland. Three features apparently gave it remarkable versatility: "the combination of high speed, shallow draft and surf-beach landing" (281). Alfred's accomplishments are placed in a wider perspective in several articles. In "Alfred's Carolingian Contemporaries" (293–310), Janet Nelson considers the distinctiveness of Alfred's rule relative to those of his Carolingian counterparts. Concentrating principally on his possible contacts with the Continent as a child and later in life, the dynastic strategies he employed, and the machinery of his government, Nelson concludes that there were more similarities than difference. She notes, however, that in terms of the style of his kingship, which she considers more direct and intimate than that of his contemporaries, he had more in common with Charlemagne than with the emperor's heirs, Alfred's own peers. Likewise, Anton Scharer argues for both similarities and differences between the reigns of Alfred and Arnulf of Carinthia in "Alfred the Great and Arnulf of Carinthia: A Comparison" (311–21). The greatest similarity between the two was apparently the illnesses they suffered; the greatest difference that little is known of Arnulf's patronage of the arts or his interest in education either lay or ecclesiastical. Wendy Davies provides a brief but informative overview of "Alfred's contemporaries: Irish, Welsh, Scots and Breton" (323–37). She describes the political structures within which Alfred's western contemporaries operated and comments on their interactions with Wessex and their problems with vikings. Finally, she contextualizes Alfred as one of several Insular rulers who earned the cognomen "the Great" or who came to be regarded as heroes. And finally, also useful for specialists in Anglo-Saxonism is Barbara Yorke's "Alfredism: The Use and Abuse of King Alfred's Reputation in Later Centuries" (361–380), whose focus is primarily on appropriations of Alfred in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. An especially valuable aspect of Yorke's essay is its immunity to the reductive tendencies of some recent scholarship on Anglo-Saxonism, in which attempts to imaginatively reconstruct or appropriate pre-Conquest England are almost invariably categorized as instances of "nationalism," usually of the conservative sort. Yorke's essay

offers further evidence that the multiplicity of meanings Alfred acquired as a political icon sometimes exceeds the descriptive powers of much present-day scholarship.

One of the virtues of *The Cross Goes North: Processes of Conversion in Northern Europe, AD 300–1300*, a collection edited by Martin Carver (Woodbridge: York Medieval Press), is its inclusion of a number of studies that focus on the material traces of the conversion era in specific localities. David Stocker and Paul Everson ("The Conversion of Landscape in the Witham Valley," 271–88) focus on how conversion affected "the central part of the Witham valley in Lincolnshire" (272), an area unusually favored for the construction of monasteries and churches from the Roman era into the fourteenth century. Stocker and Everson conclude, given the abundant pre-Christian archaeological finds within the valley, that even before the arrival of Christianity the Witham valley "was clearly a meaningful symbolic landscape," and perhaps favored for the construction of sacred buildings for this very reason given the familiar advice of Pope Gregory to Abbot Mellitus that heathen temples be employed in Christian worship rather than destroyed (283–84). Philip Rahtz and Lorna Watts ("Three Ages of Conversion at Kirkdale, North Yorkshire," 289–310) reveal how St. Gregory's Minster is a palimpsest containing the vestiges of many conversions undergone by the peoples of York from the Roman era onward. The church contains a fascinating Old English inscription dating to the second half of the eleventh century, in which Orm, the son of Gamal, takes credit for its restoration. The authors speculate that among Orm's motives in undertaking the restoration of the church may have been "a spirit of piety to a place revered as one of considerable importance in pre-Viking times … rekindling the light of an earlier age of faith" (307). A less idealized picture of the late ninth-century Scandinavians who settled in the area subsequently known as the Danelaw is the object of Julian D. Richards's "Pagans and Christians at a Frontier: Viking Burial in the Danelaw" (383–96). Richards begins with a complaint that the picture of the Scandinavian population of pre-Conquest England disseminated by most contemporary scholarship—that of "peaceful immigrant[s] and trader[s] eager to take on all the trappings of the host society, including its religion"—is not only oversimplified, but also a cultural stereotype deserving to be paired with the more familiar, and perhaps equally egregious, image of the Vikings as "comic-book archetypal pagans" utterly lacking in "respect for person or property" (383). Evidence for a more complex view of

how pre-Conquest Scandinavians settling in England underwent Christianization is to be found in "the different burial and conversion strategies represented at Repton and Heath Wood," the two sites possibly "represent[ing] a division in the Viking camp, the first group preferring legitimation through association with the Mercian site, the other preferring traditional pagan values" (393). Richards argues throughout his essay for a more thorough appreciation of the ideological diversity of Viking settlements in the late ninth century.

Helen Geake's "The Control of Burial Practice in Anglo-Saxon England" (*The Cross Goes North,* 259–69) seeks to account for a paradox in Anglo-Saxon burials: while they show a kind of uniformity that suggests they were "actively controlled and managed" by a particular group of people, the Church is the least likely candidate to have assumed such responsibilities given that at least one "major change in burial practice … had surprisingly little to do with any deliberate decision on the part of the institutionalised Church" (261). Geake finds a possible solution to this quandary in the graves described as those of "cunning women" by Audrey Meaney in *Anglo-Saxon Amulets and Curing Stones* (Oxford, 1981: 249–62), and argues that these women may well have been "death-midwives," parallels for which are to be found in Greece (264). The main evidence for Geake's argument is Ibn Fadlan's description of "the extravagant and theatrical burial of a Rus' chief soon after 920 A.D." presided over by the very sort of "death midwife" whose existence Geake posits in Anglo-Saxon England (265). Though doubt has arisen over whether the woman described in the account as *Malak al Maut,* "Messenger of Death," was Scandinavian or Slavic, the profusion of "features known to be characteristic of north-west European burial practices" in the narrative make the conclusion that the woman "knew what was right for Vikings to do … inescapable" (265). Audrey Meaney's "Anglo-Saxon Pagan and Early Christian Attitudes to the Dead" (*The Cross Goes North,* 229–41), offers a thorough overview of current scholarly opinion on this broad subject, and argues for the revisionist conclusion that the division between pagan and Christian burial practices may not have been as stark as the current consensus of scholarship would have it. Conventionally, the provision of grave goods and other acknowledgments of the status of the deceased are associated with pre-conversion burials, the humbler alternative being reserved for Christians. Yet Meaney argues that "[t]he earliest identifiable unfurnished churchyard burials cannot have been the burials of Anglo-Saxon Christians; the chronological gap between them and the sixth-century

pagan inhumations is too great" (240). Readers are also invited to consider that the "gradual changes in ritual" evident in early Anglo-Saxon burial sites include those "beginning perhaps even before the conversion," while some post-conversion cemeteries may even show evidence of a self-consciously pagan "reaction to Christianity" (241). All of this has implications for the status of the peculiar burial mound in Felix's *Life of St. Guthlac*, and Meaney's essay begins with a lengthy discussion of this episode that will be of interest to specialists in literature as well as historians. Barbara Yorke ("Christianity at the Anglo-Saxon Royal Courts" 243–57) takes up the matter of what may have been at stake politically in the sanctification of conversion-era kings, specifically those kings "who voluntarily resigned their thrones to enter monasteries," a phenomenon Yorke associates with a "second phase of conversion when Christianity became the only religion practised by the Anglo-Saxon royal houses, and the only religion officially allowed within their kingdoms" (245). She is specifically interested in why this phenomenon seems not to have been an enduring feature of relations between kings and the Church. Yorke notes that this gesture is likely to have possessed significations beyond those allowed for in our extant accounts. It has been, as Yorke notes, something of a commonplace that life within a monastery "was not necessarily particularly ascetic nor lacking in many of the luxuries and pastimes of the royal court," something which allows for the possibility that the motives of the monk-kings need not always have been strictly penitential (247). These circumstances, combined with church resistance to the establishment in holy orders of those involved in warfare, may help to explain why "the king-saint was not a phenomenon that early Anglo-Saxon churchmen seem to have been keen to promote" (253). Yet royal involvement in monastic houses did not cease; rather, it was an obligation that seems to have been transferred to widowed queens and princesses, whose less onerous secular obligations perhaps left them greater liberty for religious pursuits. The change was attractive, according to Yorke, because of the possibility that retirement to a monastery may have come to connote humiliation more than the attainment of new spiritual depths, particularly given the Frankish practice of compelling one's adversaries to enter monasteries "as an alternative to killing them" (253). Shifting this obligation to women of the royal household also allowed kings to retain, this time under Christian auspices, the aura of sacrality that royal lines seem likely to have enjoyed in the era before conversion, given the conventional derivation of kings from pre-Christian deities in royal genealogies.

The location of the Synod of Whitby is pursued by P.S. Barnwell, L.A.S. Butler and C.J. Dunn in "The Confusion of Conversion: Streanæshalch, Strensall and Whitby and the Northumbrian Church" (*The Cross Goes North,* 311–26). The earliest sources fix the site of the Council of 664 at *Streanæshalch,* the place-name "Whitby" being attested first in Domesday Book. The plainly Scandinavian etymology of the latter forbids its having been "applied [to the site of the Council] earlier than the ninth century: while this means that there must have been an earlier name, there is no firm evidence to suggest what that name was" (313). Matters are made more difficult by the fact that the most plausible meaning of the admittedly dark compound *Streanæshalch*—'a piece of property of angular shape, probably low-lying, and perhaps in the angle of the river', according to the authors—is a poor description of Whitby, but a precise fit for "the two places called Strensall in Worcestershire … and [for] the Strensall five miles (8 km) north of York" (314). The authors settle on the York location, conceding with excessive modesty that their conclusions are "almost entirely informed speculation" (325) since they are, in fact, bolstered by a remarkable wealth of evidence that readers from many subfields of Anglo-Saxon studies are likely to find both compelling and interesting. Catherine Karkov's "The Body of St. Æthelthryth" (397–412) reads, through Foucauldean and Marxian lenses, the appropriations of the virgin queen and abbess both by Bede and, to a greater extent, by Bishop Æthelwold of Winchester, whose reform of Ely "not only succeeded in bringing new wealth and importance to the community, but also in creating a direct relationship between the age of reform and the age of conversion via a fetishistic collection of objects and images that took the place of the concealed saint" (402). Much of Karkov's essay is devoted to a detailed analysis of the image of St. Æthelthryth in Æthelwold's Benedictional, ultimately according to this and other representations of the saint "the self-generating value of the Marxist fetish" (410). The statues, sarcophagus, and painted image are unified in their "enclos[ure] and then replace[ment of] the desired object … dependent on the one present yet absent body of Æthelthryth and the reification of her story and her role in the creation of the English church. The story of Æthelthryth, like Bede's story of the conversion, is all about sex, desire and the absent woman" (411). That Æthelwold's uses of Æthelthryth conform to such a pattern illustrates the continuity of discourses about conversion in which "queens become the objects through which Christianization is achieved, rather than active agents in conversion … [t]he desired body disappear[ing] behind a mask of text" (398).

From the Vikings to the Normans, edited by Wendy Davies (Oxford: Oxford UP), turns out not to be about the transformation of the Vikings into the Normans, as one might suppose; it is part of the Short Oxford History of the British Isles, covering the period from 800 to 1100. Wendy Davies's "Introduction" (1–8) foregrounds the historiographic debates over the events of this time, as well as the less contentious issues being investigated and the methodological problems that arise. Pauline Stafford's chapter on "Kings, Kingships, and Kingdoms" (11–71) begins with an overview of the political and physical geography of the British Isles. She then discusses the nature of kingship in these places, their succession practices, their relationship to the law and to the Church, the material resources available to them, and the impact of the Vikings and the Normans. Overall, she emphasizes the underlying similarities of Celtic and Anglo-Saxon kingship. Barbara E. Crawford's chapter on "The Vikings" (41–71) concentrates on their raiding, invading, and settling in the British Isles. David Griffiths's chapter on "Exchange, Trade, and Urbanization" (73–104) starts with a discussion of what constitutes a town and an overview of the rise of towns in the British Isles in this period. He then describes how wealth was exchanged and measured, the upheavals of the ninth century, towns as centers of power, and the rise of commerce from 917-1100. Robin Fleming's chapter on "Lords and Labour" (107–37) provides an excellent and entertaining account of what landowners did with the fruits of their dependents' work. She begins with the ninth-century transformation of large estates and their small, scattered settlements into much smaller parcels that were bestowed on thanes and that encouraged the development of villages. After comparing this with the transformation of the Irish landscape from one of ringforts and *tuatha* to one of rectangular houses, proto-villages, and a greater number of unfree farmers, she goes on to compare the status-display practices of the English, Irish, and Welsh aristocracy in the areas of dress, food, and piety. When discussing "The Christianization of Society" (139–67), Huw Pryce is careful to give a balanced picture. He notes the attacks on churches by native Christian rulers as well as by pagan Vikings, and he characterizes the well-known tenth-century Benedictine movement for monastic reform as limited in its effects. Sections on ecclesiastical organization and pastoral care, clerical behavior, ecclesiastical wealth and power, the conversion of the Vikings, and Christian influence on the life of the laity all receive the same even-handed treatment. Pragmatically, he concludes that for the vast majority of Christians, both clergy and laity, religion was probably essentially a matter of tapping supernatural power through appropriate rituals rather than internalizing the kinds of exemplary behavior prescribed by ecclesiastical reformers. Dáibhí Ó Cróinín's chapter on "Writing" (169–200) deals with the textual culture of the British Isles during this period, primarily from the perspective of Latinity. He is concerned with absence as well as presence, for example explaining why certain kinds of manuscripts have not survived, but a notable absence from his own text is any discussion of the preservation of Old English poetry. John Gillingham's chapter on "Britain, Ireland, and the South" (203–32) begins by explaining that for most of the period in question, with the exception of Kent and London, influences from the south were slight when compared with the impact made by traders, settlers, and rulers coming from Scandinavia. This changed in England, starting in the 1040s, when a rapid intensification of political, commercial, intellectual, and artistic relations with the continent transformed English political and ecclesiastical culture. The process of Europeanization in Ireland, Scotland, and Wales was in contrast much slower. The developments he treats in detail are the Gregorian reform movement, the Norman conquest of England, and the First Crusade. In each of those sections, he is careful to describe the repercussions of the developments in the Celtic realms as well. He also debunks the idea that the Normans introduced the feudal system into England, calling the differences a terminological shift rather than a significant social change (218). In the "Conclusion" (233–41), Wendy Davies apologizes for omitting any theme that the reader may have expected to find, and she ends with a few words regarding the complexity of ethnicity in the British Isles during this period, the striking increase in wealth, and the English expansion.

The volume produced from the Proceedings of the First Alcuin Conference, *Court Culture in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. C. Cubitt (Turnhout: Brepols) contains much of interest to Anglo-Saxonists even though the majority of the essays deal with Carolingian Francia rather than Anglo-Saxon England. Catherine Cubitt's "Introduction" (1–15) opens the volume, and as the title suggests, introduces the reader to the historiography of "court studies," early modern as well as early medieval. As she notes, the new emphasis is on the polyfocal nature of the court, which is no longer seen simply as a means of exerting royal power. The core of Cubitt's essay is her description of the role each essay in the volume plays in contributing to this new approach. James Campbell takes up the subject of "Anglo-Saxon

Courts" (155–169), especially their itinerant nature in the early Anglo-Saxon period. The evidence he considers for peripatetic courts is related to provisioning, household officials, tents, horses and the like, but he is also concerned with the importance of the hunt and the relationship between royal courts and the Church. In "Persuasion and Invention at the Court of King Alfred the Great" (189–221), David Pratt considers anew the "revival of wisdom" at King Alfred's court and the ways in which the iconography of the period reflects the importance of this concept. Thus Pratt begins by exploring the importance of instilling wisdom in the court as a whole before launching into a detailed examination of the artifacts associated with Alfred's reign, which he believes exemplify the king's "love of wisdom." Most are well known: namely the Alfred and Minster Lovell Jewels, the Bowleaze and Warminster fittings and the Fuller Brooch. More interesting is his discussion of the candle-lantern known only from Asser's text. Pratt argues that this innovative device for protecting candles also allowed Alfred to divide the day into equinoctial rather than temporal hours, thus allowing him to devote half his day to God and the other half to worldly pursuits. In the end, Pratt sees all of the objects produced under Alfred's aegis as tangible reminders of the role wisdom was supposed to play at his court.

Alcuin & Charlemagne: The Golden Age of York (York: Yorkshire Museum), by Mary Garrison, Dominic Tweddle, and Janet L. Nelson, was produced to accompany the exhibition "Alcuin and Charlemagne" held at the Yorkshire Museum in 2001. Illustrated with many fine color photographs and two maps, it presents lively biographical sketches of Alcuin and Charlemagne (by Mary Garrison and Janet L. Nelson, respectively), an introduction to the catalogue (by Dominic Tweddle), and a descriptive catalog of the fifty-nine objects exhibited; these range from homely glass beads to elaborately decorated luxury items such as the Ormside Bowl and the Lothair Crystal.

The year saw yet another demonstration of Anglo-Saxon England's overlooked importance to recent trends within the humanities. *Naked Before God: Uncovering the Body in Anglo-Saxon England,* edited by Benjamin C. Withers and Jonathan Wilcox (Morgantown: West Virginia UP) aims to provide, among other things, "the first extensive catalogue to date of surviving representations of unclothed bodies and bare body parts from Anglo-Saxon England" (7), an exercise justified according to Withers by the dismissive or reductive ways in which many contemporary art historians deal with

the representation of nude bodies in the Middle Ages. Suzanne Lewis's Introduction argues forcefully that Anglo-Saxon culture should not remain untouched by the burgeoning interest in the social construction of the body as well as the more recent resurgence of the "phenomenological" study of "the embodied nature of consciousness," pursuits which Lewis does not regard as necessarily in conflict, and which, when considered in concert with more traditional "material approaches to the medieval body," offer the possibility of considering the body as "a dynamic site of being in all its multiplicities" (19). *Naked Before God* is replete with examples of how attentiveness to current debates in medieval studies can enliven discussions of Old English texts, among them Mary Richards's "The Body as Text in Early Anglo-Saxon Law" (97–115), which offers a vivid demonstration of the ways in which the relatively new interest in the social construction of the body can enrich the study of pre-Conquest legislation. Richards's project in this essay is both innovative and deeply traditional. Though ostensibly Richards examines the legislation of Æthelberht and Alfred in order to abstract from their provisions the form of the legal ceremony by which settlements for wounds would be arbitrated, her approach to this problem is informed by an awareness of bodies as texts. Anglo-Saxon codes would seem to invite such an approach given their characteristic lists of tariffs that are plainly predicated upon the notion that bodies bear "both the evidence of a crime and the means to determine restitution" (98). Richards's essay is meant to supplement earlier work by Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe on legislation of the tenth and eleventh centuries and demonstrates the existence in earlier legislation of a somewhat different network of assumptions about bodily signification than that discussed by O'Keeffe. By showing the centrality of Old English texts to broader discussions within the humanities, Richards's essay, and the volume in which it appears, do a valuable service for Anglo-Saxon studies.

Three of the eight essays in *Women and Religion in Medieval England*, ed. D. Wood (Oxford: Oxbow) deal with Anglo-Saxon women, beginning with Sally Crawford's contribution, "Anglo-Saxon Women, Furnished Burial, and the Church" (1–12). Crawford's principal concern is female mortuary assemblages and the difficulty of interpreting conversion burials with both pagan and Christian characteristics. What does it mean, for example, when women are buried in pagan settings (i.e. outside churchyards) but with grave goods featuring Christian symbols? Or, when grave goods become less common, was it necessarily the influence of

Christianity or simply changes in fashion? Ultimately, Crawford summarizes various positions for what these graves might mean for the role of burial in general in establishing and maintaining family status as well as the ability of the early Church to compete with these practices by offering, for example, churchyard burial. In "Unveiling Anglo-Saxon Nuns," (13–31), Sarah Foot traces the contours of the female monastic experience in England from the ninth to the eleventh centuries. Foot begins with a short historiographical review before briefly sketching the history of the double-house, the reasons for its disappearance, and the types of communities that replaced it. Some consideration is also given to female religious houses that were not nunneries in the strictest sense and to vowesses, who were probably more common in late Anglo-Saxon England than nuns. This is, in many ways, a précis of her two-volume study of medieval nuns, *Veiled Women*, reviewed here in 2000. Two other essays, "Women and the Word of God" (32–45) by Henrietta Leyser and "Medieval Nunneries in England and Wales: Building, Precincts, and Estates" (46–90) by James Bond are not specific to the Anglo-Saxon period. The former examines evidence for the role of learning and books in female spirituality, mostly after the Conquest, and concludes that in many cases the newest forms of spirituality, such as the growing interest in the physicality of Jesus, were patronized first by women. The latter is a general survey of post-Conquest orders, including topics such as the chronology of foundations, their settings, anchorite cells, and the orientation of cloisters, among others.

Ann Williams opens the volume, *A Companion to the Anglo-Norman World*, ed. C. Harper-Bill and E. Van Houts (Woodbridge: Boydell), with "England in the Eleventh Century" (1–18), a topic upon which she has written extensively. Williams's historical survey sets the context for the thematic essays that follow. After reviewing the contemporary sources, she establishes the framework of eleventh-century English government, in particular the creation of the earldoms and the role of the earls in eleventh-century politics, showing how the delicate balance between royal and comital power tipped back and forth over the course of the eleventh century. In "England, Normandy and Scandinavia" (43–62), Lesley Abrams masterfully presents a brief yet thorough summary of the political, cultural, ecclesiastical, and economics interactions between Normandy and its parent Scandinavia in the tenth, eleventh, and twelfth centuries. Although evidence is sadly lacking in many areas, Abrams ably leads the non-specialist, dispensing along the way well-informed judgments both

of the evidence we have and of the conclusions that other scholars have drawn from it.

Important new monographs also appeared in 2003. David Rollason's *Northumbria, 500-1100: Creation and Destruction of a Kingdom* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP) is an engaging survey of the impact of change on England's northernmost region over the course of the Early Middle Ages. Its strength lies in its interdisciplinary approach, in which archaeological, art historical, architectural, numismatic, linguistic and codicological evidence is marshaled alongside the relatively sparse written evidence. Also nicely illustrated, the book is divided into three parts treating the creation and destruction of Northumbria. The first part consists of two introductory chapters on sources and geography. The creation of the kingdom of Northumbria at the hands of the barbarians is the focus of the second part; here Rollason tests three models by which it may have come into being, and while he does not settle on one, the pros and cons he sketches imply he favors a dramatic conquest rather a peaceful transition from either Roman or British rule. Because there is no evidence for the study of the "transitional" society, Rollason moves on to examine the forces that shaped the Christian culture of the early kingdom. While he finds influences from Ireland, the Mediterranean and the Holy Land, Rollason argues persuasively for the formative influence of the Roman Church and the resulting cosmopolitan nature of the Northumbrian Church. Where the previous two chapters dealt with ethnicity and culture, the last chapter in the second part examines the political framework of the pre-Viking kingdom, emphasizing once again the predominance of the Church, especially in York. The last part is devoted to the Viking destruction of the kingdom and the "successor states" which appeared for a brief time before they, too, were swallowed up either by kings of England or Scotland. Here the emphasis is also on change, but it must be said that these last two chapters are less compelling than the preceding five. Perhaps this is due to the fact that the changes themselves were less dramatic. This is not to take away from the importance of this book, which not only elucidates the history of northern England in this period, but also provides valuable discussions of the sources, both primary and secondary, for its study.

Stephen Pollington's monograph on *The Mead Hall: The Feasting Tradition in Anglo-Saxon England* (Hockwold-cum-Wilton: Anglo-Saxon Books) unites archeology with literature and myth in an analysis of the

Anglo-Saxon hall in reality and ideology. A chapter on "Feasting and Society" distinguishes between the formal feast (the *symbel*) and the informal drinking party (the *gebeorscipe*) and, concentrating on the former, considers its participants, organization, and social functions. "Living Space: The Hall in Reality" surveys what is known about Anglo-Saxon construction and carpentry pertaining to the hall, its furniture, and their development over time. "Ritual Space: The Hall in Ideology" elaborates on this theme from the first chapter, arguing that for Anglo-Saxons, hall life was the good life. "Food and Feasting Equipment" surveys what is known about Anglo-Saxon food, drink, tableware, and costume. "Positions of Power" elaborates on the earlier analysis of the participants in the *symbel*, and "Entertainment" gives a brief introduction to Anglo-Saxon storytelling, poetry, music, musical instruments, riddles, and board games. Three appendices touch on "Hall- and Feasting-Themes in Old English Verse," provide a large number of excerpts of relevant Old English texts in facing-page Old English and Modern English translation, and summarize "The Structure and Origins of the Warband." *The Mead Hall* relies for the most part on scholarly sources, but its value is diminished by the assumptions that *Beowulf* gives a reliable picture of Anglo-Saxon reality, that the first-person narrators of *Deor* and *The Seafarer* are the authors of those poems, and that the works of Tacitus and Snorri Sturluson can be freely used to augment our understanding of Anglo-Saxon reality and ideology. Wealhþeow is not a "spaewife" (48; Pollington seems to think of her as a kind of Old Norse *vǫlva*), and we may not "safely assume that every household had a 'lord'" (181). Moreover, even sections that appear plausible are not certain. For example, much of the discussion of Anglo-Saxon food depends on Ann Hagen's works (*A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food: Processing and Consumption* [Pinner, 1992] and *A Second Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Food and Drink: Production and Distribution* [Hockwald-cum-Wilton, 1995]), which are not academic studies, and a third work of Hagen's from 2000 is cited but does not appear in the bibliography. A very scientific-sounding description of the *symbel*'s seventeen steps presents elements such as "The guest replies with a *beot*" and "The *þyle* challenges the guest's *beot*" as standard actions in Anglo-Saxon reality, gives the Gothic translation of the parable of prodigal son as the evidence for the step "The lord takes the first drink," and provides no sources at all for steps such as "The company stands ready, until the lord enters the hall."

Christopher Snyder's delightful historical survey of *The Britons* (Oxford: Blackwell) extends the Core-

Periphery model of Iron-Age Britain up through the Norman Conquest. Part I deals with "Romans and Britons," but most relevant for Anglo-Saxonists are Parts II ("The Brittonic Age") and III ("A People Divided"). "The Brittonic Age" refers to fifth- and sixth-century Britain, and the chapter on "Britons and Saxons" argues for a minimal invasion coupled with Brittonic desertion of eastern Britain. Other arguments made here include the reliability of Gildas's account, agnosticism regarding a historical Arthur, and the likelihood of deep hostility between the British and the Anglo-Saxons. The chapter on "The British Church" dismisses the notion of a "Celtic Church," but although Irish and British Christians are held to be as orthodox as their English brethren, Snyder does find "something distinct" (136) about the spirituality of the Celtic-speaking world, which he attributes in part to its conservatism. "A People Divided" examines the Britons between 600 and 1000, when they become isolated in four geographical areas. The first is covered in a chapter on "Brittany and Galicia," but the second is "Cornwall and the Southwest." Southwest England is declared to be in "the Periphery," making it a hybrid zone in which Britons and Saxons alternately fought, traded, formed alliances, and came to share a common faith. In contrast, most of Cornwall falls into the "Outer Zone," where Britons mixed less with Saxons and remained culturally conservative. The third area of isolation consists of "Wales and the Isle of Man." Snyder sees Wales—with its Outer-Zone location, conservatism, and strong ties to the past—as defining medieval "Britishness" (177), even as its contributions to the medieval mainstream were being overlooked by its neighbors. The fourth area of isolation was that part of the Outer Zone inhabited by "Northern Britons." Here Snyder points out the shared linguistic heritage of the Brittonic north and the Brittonic south and stresses the continuity between Iron-Age and early-Christian Scotland. Part IV ("Conquest, Survival, and Revival") covers the effects of the Norman Conquest and surveys Brittonic language and literature from the eleventh through the fifteenth centuries. The conclusion gives some of the history of the Britons from the late Middle Ages to the present; it also reviews the development of the modern concept of "the Celtic" and the acceptance and skepticism that it has received from scholars.

Cross-cultural ties are the subject of Joanna Story's *Carolingian Connections: Anglo-Saxon England and Carolingian Francia, c. 750-870* (Aldershot: Ashgate). Six chapters describing the relations between these two kingdoms are framed by an introductory chapter on the sources and their past interpretation and a conclusion

pulling everything together. Chapter two uses Symeon of Durham and Bede to illuminate the possible connections between Pippin and Eadberht of Northumbria as well as the influence of Anglo-Saxon missionaries on the Continent. The focus of chapter three is the legatine mission to England in the late eighth century, which culminated in a report bearing enough similarities to Carolingian capitularies as to reflect "Franco-papal response to the problems of later eighth-century Northumbria" (90). Subsequent chapters investigate commonalities between Frankish historical writing and the work of Symeon of Durham; Anglo-Saxon exiles at Charlemagne's court; Carolingian influence on Mercian ideas of kingship; the links between the West Saxon and Frankish courts in the ninth century. There is much of value in this broad survey, but the organization leaves a bit to be desired.

Ann Williams's *Athelred the Unready: The Ill-Counselled King* (London: Hambledon) is an engaging narrative of the life and reign of this often maligned Anglo-Saxon king. Drawing on her impressive knowledge of both the primary sources and the secondary literature, Williams weaves a tale of mismanagement, mayhem and murder, as much the result of court politics as Vikings raids. One of Williams's strengths is prosopography, and in detailing the composition and activities of the royal court throughout the various phases of his reign, she is able to show that the fault for England's many problems in this period often lay as much with the king's lay and ecclesiastical advisors as with Æthelred himself. Here Williams makes an important contribution to the historiography of this period, which has tended to focus on Æthelred's personal shortcomings, as if he existed in a political, military and economic vacuum. Williams offers no major reassessments, but the text offers both a lively overview and some very useful treatments of political, military, and administrative topics such as the shiring of the Midlands, coinage, and legislative activities.

Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the Islamic World (Cambridge: Cambridge UP) are really the subject only of the middle of Katharine Scarfe Beckett's elegant and erudite monograph. In order to understand Bede's references to Ismaelites and Saracens, she starts with four chapters dealing with Islam during the Anglo-Saxon period (ch. 2), Anglo-Saxon contacts with Islam (ch. 3), Arabs and Arabia in earlier Latin works (ch. 4), and Ismaelites and Saracens in earlier Latin works (ch. 5). Only then does she turn to the question of Arabs, Ismaelites, and Saracens in early Anglo-Latin (ch. 6),

Anglo-Saxon knowledge of Pseudo-Methodius's work mentioning the sons of Ismael (ch. 7), and Arabs, Ismaelites, and Saracens in Old English (ch. 8). Because she is also interested in investigating the accuracy of assertions about the Middle Ages made in certain theoretical works about Orientalism, she further supplies a chapter discussing pre-Crusade ideas about Saracens that persisted in post-conquest England (ch. 9). She is then able to make a good case that modern concepts of imperialism and Orientalism do not apply before 1100 (231–34). Perhaps most fascinating of all, it appears that, despite extensive information available about Arabs and Saracens, authors and readers in Anglo-Saxon England seem not to have known of Islam. "Arabs" were found in a few classical and Biblical references, but the name was not used of any contemporary peoples. Jerome established that "Saracens" (a word of uncertain origin) referred to the Biblical descendants of Ismael, who, ashamed of their servant ancestress Hagar, falsely called themselves Saracens to suggest that they were of Sarah's blood. Anglo-Saxon authors thus inherited an understanding of Saracens as behaving as Ismaelites should, living as violent raiders on the edge of civilization, worshipping false gods, and persecuting Christians in the neighboring Holy Land. However, there was no equation of Saracens with Muslims.

To begin with the most important point, Ian Howard's book on *Swein Forkbeard's Invasions and the Danish Conquest of England, 991-1017* (Woodbridge: Boydell) cannot be recommended as a treatment of that subject. As a synthesis of earlier scholarship and a presentation of the sequence of historical events, it is badly written and difficult to follow. New views are scarce; Howard several times asserts that Æthelred II has not received sufficient credit for his achievements as king, but this is to be covered in a future book. Another major thesis is that the chronology of Snorri Sturluson's thirteenth-century history of the kings of Norway (*Heimskringla*) is incorrect: St. Olaf ruled for ten or eleven years, not fifteen. This argument proceeds without reference to the modern critical edition of the work, its discussion of Snorri's chronology (*Heimskringla*, 2nd ed., vol. 2, ed. Bjarni Aðalbjarnarson [Reykjavík, 1979], lxxxviii–xcviii), or that in the most recent study of *Heimskringla* (Sverre Bagge, *Society and Politics in Snorri Sturluson's Heimskringla* [Berkeley, 1991], 32–57). We also learn that in Anglo-Saxon England, the motivation for writing anything down was to facilitate spoken communication (3), and that the members of the king's council (assumed to be at least 125 in number) returned to their own regions and convened local meetings at which

they repeated what they had heard to seventy-five local leaders, and each of the latter communicated the message to twenty-five other people, so that more than 10% of the population would have been informed about the council's deliberations (2). The most plausible original work is found in Appendix 2, which reconstructs part of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* entry for 1008. Howard argues that the problematic passage derives from a taxation schedule and was meant to convey that "selected units of three hundred hides should provide a ship plus [a helmet and corselet] for every ten hides … selected units of ten hundred hides should provide a large warship plus a helmet and corselet for every eight hides" (165).

The last monograph under review here is Peter Hunter Blair's *An Introduction to Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), first published in 1956, was revised in 1977, and it is this revised text that was reissued in 2003 in its third edition with an updated bibliography and a new introduction by Simon Keynes ("Introduction: Changing Perceptions of Anglo-Saxon History"). As Keynes notes, the text is "well established among the classics of historical writing on the subject" (xxi), faster in pace and lighter in touch than Stenton's famous volume on whose heels it was first published. Keynes's introduction deals largely with changes in the field since the original printing and even the second edition, notably the impact of archaeology, literary criticism, numismatics, and codicology. Greater interest in placing Anglo-Saxon England in its European context has emerged, as has interest in new topics such as literacy, ritual, commemoration, and elite prosopography. The introduction concludes, however, with the assertion that there will always be a need for a lucid chronological survey, a need which Keynes believes Hunter Blair well satisfies.

This was not a banner year for editions of sources but there was one important exception. *The Cult of St Swithun*, Winchester Studies 4.ii. (Oxford: Clarendon), by Michael Lapidge with contributions by John Crook, Robert Deshman, and Susan Rankin, is a volume of tremendous scholarship. Part I, "Studies on St Swithun," explores a wide variety of topics including the origins and development of his cult, Swithun in art, music and the liturgy, and his treatment in the works of historians from William of Malmesbury to John Crook (the sections on art and music were written by Robert Deshman and Susan Rankin, respectively). Although impressive in its own right, Part I serves as an introduction to the critical editions of hagiographical texts associated with

St. Swithun, beginning with Lantfred of Winchester's *Translatio et Miracula St Swithuni* and ending, some 600 pages later, with the minor Latin poems associated with the saint. Each of the texts, with translation and notes, is prefaced with as full a discussion as possible of the author and his sources, the manuscript tradition, previous editions, and editorial procedures. It is not difficult to see why this would be an expensive volume to produce, but at a whopping $624, it is surely unaffordable by most scholars. As a library reference, though, it takes its place among the most important sources of history, culture, liturgy, music, art history, and, of course, hagiography.

Only a few articles specifically about sources appeared. In "The Early History of Glastonbury Abbey: A Hypothesis Regarding the 'British Charter'" (*Parergon* 20.2: 1–20), Martin Grimmer finds it unlikely that the so-called "British Charter" of Glastonbury Abbey (found in William of Malmesbury's *De antiquitate Glastonie ecclesie*, written ca. 1129) could be of British origin and therefore evidence that the abbey was founded in pre-Anglo-Saxon times. Instead, the charter's characteristics, particularly its use of scribal attestation, are those of West Saxon charters from ca. 670 to 725. It thus does not substantiate Glastonbury Abbey's existence before this time, although it does imply some level of cooperation between the West Saxon Church and the kingdom of Dumnonia.

Concerning "The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 1053 and the Killing of Rhys ap Rhydderch" (*Trans. of the Radnorshire Soc.* 71: 168–69), Andrew Breeze offers Bullen's Bank, Radnorshire, as the location of *Bulendun*, where, according to the Worcester Latin Chronicle, Rhys ap Rhydderch was killed on King Edward's orders (the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* attests to the event but not the place). Bullen's Bank is a hill, so it could be named with -*dun*, and in 1053 it was on the Welsh border, where Edward's men could operate, and it is not far from Gloucester, in an area where Rhys was known to be active.

In the misleadingly named "Anglo-Saxon History in Medieval Iceland: Actual and Legendary Sources" (*Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 34: 77–108), Magnus Fjalldal surveys the medieval Icelandic texts purporting to deal with Anglo-Saxon England. His aim is to refute the claims of an earlier generation of Icelandic scholars who believed that some of these texts had value as sources for English history. In case after case, Fjalldal shows that the Icelandic texts are quite unreliable. The

one exception is *Jatvarðar saga*'s account of an Anglo-Saxon emigration to Byzantium in the first years of William the Conqueror's reign; this event is well documented in Byzantine sources.

With new geographical and philological evidence, Andrew Breeze believes that he has solved the mystery of "St Cuthbert, Bede, and the Niduari of Pictland" (*Northern History* 40: 365–68). Earlier scholars had suggested that Fife was the home of the Niduari, a Pictish people mentioned in the anonymous life of St. Cuthbert and in Bede's verse and prose versions of that *vita*. There is a stream in Fife now called Newburn but whose earlier name was *Nithbren* or *Nidbren*, 'the stream that dives down (underground)'. If Niduari (*Nidware*) means 'dwellers on the river Nid', then that would place these Picts near Largo.

In "*Historia Brittonum* and Arthur's Battle of *Mons Agned*" (*Northern History* 40: 167–70), Andrew Breeze proposes that the location of the mountain called Agned, which according to Nennius was the site of King Arthur's eleventh battle, might be Pennango, near Hawick in southern Scotland. If *pen* is the Brittonic 'hill, headland' element and *ango* is the Cumbric equivalent of the Welsh *angau* 'death', then Pennango might have the same meaning as *mons Agned*—'mountain of death'—if the meaningless *agned* is a scribal error for *agued*, another Old Welsh word for 'death'.

Terry Moore-Scott, in "Edmund Ironside and Minsterworth—Fact or Fiction?" (*Glevensis* 36: 28), proposes Gloucester as the location of Alney, where Cnut and Edmund Ironside met after the Battle of Ashingdon. The evidence for this is indirect but suggestive. In *De Nugis Curialium*, Walter Map, who for a time was vicar at Westbury on Severn, describes how Edmund received his fatal wound at Minsterworth (in Map's benefice in west Gloucestershire). Minsterworth also features a place called The Naight, and perhaps this was the *naight* (island) in the Severn with which Alney is associated.

In "The Dates for Gildas and Badon in *Cambro-Latin Compositions: Their Competence and Craftsmanship* by David Howlett" (*Heroic Age* 6, n.p. [online]), Howard Wiseman disputes the validity of the secret meanings that Howlett claims to have discovered in early medieval Welsh compositions in Latin, including the dates for the battle of Badon and Gildas's composition of *De Excidio Britanniae*. Overall, Wiseman finds Howlett's methodology arbitrary and inconsistent: when counting

letters, Howlett sometimes includes the spaces between words and sometimes not, and when counting words, he gives no reason why the count goes up to the second occurrence of "Gildas" in the passage, rather than the first occurrence or the third occurrence. Howlett calls the discovery of the same date hidden in different texts a remarkable coincidence; Wiseman counters that a one-in-a-thousand coincidence is likely to turn up if one has a thousand methods for counting.

Peter Kitson re-examines the Welsh acquisition of the letter <y>, which was not used in the oldest texts, in "Old English literacy and the provenance of Welsh *y*" (*Yr Hen Iaith*, ed. Paul Russell [Aberystwyth: Celtic Studies Publ.], 49–65). Old Welsh included two vowels (a broad, retracted *i*-sound and a reduced vowel something like schwa) that were first represented by the letters <i> and <e> (letters that also represented other vowels) but that by 1200 were both represented by <y>. It has long been recognized that this letter must have been borrowed from Old English, but the process by which a letter representing a certain sound in one language should be borrowed to represent not one but two quite different sounds in another language has never been understood. Drawing on a detailed knowledge of Old English dialects, Kitson suggests that <y> was borrowed twice, independently. It turns out that in southern Old English from the late ninth century on, <y> was used for a retracted *i* in addition to the usual rounded front vowel. Welshmen such as Asser and the clerks of Hywel Dda would thus have seen it in texts produced at Alfred's court. In the case of the reduced vowel, the gloss in the Cambridge Psalter almost always uses <y> for unstressed *e* when it is followed by a consonant. This was evidently an orthographic habit in the southwest Midlands (the scribe of the Cambridge Psalter is believed to have been trained in Winchcombe), whence it could readily have passed to Wales.

One of the most useful tools of reference for Anglo-Saxonists of all disciplines is still *Anglo-Saxon England: A Bibliographical Handbook for Students of Anglo-Saxon History* (Cambridge: Univ. of Cambridge Dept. of Anglo-Saxon, Norse, and Celtic), now in its third edition. What I wrote several years ago about the second edition still holds true: this is a "comprehensive guide to the primary source material (texts, translations, etc.)" comprised of "sections of reading arranged chronologically and thematically, incorporating general advice where appropriate or necessary" (Keynes's description). The comments that generally precede each section are as valuable as the list of references that follow. As far

as I know, the handbook is still only available directly from the Department of Anglo-Saxon, Norse and Celtic, University of Cambridge (for information, consult department's website. It's well worth the effort.

b. Religion and the Church

Julia Barrow's concerns in "Clergy in the Diocese of Hereford in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 26: 37–53) are largely post-Conquest, but those interested in the impact of Gregorian reform on the English Church will find much of interest here. Barrow begins with the historical and ecclesiastical geography of the diocese, which, unlike many others, was virtually a monk-free zone, particularly before the Conquest. The impact of Gregorian reform, she argues, can largely been seen in the conversion of some communities into Benedictine or Augustinian priories. Patronage died hard, however, as did the importance of local family concerns, including clerical marriage.

Instructors hoping to provide their students with a sound introduction to the conversion of the British Isles and its aftermath will want to consider Thomas Charles-Edwards's *After Rome* (Oxford: Oxford UP), a collection of essays intended for advanced undergraduates and beginning graduate students whose aim is, among other things, to discuss the era of conversion in a way that emphasizes the unity that the introduction of Christianity brought to the distinct national cultures of the British Isles. In addition to discussions of economic life and material culture that are remarkably clear while avoiding oversimplification, the text contains a number of very attractive maps and tables that students are likely to find quite helpful.

Inspired by the continuing debate over the existence of a "Celtic Church," R.W.D. Fenn revises his 1967 essay on "The Character of Early Christianity in Radnorshire" (*Trans. of the Radnorshire Soc.* 70: 15–46; the original appeared in *Trans. of the Radnorshire Soc.* 37). He argues strongly that, at least for the seventh and eighth centuries, the organization of Christianity in Powys and Mercia shows considerable consistency that he believes can only be explained by dialogue and communication. He notes similarities between the Welsh monastery and the English minster, the social class of the two clergies, and the roles of their religious houses, and in many cases he sees the continuation in the Anglo-Saxon period of Welsh practices and saints' cults in Welsh territory annexed by Mercia. The simultaneous development of the cult of St. Michael in eighth-century Powys, Gwent,

and Mercia, despite growing hostility between the English and the Welsh, is the best example of the Church in Wales being involved with its neighbor rather than isolated from mainstream Christianity.

Helen Gittos's contribution to *The White Mantle of Churches* (ed. Lucy and Reynolds; see section 1) is "Architecture and Liturgy in England c. 1000: Problems and Possibilities" (91–106), which investigates what the physical space of churches can tell us about the performance of the liturgy. Gittos begins with a useful survey of the main architectural elements of Anglo-Saxon churches ca. 970 to ca. 1030 related to the liturgy. She then considers the liturgical sources of the same period, such as customaries, pontificals, benedictionals, tropers, saints' lives, homilies, and the like. She concludes that liturgical sources only occasionally tell us something about the relationship between architecture and theological ideas, such as the dedication of the floor in church consecration.

Henry Mayr-Harting makes an interesting if unscientific comparison between "St Augustine at Canterbury and Mr Williams in Rarotonga" (*Scripturus Vitam*, ed. Dorothea Walz [Heidelberg: Mattes Verlag], 731–40). His main arguments are three. Pope Gregory sent a mission to England because he thought that the Anglo-Saxons were a people ripe for conversion like the Lombards in Italy; he also felt that missionary activities would validate the contemplative life lived by Augustine and his fellow monks up to that point. King Æthelberht of Kent was prepared to receive that mission because he was attracted by the idea of conversion but feared subjugation if that conversion came from the Franks. Augustine's role in the mission was to put into practice the principles of fasting, contemplation, and non-compulsion espoused by Gregory. A modern parallel is provided by John Williams's early-nineteenth-century missionary work in the South Seas: the heathen chiefs are attracted to Christianity because they believe it will increase their wealth and status, they fear incurring the wrath of the old, deserted gods, they attach great importance in following the new cult correctly, and native laws are rewritten to incorporate the new religion.

Dave Postles's "Religious Houses and the Laity in Eleventh- to Thirteenth-Century England: An Overview" (*Haskins Soc. Jnl* 12 [2002]: 1–13) investigates the relationship between local laity and religious houses, largely in the twelfth century. Using charters among other sources, Postles argues that the vertical bonds of

lordship, which were once the principle determinants of aristocratic pious giving, gave way by the late twelfth century to horizontal bonds characterized by greater interest on the part of the "lesser laity" in pious giving. Postles also shows how these lesser laymen and women tried to appropriate monastic culture not, as will later be the case, by bringing it outside the cloister, but by "penetrating the liturgy of the conventual church" (8). Much of this essay is outside the chronological scope of this review, but those wishing to see how aristocratic behavior changes over time will find it very interesting.

In *Nunneries and the Anglo-Saxon Royal Houses* (Women, Power and Politics [London: Continuum]), Barbara Yorke retraces some well-worn steps in terms of topic but from a different perspective. Citing a tendency of historians to focus too much on individual cases, Yorke considers royal nunneries as a "significant grouping." The underlying theme of this book, the "inter-relationship of nunneries with the royal houses that supported them, and the consequences of that relationship for their operation as religious communities," (9) is explored during three periods: conversion ca. 600-750; later eighth and ninth centuries; and the tenth and eleventh centuries. Yorke examines, in the first instance, the important role nunneries played in the post-conversion period, "providing what was perceived as essential Christian cultic underpinning for their families" (35). The numbers are impressive: some thirty-five nunneries were founded by ca. 775, many of which probably dated to the period between ca. 670 and 700. Most of these, however, were no longer nunneries in Yorke's second period, which she credits to the extension of episcopal authority, political changes across the kingdom, and, of course, the Vikings. The practice of founding royal nunneries was revived to some extent in later Anglo-Saxon England, but Yorke shows that they no longer functioned in the same way to buttress dynasties and therefore mostly failed to thrive over time. Two thematic chapters treating topics such as religious functions, cults, authority and independence, marriage and sex, and the political roles of abbesses and nuns provide a rich ending to this useful study of royal nunneries and their inhabitants.

Francesca Tinti's "Dal *church-scot* alla decima: Origine, natura e sviluppo dei tributi ecclesiastici nell'Inghilterra altomedievali" (*SM* 3rd ser. 44: 219–51) traces the development of church dues, from *church-scot* to tithes, in medieval England. This is an important topic, and Tinti has painstakingly combed through the evidence to identify moments of change in the way church dues were collected, so for those who prefer a discussion in English, I might suggest the author's more recent article, "The 'costs' of pastoral care: church dues in late Anglo-Saxon England," in *Pastoral Care in Late Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. F. Tinti (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2005), 27–51. Either is well worth the visit.

c. Ecclesiastical Culture

In "Les échanges culturels au sein du monde nordique: l'exemple du culte de saint Olaf" (*Les échanges culturels au Moyen Âge*, ed. Société des Historiens Médiévistes [Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne], 207–25), Stéphane Coviaux argues that the Anglo-Saxon enthusiasm for the cult of St. Olaf of Norway constitutes a true cultural and religious exchange. After reviewing the evidence for this cult in eleventh-century England, Coviaux notes the rapidity of its spread, which occurred in the twenty or thirty years after Olaf's death in 1030. The exchange is carried out by the English missionaries who aided in the tenth-century conversion of Norway. Of particular interest is Bishop Grimkell, who had Olaf's body exhumed and who probably played a significant part in his canonization. Possibly of Anglo-Scandinavian descent, Grimkell may well have introduced the model of the Anglo-Saxon royal martyr into Norway. If he is the same Bishop Grimkell whom the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* says died in 1047, he also is most likely the person who in turn introduced the cult of St. Olaf to England. Additional promotion of Olaf's cult may have come from Rodulf, another English bishop who had been in Norway and who later was abbot of Abingdon. Olaf's popularity in England presumably began among the Anglo-Danish aristocracy; these Coviaux thinks must have identified with this first Scandinavian saint.

Two essays from the collection *The Apocalyptic Year 1000: Religious Expectation and Social Change, 950-1050*, ed. Landes et al (Oxford UP) treat the same topic but come to different conclusions. Malcolm Godden's "The Millennium, Time, and History for the Anglo-Saxons" (155–180) looks at the different ways in which Ælfric and Wulfstan understood the apocalypse and then promoted these views in their writings. Godden persuasively argues that Ælfric understood it in a linear sense—that the end would come after a series of troubles in historical time. What is interesting, however, is that Ælfric became noticeably less preoccupied with the coming of the Antichrist, which frames the First Series of Catholic Homilies but not the second. By contrast, Wulfstan's writings betray his view that that "the Apocalypse is always with us" (158). In "'Satan's

Bonds are Extremely Loose': Apocalyptic Expectation in Anglo-Saxon England during the Millennial Era" (289–310), William Prideaux-Collins develops the thesis that modern historians do not see apocalyptic anxiety in turn-of-the-millenium England (*pace* Godden?) because the texts themselves appear "anti-apocalyptic." Even if the "anti-apocalyptic party," apparently epitomized by Ælfric and Byrhtferth, seems to prevail, Prideaux-Collins argues, this could be interpreted as a reaction against popular anxiety. In other words, people *were* worried about the end of the world. It is difficult to reconcile these two positions.

Robert Halliday investigates the cult and significance of "St Walstan of Bawburgh" (*Norfolk Archaeology* 44: 316–25). He establishes that it is very unlikely that Walstan lived during the reign of Æthelred the Unready or indeed at any other time. A church at Bawburgh was dedicated to Walstan by 1235, and the accounts of his life are from the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, the date of other manifestations of his popularity in Norfolk and Suffolk. Water from the Bawburgh well associated with Walstan again became renowned for curing man and beast in the eighteenth century, and pilgrims continue to visit it to the present day.

Cyril Hart has written a monumental work in *Learning and Culture in Late Anglo-Saxon England and the Influence of Ramsey Abbey on the Major English Monastic Schools* (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen). Encompassing some 1,350 pages in three tomes comprising two volumes, it is forcefully argued and sports formidable footnotes, some of which are miniature essays in themselves. On the highest level, Hart's aim is to describe the origin, flowering, and decline of the monastic school at Ramsey Abbey, which from its inception was molded by the Benedictine reform movement and which Hart believes was at the center of late Anglo-Saxon learning, ahead of both Winchester and Canterbury. More radically, Hart contests the idea that copies of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* were disseminated to regional centers during Alfred's reign, there to be developed into the B, C, and D rescensions. Instead, he argues that Ramsey was the center for production (and dissemination to other English houses) of not only the B text and the precursors to the C and D texts of the vernacular national chronicle but also the precursor to the Latin *Worcester Chronicle* (the work attributed first to "Florence of Worcester" and then to "John of Worcester"). All this, he asserts, occurred almost a century after the time of King Alfred. Moreover, he sees Ramsey clerics as the authors of regional chronicles, saints' lives, homilies,

and other texts that assisted the church in the instruction of the faithful and in the conversion of the Eastern and Northern Danelaw. Finally, Hart assesses the part played by the school of Ramsey in initiating in England the revival of the learning of classical antiquity and the subjects of the *quadrivium* that was an important feature of the Benedictine reform. Volume 1, *The New Curriculum in Monastic Schools*, covers the mission of Ramsey Abbey, the evolution of the curriculum, and the Old English and Latin chronicles. Volume 2, *A Survey of the Development of Mathematical, Medical, and Scientific Studies in England before the Norman Conquest*, covers hagiography, the computus, science, medicine, and Ramsey's influence on other English schools.

In "Coping with Conflict: Lunar and Solar Cycles in the Liturgical Calendars" (*Time and Eternity*, ed. Jaritz and Moreno-Raiño, 99–108), Joyce Hill uses contemporary homilies, calendars, and martyrologies to determine how Anglo-Saxon churchmen reconciled the solar and lunar calendars. Because Easter is a moveable feast and belongs to the *temporale*, a way had to be found to locate the Easter season within the *sanctorale*. Hill argues that the Anglo-Saxons, not surprisingly, followed the Carolingian tradition of disentangling the *temporale* and the *sanctorale* in homilies but by inserting a range of conventional dates for the Easter season in martyrologies and liturgical calendars. These dates usually designated the earliest and latest possible dates for Easter and Ascension (27 March and 5 May). While they appear fixed in the manuscripts, Hill contends that anyone learned enough to use these texts knew that this was a range and that additional work was needed to determine the actual dates for any given year.

Stephen Lamia analyzes the tombs and shrines of Thomas Becket and Edward the Confessor in "The Cross and the Crown, the Tomb and the Shrine: Decoration and Accommodation for England's Premier Saints" (*Decorations for the Holy Dead: Visual Embellishments on Tombs and Shrines of Saints*, ed. S. Lamia and E. Valdez del Álamo [Turnhout: Brepols], 39–56). With respect to the latter, he looks to medieval illuminations of the king's tomb in the mid-thirteenth-century *La estoire de seint Aedward le rei* (Cambridge, University Library, MS Ee.3.59), a copy of a lost manuscript executed for Eleanor of Provence, wife of Henry III. Four miniatures depict the tomb and shrine of King Edward at Westminster. The sarcophagus is at first shown to be shallow, bejewelled, and arcuated, and it rests on a base of cut stone masonry containing two large circular apertures through which pilgrims can crawl, so as to be

as close to the saint as possible. Subsequent miniatures depict various additions and changes to the tomb: statues of the king and St. John, a house-shaped *châsse*, an unadorned saddle-roofed coffin, tapers at the corners, offerings of coils of wax, and an elaborately decorated rectangular coffin. All these illustrations show shrines that are later in date than Edward's tomb of 1066. As usual, the artists of *Le estoire* gave the shrine a contemporary look, and the drawings probably reflect its appearance after 1163, when Edward's relics were translated to a more prominent place in Westminster. Moreover, the changing appearance of the shrine may result from the artists adapting some images from an earlier illuminated *vita Aedwardi*, as well as adding new images of their own.

Sarah Rees Jones has edited a collection of essays, *Learning and Literacy in Medieval England and Abroad* (Turnhout: Brepols), which celebrates the thirtieth anniversary of the York Centre for Medieval Studies (most of the authors did their post-graduate work there). Because these essays span the entire Middle Ages and reach beyond England's borders, most are not being reviewed here. But because the topic is important, it seems reasonable at least to list the titles and authors. The first essay, Joyce Hill's "Learning Latin in Anglo-Saxon England: Traditions, Texts and Techniques," is obviously pertinent, but reviewed in section 5. The remaining essays are: "'A Man Takes an Ox by the Horn and a Peasant by the Tongue': Literacy, Orality and Inquisition in Medieval Languedoc," by John J. Arnold; "Selby Abbey and its Twelfth-Century Historian," by Janet Burton; "Did Medieval English Women Read Augustine's *Confessiones*? Constructing Feminine Interiority and Literacy in the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," by Linda Olson; "Reading, Singing and Understanding: Constructions of the Literacy of Women Religious in Late Medieval England," by Katherine Zieman; "The Women Readers in Langland's Earliest Audience: Some Codicological Evidence," by Kathryn Kerby-Fulton; "Learning to Be a Man, Learning to Be a Priest in Late Medieval England," by P.H. Cullum; "The York Cycle and Instruction on the Sacraments," by Pamela M. King; "London Pride: Citizenship and the Fourteenth-Century Custumals of the City of London," by Debbie Cannon; and "Parochial Libraries in Pre-Reformation England," by Stacey Gee.

d. Society and the Family

E.G. Stanley asks "Did the Anglo-Saxons Have a Social Conscience Like Us?" (*Anglia* 121: 238–264) and is

compelled, perhaps not surprisingly, to answer in the negative. Stanley defines social conscience as a sentiment "involv[ing] the prosperous in a fellow-feeling for those less fortunate, a feeling that may almost amount to guilt … the consciousness … that there are problems of maldistribution of wealth and health and happiness" (242–43). Stanley finds no genuine parallels to views such as these in pre-Conquest literature or institutions. In spite of testamentary evidence for a robust interest in providing for the needy, Stanley contends that such generosity is motivated less by sympathy than by the fear of divine punishment: Anglo-Saxons "were zealous in laying up treasure in heaven for themselves, and they hoped to do so by giving worldly treasure to those in need, especially in their wills when their minds were full of thoughts about dying and where they might go hereafter" (264). According to Stanley, the social sentiments of early medieval England "are theological: there is pity overspread with piety" (242). Stanley's conclusions are qualified by his observation that "it is a recognizable fault in philologists to believe that a concept is lacking where there is no lexical evidence for it in the language under consideration" (252).

e. Gender and Identity

Patricia Clare Ingham's "From Kinship to Kingship: Mourning, Gender, and Anglo-Saxon Community" (*Grief and Gender: 700-1700*, ed. Jennifer C. Vaught with Lynne Dickson Bruckner [New York: Palgrave Macmillan], 17–31) counters the assumption that mourning is passive; on the contrary, grief and mourning by women are activities with important cultural power. The peace-weaving bride, both far from home and yet identified with kin-based relations, is at the center of a complex cultural nexus consistently embued with loss. Officiating at funeral pyres means that women are the bearers of death as physical morbidity. This allows a different, transcendent death to be linked to men and brotherhoods such as the *comitatus*. The refusal of the transcendent usually attributed to mourning women in Anglo-Saxon poetry is thus not passive or bad, but socially necessary.

In "Negotiating Gender in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Gender and Difference in the Middle Ages*, ed. Sharon Farmer and Carol Braun Pasternack [Minneapolis: U of Minnesota P], 107–42) Carol Braun Pasternak contrasts aristocratic and Christian constructions of gender in the laws of Æthelberht (d. 616) and the Penitential of Theodore (archbishop of Canterbury, 669–690). The law-code contributes to a system of difference between

masculine and feminine by valuing men but not women according to social rank, by valuing women primarily in relation to their ability to produce progeny, and by locating men as subjects and women as objects (except for the laws relating to childbearing). In contrast, the Penitential locates women as well as men as subjects, bodily purity appears as a standard for both, and both men and women are positioned within the nuclear family. Yet the Penitential also shows the man as dominant in marriage and the woman as procreator, as the law-code does. Pointing to the case of King Canute, who maintained concurrent relationships with two women (Ælfgifu of Northampton and Ælfgifu/Emma), Pasternack concludes that the social functions of men and women remained complex throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, even with the success of the conversion.

Michael E. Weale, Deborah A. Weiss, Rolf F. Jager, Neil Bradman, and Mark G. Thomas's "Y Chromosome Evidence for Anglo-Saxon Mass Migration" (*Molecular Biology and Evolution* 19 [2002]: 1008–22) offers Anglo-Saxonists a different approach to a hotly debated topic. The article, which is, as one might expect, at times highly technical, begins with a good overview of the historical problem and the various approaches taken over the last century or so. Is cultural change, they ask, necessarily evidence of mass migration or could it simply be a sign of "elite dominance?" Rather than looking at grave goods or linguistic evidence, they compare genetic data from 313 living males from seven market towns lying on an east/west axis from East Anglia to North Wales with data from Frisia and Norway, concluding that the central English swabs were a closer match to the former than the latter. At the same time, they found a "strong genetic barrier between Central England and North Wales."

In "The Anglo-Saxon/British interface: History and ideology" (*The Celtic Roots of English*, ed. Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen [Joensuu: University of Joensuu Faculty of Humanities], 29–46), Nicholas Higham seeks to escape the futile debate between the "primordialists" and the "instrumentalists" over whether to privilege Britain's Germanic settlers or its indigenous communities when modeling early Anglo-Saxon history. Invoking the latest views on ethnicity, he argues that, when it comes to the formation of Englishness, theories of mass migration and extermination should give way to theories of acculturation, racial integration, and homogenization. Higham points out that Gildas's position regarding ethnicity probably did not represent that of a majority of his countrymen,

and similarly, Aldhelm and Bede were probably not at all typical of the new "English" elite. The Anglo-Saxon/British interface recoverable from historical texts is thus partial at best and certainly highly elitist. Determining the rest of the picture will require an entirely different set of evidence, such as—if a connection may be drawn here—that of Hines (2003), reviewed next in this section.

With regard to the "Society, community, and identity" (*After Rome*, ed. Thomas Charles-Edwards [Oxford: Oxford UP], 61–101) of Britain and Ireland in the first four centuries of the post-Roman Middle Ages, John Hines rightly emphasizes their constant, essential change and adaptation. Conducting his survey thematically, he joins material culture with language history to elucidate the economic life, social units, social networks, and macro-groups of the British Isles during this period. Objects neatly balance abstractions in a "demotic" history that fills in the extremely selective (and elitist) history found in the documentary sources. One interesting conclusion is that the majority of significant cultural developments arose spontaneously and popularly and only subsequently were appropriated by political elites.

f. The Economy, Settlement and Landscape

Three articles pertinent to the Anglo-Saxon period appeared in the collection *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Pestell and Ulmschneider. It has to be said that the collection as a whole is not for the faint of heart. James Campbell's "Production and Distribution in Early and Middle Anglo-Saxon England" (12–19) is perhaps the least technical, as he considers a variety of topics from sheer speculation. How many yards of fabric, he asks, would have been necessary to clothe an estimated half a million people? How much salt would such a population have consumed over the course of a year? The answers, 1.3 million square yards and 14 tons, respectively, are just guesses, but the questions are still worth asking. Campbell concludes that "England was a rich area" (18) based on its 'productive sites' (the topic of the conference from which these papers derive) or *emporia*. In "The Hinterlands of Three Southern English *Emporia*: Some Common Themes" (48–60), Ben Palmer sets *emporia* and *wics* into their contexts by considering the sites that received their goods. Palmer shows how a strong connection of hinterland trade characterized important trade centers such as London and Southampton and allowed them to survive the disruption in economic ties with the Continent. By contrast, *Hamwic* had no strong ties to the hinterland and

is therefore atypical, which is more than a little ironic given its status as the best studied *wic*-site and therefore the model for all others. The most technical of these three essays is Stuart Brookes's "The Early Anglo-Saxon Framework for Middle Anglo-Saxon Economics: The Case of East Kent" (84–96), which seems to be arguing that so-called "gateway communities" on the coast, which, based on goods deposited in cemeteries, were centers of redistribution pre-600, responded to economic changes by the "active engagement in alienable exchange" after 600, presumably meaning coins.

John Blair reports on recent excavations relating to "Anglo-Saxon Bicester: the Minster and the Town" (*Oxoniensia* 67: 133–40). Despite the *-c(h)ester* element in its name, Bicester does not appear to have contained any Roman walls, and Blair speculates that this east Oxfordshire town could have been a successor in "chesterness" to nearby Alchester, which was a walled town but which was totally abandoned. Blair further supposes that Bicester church was an Anglo-Saxon minster, on the grounds that the parish church there ca. 1180 had its own Anglo-Saxon saint: it was described as the church of St. Eadburgh and housed her relics. Finally, it appears that late Anglo-Saxon Bicester was an emergent lay settlement that was linked by a causeway or bridge to an older monastic nucleus across the River Bure.

L.A. Symonds's "Territories in Transition: The Construction of Boundaries in Anglo-Scandinavian Lincolnshire" (*ASSAH* 12: 28–27) compares the distribution of pottery and sculpture in order to determine the boundaries of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland during the period in question. The distribution of locally made pottery indicates that Lindsey and "Stamfordshire" (which included Kesteven) were distinct entities before their amalgamation into the country of Lincolnshire. With respect to sculpture (an indication of the practices of the elite, as opposed to pottery, which is used by all ranks of society), Lindsey seems in the early tenth century to have identified itself with the Scandinavian rulership in York, but in the middle of the century, its sculpture takes on a separate identity. Stamfordshire sculpture was different from that of both York and Lindsey. Early in the tenth century, Kesteven elites favored burial monuments in the Trent Valley style. This changed mid-century to a style different from that of Lindsey, which seems to have been isolated (with respect to styles of art) from the other Five Borough Territories. These differences echo and probably arose from the geography of the area, as Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland were separated by water and fen.

g. Law, Politics, and Warfare

Richard Abels's "Royal Succession and the Growth of Political Stability in Ninth-Century Wessex" (*Haskins Soc. Jnl* 12 [2002]: 83–97) investigates the unusual circumstances under which the descendents of the West Saxon king Egbert (Alfred being only the most famous) were able to secure familial succession for some two centuries within a single agnatic line. Abels cites three primary reasons for their unparalleled success: the good fortune to have an adult son or brother available to succeed; the historical circumstances of the waning of Mercian power and the advent of the Vikings; and their foresight to "associate their sons in kingship" (85) by subduing Kent, Sussex and Essex for them. Abels argues, however, that despite their overall success, the dynasty's rise to power was not without its share of internecine rebellion and court intrigue. Transitions simply appear much smoother in the sources because they are, by and large, West Saxon court products.

In "The Rise and Fall of the Anglo-Saxon Law of the Highway" (*Haskins Soc. Jnl* 12 [2002]: 39–69), Alan Cooper provides an exhaustive (in a good way) textual and linguistic study of the legislation pertaining the *via regis*. Cooper first traces its Roman and Continental antecedents before proceeding to back into the Anglo-Saxon concept via the *Leges Henrici Primi*. Using lawcodes, charter boundaries and narrative sources, among others, Cooper shows how tenth-century kings enjoyed greater control over highways, both in theory and in practice, than did their eleventh-century successors. Feuding on the highway (*forsteal*), which was once an "unatonable offense," for instance, appears in eleventh-century codes with fines attached, along with fines for its associated offenses, *hamsocn* and *mundbryce*. By Cnut's reign, profits associated with the commission of these offenses were even alienable. The same, the author argues, was true for the murder fine, which he argues was not invented by William the Conquerer.

Taking "England and the Irish-Sea Zone in the Eleventh Century" (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 26: 55–73) as her topic, Clare Downham highlights Ireland's significance for English affairs, rather than the reverse. For the Anglo-Saxon period, she finds that Ireland had an important role that was expressed through trade, religious links, and particularly the political involvement of Irish kings. For example, after the inter-Scandinavian relationships of Canute of England, Sigtrygg of Dublin, and Echmarcach of Man, Ireland became a haven for Englishmen flouting the authority of Edward the Confessor.

Notable among these were members of the house of Godwine, who several times fled to Ireland. Another English outlaw was Ælfgar, son of the Mercian earl Leofric; accused of treachery in 1055, he got eight warships in Ireland before allying with Gwynedd and invading Herefordshire. For the Conquest period, Adam of Bremen mentions that an Irish king was among the Norwegian invaders at the Battle of Stamford Bridge, and in the aftermath of the Battle of Hastings, two of Harold's sons fled to King Diarmait of Leinster, who supported two of their attempts to win back England.

Richard Fletcher's *Bloodfeud: Murder and Revenge in Anglo-Saxon England* (London: Penguin, 2002) was written, the author tells us, with the non-specialist in mind. This is not so much a book about the mechanics or even the legal aspects of feud, however, which would have been very useful, but almost exclusively its social and political contexts. The famous feud described in the text *De Obsessione Dunelmi*, a feud that spanned some fifty years in eleventh-century northern England, is the historical context for a broad study on the various themes from aristocratic families and marriage to the role of the Church and apocalypticism. As a general study it succeeds admirably, but for the specialist it might be a little disappointing.

Paul Hyams's *Rancor and Reconciliation in Medieval England* (Ithaca: Cornell UP) adds to the growing list of book-length studies devoted to the feud while demonstrating that the potential of this institution to enrich our knowledge of pre-modern Europe is still far from exhausted. The nature of Hyams's interest in the vendetta is pronouncedly different from that of other scholars. One of the book's principal aims is to remedy what Hyams sees as a lack of interest on the part of historians in the role(s) played by the feud in determining the character of pre-Conquest institutions—a symptom, according to Hyams, of the tendency of scholars such as Campbell and Wormald to take denunciations of the feud in royal legislation at their word, and ultimately to see in Anglo-Saxon England a precocious state apparatus that would have tolerated few rivals to its own authority. That the Anglo-Saxon state had attained a level of efficiency as an administrator of justice comparable to the claims of later royal legislation is a notion that Hyams finds suspect. Aside from the difficulties inherent in projecting power across great distances in the eleventh century, "all this undeniably royal authority" was, according to Hyams, constrained to "operat[e] within a culture permeated and informed by a resistant notion of direct personal action against perceived

wrong" (109). Hyams's study also reflects what seems to be the growing desire of scholars in many different fields to formulate methods for the study of emotion, and in doing so may broaden considerably the range of evidence available to legal historians.

In "From *Anglorum basileus* to Norman Saint: The Transformation of Edward the Confessor" (*Haskins Soc. Jnl* 12 [2002]: 99–120), Lynn Jones shows how the images of Edward, textual as well as visual, were transformed from his own day down through the twelfth century. Jones argues that while Edward himself chose to portray his rule along Ottonian and Byzantine imperial lines, this association was downplayed after the Conquest in favor of an image of piety, the purpose of which was to "buttress claims of Anglo-Norman royal legitimacy" (99). Among Jones's more interesting arguments is that Edward only redefined his image from a Norman one to an imperial one at the age of forty-eight, after the deaths of two powerful figures in his life—his mother, Queen Emma, and his father-in-law, Earl Godwine.

Stefan Jurasinski reconsiders chapter 56 of II Cnut, which has been interpreted as requiring that a murderer be turned over to his victim's family, in "*Reddatur Parentibus*: The Vengeance of the Family in Cnut's Homicide Legislation" (*Law and History Rev.* 20 [2002]: 157–80. Because there were no genuine English antecedents or a similar tradition in Scandinavian society, the chapter has puzzled historians for decades. Jurasinski shows just how complicated the problem is by tracing the chapter's appearance in various manuscripts and the ways in which those entries have been interpreted by modern historians from Liebermann to Bruce O'Brien. The most significant problem is that the Norman texts do not all agree, and herein lies Jurasinski's proposed solution. The author of the *Instituta Cnuti* is unique in mandating that the *victim's* body be returned (*reddatur*) to his kin, not his murderer's. This makes a great deal more sense, Jurasinski persuasively argues, in the context of contemporary Continental and Scandinavian legal practice, "restores the sense of the Old English versions and allows us to abandon elaborate and heavily conjectural hypotheses regarding the relationships between pre- and post-conquest versions of the chapter" (180).

h. Vikings

L'héritage maritime des Vikings en Europe de l'Ouest: Colloque international de la Hague (Flottemanville-Hague, 30 septembre—3 octobre 1999) (Caen: Presses

universitaires de Caen), edited by Élisabeth Ridel, contains the beautifully illustrated proceedings from a conference whose goals were to preserve knowledge of Viking maritime traditions before it is lost and surmount the language barriers separating modern scholars in this field. The papers have thus been published in French, with English summaries. They are organized under the following rubrics: the Vikings and the peoples of Europe: contacts, exchanges, and integration; the Viking ship and the naval traditions of Europe; the presence of the Vikings in the languages of western Europe. Five of the papers are of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists. Barbara Crawford provides the introductory paper about "L'expansion scandinave en Europe de l'Ouest (VIIIe–XIe siècle)" (15–32), briefly surveying the sources, the questions, and the reciprocal influence that the Vikings and Western Europe had on each other. James H. Barrett examines "La pêche et l'économie maritime de l'Écosse scandinave" (119–36) and argues on the basis of new zoo- and osteoarcheological evidence that an increase in fishing is one of the most significant cultural changes marking the Norse colonization of Pictish Scotland. He further suggests that some of the dried fish and fish oil produced was destined for export; if so, this trade developed in Scotland a century or two before it appears in the historical record. Olwyn Owen asks "Les Vikings en Écosse: Quel type de maison les colons Vikings construisaient-ils?" (137–70) and answers that they built many types of houses in Scotland. Interestingly, the earliest Viking houses there may have been built from kits of wooden parts imported wholesale from Norway. In "Toponymie maritime scandinave en Angleterre, au Pays de Galles et sur l'île de Man" (401–22), Gillian Fellows-Jensen shows that the occurrence of Scandinavian maritime place-names is quite different in each of these countries. In England, Scandinavian maritime place-names are found along the coast of Danish-settled areas where there are natural features to warrant them. On the coast of Wales, the Vikings bestowed place-names in ignorance of the pre-existing Welsh names or their meanings; also, three major coastal settlements in South Wales that have Nordic as well as Welsh names point to Scandinavian settlement in the Viking period. On the Isle of Man, the long period of Scandinavian settlement meant that the many Nordic place-names around the coast were used or adapted and used by the Manx Gaelic population. In "Les toponymes scandinaves dans le gaélique écossais" (423–40), Richard A.V. Cox finds that the extensive Norse settlement in the Hebrides is reflected in a wide number of categories of place-names and loan-words.

James H. Barrett's "Culture Contact in Viking Age Scotland" (*Contact, Continuity, and Collapse: The Norse Colonization of the North Atlantic*, ed. James H. Barrett [Turnhout: Brepols], 73–111) contributes an archeological perspective to the interdisciplinary debate over the nature of the Norse colonization. Drawing on new archeological evidence, Barrett first considers the existence, timing, location, and scale of Viking Age migration from Scandinavia to Scotland, and then he models the production, reproduction, and manipulation of ethnicity during the resulting episode of culture contact. He concludes that this evidence points to the introduction of (probably) Norwegian burial traditions, building customs, artefact styles, and economic patterns beginning (probably) no earlier than the second quarter of the ninth century. In addition to suggesting a large-scale migration, recent finds also indicate the coexistence of indigenous and immigrant groups, although the expression of ethnicity seems to have varied from region to region. The Picts evidently found it strategic to emulate their Norse-speaking neighbors, whereas in Argyll and the Inner Hebrides, in contrast, the Norse migrants adopted Gaelic as their language.

Clare Downham reviews "The Chronology of the Last Scandinavian Kings of York, AD 937–954" (*Northern History* 40: 25–51) and persuasively undermines earlier arguments that the first reign of Eiríkr of York began before 943. She also suggests that the D text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is largely chronologically accurate for the sequence of years from 934 to 954. In places this can be confirmed by cross-reference to corrected dates in Irish annals; elsewhere, conflicts between D and the *Historia Regum Anglorum* are resolved in favor of D by demonstrating inaccuracies in earlier interpretations of the *Historia*. Downham further supports the received dating of the last Northumbrian kings from 947 to 952, which had been challenged. Finally, unable to ascertain whether Eiríkr completed his second reign in 953 or 954, she argues that 954, the date given in the D and E texts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, should not be rejected without very strong evidence for 953.

In "'Westward I Came across the Sea': Anglo-Scandinavian History through Scandinavian Eyes" (*Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 34: 47–76), Susanne Kries examines a fragmentary tenth-century poem, *Aðalsteinsdrápa*, composed by the Icelander Egill Skallagrímsson in praise of the West Saxon king Æthelstan, whom Egill had served. In particular, Kries analyzes the poem's references to a King Ælle of England. Although Scandinavian tradition knew only one Ælle (the ninth-century

king of Northumbria), English sources mention three kings of that name. Thus, an English audience (presumably Æthelstan and his men) might have understood the reference differently than a Scandinavian one, which would have been familiar with the tradition that Ælle was killed by the Dane Ívarr the Boneless, who then assumed the rule of Northumbria. By calling Æthelstan the descendent of Ælla, Egill might have been implying that Æthelstan's hold on Northumbria was as weak as his ancestor's. In contrast, English listeners might have thought that the reference to Ælle was a highly complimentary allusion to the South Saxon who was the first *bretwalda*. The question that Kries does not address is why Egill would have wanted to make such a dig at a king who rewarded him generously and with whom he was tempted to stay permanently.

i. The Norman Conquest and Settlement

In "The Norman Conquest and the Media" (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 26: 1–20), Richard Barber shows that the myth of the harsh "Norman yoke" entered the political consciousness of England in the early seventeenth century, rather than being a continuous literary and folk theme from the Conquest on. The argument that the Conquest was the root of all evil in England was developed most fully by the Levellers, who held that all private ownership was based on robbery and force, and that the arrival of William was the defining moment for the transition to a society where property was paramount. With the Restoration, the Normans were restored to favor, but when a new foreign William (William of Orange) "conquered" England, parallels with a conqueror considered a raging tyrant by the Puritans were unwelcome. The Normans ceased to carry weight as a political symbol at the beginning of the nineteenth century, so Barber ends by surveying the anti-Normanism of the novelists Sir Walter Scott, Edward Bulwer Lytton, and Charles Kingsley. An appendix gives some early examples of curfew bells, notoriously associated with William I.

Although somewhat outside the scope of most of our readers' interests, David Crouch's *The Normans: The History of a Dynasty* (London: Hambledon and London, 2002) is worth reviewing in brief as a very good overview of the rise to prominence of this dynasty which came to exercise so much influence over England. Using serial biography as the framework, Crouch intends to provide a "focused and lucid narrative, with a minimum of footnotes and apparatus" (xiv) and he succeeds admirably. Avoiding the regionalism of

current historiography, Crouch brings his subjects to life as "European" men rather than simply dukes of Normandy or kings of England. Particularly lively are his accounts of William the Conqueror and his heirs. Among Crouch's strengths is the elucidation of baronial politics, but topics such as the piety of the Anglo-Normans are perceptively examined.

K.S.B. Keats-Rohan, *Domesday Descendants: A Prosopography of Persons Occurring in English Documents 1066-1166 II: Pipe Rolls to 'Cartae Baronum'* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2002) is a follow up to Volume I: *Domesday Book* (Woodbridge: Boydell, 1999). Drawing on a wide variety of administrative documents, Keats-Rohan provides prosopographical data, including family origins and the descent of fees, for some 7,500 people living in Anglo-Norman England.

M.F.G., S.A.J., E.A.R.

[M.F.G. reviewed Abels "Royal," Barber, Barrow, Bond, Brookes, Brooks, Campbell "Anglo-Saxon," "Production," Cooper, Crawford "Anglo-Saxon," Crouch, Cubitt, Fletcher, Foot, Gifford, Gittos "Architecture," Godden, Hill "Origin," Hill "Coping," Hunter Blair, Jones, Jurasinski, Keats-Rohan, Keene, Keynes "Anglo-Saxon," "Introduction," "Power," Lapidge, Leyser, Nelson, Palmer, Postles, Pratt, Prideaux-Collins, Rees Jones, Rollason, Scharer, Stafford "Succession," Story, Tinti, Weale, Webster, Williams *Æthelred*, "England," Yorke *Nunneries*; S.A.J. reviewed Barnwell, Campbell "Placing," Charles-Edwards, Geake, Hyams *Rancor*, Karkov, Lewis, Meaney, Rahtz, D. Richards, J. Richards, Stanley, Stocker, Yorke "Alfredism," Yorke, "Royal Courts"; E.A.R. reviewed Abels "Alfred," Abrams, Barrett "Culture," Barrett "La pèche," Blair, Breeze "*Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*," "*Historia*," "St Cuthbert," Cox, Coviaux, Crawford, "L'expansion," "Vikings," Davies "Alfred's," "Introduction," "Conclusion," Downham "Chronology," "England," Fellows-Jensen, Fenn, Fjalldal, Fleming, Garrison, Gillingham, Griffiths, Grimmer, Halliday, Hart, Higham, Hines, Howard, Ingham, Kitson, Kries, Lamia, Mary-Harting, Moore-Scott, Ó Cróinín, Pasternak, Pollington, Pryce, Scarfe, Snyder, Stafford "Kings," Symonds, Wiseman]

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8. Names

Four books in this year's bibliography are part of the English Place-Name Society county series. In *The Place-Names of Shropshire, Part III: Telford New Town, the Northern Part of Munslow Hundred and the Franchise of Wenlock* (Nottingham: English Place-Name Soc., 2001), Margaret Gelling, in collaboration with the late H.D.G. Foxall, uses the same sources and the same 1963 Ordnance Survey parish outline map used in Parts 1 and 2. She divides the book into two sections: the place-names of parishes incorporated into Telford New Town, and the place-names of the Northern Part of Munslow Hundred and the parishes that were subject to the jurisdiction of Wenley Priory. Entries are arranged alphabetically for the ten parishes in the first section and the thirty-one parishes of the second section except for those parishes with elements ending in *Stretton* and *Wenlock* like *Church Stretton* and *Much Wenlock*, which are alphabetized under the last element rather than the first. The volume provides five useful maps as well. In *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Part VI: The Wapentakes of Manley and Aslacoe* (Nottingham: EPNS, 2001), the late Kenneth Cameron, in collaboration with the late J. Field and J. Insley, covers the wapentakes of Manley and Aslacoe in the West Riding of Lindsey and follows the format of Cameron's earlier volumes with his usual thoroughness. He provides a map of both wapentakes with their parishes identified and a short section on river names dealing with the Ancholme, the Humber, and the Trent. In *The Place-Names of Leicestershire, Part II: Framland Hundred* (Nottingham: EPNS, 2002), Barrie Cox discusses the place-names and field names within each of the civil parishes in the Framland Hundred (earlier Wapentake) in the north-eastern corner of Leicestershire. The parishes are arranged alphabetically and are clearly indicated on an accompanying map. Within the entries for each parish, the place-names with their various forms and recorded dates are listed alphabetically, followed by an etymology, as is the pattern for such EPNS volumes. The volume follows Cox's earlier *Place-Names of Leicestershire, Part I: The Borough of Leicester*. In *The Place-Names of Norfolk, Part III: The Hundreds of North and South Erpingham and Holt* (Nottingham: EPNS, 2002), Karl Sandred includes "additions to the Abbreviations and Bibliography" as well as "Addenda and Corrigenda" to *The Place-Names of Norfolk, Parts 1 and 2*. In the text of this volume, the parishes within each of the three hundreds in the title are listed alphabetically, and for each, the parish name is given first along with other major

names in the parish, minor names, and field names. A map for each of the three hundreds showing the parishes therein is also included.

A fifth EPNS volume in this year's bibliography is volume 3 in a popular series aimed at a general rather than a scholarly audience. In *A Dictionary of County Durham Place-Names* (Nottingham: EPNS, 2002), Victor E. Watts, with contributions by J. Insley, makes use of materials that Watts gathered for the forthcoming EPNS volume on the place-names of County Durham. Watts's introduction is a very readable essay surveying both place-name studies in general and the significance of specific elements in Durham place-names in particular. The bulk of the book is a dictionary of place-names in County Durham which makes use of the National Grid four-figure reference number and earlier forms of the name, etymologies, and meanings of the place-names. It concludes with an alphabetical list of the place-name elements occurring in the dictionary itself.

A large number of essays in this year's bibliography deal with the etymology of individual place-names. In "Wilsill in Yorkshire and Related Place-Names" (*N&Q* 50: 253–57), Carole Hough suggests that a possible interpretation of Wilsill in the former West Riding of Yorkshire is "hollow with a trapping spear" deriving from a variant of OE *wifer* 'javelin, spear' and OE *healh* 'nook of land, valley' rather than deriving the first element from a personal name OE *Wifel* or OE *wifel* 'weevil, beetle'. In "Dwerryhouse in Lancashire" (*N&Q* 50: 3–5), she suggests that Dwerryhouse in Leyland Hundred is not a place-name meaning "dwarf house" from OE *dwe(o)rg* 'dwarf' and OE *hūs* 'house' as suggested by Ekwald and subsequent scholars, and she derives it from OE *dwe(o)rg* 'fever' and *hūs*, giving the meaning 'fever house' or 'hospital'. In "Strensall, Streanaeshalch and Stronsay" (*JEPNS* 35 [2002-03]: 17–24) she identifies an OE *(ge)strēones halh*, as the etymology of *Strensall* in the North Riding of Yorkshire and of the lost *Streanaeshalch* mentioned by Bede as well as the first element being the source of Stronsay in Orkney. She suggests that the compound of OE *(ge)strēones halh* refers to a "productive fishing area or a fertile nook of land." Gillis Kristensson sees no phonological problems in deriving Lackford, a village about six miles from Bury St. Edmonds in Suffolk, from a compound form OE *Læcford* 'ford over the stream' from OE *lacu* and *ford* in "The Place-Name Lackford (Suffolk)" (*N&Q*

50: 257–58). In "The Place-Name Thremhall (Essex)" (*N&Q* 50: 149–50), Kristensson derives *Thremhall* in the name *Thremhall Priory* in western Essex from OE *þræmm* 'beam, log' and OE *halh* 'a corner, angle, a retired or sacred place, cave, covet, recess' and says such a name would indicate "a nook where logs were hewn or stored or something similar." M. C. Higham argues convincingly, in "The Problems of the Bee-Keepers" (JEPNS 34 [2001-02]: 23–28), that the first elements of *Bickerstaffe* and *Bickershaw* in Lancashire come from the genitive plural *bīcera 'of the bee-keepers' from OE *bīcere and prefers ON *staðr* 'place, site' as the source for the second element in *Bickerstaffe*. In "Hough and Hoon, Derbyshire" (JEPNS 35 [2002-03]: 45–48), Barry Crisp, Brian Rich, Mary Wiltshire, and Sue Woore suggest that Domesday Derbyshire name *Hoge* should be associated with *Hoon* (earlier *Hougen* from the dative plural *haugum* 'at the mounds') rather than with *Hulland*. Modern *Hough Park* and thirteenth century *Le Hough* near Hulland derive from OE *hōh* and refer to a ridge of land within the park.

Individual place-names are derived from Celtic sources in several essays. In "Deep Thoughts of the Devon, and a Fresh Look at the Nith" (*Nomina* 25: 139–45), J. G. Wilkinson suggests that *Devon* in the River Devon derives not from British *Dubona 'black river' but from British *Domnona 'the deep one' and that the Nith, another river which flows from twenty miles east of Ayr to the Solway Firth, derives from British *norwiios 'new, fresh' and is the river referred to by Ptolemy as the *Novius. Andrew Breeze has several articles attributing place-names to Celtic sources. In "Lagentium, the Roman Name of Castleford" (*Trans. of the Yorkshire Dialect Soc.* 20: 59–62), he proposes that the Roman name *Lagentium* for Castleford, a mining town southeast of Leeds where the Calder meets the Aire, derives from the Celtic name for the River Aire *Lagena or *Lageni meaning 'blade river' following the Celtic practice of naming rivers after weapons. In "The Celtic Names of Dinckley and Sankey in Lancashire" (*Trans. of the Historic Soc. of Lancashire and Chesire* 150 [2003 for 2000]: 1–6), he proposes that *Dinckley*, a small parish in Lancashire on the south side of the Ribble, derives from Celtic *din* 'fort' of *Cadeli or *Cedeli, *Cadell* being a common early Welsh personal name and the name of several rulers from the ninth century, so *Dinckley* might indicate the stronghold of a British leader. *Sankey Brook* is a river, which used to be completely in Lancashire but is now divided between Lancashire and Cheshire. Breeze notes that many Welsh hydronyms end in -*i* and proposes that *Sankey* derives

from a Brittonic *sanci 'trampler, pusher, presser' related to the verb *sangi, sengi* 'to trample, tread, push in, stamp down' and refers to either the Sankey flooding the fields and destroying crops or forcing its way through natural vegetation. In "The Cumbric Name of Harthkyn, a Field near Ponsonby" (*Trans. of the Cumberland & Westmorland Antiquarian & Archaeological Soc.*, 3rd ser. 2: 310–11), Breeze says that *Harthkyn*, the name of an unidentified field in south-west Cumbria, derives from the Cumbric equivalent of Old Welsh *hardd* 'beautiful, fair' and the Cumbric equivalent of Old Welsh *kein* 'back, ridge' so that the name could mean 'fair ridge' and have been so designated by a Cumbic speaker in the early tenth century. In "St Kentigern and Loquhariot, Lothian" (*Innes Rev.* 54: 103–07), he derives the name *Loquhariot*, a hamlet eight miles south-east of Edinburgh, from the Cumbric equivalent of Old Welsh *loc* 'place, consecrated place' and a Brittonic personal name *Gwrwaret* which may be linked to the Welsh *gwared* 'deliverance, redemption, salvation'. As a result, *Loquhariot* would mean "Gwrwaret's consecrated place" and *Gwrwaret* would mean "man of redemption." Breeze says that Kentigern was not associated with the place until after the death of a holy man named *Gwrwaret* who lived there in the tenth or eleventh century. In "Middle Breton *conek and Consett near Durham (*JEPNS* 35 [2002-03]: 41–43), he suggests that *Consett*, twelve miles west of Durham, may mean "Conek's headland, Conek's hill" and have in it the personal name of a Breton who came from Brittany between 1070 and 1183. In "Kilkhampton, Cornwall" (*Nomina* 25: 147–50), Breeze suggests that the first element in *Kilkhampton* derives from a Primitive Cornish *kelk meaning 'border, boundary' and suggests a Celtic division between Devon and Cornwall before the area was occupied by the English. In "*Kilpeck*, near Hereford, and Latin *pedica* 'Snare'" (*Nomina* 25 [2002]: 151–52), he identifies *Kilpeck* from earlier *Cilpedic* with the first element being Welsh *cil* 'corner, recess, covert, nook' and the second being Old Welsh *pedec borrowed from Latin *pedica* 'trap, snare, fetter'. Thus, Breeze says *Kilpeck* means 'snare nook' and refers to a place where the Welsh trapped game.

Several entries in the bibliography this year also deal with the Old Norse sources of Old English place-names. David N. Parsons, in "Ellough: A Viking Temple in Suffolk?" (*JEPNS* 35 [2002-03]: 25–30), succeeds in refuting Ekwall's derivation of the village name *Ellough* in northeast Suffolk from an ON *elgr 'temple' referring to a pagan temple and almost accepts J. Sahlgren's derivation of the name from ON *elgr* 'elk'. However, he then

goes on to suggest as possible sources the OE *eolh* as a possible cognate of ON *elgr* 'elk' or a 'watery term', perhaps a Brittonic name similar to Thomas's suggested root **eleg-* for the Breton river Ellé. In "Medieval Field-Names in Two South Durham Townships" (*Nomina* 25 [2002]: 53–64), Victor Watts reports, after looking into Billingham and Wolviston field-names and minor names, that Scandinavian influence in County Durham "was severely restricted." Although there are Old Norse elements in some of the names, they are generally Middle English formations from Scandinavian elements that had become widely generalized in northern dialects such as ON *afnám* 'a plot of land newly enclosed' in *Almon Nook* (earlier *Aunam*), ON *fit* 'grassland on a river bank' in *Blafote*, and *reinn* 'strip, boundary' in *le Whetereues*. Élisabeth Ridel has edited the papers presented at a colloquium organized by the University Office of Norman Studies at the University of Caen-Basse-Normandie at the Hague in 1999 as *L'héritage maritime des Vikings in Europe de l'Ouest: Colloque international de la Hague (Flottemanville-Hague, 30 septembre - 3 octobre 1999)* [Caen: Presses universitaires de Caen, 2002]. The presenters included historians, archaeologists, linguists, place-name scholars, and literary scholars from Norway, Denmark, Ireland, Great Britain, and France who had recently done research on Vikings and Scandinavian civilization. There were two foci of the colloquium: the Viking naval expansion into Western Europe and the Viking presence in Western Europe as shown by place-name and personal-name evidence. In one of the papers presented, "Toponymie maritime scandinave en Angleterre, au Pays de Galles et sur l'Île de Man," pp. 401-22, Gillian Fellows-Jensen surveys the Old Norse influence on place-names in England, Wales, and the Isle of Man and summarizes the work of various place-name scholars who have published studies of specific areas or countries. Fellows-Jensen points out that the Nordic place-names in Wales are primarily on the south coast; likewise on the Isle of Man they are also on the coast. However, the Nordic place-names in the north and east of England are not limited to the coast, and their frequency on the coast depends on the presence of obvious topographical features such as promontories and sand-banks.

In "An Analysis of Romsey Field-Names" (*JEPNS* 34 [2001-02]: 29–58) Coralie Lagrange and Henry Daniels give a brief, interesting history of *Romsey* in Hampshire and derive the name from *Rum*, a hypocoristic form of a personal name like *Rumbeald*, and OE *ī(e)g* 'island, land in the middle of marshes'. However, most of the essay lists the names, sources, and etymologies

of sixty-seven pre-Enclosure Act field names which are primarily of West Saxon or Anglo-Norman origin, sixty-two post-Enclosure field-name generics with their etymologies followed by a detailed analysis of the various specifics, and, finally, a list of thirty-four monothematic post-Enclosure field-names with their etymologies. In "Minor Place-Names in the Lost Settlement of Bulverhythe" (*Locus Focus: Forum of the Sussex Place-Names Net* 6.1 [Spring 2002]: 17–20), D. Padgham presents a map reconstructing *Bulverhythe Parish* and *Liberty* from references in documents to the decayed parish of *Bulverhythe* in Sussex. The name *Bulverhythe* derives from *burhwara hyð*, the river landing place of the burgesses. Padgham suggests that a pasture called *le Doune* owned by the manor of *Bulverhythe* in the fourteenth century refers to the field *Bulverdowns* in adjacent Hollington. Similarly, *Long Cistele* probably comes from *cisel* 'gravel or shingle' and refers to the causeway that is later *The Chawceye*, which Padgham takes to reflect standard French for the Anglo-Norman *causey*.

Several essays in this year's bibliography focus on names with animal or plant names as sources. In "Larkhall in Lanarkshire and Related Place-Names" (*N&Q* 50: 1–3), Carole Hough argues that the commonly recognized type of English place-name in which *hall* is combined with a bird-name, also occurs in Scotland as in *Larkhall* (earlier *Laverockhall*) in Lanarkshire but also in *Lark Hall* in the Borders region, *Laverock Hall* in Lanarkshire and Angus, *Corbiehall* in West Lothiam and Lanarkshire, and *Corbiehill* in Midlothian. In "Etymological Notes on *Bergander* and *Eligug*" (*Trans. of the Philological Soc.* 101: 1–5), W.B. Lockwood corrects his earlier derivation of the first element of *Bergander* 'shelduck' from an ON *ber* 'berry' to an OE *-beorg* 'shelter, burrow' so that *Bergander* meaning 'hiding duck' would come from a OE **beorggandra*. Similarly, he rejects his earlier acceptance of *eligug* (a collective name for three species of birds: guillemot, razorbill, and puffin in South Pembrokeshire) as deriving from two onomatopoetic syllables, *eli* and *gug*; now he suggests that the *-gug* element is related to the word *goog* found in Scotland referring to the 'young of wild birds'. Further, Lockwood derives the whole word from **nelly goog*, interpreting some forms with an initial <h> as being a misreading of a capital <N>. In "Welsh *Cynog* and Chinnock, Somerset" (*JEPNS* 34 [2001-02]: 15–16), Andrew Breeze says that *East Chinnock*, *Middle Chinnock*, *West Chinnock*, and *Chinnock Brook* in Somerset all reflect a Brittonic hydronym meaning 'hound' or 'hound-like' stream. In "Beverley: A Beaver's Lodge Place" (*JEPNS* 34: 17–22), Richard Coates suggests that

Beverley in the East Riding of Yorkshire is to be associated with a British *bebro-lecc 'beaver lodge' and probably derives from an early Brittonic *beβr-lïcc meaning 'beaver-lodge place'. Two essays in this year's bibliography appear in *From Earth to Art: The Many Aspects of the Plant-World in Anglo-Saxon England: Proceedings of the First ASpNS Symposium, University of Glasgow, 5-7 April 2000* (Amsterdam: Rodopi), edited by C.P. Biggam. In "The Æspe Tree in Anglo-Saxon England" (195–230), Biggam argues that OE *æspe* represented the aspen as well as the black poplar and the grey poplar. Biggam also discusses the medicinal use of the bark of the *æspe* as an ingredient in a lotion to treat *smeawyrm*, an open wound which might or might not be caused by a 'cunning worm' and to treat *þeoradl* 'dry roughness of the skin'. [Biggam's article is also reviewed in section 1.] In "Place-Name Evidence for Anglo-Saxon Plant-Names" (41–78), Carole Hough catalogs "plant names attested uniquely in place-names from the Anglo-Saxon period" and concludes with a ten-page appendix of such plant-names with their meanings and place-names in which they occur. Perhaps even more significantly, however, she also proposes that certain Old English elements which are currently interpreted otherwise should be interpreted as tree-names such as OE *fūl 'black alder' in *Fulbeck* in Lincolnshire, OE *corn 'cornel' in *Corhampton* in Hampshire, OE *gāte 'dogwood' in *Gatacre* in Shropshire, OE *hwīting* 'whitebeam tree' in *Whittington* in Derbyshire, OE *pīn* 'pine-tree' in *Pinelow Plantation* in Derbyshire, OE *windel 'willow' in *Windlesham* in Surrey, and OE *lūs 'spindle-tree' in *Lousehill* in Somerset. Anna Cole points out, in "The Use of *Netel* in Place-Names" (*JEPNS* 35 [2002-03]: 49–58), that nettles grow best on fertile soils that are rich in phosphates from bones, manure, or household wastes. Therefore, nettles are likely to grow best where the land has been occupied by people or other animals the longest. She identifies twenty-two pre-1500 place-names with the OE *netel* as an element, most of which date from the time of the Roman occupation and are near old Roman settlements or roads such as *Nettleton*, Wiltshire; *Nettleham*, Lincolnshire; *Nettleton Hill*, Longwood in the West Riding of Yorkshire; *Nettlestead*, Kent; and *Nettle Hall*, Cheshire.

There were also several essays this year dealing with personal names. In "The Surname Purrock" (*N&Q* 50: 375–77), Carole Hough suggests that the surname *Purrock* derives from an OE or ME *purroc 'bittern, snipe, dunlin' and that the lost field-name *Purrokescroft* in Norfolk may also derive from the surname *Purrock* which would show that the name was not limited to

Scotland but extended south into England as well. In "St Cuthbert, Bede, and the Niduari of Pictland" (*Northern History* 40: 365–68), Andrew Breeze argues convincingly that the Niduari, a Pictish people mentioned in Bede's prose *Life of St. Cuthbert*, lived around *Newburn* in South Fife and that their name derives from the river named *Nid* 'diving stream' because it dives underground around Newburn. [Breeze's article is also reviewed in section 7.] In "Drinkstone" (*Ortnamnssäll-skopets i Uppsala Årsskraft* [2002]: 64–68), John Insley supports his earlier derivation of the first element of this name from the Old Norse personal name *Drengr*, which occurs in medieval Norwegian sources. He says this name belongs to a category of personal names which were originally bynames deriving from terms designating personal status, in this case ON *drengr* 'a valiant man, soldier'. John Dodgson, in "Addenda and Corrigenda to Tengvik" (*Names, Time and Place: Essays in Memory of Richard McKinley*, ed. Della Hooke and David Postles [Oxford: Leopard's Head], 23–40), calls attention to thirty-eight addenda and fourteen corrigenda to G. Tengvik's *Old English Bynames* based on the Phillimore edition of *Domesday Book* (1975-86). One of the longest and most interesting of the addenda is the discussion of the byname *ceuresbert* as a French-English hybrid based on the OF *chievre* 'goat' rather than the Old English name for the cockchafer (an insect) and OE *beard*. Thus, the byname could be making fun of a "man with the beard of a French goat" or of a "French man with a goat's beard." Felicia Jean Steele, in "Grendel: Another Dip into the Etymological Mere" (*ELN* 40.3: 1–13), suggests that the name *Grendel* is the result of a taboo word based on the verb *drencan* 'to give to drink or to drown' just as *Beowulf* 'bee-wolf' is probably a taboo word for 'bear'. She proposes a reversal of syllable-initial segments from *Grendel* to arrive at a *drengel which she interprets to mean 'the drinker' referring to Grendel's blood-drinking which was taboo in both Germanic tradition and Christianity. [Also reviewed in section 4.b.] In "Woden und andere forschungsgeschichtliche Leichen, exhumiert; Forschungsgeschichte und die Folgen" (*Beiträge zur Namenforschung* 38: 25–42), Ludwig Rubekeil derives the OE *Woden* from a prehistoric *uātis, a term referring to a class of Celtic priests (Gaulish Latin *vates*) and says it results from Germanic and Celtic contacts with the Celtic *Lugus* becoming Woden in Germanic mythology. In "The Non-Latin Personal Names on the Name-Bearing Objects in the Old English Runic Corpus (Epigraphical Material): A Preliminary List" (*Runica-Germanica-Mediaevalia*, ed. W. Heizmann and A. van Nahl [Berlin: Walter de Gruyter], 932–68), Gaby Waxenberger presents the names and

name-elements found on the ninety-eight objects in the Old English runic corpus of epigraphical material at Eichstätt University. Two lists are arranged alphabetically by the name of the artifact, rather than by the personal name or name-element on the artifact. The first list is of eighteen complete names such as *luda* on the Caister-By-Norwich Brooch; the second is of thirty-one fragmentary, problematic, or doubtful names such as *-swiþi* (the oblique case of an Old English personal name ending in *-swiþ*) on the Collingham Stone. The name material comes from the fifth until the tenth or eleventh centuries and includes twenty-seven Old English names and one that was originally Old Irish.

Three of the place-name essays in this year's bibliography are locational in their focus. In "*Historia Brittonum* and Arthur's Battle of *Mons Agned*" (*Northern History* 40: 167–70), Andrew Breeze suggests that the site of Arthur's eleventh battle listed in *Historia Brittonum* as *Agned* is a misreading of Old Welsh *agued* 'death; strait' so that the place of the battle means 'death hill', and since the Brittonic form *pen* means 'hill, headway', it is possible that an original *pen agued evolved into *Pennango* in twelfth-century documents. It is near Hawick in southern Scotland. [Also reviewed in section 7.] In "Stour in Ismere" (*Jnl of the Wolverley and Cookley Historical Soc.* 12 [2002]: 5–11), Margaret Gelling suggests that the Anglo-Saxon charter from around 736 by which King Æthelbald of Mercia grants land for a monastery to Cyneberht at "Stour in Ismere" refers to *Kidderminster* which she derives from OE *Cydelanmynster* where *Cydela* was a personal name, perhaps of an abbot who was the son of the first abbot Cyneberht and older brother of Cyneberht's son Ceolfrith. Gelling says that "Stour in Ismere" and *Cydelandmynster* might reflect the earlier name used in official documents and the popular name in local use respectively. Alf Webb, in "*Bremesbyrig*—Bromsberrow" (*Dean Archaeology* 16: 3–4), suggests that the *Bromesbyrig* mentioned in the Mercian Register as the place where Lady Æthelflæd built a burh is indeed Bromsberrow in West Gloucestershire. He cites Coplestone Crew's derivation of the first part of Bromsberrow Heath in Hertfordshire as "manor house on, or near the hill where the broom grows," using the late Saxon meaning of *byrig* as 'manor'. Webb ends rather confusingly, however, by citing A. Rudge (1803) as proposing an etymology based on Saxon *bryme* 'famous' and *berg* 'town' or *beorgh* 'castle', thus suggesting that *Bromsberrow* meant 'famous castle'.

Two essays this year take broad views of place-name studies in England. In "English Place-Name Studies:

Some Reflections, Being the First Cameron Lecture, Delivered 11th December 2003, Inaugurating the Institute for Name Studies" (*JEPNS* 35 [2002-23]: 5–16), Margaret Gelling recounts the history of the English Place-Name Society beginning with the work of Sir Allen Mawer and Sir Frank Stenton and shortly thereafter of J. Gover, B. Dickins, M. Gelling, K. Cameron, J. Dodgson, and H. Smith. She notes that field-names began to get a lot more attention in the 1950s and that the county surveys became much more detailed in the 1980s with the result that a single county may be published in several volumes over a period of years with indexing unfinished until the survey of the county is complete. She also relates how she and J. Dodgson began questioning orthodox opinions in the 1960s, because older scholars sometimes refused to see the meaning of distribution patterns and "did less than justice to the British element" in place-names. In "The Significance of Celtic Place-Names in England" (*The Celtic Roots of English*, ed. Markku Filppula, Juhani Klemola, and Heli Pitkänen, Studies in Languages 37 [Joensuu, Finland: Univ. of Joensuu, 2002], 47–85), Richard Coates frequently cites his and Andrew Breeze's book *Celtic Voices, English Places* and includes twelve county maps from the same volume showing Celtic place-names in Lincolnshire, north-west Wiltshire, Cumberland, Herefordshire, Shropshire, Huntingdonshire and Kent, Dorset, Cheshire, Somerset, Lancashire, Cambridgeshire, and Suffolk as well as earlier maps from other sources. Coates focuses on non-river-names and shows that a number of difficult place-names can be explained as Celtic, mostly Brittonic but a few Goidelic such as *Noctorum* 'dry hillock' in the Wirral Peninsula and *Lindisfarne* derived from the river-name *Lindis*, a derivative of the root meaning 'lake', and Old Irish *ferann* 'land; ploughland; land given for support of a monastery'. The essay includes an appendix containing etymologies of all the names discussed within it.

In "A New Approach to the Inversion Compounds of North-West England" (*Nomina* 25 [2002]: 65–90), A. Grant argues persuasively that the inversion compounds of place-names occurring in Cumberland, Westmorland, and Lancashire are a result of contact of Goidelic speakers with Scandinavians in western Scotland rather than in Ireland. Many of these inversion compounds have Goidelic personal names as their second element instead of just topographical Goidelic elements. Grant hypothesizes that these inversion compounds were coined by Gaelic speakers from the Scottish Isles or Western Scotland who learned Old Norse, which had greater prestige than Goidelic, as they

traveled to north-west England with the Scandinavians from Scotland. These Old Irish speakers from Scotland then manifested the substratum element of Celtic word-order in place-names which involved the entire community as well as using Giodelic elements as the second element. The essay ends with a seven-page appendix of inversion compounds from North-West England.

In "Do -ingas Place Names Occur in Pairs?" (*JEPNS* 35 [2002-03]: 31–40), Susan Laflin concludes that -ingas names appear in pairs on opposite sides of the boundary between two different peoples, as first suggested by M. Gelling. Laflin identifies similar pairs of place-names in Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, illustrated with accompanying maps. Pairs from Norfolk include *Palling* (*Pælli-ingas*) and *Hickling* (*Hicel-ingas*) in Happing (*Hæp-ingas*) Hundred, *Larling* (*Lyrel-ingas*) and *East Harling* (*Herela-ingas*), *Gissing* (*Gyssa-ingas*) and *Shimpling* (*Scimpel-ingas*), and possibly *Wendling* (*Wændel-ingas*) and Scarning, although the first element of *Scarning* is probably a topographical element. In Suffolk, she suggests that *Barking* (*Berica-ingas*) and

Creetings (*Cræta-ingas*) might be such a pair. In Essex, she posits that such pairs might include *Tendring* (possibly associated with *tynder* 'fuel') and *Frating* (*Fræta-ingas*), *Rodings* (*Hrōða-ingas*), *Messing* (*Mæcca-ingas*), and *Feering* (*Fēre-ingas*) as possible triplets, *Nazeing* (*næss-ingas*) and *Epping* (*yppe-ingas*) which suggest that the ness-dwellers and the *yppe* or upland dwellers identified themselves as separate groups, possibly *Seven Kings* (*Seofeca-ingas*) and *Barling* (*Bærla-ingas*) and *Barking* (*Berica-ingas*), and *Great* and *Little Wakering* (*Wacer-ingas*).

In "Notes on the Linguistic and Onomastic Characteristics of Old English *Wic*" (*Wics: The Early Medieval Trading Centres of Northern Europe* [Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001], 1–2), A. Rumble cites Ekwall as observing that several place-names with *wic* were major trading centers in the Middle Saxon period, and Rumble himself concludes that in a few cases the element indicated "a major market-centre with facilities for international maritime trade." [Also reviewed in section 3a.]

9. Archaeology, Numismatics, Sculpture

a. Regional Studies

Bruce Eagles, "Augustine's Oak," *MA* 47: 175–78, offers an interesting contribution to the identification of boundaries between an area of early Anglo-Saxon settlement, that of the West Saxons, and a British group, the Hwicce. Bede said that St. Augustine and British church leaders met on this boundary at a place known as Augustine's Oak. Recent research on the extent of Early Anglo-Saxon evidence in Wiltshire and place-name evidence has led to the identification of the boundary, but Eagles argues that the combined evidence also shows that that only one district lay on both the British frontier in Augustine's day and on the West Saxon and Hwiccan boundary in the time of Bede: that is the area around Kemble, which he proposes as the probable site of Augustine's Oak.

In "The Archaeology of the Parish of West Acre; Part 1: Field Survey Evidence," *Norfolk Archaeology* 44: 202–21, Alan Davison offers a detailed account of the Field Survey evidence of the area, undertaken between 1995 and 1990, as a preliminary to a full archaeological survey. Accounts, with maps as appropriate, are given of the location and its geological relief, with notes on the geology and the soil, and a concise statement of

methodology. The area had been dominated in the later medieval period by a monastic house, an Augustinian Priory founded in 1102, and the aim of the project was to discover its influence on the development of the settlement. The Field survey produced finds dating from pre-Iron Age to ca. 1520. The sparse Anglo-Saxon finds are listed on pages 213–5. These consist mainly of sherds, with one early concentration relating to a cremation cemetery discovered in 1857; a second to a probable settlement area. Middle Saxon finds were particularly sparse. Those of the pre-Conquest period suggested that at that date the settlement was broadly in the area of the present one, which is different from that of the Early Anglo-Saxon settlement.

Stephen G. Upex, in "Landscape Continuity and the Fossilization of Roman Fields," *ArchJ* 159 (2002): 77–108, sees his paper as a contribution to the subject of estate survival which has been put forward since the nineteenth century, though on the basis of little evidence. He uses excavation, field-walking surveys, air photographs, and later manuscript evidence to suggest that continuity of field use from the fourth to the sixth centuries can be detected and supported. A close study of Haddon, Cambridgeshire (where continuity of occupation into the early medieval period on an originally

Roman farmstead site has already been shown) is used to argue that areas of small medieval furlongs are associated with sites of Roman and early medieval date. He was able to identify open-field remains based on surviving ridge-and-furrow and surviving earthen banks, and on soil marks or photographic evidence for former areas of ridge-and-furrow and earthen banks. He found a significant relationship between the areas of late Roman and early medieval pottery scatters and the areas of smaller, later medieval furlongs. Sectioning of four banks showed the ditched features within them to be of Roman origin. He used "distance-decay" assessment of several sites to show that the closer to the center of the site, the greater the number of small furlongs. His method of assessment is quite technical, and perhaps requires some further explanation to demonstrate its value in other areas, but it is useful that this idea, often as the author suggests, assumed without explanation, has at last been subjected to a form of analysis that can be tested in other areas.

Helena Hamerow's *Early Medieval Settlements: The Archaeology of Rural Communities in Northwest Europe 400–900*, Medieval History and Archaeology (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2002), is a much needed overview of the current state of early rural settlement archaeology in north west Europe between ca. 400 and 900 A.D. The chapters cover such topics as buildings, settlement structure, territorial context agricultural production, and trade and non-agrarian production. Each chapter usefully considers the implications of the archaeology: for example that on buildings considers the evidence in relation to "houses and households"; settlement structure is seen as defining social space, the territorial context in relation to power structures, and so on. In addition each topic looks first at the wider European picture, and then to how this relates to evidence from Anglo-Saxon England. The book also begins with a discussion of earlier work and the development of "settlement archaeology" as a distinct field of study. This is a very useful book for teachers and students, but every topic is also at the cutting edge of recent discovery and debate: see the books on trading centers discussed below, which means that the conclusions here can only be interim ones. It is most useful as a summary of the current state of inter-related fields, and as a reminder that it is not wise to be too narrowly focused. Among the wider implications for future research considered is an acknowledgement of the period ca. 680–830 as a turning point for settlement structure and architecture, and for the organization of landed production and regional exchange.

The debate on the development of trading centers is well represented in the 2003 bibliography by two books of collected papers. The first is edited by Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider, *Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and 'Productive' Sites, 650–850* (Macclesfield: Windgather), some items of which are covered by other contributors to this section. In "Markets and 'Productive' Sites: A View from Western Britain" (62–72), David Griffiths notes that discussion of "productive sites" is concentrated on the eastern and southern counties of England, and wonders if this simply reflects greater effort in metal-detecting and/or archaeological recording in these areas. He agrees that there is a marked difference between east and west of Britain if "productive sites" are strictly defined by the presence of medium to large assemblages (over fifteen items) of Middle to Late Anglo-Saxon metalwork and coins. He concludes that while there are indeed fewer sites in the west, there are still some which conform to at least some of the criteria, either in method of discovery, siting, or in assemblages of artifacts: he discusses Asby Winderwath Common (Cumbria on a trans-Pennine routeway), Llanbedrgoch (Anglesey, Wales), and Meols (Mersey side, north-west England) as examples. In "Exceptional Finds, Exceptional Sites? Barham and Coddenham, Suffolk" (97–109), John Newman starts by asking another version of the same question: are these sites really exceptional, or have we been thrown off-balance by a wealth of material uncovered in an intensive but unsystematic way by metal detectors? He answers by trying to show that the two sites he singles out are indeed exceptional for the range and size of their metalwork assemblages, as part of a broader study of Middle Anglo-Saxon sites in southeast Suffolk. However, he also points out that they must have existed at the same time in the seventh century as Ipswich before "slipping back" to a more rural role. They are therefore interesting as part of the complex process by which some *wics* flourished, and others not. Tim Pestell, in "The Afterlife of 'Productive' Sites in East Anglia" (122–37), looks at East Anglia from the perspective of Late Saxon and Norman periods, including in his study some of the same sites as those discussed by Rogerson, discussed by another writer in this section. He notes that four of Rogerson's sites came to have monasteries founded in or close to the "productive" sites. One of the two remaining has little later history but the sixth (West Walton) he shows may have been the predecessor of Wisbech, a simple repositioning of the earlier trading focus. He notes the high incidence of medieval, post-Conquest monasteries in or near such sites as both curious and interesting, and that other such sites came

to act as endowments for monastic houses, and concludes that this has to do with the role of the church in economic development. Katharina Ulmschneider's "Markets around the Solent: Unravelling a 'Productive' Site on the Isle of Wight" (73–83) is a case study of one "productive" site in its geographical context, at the center of the Isle of Wight and close to major lines of communication; close, too, to cross-channel links and coastal routes. She sees it as possibly providing access to Winchester and the Thames Valley. The site has produced a large amount of Middle Saxon coinage, and some non-ferrous metalwork, some of high-status objects. There is clearly a case for arguing this site must have been important, based on its location and assemblage of finds, but as the author says, many new finds in the area need to be added into the assessment, and further investigation is still needed to show why or indeed whether this site, unknown to history, was truly as important as the assumptions, based otherwise solely on location, suggest. The collection of papers in this book as a whole raises questions which it in the end it cannot answer in the present state of knowledge: such as whether "productive" sites and trading centers are necessarily the same thing, and how all this information relates to our understanding of urban development. In the second book on this subject, *Wics: the Early Mediaeval Trading Centres of Northern Europe*, Sheffield Archaeological Monographs 14 (Sheffield: Sheffield Academic Press, 2001), the editors David Hill and Robert Cowie are essentially looking at an earlier stage in the discussion, since this is a collection of papers from a conference which took place in 1991. Here the definition of *wic* is more tightly drawn, referring to sites which indicated (from the amount of imported goods) trade with an international dimension, and which the archaeology showed stood at the very beginning of urban development, in England in the pre-Viking period. The discussion is therefore prior to the explosion of new metalwork finds, often isolated from their archaeological context, which informs so much of the discussion in the previous book. The problem of defining *wics* and the need for rigorous and standardized assessment of an (always) archaeological context is set out in Robert Cowie's piece: "English *Wics*: Problems with Discovery and Interpretation" (14–21); and this need to define and standardize is carried through in the appendices: for example in Robert Cowie, Richard L. Kemp, Alan Morton, and Keith Wade's "Appendix 1. Gazetteer of Known English *Wics*," 85–94; David Hill, with Maggie Bailey *et al*. "Appendix 2. Gazetteer of Possible Anglo-Saxon Wics," 95–103, and *ibid*., "A Short Selection of Contemporary Sources for

the *Wic* Sites," 111–18. David Hill's "End Piece: Definitions and Superficial Analysis" (75–84) sums up this interpretative aspect and sets out both the conclusions of the conference and the outstanding problems raised. Other papers look at evidence from a variety of finds. In "Typology and Trade: A Study of the Vessel Glass from *Wics* and Emporia in Northwest Europe" (43–49), Matthew Stiff looks at trading relations exemplified by glass vessels found on a number of sites, considering eastern England the center of production for some types, and an area between Rhine and Meuse the center of another. In this piece, the possible role of the church as a major consumer of glass for windows and other uses is also considered. The implications of locally produced and traded goods are also discussed by Lyn Blackmore in "Pottery: Trade and Tradition" (22-42). On the other hand, Michael Metcalf in "Coins from *Wics*" (50–53), finds that coin evidence is inconclusive as a means of assessing the actual level of commercial activity at all periods, but also says that trade became less safe and profitable, and that many *wics* lost their monetary importance, as a result of the Viking invasions—and that afterwards the focus of monetary exchange became the Alfredian burhs. "On the Interpretation of Animal Bone Assemblages from *Wics*" (54–60) by Terry O'Connor is surprisingly interesting, showing that this material of "distinctively dull bone assemblages" can be used to show that these sites were not high-status, and were provisioned by redistribution (that is they did not feed themselves)—with the implication that the provisioning was done by an elite which maintained these sites. Ian Riddler, in "The Spatial Organization of Bone-Working at *Hamwic*" (61–66) is looking at early evidence for areas within *wics* devoted to a specific trade, based on the distribution within them of waste materials. Christopher Scull, "Burials at Emporia in England" (67–74), is appropriately tentative in concluding that while there is little in the particular (all Anglo-Saxon) sites considered that is outside the range of contemporary burial practice, "the number of burial sites and the juxtaposition of small burial groups and larger cemeteries may suggest a broader range of constraints and choices governing disposal of the dead at emporia than at other contemporary settlements." Some of his observations are of interest in the light of the discussion by Elisabeth Zadora-Rio in the section on Death and Burial.

E.C.

This volume *Gathering the People, Settling the Land: The Archaeology of a Middle Thames Landscape, Anglo-Saxon to Post-Medieval*, ed. Stuart Foreman, Jonathan

Hiller and David Petts, Thames Valley Landscapes Monograph 14 (Oxford: Oxford Archaeological Unit, 2002) focuses on the medieval period of a 12 km. site along the Thames, with other volumes covering the Mesolithic to Bronze Age and the later Bronze Age to Roman periods. The project was the result of research by the Maidenhead, Windsor and Eton Flood Allevia-tion Scheme (Environment Agency) and the Eton Col-lege Rowing Course Project. The book is designed as a stand-alone report, focusing on an extensive mid-dle Saxon site largely consisting of pits; the highlight of the published project is the CD-ROM, which offers both the .pdf format of the text and extensive addi-tional materials. The CD-ROM has an interactive map, showing distribution information; when users click on the map, site information opens for the individual pit, offering a wealth of information on images of the pit, descriptions of soil and measurements, images, illustra-tions and descriptions of finds, weight and sherd num-bers, and radiocarbon dating. There are many specialist reports providing both overview and detailed informa-tion about subjects like building materials, environ-mental data (pollen, soil, etc.), bone (animal, human, and worked objects), and material finds (pottery, glass, metalwork, etc.). It is these specialist reports that offer the scholar so much more information than is tradi-tionally found in a single work. The importance of the middle Thames valley and its archaeology is only being gradually recognized, and this work will be of great help in understanding the use of riverways in the politics, culture, and economy of the Middle Ages. The first section of the book addresses the project method-ologies and highlights the sampling of pits in the Lot's Hole and Lake End Road sites. Chapter Two provides necessary archaeological and historical background, first with some information from the other volumes so as to buttress the medieval usage with Roman and ear-lier information. The gazetteer of Anglo-Saxon sites in the study area (including Taplow and Windsor) shows Anglo-Saxon settlements clustered in the higher gravel terraces, with mortuary sites at Taplow near Maiden-head, Cookham, Berkshire, and Bourne End, Wooburn. The authors also provide documentary and place-name evidence for the region. In Chapter 3, Jonathan Hiller and Simon Mortimer discuss the Anglo-Saxon archae-ology of the three adjacent sites of Lot's Hole (twenty pits of middle Saxon date), Lake End Road West (ninety pits with subsidiary clustering), and Lake End Road East (thirteen pits); little of confirmed Anglo-Saxon date was found on the Eaton Rowing Course project (an isolated inhumation grave, dating to the seventh century, of a probably adult female now missing bones

but containing a few grave goods such as a copper and amethyst pendant and a broken silver ring). The pits date broadly from the seventh to the ninth century. Chapter 4 addresses the Anglo-Saxon finds and envi-ronmental evidence, including pottery (notably locally produced Ipswich ware and imported continental pot-tery; most commonly chaff-tempered ware and quartz tempered ware), metalwork (iron, a few copper alloy pieces, lead scrap, lock and key fragments, twenty com-plete or fragmentary knives), worked stone (especially grindstones and whetstones), bone and antler objects (thirty-nine middle Saxon pieces, mainly combs and pin-beaters but also an unusual bow guard), fired clay (loomweights and a spindlewhorl), glass (three frag-ments), and iron slag (no evidence of smelting on site). In chapter 5, Hiller, Petts, and Tim Allen discuss the site archaeology; the Eton Rowing Course is significant primarily in the absence of Anglo-Saxon material given the wealth up to the Roman period while the Flood Alleviation sites are noteworthy for having almost exclusively middle Saxon dated pits. The authors have suggested the use of the site as a temporary meeting place given the only slight evidence of craft and indus-try, leaning heavily towards textile production in all phases. The personal finds suggest affluence and sta-tus, possibly supporting trade despite the rural remote-ness of the site; there is a distinct lack, however, of coins, possibly but not conclusively explained in part by the minting irregularities and scarcities of the later eighth century. One suggestion raised is that this may be a moot or regional synod site, of which there is lit-tle earlier archaeological evidence; these studies add to our understanding of pre-Viking trade and settlement types. The book concludes with chapters on the medi-eval and post-medieval archaeology, focusing on details of the stratigraphy of the pits, and on medieval and post-medieval finds, offering short summary reports of the kind treated in detail on the CD-ROM.

As part of a larger work of archaeological studies of economic sites, Julian D. Richards presents "The Anglian and Anglo-Scandinavian Sites at Cottam, East Yorkshire" (*Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Pes-tell and Ulmschneider, 155–166), which argues against the term "productive" because it groups together sites of varying richness in finds, of varying degrees of actual production, and even of varying degrees of commercial activity; "productive" thus masks rather than reveals a range of economic activities over the life of the site. His primary example is Cottam, a site with two settle-ments, A and B, whose somewhat flexible boundaries relate to an ancient droveway. At Cottam A, the site

finds are consistent with a high-status Romano-British Wolds farm but show little evidence of Anglo-Saxon settlement activity; Cottam B, in contrast, was a highly "productive" site, including dress pins, strap ends, rings, brooches, lead weights, knife blades, and even two so-called Norse bells, in addition to coins. The material at Cottam B is then plotted, consistently showing an example of the curvilinear enclosure complex type; comparison with other sites, such as Butterwick and Riby, Lincolnshire, suggests that Cottam B was a residential site active until the mid-ninth century. Artifact record and magnetometer study suggest that Cottam A again became a focus in the tenth century. "Objects datable to the eighth and ninth century are predominantly, but not exclusively, found in the southern group, while those of the later ninth and tenth century are predominantly but not exclusively in the northern group"(161). Cottam is placed within a range of medieval production, including sheep breeding, the cultivation and processing of cereal crops, some local small-scale metalworking; there is a distinct absence of imported trade goods, which Richards finds notable given Cottam's proximity to the coast, and Roman roads and may be explained by royal control of nearby Driffield during the Anglian period. While Richards' study sheds light on Cottam itself, it is more clearly an argument for critically pairing artifact classification and distribution with newer technologies like aerial photography, remote sensing, magnetometry and resistivity.

F.A.

The value of recording metal detector finds is clearly illustrated by Kevin Leahy's paper, "Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire: An Emerging Picture," *Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Pestell and Ulmschneider, 138–54. As a museum curator, Leahy has worked for many years to develop a positive relationship with local metal detectorists, whose finds, he argues, are often the only remnants of a rapidly destroyed historic landscape. By mapping all Anglo-Saxon and Viking metalwork known as of December 2000—almost 1200 items of which derive from metal detecting activities—Leahy constructs an archaeological framework for Middle Anglo-Saxon Lincolnshire. Two primary findings result from this survey. First, Leahy argues that the distribution of metalwork suggests that, during the eighth and ninth centuries, the region that was to later become the modern county of Lincolnshire was composed of three archaeologically-distinguishable areas that approximate to the historic kingdom of Lindsey, Kesteven, and Holland. The very different circumstances of environment, economy, and political cohesion in these three regions may be connected with the uneven distribution of Middle Saxon "productive" sites. Leahy devotes the remainder of his paper to the "productive" site at Melton Ross, located on major lines of communication on the edge of the Lincolnshire Wolds. This site, which is represented archaeologically by four concentrations of metalwork finds, is located within a populated landscape marked by the major elements of Middle Saxon administration, including a wapentake center at nearby Yarborough Camp, land management evidenced by crop marks, suggestions of judicial (gallows) sites, and metalwork finds of an ecclesiastical nature.

Included in the same volume is a discussion of "productive" sites identified across the Wash drainage system from Lincolnshire. Andrew Rogerson, in "Six Middle Anglo-Saxon Sites in West Norfolk" (*Markets in Early Medieval Europe*, ed. Pestell and Ulmschneider, 110–21) provides brief archaeological summaries of Bawsey, Burnham, Congham, Rudham, West Walton, and Wormegay. Information about Middle Saxon activities at these sites has been gathered from field-walking, trial-trenching and small-scale excavation, aerial photography, geophysical survey, and metal-detecting. Metalwork and ceramic finds indicate that Bawsey, located on a hill overlooking the River Gaywood four kilometers east of Kings Lynn, was the paramount productive site. The discovery of over fifty Anglo-Saxon coins and six styli indicates the settlement's role as an elite center, minor *wic*, or perhaps even a monastic establishment. Within the same network, the fenland site at West Walton may have functioned as a subsidiary port to serve the needs of the administrative and trading center at Bawsey. Likewise, Burnham, another coastal site, may have been incorporated along with Bawsey into the system of *wics* during the eighth and ninth centuries. The function of the long-lived inland settlements at Congham and Rudham remains unclear. Although Rogerson, drawing on its topographic position, characterizes the briefly occupied site at Wormegay as monastic, the evidence for this position is less than compelling.

G.F.

b. Excavations

In "St. Bartholomew's, Kneesall: A Possible Anglo-Saxon Church in Nottinghamshire," (*Trans. of the Thoroton Soc. of Nottinghamshire* 106 [2002]: 53–59) Richard Sheppard and Ron Firman offer a brief record of excavations in this church, undertaken in advance of a reordering to permit part of the floor space to be

deconsecrated for community use. The depth of excavation, dictated by the necessity to meet modern building regulations, revealed evidence of an earlier chancel, which had been enlarged by the addition of an apse. No artifacts were found to help dating, but the narrowness of the chancel is comparable to Anglo-Saxon chancels in the area. A fragment of a tenth- to eleventh-century grave cover had been found embedded in the church fabric in the nineteenth century. The authors argue that the two phases of construction suggest a Norman rebuilding of an earlier Saxon phase.

Ælfric's Abbey: Excavations at Eynsham Abbey, Oxfordshire, 1989–92; Thames Valley Landscapes 15 (Oxford: School of Archaeology) by Alan Hardy, Anne Dodd, and Graham D. Keevill, with contribution by Leigh Allen *et al.*, is a handsomely produced and well-illustrated excavation report on this major site of a minster established in the pre-Conquest period, refounded late in the age of Benedictine reform in the early eleventh century, and continuing until the Dissolution of the monasteries in the sixteenth century. All its phases of development are fully treated, drawing on the appropriate specialist reports as necessary. This is an important addition to the growing body of evidence on pre-Conquest monastic sites, of which there is now so much that some kind of synthesis seems needed. Indeed, the specialist reports on the finds and the environmental material (part III) comprise about half of a very substantial tome. Chapters 3 and 4 take the reader through the excavated features of the pre-Conquest phases, and chapter 14, after the specialist reports, is a very thorough synthesis of the evidence of pre-Conquest structures and finds taken together, each section ending with a discussion of the chronology and its interpretation in relation to the development of the building complex and the activities carried on there.

Duncan Hawkins, Frank Meddens, and Peter Moore, with contributions by Shahina Farid and Nick Truckle, "Archaeological Investigations at North Street/George Street, Barking" (*London Archaeologist* 10.6: 148–53) offers a brief account of an excavation undertaken in 1997, which yet relates to our developing knowledge of the area around another pre-Conquest monastic site. They found evidence of occupation from ca. 750 to the present, but the most important find was a property boundary established between ca. 850–1050 associated with low-status domestic occupation, possibly indicative of a secular settlement contemporary with the Anglo-Saxon abbey only 280 m. from the boundary. The discussion covers the foundation and supplanting

of towns by monastic houses, which contributed to the process of urban growth in the tenth and eleventh centuries, although in this case no direct link with the abbey was found. This article makes an interesting companion piece to "Barkingwic? Saxon and Medieval Features adjacent to Barking Abbey," *Essex Archaeology and History* 33 (2002): 157–90, in which Graham Hull, with contributions from Alan Vince *et al.,* describes an excavation in the vicinity in the following year. In this, they give a history of the abbey from its founding in the late seventh century, and a survey of previous archaeology in the area. The new excavation found evidence from the Middle Saxon period onwards (phase IIIa) including evidence of a river landing stage indicating a possible trading zone (*wic*) in the eighth to early ninth century. This area appears to have been remodeled in the late tenth to early eleventh century for a change of function, probably to a kitchen garden and rubbish disposal area, and perhaps for some continued industrial activity, all to the south of the abbey complex. Very interesting is the analysis of an early medieval landscape, including a water course which formed a western boundary for the Saxon and medieval abbey.

In "Excavation of Medieval Features at St. Andrews Church Vicarage, Sonning, Berkshire," *Berkshire Archaeol. Jnl* 76 (1998–2003): 73–93, Graham Hull and Melanie Hall, with contributions by Sheila Hamilton-Dyer *et al.* describe an excavation undertaken in the grounds of Sonning vicarage in advance of building a new parsonage house. The interest of the site lies in the fact that a Saxon and Medieval bishop's palace is known to have stood within 100m of the site, and the church has some surviving Anglo-Saxon work in its exterior west end. The excavation uncovered mainly refuse pits, with some gullies, ditches, and post holes. The pottery evidence provides a date range from the tenth to the eleventh centuries. The later medieval material, in particular, provides evidence of a nearby, high-status site, but does not seem to have been conclusive for the earlier period.

The 2003 bibliography includes a number of excavations elucidating small areas of towns, usually undertaken in advance of redevelopment. In "The Excavation of Late Saxon and Medieval Features at Kintbury Square, Kintbury, Berkshire, 1995," *Berkshire Archaeol. Jnl* 75 (1997): 75–92, Steve Ford records an excavation carried out in advance of house construction in 1995, in a village known previously from documentary sources as having a minster church, and as being part of a royal manor. Archaeological evidence was sparse but suggested that

in late pre-Conquest times occupation was located close to the modern village and "relatively close" to the church. One burial of this period may have contained the remains of executed criminals. Chiz Harward, with Lyn Blackmore, Jackie Keily, and Lucy Whittingham in "Saxo-Norman Occupation at Beckenham, Kent?" *London Archaeologist* 10.7: 171–78, describes another small excavation, again in advance of redevelopment. The question mark in the title is deserved: a few pottery finds exhibit characteristics that could be Roman, Late Saxon, or Saxo–Norman, and some probable loomweights are equally problematic: the most secure conclusion is that any settlement at this particular site was neither intensive nor long-lasting.

E.C.

The 1978–1979 Project at St. Mary de Lode proposed to re-lay the floor of the nave, with excavation around the Romano-British site foundations. The "Excavations at St. Mary de Lode Church, Gloucester, 1978–1979" (*Trans. of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeol. Soc.* 121: 97–178) begins by considering St. Mary de Lode's situation within the Roman fortress town of Gloucester since it occupied a prominent western Severn-side location and provides historical evidence for the continuity of churches in the area. The article then considers in detail the documentary evidence for the parish and church, noting the legendary reputation as the burial site of King Lucius, the archaeological evidence of mosaics as a Romano-British site of considerable antiquity, and in a slightly later section, the mid-twelfth-century documentary references to St. Mary de Lode church by Gilbert Foliot, abbot of Gloucester 1140–1147. The parish was closely related to that of St. Oswald's, and Carolyn Heighway discusses the demesne holdings of the abbey and the king as a way of understanding the overlap and the complicated jurisdictions; she also traces the post-medieval history of the church site. The conclusion of this site, based on the excavation material, is of a fifth-century timber mausoleum as the foundations for the church of St. Mary de Lode, likely built before 679. Heighway and Bryant concur with John Blair in the siting of the minster church in relation to St. Mary de Lode, possibly with St. Mary de Lode as part of a three-church minster complex. The political upheavals under the Danes in the late ninth century and the rebuilding phases of the tenth century can be seen in the fabric here. The largest section of the article is Richard Bryant's material on the excavations of the site, complete with ground plans and photographs of some of the notable finds and trenches. In the earliest Roman sections, reached in only three

areas of the excavation trenches, pottery from the first and second centuries was recovered in the debris layers and striking, high-quality mosaics of negative style, tessellated pavement with scroll and fret work, and a fish border. Bryant notes the burned material in this layer, along with its disposition in the rooms, suggests a fire destroyed this building dated ca. 100 B.C.–230 A.D. (by radio carbon); the rooms and their decoration lead him to suggest a public function in the Roman quayside economy, perhaps a bath complex. Period 3, dated by Bryant to the fifth century, provides material of two east-west graves (backfilled and with no bodies), and a burial of an adult male (head removed after decomposition; bones too contaminated for an accurate radiocarbon dating); a coin from the reign of Theodosius I (388–395) and late fourth- and early fifth-century pottery in the layers suggest a date for the timber-framed building on site at the time, although Bryant admits that there is no way of knowing whether these burials are Christian or not. Bryant relates other substantial evidence of burials related to this period's building. In the ninth or tenth century, there was likely a fire, evidenced by the charcoal in the dark loam layer. In Period 6, the tenth and eleventh centuries, there was a building, possibly timber framed on stone dwarf walls, that housed at least five "generations" of burials. Significant in Period 7 (late eleventh century) was the construction of a western addition and a large stone font base, extant until the 17th century. Bryant feels confident that Period 6's building was a church and that Period 7 extended that building; the earlier structures are consonant with vernacular architecture and mausoleums, not necessarily Christian in function but which may have provided an authority for the later buildings. In the early twelfth century (Period 8), there was a robbing of Period 6 walls in the west and south for the construction of the aisleless nave with a small chancel. "From Period 9 [late twelfth through late thirteenth] onwards, elements of the developing medieval church survive in the standing fabric of the chancel, crossing, and tower." (126) This medieval church was probably typically Romanesque with a nave, north and south aisles, and a tower chancel (destroyed and rebuilt soon after). Bryant also illustrates the west door from a 1797 medal, described in the early 19th century as "decorated with zigzag and billeted mouldings." The excavations added little to the later medieval church since much of that had been completely demolished, but Bryant reconstructs much of it from other documentary evidence. The end of the article is furnished with extensive trench illustrations and lists of coin finds and lead or tin post-medieval tokens. Caroline Ireland addresses the 246

sherds of pottery found on site and Alan Vince writes up the medieval floor tiles, mainly from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. Allan Peacey notes the unusual collection of clay tobacco pipes, which includes a group of nine from 1640–1660 Civil War times. A number of small items from the several hundred catalogued in the Gloucester Museum site archive include a bone draught piece with a flower decoration, some copper pins, glass (including several Roman pieces) and tiles from the Roman period. Richard Bryant lists the stone sculptural pieces, including some Anglo-Saxon cross shaft fragments and a twelfth-century lion corbel. The recovered Roman wall plaster of large block design in black with red borders and overpainted with turquoise and white plants is catalogued by Bryant as well. There is a small section on human skeletal remains and plant remains. The work finishes with a useful appendix of pre-1826 descriptions and a thorough bibliography.

F.A.

Our understanding of early Anglo-Saxon settlement in eastern England is framed and perhaps even circumscribed by the late Stanley West's important research at West Stow, Suffolk. As Catriona Gibson with Jon Murray and contributors describe in "An Anglo-Saxon Settlement at Godmanchester, Cambridgeshire," *ASSAH* 12: 137–217, excavations conducted in 1998 and 1999 by the Hertfordshire Archaeological Trust at the Cardinal Distribution Park produced evidence of a relatively rare enclosed early Saxon farmstead. While enclosed farmsteads have been identified in Cambridgeshire at Gamlingay, Little Paxton, and Cottenham, most Saxon settlements, such as West Stow, were apparently not enclosed until the middle Saxon period. At the Cardinal Distribution Park site, a fifth- to seventh-century complex consisting of six sunken featured buildings, post-hole structures, and an enclosure and field system sustained a predominantly sheep-rearing economy. The relatively advanced age of the sheep population indicates that they were raised for their wool, an interpretation supported by finds of textile production gear, such as needles, spindle whorls, pin beaters, and loomweights, in all six of the sunken featured buildings. The quantity of this assemblage not only adds to the early Anglo-Saxon corpus of spinning and weaving paraphernalia, but also enables the authors to move towards examining how these acts were sites of expression for those engaged in their performance. Thus, they speculate that textiles, rather than the undecorated ceramics found at the site, may have articulated issues of identity.

In "A Neolithic Enclosure and Early Saxon Settlement: Excavations at Yarmouth Road, Broome, 2001" *Norfolk Archaeology* 44: 222–50, David Robertson reports on work conducted by the Norfolk Archaeological Unit in advance of gravel extraction. Evidence of an early Anglo-Saxon settlement, in the form of a sunken-featured building, seven post-hole buildings, and another post-built structure or fence, was identified at the western margin of the excavated area. Two settlement clusters may be chronologically as well as spatially distinct. However, finds of fifth- to seventh-century ceramics from the sunken-featured building and three post-built structures afford only a general date to the site's occupation. A possible associated cemetery may be located on Broome Heath. The prevalence of post-built structures at Broome contrasts with their lower frequency at other early Anglo-Saxon settlements, including Mucking, Spong Hill, and, most notably, West Stow. The partial excavation of the settlement site and the longevity of its individual buildings, as indicated by re-cut post-holes, suggests that the distribution of building types at Broome may be misleading and that, in fact, the site may bear greater affinity to the early Anglo-Saxon settlement model than excavation results would suggest. Indeed, its siting on a north facing slope overlooking Broome Beck, is similar to the river valley locations of the settlements at West Stow and Spong Hill.

G.F.

c. Death and Burial

The research and publication efforts highlighting large early Anglo-Saxon cemeteries tend to obscure the web of cemeteries into which these better-known sites are chronologically and spatially bound. In "Two Early Saxon Cemeteries in South Norfolk" (*Norfolk Archaeology* 44: 304–315), Kenneth Penn (with Steven Ashley) reports on two field-walking and metal-detector surveys yielding scatters of dress ornaments typical of early Anglo-Saxon interments. At the Dickleburgh Bypass, Shimpling, Burston, the discovery of women's annular and cruciform brooches, wrist-clasps, and fragmentary girdle-hangers, as well as remains of a bronze-bound wooden bucket, suggest the presence of several graves. The assemblage can be dated to sixth century, with two possible Aberg II brooches suggesting a late fifth-/early sixth-century establishment. A similar situation prevailed at Pewter Hill, Kirby Cane, where finds of female dress accessories, including the remains of annular, small-headed, and cruciform brooches, wrist-clasps, and girdle-hangers, indicate a fifth- through sixth-century date. A fragment from an early- to mid-sixth cen-

tury Hines Group XVI great square-headed brooch belongs to a type found across East Anglia, with local parallels at Bergh Apton and Morning Thorpe. Again, no graves were identified and, due to the use of metal detecting equipment, only copper alloy objects were recovered. At both Dickleburgh and Pewter Hill, the finds cannot be considered representative of the burial community, as metal detecting equipment is not sensitive to the oxidized iron objects generally associated with male interments. Both of these cemeteries are near the river Waveney, which forms the boundary between the modern counties of Norfolk and Suffolk. The Dickleburgh site, situated on a plateau overlooking a minor tributary of the river, is 12 km distant from the large cremation and inhumation cemetery at Morning Thorpe; more locally, burial material has been found at Gissing, Carleton Rode, and Oakley. The Pewter Hill cemetery, on high land above the floodplain of the river Waveney, must be viewed within the local context of other cemeteries at Gillingham and Earsham to the north of the river and, on the Suffolk side, at Bramford, Flixton, and Bungay, as well as the recently excavated settlement at Flixton Park Quarry. The role of the Waveney valley as a conduit for population movement and a landscape focus bears closer scrutiny.

Local context infuses Sarah Semple's article, "Burials and Political Boundaries in the Avebury Region, North Wiltshire," *ASSAH* 12: 72–91. Semple examines the locational preferences and grave contents of sixteen Anglo-Saxon burials from eleven sites scattered across the chalk downland. Noting that burials in this area are typically single isolated interments associated with prehistoric monuments—and represent only a tiny fraction of the living population—Semple argues that they constitute a cohesive and distinct burial group. While the earliest graves, such as several from Overton Hill, were positioned amid a settlement landscape, over time, burial ritual seemingly increasingly emphasized ostentatious display through the use of larger monuments, closer proximity to major route-ways, and topographical prominence. Historical records indicate that this area was politically disputed, first by Saxon and British populations and later by the kingdoms of Wessex and Mercia. Within this contested landscape, Semple proposes that the Avebury area burials, approximately 80% of which were incorporated into prehistoric monuments, denoted territorial borders through their projection of divinely-sanctioned power and evocation of supernatural associations. Semple's paper concludes with a useful gazetteer of the burials under discussion as well as other graves of possible Anglo-Saxon date.

In 1961–62, Sonia Chadwick Hawkes excavated a later fifth- to mid-seventh-century cemetery of ninety-four inhumation graves and forty-six cremations at Worthy Park, Kingsworthy, Hampshire. Located on rising ground in the Itchen valley, the cemetery presumably served the Abbotsbury settlement near the river below. Although some interpretative accounts were published in the 1970s and 1980s—their content, unfortunately, generally overshadowed by their controversial character—the final cemetery report remained unfinished at the time of Hawkes's death in 1999. In rectifying this delay, the posthumous publication of her *Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Worthy Park, Kingsworthy near Winchester, Hampshire* (Oxford Univ. School of Archaeology Monograph 59 [Oxford: School of Archaeology]) with Guy Grainger illustrates what is lost when archaeologists fail to present their excavations in a timely fashion. Recognizing that interpretation and analysis have evolved greatly over the past forty years, the authors chose to publish the data, in the form of the grave inventories, gazetteer, and completed chapters without substantial re-writing. Their decision to bring this information to a scholarly audience is to be applauded. What is diminished, however, is the incisive and engaging voice of Sonia Chadwick Hawkes. She was an intuitively gifted archaeologist whose willingness to get beyond the data could lead to brilliant observations or to alarming over-interpretations—sometimes simultaneously. Because she appreciated the role of material culture in everyday life, Hawkes was able to contextualize the meaning of things beyond their typology, chronology, metallurgy, and other tools of her trade. Hawkes's silence is most acutely evident in the authors' understandable decision to forego chapters on the cemetery's layout and its grave-goods and in the lack of an up-to-date assessment of the site in its local and regional contexts. Despite this limitation, the volume's merits are numerous. The clear grave inventories and plans, as well as various contributors' detailed osteological, metallurgical, and textile analyses, ensure its utility. In particular, the detailed discussion of skeletal pathologies, although occasionally over-heated, is a welcome addition to the developing discussion about the social aspects of disease and disability in the early medieval period.

Inadequate excavation recording, probable site looting, tardy conservation treatment, and pre-publication reburial all conspire against a reliable assessment of the late sixth- to early eighth-century "Final Phase" cemetery near Tadworth, Surrey. Despite these crippling limitations, Peter Harp and John Hines in "An Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Headley Drive, Tadworth, Near Banstead,"

Surrey Archaeological Collections 90: 117–45, present an insightful discussion of the available evidence. Forty-two graves unexpectedly discovered during building work in 1986 were excavated under the auspices of Bourne Hall Museum and the Nonsuch Antiquarian Society. Using often incomplete and occasionally contradictory photographic and written records, Harp and Hines attempt to re-associate burial units. The burials themselves were sparsely furnished, although the presence of a double-tongued buckle, crystal pendant, and imported wheel-thrown vessel indicates that at least certain members of the community enjoyed access to privileged resources. Mineral-preserved textiles were of standard tabby and twill weaves, with bast fibers predominating over animal hair. From documentation of the human remains—the skeletons themselves having been re-interred in 1996—roughly equal numbers of males and females were identified. Presumably reflecting the standards of excavation rather than an accurate demographic profile, juveniles were under-represented and infants entirely absent. The limits of the cemetery appear to have been determined on all but the north side. The arrangement of graves in well-ordered rows suggests that community burial practices were closely controlled and, although no direct evidence remains, that grave locations were marked above ground. Harp and Hines position the Headley Drive cemetery within the range of burial sites that suddenly proliferate in the area during the seventh century.

Howard Williams, in his indexed University of Reading thesis, "Early Anglo-Saxon Mortuary Practices and the Study of Cremation in Past Societies" 2000 *Index to Theses* 51 (2002): 183, presents a philosophically related approach to performative aspects of technology, here "ritual technology." Constructing a theoretical framework from anthropological and sociological studies of cremation, Williams argues that cremation rituals construct and mediate relations between the living and the dead and provided a strategy for articulating group identities.

The performative content of the cremation ritual is more closely examined by Howard Williams in "Material Culture as Memory: Combs and Cremation in Early Medieval Britain," *Early Medieval Europe* 12: 89–128. Drawing on 543 combs from a sample of 4,981 cremation burials, supplemented by twenty-five combs from 3,011 inhumation burials, Williams argues that combs, as well as pottery and toilet sets, "served to articulate the reconstruction of the deceased's personhood in death through strategies of remembering and forgetting"

(89). After glass beads, combs are the most commonly and universally encountered grave-good in cremation burials. Williams's analysis demonstrates that combs occur with almost equal frequency in the cremation burials of males and females and, although they accompany infants, children, and adults, different comb types are found most often with particular age groups. Their condition at excavation suggests that whether burned with the body on the pyre or placed directly into the urn, combs, or even parts of combs, featured significantly in the post-cremation ritual. While acknowledging the limitations of his sample, Williams notes that different comb types are associated with different cremation cemeteries and, more importantly, that cremation and inhumation burials were furnished with different types of combs: cremations generally contain single-sided combs, while inhumations are dominated by the double-sided variety. Although Williams proposes that miniature combs may have been made specifically for the funeral, it remains unclear how other combs functioned prior to their burial deposition: the combs' variable sizes suggest a range of roles with some suited for personal grooming while others served as coiffure decorations. This question dogs the second half of Williams's paper, in which he provides a thrilling discussion of hair—and by extension, combs—as mnemonic devices that enabled the living to transform the cremated body from that of a physical corpse to a new ancestor. Drawing on a wide range of sources—most convincingly early medieval visual representations and literary citations—combs are demonstrated as integral not only to the maintenance of the bodily self but also to the construction of the social self. Through the actions of preparing the deceased for the pyre and afterwards gathering, transporting, and interring the cremated remains, along with combs and other personal items that evoke the body, identity, and physicality, the deceased achieved a new social, cosmological, and ontological status.

While the personal identity of the Anglo-Saxon dead has commonly been indexed by the size and character of the accompanying burial assemblage and the construction, size and location of the grave, in "Stable Isotope Analysis of Human and Faunal Remains from the Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Berinsfield, Oxfordshire: Dietary and Social Implications," *Jnl of Archaeological Science* 29 (2002): 779–90, Karen L. Privat, Tamsin C. O Connell, and Michael P. Richards turn to the most elemental evidence of the interred themselves. Although in other parts of the world this approach has been incorporated into archaeological research for over a quarter

of a century, the Wally's Corner cemetery research represents the first application of biomolecular dietary analysis to early Anglo-Saxon populations. Using stable carbon and nitrogen isotopic values derived from human and animal bones at the mid-fifth- to early seventh-century site, the authors develop a dietary profile for the entire community and examine dietary patterns as expressed by age, sex, grave-goods, and possible household units. As assessed through 93 samples of human bone, the entire cemetery community obtained protein from freshwater animals, including birds and shellfish, and terrestrial herbivores. Not all members of the community enjoyed equal access to these resources; a comparison of grave good and isotopic evidence indicates that protein consumption was inversely related to wealth. To explain this counter-intuitive result, the authors propose that poorer people relied more heavily on marine and free-ranging animals that could be collected with little expense of time or effort, while the wealthier members of the community acquired their limited protein from labor- and land-intensive livestock sources. Following the same line of argument, the authors interpret the consumption practices of men under thirty years old as articulating an elite status distinguishable from the lower-status diets of their elders. Sex-dependent dietary patterns were not evidenced.

Keith Parfitt, in a brief note entitled "Scientific Examination of Anglo-Saxon Grave-Goods from Mill Hill, Deal" (*Kent Archaeology Review*, 154: 76–81) fleshes out some details of the organic goods from which most of early Anglo-Saxon material culture was constituted. Parfitt directs his attention to the burial of a male, aged forty-five to fifty-five years, who was furnished with a sword, spear, shield, maple wood container, and other personal gear (grave 81) at the sixth-century cemetery at Mill Hill. Mineralized organic remains were preserved around the head, in the center of the grave, and at the feet. While most of these specimens represented wood species, remains of leather, fur, textile, and down were also identified. Near the head, the presence of fur on the shield grip and spear socket may have been part of a hat or cap. In the same area, down adhering to the spear socket suggests the filling of a pillow. Five different textile types, including very fine twills and tabbies, may represent garments, such as a tunic (diamond twill) and trousers (tabby), or bed linens, such as a pillowcase (twill). A wooden scabbard of hornbeam and/or ash was sheathed with leather and lined with fur. A full publication of the scientific analyses by Inga Hagg is forthcoming.

G.F.

Pamela Combes's "Bishopstone: A Pre-Conquest Minster Church," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 140 (2002): 49–56 is a footnote to a current debate on the development of Minster churches and their dependent chapels in the late Anglo-Saxon period, which had no independent rights of burial or baptism except on payment of fees to the mother church. However, Bishopstone, which has probable surviving Anglo-Saxon features and an indubitable Anglo-Saxon inscribed sun dial, had been excluded as a probable Minster from a recent survey of parochial developments in Sussex, and the paper is intended as a speculative preliminary reassessment. The author produces evidence that it had at least one dependent church, which in the seventeenth century was still making mortuary payments to it.

More directly concerned with issues surrounding death and burial, Elisabeth Zadora-Rio's "The Making of Churchyards and Parish Territories in the Early-Medieval Landscape of France and England in the 7th–12th Centuries: A Reconsideration," *MA* 47: 1–19, starts by asserting her subject is due for reconsideration, because, as she points out, radio-carbon dating has transformed the archaeology of burial, which need be no longer restricted to sites with grave goods, which declined from the seventh to eighth centuries onwards. In spite of this introduction, she is less concerned with the effects of radio-carbon dating than she is with re-thinking aspects of burial practice in the pre-Conquest period. She reminds us that the abandonment of burial with grave goods or clothes was not based on ecclesiastical legislation, and indeed that the church did not even try to impose a place for burial before the tenth or even the eleventh century. First references to consecration of such areas date from the tenth century, which may indeed be surprising to those who have not followed the development of this subject area in recent years. Early Christians did not have exclusive burial grounds: they seem to have followed the Roman model in which the tomb itself is a "self-contained holy place." The entire cemetery as "bounded communal sacred space," on the evidence of reports of consecrations, is much later. One of the most surprising results of looking at the evidence anew has been the discovery of small groups of graves or single burials inside early medieval settlements, in both France and England. Interpretation is difficult because many of these discoveries are unpublished. However, burials on boundaries, once thought to be of outcasts, are also questioned, partly because there are so many of them, and also because there is usually nothing deviant about the burials themselves: the body is usually supine and many have grave

goods. She suggests that there is some evidence that such graves are of founders of new settlements and represent claims to the land. This is a very interesting view which could lead to a re-evaluation of the meaning of some very important graves of this type.

E.C.

Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales, ed. Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds (London: Soc. for Medieval Archaeology, 2002), is a dense but well edited and highly scholarly text with few illustrations beyond some line drawings, maps, and charts (39 plates in 262 pages). Published following a conference held in April 1999, it presents a nuanced and broad-ranging view of research on burial practice and artifacts in a field that has tended to focus on the early Anglo-Saxon centuries.

Martin Carver's article, "Reflections on the Meanings of Monumental Barrows in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Sam Lucy and Andrew Reynolds, Soc. for Medieval Archaeology Monograph Series 17 [London: Soc. for Medieval Archaeology, 2002], 132–43), unfolds from the idea that the "barrow is … an attribute of Anglo-Saxon culture, but does not define it" (132); the culture produces the monument in response to social pressures which vary in artistic expression, urgency, chronology, and geography. Sutton Hoo itself supports Carver's observations: the eleven burial mounds there vary in their human forms, modes of death, modes of burial, and accompanying grave goods. Here Carver is drawing from his earlier work on the site, suggesting that the barrows here participate in a conscious tension between pagan and Christian politics and practices. Looking at earlier barrows and their reuse, Carver suggests barrows became sites of political and social incorporation, reflecting the aspirations of a new upper class to fit into an established economy of power/status in death; the site links family names, institutionalized territories, social status (through burial preparation and grave goods), and integral ideologies (such as Christianity, Scandinavian heritage, even taxation status within Frankish society). Carver is careful to suggest that the barrow is but a marker of social change and that the changes first stem from a number of (not necessarily exclusive) sources, including climate or economic stratification. What Carver wants to stress is that barrow archaeology reflects the richness of a society struggling with family lineage, political expression, and religious ideology.

Helen Geake highlights and summarizes four "Persistent Problems in the Study of Conversion-Period Burials in England" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 144–55). The first is the scarcity of burials in the early Conversion period. Geake's doctoral work examining grave goods from ca. 600 to ca. 850 found few from the early seventh century conclusively and exclusively, a lack suggested perhaps by coin production and inclusion concurring with the second half of the seventh century or by a continuity of fashions. Geake suggests that one possible explanation for the lack of early seventh century burials may lie with the deliberate choice of ethnicity and its expression in clothing and jewelry; a crisis in social-ethnic expression of the living may be seen in the variations of grave customs of the period. Coinciding with this problem is the second: a desertion of the Isle of Wight, where Geake has identified only one Conversion period burial, despite the region's late conversion to Christianity in 680. She suggests a possible shift in grave customs, possibly including excarnation; certainly we might consider a wider view of pagan/Christian practices. The third problem Geake points to is a shift in prominence of male graves in the early seventh century (as at Taplow, Broomfield, Sutton Hoo, Coombe Bissett, among others) to female graves in the later period (as at Desborough, Swallowcliffe Down, Galley Low, among others). Geake suggests the record may reflect different gendered access to church burial and female (lineal) status. This leads Geake to consider the fourth "problem"—the interpretation of church related burials. While Frankish church burials on the Continent may contain grave goods, English ones almost never do. Anglo-Saxon church burials are considered as markedly and deliberately different in location and practice from pagan cemetery sites. Geake suggests a period choice to commemorate the dead with one or the other practice. The Continental and English differences may also arise from Frankish reuse of cemetery sites while English churches do not reuse sites, different settlement practices in "urban" areas, and, most importantly, status use of grave goods and grave locations.

D.M. Hadley, in "Burial Practices in Northern England in the Later Anglo-Saxon Period" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 209–28), assesses the idea that "following conversion the Anglo-Saxons become archaeologically invisible in their burial practices" (209), suggesting that there remains a number of different burial practices active in the ninth through eleventh centuries and that burial remains an area for social display. Useful in the discussion is a historiographic analysis of the Final Phase model; Hadley notes that church burial begins by the

eighth century but was by no means uniform or even the norm until well into the tenth century. Status was clearly at least partly expressed by church burial from the mid-seventh century but church burial may not have been extended as a privilege to all and aristocratic custom of burial outside church grounds may have provided alternatives. Use of stone markers also becomes increasingly elaborate and common in the late period. Hadley's substantial section on sites, like Repton, Crayke, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, and others, provides the bulk of the analysis that there was considerable variation even in Christian burial practice through the period from the ninth to the eleventh centuries; even the idea that social status was downplayed can be countered by the uses of wooden coffins with elaborate metal fittings, stone coffins and markers, and placement of graves. What Hadley is arguing for seems to be a new Christianized vocabulary of funerary social connotations, not necessarily sundered from but rather indebted to the older Anglo-Saxon and Viking societal customs around death.

John Hines's provocatively titled article, "Lies, Damned Lies, and a Curriculum Vitae: Reflections on Statistics and the Populations of Early Anglo-Saxon Inhumation Cemeteries" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 88–102), argues for "individualism," a recognition of both personal individuality and the individual distinctiveness of communities as a factor of Anglo-Saxon culture. Further, he acknowledges some of our interpretation of Anglo-Saxon culture and burial practices are based on individual, mutually reinforcing assumptions. Hines worked extensively with the cemetery known as Barrington A at Edix Hill, parish of Orwell (Cambridgeshire), dated to ca. 500-650, placing it between the Migration Period and the Final Phase, a cultural transition reflected in the grave goods and burial distribution as well. The Final Phase female graves have fewer grave goods than the earlier phase, but also a shift in the greater elaboration of men's graves. Hines notes that this is a distinctly different pattern than in Eriswell, only a short distance away. Edix Hill graves also showed evidence of a strong pattern of four concurrent but contrastive female costume groups, again arguing for individualized trends within the local burial community; the comparisons of grave goods and osteological data among groups prompted a possible conclusion of "marking" female exogamy and a male pattern of weaponry buried with those dying between the ages of eighteen and thirty-five. Hines includes age/gender distribution statistics, with a comprehensive chart placing Edix Hill in context

of some other Anglo-Saxon cemeteries (Alton, Berinsfield, Castledyke, Empingham II, Great Chesterford, Lechlade, Mill Hill, and Watchfield). The crux of Hines's argument is in these figures: can we model a "normal" living community, with birth and death rates, based on what we see at Edix Hill? The skewed male death rate makes Edix Hill unusual; where other communities vary (i.e. female survival rates at Castledyke at significantly higher than the statistical norm), Hines argues, we are looking at a significant instance of the individuality of these communities. Where Hines urges particular caution is in the interpretation of biological age (based on issues of methodology and how accurate the data can be), the significance of certain statistics as over or under stated, and the ways in which we take data from specific sites as a general statement given the highly individual nature of Anglo-Saxon burial communities.

The editors of this collection offer an introductory essay, "Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales: Past, Present and Future" (1–23), which is a fine developmental history of burial archaeology, assessing the focus of studies on the fifth through seventh centuries, for the last 150 years. The authors point to an emphasis on furnished cemeteries and the connection to Germanic traditions as evidence of migration rather than an exploration of these customs for their own vibrancy and practices; there is correspondingly a downplaying of interest in Christian burials, as they examine "why furnished burial came to an end rather than … longer-term trajectories in the development of burial custom" (3). The authors trace the important study of the connection between burial and settlement archaeology, recent studies showing in the early Anglo-Saxon period the close proximity between the burial site and the settlement site. Landscape archaeology in recent decades examines settlement patterns and, with Desmond Bonney's work in the 1970s, became of critical importance for providing a context for burial materials. The authors also devote attention to excavation practices and publication/study dissemination; these practices have also contributed to the field biases. Positive developments in theoretical approaches, moving the field away from strict chronologies and towards increased contextual methodologies, and in scientific approaches, like understanding organic preservation and DNA extraction, are being applied to burial archaeology, particularly in contextualizing gender. In the second half of the essay, Lucy and Reynolds lay out a brief categorization of the periods. The Anglo-Saxon period from the middle of the fifth century sees a deliberate re-adoption of

both cremation and furnished inhumation with strong regional characteristics and reflecting a very complicated demography in Britain; recent investigations, particularly at Spong Hill, have questioned the connection between grave goods and ethnicity, and the use of other factors such as kind of burial and position of grave as a way of denoting status. The authors also draw attention to studies that seek to better understand territories such as Wales and the Christian continuity and change of the seventh through eleventh centuries. The roles of minster and rural burial grounds in medieval practice, as at Hamwic (Southampton), and the relationship of high status barrow burials and early minster churches, as at Ipswich, raise concerns for patterns of conversion and the social landscape at the time of the Domesday Survey. Recent work on the topography of burial has been critical for understanding social rank.

Sam Lucy begins "Burial Practice in Early Medieval Eastern Britain: Constructing Local Identities, Deconstructing Ethnicity" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 72–87) by refuting the traditional interpretation of archaeological finds from burials as necessarily straightforward indications of a particular tribal group, invasions, migrations, or resettlements; she instead takes the post-processual archaeological ideology that changes of material culture can be more complex reflections of societal change and even deliberate choice among its users. The opening of the article is a historiographic analysis of the connection between Anglo-Saxon archaeology and the establishment of tribes and tribal histories, which addresses the complex connection between ethnicity and nationalism and between biological expression and social construction of ethnicity. From a case study of inhumation cemeteries of West Heslerton and Sewerby in fifth-to-seventh century East Riding Yorkshire, Lucy examines culture and burial practice as a way to assert a local identity, even over ethnic ones. Mourners are part of an active process and burial practices such as the orientation of the body, its placement, and the choice of grave goods are a complicated interaction between the dead and the living in Anglo-Saxon culture; local cultures set, maintain, and change those practices/actions/beliefs to express their own identities against other neighboring communities. At West Heslerton and Sewerby, around half of the burials had neither weaponry nor jewelry but often contained pottery, beads, knives, or animals; more of the remaining burials have jewelry than weapons. Lucy makes interesting connections between age and certain grave goods, noting differences at each site; she notes consistent differences in grave size and

grouping, again with pronounced regional specifics. Her conclusions trace an earlier phase of burial practice with "less structured orientation, a tendency to extended or flexed burials which were supine or on one side, and the inclusion of certain types of grave goods" (85) with more rigid structuring with different jewelry and weaponry in later phases.

In the richly footnoted "Cemeteries and Boundaries in Western Britain" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 24–46), David Petts challenges the established idea that enclosed cemeteries antedate other Christian forms and, as Charles Thomas has written, should be seen as "the primary field-monuments of insular Christianity." Questioning the real datable existence of early Christian—before ca. 800—enclosed cemeteries, Petts begins by placing these enclosures within a context of early medieval settlement forms, noting that while there are significant differences (most obviously univallate vs. multivallate) between sacred and secular forms, there is certainly influence, and even in some cases, direct reuse of earlier wall structures. Petts carefully questions how much we can reliably gain from some kinds of information: the continuous use of sites, the difficulty of dating whether an enclosure dates from the same time as the burial remains (as at the Atlantic Trading Estate and Capel Maelog), the reuse of prehistoric enclosures (as at various Cornish sites), the actual mobility and reuse of Class I grave markers. His conclusion suggests that these cemeteries, and a concurrent solidifying of burial practice, should be seen as later than the pre-circa 800 attribution, more reasonably to the eighth through tenth centuries or even to the eleventh century. Petts connects this to contemporary Christian practices of burial, showing an increased interest in asserting Church primacy and downplaying secular roles, within a context of increased focus on insular-influenced elements like penitence and purgatory.

Andrew Reynolds addresses a lack of scholarly attention to the issue of burial sites as boundary markers in "Burials, Boundaries and Charters in Anglo-Saxon England: A Reassessment" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 171–94). "Clearly, at least by the 10th century, boundaries can be ranked from simple enclosures around individual homesteads, to field and tithing boundaries, and then on up to estate, hundred and shire boundaries, with the physical limits of kingdoms at the very top of the scale" (171). A useful historiographic analysis of pagan burials of the Anglo-Saxon and their placement at boundaries

forms the first part of this discussion. Reynolds begins a close examination of the evidence of Anglo-Saxon charter material for information on the inclusion and use of burial sites; he notes the difficulty of securely dating and working with intensely regional material. Three categories emerge—"heathen burials" (some fifty-one references, thirty-nine sites, referring to burials of execution and social outcasts), "named individuals" (fifteen references, twelve individuals, predominantly male, almost always along major routes and perhaps with the context of estate forfeiture similar to later medieval crossroads burials), and "miscellaneous burials and burial sites" (using the term *lic*, include sites that may be middle Anglo-Saxon in origin; sites which do not become Christian cemeteries and seem unconnected to later ecclesiastical geography). Reynolds argues for a less complete, less immediate transition to enclosed cemeteries in the Christian period with Anglo-Saxon burials (even including non-normative/deviant types) happening within or next to their settlements. Reynolds suggests that the burial of the dead and their inclusion in charters also has significant social implications for the living, not as warders against outsiders but as a remonstration to proper social/legal behavior. Reynolds's article has several detailed maps of site distribution and a handlist of burial places in Anglo-Saxon charters which add to its usefulness.

In "The Case of the Missing Vikings: Scandinavian Burial in the Danelaw" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 156–70) Julian D. Richards asks why, given thousands of clustered cremation and inhumation burials in the period between 400 and 600, there should be so few (less than 25 "Scandinavian," generally single-figure, burial sites) in the period between 800-1000. Traditionally based primarily on the identification through grave goods and subsequent dating of finds, Richards questions the study of these sites and suggests that contents are more complex statements of ethnicity and ideology; burial activities are manipulated "and used as strategies of legitimation and negotiation" (157). The first section of Richards's article concerns the evidence of Scandinavian burial in the Danelaw, contrasting strong Norse and Hiberno-Norse sites in the North (Beacon Hill, Aspatria and Hesket-in-the-Forest in Cumbria, and Claughton Hall, Garstang in Lancashire), all containing strongly identifiable grave goods, and the weak candidates (with the exception of cemeteries at Repton and Heath Wood, Ingleby) to suggest a Northern tradition separated from churchyards and church authority. In the second section, Richards looks at churchyard and graveyard burials and notes the problems of grave disturbance and the assumption of an association of pagan and Scandinavian; he observes that these practices may have been normative for either group. He examines new practices, including different slab types and burial forms like the York charcoal burials, to suggest a new Anglo-Scandinavian cultural identity expressed in these rites and customs. The last section closes with Richards's analysis of the related finds at Repton and Ingleby, with their pagan inhumations (mound burials, cenotaph memorials, human and animal sacrifices) creating a vocabulary of authority and control, useful in solidifying their position in their war against Mercia, particularly around the 870s. Like so many others in this collection, Richards argues that burial is a complex interactive process of custom and legitimation, a way not just of perpetuating identity but of asserting it.

Nick Stoodley's article, "Multiple Burials, Multiple Meanings? Interpreting the Early Anglo-Saxon Multiple Interment" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 103–21), examines the Anglo-Saxon practice of two or more burials in the same inhumation grave, a not uncommon practice (about 5.4% per site) though the norm was for single burials in early period cemeteries as evidenced in the compiled list of 46 included here. Stoodley defines multiple burials into two groups as contemporary (more common) or consecutive (internment at different times, only fifty-eight or 23.7%). A large section looks at multiple burial grave construction, tending to be larger but not much wider (a mere 20 cm., not wide enough to accommodate two adults side by side), which prompts Stoodley to look at positioning of the bodies (often stacked, generally extended). There is a surprising variety of sex and age combinations, most commonly adults and sub-adults (female and child or infant) but a number of burials of male and female adults together; these variations are expressed very differently in consecutive multiple graves. Stoodley then finishes with an extensive discussion and interpretation. One of the most interesting of his conclusions is the interpretation of consecutive burials as not necessarily "family plots." He also considers the considerable structure of contemporary multiple burials, showing not necessarily simultaneous deaths, not necessarily family pairings, weakening the conclusion of marriage pairings (as problematic as it is to define marriage in the Anglo-Saxon period). His analysis of grave goods suggests too that it is wrong to see multiple burials as an economy; status, age, and gender pairings are considerably more complex a reflection of Anglo-Saxon social ideas and responsibilities than we

have previously allowed for. This review barely touches one of the most important aspects of this article—its compilation of information on the archaeological findings and statistical analysis into clear and useful tables, which provide a plethora of information for scholars to extract and distill.

Howard Williams's "Remains of Pagan Saxondom?—The Study of Anglo-Saxon Cremation Rites" (*Burial in Early Medieval England and Wales*, ed. Lucy and Reynolds, 47–71) is a historiographic and methodological examination of the interpretation of early medieval cremation graves in an attempt to understand not what they tell us about patterns of invasion and settlement, but what they can tell us about attitudes towards death and funerary practice. After a richly footnoted discussion of the main scholarly approaches, Williams notes that the scholarly assessments describing rites as "Germanic," "Anglian," "pagan," and "early" may be reductive and self-perpetuating; Williams rightly complicates the ethnic and social situation of Britain as expressed in the culture of cremation. He argues against an entrenched viewpoint within the scholarship that sees cremation as essentially Germanic, without questioning social construction of ethnicity, tribal or regional variations, geographic distributions with relation to inhumation, and more. Williams carefully examines the assumptions made with relation to maps that charted cremation/inhumation practices with a simultaneous continuance of the standard cultural terms in the accompanying literature. Additionally at issue is the idea of cultural purity: that cremation must have been for pagans and inhumation for Christians. He notes particularly the work of Martin Carver and the idea of cremation, its attendant material investment and ritual practices as part of a complex political statement in a period of strong international and ideological identifications among kingdoms. The issue of chronology, with its assumption that cremation is the older rite than inhumation and that cinerary urns can be securely assigned in the pre-, early, or even mid-fifth centuries, is then taken up by Williams. But Williams does not want to leave the reader without any interpretation at all in the face of the critique of the past assumptions and use of terms. He advocates for closer study of corresponding rites in Germany and Scandinavia to test the validity of the British comparisons, especially where migration is a primary conclusion. He advocates, as do many of the other authors in this collection, for a complication of the terms of ethnicity, suggesting fluidity and contextual weighting of ideologies and practices that "determine" an ethnicity; patterns of burial might be revealed to be

heavily dependent on these fluctuations, and indeed, simultaneously influential in the expression of these ethnicities. Indeed, even the homogeneity of religious ideology and its funerary expression should be complicated. Williams wants to push Anglo-Saxon scholarship into the ideological position (taken up by Piers Vitebsky, Jonathan Parry, Sven Cederroth and others) that mortuary practices are an area of "social, cosmological and ontological events concerned with recreating the individual, society and the cosmos through performance" (67). The article finishes with Williams offering a brief analysis of some of the large cremation cemeteries (Loveden Hill, Newark, Thurmaston, Caistor-by-Norwich, Spong Hill, and Lackford); he considers the translation and recognition of cremated remains and grave goods as an expression of community against neighboring inhumation practices.

F.A.

d. Artifacts and Iconography

In a reprint of an important paper, Richard N. Bailey ("'What Mean These Stones?: Some Aspects of Pre-Norman Sculpture in Cheshire and Lancashire," *Textual and Material Culture*, ed. Scragg, 213–39 [a reprint of the 1995 Toller Lecture with a new postscript]) takes a wide-ranging look at the sculpture of an area which he will cover in more detail in a future volume of the *Corpus of Anglo-Saxon Stone Sculpture*. Apart from general discussion of the distribution of the sculptures in the pre- and post-Conquest period, he talks illuminatingly about the interpretation of some of the figural scenes, relating them in detail to contemporary or early Christian exegesis and homiletic literature; and looks at the more general meaning of the vast mass of the sculpture, which is without figural ornament, in its painted, gilded, textile- and metalwork-imitating glory.

Lilla Kopár's "The Colorful Fabric of Time: Contemporary Reception and Intellectual Background of Viking-Age Stone Carvings on the Example of the Gosforth Cross" (*What, Then, Is Time?* ed. Fabiny, 46-55; see section 4.a), is a meditation on the kind of thinking in which "the past, of whatever cultural origin, is strongly linked to the present, not by the necessity of chronology, but by the recurrence of certain elements": this is found in biblical typology, for example, as when the Sacrifice of Isaac is held to pre-figure the sacrifice of Christ on the cross. Her thesis is that this allowed an integration of the Germanic mythology, including its deities, into a reconstruction of a "semi-historical / semi-mythical past" in which Germanic deities could be seen

as types pre-figuring Christian history. Her exemplar is the Gosforth cross, the most compendious expression of this idea in pre-Conquest sculpture, and a number of other sculptures in Northumbria of around the same date. She locates this usage in the Anglo-Scandinavian period, in the tenth century, and notes only one artistic expression of this idea in the preceding period, on the Franks Casket. There are of course, as she points out literary expressions of this accommodation in the earlier period, including the adoption of pagan deities into regnal lists, for example. Why it did not happen in earlier sculpture, however, raises interesting questions, of patronage and ecclesiastical control, which I think could be answered, but which lie outside the terms of this interesting study.

Metalwork detector finds as usual loom large. Richard Jewell, in "An English Romanesque Mount and Three Ninth-Century Strap-Ends." *AntJ* 83: 433–41, gives an account of some early medieval metalwork shown at the Society of Antiquaries in May 2002. These included three strap ends, all metal-detector finds. Two had a provenance in the north of England (S. Yorkshire) or the east midlands (Lincolnshire), both interestingly with decoration reflecting ornament found on sculptured stone cross shafts (though the influence may well have been in the other direction). The third exhibits characteristics suggesting an East Anglian provenance, perhaps from the Ipswich area. Gabor Thomas's "Hamsey Near Lewes, East Sussex: The Implications of Recent Finds of Late Anglo-Saxon Metalwork for Its Importance in the Pre-Conquest Period," *Sussex Archaeological Collections* 139 (2003 for 2001): 123–32, is concerned to show the importance of metal detecting as an important source of evidence—he says a neglected one, but this is now not so, in large part due to the work and advocacy of this author. In the discussion on *wics* elsewhere in this section, we even find anxieties by some archaeologists that this evidence may be skewing our picture of "productive" sites in this period. In this case, however, the author is concerned to discuss the typology of the found objects: three strap-ends, a pair of tweezers and two fragments of horse harness, illustrated by detailed drawings of the finds. All the objects have a ninth- to eleventh-century date range, and set in the context of what is known of the site, Gabor suggests that that this may have been a high-status site, though this is as yet unsupported by any archaeological evidence.

An isolated *seax* found in an Iron Age and Roman site is described by Howard Jones and David Knight in "An Anglo-Saxon Seax from Rampton, Nottinghamshire," *Trans. of the Thoroton Soc. of Nottinghamshire* 106 (2002): 47–51. Finds of this weapon type are particularly sparse in the East Midlands. This is typologically a Narrow Seax, most of the known examples of which post-date AD 600. Short-handled versions are found into the seventh century, longer-handled examples are found into the eighth century (but the decline in furnished burials from the seventh century may limit our knowledge of its survival in either form). In this case, not enough of the handle has been preserved to show to which type it belongs. The *seax* is possibly a high-status burial item. This example may have been deposited deliberately in a partly infilled Roman ditch. No traces survive of associated goods or bone, although acidic soil conditions explain the lack of bone. The fact that there was no immediately adjacent evidence of a settlement also suggests to the authors that this was a burial (although see the discussion of Elisabeth Zadora-Rio's work in the section on Death and Burial, and that of Christopher Scull in the section on Regional Studies). Helen Walker's "An Ipswich-Type Ware Vessel from Althorne Creek," *Essex Archaeology and History* 32 (2001): 243–44, is a brief account of an incidental find of a pottery type not common in Essex.

Duncan H. Brown, *Pottery in Medieval Southampton, c 1066–1510*, Southampton Archaeology Monographs 8; CBA Research Report 133 (York: CBA, 2002) deals as its title implies only with pottery from the post-Conquest levels of this important site, but students of the pre-Conquest period will be interested in the catalogue and discussion of the Anglo-Norman period, including the evidence for imports.

Quita Mould, Ian Carlisle, and Esther Cameron in *Craft, Industry and Everyday Life: Leather and Leatherworking in Anglo-Scandinavian and Medieval York*; Archaeology of York 17 (York: CBA) have provided as thorough a catalogue and survey of a class of finds as we have come to expect from this source. It begins with a useful introduction to the site and its history as revealed through archaeology. The full range of leather objects is described and discussed: as well as shoes there are, for example, scabbards, straps and purses. There are sections on techniques, evidence for leatherworking (tools and materials), leather workers and the users of the products. On shoes, we have not only the products, but also some evidence about the wearers of the shoes, not just relative wealth, but also their "foot pathologies." The section on the leather scabbards makes a contribution to our understanding of the development of

weaponry and knives, while the evidence of decoration has something to say about the spread of art styles we are more accustomed to seeing on sculpture or metalwork. Historians of art and of dress as well as of the various crafts will be very interested in this book.

One of the most interesting of papers on aspects of early medieval industry is a study of a fish weir in Essex by R. L. Hall and C. P. Clarke, "A Saxon Inter-Tidal Timber Fish Weir at Collins Creek in the Blackwater Estuary," *Essex Archaeology and History* 31 (2000): 125–46. A series of timber alignments at this site have been dated by radio-carbon analysis to within the Anglo-Saxon period, and identified as inter-tidal fish-weirs. Areas of associated wattling are thought to have been walkways which provided access for repairs and for collecting the fish. The piece is very well illustrated by photographs (which show the surprising extent of surviving timbers), maps, and plans, which clarify the V-shaped tidal fish traps. The full extent of the weir was 3 km x 0.7 km: this compares with another example known from Whitstable in Kent. Fisheries at Blackwater were recorded in Domesday Book.

Margaret E. Snape, with a contribution by David G. Passmore in "A Horizontal-Wheeled Watermill of the Anglo-Saxon Period at Corbridge, Northumberland, and Its River Environment," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 32: 37–72, offers a very thorough study of this important discovery, both in its local context and in the wider context of what is known of this type of mill in the early medieval period. Such finds are extremely rare, but this one closely resembles another pre-Conquest mill from Tamworth in Staffordshire. Not the least interesting aspect is the association of such mills with sites of royal or ecclesiastical importance, suggesting that this technology, once appreciated, was first adopted by those who already operated on a large scale and had the means to realize its economic potential. A very important addition to our growing knowledge of early medieval technology.

Martin K. Foys's *The Bayeux Tapestry: Digital Edition*; Scholarly Digital Editions (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer, 2003) is useful for anyone working on this tapestry. While no substitute for the real thing, and while it does not replace the best color reproductions of individual scenes in various published reproductions, it can be enlightening to scroll along the embroidery's uninterrupted length, and to be able to compare it to drawings made before its various restorations.

E.C.

Martin Foys, in "All's Well that Ends: Closure, Hypertext, and the Missing End of the Bayeux Tapestry" (*Exemplaria* 15: 39–72), opens with a discussion of the complicated history of the Bayeux Tapestry, particularly during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, and the circumstances around the missing and undocumented section(s) at the end of the piece. Foys notes the conjectured end is held to show William the Conqueror enthroned, in parallel to Edward the Confessor at the Tapestry's opening, especially given the literary accounts which highlight the Christmas Day coronation; he suggests the rapid conclusion of these accounts—after the Battle of Hastings, William goes to London, and the surrender of the English nobles is soon followed by William's coronation—is likely similar in the short linen span conjectured. There are certainly visual precedents for these forms within the Tapestry and Foys suggests that the Tapestry provides more and more detailed precedents for the surrender of a city than the textual accounts. He provides a detailed formal analysis of the ways in which legitimate and usurped kingship are portrayed as a way of suggesting how William might have been portrayed. Foys then takes up Jan Messent's 1997 commissioned "endings," highlighting both the flaws and the idea that the narrative of the Tapestry leads us to an ending, that as "readers," we desire an ending. Foys is interested in the complicated narrative processes of the Tapestry—the borders as commentary, the tri-partite division of the plot, the inversion in Harold's oath and coronation and William's, the way in which the design both fosters and defers an ending. Parts of his analysis are very interesting, particularly his reading of body language (Harold's closed arms while receiving arms become open at the oath swearing), the connections between architecture and figures, and later in the article, the idea of temporal and spatial distortion. What Foys leads us to is the suggestion that we need to try not to read the Tapestry linearly and fill in what we know was once there; we need to read the multiple possibilities of an ending (was the length what we conjecture? What Norman accounts could have been included before the London scenes and coronation? Was the work finished at all?). Foys draws our attention to the positives of reading the incomplete end—the English are forever fleeing but never encapsulated by a Norman end (tapping into theories of English subversion in the execution of the Tapestry); indeed, historically, the coronation of William is not the end of the conflict, so it is likewise an artificial ending here. So while creating a conclusion for the Tapestry is enticing, and even possible to construct a likely scenario, it is also a limitation on the narrative

interactivity at the very heart of the composition, figural design, and execution of the work. "Closure is intuited, not dictated" (70).

Gail Ivy Berlin's essay, "The Fables of the Bayeux Tapestry: An Anglo-Saxon Perspective" (*Unlocking the Wordhord*, ed. Amodio and O'Keeffe, 191–216; see section 2), begins with the premise that fables may be read as politically subversive but that the context of that subversion should be seen as culturally/historically specific. She argues that reading the borders of the Bayeux Tapestry within that understanding is a way of seeing a covert Anglo-Saxon commentary on the historical narrative of the Conquest. Berlin creates a very readable and plausible story beginning with the production issues of a Norman patron (Odo), a possibly Anglo-Saxon designer and scribe and needlewomen (based on spelling conventions), and a situation in which the borders were unlikely to have been dictated in the same way as the main narrative. She further suggests that the ambiguities of context and the relational placement are a deliberate obfuscation of political sympathies in a climate of Norman hostility to Anglo-Saxons. Key to Berlin's interpretation is her reliance on the fables as known at the time (as preserved in Oxford, Bodl. Lib. MS Rawlinson G. 111); she uses Ademar of Chabannes and Marie de France's versions where appropriate. Berlin treats each of the fables in turn, noting its position in relation to the main panel and suggesting text references which help a political reading of the work. For example, in her reading of the scene below Harold and his falcon, the lamb cannot please the wolf at the stream; Berlin carefully reads the verbal trickery (and the English translations are included in endnotes) to suggest that the language of the lamb is used to entrap him just as Harold's oaths place him into entanglements which are used against him to justify William's force. Berlin adds context to a complicated and multivalent narrative.

Rich in footnotes, Karen Rose Matthews tackles the difficult and oft-raised problem of the nude forms in the Bayeux Tapestry in "Nudity on the Margins: The Bayeux Tapestry and its Relationship to Marginal Architectural Sculpture" (*Naked before God*, ed. Withers and Wilcox, 138–61; see section 7). The introduction traces the shift from positive classical associations to primarily negative medieval connotations of nudity. Her assertion is that the marginal positioning of these figures should link them with marginal architectural sculpture, particularly on the continent but also in the British Isles (*sheela-na-gigs*, male exhibitionists). Further, architectural sculpture and the Bayeux Tapestry shared a public

audience not usual for manuscript examples; marginal positioning is also key. Matthews acknowledges the difficulties of chronology when making these parallels and argues that the architectural form is a later manifestation of the same tendencies/priorities. The stylistic differences are also glaring, with the *sheelas* displaying a more repulsive and transgressive display of their genitalia; Matthews allies the Bayeux Tapestry's nude women with this moralizing against lust which appears in some (but not all) of the architectural forms. Male forms are clearly the more resonant stylistically and Matthews uses the pairing of male and female forms in both marginal art to suggest sexual explicitness and a connotation of other vices like gluttony and avarice. Performance and narrative theory clearly inform Matthews's suggestion of the way these images operated with relation to the main panel. She reads the Bayeux Tapestry marginalia as Nurith Kenaan-Kadar sees architectural marginalia, as not necessarily wholly separate from the main narrative but works within the context of a "victor's perspective" as both part of that story and subversive commentary against it, accessible on a number of different levels to its different audiences.

"Early Medieval Stone Bowls from Sunderland, Dalden and Durham" (*Durham Archaeological Jnl* 17: 13–15) is an introduction to three finished but undecorated small sandstone tubs with holes in the bottoms. The Sunderland bowl alone has some lettering, largely legible though not clearly translated; the lettering may be either a place name or possible evidence of the bowl's reuse at a later date. Clive R. Hart and Elisabeth Okasha suggest that the bowls were made to stand upright and that they may have been intended to hold liquid, which could then have been drained from a stoppered hole. The authors discount their function as either fonts or piscinas since the size, lack of decoration, and free-standing design would make them significantly different from Anglo-Saxon production of either of these ecclesiastical bowls. Hart and Okasha suggest, based on the wide range of Anglo-Norman stoups, that these may possibly have been stoups; this would indeed make these bowls highly significant since no other pre-Conquest stoups survive. What these bowls suggest, in context with the historical evidence of churches, endowments, and accounts from Bede's *Lives of the Abbots of Wearmouth and Jarrow*, is evidence of Anglo-Saxon Christian activity, particularly around Sunderland.

Jane Hawkes's investigation of the Masham Column in "The Art of the Church in Ninth-Century Anglo-Saxon England: The Case of the Masham Column"

(*Hortus Artium Medievalium* 8 [2002]: 337–48), looks at this round stone column as part of the production of a Deira/Northumbria workshop, which includes a shaft at Cundall-Aldborough and a box shaft at Hovington. Her analysis is based first on detailed comparison of the unusual figural motifs shared among these works, expressed on the Masham Column as Samson with outstretched arms at the gates of Gaza, David standing on lion and lamb, and Christ and his disciples. She traces slowly and thoroughly the workshop's use of high quality models, probably Late Antique/Byzantine in derivation. Her argument—that although the iconography is a standard message of redemption, resurrection, and salvation, the style and form are deliberately designed to evoke Roman victory monuments and to connote Christ's divine and ecclesiastical authority—comes late in the article but provides a convincing interpretation of the Masham Column. With such a clear artistic investigation, one longs for even more specific placement of the column into the social and ecclesiastical context of early ninth-century Deira. In all, Hawkes's Masham Column article picks up an important work and provides it with the larger artistic connections to the Eastern Mediterranean and lays out artistic evidence to strengthen the examination of authority in the use of models and iconography.

One of the organizing principles of the collection *Anglo-Saxon Styles* (ed. Karkov and Brown) is the definition of "style" as it applies to Anglo-Saxon art and literature, arguing that Meyer Schapiro's consistency of forms is less applicable than an "ordering of forms" (3), marked by a tendency to ambiguity and surface pattern and, most importantly, by the kinetic recombination of these formal types which results in the associative play that characterizes Anglo-Saxon artwork. Jane Hawkes's article, "*Iuxta Morem Romanorum*: Stone and Sculpture in Anglo-Saxon England" (69–99), begins with the idea that there is a development of a Roman informed style that is deliberately adopted by the seventh-century Anglo-Saxon church builders in order to establish authority. Noting the reuse of Roman material in newly established stone churches in Canterbury (Peter and Paul by 619, Mary by 620, and St. Pancras), and in the north around York (627), Ripon (ca. 665), Hexham (672-678), and at Wearmouth (674) and Jarrow (682), Hawkes establishes stone construction as a physical manifestation of the specifically Roman ecclesiastic institution in England. She links this reuse, the stone material, the architectural copying, and the siting of these churches all as a self-conscious appropriation of Roman-ness to the Anglo-Saxon fold; Hawkes's

incorporation of both literary and art historical evidence creates a strong case for her seeing Anglo-Saxon building as a recombinative type with intentional political connotations. It is Hawkes's section on free-standing stone monuments where the depth of the iceberg becomes clear: her scholarship in other sources provides a thorough background to the connections between these works and Roman imperial/victory monuments, both in form and site placement. Hawkes thus asserts that in the wood and thatch architectural landscape of Anglo-Saxon England, stone churches and stone ecclesiastical monuments were designed to recall the (now-lost) visual splendor of Rome and to place it in a clear Christian context.

Jane Hawkes's "Sacraments in Stone: The Mysteries of Christ in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture" (*The Cross Goes North*, ed. Carver, 351–70), considers the decoration of what is probably the best known subset of Anglo-Saxon sculpture, the large-scale stone monuments of the eighth and ninth centuries. Hawkes recreates these objects in the minds of her readers by reminding them first of their likely embellishment with paste glass, metal and paint, and secondly, of their prominence in the Anglo-Saxon landscape as victory monuments of the Christian Church. Her examination then moves into the iconography of these monuments, suggesting that the figural subjects chosen are deliberate evocations of the way in which Christ is connected sacramentally to the Christian. Hawkes notes that in Anglo-Saxon produced works there are iconic images of Christ in Majesty, the Virgin, apostles, and angels, which considerably outnumber the individual narrative scenes of the Incarnation and Ministry (and here, she provides a useful appendix of sites). She notes that the narrative scenes tend to cluster around the Incarnation, with another group (notably the Crucifixion) clustering around the Passion/Resurrection. Scenes that we might expect to see—the Baptism of Christ, for example—are not found. Hawkes takes the absences as significant. Given the record of image choice, the few scenes of miracles stand out sharply; Hawkes examines the healing of the blind man on the shaft at Ruthwell, the raising of Lazarus on the remains at Heysham (Lancashire), Great Glen (Leicestershire), and Rothbury (Northumberland), the loaves and fishes at Dewsbury (Yorkshire) and Hornby (Lancashire), and the miracle at Cana on the fragment at Dewsbury and possibly at Breedon-on-the-Hill (Leicestershire). Each of these narratives can be situated sacramentally, particularly with Lenten readings referencing baptism and the eucharist. "In other words, these four miracles, selected from all

the miracles potentially available to those responsible for the design of the Anglo-Saxon carved monuments of the pre-Viking period, are those which focus quite specifically on the matrix of ideas surrounding the two major rituals of participation in the mystery of Christ as they were understood in the pre-scholastic Church and which are best elucidated by the term *sacramentum*." (364)

Lloyd Laing in *Pottery 4000 b.c. to a.d. 1900: A Guide to Identifying Pot Sherds* (Witham: Greenlight) offers readers a slim but very useful volume on pottery and pot sherds, designed almost exclusively for non-specialists but with material useful for the more serious researcher, particularly if considered as a quick reference handlist. Opening with a short essay on why broken pottery is of interest (something we take for granted but must continually explain to undergraduates), the book offers an introductory handbook to identifying major types of pottery through sherds in the British Isles; backing this introduction is a closing appendix note on the legalities and practices of fieldwalking, clearly aimed at the same non-specialist audience. The book provides many photographs and discussion of technique in the opening chapter, "The Potter's Craft," with details of various techniques specific to certain periods (barbotine, for example). Indeed, the images are a major advantage of this book—lots of color and many supplemental line drawings. The glossary in the back is also a helpful feature for easy reference and introduction to the material. The second chapter is a short essay on archaeological terms and practices, again for non-specialists, which highlights the circumstances for pottery's disposal and retrieval. The third chapter takes up specifics of pottery from the Neolithic period, with illustrations of various regional forms; of note are his separation of common wares, beaker wares, and funerary pottery. Chapter four takes up Prehistoric pottery of the Iron Age from 700/600 bce to 43 ad, and chapter five addresses Roman wares from 43 to c. 409. In the Roman section, Laing makes organizational distinction between fine wares and regional coarse wares, breaking each down into many different subtypes. One is disappointed to find the next chapter retrogressively entitled "The Dark Ages and Early Medieval Period" and with a marked suggestion that barbarian culture is a poor remnant after the Roman Empire and that the pottery produced is of little interest. As this is not meant for a specialist audience, it takes little account of recent work (such as Bruce Eagles and Diana Briscoe, "Animal and Bird Stamps on Early Anglo-Saxon Pottery in England," *Die Altsachsen im Spiegel der nationalen und internationalen*

Sachsenforschung, ed. Hans-Jurgen Häßler [Oldenburg: Isensee, 1999], 99–111; or Jeffrey May and Peter Weddell, "Bantham: A Dark Age Puzzle," *Current Archaeology* 15 [2002]: 420–22, to name just two) where functional/ custom uses, regional variations, and continental versus local wares and their distributions can have major implications for materials, sites, and culture. The technical discussion of the pottery and its identifying characteristics is still strong despite these omissions/biases brought out by the audience focus. Chapter 8 continues with the medieval period, the 11th through the 15th centuries, and the book closes with two chapters on wares up to the 19th century.

In "Beckwith Revisited: Some Ivory Carvings from Canterbury" (*Anglo-Saxon Styles*, ed. Karkov and Brown, 101–13), Perette Michelli examines a group of eleven ivories (now cut down and recarved to create a group of sixteen) entrenched in the contradictory scholarship of Adolf Goldschmidt and John Beckwith; Michelli's grappling with the historiographical questions and the constraints of paring her presentation down for the present format make her essay feel dense and difficult for readers not familiar with the ivories and their scholarly history. Goldschmidt suggested these ivories are in a range of Continental styles, deriving from Tours c. 800, late Reimsian Liuthard examples c. late ninth or early tenth century, and the School of Metz c. late ninth or early tenth century. Beckwith's conclusion, now largely rejected, was that all but the *Entry into Jerusalem* (London, Victoria and Albert, no. 257-1867) were Anglo-Saxon, and six were early (eighth century) and the rest were later (late tenth). Michelli carefully recharts Beckwith's case for Anglo-Saxon production, suggesting that his conclusions are revealing of the range of Canterbury ivory production and its Continental influences. Beckwith's material looks very carefully at the handling of details like faces and wings to place panels (an interlace, a Virgin and Apostles, and the Angel Waking the Dead) together at one center and sees stylistic connections to other panels to suggest the influence of that center. While not denying the Continental similarities to Carolingian and Ottonian ivory carving, Michelli uses contemporary manuscript production (such as the New Minster *Liber Vitae*, 1031) to concur with Beckwith's geographic conclusions and to disprove his chronological conclusions, preferring the early eleventh century. This essay suggests that a better understanding of these works (and we await a more detailed and thorough examination with better illustrations) may add to our understanding of the relationship between media and the process of production and

trade, and indeed, even of the connotations of these works for political and ecclesiastic identity.

Catherine M. Oakes and Michael Costen in "The Congresbury Carvings—An Eleventh-Century Saint's Shrine" (*AntJ* 83: 281–309) assess a small group of sculptures (three substantial fragments, one smaller piece with drapery) found in 1995, likely from Congresbury in Somerset. Two blocks contain a similar arch framing the upper portion of a figure, one clearly Christ and the other a haloed man with beard and tonsure. There is also a block with a carved lower portion of a figure; the robed figure clasps a rolled scroll, an unusual saint's attribute. The article contextualizes the sculptures to the Congresbury site, drawing on evidence from the place name and site archaeology, and may allow the authors to place these works more closely to the period of 1033–1060 because of the gift connection between King Cnut and the priest Dudoc, who became Bishop of Wells in 1033 which was later annulled, and Congresbury reverted to a royal holding. Oakes and Costen highlight the solid financial position of the manor and church holdings at Congresbury in the eleventh through thirteenth centuries. The focus of their analysis is on the structure of these carvings, suggesting the possibility of a large shrine. They connect the sculptures and a possible shrine to the importance of the active cult of the Welsh missionary saint, Cyngar, in Congresbury; Cyngar was mentioned in the eleventh century Kalendar of Wells, and may have been attractive both because of the political position of Congresbury as a former Wells holding and as a way of capitalizing on relic/shrine/pilgrimage attentions. The quality of the carvings is very high, with articulated drapery and contrapposto shift, and particular to the area of Anglo-Saxon Wessex; the authors put the dates around the late-tenth to mid-eleventh century based on comparison with other sculptures (the Reculver Cross, the arcaded font which once had figures at Wells) and Winchester School manuscripts (such as the Sherborne Pontifical). The personal connections between Dudoc and the Ottonian influenced ecclesiastic community of the eleventh century further solidify the aesthetic of these pieces. The authors concede the difficulty that without more extant pieces, much must be conjectured about the shape of the shrine and the placement of the figures but they make a convincing stylistic and careful, if inconclusive, contextual case.

Fred Orton's "Rethinking the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Monuments: Some Deprecations of Style; Some Consideration of Form and Ideology" (*Anglo-Saxon Style,*

ed. Karkov and Brown, 31–67) opens right away by asking the theoretical concern at the heart of this book, "what do we mean when we say, 'style'?" His approach to Meyer Schapiro's definition reveals that while notable for its interest in culture as well as form, Schapiro's fixity on the unchanging and persistent nature of the production is problematic, particularly with reference to these objects. In trying to focus less on stylistic similarity, Orton's discussion of the Ruthwell and Bewcastle monuments begins by examining differences and their significance. Orton begins with the significant difference of the sundial on the Bewcastle monument and continues with variations in inscriptions and names, which suggest the context a community adds to stylistic similarities. He ultimately sets these differences into a predominantly ecclesiastical context for Ruthwell, with its presentations of biblical exegesis, liturgy, and monasticism, and a predominantly secular context for Bewcastle, with its deep associations of *memoria*. Orton also investigates the connotations of political status and gender and their effect on the reading of style in these two works. Orton firmly situates the problem of "how these monuments look" within the framework of ideologies, the contexts that present and interpret those styles.

Robert D. Stevick, in "The Form of the Hunterston Brooch" (*MA* 47: 21–39), takes up the form of the Hunterston Brooch, and the similar Tara Brooch, first from the position of the common comparisons to works in other media, particularly Irish stone crosses and manuscript illuminations, arguing that the careful delineation of the form is not initially obvious. Where the Tara Brooch can be reconstructed as a set of circles in ratio to each other, the Hunterston Brooch, while clearly related in formal tradition, departs from this design composition. Circular but not a simple circle, the Hunterston Brooch is analyzed as a circle divided for side-to-side symmetry and then again for top to bottom asymmetry; Stevick suggests the correct measurement for determining the form is "the diameter of a circle inclusive of the cartouche and the ornaments at the lower edge of the main piece" (26). The article is (perhaps overly) dense with Stevick's methodology and computations, made slightly clearer for non-geometricians by the author's diagrams; it is crucial to the author's discussion that his results be repeatable. What tends to get lost in the discussion is why this analysis matters: what Stevick is interested in is offering an analysis of the mathematical/geometric arrangement of the Brooch to show its internal harmony and the process of actual metalwork construction and to look at the ideas

of iteration and constructive geometry as a first princi-
ple of Insular production that extend beyond this piece
to works in other media.

F.A.

The title of Duncan H. Brown's paper, "Bound by Tra-
dition: A Study of Pottery in Anglo-Saxon England,"
ASSAH 12: 21–27, refers not only to the limitations exer-
cised on the production and use of ceramics during the
middle and late Saxon periods, but also the interpreta-
tive constraints which have colored modern research-
ers' analyses. While pottery is generally the most
commonly encountered artifact in the post-Roman
archaeological record and is considered to be an indi-
cator variously of industrial activity, chronological
definition, elite aspirations, trading contacts, and the
like, Duncan dismisses its significance: "these [Anglo-
Saxon] people did not want much from pottery" (25).
Duncan bases these refreshing remarks primarily on
his analysis of ceramic assemblages from middle and
late Saxon Hamwic, Southampton, York, and London.
During the middle Saxon period, ceramic production
was largely local and of a single jar/cooking pot form.
Even most imported pottery was of insufficient prestige
value to move it beyond the coastal areas into which it
initially arrived or to serve as prototypes for local pot-
ters to emulate. With the exception of London, which
apparently lacked local pottery-makers, ceramics were
not distributed over wide areas. This picture shifted
slightly during the late Anglo-Saxon period, most
noticeably within the Danelaw, as the larger production
centers at Stamford, Thetford, and Torksey widened
their distribution areas, in contrast to the more mod-
estly scaled Wessex-based Winchester and Michelm-
ersh-type wares. Despite different—or parallel—modes
of production and distribution within the Danelaw and
English Wessex, the range and relative quantities of ves-
sel types—again, the universal and ubiquitous cooking
pot—were essentially identical in both areas. However,
the English, bound by their own tradition of hand-built
and badly fired ceramics, evidenced no interest in the
wheel-thrown Anglo-Scandinavian vessels, thereby fos-
tering their indigenous cultural identity.

In a brief note entitled "Early Anglo-Saxon Buck-
les (Late Fifth to Early Eighth Centuries A.D.): Their
Classification and Context," *Index to Theses* 51 (2002),
8019, S. Marzinzik summarizes the research underly-
ing her 2000 Oxford University doctoral dissertation.
Using a sample of 1379 buckles from 1258 cemetery and
settlement contexts, Marzinzik develops a typological
and chronological framework, which, in turn, enables a

wider discussion of costume and of the social role of
metalwork production, distribution, and consumption.

The seminar volume *Theorizing Anglo-Saxon Stone
Sculpture*; Medieval European Studies 4 (Morgantown:
West Virginia UP) edited by Catherine E. Karkov and
Fred Orton has relevance for early medieval studies well
beyond the subject of its title. The value of these essays
lies less in their discussion of specific monuments but
rather in the authors' willingness to shift attention from
descriptive and historical interpretations to the often
more speculative concerns of representation and gen-
der. As Richard N. Bailey notes in his brief "Introduc-
tion" (1–4), the papers were initially delivered at Leeds
in 1998. In the first essay, "Reading Stone," Jane Hawkes
discusses the ways in which different audiences have
encountered the North cross at Sandbach (Cheshire).
To modern local antiquarians, the cross is an articula-
tion of historical events: the commemoration and pro-
motion of the Mercians' conversion to Christianity in
the mid-seventh century. In contrast, art historians
who focus on the style and motif of the cross's deco-
ration would situate the monument within an early
ninth-century Scandinavian-influenced Mercian con-
text. Modern iconographers see a different cross, one
whose early Christian or late antique imagery was
informed by very early Carolingian art. The content of
these images, viewed by another scholar, refers to the
earthy revelation and adoration of God and his Church
through Christ. But what of those Anglo-Saxons who
saw the Sandbach cross in their daily lives? How did
they read this monument? Hawkes points out that in a
most immediate and physical sense, the Anglo-Saxon
public would have seen a different monument, as much
sculpture of this time was brightly polychromed and
set with metal and paste glass inlays. At Sandwich, the
position of design elements echoed, on a grand scale,
openwork metal plaques, evoking a monumental cross
erected outside ecclesiastical confines. The particular
multiplicity of meanings identified by modern schol-
ars, argues Hawkes, would have been obscured beneath
layers of applied decoration. We cannot know what the
Anglo-Saxon themselves read at Sandwich.

Extending this discussion of audience, Catherine E.
Karkov, in "Naming and Renaming: The Inscription of
Gender in Anglo-Saxon Sculpture" (*Theorizing,* 31-66),
argues that the Church through its sculpture promoted
a state of "degendered difference" unified in Christ.
This ideal, argues Karkov, merged traditional gendered
roles and images into a single state of being. Inscrip-
tions on early monastic grave slabs, as at Lindisfarne,

Whitby, Hartlepool, and Jarrow, suggest a mixing of genders. Likewise, on the Ruthwell monument, the body of Christ visually and linguistically linked together men and women. Turning to the damaged Hackness 1 cross, dated generally to the late seventh to early ninth centuries, Karkov conjectures that the language of the inscriptions and intervisuality of the images mystically unified the roles of mother, abbess, and Christ. This motherly metaphor may have had a special resonance at Ruthwell and Hackness, both double houses under the earthly maternal care of an abbess. By naming a thing, not only do we give it form and meaning but we also constrain its phenomenological experience. Thus, attempts to identify, describe, and associate similarities among Anglo-Saxon stone sculptures have encumbered efforts to recognize differences.

G.F.

e. Numismatics

J. Newman and D. M. Metcalf in "A Gold Bracteate or Uniface from Martlesham, Suffolk," *Proc. of the Suffolk Institute of Archaeology and History* 40 (2002–03): 334–35, record the discovery of a bracteate during World War II at Martlesham, when it was an airfield, and which the serviceman finder kept as a talisman. The impressed decoration on this example, a tall cross, pellets and pseudo-letters, was probably derived directly from the reverse design of a contemporary (seventh- to eighth-century) Merovingian coin (a *tremissis*). The find was within a few km of both the royal site at Sutton Hoo and the early trading center of Ipswich, and is probably evidence of a seventh- to eighth-century burial. Margaret Clunies Ross's "An Anglo-Saxon Runic Coin and Its Adventures in Sweden," *ASE* 32: 79–88 is an interesting piece of detective work based on a coin of Offa, rare because of the few coins still known by the moneyer Botred. It was dug up in Kent in the eighteenth century, was the subject of correspondence in the same century between scholars in Sweden and England, and is now in the Royal Coin Cabinet, Stockholm.

E.C.

Lloyd Laing and Matthew Ponting, in "An Unpublished Early Penny from Lincolnshire and Its Significance" (*British Numismatic Jnl* 72 [2002]: 164–67), analyze a sceat found near Partney, Lincolnshire; the coin weight, unusually low silver content (only 23%), and unusual surface blanching all suggest that it is a late Secondary series Anglo-Saxon coin, produced at a time when silver stock may have been low and there was a need for disguising debasement. The iconography of the coin

is also striking: on the obverse is a crested bird with curved wing and tripartite pelleted tail walking right and on the reverse is a cross croisée. The bird design makes it possible that this is a confused rendering in Series Q. Without a close match in Anglo-Saxon sceatta, the closest precedents may be Merovingian. The primary significance of the coin is that while other Lindsey finds suggest circulation of coins from eastern and southern Mercia, this coin is very different, suggesting the unusual wealth of the area.

Part of the *Studies in Early Medieval Britain*, this volume is intended to shed light on the culture of Alfred the Great; Mark Blackburn's article, "Alfred's Coinage Reforms in Context" (*Alfred the Great*, ed. Reuter, 199–217; see section 7), examines the early coinage reforms the king made, principally a reform of the coin standards and expanding the mint network. The background context in the early ninth century was the silver penny as the sole denomination and a small number of primary mints in large international trade centers: Canterbury, Rochester, London, York, and probably Ipswich. Stable and uniform coinage, under the authority of the king, was a governmental priority if not necessarily a reality; in late eighth-century Wessex, independent moneyers and regional distribution were more the norm. Blackburn notes the debasement of the coinage and Alfred's radical reformation of the standard; coin designs become more consistent as a result. He also examines the number of moneyers active, seeing a sharp increase through the mid-ninth century as a result of Æthelwulf's and Æthelberht's reorganization of the mints, gaining more fees and dies. Alfred's first reform in ca. 875 is seen against a prior period of debasement, perhaps attributed to Viking campaigns but more likely a shortage of silver; Alfred followed this reformation and expansion of mints with another in ca. 880 when he also introduced a new denomination, the halfpenny. Alfred greatly expanded the mint network, including Winchester, another in Wessex, one in southern Mercia (Oxford?) and one in northwest Mercia (Chester?); by 900, there were at least nine established mints. Blackburn traces the social and political implications of monetary connection between Alfred and Ceolwulf of Mercia (ca. 874–879) and links them as partners in the re-coinage and its acceptance in the London mint.

In Mark Blackburn's "'Productive' Sites and the Pattern of Coin Loss in England, 600–1180" (*Markets in Early Medieval Europe: Trading and "Productive" Sites, 650–850*, ed. Tim Pestell and Katharina Ulmschneider

[Macclesfield: Windgather], 20–36), the author looks at the theories of coin distribution, particularly for sceattas, since coin distribution shows a regional bias for the eastern and south-eastern areas of England, not the expected even distribution across the country. Blackburn acknowledges that "productive" sites is a somewhat misleading term since it is not simply numbers of coins being compared, but also conditions for recovery, the circumstances and context of the original site (the principal sites are then listed in an appendix). Blackburn distinguishes between single finds, or individual losses of coins (not coins used as jewelry), and hoards—the result of deliberate hiding to protect money at a time of trouble and the hoard's not being recovered by the owner because of those circumstances. As Blackburn's figures show, single finds are plentiful in the first half of the eighth century and decline in the later eighth and ninth centuries while hoards swell in occurrence under the Viking and Danish incursions of the mid-ninth century. The author also looks in detail at Metcalf's statistical regression analysis in connection to geographical distribution, noting that ninth-century single coin finds are often further from mint spots; Blackburn holds this analysis useful when taken in connection to the quantitative/chronological approach to finds from certain areas. Blackburn then analyzes metal detector finds from *Hamwic*, Royston, and Tilbury, which show high coin loss at *Hamwic* from 700–750 in keeping with its early commercial activity and later decline, intermediate status finds from the same period at Tilbury, and a similar distribution with slightly lower levels from 700–750 at Royston. That the distributions should be so similar is striking given the different commerce and functions of the sites; in each, however, the coinage is local and of differing types, despite its chronological distribution similarities. Blackburn places these finds into the wider distribution context at other sites (Bawsey in Norfolk, South Lincolnshire, Hollingbourne; and against the unusual finds of Flixborough; Kent; Northumbria) to ask whether we are really looking at changes in function of sites or whether the changes reflect different approaches to the use of money (and what constitutes "normal" monetary activity).

Beginning with a historical review that places the St. Edmund coins into their cultural context of Danelaw coins from 895–917/8, Mark Blackburn and Hugh Pagan's article, "The St Edmund Coinage in the Light of a Parcel from a Hoard of St Edmund Pennies," *British Numismatic Jnl* 72 (2002): 1–14, traces an unusual political identification of King Gundram and his successors with Edmund as both king and saint in this primarily

East Anglian coinage. The authors see the combination of Guthrum's baptismal name and the St. Edmund evocation on the coins as a possible emphasis on the Scandinavian king's Christianity and its acceptance among other regional powers. The bulk of St. Edmund's coins come from the 1840 Cuerdale hoard, and provide considerable information about early phase coinage and moneyers, some of them very unreliable in reference to actual men or their production but an accurate reflection of the copying and minting practices of this period and region. Blackburn and Pagan then address two other hoards, first the carefully gleaned information about the Manningtree hoard of 1995 (deposit ca. 915 of ninety damaged and chipped coins, all said to be St. Edmunds except for one St. Peter coin of York of the Swordless type, generally dispersed to the trade). The bulk of the article addresses the Baldwin hoard of 1993, a find-spot-unknown parcel of forty-four whole and largely undamaged St. Edmund pennies of which forty-two post date the Cuerdale hoard and thus provide critical information about late phase coins. "Characteristically they have shorter legends, thicker lettering and no pellets or other decoration around the central motif" (5); the obverse inscriptions of Edmund's name are contracted but legible. Names on the coins reflect both genuine names and odd nonsensical names; both are cut carefully which is problematic for the veracity of the inscriptions as a whole. The weights of the Baldwin hoard are significantly higher than the Cuerdale hoard, suggesting a rise in the standard (Baldwin, 1.38 g.) after the establishment (Cuerdale, 1.33 g.) with a late decline (Morley St. Peter, 1.29 g.). The Baldwin flans are also smaller than the Cuerdale phase. The finds are significant since they reflect Scandinavian coin uniformity and a strong coin economy in the early tenth century; the authors look at distribution and weight to suggest that these coins have a high turn-over and a high export from East Anglia in trade. The article finishes with complete listing of the Baldwin hoard coins and illustration on two plates.

Robin J. Eaglen catalogues a number of new coins from the mint at Huntingdon in "Further Coins from the Mint of Huntingdon," *British Numismatic Jnl* 72 (2002): 15–23. Eighteen come from the "Cnut" hoard, six from Scandinavian hoards, and twelve from various other sources. Twenty-five coins have known die combinations but five offer new monetypes, one from a new moneyer, Harthacnut, making it a rare example of an Old Norse name at the mint. Eaglen also offers detailed catalogue entries for a possibly unique coin with a Short Cross variant and Pointed Helmet type by

the moneyer Leofric, an eighth specimen of the Arm and Sceptre type (significantly by the moneyer Wulfstan during the reign of Harthacnut), an Ælfwine mon-eyed coin of the Radiate-Short Cross type, and a rare coin from the reign of Henry I by Siwate (thus suggesting his activity from the penultimate type of William II through to the third type of Henry I). Adding these coins to the Huntingdon catalogue, Eaglen suggests Huntingdon as one of over thirty centers striking official issues under Stephen but not the new Tealby issue of Henry II—this is not simply an issue of reducing the number of mints but of reinstating rights operative under Henry I, bypassing Stephen's minting customs. Appendix I offers a complete catalogue of the new coins that fall into known die combinations and Appendix II offers a catalogue of the new coins that have new dies and/or new die combinations. There is one page of coin images.

Anna Gannon in *The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage: Sixth to Eighth Centuries* (Oxford: Oxford UP) approaches the study of these coins from an unusual perspective of art historical analysis. She observes that "[a]rtistically, this is the most exciting period of English coinage, with die-cutters showing flair and innovation and employing hundreds of different designs in their work …" (1). Key to her analysis is the idea that these are not a continuance of Roman monetary traditions but a new one, rooted in designs which had to assert issuing authority but which also may have helped the spread of ideas such as Christianity and ethnic/cultural identity. The first chapter of Gannon's book is a whirlwind look at the context of coinage in early Anglo-Saxon England, noting everything from the two-century break between Roman and Anglo-Saxon coinage, the cultural uses of coins as bullion or jewelry, basic numismatic history of coin issues up to Offa, and brief discussion of material background of die-cutting and moneying as well as the running themes of connections between England and the Continent, imperial patronage and authority, and the interplay of Christianity in politics. She notes the different, diametrically opposed, scholarly opinions on the function of coinage, as gift exchange and reciprocity or as facilitating economic transactions; she does not, however, allude to her own conclusions. The chapter is clearly designed as a background for non-specialists and is useful as such. Gannon approaches the material as an art historian and an iconographer rather than as a numismatist, dividing the coins by designs rather than by series and types. The iconography is broken into busts (subdivided by view, gender, costume, and attributes), other human figures, animals (birds, lions, snakes, wolves, hybrids), and crosses/standards/por-cupines. In addition to numismatic evidence, Gannon draws numerous comparisons to works in other media to strengthen her conclusions, which are stated most clearly in the last section of her book. She suggests a conservatism in the early independent coinage (ca. 630–700), with coins based on Roman prototypes via Merovingian issues (busts on the obverse, crosses on the reverse); this rests in a perception of the coinage authority and commercial credibility. Gannon looks at Second Phase (ca. 710–750) coinage as being more unified in iconography than type, and connects the iconography of symbolic animals, crosses, and vine-scrolls to multivalent and concurrent ideas of a circulating economy of prestige in visual motifs as a statement of culture and ethnicity, a preoccupation with iconographies of salvation, and the economic and cultural position of the Church during the period. She further suggests a link between later eighth century coin debasement and decreased production and possible issues of ecclesiastical reform and changes in ecclesiastical minting authority. Gannon's approach does not intend to supplant traditional numismatic studies but to supplement the statistical and categorical study with new material about coins as visual culture and the way iconographic choices are made and understood. This book is a revision of Gannon's 2001 Cambridge dissertation, "The Iconography of Early Anglo-Saxon Coinage (6th–8th Centuries)," *Index to Theses* 51 (2002): 6027.

Dr. Ivar Leimus, curator of coins at the Estonian History Museum, and Dr. Arkadi Molvõgin, Institute of History of the Estonian Academy of Sciences, examine a substantial collection of English coins in Estonia, which is the result of both rich hoard finds containing Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman pennies and the antiquarian interests of late eighteenth and early nineteenth century collectors. The introduction to *Estonian Collections: Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman and Later British Coins* (Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles 51 [Oxford: Oxford UP, 2001]), traces the holdings and their history in Estonia, particularly through the World Wars. There is a substantial cataloguing of hoard finds in Estonia, with as complete a listing of coin types as possible; the hoard find is summarized as a whole, English coins specifically noted, and followed by bibliographic references. The second section of the catalogue includes single finds and excavated coins. The compilation of this information in a standardized and accessible format by itself would make this a useful volume for researchers, made even more useful by a solid bibliography. The real

attraction of the volume is the plates. They are matched with a text listing type, weight, die axis, pecks, inscriptions, and collection information. The coins, including both whole and fragmentary remains, are well photographed and clear. Of the Anglo-Saxon material, there are eighteen full plates of Æthelred II (978–1016), primarily of the Crux, Long Cross, and Last Small Cross types; there are also fourteen and a half plates of coins from the reign of Cnut (1016–1035); three of Harold I (1035–1037, 1037–1040), mostly of the fleur-de-lis type; one plate of coins of Harthacnut (1035–7, 1040–2); three plates of Edward the Confessor (1042–66) coins, primarily of the Pacx type. The volume also contains holdings and plates for Anglo-Norman holdings, a Hiberno-Norse series ca. 995–1020 through 1035–1055, a section on imitative series, and a Plantagenet series. The volume's reference material contains a concordance with Molvõgin's earlier catalogue work, an index of mints, an index of moneyers, and an index of finds. The volume does not provide a substantive analysis of the individual coins; it is an invaluable gathering of source material for examining these finds in Estonian collections.

Stewart Lyon in "Anglo-Saxon Numismatics" (*British Numismatic Jnl* 73: 58–75) assesses the study of coins from the late nineteenth-century publications on Anglo-Saxon coins to the modern period. The article is both a summary of coin practices and politics of the Anglo-Saxon period and a summary of the history of coin scholarship. While collection catalogues of the holdings of the British Museum, the Royal Swedish Cabinet of Medals in Stockholm, and the privately held Montagu collection richly opened the study of Anglo-Saxon coins, Lyon notes the classification of these coins was often "more mechanical than perceptive," detailing sub-types and rare "mules" as self-standing forms. The problem complicated studies of the next thirty years and often necessitated the reinterpretation of finds. In Part A, the author tackles pre-reform coinage. Lyon first assesses the historiography of the coinage of Southern England before Offa, small gold coins of 1.3 g. traditionally called *thrymsas*, noting their increased alloy with silver until the end of the seventh century when they are relabeled *sceattas*. The difficulty of differing names and varying weight and exchange values complicates their study. The second section addresses the mid-eighth-century coinage of Offa, noteworthy for its artistic quality; he highlights Ian Stewart's 1986 epigraphic criteria for distinguishing coins from Kent versus those from London and Derek Chick's 1997 review of the Offa coinage chronology. Mercian coins from the period

796–879 are treated in a third section of the article, which notes that the survey of Blunt, Lyon, and Stewart from 1963 stands as a solid review of the dies allocated in the period from Canterbury, Rochester, London, and East Anglia. He addresses Nicholas Brooks's support for anonymous coinage between Coenwulf's and Coelwulf's reigns, using coin evidence to argue instead for Ceolwulf I (821–823) as the last Mercian recognized on pence from Kent through coins minted in Canterbury and Rochester. In addition to tracing the coin studies for the reigns of Egbert, Æthelwulf, the Mercian king Wiglaf c. 840, and Alfred beginning in 871, Lyon considers period issues of deliberate *renovatio* and demonetization. A brief paragraph summarizes both the East Anglian coinage of 827–870 and its scholarship; the coins were minted for the now-unknown kings of the early period before Edmund (killed by the Danes in 869). Lyon looks at the Northumbrian *sceattas* under Aldfrith (685–704), noting Dr. Anna Gannon's examination of the lion image, and continues to note studies through to the recent controversial work of Elizabeth Pirie of the debased silver *stycas* from 810–867. Short historiographies follow of the non-portrait pennies of Alfred ca. 880 to Edgar's reformed coinage of ca. 973, and focus on the work of Mark Blackburn and C.E. Blunt and R.H.M. Dolley, and the Viking coins from 880–954. In Part B, the coins after Edgar's reform receive similar attention; it notes that the reform brought a uniformity so that coins showed minting kingdom, name of moneyer, and town where he was associated; Lyon notes that sequence and cataloguing were the first notable works, beginning with Hildebrand in the late nineteenth century. Lyon addresses coinage under Edward the Confessor; Æthelred II (highlighting the issues of identifying and dating the Type A coins); Cnut, Harold I, and Harthacnut (as one section). In Part C of the article, Lyon works towards an understanding of the changes of type after Edgar's reform, drawing on the work of Blunt and Dolley; type changes every six years at Michelmas with subsequent exchange minters established (advanced by Dolley and depending on the replacement of Small Cross types in ca. 973 by First Hand in c. 979 and Second Hand in 985 and Crux in ca. 991) has largely been displaced (through the work of Blackburn, Stewart, and others) to examine patterns such as demonetizing types and Scandinavian inflow of early Long Cross types. This work also uses newer techniques such as numerical recording, statistical review of metrology, and stylistic analysis of die engraving and mint studies. Lyon closes with a brief review of other new studies, including the British Academy's *Sylloge of Coins of the British Isles*, the regional study of moneyers' names

(Veronica Smart), economic estimations (Michael Metcalf), and cross-cultural works.

Coins of Northumbria: An Illustrated Guide to Money from the Years 670–867 [Llanfyllin, Powys: Galata Print Ltd., 2002) by the late Elizabeth J.E. Pirie, is a slim volume with copious illustrations, done at 3:2 so as to show these small coins better; it is disappointing that the layout of text and illustration does nothing to enhance Pirie's work and even at times makes it difficult to concentrate on either. That said, Pirie's book provides an updated survey of three Northumbrian coinages—gold Latin derived *thrymsas*, small silver *sceattas* often known as pennies, and the peculiarly Northumbrian small value silver *stycas*—before the Viking capture of York in 867. The book is designed to serve two communities, principally as an amateur's introduction to coin finding, reporting/publishing, and handling and conservation, treated in a large section at the end, but also acting as a reference handlist of existing types with illustrations. The first part of the book contains an extremely useful and well-written explanation of the coin names and special terms; it is followed by a basic introduction to the process, through dies and cutting, and economics of coinage through moneyers. Part II is an introduction to the period between 670 and 867, which notes the strength and independence of Northumbria in its coins up to around 844, before the later unrest; she raises some key issues with particular coins, such as the 1997 redating of Eanred's penny to c. 830 and the unique gold soldus struck for Uigmund, Archbishop of York (ca. 837–850). Part II also has a brief summary of Northumbrian coin development, highlighting the gap between Aldfrith's *sceattas* from 685-705 and Eadberht's coins after 737. Pirie also stresses the points which distinguish her study from other, earlier scholarship, noting primarily the idea that ecclesiastical and secular coin issues should be studied in tandem not as parallel coinages (a point made nicely in her discussion of Eadberht and his archbishop brother Ecgberht). Part III is the handlist, beginning with a discussion of *thrymsas* and early *sceattas*, then later *sceattas*, and a thorough breakdown of the *styca* coinages and its groups. Her discussion of links between the dies under Eanred, Reduulf, and Aethelred II is one example of her comparative approach. The text, generally clear and informed by the author's deep knowledge of the subject, is often peppered with Pirie's observations (for instance, about the copper coins of Ecgfrith, often mentioned in earlier texts and now held to be a hoax), opinions and quips (regarding the lying wolf of Aldfrith's *sceat*, ca. 685-705, "Let us give the die-cutter

credit for trying, even if he did not quite manage to achieve a proper degree of perspective!"), making this a readable (though opinionated) introduction to these coins.

F.A.

f. Inscriptions

Ute Schwab, "More Anglo-Saxon Runic Graffiti in Roman Catacombs," *OEN* 37.1 (Fall 2003): 36–39 is an all-too-brief look at the subject of Anglo-Saxon catacomb graffiti, one in Roman letters, which she detaches from its earlier identification with Heardred bishop of Hexham (797-800) and suggests a possible reassignment to one Eadred, probably a member of the retinue of Hermelinda, Anglo-Saxon wife of the Langobard king Cunipert. A second, female name has a rare rune for the letter <g>, adopted, she thinks, not only for phonetic or ornamental reasons but because of its resemblance to the Christian *Chi Rho* symbol.

Tineke Looijenga's *Texts and Contexts of the Oldest Runic Inscriptions*; The Northern World 4 (Brill: Boston) is a very substantial work which draws together the corpus of early runic inscriptions (150–700 A.D.), across a wide swathe of northern Europe. The introductory chapters cover the history of the study of these runes, with separate sections for each country in which they are found; the development and origins of the runes themselves; and the societies which used them. The runes in each country are then catalogued separately, with a discussion of the content, disputed readings, references, and extremely useful comparisons with similar forms, often in different countries. Chapter 8, pages 273–98, covers the "Early Runic Inscriptions in England."

E.C.

Alfred Bammesberger examines "The Harford Farm Brooch Runic Inscription" (*Neophilologus* 87: 133–35), a rare Kentish example of a seventh-century Anglo-Saxon brooch with a runic inscription. It is a stunning example of cloisonné and interlace goldwork; the inscription is often translated as "Luda repaired this brooch." In this detailed linguistic analysis, Bammesberger revisits the translation of *luda: gibœtæsigilæ*; he notes the naming convention first, as a finite verb form of the Old English *ge-bētan*, a verb which while it can mean 'repair', can also mean 'make amends'. The connection to legal terminology is very convincing and Bammesberger's translation of "May Luda make amends (or make compensation or atone) by means of this brooch"

adds this piece of evidence to what we are learning of Anglo-Saxon religious practice and gift economies.

Noting the diversity of forms of Latin letter inscriptions in Britain and vernacular inscriptions in Ireland, John Higgitt in "Design and Meaning in Early Medieval Inscriptions in Britain and Ireland" (*The Cross Goes North*, ed. Carver, 327–337) argues that there is significant meaning omitted when scholars examine the text for translation alone. The design and the layout of the inscription convey meaning in their visual presentation. Higgitt looks at the way orderly epigraphic text layout of British inscriptions mimics the look of Roman official and memorial lines. He notes patterns in works like the eighth-century slabs at Monkwearmouth and Tullylease in which the end line is reserved for the patron/deceased. His discussion of the Latin inscription in the chapel at Deerhurst by Earl Odda highlights Higgitt's methodology, since he notes the way the line positioning places Odda's dead brother's name as the middle word in the middle line at the center of the stone. Higgitt is particularly interested in the way in which conventions like size of letters, their spacing, the marking of the text with crosses, symmetry along lines are ways which visually enhance the text. These techniques stand in conjunction with what the text says and emphasize visually to an audience of the semi-literate what is clear to the more educated reader. This article advances an interesting methodology that successfully joins textual criticism and visual criticism together, to look at the word as both signifier and signifying image.

In "Rome and the Cosmopolitan Language of Power in Early Medieval Inscriptions in the British Isles" (*Hortus Artium Medievalium* 8 [2002]: 255–600, John Higgitt looks at the ways in which early medieval inscriptions in Wales and western Britain deliberately draw on the prestige and politics of a connection with Rome and the Catholic west. He argues that it is less a conscious revival of Britain's imperial roots, in the Carolingian manner of deliberate study and modeling, but a desire for expressing an idea of Rome. Looking at works like the mid-ninth century Pillar of Elise in the Welsh kingdom of Powys, Higgitt illustrates a secular trend of victory columns, which in its inscription form relates to the Rome of the empire. Tying his art historical analysis to a cultural examination of what he calls the "Romano-mania" of the seventh century (as drawn from Bede and elsewhere), Higgitt's analysis of the 685 Jarrow dedication highlights the Roman manner of building and the quotation of a fourth-century Constantinian Roman inscription as evidence of the

conscious connection between the Christians of the British Isles and their Roman counterparts, with a clear archaism towards the early Roman Church. Higgitt's analysis compares Anglo-Saxon inscriptions and Roman tituli in verse analysis and in the relief cutting technique; it is critical to recognize both the verbal/aural connection and the visual referencing as simultaneous techniques. They are mutual reinforcements of the position. Similarly, he examines the Anglo-Saxon reuse of Roman monuments, as with the inscriptions on the reused Roman altar from Loughor from the sixth century and the *hic iacet* inscription on the reused milestone now at Port Talbot; Higgitt makes a more convincing case for deliberate appropriation with other examples (St. Mary-le-Wigford in Lincoln where the Old English text is displayed prominently above the Roman gravestone inscription). In conclusion, Higgitt suggests a "cosmopolitan language of power" evidenced in Roman borrowings: cosmopolitan in its relationship to Continental trends and connection to the Latin West; power in its allusions to Rome, and language as a system of visual and verbal references. He does ask the critical question of audience, ending with a somewhat rushed analysis of the limitations of this kind of erudite allusion and an unfulfilling statement of how that connection might occasionally reach a wider audience than simply the clerical elite. In all, this article is more satisfying when read in close conjunction with Higgitt's other contribution to *The Cross Goes North*, 327-337.

"Anglo-Saxon Inscribed Rings" (*Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 34: 29–45) by Elisabeth Okasha begins with a brief catalogue of the twenty-six inscribed rings (four now lost), listing, where known, its find spot, present location, material, diameter in millimeters, date, language of the text, and a reading of the text with added word-divisions and speculative letters marked. Okasha's is the first analysis of these works as a distinct group. Most of the rings are dated on style to the ninth and tenth centuries although there are three likely early outliers, and two later outliers. Most are costly productions of silver or gold; only the Wheatley Hill (likely eighth century) ring was set for gems, now missing. Okasha suggests a correlation between some of the less prestigious materials and runic inscriptions. While mostly finger rings, there is the possibility as well that they were used as pendants, particularly when inscribed with medical charms, or in one case perhaps as a hilt band. Some of the rings are inscribed with personal names; the Latin text rings are all religious in nature and contain for example abbreviated prayers (Sherburn), *anulum fidei* or 'ring of faith' (Sleaford),

or references to baptismal names (Bossington). Okasha further connects these rings to the rich textual evidence in Old English riddles and poetry, and adds some evidence from wills to set them in their cultural use. Striking is the analysis of gender—biased towards men in the literature, the archaeological evidence suggests a predominance of female sized rings; Okasha suggests the possibility that personal names on rings may not necessarily indicate possession but perhaps the giver or donor. While Okasha's argument on the gendering of names in Old English runs counter to accepted convention, it does help to answer possible reasons for the correspondence of male names and small rings. Finally, Okasha closes with the idea that writing, as a sign of authority and prestige, may have been a primary motivation for the decoration of these uncommon objects.

Elisabeth Okasha's article, "Spaces between Words: Word Separation in Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions" (*The Cross Goes North*, ed. Carver, 339–49), begins by examining the Roman tradition of unseparated words and unpunctuated text seen in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, following the work of Paul Saenger; Anglo-Saxon produced Latin manuscripts after the eighth century are more likely to use some form of separation or interpuncts, although vernacular manuscripts remain inconsistent (aerated) in their spacing. Okasha then asks whether inscriptions follow the same patterns of separation or use of the medial dot. Her findings of the inscriptions (twenty-five from the seventh through ninth centuries, and forty from the tenth and eleventh centuries; culled rigorously by a selection process that requires the inscription to be multi-word, legible, mostly complete, and datable) suggests that while inscriptions fall into the same larger categories as manuscripts—1) lacking word separation, 2) aerated by dots or crosses, 3) aerated, or 4) consistent separation—inscriptions tend to be delayed in their transition to a fully separated text. Okasha suggests that this delay is caused by the very nature of inscriptions: easier to read because of their short format, predictable in format, less intention for having these read rather than iconically recognized. Further interesting is her suggestion that the audience for inscriptions is not the largely illiterate *populus*, or even the erudite elite, but God and the saints; their need for assistive technology like separation or interpuncts would be non-existent. Like John Higgett's article in the same collection ("Design and Meaning in Early Medieval Inscriptions in Britain and Ireland", 327–337), Okasha suggests that the form of the inscription is critically separate visually from its textual meaning.

"A Late Saxon Inscribed Pendant from Norfolk" (*ASE* 32: 225–30) by Elisabeth Okasha and Susan Youngs discusses a lead inscribed pendant found near Weasenham All Saints, now in the collection of the Castle Museum, Norfolk. The sub-rectangular, cut-sheet lead pendant measures only 23 mm. (.9 inches) length, 15 mm. (.5 inches) wide. Though considerably damaged and somewhat fragile, the pendant has some deliberate incised lines suggesting a Crucifixion scene and the possibility of the piece as a personal devotional item. On the other side are five lines of text, of which three are fairly legible and the last two are missing several letters; the text is not carefully laid out, and based on the 'A' used, the authors place it as Insular, mid-tenth century or later. Okasha and Youngs have transcribed the first three lines as "+NOMEN DEI IST I[N] EBRAICE E-." They suggest a translation of either "This name of God in Hebrew" followed by "is—" or "This (is) the name of God in Hebrew"; there is a possibility that the missing characters in the last lines are not Latin but the Hebrew Tetragrammaton (the unspoken name of God) but Okasha and Youngs suggest the missing letters are more likely roman Latin characters. The pendant may have been a medical amulet, possibly worn around the neck, given its size. The choice of lead as a material is significant: either it is a deliberate choice to emphasize poverty rather than luxury in personal adornment, so the choice of someone committed to a religious life and poverty, or as a memorial with deliberate reference to other *memento mori*/funerary pieces also made of lead.

F.A.

g. Miscellaneous

Tim Tatton-Brown's article, "Canterbury and the Architecture of Pilgrimage Shrines in England" (*Pilgrimage: The English Experience from Becket to Bunyan*, ed. Colin Morris and Peter Roberts [Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2002), 90–107), focuses on the Canterbury Cathedral Becket shrine as a break with the architectural past and as a precedent for future shrine building in England. Archbishop Lanfranc in 1070 is part of a concerted Norman building campaign in England that reached its height in the mid-twelfth century. These buildings, however, almost all have small simple east ends, and any enshrined relics were in a part of the church inaccessible to the laity. The relic cults of St. Augustine at Canterbury, St. Swithun, St. Alban, St. Edmund, and St. Cuthbert all evince translations to east end tombs in this tradition; St. Dunstan and St. Alphege, given positions of greater prominence on the east end of Canterbury in 1130, may mark the early phase of this trend and may

have flanked the later tomb of Becket. Tatton-Brown adds work on medieval color symbolism and the valuation of porphyry to his discussion of shrine design; more might even have been done in stressing the value of Purbeck "marble" in that scheme. Ultimately, the emphasis for the raised tomb shrine is linked to Jerusalem and the tomb of the Holy Sepulchre. Tatton-Brown then uses the Canterbury rebuilding and the Trinity Chapel shrine to document thirteenth-century changes in the eastern ends of shrine churches, making them more visible and more accessible to lay pilgrims, especially the uncompleted shrine for St. Swithun in Winchester, St. Oswald and St. Wulfstan in Worcester Cathedral, and St. Cuthbert's renovated altar chapel at Durham Cathedral. The bulk of the article is a tour of the pilgrimage experience of Canterbury around 1500-1515; Tatton-Brown is interested in the legacy of architectural and ornament retention in the space as part of the evocative experience of the pilgrim.

<div align="right">F.A.</div>

Julian M. Luxford, in "The Anglo-Saxon Nunnery at Chichester: A Further Source," *Sussex Archaeol. Collections* 140: 150–51, attempts to revive the idea, based on a statement by William of Malmesbury, that there may have been a pre-Conquest nunnery at Chichester. Internal evidence from a catalogue of monastic foundations, of which two sixteenth-century copies survive, suggests they were originally compiled in Suffolk in the late fourteenth century. The mention of the Chichester nunnery in them is said to be independent of William of Malmesbury and could reflect a Suffolk tradition that supports his statement but, as the author acknowledges, without providing any further reliable information.

Christopher Dyer, "The Archaeology of Medieval Small Towns," *MA* 47: 85–114, is a brief overview of work in this field since 1985. Only the section on "origins," 88–9, mentions pre-Conquest towns, the concern is mainly with later medieval developments, and with establishing the value of archaeology in the study of towns which became or remained small.

C.J. Webster's "Somerset Archaeology 2001" (*Somerset Archaeol. and Nat. History* 145: 133–61) is as broad-ranging as its title suggests. Anglo-Saxon developments are included in the section on medieval discoveries, pp. 144–50. The most interesting is the radio-carbon dating of animal bone from a ditch in Glastonbury to within the Pre-Conquest period. The ditch appears to have continued in use until after the Norman conquest, when the town was re-planned.

The internet as a place of publication needs some attention, but one has to subscribe, or belong to an institution that subscribes, in order to read more than the summary of papers. Two items of possible interest in the 2003 bibliography are both on *Internet Archaeology*. The first: L. A. Symonds and R. J. Ling. "Travelling beneath Crows: Representing Socio-geographical Concepts of Time and Travel in Early Medieval England," *Internet Archaeology* 13 (2002): n.p., looks at the production and consumption of pottery in Anglo-Scandinavian Lincolnshire in relation to the way in which the landscape was understood and used. Thus, distances between sites in which pottery is found is measured in hours of travel rather than units of distance. This paper apparently uses internet technology to enable readers to investigate these patterns for themselves. The second, "Excavations at Cricklade, Wiltshire, 1975," *Internet Archaeology* 14: n.p., by Jeremy Haslam, publishes an important excavation done some time ago. Cricklade was created as part of a fort-system in the late ninth century, recorded in the *Burghal Hidage*. The paper promises to look in detail at the discoveries made in 1975, and how the conclusions reached then differ from earlier work on the site.

<div align="right">E.C.</div>

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Abbreviations

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ANQ	*[formerly] American Notes and Queries*
AntJ	*Antiquaries Journal*
ArchJ	*Archaeological Journal*
ASE	*Anglo-Saxon England*
ASSAH	*Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History*
BGDSL	*Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur*
BN	*Beiträge zur Namenforschung*
CCM	*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*
CSASE	*Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*
DAEM	*Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters*
DAI	*Dissertation Abstracts International*
EHR	*English Historical Review*
ELN	*English Language Notes*
EME	*Early Medieval Europe*
ES	*English Studies*
FS	*Frühmittelalterliche Studien*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MA	*Medieval Archaeology*
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
MESN	*Medieval English Studies Newsletter*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MP	*Modern Philology*
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
NOWELE	*North-Western European Language Evolution*
OEN	*Old English Newsletter*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SELIM	*Revista de la Sociedad Española de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa Medieval*
SMART	*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching*
SN	*Studia Neophilologica*
SP	*Studies in Philology*
YES	*Yearbook of English Studies*

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