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Correspondence: General correspondence regarding *OEN*, including changes of address, should be sent to the Editor; correspondence regarding the *Year's Work, Bibliography*, Research in Progress or Abstracts should be sent to the respective Associate or Contributing Editors. Editorial addresses appear on the inside back cover.

Submissions: *OEN* is a refereed 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.

NOTICE

Subscribers are reminded that with volume 42, the *Old English Newsletter* prints only the annual *Bibliography* and the *Year's Work in Old English Studies*. Other content—news and announcements, notices of recent publications, annual reports from ongoing projects, abstracts of conference papers, and essays—is freely available on the *OEN* website, *www.oenewsletter.org*.

YWOES is set in Junicode; special characters are drawn from the Unicode font Alphabetum designed by Juan José Marcos. It is produced using Adobe InDesign and PhiMatrix.

The Year's Work in Old English Studies

for 2010

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Foreword

Saying farewell to veteran reviewers and welcoming new ones is always a bittersweet task of this space, but it's also an opportunity to reflect on our collective enterprise. The time, energy, and dedication of the individual reviewers is always an inspiration, and with this year I am particularly mindful of the number of younger Anglo-Saxonists who have decided to dip their oars with the good ship *YWOES*.

Among this year's new reviewers we welcome a fairly large contingent for the Prose section (thanks to Bryan Carella's recruitment efforts): Shannon Ambrose, Tiffany Beechy, Emily Butler, Kees Dekker, Johanna Kramer, and Britt Mize. In other sections, Lindy Brady and Jordon Zweck have joined forces for poetry exclusive of *Beowulf*. Patrick McBrine has joined the Anglo-Latin team. Heather Flowers joins Archaeology, which also welcomes back Fran Altvater after a brief hiatus. Doug Simms has shifted from the Literature section to Language to make better use of his philological talents.

We say a fond and grateful farewell to Nicole Discenza Guenther, Aaron Kleist, Kevin Leahy, Mary Rambaran-Olm, and David Woodman. We hope this may not be the last we hear from them!

The contributors to *YWOES* 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. Dissertations, redactions, summaries, and popular works are occasionally omitted, and their absence in no way constitutes negative judgment.

As with previous issues, some items have been reviewed separately by two reviewers. These are indicated by the symbol ‡ and placed near one another.

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.

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1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

2010 was another banner year for nonacademic books on life in Anglo-Saxon times, several of which introduce primary school readers to the history of Britain. Moira Butterfield's *Tracking Down: The Anglo-Saxons in Britain* (London: Franklin Watts) is illustrated with color photographs of archeological sites and museum artifacts. Other titles in the series introduce students to the vestiges of Roman, Viking, Tudor, and Victorian life in Britain. In the competing Usborne History series for slightly older youths, Hazel Maskell and Abigail Wheatley's *Anglo-Saxons and Vikings* (London: Usborne) traces the "lives of fighters and farmers, vicious invaders and treacherous noblemen" to tell the story of how Britain emerged from the "bloodshed on the battlefield and kings in crisis" of the so-called Dark Ages.

Several retellings of the adventures of the Danish hero Beowulf were also published this year. Lisa Barsky includes a version for young readers in her *Timeless Tales of Heroes, Villains, Victims and Fools* (West Berlin, NJ: Townsend). The collection includes versions of other popular children's tales, including "The Emperor's New Clothes," "Little Red Riding Hood," "Hansel and Gretel," "Snow White," and "The Trojan Horse." In perhaps the most bizarre retelling, Alex Fajardo's *Kid Beowulf and the Song of Roland* (Portland, OR: Bowler Hat Comics) recasts the hero and Grendel as twelve-year-old twin brothers. In this second volume (the original volume provides the backstory of how Beowulf and Grendel are brothers) of the Kid Beowulf series, the twin brothers travel to Francia to seek refuge with their uncle Ogier. Under threat from Saracens, Francia's boy-hero, Roland, is behaving poorly and it is up to the irascible twins to unite Charlemagne's realm against the heathen hordes.

The remaining texts prove more faithful to the original poem. Mick Gowar's *Beowulf, Grendel and the Dragon* (Oxford: Oxford UP) is part of the TreeTops Myths and Legends series that retell the "oldest and most enduring stories in the world" for readers from 7 to 11 years of age. Two books focus primarily on the Grendel episode. In *Beowulf and Grendel* (London: Franklin Watts, 2009), Martin Waddell and Graham Howells retell the story in under 400 words for young children. Tony Bradman and Tony Ross stick closely to the original Anglo-Saxon poem in their retelling for older children in *Beowulf the Hero* (Orchard Myths: The Greatest Adventures in the World). Perhaps not surprisingly, the most stirring retelling of the poem comes from Anglo-Saxonist Rebecca Barnhouse. In *The Coming of the Dragon* (New York: Random House), Barnhouse sets her tale in the reign of King Beowulf. A young orphan in Beowulf's court, Rune, proves invaluable in this rousing retelling of the final third of the poem. In their graphic novel, *Beowulf* (Hauppauge, NY: Barron's), Sidong Li, Jacqueline Morley and David Salariya use uniform panels with little variation in shape and size to tell the story. The plot is awkwardly advanced through narrative captions and is broken up every few pages with bold chapter headings. There are very useful and thorough textual summaries, which make this volume seem less like a graphic novel and more like a coloring book. Nonetheless, this book could be a productive way to introduce the poem to a middle school audience.

And finally, in an intriguing twist on the genre, Donnita L. Rogers's *Faces in the Fire* (Bloomington: iUniverse) tells the story of Beowulf from the point of view of Freawaru. Against the backdrop of Grendel's harrowing depredations, Hrothgar's daughter, Freawaru, must chart her own safe passage through the intrigue of her father's court. Three men obstruct her path with promises to rid the kingdom of its threat. Unferth is presented as a shaman who pledges to fight Grendel with runes and poison. Beowulf vows to kill the monster with his bare hands, and Ingeld arrives to claim his bride and save Hrothgar's kingdom. With her own survival and that of the kingdom at stake, Freawaru must determine which man she can trust before it is too late. As this is the first book in a series, the ending was never in doubt, but you'll have to read on to find out what challenge will Freawaru overcome next.

Paul B. Sturtevant's Ph.D. thesis, "Based on a True Story?: The Impact of Popular 'Medieval Film' on the Public Understanding of the Middle Ages" (Univ. of Leeds), considers another variety of refiguring of the medieval period. Sturtevant examines the perception of the Middle Ages by the British public, especially as it is presented through three popular films: *Lord of the Rings,*

Return of the King (Jackson, 2003), *Kingdom of Heaven* (Scott, 2005) and *Beowulf* (Zemeckis, 2007). Through a series of focus group interviews with individuals between the ages of eighteen and twenty-six who had never studied the Middle Ages, Sturtevant first established a baseline understanding of their knowledge of the time period, which was marred by temporal and geographical misconceptions. He then showed each group one of the three films and asked them a series of open-ended questions. Given the sample group, the results and topics covered were varied. Some of the findings were not at all surprising: for example, he found that participants contextualized the film in terms of their previous (mis-) understanding of the time period. Although the participants typically reinforced their historical misconceptions of the period, Sturtevant was surprised that they did not simply accept all they viewed as "historical truth." Indeed, he argues that they enacted their own critical discourse with the films, a finding that may hold some future promise for the use of film in the classroom.

Michael Alexander also considers the question of perceptions and refigurings of the Middle Ages. In his *Medievalism: the Middle Ages in Modern England* (New Haven: Yale UP, 2007), Alexander examines the reception, appropriation, and interpretation of the literature, art, and history of the Middle Ages from 1760 to 1971. In this sweeping book, Alexander aims to chart the "Medieval Revival" from the late eighteenth-century Gothic works of Walpole and Macpherson to the medievalizing novels of Tolkien. Although its vast breadth is one of its strengths, it is also its principal shortcoming. Alexander necessarily generalizes, eschewing the complex for the straightforward, as this work is meant to be an accessible introduction for a generalist audience. Nevertheless, Alexander's book succeeds in capturing the vitality and even the relevance of "medievalism," and that may indeed be its greatest service.

David Clark and Nicholas Perkins have collected fourteen essays on the influence and reception of pre-Conquest culture and literature in the volume *Anglo-Saxon Culture and the Modern Imagination* (Woodbridge, UK: D. S. Brewer). The essays fall loosely into two groups, those that focus on twentieth-century writers who were in one way or another influenced by Anglo-Saxon language, literature, and/or culture, and those that focus on the effect of those same influences on modern popular culture. Mark Atherton's "Priming the Poets: The Making of Henry Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon Reader*" (31–50) uncovers the Romantic origins of the literary conventions of the nineteenth century and charts their influence on Henry Sweet. Atherton argues that those conventions found their way into the work of Ezra Pound through the conduit of Sweet's *Reader*. The poet Geoffrey Hill borrowed the title of one of the texts which appears in Sweet's *Reader* for his own *Mercian Hymns*, a collection of thirty poems which Hannah J. Crawforth considers in her essay, "'Overlord of the M5': The Superlative Structure of Sovereignty in Geoffrey Hill's *Mercian Hymns*" (201–18). Crawforth focuses on Hill's juxtaposition the world of Offa, the eighth-century ruler of Mercia, and contemporary notions of sovereignty and authority, particularly in their violent manifestations. Heather O'Donoghue turns her attention to W.H. Auden and his debt to the Old English and Old Norse poetic traditions in "Owed to Both Sides: W. H. Auden's Double Debt to the Literature of the North" (51–70). Focusing primarily on Auden's *Paid on Both Sides* and *The Age of Anxiety*, O'Donoghue traces his interest in northern European, principally Germanic, poetic and mythological traditions from his undergraduate days and finds its mark on his poetry. In "'Wounded Men and Wounded Trees': David Jones and the Anglo-Saxon Culture Tangle" (89–110), Anna Johnson shows how Jones transforms the Old English poetic motif of the beasts of battle to conform with his experience of trench warfare on the western front during World War I. In the context of John Leyerle's seminal article on the interlace structure of *Beowulf*, Clare A. Lees contemplates the convoluted transactions between verbal and visual arts in "Basil Bunting, *Briggflatts*, Lindisfarne, and Anglo-Saxon Interlace" (111–28), and Joshua Davies considers the interplay of the verbal and the visual in "The Absent Anglo-Saxon Past in Ted Hughes's *Elmet*" (237–54). Similar concerns occupy Rebecca Anne Barr in "Resurrecting Saxon Things: Peter Reading, 'species, decline,' and Old English Poetry" (255–78). Barr examines the extent to which Peter Reading draws on Old English texts as epitomes of earlier declines and endings. And finally, in "Writing for an Anglo-Saxon Audience in the Twentieth Century: J. R. R. Tolkien's Old English Chronicles" (51–70), Maria Artamonova considers Tolkien's bold experiments in language and mythology and how his philological training served as a foundation for his narratives of Middle-Earth.

The remaining six essays explore the influence of Anglo-Saxon language and literature on contemporary popular culture. Chris Jones articulates a pragmatic compromise by which Anglo-Saxonists might come to terms with Zemeckis's 2007 movie *Beowulf* in "From Heorot to Hollywood: *Beowulf* in its Third Millenium" (13–30). Jones considers the objectives of the writers and director and places the movie in the context of scholarly debate over the origins and historicity of the poem,

ultimately arguing for the relevance and even value of such post-medieval adaptations of the epic. From a less sanguine perspective, Allen J. Frantzen compares Beowulf, Gardner's *Grendel*, and Eliot Goldenthal's opera *Grendel: Transcendence of the Great Big Bad* in "Window in the Wall: Looking for Grand Opera in John Gardner's *Grendel*" (147–64). Frantzen's essay analyzes the opera in terms of its staging, and in particular its use of walls, doors, and windows as symbolic barriers between the monster and the characters. Frantzen argues that the opera ultimately fails (and diminishes both the original Anglo-Saxon poem and Gardner's novel) as a result of its ambivalence over the concepts of heroism present in those texts. In her essay "Re-placing Masculinity: The DC Comics *Beowulf* Series and its Context, 1975–6" (165–82), Catherine A.M. Clarke exposes a similar anxiety in the 1970s comic series. Clarke reads the graphic images alongside the advertisements in the comic and suggests that both reflect an adolescent (and primarily male) readership's anxiety about gender identifications and male roles. She argues the series speaks to the uncertainties of the historical moment. In "Boom: Seeing *Beowulf* in Pictures and Print" (129–46), Siân Echard examines print editions and translations of the epic as material objects. Focusing on covers and supporting illustrations, she argues that these graphics, most of which reflect the militaristic aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, have conditioned our responses to the poem. Echard argues that these juxtapositions fill gaps in our knowledge but also create new disjunctures in our understanding of the poem. Fans of P. D. James's mystery novels will be interested in John Halbrooks's essay, "P. D. James Reads *Beowulf*" (183–200) in which he explores Beowulfian subtexts in the crime-writer's novel. Focusing on James's novel *Death in Holy Orders*, Halbrooks posits an intertextual relationship with *Beowulf*, since the protagonist, detective Adam Dalgliesh, is reading the Heaney translation of the poem during a murder investigation. In "*Ban Welondes*: Wayland Smith in Popular Culture" (201–18), Maria Sachiko Cecire conducts a sweeping review of the "popular" representations of Wayland the mythological blacksmith from King Alfred to *The Simpsons*.

Clark and Perkins have produced a volume that will serve as the foundation for further work on the reception of Anglo-Saxon language, literature, and culture. This collection of essays will surely find a home on the shelf of anyone who has struggled with the question of whether or not to show Zemeckis's movie or assign a graphic novel in conjunction with *Beowulf*. The editors have done us all a service by reminding us of the myriad intersections of our field with the popular culture of our students.

With *Runes: Theory and Practice* (Franklin Lakes, NY: New Pages Books), Galina Krasskova has written an intriguing guide to contemporary runelore. Not for the novice or faint of heart, Krasskova's book is based on her years of experience as a practitioner. It offers the "would-be rune-worker" an explanation of the "nature and lessons of each rune, and a systematic methodology for learning to access them" (10). Krasskova begins with "an exegesis of the story of Odin's winning of the runes by sacrifice" from *Havamal* (10), providing interesting cultural parallels of ritual acts of ordeal (i.e., applied pain) to bring about spiritual insight and personal agency. A discussion of runes as "allied spirits" is followed by chapters examining the Elder Futhark and the Anglo-Saxon futhorc respectively. The last half of Krasskova's book is perhaps the most compelling. Based on her own experience and approach to rune work, Krasskova discusses the theory and techniques for applying the runes to various situations and purposes, including magic and divination, using vivid examples from her own experience. A surprisingly erudite book, *Runes: Theory and Practice* is a quick read for anyone curious about contemporary applications of runelore.

Susan P. Liemer, a professor of law at Southern Illinois University, contributed "*Bots* and *gemots*: Anglo-Saxon Legal References in Harry Potter" in *The Law and Harry Potter*, ed. Jeffrey E. Thomas and Franklin G. Snyder (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press), 19–33 to a collection of essays which address the depiction of law and legal concepts in the J. K. Rowling series of books. Liemer's essay appears in the first section of the book, "Legal Traditions and Institutions," which considers aspects of the role of law and legal institutions generally in wizarding society. In her discussion of the provenance of the term *Witengamot* (the High Court of Wizardry in Rowling's books), Liemer concludes that it is based on the Anglo-Saxon concept of the *witan* or *witenagemot*, a conclusion which will seem obvious to *YWOES*'s readership.

Jan Messent has gathered all of her mixed-media artwork including hand-stitched threads, glued papers, fabrics, fibers, paints and beads in *Celtic, Viking & Anglo-Saxon Embroidery: The Art of Jan Messent* (Tunbridge Wells: Search). Each chapter is sumptuously photographed and presented as an "altered book," focusing on the major elements of her work, from textiles, stitches, clothing, to woven accessories.

In "Hannah More's and Anna Yearsley's Anglo-Saxon History Plays" in *Women's Romantic Theatre and Dra-*

ma: History, Agency, and Performativity, ed. Lilla Maria Crisafulli and Keir Elam (Farnham: Ashgate), 59–70, Cecilia Pietropoli suggests that these playwrights gendered their dramas, and in doing so created a feminine historical poetics which bridged the "political concern and private desire" of their authors (62). Setting their plays in an idealized (and fictionalized) Anglo-Saxon past, Pietropoli argues that More and Yearsley effectively presented a "private and therefore marginalized and liminal vision of history" which yielded the "construction of a new social formation" (63).

The first volume of the *Defining Neomedievalism(s)* series, which grew out of several sessions at the 2007 International Conference on Medievalism, attempts to define "medievalism" in terms of "neomedievalism." The subjects of the essays in this volume range from modern American manifestations of Byzantine art to perceptions of the Vietnam War through film. In his contribution to this volume, "Getting Reel with Grendel's Mother: The Abject Maternal and Social Critique" in *Defining Neomedievalism(s)*, Studies in Medievalism, 19, ed. Karl Fugelso (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer), 135–59, David W. Marshall examines "the way that representations of Grendel's mother have changed in some recent film adaptations of *Beowulf*" (135). Marshall uses Julia Kristeva's notion of abjection to explore the treatment of Grendel's mother in each of three recent film adaptations: John McTiernan's 1999 *The Thirteenth Warrior*, Robert Zemeckis's 2007 *Beowulf*, and Sturla Gunnarson's 2005 *Beowulf and Grendel*. Although each of the adaptations represents Grendel's mother as "a threat to masculine social structures," Marshall concludes that only Gunnarson's film "succeeds in using the maternal figure as a tool for critiquing hyper-masculine iterations of power" (136).

In "The Translator's 'Ofermod': Reconsidering Maldon's 'For His Ofermode' (89) in Translation through J.R.R. Tolkien's *The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth*" (*Revista Canaria de Estudios Ingleses* 61: 135–48), Jorge Luis Bueno Alonso analyzes the many ways in which the word *ofermod* has been translated in both English and Spanish. Bueno Alonso considers these translations through the lens of Tolkien's *The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth*, which was Tolkien's "academic attempt to explain the meaning of *Maldon*'s 'ofermod'" (136). Bueno Alonso concludes that "the only way of presenting *The Homecoming of Beorhtnoth* to the reading audience of any language is by offering them in a joint edition/translation that includes both Tolkien's text and *The Battle of Maldon*" (148).

RFJ

Works not seen:

Cheetham, Dominic. "*Beowulf* for Boys: Modern Adaptations of the Beowulf Story." *English Literature and Language* 47 (1–35), 2010.

Davison, Jon, Caroline Daly and John Moss. *Debates in English Teaching*. Hoboken: Taylor & Francis, 2010.

Eastman, Andrew. "Ideologies of English: Anglo-Saxon, Stress-Clash, and Twentieth-Century Conceptions of Rhythm" *Études britanniques contemporaines* 39 (2010), 129–41.

Garrido, Antonio. *Il monasterio dei libri proibiti*. Milan: Sperling, 2010.

Kemmler, Fritz. trans, ed. *Be þam lytlan aeþelinge*. Neckarsteinach: Ed. Tintenfass, 2010.

Miller, Scott, Christopher Cassel and Jessica Conway. *Clash of the Gods*. New York: A & E Television Networks, 2010.

2. Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline

2A(1). History of the Discipline

This year's work on the history of the discipline spans from the mid-sixteenth century to the early twenty-first, indicating the chronological breadth of interest in Anglo-Saxon studies. Much of this work appears in a volume celebrating the centennial of Felix Liebermann's edition of the Anglo-Saxon law codes: *English Law Before Magna Carta: Felix Liebermann and "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,"* ed. Jurasinski, Oliver and Rabin [see sect. 7]. In this volume, although only tangentially related to Liebermann, Rebecca Brackmann provides in "Laurence Nowell's Old English Legal Glossary and His Study of *Quadripartitus*" an edition of Nowell's Old English/Latin glossary that he wrote on the flyleaf of his copy of Howlet's *Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum* (which he acquired between 1565 and 1576). Brackmann contextualizes this glossary (a product of Nowell's long-term effort) within Nowell's editions of a number of OE law codes. Nowell translated Latin into Old English when he discovered gaps in vernacular texts; he passed these "completed" texts to William Lambarde for inclusion in Lambarde's *Archaionomia*. Liebermann, using Lambarde, thus thought that Lambarde/Nowell's "Old English" indicated lots of lost Anglo-Saxon legal manuscripts. Brackmann makes the excellent point that Nowell and Lambarde would probably be mystified by our modern umbrage at what we perceive to be fakery—their job was to find and edit England's ancient laws, and they completed that assignment.

Sarah Scutts's University of Exeter PhD dissertation, "The Perception and Use of the Anglo-Saxon Past in Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Religious English Discourse" has a specifically religious focus as she examines the ways the Anglo-Saxon Church was used by Protestant and Catholic polemicists throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Religion and politics inevitably mixed in early modern England, of course, and Scutts ultimately explores the relationship between (what we see as) antiquarianism and the period's religious upheavals.

Janelle Greenberg's contribution to the Liebermann volume, "'St. Edward's Ghost': The Cult of St. Edward and His Laws in English History" ranges through medieval and early modern history but focuses most on the ways that the *Leges Edwardi* were invoked in the civil and religious turmoil of the seventeenth century. Even though Edward's laws were probably forged at Lincoln Cathedral in the early twelfth century, readers up to the modern period used them as if they were actual eleventh-century texts (collected by William I in order to continue the legal customs of Edward the Confessor). These *leges* (edited by Liebermann) were interpreted to show that a king who becomes a tyrant deposes himself, an attractive proposition for the anti-royalists in the parliamentary and political debates of the seventeenth century.

Christopher M. Cain places early Anglo-Saxonist George Hickes squarely in the middle of those debates in his "George Hickes and the 'Invention' of the Old English Dialects" (*RES* 61: 729–48). Cain dethrones the nineteenth-century Henry Sweet as the first scholar to call attention to the idea of dialects in Old English. George Hickes wrote about dialects in 1703, "expressing a pervasive cultural anxiety that the mixture of languages was 'barbarous'" (731). Cain also examines the meaning of the word "dialect" in the seventeenth century, as a word that was becoming value-laden and politically charged; he connects Hickes's desire for a pure (non-dialectical, un-mixed, non-barbarous) language to his political desires for pure nationhood. For Hickes, "language variation reflected a kind of linguistic original sin in human history" (740). [Also reviewed in section 3b.]

Shannon Morgan McCabe provides a Modern English translation of a crucial part of Hickes's Latin in her University of New Mexico dissertation on "Anglo-Saxon Poetics in the 'Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus Grammatico-Criticus et Archaeologicus' of George Hickes: A Translation, Analysis, and Contextualization." McCabe's translation and commentary provide modern accessibility to Hickes's chapter "On the Poetic Art of the Anglo-Saxons," which applies critical and theoretical apparatus to Anglo-Saxon poetry even as it indicates Hickes's project to discover a "purer" Old English language among the various available "dialects."

Hickes was in the circle of early-eighteenth-century "Oxford Saxonists" that also included William and Elizabeth Elstob. Timothy Graham provides a description of an Elstob working document in "William Elstob's Planned Edition of the Anglo-Saxon Laws: A Remnant in the Takamiya Collection" (*Poetica* 73: 109–41). The document was bought in 1999 for the Takamiya

collection in Tokyo; it is a 67-page handwritten transcription of an Old English legal text (now known as *Judex*) and sets of variant readings of most of the Anglo-Saxon law codes. With two volumes of *collectanea* (one now in the Bodleian and one lost), this manuscript represents William Elstob's work on a planned edition of Anglo-Saxon laws that was never published. Graham attributes the transcription to William since the manuscript is his handwriting, but Elstob's notes give credit to his sister Elizabeth throughout; Graham notes throughout the article that the text is really a collaboration, not a solo effort. The twentieth-century provenance of the Takamiya manuscript is unknown, and Graham's work here is the first in-depth exploration of these folios.

In "Legendary Lexicography: Joseph Bosworth's Debt to Henry J. Todd's Edition of Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language,*" in '*Cunning Passages, Contrived Corridors': Unexpected Essays in the History of Lexicography*: *Lexicography Worldwide: Theoretical, Descriptive and Applied Perspectives*, ed. Michael Adams (Monza, Italy: Polimetrica), 25–55, Dabney A. Bankert shows that Rev. Henry J. Todd's 1818/1827 edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* had a huge influence on Joseph Bosworth as he compiled his 1838 *Dictionary of the Anglo-Saxon Language*. Evidence for the Todd/Johnson influence on Bosworth comes from his letters, drafts, annotations in his books, and typographic parallels between the texts (they shared a publisher). According to Bankert, Bosworth's "goal was to trace the history of the English language backward from Todd's 1818 edition of Johnson to the Anglo-Saxon period" (27).

Moving into the twentieth century, Andrew Rabin provides a brief biography of Felix Liebermann (1851–1925), "Felix Liebermann and *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*," in the Liebermann collection cited above. Rabin's focus is largely scholarly, of course, but he also makes the important point that Liebermann was Jewish, arguing that "Liebermann and the *Gesetze* . . . must be situated in the history of early-twentieth century Jewish culture as well as the history of early medieval scholarship" (7). Rabin provides engaging detail about Liebermann's scholarly practices and accomplishments as well as his relationships with other important medievalists of the period.

In the same volume, Daniela Fruscione discusses "Liebermann's Intellectual Milieu," posing the question "How did a legal history of early medieval England agree with the idea of German national history and with the fact that the evolution of modern historical science, above all in Germany, was so closely linked with the rise of nationalism?" (19). Fruscione shows that the Germans considered Anglo-Saxon culture to be definitively "Germanic" and thus part of their national(ist) enterprise. Fruscione also credits Liebermann for helping to establish editions' presentations of texts with variants (rather than a "restored" archetypal text constructed by the editors using a variety of manuscript witnesses).

Liebermann's personal library was purchased in 1927 by the Library of the University of Tokyo (LUT), using funding from the Dawes plan for German reparations. In the Liebermann collection already noted, Hideyuki Arimitsu's "The Liebermann Library in Tokyo" provides an overview of the collection (3780 books and 1762 pamphlets, largely journal offprints). Arimitsu provides examples and gives specific instructions for ways that non-Japanese readers can access the items through the LUT catalog. Many English history books are inscribed by their authors and contain extensive notes and marginalia by Liebermann, comprising what Arimitsu calls "a largely unmined resource" for information about Liebermann and his research techniques (40).

Jürg Rainer Schwyter's contribution to the Liebermann collection, "L1 Interference in the Editing Process: Felix Liebermann, the *Gesetze* and the German Language" analyzes problems inherent in the editing process with "L1," the editor's first language, when it differs from the language of the edited text. Readers must be aware of "an editor's underlying ideological and cultural assumptions about the language data he or she is dealing with" as well as "possible interference of the editor's native language, or L1, with the editing process" (47). One of Schwyter's excellent examples is an instance wherein Liebermann's edition indicates one compound noun when perhaps two separate nouns were the intention of the Old English author. Schwyter is not specifically taking Liebermann to task but pointing out potential issues in all non-L1 editing.

Michael Kightley's University of Western Ontario dissertation, "Racial Anglo-Saxonisms: From Scholarship to Fiction in England, 1850–1960" uses three scholars (Charles Kingsley, William Morris, and J.R.R. Tolkein) as representative case studies in his investigation of the development of conceptions of the origins and nature of the English race in Anglo-Saxon Studies. He expands this inquiry through an exploration of the ways that these ideas about race moved from the academy to broader, popular circles, through historiographical and imaginative fiction.

Finally, Michelle R. Warren looks to the past and the future, not just of Anglo-Saxon Studies but of literary studies as a whole as she introduces the section "Philology Matters" (*PMLA* 125: 283–288). The three philologically-based essays (one of which, James Earl's "The Forbidden *Beowulf*" is reviewed in section 4b) form the

cluster; Warren invokes Édouard Glissant and Edward Said in her analysis of the place of philology in the study of literature (as a whole, not just medieval literature). She makes the excellent point that philology "underlies everyone's experiences of readable texts" because it "can mediate between the most specialized procedures for producing texts and the broadest critical concerns" (283). Warren's article in one of English studies' flagship journals is a fitting end to this year's "history of discipline" section of YWOES, as it clarifies and argues for the relevance of philological practice in a postmodern age.

2a(2). Bibliographies and Reports

Part of the history of the discipline is the record of activity in the discipline, and Anglo-Saxonists continue to be diligent in keeping these records. Mary Swan's "Record of the Fourteenth Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, at Memorial University, St John's, Newfoundland, 26–31 July 2009" (*ASE* 39: 1–5), reports the conference theme (the Maritime World of the Anglo-Saxons), titles of keynote addresses and papers, minutes of the general business meeting, description of the concurrent events, and information about 2011 conference. Daniela Fruscione provides "Felix Liebermann: A Selected Bibliography" in the Liebermann volume noted above; in her headnote, Fruscione notes that Liebermann published more than 650 items, with subjects ranging from early medieval texts to George Bernard Shaw. The list here is "a selected listing of those works leading up to the publication of *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* and those which shed the most light on the thinking that went into the production of those volumes" (9). In "Early Medieval" (*Year's Work in English Studies* 89: 169–209), Stacy S. Klein and Mary Swan provide citations and brief descriptions for 2008 work in English literary studies pre-1066. Paul G. Remley et al provide relevant citations in "Bibliography for 2009" (*ASE* 39: 227–360).

2b. Memorials and Tributes

Patrick Wormald and Barbara Yorke provide introductory remarks for *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly and Catherine Karkov, Medieval European Studies 11, (Morgantown: West Virginia UP). Titled "In Memoriam Timothy Reuter 1947–2002," both sets of remarks celebrate the life and work of Timothy Reuter, who died in 2002; they were originally presented at a symposium held in Reuter's honor in Oxford, 6 July 2003. Both praise Reuter's contributions to the discipline in teaching and in scholarship; among other achievements, he wrote extensively on Boniface, contributed substantially to *MGH*, served in academic administration, contributed to the Royal Historical Society, edited for Oxford Medieval texts and the New Cambridge Medieval History, and organized conferences and proceedings volumes. The essays collected in this volume draw on his interests in the early medieval church.

Similarly, two festschrifts appeared this year, both themed to accord with the interests of the honoree. Alaric Hall, Olga Timofeeva, Agnes Kiricsi and Bethany Fox edit *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö,* The Northern World 48 (Leiden: Brill). The editors remark that "we have gathered contributions which, on the one hand, reflect Matti's work as an especially committed teacher and supervisor, and on the other the range of international contacts which his work has engendered among Anglo-Saxonists" (viii). Robin Waugh and James Weldon have edited *The Hero Recovered: Essays in Medieval Heroism in Honor of George Clark* (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute); their introductory tribute to Clark (which includes a bibliography of his scholarly work) calls him "a distinguished scholar, an exceptional teacher, a generous mentor, an amiable colleague, and, for many of the contributors, a dear friend" (ix).

MDM

Works not seen

Yoshiba, Hiroshi, Kazuo Nakazawa and Shin'ichi Takeuchi, eds. *Current Studies for the Next Generation of English Linguistics and Philology: A Festschrift for Minoji Akimoto on the Occasion of his Retirement from Aoyama Gakuin University*. Tokyo: Hitsuji Shobo, 2010. [In Japanese.]

3. Language

Note: *items marked ‡ are given separate reviews by two reviewers.*

3a. Lexicon, Glosses

The published version of Elena G. Brunova's Tjumen dissertation offers "Spatial Consideration into the Archaic Linguistic Model World: A Lexical-Etymological and Linguisto-Cultural Examination" (Пространственные Отношения в Архаичной Языковой Модели Мира: Лексико-Этимологическое и Лингвокультурологическое Исследование [Tjumen: Tjumenskogo Gosudarstvennogo Universiteta/Tjumen Public University, 2007]). After a brief introduction (5–8) establishing what is essentially a semiotic approach, four chapters follow:

1. "Etymology as a reconstructive instrument of the archaic conceptual world" (9–39)
2. "Cultural basis of lexical-semantic change" (40–64)
3. "Particular archaic spatial orientation and their representation in language" (65–110)
4. "Archaic Spatial Vocabulary as the linguistic basis of a model world" (111–145).

Chapter 1 is heavily theoretical and not especially concerned with etymology proper, which is introduced more concretely in chapter 2 with a number of examples of PIE roots. At the start of this chapter we come closer to a précis of the semiotic approach Brunova will employ in examining OE: Мысль ↔Слово ↔Дело (40; "thought" ↔ "word" ↔ "thing"). Metaphorical extensions are a particular focus in Brunova's "examination"—e.g., *hus* in *Beowulf* as denoting Heorot (*hean huses* at 116a) or the 'abode of water-monsters' (*nicorhusa* at 1411b; Brunova 60). Chapters 3 and 4 examine OE much more extensively. Chapter 3 especially focuses on "Earth," with examples (66–95) explicitly temporal but also what might be called spatial-temporal. Thus we see how the earth itself can be described (*idel ond æmti*; 68), its composition in terms of land and sea or land-waters-heavens (and how this concept could differ in the "archaic" period), the spatial sense of earth amongst other celestial bodies. This can make for an interesting look at "Cædmon's Hymn" in terms of *space* (*eorðan bearnum . . . heofon to hrofe . . . middangeard*; 67, 72). The OE version of Genesis also comes into view, and here the focus becomes temporal-spatial: the division of physical space (lands from waters) and the temporal space in which it is placed (division of day and night). In this the longest chapter of Brunova's study, the scope is wide—the points of the compass are turned to, then the winds in their directions, even the 'exile-path' (*wræclast*) of *The Wanderer* (103) as we move outside sanctioned spaces to dreaded (and imagined) border spaces. Chapter 4 returns us to the titular concern with a "model world," a concept not entirely clear from Brunova's earlier mentions of it but which is brought into focus by an examination of verbs used to indicate cognition of spaces—when one in OE (poetry especially, by Brunova's citations) knows of a place by having heard tell of it, or seen it, or discovered it (*gefrægn*, *gefræge wæs*, *gehyrde*, *þæt he on eorðan geseah*, *onfand*, *gewit*; 112–18). Space in time and interval or order are considered next, then spatial metaphorical schemes in terms of sequence (especially at 132–36), order (ranking in quality and so forth), and direction (and here a look forward is made to contemporary English schemes such as "What's coming up this week?" or "What's up?"; 122–37). Tellingly, the last OE form considered is *wyrd*, which in *Beowulf* in particular has a kind of spatial presence in this world: *Gæð a wyrd swa hio sceal* (455b; here occurs one of the very few misprints in Brunova of OE; 138), or *hie wyrd forsweop* (477b). The bibliography (151–63) appears as the first appendix and is dominated by Russian items: the first 263 of 313 critical studies are by Russian scholars or Russian translations of work published originally in other languages (Деррида [Derrida], Джаксон [Jackson], and so forth). Many of these items seem to form the underlying linguistic and semiotic basis for the study; a number of studies employed are by the Russian linguist and Indologist Vladimir Nikolajevich Toporov (a member of Yuri Lotman's Tartu-Moscow semiotic school) and the Germanistik comparatist T.V. Toporova. The 49 studies cited from English-, French-, and German-language publications interestingly skew toward scholars from the former "Eastern Bloc": Mircea Eliade, Roman Osipovich Jakobson, Zoltán Köveses, Anna Wierzbicka. A little worryingly, many of the OE texts are cited from online versions, and poetry cited more frequently than prose, with the most frequent citation from Беовулфа. The second appendix (165–173) lists OE "spatial mythologems" with an illustrative OE citation, grouped under headings

such as "Space," "Heaven" (and sub-heading 'high heaven' [*under heahrodore*]), "Earth," "Sea," and so forth. A very brief third appendix lists "Surviving Spatial Models in Contemporary English Language" (173), though this entails extended spatial metaphorical schemes ("high/low quality," "fall from grace," "down-and-out," "to let down"). Brunova's study is deeply embedded in a Russian linguistic tradition—in its methodological outlook and the studies used—and likely to remain there for the time being. There is not even a synopsis in English provided. This is a great shame as there is much of interest to OE researchers broadly, as many things already "known" about OE spatial vocabulary are made profitably unfamiliar by this programmatic and provocative look at OE spatial concepts. Among the study's many points of interest is its freshly literal look at the space of creation in *Cædmon's Hymn*.

Very brief mention is made of the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* in Joybrato Mukherjee's *Anglistische Korpuslinguistik: Eine Einführung*, Grundlagen der Anglistik und Amerikanistik 33 (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 2009). In this overview of English corpus linguistics and resources for the discipline Mukherjee mentions the *DOE* corpus in section 2.4 "Diachrone Korpora" as being "ein Kuriosum" in that it is "nicht mehr einen Ausschnitt aus einer größeren verfügbaren Datenmenge darstellt (also im eigentlichen Sinne keine repräsentative Stichprobe ist)" (51)—which may really be a matter of the purpose for which this particular corpus was drawn up. Unlike the Helsinki corpus and other corpora designed for large data-crunching work, the *DOE* corpus was meant to support a dictionary and does not include every variant copy of each text. Perhaps in this sense not every corpus is subservient to corpus linguistics.

JMcG

Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature, ed. Osamu Imahayashi, Yoshiyuki Nokao, and Michiko Ogura Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 25 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang) includes eleven studies, only some of which concern OE. The contributions of Healey, Sauer, Park, Ogura, Watanabe, Suzuki, Kuzuka, Yamamoto, Kutake, Stevick, and Hosaka range widely: metrics, runes, lexis, word-formation, semantics, syntax, and rhetoric. Antonette di Paolo Healey explores OE *hætu* and *hǣte* and their medieval counterparts in Chaucer's metaphors of love from the perspectives of cognitive linguistics. Her essay "'Heat' in Old English and in Chaucer's Creation of Metaphors of Love" (3–18) argues that literal senses of OE *hāt* and *hǣte* underlie their figurative functions, a cognitive development. She cites, for example, Bede's use of *hētum* 'anxieties' in 2.9.128.11; Ælfric's *hētum* in his *Life of Cecilia* 143 carries the sense 'passions'. As a gloss for Aldhelm's *incentiua* (AldV 13.1 4226), *hǣtan* suggests 'passions of the flesh'. Cognitively, these instances of *hǣtan* have both physical and emotional dimensions: in each instance bodily and mental impulses reinforce each other. Healey also cites other examples, including those of Gregory's *Dialogues* GD 2 (C) 32.162.30 and 2 (C) 2.100.28. Part of her analysis of OE glosses for 'heat' with a sense of intensity depends on collocation: thus for one context the translation of Gregory's *Dialogues* has *onbærned* as a collocate for another *onælde*. Healey's most valuable contribution to her cognitive study lies in her identifying a systemic OE pattern of physical and emotional counterparts. In her essay she cites OE words for cold, especially *cyle*, which function like *hǣte*. Thus Ælfric has *cyle ungeleafulnysse* in ÆCHom I, 5 220, 105–7; *Pastoral Care* (CP 58.445.33) offers *cele ungetreownesse*. One caveat to this metaphoric systemizing is that the examples all depend on Latin sources, none extant from OE origins. Nonetheless, Healey's study prompts searches for other OE systems of metaphor, perhaps some native to Anglo-Saxon culture.

Hans Sauer's "Old English Word-Formation: Constant Features and Changes" (*Aspects* 19–37) succeeds in its clear definitions, survey of forms, and choice of examples. His analysis stands as a compact, well-organized compendium.

Ann-Marie Svensson and Jürgen Hering in "From Germanic 'fence' to 'urban settlement': On the Semantic Development of English *town*" (*Variation* 187–201 [see below]) explore a specific lexeme pattern of polysemy. One issue concerns the OE gloss for *tūn,* whether it ever meant 'fence' or 'hedge'. One characteristic of this lexeme in OE is its occurrence as *-ton* in place-names to indicate farms or villages. The full form generally applied to enclosures, houses on enclosed land, residences for kings as in þæs cyninges tune, or to rural communities. Other OE words in the same group include *burh* and *ceaster* to refer, say, to Canterbury, as *in þa burg* and *in þære ceastre*. The bulk of the study then examines this lexeme's use in Middle English.

EG

3b. Syntax, Phonology, and Other Aspects

Hideki Watanabe's "Grendel's Approach to Heorot Revisited: Repetition, Equivocation, and Anticipation in

Beowulf 702b–727" (*Aspects* 187–197) centers in the passage on verbs collocating with *com*, on compounds, and on all terms for anger. Three separate verbs for walking accompany the repeated *com*: *scriðan* (703), *gongan* (711), and *siðian* (720). The choice of each verb befits its immediate context—Grendel's slithery steps under darkness, his going forth from his mere, and the distance he covers to arrive at Heorot. As *com* underscores in repetition the monster's relentlessness, the separate verbs and contexts combine to depict variant elements in his journey. The contexts specified by *under* join the darkened landscape to atmosphere: *sceadu* (707) indicative of the mere's elusiveness, *mist-hleoþum* (710) betokening hanging clouds on the chain of hills, and *wolcnum* (714) framing Heorot. Thus the *under* phrases offer a repeated sense of hovering arrest to complement the repeated *com* + verb collocations. To elaborate this passage, Watanabe discusses in detail uses of *scriðan* elsewhere, especially in Fitt 2, as a verbal foreshadowing of Grendel's oncoming. A discussion of chiasmus involving *scriðan* and the later *burston* heightens the details of hand-to-hand struggle between man and monster. As for compounds in the passage studied, Watanabe remarks that they evoke sundry features of Heorot and Grendel yet do not appear (except for *hilderinc* at 986) after the monster enters Hroðgar's house. The chapter also has an observant discussion of *fag* as bearing antithetical meanings in the passage on Grendel's match against Beowulf. Overall, the antitheses of monster vs. man, kingly hall vs. slaughterhouse contribute to the poem's achievement. Watanabe's close reading contributes fittingly to the library of rhetorical effects characteristic of *Beowulf*.

Young-Bae Park's "The Older Futhark and the Old English Runes: Towards further understanding of the English Runic Scripts" (*Aspects* 39–54) begins with an overview of received information. This survey includes matters of definition, geographic spread, historical range, political significance, and craftsmanship. On the provenance of runes, Park notes continued uncertainty among scholars; on modifications in runic characters he provides several examples, particularly in OE. He unfortunately offers no suggestions on how to advance scholarly analysis of runes. [Park's article is also reviewed in section 9.]

Tomonori Yamamoto's "On the Semantic and Syntactic Development of Periphrastic Modal Verb + Infinitive Constructions in OE: Comparing the Versions of Gregory's *Dialogues*, the OE *Boethius*, and Psalter Glosses" (*Aspects* 225–239) examines modal predicates. Earlier analyses suggested that their development arose as an alternative to the negative imperative and the inflectional subjunctive, buttressed by Latin models. Likewise, semantic bleaching characterized the shift of verbs to modal status. Yamamoto's perspective considers bleaching as a process that evolves. In part his analysis relies on frequencies and like uses of the modal predicate in an array of manuscripts, from earlier to later OE. His hope is to discern a tenable framework based on changes in linguistic pattern. The first step Yamamoto takes is to detail past findings on the use of the modal predicate to indicate futurity and mood, both that of the subjunctive and the imperative. The future construction involving forms of **sculan* or *willan* does not consistently include a sense of obligation or volition. As for inflected verbs to indicate the subjunctive mood, their increasing decline obscures somewhat its difference from the indicative, especially if modal auxiliaries appear in constructions. This view, however, does not enjoy general concurrence: differences obtain on the force of modals in constructions; differences obtain on identifying just when the modals in question underwent bleaching. Yamamoto directs his analysis toward greater clarification. His approach is to hold up OE versions of Latin modals in triple comparisons and contrasts. He looks for evidence, through his approach, of bleaching in the modals and of grammaticalization. He discounts in his comparisons instances of inflected verbs that are ambiguously indicative or subjunctive in mood. The analysis of the earlier and later versions of *Gregory's Dialogues* offers no sure guideline. The earlier version has a higher number of modal verb + infinitive phrases; its few identifiable subjunctives complicate analysis. Yamamoto suggests that with a likeness of content in the *Dialogues* the greater incidence of modal verbs in the earlier manuscript supports the view that they weakened in meaning. The analysis of the translations from Boethius finds the stanzas of verse containing far more modal auxiliaries than the prose. Apparently, this greater incidence is often due to metrical demands, an outcome that suggests their semantic weakening. Here again the occurrence of subjunctive forms is too few to be conclusive. As a whole the incidence of modal verb + infinitive in the *Psalter* Glosses is insufficient for a persuasive finding. Yamamoto concludes, largely on his inferences from the versions of *Gregory's Dialogues* that bleaching in the modal auxiliaries is apparent in the early OE manuscripts. He suggests further study of modal auxiliaries in the light of other patterns of predicate structures.

Robert D. Stevick's "Supplement to Diagramming Noun Phrases in English" (*Aspects* 259–266) aims to account for the development widely in early Middle English of the definite and indefinite article. His

approach involves the positing of general patterns for noun phrases found in OE that underwent change early in the Middle English centuries. Included in this change is the development of the definite and indefinite articles. His analysis centers on the emergence of the indefinite article. In OE, demonstratives typically established the definiteness of noun phrases. The emergence of *the* added an innovative pattern of reference either through prior mention of a given noun or by catenated (or following) phrases or clauses. Stevick suggests the phrase "hereabouts defined" as a gloss for *the*. This use of *the* as a proximate rather than a specific marker of definiteness emerged concurrently with the marker *a/an* for indefiniteness. Why the markers *the* and *a/an* emerged rapidly and widely throughout England resists explanation, although Stevick paradoxically asserts that change results from speakers' tinkering with linguistic forms and uses.

Michio Hosaka's "The Rise of Subordinators in the History of English: The Riddle of the Subordinator *when*" (*Aspects* 321–329) draws on evidence and analysis based on OE. He classifies subordinators as developing from processes of expansion and integration. The process of expansion, involving the reinterpreting of nominal structures (e.g. "She found him a good companion" > "She found him to be a good companion"), falls outside he discussion. Integration involves adverbial subordinators, very much a part of OE, as in þa hwile þe. In regard to *when*, Hosaka aligns it functionally with þa hwile þe and sets about accounting for its development as an adverbial modifier. He argues against using van Gelderen's generative analysis of adverbial subordinators because it overlooks difficulties in semantic consistency. Instead, he divides the development of subordinating conjunctions into three categories: the prepositional pathway, the nominal pathway, and the adverbial pathway. For the prepositional pathway Hosaka offers the subordinators *æfter þam þe* and *æfter þam,* the demonstrative in each different in reference (the first cataphoric, the second anaphoric). The form *hwile* is illustrative of the nominal pathway. As a temporal noun in OE, it also worked as a subordinator in the phrase þa hwile þe. The adverbial pathway, illustrated by OE *nu* and þa- þa-, provided subordinators, too. Hosaka asserts that although the forms *þa- þa-* became obsolete, "then ... when" replaced them and assumed their subordinating functions. How this replacement went forward, however, remains conjectural.

Variation and Change in English Grammar and Lexicon: *Contemporary Approaches*, ed. Robert A. Cloutier, Anne Marie Hamilton-Brehm, and William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., Studies in the History of the English Language 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter Mouton) offers several pertinent essays. Olga Thomason's on OE prepositional phrases, however, is the only one to focus exclusively on an issue of language before the Conquest; otherwise, this collection has three essays that incorporate OE features into broader historical overviews. Thomason's "Notion of Direction and Old English Prepositional Phrases" (67–86) opens with a list of prepositions that together with nouns in the accusative case may indicate direction: *in, on, innan, ofer, æt, oþ, tō, wiþ, ongēan* (*togēan* takes a dative). Rarely does *oþ* take the dative case, but more frequently *tō* and *wiþ* link to genitive or dative nouns to mark direction, also, while *ongean* takes datives. The analysis limits itself to four of these: *tō*, *wiþ*, *ongēan*, and *tōgēan*, all open to the glosses 'to' or 'toward'. Questions on these four concern meaning (why four to convey senses of 'to' and 'toward'?), cases of nouns they take (why more than one?), and, too, the verbs they accompany. For the purpose of this study, direction as an aspect of space is the central focus. In detail *tō* + dative, in clauses with verbs of movement, typically suggests 'to' or 'toward.' An example of terminal direction: *Sende se Fæder his sunu tō cwāle*; an example of possible terminal direction: *Bryne stigeþ tō heofenum*. The verb may be a request guiding the direction of someone's mental activity: *Besēoh tō mē*. Thomason offers more than one explanation to account for choice of dative in some uses of *tō*. One argument proposed is that the syntactic and semantic features of some verbs like *besēon* govern the choice of case in prepositional phrases. A second explanation supposes that the OE dative, itself a repository of meanings associated with other cases found elsewhere in IE languages, includes the idea of directionality. And the locative often enough, as in Skt. *paps i medinyn* 'he fell to (and then was upon) the ground', involves directionality. A third view ascribes to *tō* a sense of 'toward' not only in OE but in Germ. *zu 'to*', L. *do-nec* 'as long as', Gk.-*de*, Old Ir. *do,* Lith. *da-*. Choosing among these possibilities is more nearly a hunch than a certainty. Instances enough of *tō* + Dat. as a static locative with the senses 'near', 'next to', 'by', and 'in', abound in OE: *Hi bebyrigde tō hyre were; He gesette Judas tō bioscope tō Godes temple; Tō horse*. In these examples, the idea of 'proximity' attends the first three uses of *tō* and was very likely salient to Anglo-Saxons; other meanings—'on' or 'in'— are infrequent. The same collocation—*tō* + Dat.— may occasionally designate a source as in *Tō eorðan ætes tilian*. Thomasan outline a chain of implication, from most to least in occurrence: 'next to the area' > 'at, in the area' > 'from the area'; she suggests that these meanings overlap in some contexts. As for *tō* + Gen., this infrequent collocation, suggesting 'to, toward' appears in clauses with a demonstrative or

interrogative pronoun: *Tō ðæs gingran þider ealle urnon ðær se ēse wæs; Tō hwæs hī gearwe bæron*. Some instances of this collocation, together with *middes*, have the gloss 'in the midst' and an idiomatic structure in *Hē wæs tō middes wætres*. *Tō* + Acc is a sparse collocation with the sense 'direction to, toward': *Hē lēat tō ðæs cāseres ēare*. Since *wiþ* collocates, as *to* does, with forms inflected with the three cases already listed, this likeness invites comparison and contrast. Like *tō* + Dat, *wiþ* + Dat indicates 'near' (e.g. 74), but in contrast a sense of proximity with the gloss 'against, opposite to' is also possible: *Sæweall uplang gestōd wiðð Israhēlum*. But a hostile rather than proximate sense of 'against' appears in *Se wiðð mongum stōd*. This difference in sense—'proximity' as opposed to 'hostility'—prompts a question of semantic development. Some utterances accommodate ambiguous readings, 'toward' or 'against': *Scearp cymeþ scēo wiþ ōþrum, ecg wiþ ecge*; others allow only 'against' as gloss: *Ongan ic steppan forðwiðð englum* (here *ongan* reinforces the gloss). Very likely directional uses emerged from syntactic linkage with verbs of movement and the locative sense of the dative case for nouns governed by *wiðð*. Semantically, the idea of opposition as a locative element for *wiðð* anticipated the gloss 'hostile'. In this regard *tō* also developed a sense of 'hostile' as in *Monige ðe mē tō feohtaþ*. Evidence is also available for *wiðð* + Gen in utterances expressive of directed motion and, sometimes, close proximity (75–76). More commonly, *wiðð* + Acc is expressive of location (surprising, since this case in many instances suggests movement): *Wiðð ðæt dōmsetl ic sitte*. The same collocation in other contexts indicating hostility suggests the gloss 'against'. One result of Thomason's study of *wiðð* is that its governing + Dat, + Gen, or + Acc does not necessarily convey contrastive senses. The survey closes with a review of *tōgēan* + Dat and *ongēan* + Dat or + Acc. Both prepositions, together with the cases governed, support the glosses 'to, toward, or against'. The two prepositions, compounded with a variant of *gēn*, occur as simplexes in contexts suggesting directed movement or 'against'. Citations to exemplify these meanings are evident (77–78). Summing up, Thomason finds that all the prepositions in her survey convey a sense of place or movement. But *tō* + Acc *and tōgēan* + Dat denote only direction. Another general finding is that the considerable overlap in meanings enables much choice of preposition for particular utterances. Occasionally, the results point to an unexpected gloss, as in the instance of *wiðð* + Acc denoting 'near'. As a whole the meanings inferred are due to an interplay of prepositions, cases, and the semantic ranges of verbs, especially those conveying a sense of movement.

Thomason's essay is accompanied by a helpful response submitted by Joanna Nykiel (81–84). Nykiel suggests the inclusion of numerical counts to support Thomason's judgments on degrees of frequency. Also chronological tables would alert readers to late OE losses of case distinctions and the possible consequence of differences in meaning. Why speakers prefer to collocate particular prepositions and cases goes unexamined in Thomason's analysis, yet Nykiel suggests positing a mental model of entrenchment (some patterns more common than others). Another issue discussed regarding *tō* + Acc or + Dat, both occurring in utterances involved with direction, is a matter of provenance. Which collocation came first? Here a chronological and statistical study might bring some clarity. Finally, Nykiel advocates analyses based on constructional grammar to help determine whether entire verb phrases in OE support differences in meaning. Thomason's reply includes matters of syncretism, provenance, chronology, and statistics. Her conclusion is that her analysis awaits the benefits of chronological and statistical analyses.

Sherrylyn Branchaw's "Survival of the Strongest: Strong Verb Inflection from Old to Modern English" (*Variation* 87–104) distinguishes those still extant from those that assumed regular endings or else became obsolete. She undertakes four tasks:

1) to enumerate OE verbs inflected by ablaut;
2) to total token frequencies for each;
3) to specify their consonantal structures;
4) to scale vowel infixes by degree of overlap.

An immediate caveat applies to token frequencies—those given are approximate and incomplete (owing mostly to problems of homography, as in ǣt preposition or verb). As for enumeration, OE verbs fully inflected in their principal parts (224 of them) comprise 61% of the total identified (367). These counts support a finding that strong verbs, fully inflected and most frequent throughout the OEC are still extant. Other OE strong verbs, if still extant, have now weak inflections or like *slink* conform to a productive pattern in Modern English. Of the strong verbs still extant, Branchaw groups them into series that have the same ablaut vowels. Series I contains 28 verbs still extant (25 listed): *drink, begin* among those fully attested in OE; *stink*, *cling,* not fully attested; *climb* (now regularized). Series II has also 28 verbs still extant (17 listed): *ride* and *write* among those fully attested in OE; *glide* and *writhe* (now regularized); *shit* and *cleave* (either strong or regularized). Series III has 26 verbs extant (10 listed), 4 still strong (e.g. *choose*, *freeze*), 6 all but regularized (e.g. *creep, flee)*. To account for the discrepancy in verbs still strong for Series I, II,

and III, Branchaw contrasts the salience of the OE ablaut vowels [i] ~ [a] ~ [o], somewhat less distinct in [i:] ~ [a:] ~ [i] to those found for Series III. Her argument is that the greater the salience the more likely the retention of strong verb conjugations. Those still part of a strong paradigm in Series III, except for *freeze*, had high OE token frequencies. Token frequency accounts for verbs still strong in Branchaw's Series IV (e.g. *forsacan*, *stand*), combined VI – IX (e.g. *break*, *speak*), combined because of a shared ablaut [o]. Her Series VII has few survivors from OE: *dive* straddles in its past tense the contrast between strong and regular inflections. Series V and VIII have merged verbs like *grow* and *throw* that in OE had contrastive vowels in their past participles, yet their low token frequencies fail to show why they remain strong. In contrast *flow,* with higher frequencies in OE, is now regular. Finally, Series X and higher are discussed briefly, many of them like *starve* and *shape* now regular in Modern English. In response to Branchaw's analysis, Markku Filppuia and Juhani Klemola argue that frequency counts taken from the OEC approximate at best actual usage. [Branchaw's paper is not listed in the *OEN* Bibliography for 2010.]

Akiko Nagana's "Subject Compounding and a Functional Change of the Derivational Suffix *-ing* in the History of English" (*Variation* 111–131) contains an overview of OE practice. She lists the examples *eorþbeofung, feaxfallung,* and *sæ-ebbing* to suggest a productive process, although subject compounding waned after the Middle English period. Such compounding in OE was primarily to provide names for results like those listed in the examples. This sense of result in compounding complements the function of *-ung* / *-ing* nominals as in ðonne he mid geniðerunge fram geferrædene his gecorenra hi totwæmð. Nagana notes that no object accompanies *geniðerunge*. In *for heora mægdena offrunga*, the plural nominal, its source a transitive verb, does not take an object. In þære lufe fandung is þæs weorces fremming, the participle is a predicative. In response Olga Thomason questions whether *feaxfallung,* and *sæ-ebbing* exemplify a subject–predicate relationship instead of one that reveals the participle as an attributive. In response, Nagana outlines the work of Dieter Kastovsky's 1985 study "Deverbal Nouns in Old and Modern English: From Stem-Formation to Word-Formation" to support her views on OE.

Elisa González Torres presents a fresh analysis of many nouns in "The Inflection-Derivation Continuum and the Old English Suffixes *-a*, *-e*, *-o*, *-u*" (*Atlantis* 32.1: 103–122). Unlike Kastovsky, who regards these vowels solely as inflections, since nouns like *sarga* and *nama* are not derived from other words, González Torres bases her argument on changes in meaning. In her view, the final vowel in *runa* 'counselor' < *runan* 'whisper' indicates a changed meaning in the derived noun as well as an inflection. Often enough, the meaning that a vocalic, derivational suffix supports is a contrast between nouns that in argument structures are mostly agents and those that are patients. Thus *ierfa* 'heir', *secga* 'informant', and *steora* 'steersman' are agentive nouns, but *ierfe* 'heritage', *secge* 'speech', and *steore* 'direction' function typically as patients. Further, these vocalic suffixes provide meanings, distinguished from those associated with others like *-ere*: *drinca* 'steward' and *drincere* 'drunkard'; *witega* 'wiseman' and *witgestre* 'prophetess'; *winna* 'enemy' and *winnend* 'fighter'. Fewer contrasts apparently occur for instances of *-o* and *-u*: *fyllo* 'fulness' < *fullian* 'fill up'; *giefu* 'gift' < *giefan* 'give'. In still other instances, at least two vocalic suffixes, applied to the same base, may result in different meanings: *æmetta* 'leisure'/ *æmette* 'ant'; *(ge)reðra* 'sailor' / *(ge)reðru* 'oars'; *gehlytta* 'partner' / *gehlytto* 'fellowship'; *blæce* 'leprosy' / *blæco* 'pallor' (these last two, rare contrasts of vocalic suffixes). Finally, González Torres lists groups of nouns consisting of paired forms, one ending with a vocalic suffix, the other not: *mūð* 'mouth' / *mūða* 'mouth of a river'; *ǣ* 'law' / *ǣwe* 'married woman'; *weg* 'way' / *wegu* 'vehicle'. This pairing, however, does not run predictably through the Old English corpus: pairs with the *-o* suffix do not appear; other pairs with *-a*, *-e*, and *-u* do not have contrastive meanings: *sceat*(*a*) 'angle'; *gled*(*e*) 'glowing coal'; *trad*(*u*) 'track'. From a historical perspective these derivational suffixes decline in texts toward the close of the Old English period, during the shift from grammatical to natural gender and the diminished use of case endings. As a whole, too, case endings persist with greater frequency than vocalic suffixes and so retain a broader functional value in noun paradigms. Since nominal bases vary structurally—verbal, nominal, adjectival—González Torres explores their occurrence with vocalic affixes. Her examples include the following: (a) verbal—*geedcucoda* 'restored to life' < *(ge)edcwician* 'to revive'; (b) nominal—*beswica* 'deceiver' (cf. *beswic* deceit'); (c) adjectival—*cræftiga* 'craftsman' (cf. *cræftig* 'skilful'). The vocalic affix *-a*, particularly, may enrich the semantic range of nouns *(boda* 'messenger' / (*ge*)*bod* 'message' and occasionally co-occurs with mutated bases—*cempa* 'warrior' / (*ge*)*camp* 'combat' and sometimes with bases already inflected as in *nīehst* 'nearest' / *nīehsta* 'closest friend'. Instances of vocalic *-a* combine with bases that have other derivational endings as in the sequence *ādl* 'disease'/ *ādlig* 'sick'/ *ādliga* 'sick person' or that comprise compounds *lor that* 'trickery' / *l'tricker* 'trickster'. Gonzalez Torres lists evidences as well forms that have *-e*, *-o*, *-u* for final

suffixes. She notes that *-e* mainly attaches to verbal bases, *-o* to adjectival bases, and *–u* to verbal and adjectival bases. All four vocalic suffixes, many of them indicating both semantic and grammatical functions, suggest a formal overlap that González Torres explicates. Thus for the noun *ērendraca* 'messenger' she implies that the forms *ērend-* from *ērende* 'message' and *-rac-* possibly from *reccan* 'to tell' comprise a divisible base. Curiously, her division posits *ēren* and *drac* as the units in the base, although the shift of *d* to the second unit goes unexplained. The combined form *ērendrac* is a full predicate containing a goal, that is, 'to deliver a message'. The suffix *-a*, in turn, has a double value: first as a lexical argument—the agent who delivers the message; second as a grammatical indicator of gender, number, case. Descriptively this analysis usefully sorts out the ways that vocalic suffixes function in forming nouns and distinguishing their meanings. The explanation offered on how these suffixes have combined double functions—lexical and grammatical—seems plausible and promising, despite curious glitches. Maybe González Torres will return more fully in the future to her argument.

Leena Kahlas-Turkka's "Verging on Totality? On 'Minority Indefinites' Conveying Totality in Old English" is a study outlining the characteristics of six indefinite pronouns, chosen because of their low frequency. Appearing in *Change in meaning and the meaning of change*: *studies in semantics and grammar from old to present-day English*, ed. Matti Rissanen, Marianne Hintikka, Leena Kahlas-Tarkka and Rod McConchie, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki, 72 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique, 2007), 253–78, her analysis seeks to account for their restricted use. The six pronouns are *gehwæþer, æghwæþer* (>*ægþer*), *welhwylc, welhwa, gewelhwylc*, and *æthwa*. Her survey presents the contexts, their particular co-texts quoted from the DOEC, which contain these forms. Those beginning with the prefixes *ge-/æg-* typically have the sense of "two items in a group." The idea of items, however, varies considerably: Bede uses them to refer to men and women, to each race of monks, day and night, evil and good men. In these examples, an item may include a substantial number. Citations from *Phoenix* have a much narrower reference: *gehwæðer* in *gehwæðer/ sunu ond swæs fæder* (*Phx* 374) applies to one person. The rare form *gewelhwylc*, found nowhere but in Wulfstan's homilies, does not strictly illustrate the two-item scope, as in *on gewelhwylcum wæstme*. Other instances of the *ge-/æg-* indefinites, presumably beside that of Wulfstan's practice, occur in phrases that include more than two items. As for the minority forms prefixed with *wel-*, their OE appearance, very sparing in *Beowulf* and several other poems, apparently have an intensifying function. Their infrequency possibly suggests that in later OE the *ge-/æg-* indefinites assumed intensifying functions; recurrences of *wel-* in later texts possibly indicate retained uses, too, as alternates expressive of intensity. Most unusual is *æthwa*, cited twice in the DOE (the occurrence in *Panther* contested). The chapter as a whole revisits scholarship on indefinites: etymology, theory, grammaticalization. Yet the focus on the minority indefinites does not contribute new appreciation of these issues. An opportunity, however, to speculate on the wide range of semantic reference for groups of two through the use of the *ge-/æg-* indefinites does not draw discussion. Nor does the chapter examine some contexts containing the majority indefinites for the purpose of considering why they, rather than the minority forms, appear. In a book on meaning and change in meaning, even to raise these issues might have provided a welcome opportunity.

Jun Terasawa applies metrical and grammatical criteria to distinguish in "The Weak Man in Old English Poetry" (*JEGP* 109.1: 22–32) uses of contrastive inflections for the same noun. The weak form *manna-* appears in verses labeled Type A, / x (x x x) / x , as in *lēofne mannan*. In contrast, the strong form occurs under Type E, / \ x (x) /, as in *widcuðne man*, and under B, (x x x x) x / x (x) /, as in *ond gefærenne man*. Elsewhere in OE poetry, this use of *mannan,* acc. sg., occurs in Type A verses in at least a half-dozen instances, occasionally in hypermetrical lines. There are exceptions, however: under Type A þær he hæfð mon geworhtne, under Type B þone þe mon gescop. Terasawa suggests that poets used the strong, shorter form in lines also amenable to the weaker alternate. Grammatically, the *Beowulf* poet includes lines with both the accusative and genitive form of *manna*; rarely does any form but the accusative appear elsewhere in OE verse. This choice of the weak *mannan* is largely due in context to its grammatically clear function as an accusative. In prose texts the preference for *mannan* rather than *mann* (nom. or acc. sg.) is due to its clear, grammatical function. This is a careful analysis that suggests a poetic attention to metrical and grammatical contrasts for purposes of regularity and clarity. [Also reviewed in sect. 4a.]

Margaret E. Winters discusses changes from datives like "methinks" (pervasive in OE) to nominatives and impersonals such as "I like" and "it seems to me" in "On construals and vantages" (*Language Sciences* 32: 335–346). Her discussion very early on grants that OE þencan did not enter into a dative construction as þyncan did. Generally she notes that in OE many verbs (no specific examples

cited) have arguments, one in the dative case (the experiencer), the other in the nominative case (the cognitive stimulus). Otherwise, except for one or two comments on the position of the arguments in OE (the nominative generally occurred before the verb), almost all the remaining discussion relies on Modern English examples. More attention to early stages of English would seem worthwhile considering the article's thesis on linguistic change.

Augustin Speyer argues that OE V2 and V3 are due to phonological, syntactic features in *Topicalization and Stress Clash Avoidance in the History of English,* Topics in English Linguistics 69 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton) Chapter 5 concerns "Topicalization and the Clash Avoidance Requirement in Old English," 177–233. He begins with the syntactic generalization that V3 takes pronominal subjects in higher, V2 full noun subjects in lower position. In the utterance *Ond eallum þam dagum buton Sunnandagum he afæste to æfenes,* the pronominal subject appears to the left of the verb in higher position. The full noun, however, appears to the right of the verb in utterances such as þone wæterscipe beworhte se wisa cyning Salomon mid fif porticon fæstum weorcstanum. Utterances begun with a verb do not enter into Speyer's discussion. A further qualification that Speyer notes is that V3 also takes, like V2, noun phrase subjects. To account for this syntactic overlap, he examines OE clause structures. In subordinate clauses, noun phrase subjects do not occur in the OE corpus between noun phrase objects and a final verb phrase (V3). In main clauses, however, this order occurs in only 4 instances, all due to the topicalization of the noun object phrase in the leftmost position. Very much more frequently OE single and complex main clauses are open ambiguously to V2 and V3 analysis. Bede's single clause utterance, for example, *ac he begyrded wæs mid wæpnum þæs gastlican camphades* initially looks as if has V3, yet the prepositional phrases may stem from a shift in position. Such a shift is possible, say, in *& usic þurh þa wædlan stowe wætres þa lædteowas læddon*, here V3. Speyer presents other instances of clauses that leave the question open on whether they are V2 or V3, noting, as well, that this indeterminacy is not rare. According to his count, 95% of clauses with complex verbs "overtly non-Infl-final [e.g. *scealt gesettan*] is Infl-final [e.g. *gretan ne meahte*] in structure" (196). This percentage puts in doubt the view that in OE V3 (Infl-medial) occurs in utterances with full noun subjects; these utterances are possibly V2 (Infl-final) to start, before the rightward movement of the non-finite form of the verb. One exception, however, to this ambiguity pertains to clauses with verb-particle predicates, as in *Her Æþelheard cyng ferde forð*. These clauses have full noun phrases and verbs medially inflected (V3), yet they are infrequent. Speyer then undertakes a complex statistical analysis that results in his affirming that main clauses with V3 (infl-medial), as seen in the OE corpus, are not due to transposed word order. This calculation holds for main clauses either with single verbs or with complex verbs. This finding has historical significance, inasmuch as unlike Modern German, which has an invariable V2 (inf-final) order, OE permits V3 as well. Speyer notes, too, that just as Early New High German instances V2 and V3, so did OHG. Innovation, then, became a movement toward strict verb phrase assignment on the Continent, but not in England. In OE usage, the choice of V2 and V3 in an utterance has implications for focus on subjects of main clauses. An analysis of these implications yields the finding that of V2 clauses surveyed, more than two-thirds have focused subjects, yet non-focused subjects predominantly appear in V3 clauses. Further, the non-focused subjects, positioned at the head of clauses, typically convey old material, yet subjects in V2 clauses, most often introducing new material, occur more often in lower position. Speyer speculates on the historic development of this contrast between focused and non-focused subjects in V2 and V3 main clauses: he looks at possibilities in Proto-Germanic and in OE language learning. Most important for Speyer, however, is that the distinction between old material (if expressed as noun phrases) and focused subjects, found lower in clauses, avoids clashes in stress. And this avoidance benefits from having the finite verb in V2 (probably unfocused, too) intervene between the phrase at the head of a clause and the lower, subject phrase. Exceptions to this outline of focused stress in V2 main clauses occur infrequently, possibly due to an undefined aspect of syntax. As for OE poetry, Speyer explores two types of half-lines, C (x / / x) and D (/ / { \ x }). He supposes that *Oft Scyld Scefing* is a type D verse, the first two syllables clashing in stress, which may derive from an unattested **Ofta Scyldaz Scefingaz*. His supposition rests on evidence in Gothic and Old Frisian morphology and on the practice of other OE metricists, who speculate on hypotheses attributable to Pre-OE patterns. A further argument advanced is that in reading lines with C and D clashing syllables, *scops* may have given one stress greater prominence than the one adjacent. Also, they may have paused briefly in-between words, especially at syntactic boundaries. This chapter brings together theory, speculation, and statistical evidence in a challenging manner. Whether it spurs fresh discussion remains a still-untested possibility.

Multiple Perspectives on English Philology and History of Linguistics (Bern: Peter Lang) edited by Tetsuji Oda and Hiroyuki Eto offers one article in OE language study,

on sound symbolism. Oda's study "The Sound Symbolism of *sc-* in Old English Heroic Poetry" (55–90) begins with a three-part definition. Such symbolism arises from articulated sounds, related arbitrarily to meaning, universally coined for novel effects. In OE alliterative poetry, *sc-* most frequently occurs in words etymologically traceable to IE roots of various implication, such as brightness/shade, hair of the head and crooked, but mostly verbs of movement, subordination, and physical damage. The two largest groups fall in semantic fields under "to cover" and "to cut." Oda explores functions of *sc-* in *Beowulf, The Battle of Maldon,* and the poems of Cynewulf. Oda's review of some scholarship prompts him to regard OE *sc-* as a palatal (at least between 900 and 1200), with the exception of the *sk-* cluster in words taken from Old Norse. The discussion of *Beowulf* cites in several lines manifest alliteration between velar [k] and palatal [k'] (768, 1851, 2376) also [sk] before velar vowels and [sk'] before palatal vowels (106, 496). The organization of the analysis centers first on the Scyldings, then of Beowulf's journey and arrival in Denmark, his reception in Heorot, his victorious battle against Grendel, likewise against Grendel's mother, later against the firedrake. The most detailed section is the first, with words listed, etymologies given; quotations in later episodes generally exemplify the semantic fields already postulated. Oda depends both on etymology and violence in poetic contexts to suggest that the stop in the [sk] cluster remained a velar. This inference encourages him to favor for *Beowulf* a seventh or eighth century date of composition. For *The Battle of Maldon,* very likely a poem of the late tenth century, *sc-* indicates a palatal sibilant. Oda proposes that the effect of *sc-* as a sound symbol rests on an agency of evil associated with the Viking marauders. The depiction of the battle itself derives some of its vividness from the *sc-* of words for such weapons as *scylde* and *sceaft* and from compound words for Vikings: *færsceaða* and *helsceaða.* Etymologically, these words bear a sense of cutting, also indicative of sound symbolism appropriate to the acts depicted. On the whole, Oda regards the symbolism of *sc-* in *Maldon* less pronounced than in *Beowulf.* Apparently the change in pronunciation contributed to a loss of words suitable for symbolic effect. Further, the diminished indication of such symbolism is possibly due to an emphasis on the defenders' heroic spirit rather than on a vivid detailing of battle. In regard to the poems ascribed to Cynewulf, the occurrence of *sc-* in *The Fates of the Apostles* is minimal; in *Christ II sc-* occurs in a few words but apparently do not support a vivid depiction of battle. The *sc-* of words in *Elene* differs in symbolic coloring from those in *Beowulf*: pejorative as in *scyldwyrcende* rather than heroic. In *Juliana*, however, the depiction of martyrdom benefits from *sc-* symbolism, as in *toscadan, sceaþan,* and *synscada,* all etymologically related to IE **sket(ə)-* 'to injure'. As a whole *sc-* as an indicator of sound symbolism works best in *Beowulf.* Oda does not offer suggestions on how further studies in OE sound symbolism might reveal linkages between linguistic and literary elements.

The editors Marcin Krygier, Liliana Sikorska, Ewa Ciszek and Bronk Katarzyma include three essays on OE linguistics in Þe Comoun Peplis Language, Medieval English Mirror, 6 (Bern: Peter Lang). The essays by Kim, Kilpiö, and Malak discuss in turn the history of *dyde,* the causative *habban*, and preposition stranding. Ronald Kim begins "On the Prehistory of Old English *dyde*" (9–22) with two observations on this preterite's form. Like *eōde* and those for preterite-present verbs, *dyde* has a weak ending; its vowel <y>, alternating with the <o> of the infinitive and the past participle, has no counterpart in OE conjugations. Further, *dyde* is common throughout OE, but the variants *ded-*, long or short vowel, occurs in Northumbrian, and *deo-* (also long or short) in Mercian. OE poetry also has instances of *dǣ-* (*dǣdun*, *dǣde*). Paradigmatically, *dyde* has no obvious counterpart in contemporary Germanic languages. The source of <y>, according to some analyses, is **u* (found in a subjunctive **dud-i-* that assumed indicative functions in OE prehistory). Yet to posit this development requires an account of **u* that for Kim proves unsatisfactory, because all the explanations offered fail for lack of phonological, morphological, or syntactic evidence. Kim suggests that a possibly better approach to account for *dyde* is to revisit the provenance of *dōn*. To begin, the form *dō* survives only in West Germanic, itself a development from the PIE root **d^{h} eh_1-* 'put' (although the root vocalisms ō and ē remains problematic). Further, reflexes of the form **d^{h} eh_1-* survive in endings of the Germanic weak or dental preterite. This preterite, in Kim's view, stems both from a periphrasis composed of a past passive participle in PG **-da- (*-ta-, *-sa-)* and the preterite of *do*, in turn derived from **d^{h} eh_1-*, a PIE imperfect. This periphrastic form (composed of a past passive participle + *do)* became shortened, at some point, through habitual use and then generally adopted by speakers, primarily of Gothic. And in Gothic, such shortening appears in other paradigms as well as that for *do.* The development of the weak preterite in Old Norse and West Germanic, however, differs, primarily in plural endings, from the Gothic. The difference is possibly due to a continuation from an indicative plural stem **ded-* < PIE **$d^{h}e$-$d^{h}h_1$-*. Having traced a feasible history for West Germanic forms of *do,* Kim returns to the issue of OE *dyde* by presenting in full a pre-PG paradigm

of the verb. He particularly focuses on the third plural, preterit forms, rendered as (PIE) **d^{h} é-d^{h} h$_1$-n̥t*. The loss of laryngeal **h$_1$* then gave way to a subsequent **ded-* and the ending **n̥t* to **-un*. And this **-un* ending, in pre-Proto-Germanic, became reanalyzed as part of the stem in the plural forms of the verb *do*: **ded-un* → **dedu-(u)n* (3rd pl.); **ded-ud* → **dedu-(u)d* (2nd pl.); **ded-um* → **dedu-(u)m* (1st pl.). In Primitive West Germanic the pre-Proto-Germanic sequence of **u-(u)* in these plural forms evolved successively into **ded-un* (3rd pl.), **dedud* (2nd pl.), and **dedum* (1st pl.). This **dedu-* stem for the plural/dual forms alternated in Primitive West Germanic with the singular reduplicated **dede*. For Kim, the reduplicative process in Primitive West Germanic brought about change in the plural/dual stems, so that **dudu-* supplanted **dedu-* (a process witnessed as well in other IE languages). But subsequently in the West Germanic period this reduplicative process became "opaque" (16) and atypical in the context of verbal morphology. Here, continental West Germanic developed the form *dedun*, seen in runes, replacing the plural/dual **dudu-*, but then influenced by the strong class V, the stem vowel became *<ā>*, as in OS *dādun*. OE, however, retained **u* from Primitive West Germanic **dudu-*, not only in plural forms but elsewhere in the paradigm. The occurrence in Northumbrian of the plural, subjunctive stem *ded-*, as in Continental West Germanic, is due to strong class V (by analogy), but otherwise is largely limited to poetry. The form *dyde*, is the result of *i*-mutation, found in subjunctive **dud-ī*. The morphologic-phonologic history that Kim presents involves his arguments against a number of other views not summarized here.

‡ Janusz Malak uses the minimalist program of grammar as an analytic tool in "Preposition Stranding in Old English" (Þe Comoun 67–78). Although in OE a preposition and its governed complement (mostly pronouns) typically collocate closely in an utterance, examples of displacement without any loss of meaning are frequent enough. The displacement takes two forms, the preposition occurring directly after the governed pronoun or elsewhere in a clause:

(1) him to genealæhton his discipuli;
(2) ða wendon hi me heora bæc to;
(3) him com þæt leoht to þurh paules lāre syþþan.

Malak notes that him before a verb, as in (3), exemplifies a fairly regular movement, although still remaining the object of the preposition. For (2) a direct object intervenes between the stranded pronoun and its preposition. And in (1) the reversal of to him may be due to topical emphasis. Beside these instances of matrix clauses, Malak analyzes stranding, for example, in relative clauses. He begins with relative clauses introduced by the particle þe referring to nominal forms other than the subject of a preceding clause. In, say, Ic hæbbe of þam stocce þe his heafod on stōd, the preposition, its pronoun stranded, typically remains adjacent to the finite verb. Stranding does not, however, occur in structures such as Mid store bið geswutelod halig gebed, be ðam sang se sealmscop. Here the prepositional phrase be ðam moves with the entire relative clause to the right of the past participle and remains appended to the verb sang. In general, he observes that in OE, if a relative clause retains within it its verb, the prepositional phrase, despite stranding, also remains contiguous. In subordinate clauses like oððæt hi ealle become ðurh þa clypunga him to, an adverbial phrase may intervene between a stranded him to and its governing verb. Overall, Malak finds in subordinate clauses less mobility than in matrix clauses and suggests that stranding is very likely due to the considerable mobility of verbs. Since stranding is an optional occurrence, it seems likely dependent on stylistic or pragmatic considerations. One question raised implicitly in Malak's analysis concerns the degree to which the minimalist program contributes to his useful findings.

EG

‡ Janusz Malak's "Preposition Stranding in Old English," *Þe Comoun Peplis Language*, 67–78, addresses the issue of the different conditions for preposition stranding in PDE and OE. Starting from the assumption that prepositions govern their complements and select inflected forms, Malak observes that the lack of inflections can explain why preposition stranding is possible in PDE, but then it should not be possible in OE. In PDE, preposition stranding is found with full referential nominal expressions, relative pronouns and interrogative pronouns, whereas in OE it is limited to pronouns. The clause types where it is found are also different. In minimalist terms, Malak states that preposition stranding in PDE is made possible by properties related to the immobility of the verb and the mobility of the DP. For OE, Malak finds problems with the proposal of treating pronominal complements of stranded prepositions as clitics. After discussing various options for the placement of prepositions and their complements in OE, Malak notes that their positions are much more variable in matrix clauses than in subordinate clauses and he relates this to the greater mobility of the verb in matrix clauses. He concludes that what makes preposition stranding possible in OE is "the possibility of overt movement of verb out of the VP to a higher projection [. . .]. Movement of the pronominal complements of Old English prepositions appears to be a post-derivational operations, im-

mediately preceding Spell-Out, since structures with stranded prepositions feed the PF, but it has no impact on establishing the lexical and functional relations" (77). Finally, Malak points out that preposition stranding in OE is optional and its uses may be defined by stylistic and pragmatic factors, but he leaves that investigation to further studies. Incidentally Miranda-García and Calle-Martín, in their study of post-adpositions reviewed below, also refer to stylistic and rhythmic factors (author's fingerprint) as determining the position of adpositions.

BMW

Christopher M. Cain's "George Hickes and the 'Invention' of the Old English dialects'" (*RES* 61: 729–748) traces influences on interpretations of Anglo-Saxon culture and language in the eighteenth century. One of Hickes's basic tenets concerns an idea of English, from early on, as having an identity that properly should be free of intrusion from other languages. That English opened itself extensively to non-native linguistic features was for Hickes and many contemporaries an unwelcome development. The diversity of features in OE manuscripts suggested to Hickes an early instance of undesirable heterogeneity. Ironically, the diversity of orthography in the manuscripts prompted him to posit, however loosely, the existence of OE dialects. Yet he had qualms in attributing differences in these dialects as partly due, on the advice of Oxford's first lecturer in OE William Nicolson, to Norse influence. Yet further communication apparently found Hickes drawn to Nicolson's view of Norse as contributory to OE dialects (the data supporting this development does not survive). Whatever Nicolson's analyses benefited him, Hickes proposed a three stage unfolding of OE. The earliest period, very little surviving (maybe *Cædmon's hymn*), found Hickes speculating on the quality of OE as one of *simplicitatus & puritatus* (733). The middle period stretched from Norse incursions, broadly along the borders extending up into Scotland, down into England, to the coming of the Normans. Hickes asserts that a clear distinction, due largely to Norse influence, characterizes the Rushworth and Cottonian codices. The final period extends from the reign of William to that of Henry II. Further, in the earliest centuries OE speakers likely incorporated some linguistic features from the Britons and Picts, just as later they did from Norse and Norman French. Hickes offers in Chapter 20 of his *Thesaurus Linguarum Septentrionalium* a list of words of supposedly Norse provenance found in the Lindisfarne and Rushworth glosses. Chapter 21 on poetry attributes to Old Icelandic models some influence on *Genesis* (in Oxford, Bodleian Junius 11), *Judith,* and the *Menologium*. In Chapter 22, Hickes evidences the leveling of inflections in OE dialects, due in his view to the regrettable impact of foreign languages. For each stage, whether relying on speculation or evidence, Hickes voices regret at the contamination visited by other languages on OE.

Hickes's jaundiced view of linguistic history, simplicity and purity traduced even early on, is not due to the views of predecessors like Bullokar and Cawdrey, but is traceable to Babel. This transgressive fall from God's design for language had, however, for Hickes and scholars like Verstegan and Hare the consequence of establishing nations, their idioms their own. Instead of one human race under God, the upshot of the Babel episode was a heavenly ordinance for regrouping mankind into nations, each possessed of its own language. Yet this regrouping suffered from the emergence of dialects, especially those infected by incursions of non-native languages. If Bullokar and Cawdrey regarded dialects as forms of language already recognized as related variants in ancient Greece, Hickes allied himself with those who associated dialects with turpitude. In the early modern era, too, scholars like Elyot and Sherry saw other indications of linguistic decay in forms of speech they called barbarisms and solecisms. Some went further to characterize those uttering barbarisms as churlish. These concepts, moreover, did not spring as a new perspective on dialects and linguistic borrowing but had their own history, articulated by Donatus's *Ars maior*.

This investment in linguistic decay had for Hickes, Dean of Worcester, a political counterpart: his refusal to take an oath of allegiance to the recently ascended William and Mary. The oath to William, in Hickes's view, was merely political, quite different from the "sacral monarchy" (747) that traditionally identified the king as the divinely invested head of the English Church. The shifting view of monarchy in Hickes's time was for him a contamination, partly analogous to his regretting inroads of Norse on OE and Anglo-Norman after the Conquest, a stimulating chapter on linguistic history. [Also reviewed in sect. 2.]

EG

A contribution by the late Richard Hogg, "Old English Dialectology" in *The Handbook of the History of English* (Oxford: Blackwell, 2009) 395–416, provides an overview of issues in the study of varieties of Old English. Hogg provides more than a summary of dialectal features in his presentation of different approaches in dialectology, focusing on Henry Sweet and Alastair Campbell (396–99). Two key themes within Hogg's essay are the importance of chronology and the rejection of the notion of "Standard Old English" in favor of viewing particular varieties as "focused language" (401). Three case studies, one each for

the Mercian, Northumbrian, and Kentish dialects, follow. For Mercian, Hogg examines the issue of Second Fronting in the *Vespasian Psalter*, *Épinal* and *Corpus Glosses* as well as in *Rushworth* (402–5). Regarding Northumbrian, Hogg challenges the notion that the dialect of the *Lindisfarne Gospels* and *Rushworth* represent separate Northern and Southern Northumbrian dialects, respectively (405–6).2 More attention is given to Kentish and the development of Common OE ǣ1 and ǣ2. Hogg argues that the two sounds merged early to ǣ, after which they were raised to ē, separately from the change of ǣ1 to ē in Anglian dialects (406–9). Hogg also argues that syntax is underrepresented in Old English dialectology, which he represents with Levin's (1958) study of negator + copula contraction (409–11). Lexical differences are also addressed, but only in terms of style and preference. Hogg stresses throughout the essay the need to consider Old English as equally complex socially as any modern language, and that our surviving data may never suffice for a full picture, though the future still holds potential for discovery.

"On Morphological Restructuring in the Old English and Old Saxon Nominal Paradigms" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur Älteren Germanistik* 66: 33–62) by Elżbieta Adamczyk pursues a quantitative analysis of the transition from older *i*-stem declensions to more productive classes in OE and OS. Adamczyk begins with an overview of the synchronic state of affairs in both languages (33–45). For the study, the author selects representative samples of historically *i*-stem nouns in both languages. The OE material comes from the *Dictionary of Old English Electronic Corpus*, and the OS data from the *C* and *M* manuscripts of the *Heliand* along with the OS *Genesis* (46). Adamczyk concludes from the OE data that although nom. and acc. sg. forms preserve the *i*-stem endings best, dat. and gen. forms are almost all innovative, and the plural endings are mostly innovative. She is careful to explain that the rapidity of shift from *i*-stem to *a*-stem declensions might be a function of the texts sampled (50). In contrast, the OS data exhibit a lesser amount of restructuring along the *a*-stem declension, with more *i*-stem affixes present in the texts sampled (54–6). Adamczyk concludes that the changes observable in OE and OS suggest that the *i*-stems became unstable as a paradigm for several reasons. In addition to the absence of core vocabulary which might resist analogical restructuring, loss of vowels following heavy-stemmed nouns were less salient than their *a*-stem counterparts (57–8). And although the poetic nature of the OS data may lend itself toward preserving archaism, Adamczyk also sees in this early data a key split between English and Low German, where English is headed toward a monoparadigmatic system, and its continental relative polyparadigmatic (59–60).

Charles M. Barrack's "A Note on Differential Leveling in the Derivational versus Inflectional **ja-* and **-jō-* Stems of Old English" (*Interdisciplinary Journal for Germanic Linguistics and Semiotic Analysis* 15: 117–20) presents an interesting discrepancy in the (non-) appearance of geminate consonants in inflected infinitives. Beginning by noting the tendency for disyllabic **ja-* and **jō*-stems with a heavy, and therefore non-resolving, syllable structure to strongly favor gemination of a final consonant, and the corresponding lack of gemination in resolvable disyllables, Barrack points out that one may observe gemination in the inflected infinitive, regardless of the weight of the root. An example of this is that whereas one might expect *to healdenne* to have geminate *–nn–*, one ought not expect this as a regular phonological outcome in a verb such as *to berenne*. Barrack suggests that **ja-* and **jō*-stems, which he terms "derivational," behave differently from the inflected infinitives, which he classifies as "inflectional." He adds that "inflections form a more cohesive set than derivational affixes given that the former express a uniform syntactic function whereas the lexical items bearing the latter are often semantically idiosyncratic" (119). Despite the interesting problem exposed by Barrack in the anomalous gemination of inflected infinitives, a few questions remain. First, those who cling to a Neogrammarian application of sound laws may reel at the notion that phonology would pay heed to semantics. Second, Barrack's use of the terms "inflection" and "derivational" seem at odds with more common understandings of the term, if we take **ja-* and **jō*-stems, in the Germanic forms at least, as more inflectional than derivational. Similarly the **-ja-* affix which produces the inflected infinitive through its addition to the Germanic infinitive suffix **-an-*, would seem a more textbook example of derivation.

Robert Fulk in "The Roles of Phonology and Analogy in Old English High Vowel Deletion" (*Transactions of the Philological Society* 108: 126–44) reexamines traditional accounts of High Vowel Deletion in West Saxon and the dialect of the Vespasian Psalter. At issue is the interplay between regular sound change and analogical re-insertion of syllables which would have otherwise been deleted by the sound change. At the essay's centerpoint lies an examination of High Vowel Deletion (both in syncope and apocope), questioning in what manner West Saxon plural forms such as *hēafdu* were restructured by analogical forces, as *hēafudu* would have been an anomalous from with a disyllabic stem before a vocalic

inflection. Through careful examination of spelling variants in early and non-West Saxon texts, particularly treating historically monosyllabic vs. disyllabic forms, Fulk argues that *hēafdu* is an innovative form, and that West Mercian *hēafudu* represents a more archaic form. Each step of Fulk's argument is well supported by data, and careful attention is paid to alternate explanations of the situation examined. Fulk presents a full understanding of previous explanations, but demonstrates well their shortcomings. Beyond the important light shed on this matter in OE historical phonology, Fulk extends the scope of his piece to point out that linguists' preference for Late West Saxon forms can result in a bias toward phonologically and morphologically innovating dialectal features, to the detriment of non-West Saxon dialects which contribute important features in tracing the history of English (143).

Angelika Lutz, in "Word Accent Position and Language Contact in English and German" (*Anglia* 127: 283–306), presents a comparative example of change in word accentuation in both English and German. The main focus of the piece is little related to Old English study, in that it concerns itself primarily with how influence from Latin and Romance languages on both English and German produced different results in the two languages. Whereas German differentiates between accentuation for Germanic words, and possesses a second accentual pattern in *Fremdwortbildungen*, English has produced an accentual system which is no longer Germanic, but neither is it Romance (301–3). What concerns Old English, however, is to be found at the fore of the essay. Although the overview of Old English word-stress establishes the status quo before changes in accentuation (284–85), there is little new information added to our understanding of OE accentuation.

Ferdinand von Mengden's monograph, *Cardinal Numerals: Old English from a Cross-Linguistic Perspective*, Topics in English Linguistics 67 (New York: de Gruyter Mouton) seeks to fill in gaps in our knowledge of an aspect of OE long gone understudied or taken for granted. Von Mengden sees Old English as a prime candidate to explore linguistic study of cardinal numerals, as it is a large, early corpus which preserves much of its Indo-European inheritance (4–5). A further aim of the study is to integrate typology, diachronic linguistics, and their interaction with human cognition and language in gaining insight from OE's cardinal number system (7). Chapter One establishes the basis for the remaining study. Von Mengden points out that one must establish what constitutes a number from other number-related expressions (for example, the difference between "two" and "both" or "twelve" and "dozen"). This initial chapter concerns itself more with typological aspects and numerical systems in general, than specifically Old English aspects. Nonetheless, it is a thorough and systematic presentation of the material. The operating definition of numerals is "an ordered sequence of well-distinguished elements ... used to specify the cardinality of a set" (65).

Chapter Two concerns itself with the nuts-and-bolts of the OE numerical system, proceeding from the base numerals in procession of orders of magnitude. One interesting feature of von Mengden's approach is the treatment of the formations for decads from 70 to 120 as a circumflected formation with *hund...tig* as the head and tail elements (87–94). Chapter Three examines complex numerals in OE, that is, numerals which arise from addition, subtraction or multiplication. The OE data are presented along with comparative and cross-linguistic approaches in order to better present the OE system. A key aspect in Chapter Three is establishing OE as possessing a decimal system, despite claims of Germanic showing traits of a duodecimal system. Number systems which display characteristics of vigesimal counting, as purported in Danish and French, are also examined to see that decimal-vigesimal systems can and do overlap, and that one may not take claims of being vigesimal at face value (154–61).

Chapter Four differs from the preceding chapters, in that it focuses not on the OE numerical expressions themselves, but rather on their syntactic distribution within clauses. Of primary concern in this chapter is the traditional syntactic treatment of numerals with either nouns or adjectives, and that this dichotomy is not necessarily valid for numerals (180). Von Mengden establishes five main numerical constructions in OE: attributive, predicative, partitive, measure, and mass quantification. Building on the morphosyntactic examination of cardinals in Chapter Four, Chapter Five concerns itself with arguing that cardinal numbers represent a class independent of either nouns or adjectives. Far beyond what can be said about OE numerals, von Mengden seeks to make the argument that numerals form a natural class unto themselves cross-linguistically; moreover, cardinal numerals are not a sub-set of numerals, but rather are the numerals from which all other numerals are derived (283–5). A sixth chapter brings von Mengdens main points home, but does not add anything new to the discussion.

In total, von Mengden's books is well-structured, well-argued, and well-written. The examples he draws from are clear and well-chosen. Despite the density of information within the book, and the extensive

compartmentalization of chapters in to sections and sub-sections, von Mengden presents new ideas in an approachable way, even if one is not a syntactician or specialist in morphosyntax.

Olga Timofeeva's "Anglo-Latin Bilingualism before 1066: Prospects and Limitations" in *Interfaces between Languages and Cultures in Medieval England*, ed. Hall, Timofeeva, Kiricsi and Fox [see sect. 2], 1–36, explores the practical limitations of examining language contact between English and Latin in pre-Norman Conquest Britain. Part of this essay's focus is to reexamine the extent to which Latin influenced English and the classification of this situation as a language-contact phenomenon with regard to sociolinguistic works such as that of Thomason and Kaufman's influential 1988 work *Language Contact, Creolization, and Genetic Linguistics*. Timofeeva begins with a survey of the socio-historical background of Anglo-Latin contact during the historical period (3–9). This survey is rather cursory and focuses on the Roman Mission, the School of Hadrian, and the Alfredian reforms. Subsequent to the survey, the author turns to qualify and quantify the intensity of the language contact. Notable in this section is Timofeeva's attempt to establish numbers of presumed bilinguals (12–16), where she uses data derived from the Domesday Book to calculate the clerical population at circa 6, 000 (14–15). She concludes that the 0.27–0.55% of the population who were likely to be literate would not be in a numerical position to exert influence upon English. Rather, she suggests, social status and authority perhaps count more than simple numbers. In the final section, Timofeeva examines sociolinguistic mechanisms of change, notably code-switching, code alternation, passive familiarity of a language, negotiation, and second-language acquisition (16–31). Her conclusion is that Anglo-Latin bilingualism existed in a small group of cultural elites, who, though influential in their circle at their time, were overtaken by the massive changes in the Norman Conquest.

It is problematic that Thomason, Kaufman, and Uriel Weinreich are invoked as the sole champions of language-contact theory, though there are other works subsequent to 1988 which could have been brought to bear (not the least of which might have been those of Labov). Furthermore there are certain irregularities in Timofeeva's use of linguistic terminology. This is seen most strongly in her description of the earliest phase of Anglo-Latin contact as "diglossia," a term which is a rather proscribed term and not synonymous with bilingualism. Similarly, in the comparison of the grammatical systems for the two languages, it not entirely accurate to say that "Latin has twenty-five tenses (including voice and mood distinctions), compared to the Old English five." (10). An additional difficulty throughout the piece is a lack of a clear definition for what constitutes a bilingual. Timofeeva's piece certainly provides food for thought, despite the difficulties, and despite the difficult nature of the study. Potential routes for additional research would perhaps include an examination of the insular phenomenon of Hisperic Latin, as well as a parallel examination of Hiberno-Latin bilingualism in an Irish context.

DS

In "Adnominal Adjectives in Old English" (*English Language and Linguistics* 14: 53–81) Dagmar Haumann argues that positioning overrides inflection in the interpretation of contrasting properties of adjectives within nominal groups in OE. She groups adjectives into prenominal and postnominal, or more generally, following Richard K. Larson and Franc Marušič's "On definite pronoun structures with APs: Reply to Kishimoto" (*Linguistic Inquiry* 35 [2004]: 268–87) into [illegible] and β, the latter placed closer to the noun than the former. Prenominal adjectives (i.e. β) express the properties attributive, given information, individual-level, and non-restrictive; the contrasting properties of postnominal adjectives (i.e. [illegible]) are predicative, new information, stage-level, and non-restrictive. The inflectional contrast of weak vs. strong is only available for prenominal adjectives, while postnominal adjectives are always strong, and the only property associated with strong adjectives in both positions is the option of taking degree modifiers, which cannot occur with weak adjectives.

Hauman observes that both Old and Present-Day English (PDE) adjectives obey the positional distributions found in cross-typological studies. They differ in the canonical position of adjectives expressing stage-level or restrictive properties: in PDE such adjectives are prenominal, whereas in OE they are postnominal, as "[a] prenominal position which would be equidistant to the noun is not (yet) available because prenominal adjectives, via strong vs. weak inflection, interact with the (in) definiteness properties of the nominal expression they occur in" (73). Following Gugliemo Cinque (*The Syntax of Adjectives: A Comparative Study*, http://hdl.handel.net/10278/883, 2007), Haumann assumes phrasal movement within a split DP layer and explains the OE structure and the subsequent changes as follows:

> under the interrelated assumptions that dP [. . .] is specified as [+DEF] (weak inflection) or as [-DEF] (strong inflection), and that [±DEF], as typically expressed by the (in)definite article, feeds the pragmatic interpretation of a nominal expression [. . .], it seems plausible to conclude that dP raises to the specifier of

DP, so that definiteness information is available where the referential status of the nominal expression is fixed [. . .]. Under this analysis, the loss of the canonical post-nominal position of type ? adjectives is a consequence of the loss of dP raising. With the loss of adjectival inflection and the advent and subsequent establishment of the Middle English (ME) article system, dP raising to specSP [. . .] is obviated, since definiteness information is now provided by the (in)definite article whose natural habitat is the head position within DP (78).

In "From V1 to V2 in West Germanic" (*Lingua* 120: 315–28), Roland Hinterhölzl and Svetlana Petrova study word order in Old English and Old High German, explaining the choices and different developments through the interaction of grammar and information structure. As a model of discourse organization, they adopt the Segmented Discourse Representation Theory and its concepts of coordinating and subordinating discourse relations in Nicholas Asher and Alex Lascarides's *Logics of Conversation* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2003). Coordinating relations continue the discourse at the same level of hierarchy; for instance, the relation of *narration* forwards the main story-line by linking two situations in temporal sequence. Subordinating relations combine discourse units at different hierarchical levels; for instance, the relation of *elaboration* introduces additional information about a unit on a higher hierarchical level in the discourse.

The authors argue that in both languages verb-initial sentences are used for coordinating discourse relations: they introduce new discourse referents (participants), notably in presentational sentences, and also introduce new situations or successions of events with old participants. As alternatives for expressing coordinating discourse relations the languages possess the adverb-initial patterns, þa-verb-subject in Old English and *tho*-verb-subject in Old High German, which the authors classify as types of verb-initial sentences. In contrast to the verb-initial pattern, verb-second patterns are used for providing additional information about an element that is already introduced in the discourse: this word order expresses subordinating relations. Despite the similarities of discourse functions of word orders, there is a difference between the two languages in the information-structuring role of the position of the finite verb in sentences expressing subordinating discourse relations. In Old High German the finite verb marks the boundary between the aboutness topic and the rest of the sentence, which consist of the comment and potentially given, background elements. In Old English and Old Saxon, the sentence is divided into the aboutness topic and other background elements before the finite verb and the focus domain after it. One consequence of this difference is that the word order expressing subordinating relations in Old English and Old Saxon is not the verb-second order found in interrogatives, but instead an order where the verb happens to be in the second position because there is only one background element in the sentence. Secondly, subordinating relations can in these languages be expressed by sentences with verb-third order, when there are two background elements preceding the finite verb. Thirdly, the preverbal part includes elements functioning as discourse linkers, which play an important role in the subsequent development of word order in English, leading to a generalization of verb-third orders. Hinterhölzl and Petrova outline the development of topic comment structures in English as follows:

> In the first stage the juxtaposed topic must be assumed to combine [. . .] with a clause in which the verb stays within TP and separates background elements from the focus domain, as is illustrated in (28a). After prosodic integration of the topic and the following clause, the topic in [Spec, ForceP], interpreted as discourse linker in clauses expressing [subordinating] discourse relations, serves as model for the preposing of þa, which acts as discourse linker in sentences expressing coordinating discourse relations, as is illustrated in (28b). [. . .] in the third stage the topic in initial position is analysed as having moved there from an IP-internal argument position with the subject and the verb occupying specifier and head position in TP, as is illustrated in (28c) [*See 28 below*] [. . .] while V2-clauses derive from a combination of a topic plus a V1-clause, the combination of a topic plus a non-V1-clause, evidenced by the majority of

(28) a. Stage I: [Aboutness] [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ (familiar topic) [$_{\text{TP}}$...V_{fin}...]] topic
+ non-V1

b. Stage II: [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ [Aboutness] (familiar topic) [$_{\text{TP}}$...V_{fin}...]]

c. Stage III: [$_{\text{ForceP}}$ [Aboutness]$_i$ [$_{\text{TP}}$ Subject V_{fin} t $_i$] ...]

declarative clauses in OE, fails to trigger generalized V2 in the history of English (326).

In "The Rise of the Complementizer *that* in the History of English," *Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English*, Linguistic Insights, Studies in Language and Communication 114, ed. Merja Kytö, John Scahill and Harumi Tanabe (Bern: Peter Lang), 59–78, Michio Hosaka proposes a common structural origin for the different grammatical functions of the complementizer *that* in PDE, arguing that the conjunction introducing nominal and adverbial clauses and the relative pronoun and adverb have all developed from an appositional structure. His proposal consists of the following steps: "a. V-movement triggered the rise of FP in a main clause. b. The complementizer slot was exapted from the head of FP in a main clause. c. Subordination was introduced through the appositional structure making use of the complementizer slot" (75). "In the course of the development, a substantially appositive element changes depending on the existence or nonexistence of an element in the Spec of FP. In the case of a noun and an adverb clause, the Spec of FP is not filled and the whole subordinate clause is in the target of the apposition with XP. In the case of a relative clause, the Spec of FP is filled by *se* or *pro*, which is substantially in apposition with XP" (76). For noun clauses, the appositional structure is supported by instances of "copy" demonstrative þæt in the main clause in addition to þæt heading the subordinate clause and by cases of þæt followed by the subordinating particle þe. In adverb clauses, illustrated by *swa þæt*, the two elements are in apposition. Evidence for a similar appositional structure in relative clauses comes from resumptive pronouns in þe and *se'þe* relative clauses, which support the postulation of *pro* in these structures. As to the development of the different grammatical functions, Hosaka suggest that the complementizer þæt was first used in nominal and adverbial clauses and from them it was analogically extended to relative clauses. At the end, he calls for more research in the subordinating particle þe, whose "properties and origin [. . .] still remain a mystery" (76). On a more general level, Hosaka's proposal for the complementizer *that* tally with hypotheses of the development of subordination from parataxis to hypotaxis.

In "The Rise of the *To*-infinitive: Evidence from Adjectival Complementation" (*English Language and Linguistics* 14: 19–51), An van Linden studies the development of deontic adjectives with mandative clausal complements through the whole history of English. Her focus is on mandative *that* and *to*-infinitive clauses in the extraposition construction, as in her examples "(4) *Forðon hit is* ***neodþearf,*** *þæt ure spræc eft hi sylfe gebige* [... and] (5) *& þonne him* ðearf *sie ma manna up mid him to habbanne. . ."* (25). The OE data consist of 2, 335 adjective tokens from the *York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*. In OE, these adjectives typically take *that*-clauses as complements, but *to*-infinitives increase in frequency from marginal to equal in Early ME and dominating in Late ME. Van Linden starts from Los's account of the changes in verbal complementation in *The Rise of the* to-*infinitive* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2005). For verbs, the *to*-infinitive clause originates in a purposive *to*-prepositional phrase (PP), but it acquires clausal status already before OE. The subjunctive *that*-clause, originally a purposive adjunct, spreads to non-purposive contexts and is reanalyzed as Theme-argument. The *to*-infinitive likewise spreads and is reanalyzed by analogy with the *that*-clause, and in Early ME it replaces the *that*-clause in most contexts. However, this account does not explain the changes in the adjectival complementation system, because the distributions of the complementation constructions are different in the two systems. Van Linden argues that in the mandative construction

> the *to*-infinitive is in variation with the subjunctive *that*-clause, both of which function as Theme-arguments of an impersonal adjectival phrase [see examples (4) and (5) above], but not with the purposive *to*-PP. We therefore have to conclude that with deontic adjectives—unlike with verbal matrices—we cannot assume a developmental relation between the purposive function of the *to*-infinitive [. . .] and its function as Theme-argument (in the mandative construction), as in these functions it never competed with the same types of expression. [. . .] Hence, the conclusion imposes itself that in the distribution of the *to*-infinitive with adjectival predicates, at some stage analogy with verbal matrices played a role: deontic adjectives began to favour *to*-infinitives by analogy with the increased frequency of *to*-complements with intention and manipulative verbs (31–32).

As two other potential factors contributing to the increase in *to*-infinitives, van Linden studies the role of the tense of the matrix clause and the origin of the adjectives. Testing the hypothesis that subjunctives disappeared first in past contexts, she finds a significant decrease in unambiguous subjunctive forms in mandative *that*-clauses, but for adjectives "no clear picture emerged from the data, but it could not be ruled out that the loss of the past subjunctive paradigm may have promoted the use of *to*-infinitives in past contexts" (47). As to the origin of the adjectives, she compares native and borrowed items, but her data does not reveal any correlation between borrowed items and the *to*-infinitive. Thus in the development from OE to ME, the *to*-infinitive,

which increased in verbal complementation, became by analogical extension dominant also in adjectival complementation. Van Linden argues "that this distributional change could take place because of the semantic similarity between the verbal and adjectival syntagms as well as the availability of the subjunctive *that*-clause in both syntagms, i.e. through syntagmatic as well as paradigmatic analogy" (47).

Antonio Miranda-García's and Javier Calle-Martín's "Post-Adpositions in Old English" (*ES* 91: 89–111) investigates factors affecting the placement of prepositions to the right of their object. They use the term post-adposition (PAP) to refer to "a phrase-like construction which is made up of an *adposition in post-position* and a (pro)nominal object, both co-occurring with the main elements or arguments of a clause" (93). In a corpus of 700, 000 words, the authors find 1, 061 cases of PAPs. The frequencies in the texts vary between 25.91 and 1.57 occurrences per 10, 000 words. The highest frequencies are found in Ælfric's texts, some of the gospels and *Apollonius of Tyre* and the lowest in poetry, but the differences can also be explained by chronology, as later texts contain more PAPs than earlier ones. Though there is great variation in the constituent parts of the construction, the authors conclude that "from a numerical perspective, they [PAPs] are more commonly associated with a few *adpositions*, with certain types of verbs, and with pronominal objects, the prototype being the triple linking of *to*, HIM, and {**cuman**} or {**cweþan**}, an expected consequence of their frequency" (108–109).

Compact constructions, where the adposition and its object occur next to each other, are twice as frequent as split constructions, where they are separated by intervening elements. Following Bruce Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) and Fritz Wende's Über die nachgestellten Präpositionen im Angelsächischen (Berlin: Mayer and Müller, 1915), they divide PAPs into three types according their position in relation to the verb: type A *him to com*, type B *com him to* and type C *him com to*. Of all the cases, type A is most common and type C least common, but their relative frequencies differ from one subgroup to another. So, in Ælfrician texts and in split constructions, type B is more frequent than type A, and with speech verbs their ranking is B > C > A.

As morphosyntactic factors cannot explain the choice of PAP over a standard prepositional phrase, Miranda-Garcia and Calle-Martin compare the uses of the two orders in limited samples of the data: constructions with æfter, constructions with *cwæþ* and *to* in *Apollonius of Tyre* and those with *cweþan* and *cuman* in the gospel of John. They conclude that phonological, rhythmic and stylistic factors seem to be decisive and the way of using PAPs may functions as an author's "fingerprint" (110).

Another article by Calle-Martín and Miranda-García, "*Gehyrdon ge þæt gecweden wæs*: A Corpus-Based Approach to Verb-Initial Constructions in Old English" (*SN* 82: 49–57), presents their study of the frequencies and distribution of verb-initial (V1) order in a sample of OE prose texts. Their corpus contains 534 instances of non-dependent verb-initial declarative affirmative clauses with an overt subject.

A comparison of the frequencies of the construction over time reveals a decreasing trend from the Alfredian texts to the late texts, which tallies with an increasing dominance of the verb-second order. However, the frequencies vary greatly between the texts, and Calle-Martín and Miranda-García suggest that the use of V1 constructions could be part of an author's "fingerprint," which "can be reliably interpreted as a clue for authorship attribution studies" (52). To test earlier findings about weight principles favouring initial position of light verbs, the authors investigate the distribution of the verbs in their corpus in terms of length and semantic criteria. On the basis of the verbs that are most common in five of the texts, they suggest that formal weight does not have as much influence as semantic load and other content characteristics. While the most frequent verbs are light as to both length and semantic load (e.g., *beon/wesan, habban, weorþan)*, other frequent verbs in their ranking list are heavier in both senses and belong to the semantic fields of speaking, motion and physical action. Such verb meanings fit in nicely with the observations in earlier studies that V1 constructions signal different types of turning points and transitions in the text. However, the characterizations of this function have involved rather a great variety of types of transitions, and, as is fitting for a corpus-based study, Calle-Martín and Miranda-García suggest that a comparison of the occurrences of the same verbs in V1 and verb-second constructions could provide objective evidence of the functions of this word order contrast. Though it is understandable that a comparison of many cases would have involved a great degree of subjectivity, it is still rather disappointing to see only one example of a comparison of the same verb (examples (7) and (8) on 55). The authors' final conclusion seems to be that the verbs that occur in V1 constructions support the interpretation of this word order as "a stylistic device" (56) to signal various transitions in OE prose.

There is some inconsistency in the description of their corpus (e.g. the numbers of words in the text vs. those in Table 1 on p. 51), but that does probably not affect the results and conclusions. A minor issue is the numbering

of examples (no numbers on p. 51 and different numbers in the text and examples on pp. 54–55).

The volume *Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature*, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 25, ed. Osamu Imahayashi, Yoshiyuki Nakao and Michiko Ogura (Frankfurt: Peter Lang), includes three articles on OE. ‡ Yoshitaka Kozuka's "Word Order and Collocation in Old English," 213–24, discusses factors affecting the placement of nominal objects in coordinated main clauses in the *West-Saxon Gospels*. Previous research has observed that the nominal objects are more commonly placed before the finite verb in main clauses coordinated by conjunctions such as *and, ac* and *ne* and in subordinate clauses than in other types of main clauses. Kozuka confirms that the same pattern is found in his data by examining the positions of nominal objects in the first three chapters of the gospels. For this study, Kozuka analyses 101 instances of nominal objects, including both direct and indirect objects. His first observation is that the gospels differ in the proportions of preverbally placed nominal objects (OV), with higher proportions in *Mark* (42.7 per cent) and *Luke* (31.0 per cent) than in *Matthew* (3.9 per cent) and *John* (3.6 per cent). Comparing the OV clauses to a Latin version, Kazuka finds the English constructions largely independent of Latin word order. As earlier studies have found object length (weight) and type of coordinator to influence word order in OE, Kozuka studies the role of these factors in his data. Object length turns out play a role in the gospels where OV orders are more frequent: in *Mark* and *Luke* shorter objects are much more likely to precede the finite verb than longer objects, while in the two other gospels, nominal objects follow the finite verb regardless of their length. A comparison of the different conjunctions shows that OV order is proportionately most common in clauses introduced by *ne* (average 46.7 per cent), while *and*-clauses often have this order in *Mark* and *Luke* (46.7 and 29.7 percent) and *ac*-clauses with OV order appear only in *Mark*. The rest of the article is devoted to collocation patterns. Studying the positions of one-word objects, Kozuka finds that certain combinations are associated with certain word orders. Objects occur in preverbal position with *god* + 'to praise' or 'to thank', *dryhten* + *andettan, þanc(as)* + *don, sunu* + *cennan,* and *drincas* + *syllan*. In contrast, objects come after the verb with *calic* + *onfon, wif* + *niman, wyrtruma* + *habban*, and personal names. As an another kind of collocation, Kozuka studies the position of nominal objects with phrasal verbs and observes that the gospels again form two groups. In *Mark* and *Luke*, such objects of phrasal verbs occur pre-verbally, whereas in the other two gospels, they are placed after the verb. Weight seems not to affect the position of nominal objects with phrasal verbs. A comparison with the influence of weight on the position of nominal objects of *niman* and *habban*, which do not occur with particles, suggests that phrasal verbs behave differently as to the placement of nominal objects in these two gospels. In conclusion, Kozuka suggests that collocational properties should be taken into account in studies of word order in OE and invites further studies. It must be noted that some of the subgroups in this study are very small, and though Kozuka at the end of the article points out that his study is highly limited, that caveat might profitably have been included in the interpretations of the statistics all along.

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‡ Yoshitaka Kozuka's "Word Order and Collocation in Old English" (*Aspects* 213–24) centers on the arrangements of finite verbs and nominal objects in main clauses introduced by *and, ac*, or *ne*. He explores the *West Saxon Gospels*. He reviews earlier studies of this construction that include such elements as object weight, types of coordinator, and the occurrence (or absence) of a subject. Here Kozuka examines the influence of collocation on the positioning of the finite verb and the nominal object. His hypothesis is that lexical choice often helps to determine the order OV. His analysis focuses on both monotransitive and ditransitive constructions but excludes instances of inversion, resumption, topicalization, and objects modified by a relative clause. A grammatical review of the gospels produces contrastive results: the gospels of *Mark* and *Luke* reveal OV sequences (more than 30%) at a higher frequency than does *Matthew* and *John* (OV negligible). This discrepancy, furthermore, is hardly due to word order patterns in the *Vulgate* gospels. Nor is it due, at least for the *Matthew* and *John* gospels, to object weight (identified as the size of the object noun). For *Mark* and *Luke*, object weight contributes to the occurrence in main clauses of nouns before finite verbs. As for the influence of coordinating conjunctions on OV/ VO orders in the gospels, Kozuka finds some significance. Thus in *Mark*, *Luke*, and *John* the conjunction *ne* followed by OV is consistently high yet infrequent. *Matthew* instances OV nowhere, not even in its one *ne* clause. Turning now to collocation, Kozuka observes that *god* or *dryhtne* frequently precedes a finite verb (semantically an OE verb for praise or for gratitude), especially in *Mark* and *Luke*. Other nouns preceding verbs in main clauses do not have an appreciable frequency (three or less). How far his approach remains useful in studies of other OE texts awaits trial.

‡ Michiko Ogura's "Old English Verbs with a Genitive Object: a Doomed Group?" (*Aspects* 55–71) begins with

their classification by Visser into fourteen semantically-arranged groups. She then identifies the verbs in each group that still remain extant. Verbs in five groups are obsolete; a small number of verbs in the other groups survive, some without prefixes. This initial survey concludes with Mitchell's syntactic classification: a large number in OE collocated with nouns in the genitive case (84); some collocated with nouns in the genitive or other case; a third group had a double rection, one of which was the genitive case. Visser's syntactic classification of the verbs in his fourteen groups differs somewhat from Mitchell's. Those appearing with nouns in the genitive case often have prefixes (137 of 297). Particular verbs—*forgitan, sprecan*—do not easily fit a syntactic classification, either because they collocate with nouns in the genitive or accusative case or because the case of the noun is open to interpretation. For the list in Mitchell's verbs taking nouns in the genitive case, Ogura exemplifies a few in context, one of which she questions. She also adds two example of her own: *onfon* and *abyrgde*. She presents a similar survey, based on Visser's syntactic classification of verbs taking nouns in the genitive case. She adds examples of her own and summarizes criticism of Visser's instances from the *Paris Psalter* and the *Junius Psalter*. Visser's findings also fall short in his failing to examine *reccan* collocating with a noun in the accusative (ChronE 1070: 205.26–27). From her review of Mitchell and Visser's analyses, Ogura attributes the decline of genitive objects primarily to morphological ambiguity, resulting from verbs, once paired—one with a prefix (lost in OE), one without—but subsequently merged.

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‡ In "Old English Verbs with a Genitive Object: A Doomed Group?" (*Aspects* 55–71), Michiko Ogura studies verbs with genitive objects and focuses on those that have disappeared from the language. Most of the article is devoted to discussing and comparing the lists of verbs and examples in Bruce Mitchell's *Old English Syntax* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1985) and T. H. Visser's *An Historical Syntax of the English Language* (Leiden: Brill, 1963–1973) and Ogura's conclusions are based on them. The OE verbs that were construed with the genitive and another case and the verbs where the genitive was an option tended to replace the genitive with a prepositional phrase, whereas the verbs that typically took the genitive became obsolete and other verbs, mostly loan items, took their place. Ogura states that more than half of the verbs that only occurred with the genitive became obsolete after the OE period (the exact numbers are not specified). She notes that many genitive endings were ambiguous already in OE and concludes that "morphological ambiguity [. . .] was the principal cause of the disappearance of the inflectional genitive" (69). When the genitive case was not unambiguously marked, it is not possible to argue that genitive objects continued to occur. Other factors leading to the disappearance of verbs with genitive are semantic ambiguity and rivalry. As to rivalry, Ogura notes: "There were so many synonyms in Old English that, when they were replaced by only one loan word, the demise of the synonyms appeared great" (69). This comment seems to suggest that borrowing leads to the extinction of some lexical items, rather than the other way round. It is not clear if this tendency is meant to be specific to verbs with genitive objects.

‡ In "Farman's Changing Syntax: A Linguistic and Palaeographical Survey" (*Aspects* 241–55) Tadashi Kotake argues that the variation in the syntactic freeness from the Latin text in Farman's gloss to Matthew in the Rushworth Gospels (Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Auct. D.2.19) can be explained by assuming that Farman had access to an OE examplar which was more like a translation than a gloss. Moreover, he argues that the hypothetical exemplar was not based on the Rushworth Latin version, but a purer Vulgate text, different from the medieval Irish Latin versions. Comparing the occurrences of the Latin word orders (noun + possessive, *forþon (þe)* as second element, past participle + *beon*, complement + verb, verb + object, and verb + subject) and the native English orders (possessive + noun, *forþon (þe)* as first element, *beon* + past participle, verb + complement, object + verb, and subject + verb), Kotake finds systematic differences between the different parts of the gospel gloss. Freer translations with native patterns deviating from the Latin are frequent in the beginning chapters (1–6), whereas the middle chapters (7–21) typically have more literal glosses with Latin patterns, and both patterns occur in the final chapters (from 22). In addition to this variation, manuscript evidence suggests that Farman erased some of his freer translations and replaced them with glosses closer to Latin patterns. Kotake considers "the influence of the hypothetical exemplar [... as ...] the most likely cause" (251) for such erasures and changes. As further support for his hypothesis, Kotake cites instances where Farman uses *forþon (þe)* where the Latin text does not have a corresponding adverb, but a purer Vulgate text has *enim*. Considering syntactic features and assuming an Old English exemplar, Kotake concludes that "Farman, as a copyist, may be classified as a scribe who shifts from 'literatim' copying to 'translation' and (to some extent) back again. Paradoxically, the 'literatim' copying produces more natural syntax, while the 'translation' results in more Latin-influenced syntax" (253).

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‡ Tadashi Kotake's "Farman's Changing Syntax: A Linguistic and Paleographical Survey" (*Aspects* 241–255) centers on this cleric's glossing of *Matthew* (part of *Rushworth One*). The approach focuses on glossarial features of syntax, in particular, word order and on Farman's procedures. The analysis includes paleographical evidence as seen in the Latin model and other OE texts. Kotake applies his analytic approach to two competing views: (1) Farman's word order results from his first collating the Latin model of *Rushworth* with comparable Latin texts; (2) his word order follows OE patterns found in glosses for a Latin version different from the *Rushworth*. Kotake argues for the second view. A review of Farman's rendering the Latin Noun + Possessive sequence shows his less frequent preference for the OE order. A second analysis puts in relief *forþon þe* (typically in first position) and *enim* or *ergo* (second position). The evidence shows Farman again favoring the Latin practice. One further aspect of Farman's practice is that in Matthew's twenty-eight chapters, two through six manifest a preference for OE word order, as do, but less markedly, twenty-one on. Several other contrasts in Latin and OE word order patterns support the same variation in Farman's practice throughout *Matthew*'s chapters: (1) PP+*esse* / *beon* + PP; (2) CV/VC; (3) VO/OV; (4) VS/SV. This variance in distribution, in Kotake's findings, is due to erasures, all suggesting that Farman first favored OE word order before altering his glosses to mirror the Latin model. Very likely, Farman initially entered his glosses guided by an exemplar that favored OE word order but then inconsistently followed the Latin syntactic patterns. Kotake does not discuss how many erasures occur and where. He also refrains from calling his inferences conclusive.

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Anna Chichosz's monograph *The Influence of Text Type on Word Order of Old Germanic Languages: A Corpus Based Contrastive Study of Old English and Old High German*, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 27 (Berlin: Peter Lang), is a published version of the author's doctoral dissertation. In the introduction Cichosz specifies three basic aims for her investigation of word order patterns in Old English and Old High German:

- to study the role of text and clause types in the determination of word order
- to study whether the type of the text has a similar influence on word order in both the languages, and
- to study whether the languages are similar enough to support the existence of a "West Germanic syntax."

It should be noted that she uses the term "text type" for poetry, native prose, and translated prose.

In Chapter 1, "Research on word order of Old Germanic languages," the author summarizes a selection of earlier work and concludes that no previous study has compared word order patterns in large samples in the two languages taking into account differences between poetry, and original and translated prose texts, a gap which her study is aimed at filling. Of the studies presented, the comparative work by Davis and Bernhardt serves as a reference point for this project (*Syntax of West Germanic: The Syntax of Old English and Old High German*, (Göppingen: Kümmerle Verlag, 2002) and Graeme Davis's *Comparative Syntax of Old English and Old Icelandíc: Linguistic, Literary and Historical Implications* (Oxford: Peter Lang, 2006). Though her criticism of the selected earlier studies can be considered justified, a more extended overview of word order research in Old English might have found work in this gap area, e.g., Ans van Kemenade's "Word order in Old English prose and poetry: The position of finite verb and adverbs" in *Studies in the History of the English Language: A Millenial Perspective*, ed. Donka Minkova and Robert Stockwell (Berlin: Mouton de Gruyter, 2002), 355–371.

Chapter 2, "Methodology and research design," first surveys existing sources (2.1), discusses poetry (2.2), original prose (2.3) and translations (2.4) as data for linguistic research, and presents the corpus used for this project (2.5.1–2.5.6). The Old English part of the corpus consist of a total of 2, 098 clauses, of which 876 come from poetry, 774 from original prose, and 448 from translated prose. The author emphasizes the importance of using comparable text data—an obvious requirement, which is occasionally forgotten. However, though her own corpus is compiled taking into account the parameters poetry vs. prose and original vs. translated prose, she has not considered genres or text and discourse types in the usual sense. Consequently the corpus is unbalanced in its divisions into narratives and other types and into different genres. Moreover, though the author refers to differences in style between religious and secular texts (54), she does not consider them in her comparative analysis. Secondly in Chapter 2, the author presents her taxonomy of clause types (2.6) and her classification of phrases according to type (2.7.1) and weight criteria (2.7.2). Clause and phrase types are based on traditional categories, mostly semantic criteria for clauses and a combination of functional and word class criteria for phrases. All clauses are first divided into main / independent (2.6.2) and subordinate clauses (2.6.4), and the former then into conjoined (i.e. co-ordinated) and non-conjoined clauses (2.6.3). As to the first division, the author notes that subordination is "an ambiguous concept" (133), and thus all potentially subordinate clauses are included in the sample. There is

no discussion of any issues raised by this decision, such as differences between clauses introduced by ambiguous adverb/conjunctions and those headed by unambiguous conjunctions. For the term *conjoined*, she refers to Bruce Mitchell:"the term 'co-ordinating' is misleading because such OE conjunctions as *ond* and *ac* are frequently followed by the element order S...V, which is basically subordinate" (*Old English Syntax* 1: 694). The author could have explained why all the types in sections 2.6.5.1.1–2.6.5.1.5 and 2.6.5.2.1–2.6.5.2.6 are included, when they are not all used in the analysis and when the traditional categories can be expected to be familiar to most readers. Section 2.8. briefly presents the database created for her project including the texts and all annotations. "The ENHIG database developed for the purpose of this project has been placed on the Internet (http://ia.uni.lodz.pl/cichosz/enhig) and accompanied by a user-friendly interface which makes it possible to browse through all the data" (67). Unfortunately this URL and another address (http://212.191.73.200/Enhig/index.jsp) to the database did not work (March 2014), so it was not possible to see the data or test the search functions. Let's hope that the problems are solved, not only because all contributions to open-access data are praiseworthy, but also because it would be interesting to test the author's findings. In section 2.9, the author motivates her choice of "the descriptive approach, with a consistent use of traditional grammatical categories and statistical tests" (68). Her reasons are not very convincing, when she says that the terminology used by generativists "very often makes the results of their studies [. . .] inaccessible to people working outside the generative framework" (68) and such an approach would not help "to provide material for further investigations, to illustrate the usefulness of the new text-type variable and to argue against the theory of a common Old Germanic syntax" (68). As a further reason, she notes that "it would make a comparison with the study by Davis and Bernhardt practically impossible" (68), which is a slightly contradictory comment in view of her earlier criticism of the work of these two researchers, where she says that because of their way of presenting their results "comparisons are difficult, sometimes even impossible" (33). As a final point about this chapter, it may be questioned whether the presentation of the chi square test in section 2.10 and the appendix is necessary. It would have been more interesting to hear why the author has not used any other statistical methods to test her hypothesis about the distributions in the data.

Chapters 3 on main clauses and 4 on subordinate clauses present a wealth of detailed results in fourteen figures and one hundred tables, reporting the positions of the finite verb, subject-verb relations, subject weights, order of elements with complex verb phrases, positions of objects and distributions of some other factors for different clause types in the three kinds of texts in the two languages. For main clauses, Cichosz finds differences between Old English and Old High German in the samples of declarative clauses, but not in interrogative and imperative clauses. Her poetry samples are similar in many of the comparisons, whereas translations display most variety. In native prose and poetry, verb-second order is less common in Old English than in Old High German. In Old English, the verb-object and object-verb orders are roughly equally common in native prose and poetry, while Old High German prefers the post-verbal position for objects. Subject and object weight, i.e., length, affects word order in Old English. Subject-object order is more common in co-ordinated clauses in Old English, but not in Old High German. The comparisons of subordinate clauses of different types in the two languages reveal no significant differences. In all the samples, subordinate clauses tend to have subject before the verb and the verb towards the end of the clause, with objects and complements preceding them.

Summing up her findings Cichosz concludes that "it may be safely assumed that before 1000 A.D. English and High German speakers have already used [sic] two structurally different languages which—as members of the same linguistic family—shared a number of features, but because of long isolation and the influence of different external and internal mechanisms started to go in two opposite directions, fixing their word order in a completely different way" (207–208). She argues that there was no longer a common West-Germanic syntax in this time period. As evidence, she refers to the stronger status of two grammatical properties of Modern German, which are found in the data: the verb-second rule in declarative clauses and the late position of the finite verb in subordinate clauses. The latter of these properties also characterizes Old English subordinate clauses, which may be explained by the conservatism of subordinate clauses. Arguing for early differentiation, she refers to Scandinavian (Old Norse) influence as a more likely external factor affecting English than contact with Norman French. As to the text types in this study, Cichosz concludes that "the division . . . has proved to work in many cases" (207). Thus the similarity of the poetry samples can be taken as showing that poetry is the most native type, preserving the original word order patterns. The variety found in the translations can be seen as reflecting "very different translation strategies and narration techniques" (207), even if it seems that there are differences both between the languages and between native and translated prose. Cichosz admists that the comparisons of the native prose

samples suffer from the scarcity of Old High German data, which gives too much weight to idiosyncrasies.

What is positive in the results chapters is the extremely high level of explicitness in the presentation of the distributions of the various features coded in the database. Unfortunately, the tables are far from self-explanatory and in many cases the numbers can be explained only by referring to other tables. For instance Table 14 (1) presents the occurrences of the verb-second pattern in non-conjoined declarative clauses and Table 14 (2) present the distribution of that pattern in non-conjoined declarative clauses excluding the ambiguous patterns (i.e. clauses where verb-second equals verb-final or where the verb is alone). Both tables present the distributions in the three types of text in the two languages. However, the numbers of cases are the same in both tables, tough the percentages are higher in the latter table. A look at Table 13 shows that the numbers refer to cases of verb-second order in the different groups of text, e.g. Table A in Table 13 reports 136 cases in Old English poetry. The percentages in Table 14 (2), which includes only the unambiguous patterns, can be calculated by reference to the total numbers of clauses in each group of texts, e.g., 136 is 33 percent of the total 418 in Old English poetry, but to get the percentages in Table 14 (1), which includes all patterns, we have to go the beginning of the section (3.2.1), where the total numbers of clauses are listed, e.g., 136 is 30 percent of the total of 460 clauses in Old English poetry. The function of Table 14 (1) and 15 (1) is puzzling, when the author says that she excludes all ambiguous patterns "since they cannot help to determine the dominant word-order pattern in a given sample" (73) and when the calculations of proportions with and without ambiguous patterns are by and large similar.

Though openness and explicitness are commendable qualities, the extensive presentation of statistics appears rather unnecessary. This is particularly prominent, when it turns out that many of the tables, figures and examples involve results that show no significant differences or no differences at all. For instance, none of the comparisons concerning subordinate clauses reveals significant differences. Such an all-inclusive presentation appears rather uncritical and creates doubts about the reliability of the interpretation of the statistical information. These doubts are supported by references to diachronic developments and increasing patterns in the conclusions (130). The overall impression is further reinforced by Cichosz's use of the words *correlation* and even *significant* in non-statistical sense (e.g. pp. 98, 161, 171, 178, 204). A minor irritation awaits the reader at the end of the book, where many, if not most, of the page numbers in the index refer to the wrong pages.

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Brian Lowrey's "Causative verbs in West Saxon Old English" (*Bulletin des anglicistes médievistes* 78: 57–88) is based on a select prose corpus drawn from *the Parker Chronicle* and the works of Alfred and Ælfric. The verbs discussed include *(ge)don*, *hatan*, *lætan* and *(ge)macian* and the manipulative causatives *bebeodan*, *biddan* and *(ge)niedan*. Lowrey pays special attention to complementation patterns. The complement types discussed include V + I (Verb + Infinitive), VOSI (Verb + Object or Subject + Infinitive), complementation with a finite clause introduced by *that*, either without a NP intervening between the higher verb and the clause, or a subtype with an intervening NP. In this subtype, V + NP + *that*, the NP can be either in the dative or the accusative case. Two further complementation patterns receive a discussion: the V + SC (Verb + Small Clause) construction and participial complements. The section on complement selection contains a number of interesting observations. With each causative verb the complementation pattern is different. Change of pattern often results in change in meaning. A particularly good example of this is the verb *hatan*, which Lowrey regards as the central Old English (OE) causative. Although the basic meaning of this verb is 'to order', 'to command', it can also function as a causative. This latter function, the implicative use, typically occurs in the V + I construction. By way of contrast, the non-implicative use of *hatan*, the one occurring in commands, favors the VOSI pattern. The author points out, however, that this pairing of semantic and syntactic features does not represent a rigid dichotomy but a relatively strong tendency.

‡ Causation is also the topic of Matti Kilpiö's article "Causative *habban* in Old English," in Þe Comoun Peplis Language, Medieval English Mirror 6 (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang), ed. Marcin Krygier and Liliana Sikorska, 43–65. The causative passive construction studied here has received little attention in the literature. It represents the type exemplified by PDE "John had his shoes repaired." The syntactic pattern is thus NP1 + HAVE + NP2 + past participle. The causee is usually left unexpressed: of all the constructions studied only one instance has the causee in the form of a prepositional *of*-agent.

The corpus studied for this article is the entire *habban* material of the *Dictionary of Old English* (*DOEC*), comprising c. 12, 500 instances. The total word count of the *DOEC* is c. 3.5 million running words. The number of causative *habban* constructions the author has identified is only 20 (or 19, if the two instances from different manuscripts of the *Pastoral Care* are regarded as one). This is a very low number and suggests that causative *habban*

was an emergent rather than established construction in OE.

Syntactically, there is a striking analogy between the word-order and inflectional patterns of causative *habban* constructions and the "possessive" perfects. Semantically the causative constructions stand apart from the "possessive" perfects in a number of respects. Importantly, all the instances of causative *habban* involve the co-occurrence of volitional or deontic modality mostly in the form of the pre-modal auxiliaries *willan* and **sculan*, cf. e.g. the following example from a will: Ælflæd gæswytelaþ on þis gewrite hu hæo ***wile habban gefadad hiræ æhta*** *for Gode & for worldæ*. "Æ. makes it clear in this document how she wants to have her possessions disposed of before God and the world" (Sawyer *Anglo-Saxon Charters* 1486, Whitelock *Anglo-Saxon Wills* 15). The presence of volitional or deontic modality reinforces the future time reference already implied in the causative constructions themselves. Kilpiö also studies the telicity vs. atelicity of the causative constructions. The majority of the instances, thirteen in all, can be given a telic reading. This could be expected, "as in mediated causation the causer could be thought to start from the default assumption that what is commissioned will also be fulfilled" (59).

The article concludes with a discussion of the origin of OE causative *habban*. The author criticizes Łęcki's (2008) suggestion that causative *habban* could be seen as an offshoot of OE stative *habban* perfect. The criticism is based on the observation that the causative *habban* construction has properties not shared by *habban* perfects: in the causative constructions the time reference is posterior to the time of orientation, *habban* is dynamic, the verb occurring in the past participle can only be dynamic and, finally, the presence of an agent in the predication is possible. Kilpiö, however, refrains from presenting a theory of his own for the rise of causative *habban*.

MK

‡ Matti Kilpiö discusses in "Causative *habban* in Old English" (Þe Comoun 43–65) its relatively infrequent occurrence. As a causative, *habban*, found in the passive voice, generally takes a participle, as seen in the sequence NP1 + HABBAN + NP2 + past participle. Within this sequence NP2 + past participle comprises a small clause that indicates the passive voice, whereas forms of HABBAN remain in the active voice. Kilpiö's search of the OE corpus yields 20 examples of this construction, none in poetry. Of the utterances identified that contain causative *habban*, all but three appear in late OE, from 950 on. This preponderance does not, of course, indicate that causative *habban* had no currency in earlier OE centuries. Whether this construction is particular to any OE dialect is inconclusive. In nearly all the utterances found the cause remains unexpressed, the one exception in Chron D: *Se forewitola Scyppend wiste on ær hwæt he of hyre gedon habban wolde*. The prepositional phrase identifies the agent whom the Creator wants to act. The nature of causation in all the identified examples is that it is under control: as in the example cited the Creator controls the dynamics of what is to be done. Yet the sequence from an intention articulated to the act realized is typically indirect. As in the utterance given, the causer (here *Scyppend*) does not directly act alone, but works indirectly through an agent, identified by *of hyre*. Kilpiö underscores, too, that 16 of the 20 causative *habban* utterances contain a volitional element, like that of *wolde* as in the example given. The other four utterances in this group exhibit deontic modality through a form of **sculan* in the sense of 'ought to', *bebeodan* 'command', or the jussive, present subjunctive *hæbbe* 'let him'. He proposes, too, that the consistent reliance on the volitional or deontic stems from a desire to add force to the causative *habban* construction (still this sense of force as intrinsic to the construction must defer to the caveat that the evidence of twenty utterances is thin). In his preparation of *habban* for the DOE, Kilpiö reviews the challenges posed in identifying causative *habban* utterances. He notes that access to the Latin originals of putative examples helps, together with a clear sense of telicity associated with the past participle and the likelihood of an agent responsible for completing an act. He provides detailed analysis for all twenty utterances. The essay concludes with speculation on the origins of causative *habban*.

EG

Elly van Gelderen studies topics related to the expression of negation in "Negative Concord and the Negative Cycle in the History of English," *Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English: A Festschrift for Minoji Akimoto*, ed. Merja Kytö, John Scahill and Harumi Tanabe (Berne: Peter Lang), 35–58. This article covers the long diachrony from OE to Late Modern English; more than half of it is dedicated to OE. Most of the detailed comments below have to do with the OE part of the study.

In Section 1 the author focuses on the Negative Cycle (NC), which according to her proceeds through the following steps: (1a) *no/n(e)* early OE; (1b) *n(e)+ (na wiht/ not)* OE, especially Southern, (1c) *(ne)+not* Middle English (ME), especially Southern; (1d) *not* late ME; (1e) *n't* Modern English. Section 1 closes with a discussion of NC in terms of minimalist economy and features. Section 2 is dedicated to the related cycle which embodies changes from Negative Polarity to Negative Concord and back to Negative Polarity. Van Gelderen argues that in

early OE there are only instances of Negative Polarity, no Negative Concord. According to her, the stage at which Negative Concord, i.e. double negation, enters the picture can be seen in e.g. the works of Ælfric and the *Peterborough Chronicle*. Section 3 traces the beginnings of two changes, the rise of Negative Concord and the appearance of contracted forms like *cannot*. The former change takes place during the OE period. According to van Gelderen, Negative Concord seems first to be introduced "in constructions where the supporting negative quantifier is in subject position" (50). The negative nominal *nan man* frequently occurs in this position in those texts by Alfred and Ælfric that were studied for this article.

The dates given for a number of individual texts differ from the ones given in the *Helsinki Corpus* (HC). The Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, the Junius and Vercelli manuscripts are listed on p. 45 as representatives of early OE; in the HC they all represent late OE (O3, 950–1050); Alfred's *Pastoral Care*, listed on p. 45 as a late OE text, is given the early OE parameter O2 (850–950) in the HC. The dialect parameter given on p. 41 for the Rushworth Gospels is inaccurate: only the glosses by Farman are Mercian, the ones by Owun are Northumbrian.

Adopting the HC datings for the texts mentioned above does not necessarily mean that van Gelderen's account is entirely invalidated. But, keeping in mind the early OE dating of the *Pastoral Care* and the fact that Negative Concord is found in this text, it is obvious that we cannot speak about clear-cut differences between early and late OE concerning the division between Negative Polarity and Negative Concord; it is safest to assume that there are differences between the two periods in the relative frequency of these two stages in the Negative Cycle. A structured corpus like the HC might shed light on the situation.

‡ In her article "Le parfait en vieil-anglais: émergence du niveau énonciatif" (*Bulletin des anglicistes médievistes* 78: 1–32) Sylvie Hancil discusses the uses of the OE perfect in the light of a selection of texts. She argues that in addition to the resultative perfect, widely recognized in the literature, OE has also the experiential and continuative types of perfect. The fourth type found in OE is the perfect of current relevance. According to her, these are all types which anticipate the situation in Present-Day English (PDE); the only difference between OE and PDE is that the latter has a fifth type, the "hot news" perfect not attested in OE. However, unlike Hancil, Łęcki, in his monograph to be discussed below, does recognize OE instances of the "hot news" perfect. In addition to the perfect formed with a present tense form of *habban* or *beon* Hancil also discusses past perfect forms where the auxiliary is a preterite form of these two verbs. Past perfect forms are found among resultative, experiential and continuative perfects but no examples of past perfects of current relevance are given. On p. 23, Hancil gives an example from Layamon's *Brut* as the first attested instance of a resultative perfect of the verb *be* formed with the auxiliary *have*. There is, however, an even earlier example from late OE: ChronE (Irvine) 1096.4 þet he *heafde gebeon on þes cynges swicdome* "that he had been an accomplice in the treason against the king."

MK

‡ Sylvie Hancil revisits the functions of the OE preterite in "Le parfait en vieil-anglais: émergence du niveau énonciatif," *Bulletin des anglicistes m*édiévistes 78: 1–32). Her approach, involving forms of the auxiliary verbs *bēon* and *habban* together with past participles, begins with their recognized function as perfects of result. For predicates containing forms of *bēon* and, typically, a past participle such as *cumen*, the result is due to a completed process, as in *Hie wæron cumen Leoniðan to fultume*. Predicates of result, formed with *bēon,* bespeaking circumstances not dependent on a speaker's point of view, differ functionally from those that have forms of *habban*, implying a speaker's perspective. Thus the predicate of result *Hæbbe ic eac geahsod þæt se æglæca / For his wonhydum wæpna ne recceð* implies that Beowulf now knows of Grendel's bare-handed aggressiveness. Hancil provides several examples of the resultative perfect as formed with both the present and past forms of *habban*. Distinct from the perfect of result is that of continuity, as in *GenB* 726–728: *Nu hæbbe ic þine hyldo me/ witode geworhte and þinne willan gelæst / to ful monegum dæge*. In this utterance, the interval between securing promised favor and directed will does not separate an act or state from a resultant awareness but continues from past to present. Hancil also offers as examples utterances expressed with *hæfde*. In each she notes that the value of adverbial modifiers such as *to ful monegum dæge* is to specify utterances with the preterite of continuity.

A third use of the perfect is that of experience, one that has the first person subject (singular or plural) enunciates in current time a sense of past incidents. One example occurs in *Beowulf* 407–409: *Ic eom Higlaces / mæg ond magoðegn; Hæbbe ic mærþa fela / ongunnan on geogoþe*. Here, Hancil suggests that Beowulf's adverbial phrase *on geogoþe* helps to locate in the past the experience of undertaking deeds and that his *Ic eom* in the present tense speaks to his sense of them. There is a gap, indicated by the perfect, between the subject's earlier experiences and the current allusion to them. No citation includes the use of *hæfde* (are there any?) A fourth use of the perfect is to identify events in the past that have possible repercussions for current events. In *Gen A*: 2819–2823,

Abimelech says to Abraham: þæt þu wille me / wesan fæle freond fremena to leane, / þara þe ic to duguðum ðe gedon hæbbe, / siððan ðu feasceaft feorran come. Here the perfect (modified by the *siððan* clause) alludes to the benefits that Abimelech has accorded Abraham after his long journey and that may continue in return for continued friendship. Again no instances of *hæfde* are cited. That verb phrases with *hæfde* as auxiliary occur sparingly in the circumstances so far specified, especially in utterances expressive of continuity and experience, is due to distinctions based on time. As Hancil shows, from examples in *Beowulf* 2397–2400 and *Maldon*191–197, OE *hæfde* as auxiliary, together with adverbial constructions indicative of time passed, sometimes helps to express perfects of continuity and experience. What often enough counts for a telling difference is that the present perfect impinges on the speaker's current time, the past perfect does not. In this regard the past perfect construction, from the speaker's perspective, identifies results, continuities, and experiences associated with narrative, with what had once happened. As Hancil also argues, this distinction is not rigid, for the *Maldon* utterance on those fleeing battle despite favors given them pertains to the speaker's immediate circumstances. The development of the OE present and past perfect constructions is largely attributable to the impact in current time on speakers and audiences of events reported or narrated. For perfects of result, the past participle is mainly one of perception (*geahsod*, *gefrunen*), mental/physical state (*gebiden*), or expression (*geasced*). For perfects of continuity, speakers rely on adverbs of time to approximate how far in the past from their vantage point the event reported came to a conclusion. Perfects of experience mainly involve speakers themselves. In addition to these structural features, Hancil suggests that the co-texts of perfects contribute to their interpretation. Whether a study of co-texts yields a reliable framework is an outstanding question. This study cogently challenges the traditional view that OE had almost entirely perfects of result.

‡ Andrzej M. Łęcki, *Grammaticalisation Paths of* Have *in English* (Berlin: Peter Lang) discusses theory, semantics, and functions of the verb throughout the history of the English language. To begin, OE *habban* stems phonologically from the IE root **kap-* >**khaf-* > PGmc **haf-jan*. These changes involve processes described in Grimm's Law **haf-′jan*, Verner's Law **haβ-′jan* >**ʔbanjan* (with accent shift),West-Germanic Gemination **ʔbainjan*, Anglo-Frisian Brightening **ʔhæββjan*, *i*-Mutation **ʔheββjan*, Strengthening **ʔhebbjan*, j-Loss **ʔhebban*, and Restoration of *a*. Morphologically the verb is a member of the weak Class III conjugation, characterized by a formative **-j-* between root and suffix in forms of the present tense that have medial *-bb-*. Preterite forms and the passive participle—*hæfd(e)*—in this conjugation do not have a linking vowel. A prefixed *n-*, for negative uses, is commonly found, e.g. *næbbe*, for almost all forms of the verb. Semantically as verbs with the sense of possession, *habban* and *agan* are synonymous. As auxiliaries, however, *agan* typically carries a sense of obligation, but *habban* serves as a perfect auxiliary. Syntactically, clauses suggesting a sense of active possession, as in *he hæfde þæt biscoprice æt Scireburnan*, typically present the possessor as subject, the possessed as object. Łęcki also provides examples of possessive *habban* that vary in dimension: permanent or not, animate or not, physical or abstract. Besides that of possession, *habban* in some instances had a locative sense: *hit hafað eac þis land sealtsaþas; & hit hafaþ hat wæter, & hat baðo*. In LOE, the verb begins to assume a sense of obligation as in *ðæt hi habbon him to gereordigenne*. OE also supports a sense of *habban* going through grammaticalization to become an auxiliary of necessity as in *To þæs tocyme ealle men to arisanne hi habbað mid heora lichaman & to agyldanne synd be agnum gescead*. This development of *habban* as an auxiliary is unlikely due to the influence of Latin, yet the verb's following an infinitive is, as in *migrandi licentiam habeat, to farenne leafe hæbbe*. Łęcki stresses these developments in grammaticalization as support for the semantic chain outlined by the sequence POSSESSION > OBLIGATION > INTENTION > FUTURE. His overview of *habban* in the negative is that *nabban* collocates with *sellenne/syllenne* 16 times in the OE corpus, a pairing that often enough triggers grammaticalization. Here the collocation encourages the sense of obligation, the second link in the sequence OE *habban* > *have* from POSSESSION to FUTURE. Intriguingly, the argument advanced for this turn in grammaticalization is that *nabban* and its oblique forms suggest a lack of possession and thereby a lack of obligation to give. Thus, *he næfde nan betere þing him to sellenne* denies the agent's possession of anything to give and thus relieves him of honoring an obligation. In a following chapter Łęcki centers on the functions of *habban* as a fully developed perfect as well in OE as in MnE. The subject of the perfect could be inanimate: *gimmas hæfdon bewrigene weorðlice wealdendes treow*; it could be abstract: *Me hæfþ ðeos gnornung ðære gemynde benumen*. These instances argue that *habban*, already in OE, had in taking inanimate and abstract subjects grammaticalized considerably beyond its semantic sense of possession. As for the status of *habban* as an auxiliary, OE contains demonstrative evidence: the predicate of some utterances instance a form of *habban* collocating with an intransitive past participle, others with a lexical

verb in a perfectivizing sense. Collocated with intransitive participle, *habban* helps to structure the predicate in *be þisum ðinge ge habbað oft gehyred*; with a lexical verb in a perfectivizing sense *& we habbað Godes hus inne & ute clæne berypte*. In addition, Łęcki exemplifies other functions of *habban* (see 174–178), as an auxiliary in perfects of the predicate: stative, resultative, experiential, persistent, and "hot news." A final topic in his study centers on the *habban* perfect as a causative, also discussed by Kilpiö and reviewed in this section of YWOES, who reviews Łęcki's analysis sympathetically but guardedly. Overall this is a thorough study of *habban* that contains detailed responses to earlier research. It aims to explain how OE uses of *habban*, mostly through grammaticalization, gave rise to functions of the verb in later centuries.

EG

‡ Andrzej M. Łęcki's monograph *Grammaticalisation Paths of* Have *in English*, *Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 24* (Frankfurt am Main: Peter Lang) is based on his doctoral dissertation. Although the time span covered in the study is from OE to PDE, the discussion is rather heavily weighted towards OE. This is understandable, as in the author's view the emergence of a large majority of the grammaticalized uses of *have* can be dated back to the OE period.

Chapter 1 is dedicated to grammaticalization theory. Here Łęcki provides a rich and many-sided survey of grammaticalization studies from Meillet (1912) to the present day, a survey which not only bespeaks profound familiarity with the literature on grammaticalization but also serves as useful background for the analyses discussed in later chapters.

Chapter 2, "The Semanticisation of HAVE," deals with the earliest developments of HAVE. The areas studied include phonological changes in OE and ME, the desemanticization of HAVE seen in the change from the original meaning 'grasp' into possessive 'have', the borderline area between 'have' and 'be' and the rise of the HAD BETTER structure as an example of the 'have' / 'be' variation. The different possessive notions receive the most detailed discussion and here also the interplay of OE *habban* and *agan* is taken up.

Chapter 3, "Along the possession-to-obligation cline," analyzes the rise and grammaticalization of the obligative HAVE TO construction. Łęcki places the first unambiguous examples of the construction to the late OE period. His view is diametrically opposed to the one proposed by Fischer (1994), who argues that the rise of the obligative HAVE TO construction was only possible in late ME, after the word order change OV à VO had taken place. A fair share of Chapter 3 is dedicated to a rather acrimonious refutation of Fischer's view. Another topic raised in this chapter is the Janus-faced semantics of the HAVE TO construction: it is used not only to express necessity but also as a marker of futurity. The author is of the opinion that the obligative meaning precedes the future meaning. As to possible Latin influence on the rise of the HAVE TO construction, Łęcki rather firmly thinks that Latin is not the source of the OE construction but may have reinforced a grammaticalization process already under way. Chapter 3 ends with a brief discussion of the rise of the HAVE GOT TO construction.

Chapter 4, "Possessive Perfect," is devoted to the rise of the HAVE perfect. Developments in word-order, the presence vs. absence of morphological marking on the participle, and the steps seen in the grammaticalization of possessive HAVE are all given a thorough discussion. Attention is also paid to the variation between *habban* and *beon* as auxiliaries of the perfect as well as the relatively minor roles of *agan* and *weorþan* in the same function. Łęcki argues that OE already had a fully-fledged HAVE perfect which was semantically well-formed. He recognizes the same four types of perfect in OE which are found in PDE: the resultative, experiential, persistent and "hot news" perfect.

Chapter 4 also contains a discussion of the causative NP1 + HAVE + NP2 + past participle construction (the type "I had my shoes repaired"). Łęcki sees this construction as "an offshoot of the stative HAVE construction developed through evoking contextual implicatures in which the referent of NP1 is in a superior position enabling the referent to cause an action to be performed by giving instructions and inviting the addressee to infer the causative meaning of the proposition" (205). Experiential HAVE may also have had a share in the rise of the causative use.

Although Łęcki lists a number of electronic corpora in his bibliography, his study is qualitative rather than quantitative. This in itself need not be a drawback: a relative lack of quantificational data is amply balanced by a rigorous analysis of the grammaticalization paths of one of the major verbs in English.

The intricate OE system of two parallel paradigms of the verb *to be* in the present tense, consisting of the so-called *s*-forms and *b*-forms, has received a lot of attention ever since Jost's 1909 monograph. In her article "On the use of *beon* and *wesan* in Old English," *English Historical Linguistics 2008*: *Selected papers from the fifteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL 15), Munich, 24–30 August 2008*; v*olume 1: The history of English verbal and nominal constructions*, ed. Ursula Lenker, Judith Huber and Robert Mailhammer (Amsterdam:

Benjamins), 217–35, Ilse Wischer takes a fresh look at the accumulated evidence. She gives a detailed analysis of the parallel paradigms not only as a language-internal system but also as one that has been considerably modified as a result of linguistic contacts with speakers of other, mostly Celtic languages. The HC provides the OE data for this corpus-based study.

The present indicative, present subjunctive, imperative, and infinitive forms are given in tabular form on p. 219 not only for the OE double paradigm but also for Old Saxon (OS) and Old High German (OHG). The rare form *wese* (attested six times in the HC as a 1st or 3rd person pres. subj. form and once as a 1st person pres. ind. form translating Latin *ero* in *Paris Psalter* 142.7) might have been added to Figure 1, particularly as OE *wese* provides a parallel to one of the two pres. subj. paradigms in OHG.

Comparison of OE *beon/wesan* with the *verbum substantivum* in the other West Germanic languages is revealing: OE is the only language with a complete double paradigm of *s*- and *b*-forms, while OS and OHG each have a single suppletive paradigm consisting of a mixture of *s*- and *b*-forms. The former has *b*-forms only in pres. ind. 1st and 2nd person sg., the latter in pres. ind. 1st and 2nd person sg. and pl. and, as a variant form, in the imperative sg. Wischer argues that the presence of *b*-forms in the 1st and 2nd person singular in OE speaks for Celtic influence, which took place as early as in Proto-West Germanic, as OS and OHG do have *b*-forms in exactly these two persons. When Germanic tribes invaded Britain they came into contact with speakers of Insular Celtic. The early varieties of the Celtic languages spoken in Britain showed "a clear dichotomy between the use of an unmarked *s*-stem and a marked *b*-stem for the verb *to be* in the present indicative ..." (220). The presence of *b*-forms in Insular Celtic is not restricted to the present indicative but is also found in other verbal categories.

The author agrees with Lutz (2009) that the rise of the complete double paradigm in OE is a contact-induced change that took place after the Germanic settlement. The uses of the parallel paradigms in OE closely resemble those of the corresponding paradigms in Insular Celtic: Wischer refers to Schumacher (2007), who argues that in the present indicative the Insular Celtic unmarked *s*-stem is used when reference is to the actual present; the marked *b*-stem refers to habitual situations or to the future. Wischer subjects the corpus data provided by the HC to a detailed analysis where the forms of *beon* and *wesan* are studied from a variety of angles. Quantificational analysis reveals that the relative frequencies of *b*-forms and *s*-forms vary quite considerably according, e.g., to function, syntactic structure, person, number (sg. / pl.), dialect, period, or genre.

‡ The disappearance of OE *weorðan* (> ME *worthen*) has received a lot of attention in the literature for more than a century and various explanations have been suggested for it. In his article "The functions of *weorðan* and its loss in the past tense in Old and Middle English" (*English Language and Linguistics* 14.3: 457–84) Peter Petré breaks new ground. Studying all the three uses of *weorðan* (passive, copular, and intransitive) he argues that the loss of *weorðan* has to do with a shift in the way narratives are structured when we move from OE to ME. OE favored **bounded** sentence constructions which mark progress in a narrative; a bounded construction "represents a situation as reaching its goal or endpoint... (e.g. *then he walked over to the other side*)" (459). The ME system is more varied: in addition to bounded constructions there are **unbounded** constructions, which represent events as open-ended. This open-endedness is strongly associated with the use of progressive verb forms.

The bounded construction in which *weorðan* characteristically occurs is a main clause introduced by a time adverbial, most frequently þa 'then', which always triggers the verb-second word order. Petré suggests that the loss of bounded construal associated with adverbials and verb-second syntax started to be eroded in early ME and had mostly disappeared by the end of the 14th century. At the same time, unbounded construals become more common. The progressive is on its way to being grammaticalized and there are also verbs marking the onset of a new situation without paying attention to the end result: the so-called *ginnen*-class (*onginnan*, *aginnan*, *beginnan* and *ginnan*).

An important part of this study consists of a diachronic survey of covering four periods, 951–1050, 1051–1150, 1151–1250 and 1251–1350. Petré contrasts the behavior of *wearð* and *wæs* in the light of two features: the collocations these two verbs enter with time adverbials, and the word order differences (no inversion vs. inversion) between the verbs. The verb + adverbial analysis reveals that "there is a high collostructional strength between *wearð* and time adverbials that define temporal segments marking progress in the narrative" (473). The analysis of word order in prose texts points to a highly significant association between *wearð* and inversion. The loss of *weorðan* is intimately linked up with the decay of the OE bounded construal.

Why does the author restrict the discussion to past tense forms? I cite Petré:

> Past tense in written language is frequently used for the narration of a series of events, that is, for

> storytelling.—Present tense is only rarely used for this purpose, and is used mainly in genres such as instruction and exposition. It is only to be expected that, when the communicative goals of past and present tense differ so widely, the mechanisms that have an impact on their use will differ as well. Together with the different pace with which *weorðan* is lost in the past and the present tense, these are sufficient reasons to restrict myself to an account of the loss of *weorðan* in the past tense. (464)

Pétre's defense of his concentration on the past tense is well-argued but he himself is aware of the need of studying the present tense as well. Even as it stands, however, Petré's theory has a strong claim for being accepted as one of the factors conspiring towards the loss of *weorðan*.

MK

‡ Peter Petré connects grammatical patterns to forms of narrative in "The functions of *weorðan* and its loss in the past tense in Old and Middle English" (*English Language and Linguistics* 14.1: 457–484). The decline in frequency of *weorðan*, particularly in its past tense forms, from OE through ME initiates this study in obsolescence. Petré's fresh approach links the decline of preterite *weorðan* to syntactic expressions that help shape contrastive types of narrative. One type of narrative depends on bounded language use that ordinarily divides sequences of events into completed temporal segments. A second type relies on unbounded language use that presents events as ongoing in a protracted sense of nowness. The hypothesis advanced is that preterite *weorðan* functioning as an integral grammatical feature in narratives dependent on bounded language use became obsolete once features of unbounded language use prevailed. Examples of bounded language use to present a completed temporal sequence, containing forms of *weorðan*, include (1) copular, (2) intransitive, and (3) passive constructions. Petré illustrates each construction:

(1) þurh his agerne cyre & deofles tihtinge he wærð yfel
(2) *Næron nane gesceafta ne hi ne geworden þurh hi sylfe ac hi geworhte God*
(3) *On þis gær wærd þe king Stephne ded & gebyried*.

These utterances exhibit, too, a close connection between forms of *weorðan* and adverbs like þurh and adverbial phrases like *on þis gær-* the collocations supporting the sense of a narrative sequence bounded in time. Utterances with forms of *wesan* occasion demonstrably fewer collocations with adverbs suggesting bounded narrative sequences. The greatest incidence of this collocation between *weorðan* and temporal adverbs appears in late OE, after 951. Petré also notes that this collocation often results, as (3) shows, in a subject-predicate inversion that helps underscore events in bounded, narrative time. All the examples of *weorðan* for this analysis occur in the preterite. Further study for the development of the verb in the present tense is currently underway. Much of the argument in this revealing study centers on developments in Middle English.

EG

In her corpus-based monograph *Non-finite Constructions in Old English with Special Reference to Syntactic Borrowing from Latin*, Mémoires de la Société Néophilologique de Helsinki 80 (Helsinki: Société Néophilologique), Olga Timofeeva discusses OE participial and infinitival constructions while paying special attention to Latin influence on OE syntax. Three non-finite constructions are subjected to a thorough study: absolute participial constructions (APCs), accusative-and-infinitive constructions (ACIs) and nominative-and-infinitive constructions (NCIs). The author has compiled a corpus of c. 450, 000 words which is divided into two sub-corpora. Sub-corpus 1 contains translations and glosses, while Sub-corpus 2 consists of texts which are as independent of Latin as possible.

The frequency of APCs in OE texts varies: at one end of the continuum are glosses where Latin absolute constructions receive a literal rendering by an OE APC almost without exception. In translations from Latin the percentage is ca. 22 per cent, but there is a fair amount of variation between individual texts. In original OE texts APCs are very rare both in early and late texts. Timofeeva approaches the APCs from a variety of angles, e.g., the role of information structure and the different semantic relations expressed by the APCs. Along the way, Timofeeva makes interesting and pertinent observations on the use of APCs. To take an example, she points out, while discussing APCs in translations, that "the choice of translation strategy often depends not only on the semantics of the APC under consideration, but also on the complexity of the surrounding syntax ... If the original has two (or more) non-finite constructions close to each other, in translation one of them is almost certain to undergo a transformation" (55).

The bulk of the study is dedicated to ACIs, a big and varied group of non-finite constructions. The main verbs of ACI constructions are divided into two main categories: MANIPULATION VERBS, thirteen in all, with *lætan* and *hatan* as the most important verbs on the manipulation scale, and PERCEPTION, COGNITION OR UTTERANCE (PCU) VERBS. Out of the nine PCU verbs discussed, two perception verbs, *(ge)hieran* and *(ge)seon*, stand out here as the chief verbs in this category. Throughout the discussion, Timofeeva pays meticulous attention to the interplay of OE and Latin constructions

and to alternative syntactic strategies adopted in translating Latin ACIs. Latin influence is not evenly divided between the different OE ACIs: the author suggests that "Latin influence can be felt directly in OE calques of Latin ACIs with verbs of indirect perception, cognition, and utterance; causative *facere*, and in the use of periphrastic passive infinitives. Indirect influence can be observed in complement sub-clauses that preserve the passive and attempt to imitate the Latin sequence of tenses by using periphrastic pluperfects" (181).

The third construction studied is the nominative-and-infinitive construction. NCIs are rare both in the source texts and in their OE translations. Due to semantic and structural differences between the Latin and OE main verbs there is a variety of different translation strategies. Timofeeva observes that the lack of an established translation strategy for the NCI is due not only to the rarity of the NCI in the Latin originals but also to the fact that there are no counterparts for this construction in the OE paradigm of infinitive clauses.

Viewed as a whole, the study is a well-balanced combination of thorough analysis of data offered by a large corpus and relevant application of a number of theoretical approaches to research questions arising from the material. Timofeeva's study is a doctoral dissertation. Her *lectio praecursoria* opening the doctoral defense on 8 March 2010 was published in the same year (*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* Vol. 111/4: 503–7). In the *lectio*, the author, drawing comparative material from a number of languages, takes up important themes connected with the compressed verbal structures she discusses in the dissertation.

Ursula Lenker's book *Argument and Rhetoric: Adverbial Connectors in the History of English*, Topics in English Linguistics 64 (Berlin: De Gruyter Mouton), traces the repertory and development of adverbial connectors, or "linking adverbials," from OE to PDE. It is the first corpus-based study on this particular topic. Lenker not only pays attention to the semantics and morphology of the connectors but also to their long-term developments compared to the changes seen in coordinators and subordinators. Certain interclausal relations receive special attention: CAUSE/RESULT, CONCESSION/CONTRAST, ADDITION and TRANSITION. Further topics discussed include information processing and discourse deixis. The last chapter, entitled "Perspicuity and the 'New Rhetoric'," contains an interesting discussion of changes in the use of connectors triggered by rhetorical and stylistic considerations. These changes, related to the concept of perspicuity, come to the fore in the mid-eighteenth century.

Although the study covers the long diachrony from OE to PDE, it offers a lot even from a purely OE point of view. Discussions which provide fresh insights into the OE system of adverbial connectors include a section on Ælfric's Grammar (51–53), a whole chapter on connectors in OE (58–75), and detailed analyses of OE items in chapters 7–10 and 12. The book contains three appendices. Appendix 1 contains an inventory of all the items serving the function of an adverbial connector. Appendix 2 gives details on the five different types of connector, listing all the items, the collocations they enter and the data omitted from the discussion in the text proper. Appendix 3 contains information on the corpus texts studied. Appendices 2 and 3 are contained in an enclosed CD-ROM.

In "Word Order in the *Lindisfarne Glosses*?" (*Neophilologus* 94: 625–35) Giuseppe Pagliarulo examines periphrastic passives and progressive periphrases in the *Lindisfarne Glosses* (*LG*). The study focuses on "all instances in which a single Latin verb is rendered by a participle-copula complex or such a complex is used independently of the source text" (626). There are some 800 instances of the OE periphrastic passive (e.g. *is gecuoeden* glossing *dicitur* Jn 1:38) and 90 instances of the progressive periphrasis (e.g. *foerende wæs* glossing *egrediebatur* Mk 1:5). The author pays attention not only to the relationship of the periphrasis to different types of Latin lemmata but also to word-order, particularly to the relative order of participle and copula, and to added elements, which are often personal pronouns. He arrives at the following tentative conclusions:

(1) the glossator did not work on a purely word-for-word basis
(2) the presence of a pronoun subject has consequences on the word-order regardless of clause type, and
(3) the word-order found in the *LG* predominantly represents the OV type but there are also signs of an emergent VO pattern.

What is useful in this study is the systematic discussion of both types of periphrases, passive and progressive. The analysis is supported by quantification, which makes it possible to see the difference between frequent and rare glossatorial solutions. There is, however, also room for criticism. The citations of OE and Latin given in the running text are occasionally so condensed that the reader has to go to a printed or electronic source for the context. A bigger problem is the terminologically unanalytic way in which the progressive periphrasis is discussed. The author does mention its frequent use as a translation of Latin imperfect forms (626), but there is no mention of the frequent calque-like use of the progressive periphrasis as a translation for Latin deponent verbs. Here a

work like Nickel's *Die Expanded Form im Altenglischen* (1966) would have been a useful source.

‡ "Ordering Main and Modal Verbs in the Production of Old English Poetry," *Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English: A Festschrift of Minoji Akimoto*, Linguistic Insights 114, ed. Merja Kytö, John Scahill and Iarumi Tanabi (Bern: Peter Lang), 139–60, and "Metrical Influences on the AV/VA Orders in Old English Poetry," *Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature*, Studies in English Medieval Language and Literature 25, ed. Osamu Imahayashi, Yoshiyuki Nakao and Michiko Ogura (Frankfurt: Peter Lang), 199–212, are two articles by Hironori Suzuki. The latter is a revised and enlarged version of the former and, accordingly, the two articles mainly deal with the same research questions by using largely the same data. The main difference between these studies is that in the later article the author has added a section dealing with verb forms and the relative order of auxiliary and main verb. The present review concentrates on the later version ("Metrical Influences . . ."), which is based on a paper presented at SHELL 2009. The main argument put forward by Suzuki is that alliteration has a decisive role in determining word order in verse. The participation of modal auxiliaries (M) and non-finite verbs (V) in alliteration in relation to their relative order and occurrence in subordinate clauses, *ond/ac* clauses or main clauses is given an analysis where the boundary types A verse, B verse, "within the same line" and "across different lines" are treated separately.

Suzuki uses these variables for his analysis of his subcorpus consisting of *Beowulf*, *Andreas*, *Genesis B* and *Elene*, and of his main database, the *Meters of Boethius*. A detailed report on his findings would be beyond the scope of this review, but certain tendencies can be mentioned here. In subordinate clauses M rarely alliterates; on the contrary V frequently participates in alliteration, particularly in B verses when the word order is VM and when V and M occur in different lines and the word-order is M / V. In *ond* / *ac*-clauses the number of instances is low, which makes generalization concerning alliteration difficult. In main clauses alliteration involving V is common in B verses when the word-order is VM; these instances resemble the pattern seen in subordinate clauses.

As far as word order is concerned, it is noteworthy that the order MV is the only one found when these elements occur in the same line across the half-line border or in different lines. One section is dedicated to the correspondence between the prose (*Bo*) and the verse (*Met*) versions of the OE *Boethius*. Suzuki recognizes three types of correspondences: (a) "no match" instances where *Bo* has no corresponding modal construction; (b) instances representing "exact match" and (c) instances where the word order has been modified mainly because of the presence of alliteration. Suzuki concentrates on the instances of the last type and comes to the conclusion that the modifications seen in word order are evidence of a distinct verse syntax and that the choice between the MV and VM orders is to a large extent dependent on patterns of alliteration.

In the final section of the later version of his article Suzuki tests the theory of Getty (2002), who argues that in *Beowulf* the type of verb form (monosyllabic, light disyllabic, and polysyllabic) dictates the variation seen in word order. According to Getty, V2 syntax is favored with verbs which are monosyllabic or light disyllabic. Suzuki's data comes from the *Meters of Boethius*. He first studies the variation between the MV and VM orders in the light of Getty's theory and comes to the conclusion that the lightness / heaviness parameter cannot be statistically shown to affect the choice between MV and VM. Suzuki concludes the article by including in the discussion not only modal auxiliaries but other auxiliaries such as *beon*, *weorþan*, *habban* and *onginnan*. He finds analogies between the patterns of modal constructions and the extended auxiliary constructions supporting his view that there are more constraints on the syntax of OE verse than has so far been realized.

MK

‡ Hironori Suzuki's "Metrical Influences on the AV/VA Orders in Old English Poetry" (*Aspects* 199–212) presents an analysis arguing for a principled arrangement of auxiliaries and non-finite verbal complements. His approach involves "a" and "b" (onset/offset) halves of lines, as well as line sequences. The analysis draws on distinctions between subordinate clauses, *and/ac* (compound) clauses, and main clauses. In all of these patterns, Suzuki identifies consistencies on the placing of alliterative stress, except in the "a" half-line of main clauses. Against Suzuki's findings, others maintain that the verb forms themselves determine which order of auxiliary and non-finite complement occurs. To test the two hypotheses—one centered in the metrical influence of stress, the other in the verb forms—Suzuki examines verbs phrases in the *Meters of Boethius* and in *King Alfred's Old English Version of Boethius*. The texts under study sometimes contain one auxiliary in collocation with two or more non-finite infinitive complements, yet he addresses them also. As for *Meters of Boethius*, its patterns of alliteration correspond in a consistent manner with other poems. Exceptions are few. These findings in alliterative patterns for auxiliaries and non-finite verb complements invite

an analysis that examines together the poetic and prose Boethius. This alignment introduces some complication: absence of matches in verb phrases and uneven correspondences (an auxiliary and non-finite complement in one, a single verb in the other). For workable matches, Suzuki divides identical from reverse sequences of auxiliaries and non-finite complements. The reverse sequences are attributable to demands of alliteration. As for verb forms, whether they are monosyllabic, light-stemmed, or otherwise, Suzuki's chi-square tests find this formal distinction non-significant. The study as a whole supports Suzuki's hypotheses on the relations between alliterative patterns and the ordering of auxiliaries in verb phrases.

EG

In "The Old English double object alternation: a discourse-based approach" (*Sprachwissenschaft* 35.3: 337–68), Ludovic De Cuypere studies the order of the two objects, an accusative object (ACC) and a dative object (DAT) in OE ditransitive constructions in the light of information structure. His article is corpus-based: the data consists of 550 sentences drawn from the *Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Old English Prose*. In order to minimize the influence of Latin on the OE word order, only non-translated prose texts have been selected. Fronted objects and objects taking the form of a relative clause have been excluded from the discussion.

De Cuypere studies his data in the light of two hypotheses proposed by Thompson 1995. In outline, the hypotheses are the following: **Hypothesis** 1: Dative objects tend to be placed before accusative objects. The features "animate," "pronominal," "specific," "identifiable," "proper noun'"and "given" are expected to be more common with DATs than with ACCs, which, in their turn, are likely to be correlated with the opposite features "inanimate," "nominal," "non-specific," "non-identifiable," "non-proper noun" and "new"; **Hypothesis** 2, which De Cuypere has slightly modified, assumes that a dative object in DAT-ACC order is more topic-worthy than a dative object in ACC-DAT order. "Thus, DATs occurring before ACCs are expected to be more often animate, pronominal, specific, identifiable, a proper-noun and given than DATs following ACCs" (343). The author cites Thompson's definition of topic-worthiness as "a cluster of properties which influence the packaging of information in languages of the world, specifically to the likelihood of a noun phrase being the topic of discussion" (342). Of the properties listed by Thompson, the following are discussed in this article: "animacy," "pronominality," "specificity," "identifiability," "proper-nounhood" and "givenness."

De Cuypere's corpus analysis substantiates Hypothesis 1 in all its details: DATs tend indeed to be placed before ACCs and, in the light of the six properties listed above, dative objects turn out to be more topic-worthy than accusative objects.

In 39 per cent of all the instances studied, however, the word order is ACC-DAT. How do objects occurring in this word order relate to the properties associated with topic-worthiness? In order to answer this question De Cuypere draws in Hypothesis 2. Study of this hypothesis gives negative results. In the words of De Cuypere, "[t]he second hypothesis, which claims that DATs before ACCs are more topic-worthy than DATs following ACCs, was rejected on the grounds that the concept of topic-worthiness is too broad an explanatory notion. The study showed that the main conclusion that can be drawn from the data was that pronominal, specific and given objects, irrespective of whether these are DATs or ACCs, tend to precede nominal, non-specific and accessible/new objects. Animacy, identifiability and proper-nounhood were found not to correlate with any specific object order" (362–3). De Cuypere concludes the article by briefly considering some lexical and stylistic factors that would additionally need to be taken into account in order to arrive at a more comprehensive picture of the OE double-object alternation. He also mentions the need of having recourse to a more sophisticated statistical analysis for assessing the strength and interrelatedness of the factors analyzed in his article.

In his article "Þonne hate we hine morgensteorra: On verb complementation in Old English," *English Historical Linguistics 2008: Selected papers from the fifteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics (ICEHL 15), Munich, 24–30 August 2008*; v*olume 1: The history of English verbal and nominal constructions*, ed. Ursula Lenker, Judith Huber and Robert Mailhammer (Amsterdam: Benjamins), 11–28, Nils-Lennart Johannesson studies the alternation between two constructions with verbs of naming: the type seen in the title of the article, where the verb takes an accusative object and a nominative complement and the type where the verb takes two accusative objects as in *se steorra . . . þone sume men hatað þone fexedan steorran*. This alternation has been noted in the literature but has not been subjected to detailed study.

Using Government and Binding Theory as a framework for his analysis, Johannesson approaches variation in OE complementation types by referring to the interplay between COPULARITY, TRANSITIVITY and STATUS. The syntactic properties of OE verbs can be categorized in terms of these three dimensions. COPULARITY describes situations where a copular verb has

a complement marked for the nominative case; some copular verbs can even take two complements: a subject complement in the nominative and an object (marked for accusative or dative). TRANSITIVITY covers three different types of verbs: an intransitive verb takes no oblique-case complements, a monotransitive verb takes one oblique-case complement and a ditransitive verb two oblique-case complements. STATUS is a dimension that has to do with the kind of subject that a verb combines with. A personal subject, always in the nominative case, originates within the VP. Clauses with an impersonal verb can also contain a subject, which can represent three different types: an inserted ("dummy") subject, a raised subject or a derived subject.

According to Johannesson, there are in OE ten different combinations of the values attached to the three dimensions. He gives examples of all of them, but concentrates on a discussion of the two different constructions attested for naming verbs such as *cigan*, *hatan* and *nemnan*. Of the two examples cited above, Þonne hate we hine morgensteorra "Then we call it the morning star" represents the type where there is a monotransitive copular personal verb taking an oblique-case complement and a nominative complement. The other construction already cited, *se steorra . . . þone sume men hatað þone fexedan steorran* "the star ... which some people call the long-haired star" has two accusative objects. Johannesson aligns it with the complementation pattern seen in *læran* 'teach' and suggests that the naming verb in this construction is used as a ditransitive non-copular personal verb.

There is an ambiguous construction not discussed by Johannesson, occurring in his example (16): *& ðæra wætera gegaderunga he het sæ* "and the gatherings of water He called 'sea'." The ambiguity arises from the fact that the form *sæ* can be either nominative or accusative. This construction, forming as it does a bridge between the monotransitive copular and ditransitive non-copular patterns, is a reminder of the fact that linguistic categories tend to have fuzzy edges.

In "Discontinuous quantificational structures in Old English," in *English Historical Linguistics 2008*, 185–96, Artur Bartnik discusses constructions in which a quantifier qualifying a noun or pronoun is not adjacent to it. He points out that OE discontinuous quantificational structures do not form a homogeneous group. The data basically fall into two groups: structures involving Quantifier Floating (QF), with movement structures as a subtype, and structures in which the adverbial quantifiers are basegenerated.

***Hi** habbað **sume** synderlice gyfe* "some of them have a separate gift" is an example of QF. In movement structures topicalized or scrambled noun phrases/pronouns float away from each other as in the following topicalized phrase: Ðas niwan spel *ic þe **ealle** in cartan awrite* "All this new story I will write for you in a document." Base-generated structures cannot result from movement. There is lack of morphological agreement between the separated elements in ða he cild wæs, ***eall** hine man fedde **swa** man oðre cild fedeð* "when he was a child he was fed exactly as other children are fed." An adverbial reading is often possible, as in this example where *eall* is syntagmatically related to *swa*. Bartnik argues that"[s]ince adverbs are base-generated it seems that adverbial quantifiers should be base-generated as well" (193).

The article concludes with a brief discussion of structures containing a resumptive pronoun or a split genitival phrase. Rather than seeing them as resulting from movement Bartnik thinks it more likely that they represent base-generated discontinuous structures.

MK

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JMcG

4. Literature

4a. General and Miscellaneous

In his descriptive dissertation, "The Verbal and Visual Rhetoric of Old English Poetry: An Analysis of the Punctuation and Formulaic Patterns in the Exeter Book (Exeter, Cathedral Library, MS 3501" (PhD diss., Univ. of Manchester), Abdullah Alger examines visual and verbal patterns in the manuscript. Numerous tables of supporting data, based partly on a database the author designed for the project, accompanies the analyses. The first two chapters present analyses of visual punctuation, and the last two chapters focus upon verbal patterns, which, in some cases, are formulaic parallels unique to the manuscript. These patterns reveal common visual and aural cues that guided both the community of readers and performers and their audience: "the polyphonic and intertextual nature" of texts "allowed scribes and readers to "manipulate and interpret texts" (20). Alger emphasizes that punctuation helped listeners to hear divisions within texts. Through rhetorical repetitions such as anaphora, for example, they would have associated a previous scene with one spoken aloud (200). This study of oral-formulaic theory demonstrates the growth of scholarship emphasizing "the notion of a diachronic tradition where poetry is mutable and ideas, rather than simply formulae or verbal echoes that are made up of the ideas, function as a communicative device that was adapted from audience to audience" (153).

In chapter one, the author traces punctuation patterns in Anglo-Saxon England from the earliest period of manuscript production to the eleventh century. Alger asserts that manuscript formatting and punctuation in Latin sources designed to train reading communities were transmitted into Anglo-Saxon culture through Anglo-Saxon grammars; these practices were reinforced in later works by Alcuin, King Alfred, and Æthelwold at Winchester (25–40). Chapter two presents analyses of punctuation, inserted by later scribes for rhetorical purposes, around words of high frequency. These patterns were intended to unify the works within the *Exeter Book* into a visually cohesive manuscript. Alger lists tables that present data assessesing forms of manuscript punctuation within the poems. The data includes punctuation by line type (mainly concerning A and B verses); before a capital letter; after or before speeches; and at the end of half-lines, sentences, major sections, titles, and folios (77–105). Patterns around certain repeated words present a convincing case concerning the use of aural cues. For example, punctuation occurs in A and B verses that begin with þa/ðа or þonne/ðonne (77–89). High frequency words that follow punctuation include forms of *sum*, *ne*, *ond* and *hwilum* (89–96).

Drawing upon the research of Andy Orchard and Alison Powell, in chapter three Alger examines clusters of formulas as evidence of Latin borrowing. Alger argues that certain formulas unique to the *Riddles* may indicate how the *Riddles* were grouped (198). In chapter four, Alger examines formulaic patterns within individual texts and across more than one text. The author provides useful categories of verbal repetitions that accompany formulas (156–57).

In "Telling Stories in the Medieval North: Historical Writing and Literary Artistry in Medieval England and Medieval Scandinavia" (DPhil diss., Oxford Univ.), Sarah Baccianti studies narrative structure in four texts composed in medieval England and Scandinavia: *Historia Anglorum* (ca. 1154) by Henry of Huntingdon, *Heimskringla* (ca. 1230) by Snorri Sturluson, *Historia regum Britanniae* by Geoffrey of Monmouth (completed in the 1130s), and the Old Norse translation of Monmouth's work, *Breta sǫgur* (ca.1200). The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* serves as a point of comparison for the study of narrative features in these works. The author finds that writers integrate their own style while adhering to stylistics common to literary artistry in the medieval North. Baccianti examines the extent to which each author employs common literary features, such as the interpolation of verses with prose, authorial intervention, and the use of dialogue, prologues, and sources, to explore how "the historian, his *auctoritas*, and his audience shaped the perception of the past, and influenced its modes of perception" (Abstract). The author concludes that Old Norse history is "a strain quite independent of English, German and French historiography" (256).

The first chapter provides a discussion of Henry of Huntingdon's frequent narrative presence in his work, which creates a relationship between the author and reader, on the one hand, and the author and patron, on

the other (18). Henry retains a secular view as he freely adapts the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* to his Christian work, which, at the request of Alexander Bishop of Lincoln, follows Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* (32–47). Baccianti distinguishes several stylistic features that highlight Henry's unique contributions (59–66). Henry uses poetry to showcase his skill and moral views in a work that commemorates the king rather than the battle.

In the second chapter, Baccianti explores the focus of Sturluson's narrative, which details history through the lives of specific kings, rather than through battles and other major events. Sturluson's work is, for the most part, a secular counterpart to Henry's Christian work. Thus the chapter provides "a useful contrast between monastic and aristocratic history, especially in the use of authorial interventions, themes and vocabulary" (19). In her examination of *Ynglinga saga*, Óláfs saga Tryggvasonar, Óláfs saga helga, and *Haralds saga Sigurðarsonar*, Baccianti explores narrative structure, descriptive passages, dialogue, and the interaction of prose and verse. The narratives become more elaborate as Sturluson progressively integrates more sources (104). Sturluson's work is unique among medieval historiography because he is more concerned with preserving an accurate record of the Norwegian royal genealogy than the history of a nation (180).

The third chapter compares Geoffrey of Monmouth's work with the Old Norse translation of it, *Breta sǫgur* (*Sagas of the British People*). The chapter brings to light the beginnings of the romance genre in medieval Scandinavia. The study draws out the translator's free adaptations and innovations by adding, omitting, and changing passages, events, and characters (19). The Norse translation departs from Geoffrey's work because its chapters interlace each other in the style of Icelandic sagas (197). Baccianti examines the active role of the translator, who alters geography (200–6), the role of the narrator (206–11), and the interplay between pagan and Christian religion (211–16). References to Christianity are fewer in the Norse work to suit the Scandinavian audience (211). In certain sagas, King Arthur appears to have been downgraded to the status of an average king, yet in another saga he is exalted as an ideal (210–16). While Geoffrey depicts the Saxon invaders as hostile, the translator of the Norse work is less dramatic and confuses the Picts in Geoffrey's work with the Saxons (230). Baccianti then describes variations in the battle descriptions (231–41) and shifts in dialogue (241–52). Readers, especially those who work with *King Lear*, will appreciate Baccianti's discussion of the Norse translator's changes and additions to Geoffrey's retelling of the *Leir* episode. Baccianti translates dramatic sections from the saga that either convert indirect speech into impassioned speeches or add new speeches (242–46).

In his study of semantic fields, "Desiring to be Known: The Diction of Glory and Fame in Old English Literature" (PhD diss., Purdue Univ.), Jack R. Baker engages in "the struggle to articulate the changing theme of heroism" expressed most poignantly in the terms *dōm*, *lof*, and *hlīsa* (6). He strives to shed light on the semantic intricacies of these terms in secular, syncretic, and Christian contexts, which are fluid and resist categorization. Previous scholarship, rooted in the politics of identity, sought to extract purely pagan or purely Christian kernels of truth from the Anglo-Saxon literature through textual dissections. Baker preserves the integrity of individual texts by studying secular and Christian meanings' interactions within the literary context of each work (11). Baker characterizes the term *dōm* as 'the fame of the head' for the word's association with the rational evaluation of heroic deeds as praiseworthy, *lof* as 'the fame of the mouth' for the word's association with verbal praise, and *hlīsa* as 'the fame of the ears' for the word's association with the far-reaching legacy of the hero or saint (16).

In the second and third chapters, Baker addresses the various meanings of *dōm* in over 2, 000 occurrences, which, as discussed in the second chapter, signifies judgment, command, and might (50). In the third chapter, Baker draws out further meanings of *dōm*, highlighting Christian and secular nuances associated with fame. The author finds that in *Maxims I* and *II*, the term has stronger secular connotations with fewer moments of Christian nuance (68–75), which is similar to the word's treatment in *Beowulf* (76–91). *The Wanderer* and *Judith* meld Christian and pagan meanings. Anglo-Saxons "steeped in militaristic tradition" would have understood the secular pursuit of fame (95). Baker then examines diction that calls to mind the Christian term ār, which is "tied to mercy and kindness and *dōmgeorne*, and is "firmly planted in the secular" (96). Baker points to ār's secular and Christian meanings and notes its cognitive relationship to Germanic êre, which signifies earthly glory (96). In *Judith*, the syncretic quality of the poem is enhanced by Judith's reference to the Trinity, as she prefigures Christ in her call for God and the Holy Spirit to act in her. The allusion signifies her transformation from a Germanic-style warrior to a Christian one (104–5).

In the fourth chapter, Baker analyzes Christian and secular meanings of *lof*, starting with its most heavily debated instance in the term *lofgeornost* (line 3182) at Beowulf's funeral (lines 126–36). Ælfric, in his *Lives of Saints*, carefully distinguishes between secular and Christian praise (139). In the heroic poems *Beowulf*, *Widsith*,

and *The Seafarer*, the term *lof* conveys human loyalty and generosity (140–56). In the fifth chapter, Baker examines the use of *hlīsa* in Alfred's *Boethius* and Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. Based on his study of Isidore of Seville's *Etymologiae*, he finds that the term *hlīsa*, associated with sound, report, and glory, connoted aural qualities more strongly than it did other qualities (163–65). Alfred, through the words of the wise teacher in the *Boethius*, appears to condemn the desire for earthly repute (176–84). In contrast, Ælfric employs the term in a positive sense when he integrates it into a formulaic phrase (190–207). Baker argues that the Gospel and divine work through the actions of the saints had to be heard in order to be understood (192).

In *The Poetics of Old English* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate), Tiffany Beechy overturns the long-held notion that poetry and prose are mutually exclusive categories and challenges the notion that poetic meaning abides only within poetic form. Further, the distinction between prose and verse reflects modern thought rather than Anglo-Saxon aesthetics. Even though Bede made distinctions between Latin prose and verse, he did not apply them to Old English (31–32). As a result of this reductive, modern view of genre, scholars have neglected to examine prose works with poetic meaning. Instead, they have often regarded the structural repetitions within prose passages as rhetorical flourishes or passing ornamentations to the didactic text, while they celebrate such repetitions in poetry (13). Beechy states: "My argument will be that our assumptions about verse and prose both as qualities of texts and as objects for specific reading practices have limited our ability to perceive important aspects of Old English signification" (2). Both genres integrate "extra mundane" structures "to encode meaning that contributes to the overall semantic load of the message" (13). Her study is based on the comprehensive approach by linguist Roman Jakobson, who examines poetic value in "multiple registers of language beyond the binary verse/prose pair" (7). This approach treats language at all levels, from the contextual level of discourse to the sentential, phrasal, syllabic and phonemic levels. Beechy writes: "The poetic function creates patterns—patterns of like initial sounds, of lexical repetition, of rhythmic periodicity, of rhyme" (10). As an example, Beechy discusses the levels of repetition in the balcony scene from Shakespeare's *Romeo and Juliet*. She analyzes the event, message, shared understanding of language, and audience's response to the scene (7). Beechy applies her strategies of analysis to a range of Old English texts, which yield meaning on many levels of language. These registers defy genre and call attention to the performative nature of Old English literature, which is a function of poetic meaning. Repeated structures in formal prose embody meaning in performance and may suggest its roots in oral culture (13). Performance highlights a range of poetic features and changes the mood of the audience. For example, *hwæt* is a phatic or ritualized word that signals the opening of the poetic text, and *eala* expresses emotive response (9). Performance evokes a profound response "to the memorable, paradoxically lyrical and lapidary, abstract and keenly material qualities of poetic language. When a voice takes on a certain tone or when repetitions of words or sounds arrest the ear, we seem to shift into a poetic mode of reception" in response to the associative and affective meanings in poetry (4).

In chapter one, "Alfred's Prose *Boethius* and the Poetics of Anglo-Saxon Exposition," Beechy examines poetic meaning in the prose and poetic texts of the Old English *Boethius*. While she focuses on the prose version of the Alfredian *Boethius*, Beechy indicates that both prosimetric and all-prose versions of the Old English *Boethius* begin with a preface that refers to both prose and verse passages as poetic texts (21). Drawing upon Nicole Discenza's studies of repeated doublets in Alfredian prose, Beechy asserts that these structural repetitions are oral inflections that bear out the poetic meaning of the text (22). Alfred's preference for verbal figures over referential language is another example of poetic meaning in the prose text. In fact, Alfred reduces the realism of the dialogue between Lady Philosophy and Boethius to "pure abstraction" when Alfred recasts the dialogue as activity within Boethius's mind (24). Repetitive structure and figurative language define the poetic character of the Alfredian prose text.

In chapter two, "*Godspel*: Old English Poetics and the Vernacular Homily," Beechy examines the homilies' performative elements, such as echoic word pairing, ring composition, and alliteration, which are stylistic features common in Old English poetry (39). "Old English homiletic speech amply reflects the sense of proclamation and of artful delivery" that links "poetic, vernacular discourse with imported Christian doctrine developing within a renovated performance context unique to the Christian church" (40). Beechy bases her analysis on linguistic studies by Kristin Hanson and Paul Kiparsky, which offer a flexible account of metrics across rhetorical styles and languages and rely on the basic alternation between prominent and subtle elements of spoken language with regard to metrical position, syllable pitch, or stress (45–51). The chapter concludes with a case study of Blickling IX/Vercelli X and identifies the oral poetic elements that this Rogation sermon shares with poetry, such as invocation, ring composition, alliteration, consistent metrical

design, and balanced phrasing. Within this framework, the subject shifts from Mary to the Holy Spirit (59). She concludes "the poetic word . . . becomes a figure of the salvific Word of the Christian message" as it transfers from the holy figures to the listeners (73).

In chapter three, "Bind and Loose: Poetics and the Word of Old English Law, Charm, and Riddle," the author finds that poetic meaning in laws and charms create a sense of order, while riddles interrogate the apparent order, the "imaginary fusion" of the sign with its referent, to demonstrate that "slippage is the ultimate episteme" (98). In her focus upon Wulfstan II, Archbishop of York, Beechy notes that his homiletic and legal writing share stylistic features such as word pairs, tag phrases, and "Old Testament legalism" (73). Turning to Æthelbert's law code, she describes the balanced rhetorical structure of action and compensation in terms of poetic meaning, which is enriched further by alliteration and assonance and forms "a poetic of the laws" in Wulfstan's legal writing (79). The language of riddles present in the Laws of Ine reflects the logic of play and poetry (83–85). Beechy then argues that the poetic meaning, comprised of multiple rhetorical devices within the charm, embody and recreate this logic: "charms create a texture so overwhelming that the illusion of a given world eclipses one's sense of reality" (86). Charms such as the Nine Herbs Charm are designed to order the cosmos through the poetic function (89). The last section of the chapter is devoted to riddles. Unlike the other genres, riddles expose the elusiveness of knowledge and the complex relationships among concepts, referential meaning, and "metalingual function" when language refers to itself in the challenge "Say what I am!" (93).

In chapter four, "Extraordinary Poetics in Traditional Verse," Beechy examines the rich resonances of *earendel,* the term for Christ as the morning star, in *Christ I*, taken from the fifth of the eight Great 'O' antiphons of praise sung during the Advent season. The antiphon is rich in assonance, verbal echoes, and alliteration, especially of liquids and nasals. These repetitions form a phonetic structure, on the one hand, and a ring structure, on the other (100). The aural texture parallels the network of concepts associated with *earendel*: the dawn, John the Baptist, the sun, and Christ (105–6). The outermost lines resonate with the middle lines through an aural and conceptual poetic density that creates extraordinary poetic effects (108). Likewise, the repeated aural and structural patterning in the Æcerbot and Nine Herbs charms creates forms of praise poetry that hearken back to an older age, when the sacred word was held to be "efficacious in its own right" (114). The chapter presents further analysis of the extraordinary poetics in *Deor* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* (116–25).

In "Exteriors of the Mind: The Natural World and Confusion in Anglo-Saxon Poetry," a chapter of *Interiors: Interiority/Exteriority in Literary and Cultural Discourse*, ed. Sonia Front and Katarzyna Nowak (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars), Rafał Borysławski examines creative and spiritual dimensions of the relationship between the inner life of the mind and nature, as it is presented in Old English poetry and manuscript design. "The manner in which the natural world is depicted in Old English poetry," he writes, "paradoxically appears to be offering a comforting teaching in the awareness of the limitations of human cognition . . . the apparent chaos of the exterior experienced by man acts as a protective barrier, both portraying and shielding his interior from the full awareness of the divine plan, and thus, perversely, it appears to be a gift to mankind" (199–200). The author presents representative examples of the mind's relationship with nature. In *Maxims I* (lines 50–53), the wise mind, though subject to the storms of nature, may withstand its ferocity (200). Other poems that reinforce this motif include the Old English *Boethius*, Meters III and V, and the exile poetry of the Exeter Book. In Beowulf's death speech (lines 2802–8), the burial mound signifies the wise mind of the king and stands as a memento to the hero. The author finds that the mind's vulnerability to the flux of nature—and its perception of itself in chaos—parallels the knotwork of the Lindisfarne Gospel carpet pages: "out of the apparent chaos of the knotwork design emerges the shape of the cross" (206). When the mind perceives the visible turbulence of the natural world as a trace of the divine plan, the mind recognizes its own inability to comprehend the divine.

The author then links the descriptions of wisdom poetry as a potential yet unrecognized force within the mind to Alcuin's treatise on the three-fold soul (204–5). The mind is imitative of the divine through its creative powers of memory and imagination. Imagery in nature poetry and the knotwork of the carpet pages are two prompts that inspire its transcendent creativity. The awareness that chaos in nature is a physical manifestation of divine presence inspires one to meditate upon temporal and eternal realities.

In *Representations of Eve in Antiquity and the English Middle Ages* (New York: Routledge), John Flood examines traditions of interpreting Eve from the earliest commentaries on Jerome's Vulgate Bible through Middle English literature. Flood argues that the various literary representations of Eve reflected and reinforced cultural attitudes and laws regarding women (3–5). In chapter one, Flood

presents interpretations of Eve that were inherited from the Church Fathers. The chapter opens with Jerome's selective rendering of Genesis, which alters Eve's character through nuanced word choices and avoids including Adam in the temptation scene (where he appears in the Septuagint and Hebraic versions). In exegeses by early Church fathers, Eve represents the appetitive nature of the soul in contrast to Adam, who signifies the intellect (7). Clement of Alexandria and Philo of Judea are cited as early sources for this popular interpretation of Eve (17–19). Typologies following Paul's descriptions of Eve in and outside the Bible, which align Eve with Mary, Mary Magdalene, and the Church, prompted a range of positive and negative portrayals of Eve (8–12). Paul's comments, which were the first assertion that Adam and Eve prefigure Christ and Mary, are echoed by later exegetes such as Tertullian, Augustine, Isidore of Seville, Hrabanus Maurus, St. Bonaventure, and Nicholas of Lyre (14). The chapter closes with Augustine's conflicting views of Eve: as God's creation she must be good, yet as the sensuous nature of the soul, she does not reflect the divine image (24–27). Ultimately, Augustine's view of Eve is a negative one.

In chapter two, Flood focuses on non-Christian influences, including those from classical mythology and Jewish scriptural commentaries, at work in Christian readings of Eve. Readers will appreciate the numerous literary sources Flood brings to light. Sources influenced by classical literary traditions emphasize her physical beauty and mental life. In some cases, they even present a sympathetic view of her (28–39). On the other hand, Tertullian describes Eve as a *femme fatale* and compares her to Pandora (29). Flood then examines how twelfth-century commentators Hugh of Saint Victor and Andrew of Saint Victor integrate Jewish exegeses of Genesis, particularly those by Moses Maimonides, Ibn Ezra, and Rashi of Troyes, into their own work. This commentary tradition culminated in Nicholas of Lyra's work, *Literal Commentary on the Whole Bible*, "the most widely read biblical commentary after the *Ordinary Gloss* and one which uses Jewish scholarship on nearly every page" (41). Overall, Eve is portrayed as the servant to Adam and, in some commentaries, viewed as the "fertile storehouse" (44). Flood deals with discussions of Eve in the Babylonian Talmud and in interpretive works such as the Midrash and *Genesis Rabbah* (41–45). In the last section of the chapter, Flood discusses the transmission of the Qur'ān in medieval Europe via the Englishman Robert of Ketton (47). Flood indicates that Eve is insignificant in the Qur'ān, and Adam bears fault for the downfall of mankind.

In chapter three, "Anglo-Saxon Eve," Flood postulates that pervasively negative representations of Eve in Anglo-Saxon England may reflect the status of English women (49). At the same time, sympathetic accounts of her are found in narratives of the Harrowing of Hell and *Genesis B*. In these cases, "Eve is to be condescended to and not attacked" (6). Flood discusses the Old Latin Bible and the Vulgate as two sources that were at times conflated or, as in the case with the Old Latin Bible, transmitted with interpretive tools such as *florilegia*, glosses, and *capitula* (49). As a result, poems such as *Genesis A* bear influences from both textual traditions and the commentaries associated with them (49–50). Flood makes use of Ælfric's Anglo-Saxon translation of Genesis 1–3 and, in the otherwise close translation, highlights three departures from the Latin Vulgate's treatment of Eve. In the third alteration from Ælfric's *Heptateuch*, the serpent claims that Adam and Eve will be like angels; this is not cited in the Latin Bibles, yet allusions to this speech occur in *Genesis A* and *Elene* (51).

Flood identifies patristic sources that contain representations of Eve: Ambrose's *Hexameron* and *Paradise*, Jerome's *Book of Hebrew Names*, and Augustine's *City of God*, *The Literal Meaning of Genesis*, *On the Trinity*, *Confessions*, *Unfinished Literal Commentary on Genesis*, and *On Genesis: A Refutation of the Manichees* (52). Of these texts, the one that receives the most attention in Anglo-Saxon writing is Augustine's *Literal Meaning*, for it was the major source for Bede's representation of Eve in his *Commentary on Genesis*, a work that influenced the thought of Alcuin and Ælfric (52). Flood indicates that Bede's treatment of Eve is positive early in the commentary, when she signifies the Church and the rational mind. However, in his descriptions of the Fall, he censures Eve for pride (52–53). Other works associated with Bede, such as the *Commentary on the Pentateuch*, reinforced negative portrayals of Eve as a sensuous and weak-minded woman (53).

The figure of Eve is given greater attention through the Anglo-Saxon retellings of the Harrowing of Hell from *The Gospel of Nicodemus*, an apocryphal work retold in the *Blickling Homilies* and the poem *Christ and Satan* (54–56). In the Harrowing of Hell, Eve is closely associated with Mary. Eve's most positive representation is in *Christ and Satan* (lines 437–38), where she calls out to Christ for mercy. She is presented heroically when she speaks for all humanity and sympathetically when she suffers eternally, while Adam is set free and enters into heaven (56). In contrast, her appearance in *Guthlac B* (line 868) bearing the cup of death is negative, as is her momentary reference in the fourth of the *Advent Lyrics* (57). Flood then turns to the dramatization of the Fall in *Genesis B* (lines 550–81). Satan tempts Eve in many

ways, resulting in inner conflict: he threatens Adam and Eve and all their children; he promises them a vision of God; he promises Eve she can rule over Adam; and he promises that he will keep them hidden from Christ's sight afterwards. Ultimately, Eve fails: "In a society that valued fidelity, Eve was loyal, but in failing to be obedient as well, she fell into error" (60). The chapter closes with an examination of the illustrations by Junius Artist A from MS Junius 11. Flood asserts that the illustrations suggest a third, positive representation of Eve: "Christ holds her hand in a manner reminiscent of Anglo-Saxon depictions of the Harrowing of Hell. Eve is taken from Adam's right side (rather than the sinister/left that becomes traditional) . . . as Eve's left hand reaches for the forbidden fruit, her right hand appears to restrain it" (63). In conclusion, Flood assesses the representations of Eve as predominantly negative in Anglo-Saxon England.

Chapter four presents late medieval theological views of Eve. In his *Sentences in Four Books*, Peter Lombard casts Eve in a positive light. Eve symbolizes the sacraments of the Church, yet she is more culpable and weaker than Adam (65–68). Aquinas describes Eve as a defective image of Adam (68–71). Yet the most intriguing theological study in the chapter is Peter Comestor's. In a highly suggestive description, he depicts the serpent with a woman's head, a motif popularized in literary and visual art (71–77). English works with the motif of the female-headed serpent include *Piers Plowman*, the fifteenth-century work *Historye of the Patriarks*, *A Middle English Metrical Paraphrase of the Old Testament* (ca. 1380), and *The Middle English Genesis and Exodus* (ca. 1250). The chapter concludes with Dante's representation of Eve in the *Divine Comedy* (77–80).

In chapter five, Flood examines "rhetorical and literary aspects of the praise and blame of women" to exemplify social debate around the status of women (6). Juan Rodríguez del Padrón presents proto-feminist arguments in his work, *The Triumph of Women* (83–88). Christine de Pizan champions Eve in her works, especially *City of Ladies* (88–91). In chapter six, Flood deals with the apocryphal *Life of Adam and Eve* from the late medieval period. Of the five versions of the *Life*, Group Four (Oxford, Bodleian MS 3938, Engl. Poet. a.1) presents the fullest view of Eve and brings out her array of female virtues and vices (98–101). Flood then examines Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales,* in which various characters mention the many different aspects of Eve; their perceptions, though divergent, draw out negative portrayals of her (101–5). The study concludes with an examination of Eve in medieval drama.

Old English Liturgical Verse: A Study Edition, a dual language collection edited by Sarah Larratt Keefer (Peterborough, ON: Broadview), presents ten works of liturgical poetry in print for the first time: the Lord's Prayer (in the Exeter, Corpus, and Junius manuscript renditions); *Baptismal Creed*; the *Old English* and the *Titus Alphant* doxologies; the Kentish poems *Hymn of Praise* and *Great Miserere*; *Ah, Beloved Lord*; and *Vision of the Rood*. The editor places two versions of each work side by side. The critical text version, what would typically appear in a student anthology, appears on the right-hand page and preserves the emendations to apparent scribal errors. On the left-hand page, a semi-diplomatic format recreates the manuscript reading experience for students. Keefer preserves significant texts of the liturgy, prefaces them with full explanations of their use in the liturgy and of their relationship to their Latin models, and appends editorial notes, a glossary, and a section on metrics (Appendix A: "How Old English Poetry Functions," 205–10).

Keefer defines the liturgical works as a subgenre of poetry. The edition reveals that Anglo-Saxon liturgical poetry acts as a rich commentary on Latin liturgical verse. For example, readers will appreciate the wealth of Anglo-Saxon creation formulas that amplify the significance of the Latin phrasing in the *Baptismal Creed*. The single Latin statement *Credo in deum patrem omnipotentem* is followed by a lengthy Anglo-Saxon poetic commentary by the Worcester Tremulous Hand (88). Keefer notes that the first half of each tenet of faith is provided in Latin, while the vernacular gloss provides the second half in patterning that reflects the responsories of the Church (85). The edition captures the habits of thought present in public forms of daily meditations. Reading enacts meditation, for the structure of liturgical poetry imitates the pattern of meditative thought. As Keefer explains, "The writing of a poetic meditation based on a prayer that one repeats many times in a day is an unusual act of self-awareness, since it must examine the supremely obvious for a deeper resonance of belief. As such, these pieces give us a special insight into the Anglo-Saxon creative aesthetic turned inward to explore the immanent spiritual dimensions of the human soul" (15).

A Companion to Medieval Poetry, a Blackwell Companion to Literature and Culture edited by Corinne Saunders (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell), presents studies of English poetry within the Germanic, Continental, and Christian traditions. The book is divided into three major parts: Old English poetry, Middle English poetry, and post-Chaucerian and fifteenth-century poetry. Each part opens with contextual studies of society and history, close studies of language, and studies of the transmission and reception of the poetic texts. Parts one and two in-

clude a series of essays that treat genres and modes. Each part concludes with several studies of individual poems.

Students and teachers of introductory courses on England's early history will find a useful guide in Andy Orchard's chapter, "The World of Anglo-Saxon England." In this cultural study, Orchard explores the formation of English identity, from the earliest Christian presence in England to the Norman Invasion, through the perspectives of medieval writers. These chroniclers and theologians understood their society in terms of other cultures that either strengthened English culture or threatened to destabilize it. The chapter reveals that the attitude of the Christian Britons toward pagan outsiders was identical to that of the Christian Anglo-Saxons who displaced them. Both generations engaged in a rich exchange of learning with the Continent. In repeated resistance to the Other, Gildas, Alcuin, and Wulfstan warned that invasions were signs of divine punishment and attempted to inspire stronger moral behavior grounded in Christian consciousness. The Anglo-Saxons-at-large formed a national identity in the face of Viking invasions. The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* shows the tensions between pagan and Christian identity (16–31). This tension can be seen in the Anglo-Saxon effort to preserve the Germanic god Woden, a sign of the "innate conservatism of the inherited Anglo-Saxon traditions even three centuries after they were supposedly converted" (21).

Richard Dance, in "The Old English Language and the Alliterative Tradition," offers a refreshing introduction to the rules of Old English scansion for a general audience. Dance explains metrics in user-friendly language: "rather than rhyme linking the ends of lines, in the Old English tradition, it is the first three of the [four] stressed syllables that create the aural connection by alliteration within each long line" (35). Dance gives an overview of the history and development of scansion with clear examples (35–42). The next section is a rich bibliographic essay, especially ample in the section on diction and expression (42–49). In the last section of the essay, Dance focuses on the aesthetic and thematic value of repetition and variation, which stills the narrative movement to focus solely on the subject viewed from several complementary angles (48). Dance then examines ways the art of poetic variation deepens the aesthetic texture of *Beowulf* (48–49).

Rohini Jayatilaka explores the manuscripts of Old English poetry in the chapter "Old English Manuscripts and Readers." In the section on book production and parchment-making, Jayatilaka discusses the materials required, noting that the production of three copies of the entire Bible required approximately 1500 calf hides (52). Turning to the purpose of scripts, the author cites internal evidence from Bede and Alcuin (53). Manuscript formatting reveals that vernacular poetry was subordinate to Latin poetry. Several extant manuscripts preserve Old English poetry in the margin or at the end of the text, including the eighth-century copies of *Caedmon's Hymn*, preserved in the Leningrad manuscript of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (St Petersburg, Saltykov-Schedrin Public Library, Q.v.i. 18) and Moore MS (Cambridge, Cambridge University Library, Kk. 5.16), and the ninth-century copies of *Bede's Death Song* and the Leiden Riddle (Leiden, Rijksuniversiteit, Vossianus Lat. 4E 106). The author then turns to poetic inscriptions found on ivory or stone, such as the *Dream of the Rood* and the inscription on the Franks Casket (54–55). These marginal examples contrast with the main body of extant Old English poetry found in four late tenth-century manuscripts: the Vercelli Book (Vercelli, Biblioteca Capitolare CXVII); the *Beowulf* manuscript (British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv); the Exeter Book (Exeter Cathedral Library MS 3501); and the Junius manuscript (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11) (58–63). Jayatilaka examines manuscripts containing prose and verse and studies the cues in the manuscript format that signal the shifts between genres, as exemplified in the Tanner Bede MS (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Tanner 10), the metrical epilogue to the Anglo-Saxon *Pastoral Care* (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 20), the Old English *Boethius* (London, British Library Cotton Otho A. vi), the Parker version of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173) and the dialogues of *Solomon and Saturn* (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 422).

In "Old English and Latin Poetic Traditions," Orchard describes the fragile state of Old English poetry, which was "produced orally, transmitted aurally, and preserved perhaps imperfectly in the minds and memories of successive generations of poets and performers" (65). The study opens with the earliest examples of Old English poetry preserved in the Anglo-Latin tradition, *Bede's Death Song* and *Cædmon's Hymn*, both thought to have been originally composed in Old English and later translated into Latin (66). These works first appear in in the marginal spaces of Latin manuscripts, dating to ninth- and tenth-century Northumbria (67).The aural resonances shared between Anglo-Latin and Anglo-Saxon poetry and their intertextuality indicate a close relationship between the two traditions (68). The author presents several textual correspondences to demonstrate the influence of Latin riddles on vernacular riddles. The Leiden Riddle is an English version of Aldhelm's Latin *Enigma 33*. The *Lorica* riddle resonates with numerous sources from classical Latin. Aldhelm's writing, in turn, would influence later writers such as Boniface and

Tatwine (68–70). When Old English poets translated Latin poetry, they preserved the unique diction of the vernacular even as they imitated the Latin rhythm by recasting a single hexameter line into two long lines of Old English (70–71). Citing Bede's claim that Caedmon inspired imitators, Orchard asserts that two schools of poetry, reconstructed by "chains of influence," developed in Anglo-Saxon England. One school is associated with Aldhelm and his later imitators. The second school of Old English verse, associated with the Old English poem *Andreas*, reflects the rich exchange between written Old English poetry and texts rooted in oral-formulaic tradition. Orchard presents a wealth of verbal correspondences among the Exeter Book *Riddles*, *Andreas*, *Juliana*, *Elene*, *Beowulf*, and the *Paris Psalter* and provides further evidence that Cynewulf's poetry recalls analogues from Latin poetry (72–80).

In the chapter "Germanic Legend and Old English Heroic Poetry," Hugh Magennis explores Germanic heroic poetry in the imagination of Anglo-Saxon poets. Focusing on the poem *Widsith*, Magennis argues that Anglo-Saxons valorized their ancestors and criticized the moral failings of their contemporaries. Legends revitalized in later periods, such as those in the thirteenth-century *Völsunga saga* and in Saxo Grammaticus's *History of the Danes*, reinforced a value system that at times served Christian teaching (90). Early heroic tales embedded in later poems, such as the story of the Fight at Finnsburg alluded to in *Beowulf* and the stories alluded to in *Waldere*, reveal the fragile nature of human loyalty. These heroic ideas colored how the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* narrated the battle of Maldon, showing "greatness on the part of the warriors even in defeat" (98).

In "Old English Biblical and Devotional Poetry," Daniel Anlezark explores two major influences upon Old English poetry, the commentary tradition and the liturgy, which both shaped the Anglo-Saxon understanding of the Bible (123). The author examines liturgical material at work in Old English poems such as *Caedmon's Hymn*, *Genesis A* and *B, Exodus*, *Daniel*, *Azarius* and *Judith*. For example, in the poem *Genesis* A, episodes based upon God's covenants with Noah, Abraham, Moses, and Christ move seamlessly in a "typologically charged" progression that prefigures Christian baptism and Church membership (111). Anlezark asserts, "the poet's inspiration for this allegorical shift was undoubtedly the Easter Vigil, the apex of the Christian liturgical calendar," during which the Old Testament narratives of Noah, Isaac, and Moses were read to Christians (111). Biblical material recast into the Great "O" Antiphons sung at Advent inspired the *Advent Lyrics* in the Exeter Book (119). The poem *Dream of the Rood* recalls the liturgical practice of the Dressing of the Cross on Good Friday (119–20).

The poetry evokes liturgical moments that were deeply personal to Christians. Anlezark notes that Anglo-Saxons would have identified themselves with God's chosen people in *Daniel*, *Azarius*, and *Judith* (115–17). Likewise, the saints depicted in the hagiographical works *Andreas*, *Juliana*, *Elene*, and *Guthlac* symbolize the Christian's soul on the battlefield (120–22). The episodes of Christ's cosmic battle with Satan in *Descent into Hell* and *Christ and Satan* find their echo in the liturgy of the first Sunday in Lent. These passages in the poetry "return the reader to struggles of Christian life in the world, with a warning about the price of rendering obedience to the devil" (118).

In "Old English Wisdom Poetry," David Ashurst characterizes the genre by its syntactical structure and content and examines its versatility in Old English verse. Ashurst asserts that wisdom poetry represents "a fundamental and pervasive belief in real correspondences between the macrocosm of the natural world and the microcosm of human life" (127). Ashurst lists the following poems as wisdom poetry: *Maxims I*, *Maxims II*, *The Fortunes of Men*, *The Gifts of Men*, *The Rune Poem*, *Solomon and Saturn II*, *Precepts*, *The Order of the World*, and, to a lesser extent, *Menologium*, *Solomon and Saturn I*, *Bede's Death Song*, and *Pharaoh* (125). The author argues that in several poems gnomic literature is not purely sober but also conveys meaning while it evokes delight and play in the movements of nature (127–29). In other instances, the polarities and contradictions in gnomic poems such as *Maxims II*, *Vainglory*, and *Solomon and Saturn II* are reflections of the irreconcilable opposites within humanity itself, such as youth and age and humility and pride (132). The genre resists categorization because it both has similarities with other forms of poetry and emerges within poems from other genres. With its rich ambiguity, wisdom poetry shares an affinity with riddles (133). Gnomic statements emerge in the Anglo-Saxon elegies as commentary upon individual experiences (135–38). Such gnomic moments are central to the poems and should not be dismissed as rhetorical flourishes (138).

Anlezark examines the pre-Christian world in "Old English Epic Poetry: *Beowulf*." While the poem presents an idealized image of pre-Christian Germanic peoples, its monsters give readers "moral mirrors for the poem's human characters" (141–42). Anlezark discusses the growth of Beowulf's character under Hrothgar's guidance (147–53). After this, he discusses the fragility of the social worlds in *Beowulf*, exemplified in the marriages intended to bring peace between warring tribes (153–55). These narrative fragments are structurally framed by monster attacks, which provide a backdrop to human hostility and provide moral commentary on society (155).

The poem dramatizes the tensions between communal harmony and individual ambition inherent in the pre-Christian past (158).

Part two of the *Companion*, "Contexts," opens with Conor McCarthy's essay, "The World of Medieval England: From the Norman Conquest to the Fourteenth Century." McCarthy presents a historical overview of cultural and linguistic development as the English state extended politically and militarily into Wales, Scotland, Ireland, and France. Poetry in this period reveals how people resisted the politics of categorization by social class, marriage, and sexual identity. In "Middle English Language and Poetry," Simon Horobin discusses the written varieties of Middle English, which reveal the range of spoken dialects in the fourteenth century. In "Middle English Manuscripts and Readers," Ralph Hanna examines the ways that texts were produced and disseminated and contrasts them with modern practices. Manuscripts containing poetry were formatted in unique ways, which were later eliminated in their modern book versions. Also lacking is the commentary tradition that supported the texts of the poems (210).

The next series of essays explores the literary genres and contexts of Middle English poetry. In her essay "Legendary History and Chronicle: Laȝamon's *Brut* and the Chronicle Tradition," Lucy Perry discusses the varieties of Arthurian histories that Laȝamon inherited. Laȝamon's poetry reflects his keen interest in king-making as well as in the frailties of kings (229–34). Neil Cartlidge examines the genre of debate-poetry in "Medieval Debate-Poetry and *The Owl and the Nightingale*." He compares the Middle English poem with *Petit Plet*, the Anglo-Norman poem of the same genre found in the same two extant manuscript copies (253–56). David Fuller examines lyric form and structure in poems in his essay "Lyrics Sacred and Secular." In "Macaronic Poetry" Elizabeth Archibald discusses how rhetorical and linguistic forms merged across languages and cultures in multilingual English society from the twelfth to the sixteenth centuries. Nancy Mason Bradbury investigates the subversive nature of popular romance in her study by the same name. This genre makes use of fantasy to explore topics censored by the Church. In "Arthurian and Courtly Romance," Rosalind Field analyzes the varieties of verse forms in Arthurian and non-Arthurian romances that developed in England. John Scattergood presents two essays on alliterative poetry as a reflection of society in "Alliterative Poetry: Religion and Morality" and "Alliterative Poetry and Politics."

The final section of part two contains studies of individual Middle English poems. A. V. C. Schmidt discusses the poet of *Pearl*, *Cleanness*, and *Patience*; Tony Davenport analyzes *Sir Gawain and the Green Knight*; and Lawrence Warren examines *Piers Plowman*. Three studies are dedicated to Chaucer's poetry. In "Chaucer's Love Visions," Helen Philips examines Chaucer's merging of French and classical genres in dream poetry, which was unique in its imagination of female desire. Philips examines how Chaucer crafts classical poetic traditions associated with Homer, Virgil, Statius, Ovid, and Dante into poetry that anticipates Shakespeare and Keats with its brilliance (416). Alcuin Blamires explores intertextual resonances in *Troilus and Criseyde*. Corinne Saunders studies various forms of fiction at work in the *Canterbury Tales*. R.F. Yeager examines the trilingual worlds of poetry in John Gower's work, which integrates English, French, and Latin traditions.

Part three of the *Companion*, "Post-Chaucerian and Fifteenth-Century Poetry," opens with studies of the history, language development, and dissemination of fifteenth-century texts. As Matthew Woodcock writes, Renaissance poems "proved to be catalysts for poetic invention" as a response to cultural shifts that emerged from the War of the Roses, which were waged from the 1450s to the 1480s (6). A. S. G. Edwards examines Chaucer's influence on the sophisticated literary language of the period. He writes, "The movement between high and low, Latinate and vernacular could create original and brilliant poetry, exemplified by the works of Dunbar and Skelton" (7). Julia Boffey discusses trends in the material process of manuscript and book production in the fifteenth century. As discussed by Daniel Wakelin, Lydgate and Hoccleve drew upon Chaucer in their poetry, which navigates between public and private spheres, advice to princes, and personal meditations. C. Annette Grisé studies the role of women as readers, writers, and the subjects of poetry in the fifteenth-century works *The Floure and the Leafe* and the *Assembly of Ladies*. This study examines numerous ways female writers engaged with contemporary debates concerning women and gender. Douglas Gray studies the poetic techniques in Scottish poetry by Robert Henryson and William Dunbar. In "Courtiers and Courtly Poetry," Barry Windeatt examines how poets presented courtly life and emphasizes the courtly English poetry of Charles d'Orléans. In the same chapter, James I. Windeatt examines poetic features in both French and English collections of poetry by Charles d'Orléans (616–18). Windeatt surveys Chaucerian narrative and poetic patterns in *The Kingis Quair*, which was attributed to James I (619–22). The final essay by Pamela King examines the comic, political and affective style in secular and sacred dramatic poetry. King discusses how poetry in several dramas catalyzes emotional responses from the audience.

A Norton student edition, *The Word Exchange: Anglo-Saxon Poems in Translation*, edited by Greg Delanty and Michael Matto (New York: Norton) is highly innovative in offering facing-page translations of many Old English poems, some better known than others. The anthology is unique, not only in its range of poetry but also in its editorial voice. In fact, voices of living poets resonate from the foreword to the translations and through the commentaries. Each translator provides an essay on his or her own perception of the poetry and the creative process involved in translating it. These essays enhance the notion of poetic voice and its multiplicity (523–40). As a result, the edition is not a static collection but a fluid, vibrant work, designed to take new life in the imagination of the reader. In the introduction, Michael Matto does not confine himself to a historical and cultural overview but also draws upon his earlier scholarship in cognitive studies to discuss Anglo-Saxon depictions of the mind (9–18). This level of analysis once again adds a new dimension to the idea of a student edition.

As the editors indicate in the introduction, the title is inspired by the Anglo-Saxon phrase *wordum wrixlan* (3). The phrase connotes both the social nature of words and the creative play of their layered, interwoven meanings. Seamus Heaney's preface is a poet's appreciation of Old English, in which he challenges the popular misconception that the poetic corpus is fractured and stagnant. Instead, every translation invigorates the language and signifies "the ongoing vitality of Anglo-Saxon poetry a millennium after its demise might have been expected" (xiii). The book also overturns the limited notions of genre: "Anglo-Saxon poetry isn't all stoicism and melancholy, isn't all about battle and exile and a gray dawn breaking" (xii). The editors have divided the book into thematic sections: "Poems of Exile and Longing;" "Poems about Historical Battles, People, and Places;" "Poems about Living;" "Poems about Dying;" "Bible Stories and Lives of Saints;" "Prayers, Admonitions, and Allegories;" and "Remedies and Charms." The organization of the content reinforces the metaphor of exchange. A set of ten riddles alternates with each thematic section, each set numbered with the phrase "Riddle-Hoard." Riddles rarely make it into a student anthology, but this one presents seventy riddles. Other rare titles break into print, including *The Death of Alfred*, *The Death of Edgar*, *Durham*, a broad range of maxims and wisdom poetry, unique liturgical pieces such as *The Kentish Hymn*, and a wide range of charms. In effect, the anthology broadens the canon of Anglo-Saxon poetry in translation.

In "An Oral and Cognitive Approach to Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Association, Rhyzomes, Emotions and Performances" (PhD diss., Purdue Univ., 2008), Emily Redman draws upon oral and cognitive theories as she argues that the biological model of the rhizome system can inform our understanding of Anglo-Saxon aesthetics. Redman argues that contemporary scientific research can shed light on the dynamics of "poetry production, memory, and performance recognition and reception" (1). Rejecting the western model of language, a tree-based hierarchy associated with Noam Chomsky and Sigmund Freud, Redman argues for an associative, nonhierarchical rhizome model. She lists six different characteristics that support its associative structure, all applicable to the interpretive process of poetry (35). Extended into the emotional sphere of the performance of poetry, the structure of rhizome growth captures the communal proliferations of expression and cathartic responses to poetry. The most subtle idea in the poem might trigger a range of associations and responses in any one of the listeners. The model also applies to the multiple levels of meaning in a poem, such as "traditional themes . . . characters, alliterative and formulaic elements, periphrastic expressions, and envelope patterns" (48). Thus scholars should not dismiss gnomic tags or other tangential material as subordinate to the major speeches in the poem. The rhizome model opens up new areas of interpretation that emphasize the marginal and investigate how the apparently trivial informs the poem overall (48).

The first two chapters are dedicated to envisioning language, its performance, and its reception in terms of the growth system of rhizomes. The rhizome model corresponds to an associative mode of reading in which there is no hierarchy of meaning inherent in the poem or its performance. A term used in the academic "fields of neuroscience, cognitive psychology and medieval memory work," Redman defines associative systems as "dimensional web-like constructions in which units reference other units" (33). Through the emotional logic of emotion, the audience senses that "certain items belong together, and these feeling give rise to a poetry that is bound together by emotion" (12).

In chapter three, Redman examines the associative nature of reading in Anglo-Saxon taxonomies (75–91). In the last chapter, she examines the physical displays of grief, "the bodies of public figures in their performance of 'crying out'" to illustrate the emotional aesthetic based on "ritualistic pathos" (15). For example, the Anglo-Saxon warrior laments on behalf of his lord as a kind of "bodily exchange" with him (122). Redman distinguishes between the "poetic" heart—the words used to express language—and the emotional heart that acts independently of the speaking individual. In this case, the heart cries out with no words, as when the men who discover

Grendel's slaughter weep (123–26). Redman then applies the two versions of the heart, the oral-poetic and the emotional heart, to women in *Beowulf* (135–36) and to Grendel (136–37). The heart is the "inward other" so that the "organ of poetry and performer of poetry are two separate entities" (15). All of these forms of poetic expression bear meaning and evoke a range of responses in the aesthetic process of poetic performance.

In "Literary Developments of the Table of Nations and the Tower of Babel in Anglo-Saxon England" (PhD diss., Univ. of Toronto), Tristan Gary Major examines how writers from late antiquity through the late Anglo-Saxon period interpreted the Table of Nations and the Tower of Babel narratives from Genesis 10–11. "As both a mythic and scriptural narrative," he writes, "the story of the Tower of Babel was taken very seriously by Jewish, patristic, and medieval interpreters who read it with the intention of unveiling its mysteries and making it accessible for their own historical contexts and cultures." For the Anglo-Saxons, it provided "a poignant moral exemplum" against pride and other vices (1). An ancient Jewish text displaced into later times, the narrative gathered a range of new meanings that reveal how later readers viewed contemporary multicultural and multilingual societies. The first half of the dissertation examines the topos of the number 72. It signifies "how all of Noah's descendants listed in the Table of Nations came to be spread across the face of the earth as the progenitors of nations of unique cultures and languages" (7). In the second section of the study, Gary analyzes the interpretations of the Tower of Babel.

The first three chapters range from Late Antiquity to the later medieval period. In the first chapter, Gary presents the range of meanings that writers in Late Antiquity, such as Jerome, Augustine, and Isidore of Seville, associated with the numbers 70, 72, and multiples of 7. While the number 72 bore little significance in the Old Testament, it gained typological meaning through the writings of Late Antiquity. The tradition that the Table of Nations contained 72 names begins to appear in the Hellenistic world two to three centuries before Christ (12). As a topos it gained popularity because of its association with the earliest translators in the *Letter of Aristeas* (second century BCE) and gathered meaning because Christ sends seventy-two disciples to preach in Luke 10:1. In the second chapter, Gary covers the early Anglo-Saxon period through the examination of the topos in the school of Canterbury, Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin. Gary argues that "the association between the number 72 and the nations of the world had diminished" due to the expanding view of the world (71). As a result, the topos was applied to Luke's account of the 72 disciples as a model of evangelizing that would emphasize conversion among the pagans in England. Chapter three is an investigation of the later writers of the Anglo-Saxon period, beginning with Alfred, who interprets the topos in his translations of Orosius and Boethius. Gary then analyzes the topos in Old English Homilies and provides a wealth of evidence for its use in the Homilies (76–86). The remaining section of the chapter is dedicated to the sparse references to the topos in Old English poetry, from its earliest suggestion in the design of the Franks Casket to its appearance in *Wīdsiþ*. The topos does not appear in *Genesis A*. The study returns to prose with an examination of the topos in Ælfric's writing, where it gains purchase, and Bryhtferth's writing, which is interested in the topos only as a measure of time.

Chapter four examines attitudes in Late Antiquity toward migration and multiculturalism, as shown, for example, in Origen's six-fold division of the inhabited world. Writers such as Clement of Alexandria and Eusebius of Caesare embraced various ethnic peoples under one Christian identity. This view is developed fully in Augustine's *City of God*, which then interpreted the Pentecost as an event that brought about a universal understanding of divine language. Isidore of Seville reinforced the interpretation of the dispersal of Babel as an opportunity for the spread of Christian teaching. Through these writers, the topos of the Tower of Babel finds its counterpart in the evangelization of the Pentecost as a divine reordering of nations. These views are strengthened and popularized further by Isidore of Seville and Gregory the Great. Non-Christians, by contrast, are associated with the exotic Other and the monstrous. Late antique interpretations of ethnic and linguistic diversity were overshadowed by a Christian nationalism that "transcended and utilized the ethnic and linguistic boundaries created at Babel" (154). As Christianity identity broadened its reach, Christians became more concerned with doctrinal differences within the Christian nation.

In chapter five, Gary explores evidence that Anglo-Saxons writers, such as Gildas, Gregory the Great, Aldhelm, Bede, and Theodore of Tarsus, perceived themselves to be on the periphery of the Christian world: "While other foreign and exotic realms were thought to exist outside of Europe, such as the realms of the Far East that were thought to be inhabited by monstrous peoples, the position of Britannia at extreme limits of the Roman Empire allowed Christian authors to claim that the Church had extended into the farthest geographic and ethnic parts of the world" (156). Gary dedicates attention to Bede's comments on the universal Church, according to which each language represents a different gift of grace (181–91).

In chapter six, Gary examines the rise of the vernacular in Anglo-Saxon England through Alfred's translations and those he commissioned; Old English poems, such as *Genesis A*, *Solomon and Saturn II*, and *Beowulf*; Ælfric of Eynsham's writings; and Wulfstan's homilies. While the Anglo-Saxon Tower of Babel was to some extent dependent upon Anglo-Latin and vernacular traditions (it was, for example, again paired with the Pentecost), the Babel narrative also offered moral teaching.

In "Women and the Origins of English Literature" in *The History of British Women's Writing, 700–1500*, ed. L. Herbert McAvoy and Diane Watt, vol. 1 of *The History of Women's Writing* (Basingstroke, NY: Palgrave), 31–40, Clare A. Lees and G. R. Overing interrogate the traditional notion of male authorship of Anglo-Saxon literature and assert that women were "vital to the production and reception of literary culture" (31). Authorship is enabled by the reading community and the patrons who supported literary production. In three examples, Lees and Overing demonstrate the central role of women: Bede's account of Hild and Cædmon; the reading community at Barking Abby, which shaped Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate* and its poetic counterpart, *Carmen de virginitate*; and Leoba, both as a poet and a writing subject in eighth-century Germany. "[T]hese early medieval scenarios," the authors write, "help us to indicate the wide purview of women's sphere of literate activity in English poetry, Latin prose and poetry, and to measure its geographic reach across the British Isle and in continental Europe" (32).

In their examination of Hild's role as Cædmon's patron and spiritual guide, the authors point to Cædmon's work beyond his single extant hymn. Cædmon was a participant in the larger system of Christian learning, which Hild as abbess made possible (33). The nuns at Barking Abbey may well have written the history of Barking Abbey to which Bede refers in his *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*. Further, Less and Overing argue that the religious community at Barking included wealthy widows whose presence influenced Aldhelm's writing: "These female patrons . . . change the terms of theological debate in this period by their commission. . . . Female virginity had previously been strictly limited to those whose bodies were intact: De virginitate expands this category to include widows as well as the formerly married" (35). Finally, Lees and Overing argue that these patrons influenced Aldhelm's decision to compose a verse counterpart to his prose work (35). Leoba was among the religious women who corresponded with Boniface in the course of her mission to establish Christian practice and learning in Germany. The Life of Leoba by Rudolph of Fulda records the memories of women in Leoba's religious community. Lees and Overing include poetry written by Leoba. The study concludes with examples of the unconventional ways women's voices emerge through Anglo-Saxon texts in addition to the other ways women were involved in literary and cultural production in the Anglo-Saxon period.

In his chapter on "Old English Poetry," in *The Cambridge History of English Poetry*, ed. Michael O'Neill (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), 7–25, Bernard O'Donoghue emphasizes the enduring appeal of Old English poetry and the aesthetic value it bears for modern poets. The chapter opens with an outline of poets who have popularized Old English verse through their translations: Heaney, Longfellow, Hopkins, Auden, Pound, and Edwin Morgan. O'Donoghue argues that the fragmentary quality of the poetry conveys an ambiguity that resonates with modern imagination as "the power of the half-stated" (7). The fragmentary nature of the poetry, combined with the riddling quality of its language, offers poets an inviting challenge. After presenting an overview of the major codices of the canon of poetry and the major figures who preserved the works, O'Donoghue discusses how the canonical titles have become quaint. Titles for the Exeter elegies, for example, sound more "like items in a Schubert song cycle" (12). The author then identifies other ways in which the elegies resist genre classification. O'Donoghue examines the riddling, imagistic quality of the language, paying special attention to the polysemy in *The Dream of the Rood* (17–18). The paradox and contradictions inherent in the poetic diction resist direct translation and mirror the "triumph and tragedy of the crucifixion" (18).

Valentine A. Pakis, the editor of *Perspectives on the Old Saxon "Heliand:" Introduction and Critical Essays, with an Edition of the Leipzsig Fragment*, claims it is the first collection of *Heliand* scholarship entirely in English (Medieval European Studies 12 [Morgantown, WV: West Virginia UP], vii). The work is organized into four thematic units with a final chapter dedicated to analysis and presentation of the fragment of the *Heliand* discovered in April 2006 in the Leipzig University Library by Thomas Döring. The analysis by Hans Ulrid Schmid, who identified the manuscript page after it had been made into a book cover for a seventeenth-century work, offers his findings. The collection will appeal to a wide range of readers. G. Ronald Murphy presents a clear overview that captures major themes in the essays:

> The *Heliand* is our earliest epic . . . retold as if it had occurred in the Viking era world of Northern Europe.

> The author used Tatian's second-century harmony of the four Gospels as the basis of his epic and then reimagined the whole story as if it had occurred in his own day. He recast the [Gospel] story in epic form, contemplatively integrating Northern European values, magic, sooth-saying, wizardry, contemporary Saxon history, warrior's courage, Germanic poetry and personal mysticism with the Christian Gospels. (238)

The first three essays serve as introductions to the text. James E. Cathey focuses on the historical setting, from the earliest Christian missions through the end of the twelfth century. He then offers an analysis of the meter and review of the manuscripts. G. Ronald Murphy examines the major literary themes in the poem. He offers an insight that highlights the relevance of the work and the author who conceived of it: "By the powers of his imagination, the poet-monk (perhaps also an ex-warrior) created a unique cultural synthesis between Christian and Germanic warrior society—a synthesis that would plant the seed that would one day blossom in the full-blown culture of knighthood and become the foundation of medieval Europe" (35). His discussions of examples of cultural synthesis, such as the magical elements and the symbolism of light, are provocative. For example, he draws parallels between imagery of Christ as light and of Bifrost as a shining bridges between human and divine realms (55–61).

The last essay by Marc Pierce deals with studies on the language of Old Saxon published from 1992 to 2008. In 1992, two landmark studies appeared: Irmengard Rauch's new grammar and G. Ronald Murphy's new translation of the *Heliand*. Pierce discusses the implications of Hans Ulrid Schmid's identification of the manuscript leaf, the Leipzig fragment, as evidence for the sixteenth-century claim that Luther had read the *Heliand* at Leipzig (66–67). Pierce then considers the grammars and the historical development of scholarship in phonology, morphology, syntax, and etymology (67–85). Pierce's analysis of the Old Saxon terms for 'mind' and 'soul' enrich current scholarship in cognitive linguistics (85–86). The chapter closes with analyses of Old Saxon in relation to Old Low Franconian and of its significance for the history of Dutch and Low German (87).

The remaining chapters, especially those in parts two and four, discuss the relationship between the *Heliand* and Tatian's Diatessaron. Harald Haferland (trans. Pakis) explains the relationship clearly:

> The *Heliand* generally conveys the most relevant information about the life of Christ, just as it had been recorded in the second century Diatessaron of Tatian, a harmony of the four Gospels and some apocryphal traditions compiled out of the need to have all the authorized accounts of Jesus together in one work. (168)

Boniface brought a copy of Tatian's Diatessaron to Fulda, where it was translated into Old High German.

Tjitze Baarda and Valentine A. Pakis explore the relationship among the *Heliand*, the Diatessaron, and the Gospel of St. Thomas. These studies are based on Gilles Quizpel's argument that the *Heliand* incorporates text from the Latin Diatessaron and echoes narrative elements from the Gospel of Thomas, which Quispel argued points to "an independent and very old Gospel tradition" (qtd. in Pakis 122). The *Heliand*, then, was "dependent on an archaic form of the Western Diatessaron which had some remarkable agreements with the so-called Gospel of Thomas, which agreements could only be explained by the assumption of a common Judaic-Christian source" (95). Baarda finds that it is more likely that the Heliand poet drew upon a tradition of manuscript commentary on the Latin Diatessaron (119). Pakis's questions Quispel's argument because the *Heliand*-poet drew upon an ancient Hebrew Gospel tradition. Pakis evaluates Quispel's assumptions and those of one of his detractors, Willy Krogmann, and determines that each scholar believed his own hypothesis and method guaranteed the truth of his conclusions (163). Both Baarda and Pakis acknowledge the value of Quispel's insights, which were formative for the discipline, while they expose fragile assumptions within his arguments.

Part three, "Orality and Narrative Tradition," pairs two essays by Harald Haferland. In the first essay, Haferland finds that the *Heliand* only roughly corresponds to the Diatessaron. The poetic features that animate the poem are adapted from the oral tradition and remove it somewhat from its written sources. In the next chapter, "Hatred of Enemies: The Germanic Heroic Poetry and the Narrative Design of the *Heliand*," Haferland explores the culture of violence in Germanic heroic poetry and in the *Heliand*. He argues that Germanic heroes chose the time of their deaths and that this choice corresponds to Christ's death in the *Heliand*. "Thus Gunnar provided a model for understanding Christ's behavior," a model that would attract those not yet converted to Christianity (212). Another theme in the *Heliand* that resonated with the Germanic audience is hatred for the enemy: "It is within the framework of futile and thus heroic resistance—against the hatred of his enemies—that the *Heliand* poet was able to make sense of Jesus' actions and message and impress them upon his fellow Saxons" (233). This theme is so powerful in the poem that the poet divided the fitts within the narrative to emphasize dramatic moments that would inspire hatred.

Two essays in part four, "The Portrayal of the Jews in the *Heliand*," examine the reputation of Jews. In his

argument that hatred for the Jews spurred unity among the Christians, G. Ronald Murphy indicates that the money-lending associated with Jews would have been perceived as a threat to the heroic values of generosity and gift-giving. In his treatment of the shifting sentiments of love and hatred for the Jews, Martin Friedrich argues that moments of endearment in the *Heliand* reflect the attitudes of Tatian's Diatessaron. Yet hostility toward the Jews predominates in the narrative of Christ's persecution. The author concludes that the poet believed that the Jews who persecuted Christ must have been inherently wicked because they rejected a member of their own culture (277).

In the last chapter, Hans Ulrich Schmid discusses the discovery of the lost leaf from the Leipzig University Library, which he refers to as Fragment L. He asserts that the fragment was originally from the same manuscript as the Prague fragment (Fragment P) now housed in Berlin. He presents diplomatic and normalized renditions of both sides of the Leipzig page (285–91). He compares the interlinear glosses in L and P manuscript fragments and finds that the two glosses served different purposes. L presents alternative interpretations of words, while P offers corrections. He concludes, "Assuming that L and P belonged to the same manuscript—P toward its beginning and L towards its end—then interlinear entries would indicate a subsequent revision of the work" (299). In "Anthologists, Poets, and Scribes in Anglo-Saxon England" *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 1 (2005): 99–118, Bernard Muir argues for the pivotal role of the anthologist in the compilation of two manuscripts: Exeter, Dean and Chapter MS 3501 and Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 11. The arrangement of these two poetic compilations was purposeful. This argument has several implications for scholars who study the transmission and adaptation of these texts. Re-envisioning these collections as cohesive anthologies requires modern editors to take a fresh look at long-standing titles of individual poems and consider new ones. In the first part of the paper, Muir discusses the stages of possible adaptations of the texts. In the second part of the paper, he presents some ways scribes and later correctors may have worked with the poetry throughout the Anglo-Saxon period (100).

In his examination of the Exeter Book, Muir argues that the work has been erroneously characterized as a miscellany of poetry: "Not only is there considerable evidence for purposeful anthologising, but the texts themselves have been subject to extensive revision and correction by scribes and subsequent readers" (100). He describes the fluid nature behind the anthologizing. This process is not limited to continuously adapting new texts to suit pervasive themes or verbal cues in the compilation but also involves the relationship between writing and oral performance. "[T]exts," Muir explains, "were not sacrosanct, but living, dynamic entities that were regularly adapted during the process of transmission" (99). In this scenario, the scribe is the speaker, who emends the text as he reads it aloud. Nor would this speaker-reader falter over errors in the text. Muir asserts, "traditional collocations related to the expression of essential ideas and themes would help an informed listener make sense of minor mistakes or inconsistencies in a text" (117). Even so, Muir has detected over 400 emendations that point to multiple earlier scribes, possibly foreign ones, and later correctors concerned with preserving the exemplar (101). In response to this study of the text continuously reshaped by scribes, who were readers, speakers, and anthologists, Muir retitles the Exeter Book as *The Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry* (103).

Muir proposes that the theme of Christ's life, as presented in the *Christ* poems, might unify the Exeter Book. This theme also finds expression in other modes (106). Guthlac is a Christ-like figure; the three Hebrew youths anticipate Christian conduct in a pre-Christian world; the phoenix represents all Christians; and Juliana provides a female role model. Evidence that the poems were adapted to suit the thematic unity of an anthology may be found in the Vercelli and Exeter Book versions of *The Soul and Body*. Though present in the Vercelli Book version, the speeches of the Body in Exeter seem to have been cut. Cutting these speeches reshapes the text into a homiletic monologue that complements the other homiletic texts, *Homiletic Fragment II* and the conclusion to *The Partridge* (108). Other texts that suggest the hand of an anthologist include the pair, *The Canticle of the Three Youths* and *Daniel*; certain riddles that share written features with the elegies (109–110); and the sequence from *Judgment Day* to *Homiletic Fragment II*, which thematically resonates with "aspects of the liturgical Easter season" (110). Likewise, themes associated with the Easter Liturgy form the subject of the texts in the Junius 11 anthology. Muir reconstructs augmentations made to the manuscript and proposes stages of textual evolution and adaptation (104–5).

In "The Weak Man in Old English Poetry" *JEGP* 109: 22–32, Jun Terasawa examines the weak form of *man*(*n*) in a range of poems. The term has low alliterative frequency yet is rarely studied apart from its indefinite use (22). Terasawa notes its frequent use as an accusative singular (acc. sg.) in the poem *Beowulf*, where it occurs in this position six times: "The aim of this paper is to

demonstrate that the choice between the strong *man*(*n*) and the weak *manna* was made on metrical grounds in *Beowulf* and other Old English poetry, and that the preponderance of weak acc. sg. form in verse is due to grammatical as well as metrical reasons" (23). In other grammatical cases, the author finds merely three instances of the weak noun and concludes that the weak form in these cases creates both grammatical and metrical problems (28–30). In the last section of the article, the author examines the use of the weak form in the prose texts the *Laws of Æthelberht of Kent* and Ælfic's *Catholic Homilies*. In these texts, the acc. sg. form of *monna* is more common than other grammatical forms of the word (30–32). The author concludes that the weak form of the noun follows the pervasive trend that all weak forms eventually fall out of use, though the deliberate choice of the acc. sg. form of *monna* to some extent defies this tendency. [Also reviewed in section 3b.]

Works Not Seen:

Carroll, Jayne. "The Verse of Heroes." *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*. Eds. Walker and Treharne. pp. 133–59.

Fox, Michael. "Origins in the English Tradition." *Oxford Handbook of English Literature and Theology*. Oxford Handbooks Online. Eds. Andrew Haas, David Jasper and Elisabeth Jay. Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 2009. 35 pp. [online].

Reichl, Karl. "Heroic Epic Poetry in the Middle Ages." *The Cambridge Companion to the Epic*. Cambridge Companions to Literature. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2010. 55–75.

Schubert, Layla A. Olin. "Material Literature in Anglo-Saxon Poetry." Ph.D. Univ. of Oregon, 2010. [Proquest 3420331]

4b: Individual Poems (excluding *Beowulf*)

Andreas

In "'What a long, strange trip it's been': Narration, Movement and Revelation in the Old English *Andreas*" (*Essays in Medieval Studies* 25: 71–80), Nathan A. Breen argues that the *Andreas*-poet's technique of narration, which is "episodic and based on a system of concealing and then later revealing identities in the poem" (71), creates tension and drama in the work and is designed to encourage the poem's audience to follow Andrew on a journey of the mind—first to witness, then to participate in, the recreation of the *Andreas* story. Breen concludes that "the end result of this pattern of concealment and revelation is that the mimetic and linear narrative of Andrew's journey is transformed into a cognitive, non-linear journey that loops back upon itself but has enlightenment as its goal" (71). The article discusses four episodes in which identity is concealed and then revealed, forcing the audience to "perceive rather than to know the character," similar to the Shklovskian idea of defamiliarization (71). Building on the work of John Miles Foley and Frederick M. Biggs, Breen notes the unique self-reflexive intrusion of the narrator's voice late in the poem, using Bede's story of Cædmon and the cognitive process of *ruminatio* to argue that such narratorial interruption is designed to cause an audience to pause and reflect on the events of the poem thus far. The article considers four episodes in which "the narrator reveals an identity that had been concealed from the knowledge of the characters" (75): Christ's identity is concealed from Andrew and his companions during the voyage to Mermedonia, Andrew's identity is concealed from the Mermedonians as he is made invisible to them by God, the devil's identity is concealed from the Mermedonians until Andrew reveals it, and the narrator's identity is concealed from the poem's audience until his self-reflexive interruption late in the poem, at lines 1478–89a. This pattern of concealment and revelation is designed to "elicit the participation of the audience in a journey towards greater understanding of the role of knowledge on the path to salvation" (78) by working backward through these moments of revelation to arrive at a deeper understanding of the poem's events.

Bill Friesen's 2008 University of Toronto dissertation, "Visions and Revisions: The Sources and Analogues of the Old English *Andreas*," argues that the genre of *opus geminatum*—pairs of texts in verse and prose on the same subject—provides a productive paradigm within which to read *Andreas*. After an overview of the *opus geminatum* tradition (Chapter I), Friesen uses this framework to read *Andreas* alongside three key texts: the Latin version of the legend which occurs in the Casanatensis manuscript and is thought to be *Andreas*'s closest extant exemplar (Chapter II), *Beowulf* (Chapter III), and the Old English prose version of the legend (Chapter IV). Chapter I, "*Andreas* and the *Opus Geminatum*," considers *Andreas* in light of the *opus geminatum* tradition, noting the widespread presence of "twinning" as a literary device in Old English poetry generally, and arguing that the existence of so many versions of the legend of St. Andrew makes *Andreas* a fruitful text for "comparative studies at the intertextual level" (3). Friesen follows Peter Godman and Gernot Wieland (who are, in turn, following Alcuin) in defining the *opus geminatum* as "a pair of texts, one in verse and one in prose, which ostensibly treat the

same subject" (8). This definition requires neither that "the same writer must compose both halves, nor in what order they are to be either written or read" (8), and thus Friesen argues that *Andreas* can be fruitfully compared to other works as "it is certain that the *Andreas*-poet and the authors of the other three texts . . . were thinking intently and, to varying degrees, critically about textual relationships as they wrote" (10). The genre of *opus geminatum* evolved from classical traditions and late antique of paraphrase or *conversio* (encompassing verse to prose, prose to verse, verse to verse and prose to prose), and eventually, Christian authors acknowledged the potential usefulness of repurposing pagan rhetorical techniques to Christian ends. *Opus geminatum* was known in Anglo-Saxon England and is particularly prominent in the works of Aldhelm (*De Viginitate*), Bede (a prose version of Paulinus of Nola's verse *Vita S. Felicis*; *Vita Sancti Cuthberti*), and Alcuin (*Vita S. Willibrordi*). As Friesen notes, "it seems likely that the methods of the *opus geminatum* exerted an important influence upon" *Andreas*, and "it is the aim of this thesis to mine the relationships between *Andreas* and the three texts mentioned earlier for the vein of this influence: to lay bare both the nature and the methods of textual interplay in these works" (30). Overall, the dissertation argues that *opus geminatum* had a methodological influence on all four texts, and provides a "more powerful paradigmatic tool with which to elucidate other potentially related works" (31)—pairs of texts on the same subject in Anglo-Saxon England and elsewhere.

Chapter II, "*Andreas* and The Legend of Saint Andrew," focuses on the relationship between *Andreas* and the Latin version of the legend in *Casanatensis*, arguing that in the light of the *opus geminatum* tradition, "the shift in style, from Latin prose to Old English verse, exerts a necessary, dramatic and consistently overlooked influence upon the content of the Old English *Andreas*, changing not only how one reads that content, but the very substantive nature of the content itself" (31). After an overview of *Andreas*'s potential sources and analogues (both in content—the Greek and Latin versions of the apocryphal legend of Saint Andrew, and style—*Beowulf* and the works of Cynewulf), Friesen follows convention in using Casanatensis, believed to be *Andreas*'s closest extant analogue, as a comparative text to discuss in detail the differences in content and style between the Latin prose and Old English poetic versions of the legend. Friesen argues that questions of style and content cannot be considered in isolation, asking, "at what point does the addition or subtraction of narrative and non-narrative content change *how* one reads the legend in detail and as a whole?" (46). He finds style and content to be mutually dependent, and argues that *Andreas* requires "a much higher level of critical engagement" from the poem's audience, "consonant with what one expects from a verse version of the legend" (47)—in other words, *Andreas* anticipates "a far more active, critical, and inquisitive reader" (51) than is possible in Casanatensis, and does so through careful cultivation of style done through control of content. (For example, a "pervasive mendacity which regularly intersperses the Latin text" is "uniformly removed by the poet of the Old English version" (67); gore is included to inspire disgust or pity in the Old English, rather than satisfaction or delight in the Latin; a "pragmatic set of expectations" is shifted to an "affective set" (81)). Overall, Friesen argues that the *Andreas*-poet "knowingly utilizes a dynamic relationship" between indigenous and antique content and style "to compose a text which is considerably more consistent, affective and logically critical while reifying its themes than the prose accounts," qualities which "consistently align" with those of the verse halves of an *opus geminatum* (96). Additionally, *Andreas* makes both saint and legend more relevant to an Anglo-Saxon audience, but does so "as a work which answers back in some specific ways" to the traditions of antique legend (99).

Friesen's third chapter, "*Andreas* and *Beowulf*: Family Resemblances," considers formulaic parallels between the two works to explore the relationship between *Beowulf* and *Andreas*. After a review of the critical debate surrounding this question (in sum, from direct borrowing to oral formulaic theory, and back again), Friesen concludes that "the case for borrowing between *Beowulf* and *Andreas* is a good one" (115). He follows the work of Anita Riedinger, who discovered that the borrowings from *Beowulf* to *Andreas* cluster around specific passages in *Beowulf*, and thus argues that the *Andreas*-poet is borrowing from (or echoing) particular passages of *Beowulf*, and Alison Powell, who finds 344 formulaic parallels between the two poems, 89 of which are unique to these two poems alone (118–21). Friesen argues that the dynamics of the *opus geminatum* figure prominently in this relationship, and uses Powell's and Riedinger's work to consider "only those unique parallels which cluster together in *Beowulf*," namely, "36 instances in ten clusters" (122). Friesen moves through these ten clusters, understanding them as "twinnings" of formulaic parallels in the two poem, and in so doing finds many thematic parallels—in addition to previously noted verbal parallels—between the two works on the level of connotations and motifs, arguing that these parallels "potentially provide a means of considerably enriching the meaning and aesthetic complexity of *Andreas*" (141). He concludes that there is strong evidence for explicit borrowing

between the two poems, both in formulaic parallels and at the level of motif, and that *Andreas* is "vastly richer and more nuanced at the level of motif, connotation and prosody because of its relative relationship with *Beowulf*" (238). The chapter concludes that *Andreas*-poet "very likely drew upon the indigenous prosody, connotations and motifs he found in *Beowulf* to facilitate and enrich aspects of the composition of an *opus geminatum* between the Old English poetic *Andreas* and a source text which might have been in the Casanatensis tradition" (238).

Finally, Chapter IV, "The Old English Verse and Prose *Andreas*," compares *Andreas* to the prose *Andreas* homily in CCCC 198 (triangulated to comparisons with the Casanatensis version), arguing that the *opus geminatum* tradition can be fruitfully used to understand many aspects of the text of CCCC 198 which have made it a less-than-popular object of study. Friesen argues that the paradigm of *opus geminatum* allows us to understand the CCCC 198 version of the legend in light of Alcuin's comments on the public reading of hagiographical material, in four key ways: the CCCC 198 distills the legend "down to its core meaning by eliminating all dialogue and description which does not, in Aristotelian language, contribute in a necessary sense to the movement of the plot" (288–89); omits nearly all fantastic and wondrous material which can be cut "without reducing the plot to incoherence" (289); reduces the ability of the audience to engage actively with the legend, by omitting or explaining problematic scenes; and omits scenes with typological resonances. Additionally, CCCC 198 "works very hard to enhance or add to" the emphasis on liturgical language implicit in *Andreas* and Casanatensis, suggesting that Alcuin's insistence that verse lives are for private and prose lives for public reading "flies in the face of the practice of indigenous literary culture" (291) and that *Andreas* was more likely designed for public performance and CCCC 198 for private rumination. Overall, Friesen concludes that the *opus geminatum* provides a fruitful paradigm for understanding the relationships between *Andreas* and a range of Anglo-Saxon, and earlier, texts. The dissertation is followed by an Appendix comparing the respective plots of the Casanatensis account and *Andreas* (301–307), and a Cluster Index (308–12) that compares formulaic parallels between *Beowulf* and *Andreas*.

Naotoshi Furuta's essay, "The Devaluation of Germanic Heroic Tradition in the Old English Poem *Andreas*," *Multiple Perspectives on English Philology and History of Linguistics*, ed. Oda and Eto [see sect. 3b], 125–56, also takes a comparative approach to the relationship between *Andreas* and *Beowulf*, arguing that *Andreas* is not so much a clumsy stylistic imitation of *Beowulf* as it is a Christian poem which consciously negates Germanic heroic values and, in turn, praises their saintly antitheses. Furuta argues that *Andreas* depicts the Mermedonians negatively, as Germanic heroic warriors, as is also the case for the devils in the poem, "a fact which most remarkably confirms the poet's condemnation of traditional militarism" (134), as indeed, it is the devil who urges the Mermedonians towards the traditional heroic pursuit of vengeance. Throughout the course of the poem, fighting is seen to be useless in the face of God's might, and the conversion of the Mermedonians is thus represented as a triumph of God's will over traditional Germanic heroic values. In contrast, Andrew and Matthew represent the Christian ideal, and are "the antithesis of the traditional epic hero" (144). The saints avoid violence and aggression, choosing spiritual over physical warfare. *Andreas*, then, "dismisses Germanic heroism as heathenism" (149), and Furuta concludes that, "being familiar with *Beowulf* . . . the *Andreas* poet finds it necessary to devaluate the heroic qualities regarded as ideal in the epic" (151). The poem overall, Furuta argues, elevates the saintly as exemplary, while heroic tradition is depicted in a negative light. Thus, the relationship of *Andreas* to *Beowulf* should not be understood as that of a technically inferior to a technically superior poem, but rather, a deliberately contrastive work.

Shannon Nycole Godlove makes a substantial contribution to the study of early Anglo-Saxon Christianity with her dissertation, "Apostolic Discourse and Christian Identity in Anglo-Saxon Literature" (University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign), in which she argues that Anglo-Saxon authors used "apostolic discourse" (traditions of writing about the apostles) to define and distinguish Anglo-Saxon Christianity. Godlove challenges the traditional view that Anglo-Saxon Christians saw themselves as subordinate to Rome, arguing instead that apostolic discourse was appropriated by these authors "in a way that registers the tensions between universality and particularism: the desire to identify with Christendom at large, and with Rome in particular, and the desire to maintain a distinctive Anglo-Saxon religious identity and authority" (2). After an overview of the project's argument as a whole, Godlove's extensive introduction turns to the question of defining apostolic discourse, namely, intertextual discourse about the apostles "as communicated and circulated through the Latin and vernacular literary productions of Anglo-Saxon culture from the seventh to the tenth centuries" (6). Emerging from Christian typology and Classical mimesis, Godlove notes the wide range of "polyphonic voices" (11) that provided the sources for interrelated apostolic discourses in Anglo-Saxon England. Godlove outlines the sources

and circulation of apostolic discourse in Anglo-Saxon England (in more detail than this review can do justice): Biblical sources (particularly the Gospel of Matthew, Luke-Acts, and the Pauline Epistles); liturgical veneration of the apostles in the early Anglo-Saxon church; litanies, apostle lists, and martyrologies; the Apocryphal Acts of the Apostles; Arator's *De Actibus Apostolorum*; Rome's role in the veneration of the apostles in Anglo-Saxon England; and Bede's *Expositio in Actibus Apostolorum* and *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*. This material forms the foundation of apostolic discourse in Anglo-Saxon England and lays the foundation for Godlove's conclusions about the shift in apostolic discourse over time: while early Christian Anglo-Saxons "tended to use the apostles as touchpoints or models for hagiographic and historical comparisons, the later vernacular traditions put their conceptions of the apostles to largely personal, penitential, or homiletic ends" (64).

Godlove's first chapter, "The Creation of an Anglo-Saxon Missionary Saint in the *Letters* of Saint Boniface," argues that Boniface's career as a missionary preaching to the heathen Germanic peoples of continental Europe was self-consciously aligned with an apostolic model—particularly that of Paul, as a complement to Rome's Peter. Boniface's *Letters* and career "demonstrate that he considered himself to be called by God, not sent by Rome, to engage in his life-long mission abroad"; yet neither should he be seen as following the Celtic Christian model of *peregrinatio pro amore Christi*, as his goal was conversion of others, not ascesis (68). Thus, Godlove argues, neither Roman nor Celtic Christianity provides a precise fit for the careers of Anglo-Saxon Christians on the continent, but rather, "there may be another source of inspiration behind the decisions of Boniface, Willibrord, and their Anglo-Saxon followers to spread the Word of God to the *gentes in Germaniae partibus*," namely, "that the fundamental inspiration for the Anglo-Saxon missions to the continent developed out of the early English church's particular veneration for the words and deeds of the apostles, especially the Apostle Paul" (69). As Godlove argues, this apostolic discourse encouraged the "adoption of an apostolic identity" both on the level of the individual and on a communal level (69). Godlove finds the formation of this apostolic identity in the discourse of Boniface and his correspondents, a "shared discursive practice" (70) which constitutes and reinforces the apostolic discourse around Boniface and his community during his life and after his death, in letters both to and from Boniface. In his letters, Boniface can be seen adopting the apostolic persona of Paul; his correspondents recognize and reinforce these allusions, while his outrage against heretics who deliberately manipulate "the discourses of sanctity and apostolicity" (105) demonstrate "the limits of apostolic discourse" (106). Furthermore, the strength of his apostolic persona allowed him to speak out in criticism against Rome, Anglo-Saxon kings, and the nation's ecclesiastical leaders, as the situation warranted. Indeed, after his death, Boniface's missions were immediately characterized as "a contemporary embodiment of apostleship" (120).

Chapter 2, "Pauline Apostolic Discourse as Interpretive Context in the Earliest *Vita Bonifatii*," furthers these arguments by arguing that Willibald's text shows his familiarity with, and adoption of, this apostolic discourse used to characterize Anglo-Saxon missionary work, and that his "repeated comparisons of the experiences of the Apostle Paul to major and even mundane elements of Boniface's life and character are neither clumsy nor at odds with the content of the narrative," but rather, deliberately designed to provoke typological reflection (131). Extending her arguments of the previous chapter, Godlove argues that the *vita*, like Boniface's letters, maps "the contemporary realities of the Anglo-Saxons working to convert and Christianize" the Germanic people on the continent "onto a Pauline apostolic model in ways that only seem incongruous from a modern missionary perspective" (132). The *Vita*'s contents thus "knowingly reflect" the same apostolic concerns evident in the letters of Paul and Boniface (132). This is particularly evident in Willibald's depiction of Boniface's dedication to his missionary work, designed to defend him from charges of inconstancy by "invoking the example of the Apostle Paul, whose frequent travels and trials often kept him from returning to the places close to his heart" (140). Willibald stresses Boniface's close relationship to the papacy, dedication to the apostolic mission of conversion, and indeed, even provides a miracle (Boniface's destruction of the sacred oak of Thunær) that further links him to "the original missionary miracle-workers, the apostles" (158). Godlove argues that Willibald's lack of discussion of Fulda is due not to a lack of interest in monasticism, as has been argued, but rather, Willibald is interested in monasticism "as an illustration of a religious and apostolic ideal" (161). Boniface's martyrdom, "like the martyrdom of Paul, functions as the consummation of his systematic reformation of Christian churches and zealous conversion of pagans across a wide expanse of peoples and territories" (167)—as Godlove argues, the *Vita Bonifatii*'s only direct allusion to the *Acts of the Apostles* "is very carefully placed to situate the last deeds of Boniface and his companions in an apostolic context" (173), right down to the fact that, of the over fifty companions known to have died at Dokkum with Boniface, Willibald names only ten (in addition to Boniface and his suffragan

bishop Eoban), creating a total of twelve martyred apostles to the Frisians (174). Godlove argues that there is a significant pastoral context behind this carefully crafted scene, and Boniface's final speech recalls Paul's desire to die for his faith. Godlove finds typological significance in the structure of the *Vita* itself: "the multiplication of Pauline scriptural epilogues in chapters two through seven forms a kind of spiritual *gradus*, a sequence of correspondences which accumulate in the mind of the reader who recognizes the biblical texts and recalls their scriptural contexts and significance" (183). Finally, Godlove concludes by exploring Boniface's move, "in his martyrdom from the realm of historical time, into the eternal and cyclical time of the saints, into liturgical time" (184). Paul and Boniface are linked in a liturgical context, evidenced by a votive mass for Boniface written by Alcuin of York, and, moreover, "the similarities in biblical rhetoric, pastoral emphasis, and monastic point of view between the Bonifatian texts and Alcuin's *Vita Willibrordi* attest to the pervasiveness of the Anglo-Saxons' distinctive way of thinking and speaking about mission as the fulfillment of an apostolic ideal" (188).

Godlove's third chapter, "Interpreting *Apostolhad* in Cynewulf's *The Fates of the Apostles*," turns the second half of the dissertation from the apostolic self-identification of early Anglo-Saxons working towards conversion on the continent back to Anglo-Saxon England itself to consider, in Godlove's words, "how and why concepts of apostolic identity endure in Anglo-Saxon Christian literary culture, even after the island's peoples have been converted (some more, some less), and the churches and monasteries founded by Boniface and his followers in Germania have come into their own and are no longer in need of constant, direct support from English missionaries" (189–90). The final three chapters of the dissertation thus explore apostolic discourse in three works of Old English poetry: *The Fates of the Apostles*, *Christ II,* and *Andreas*. Godlove begins Chapter 3 with a review of scholarship on Cynewulf, concluding that while we should not be in the business of hypothesizing the biographical details of his life, his insertion of his name into his poems to ask for the prayers of his audience demands respect for this increased authorial presence. Godlove turns first to *The Fates of the Apostles* to consider Cynewulf's likely sources—the most probable being apocryphal *acta* and *passiones* of the apostles, and the Litany of the Saints—to argue for "an additional source for both the form and content of Cynewulf's poem, one that combines elements of both source types: liturgical adaptations of the apocryphal Acts for the feast days of the apostles" (201). Godlove notes that the apocryphal Acts were "widely adopted into the liturgical commemoration of the saints" (202), and finds thematic, formal, and performative similarities between antiphonal adaptations of the apocryphal Acts and Cynewulf's poem. Turning to *The Fates of The Apostles*, she explores the concept of *apostolhad* in the poem itself, arguing that the lack of individuality in the presentations of the apostles (for which the poem has often been criticized) is actually a deliberate rhetorical strategy on Cynewulf's part, as the similarities between them stress the shared qualities of the apostles and thus define *apostolhad*. Godlove argues that "Cynewulf's epitomes emphasize five main qualities or characteristics, most of which are shared by several, if not all, of the apostles as he depicts them," namely, in order of prevalence: journeying; suffering/martyrdom; teaching/preaching; shunning worldly glory and possessions; and (largely ignored by Cynewulf) performing miracles (209). Crucially, Godlove argues, "in seeking to follow these same commands through his poetry, Cynewulf aspires to a version of *apostolhad* that will allow him to be numbered among the holy" (209). Cynewulf conceptualizes the apostles dually: as both individuals (humans on earth; models for contemporary Christians) and a collective (a group of holy intercessors in heaven). Finally, Godlove argues that Cynewulf constructs an apostolic authorial identity for himself, prompting the reader to "compare Cynewulf with the protagonists of his poem" (230), as the same five central emphases in Cynewulf's description of the apostles are the same aspects of his own life that Cynewulf reflects on in his prologue, epilogue, and runic signature, demonstrating "the poem's speaker as emphatically engaging in the very same endeavors as the apostles he celebrates" (231), suggesting the poem as a whole models ways for contemporary Christians to shape their lives to an apostolic model.

Chapter 4, "*Apostolhad* and the Gifts of the Holy Spirit: Cynewulf's Apostolic Poetics in *Christ II: Ascension*," furthers these conclusions by arguing that Cynewulf "crafts a special kind of apostolic identity for himself in *Ascension* by associating his poetic abilities with the spiritual gifts given at Pentecost to strengthen the apostles and enable them to preach the Gospel message" throughout the world, permitting him to "chart a spiritual trajectory for himself and his audience modeled on the experiences of the apostles as a group," particularly, one which accounts for their humanity (244). Thus, because the apostles were traditionally equated with language and eloquence, Cynewulf "calls attention to his exercise of poetic abilities as a way to associate himself with the apostles as a fellow missionary and preacher, whose poetry spreads the message of Christ's continuing presence in the world to the Anglo-Saxon people in their ancestral tongue" (245). Godlove argues that Cynewulf, building on a tradition

stemming from Mark 16, positions the two aspects of the apostles as model Christians, "their human frailty and their superhuman heroism" (248), in tension throughout his work, drawing on patristic traditions of the apostles' grief at Jesus's departure to render them "as representatives of humanity" (258) who can thus serve as "singularly imitable models for all Christians," including Cynewulf (259). *Christ II* positions eloquence— poetic skill—as a gift of God, creating an "apostolic" understanding of poetry's purpose: "as one who has received the gift of poetic eloquence, the Christian poet is obliged to use his abilities to further the cause of the Church and, like the apostles," disseminate belief (271). Godlove finds a contrast between the conclusions of *Christ II* and Cynewulf's other works, which focus obsessively on his own sinful nature. *Christ II*, on the other hand, "presents Cynewulf's situation as a sinner common to all mankind, and counsels his audience on ways that they can use the gifts which God has given them to repent their misdeeds through good works" (279), that is, this poem, uncharacteristically "offers *a way out* of the depths of self-loathing and sin-stained abjection" (286).

Godlove's final chapter, "The Reluctant Apostle: Conflicting Models of Apostleship in *Andreas*" argues that this poetic depiction of Andrew's struggles explores what it means to be an apostle. Godlove notes Andrew's popularity in Anglo-Saxon England, particularly the resonance of his conversion of the Mermedonians in the face of attacks from the pagan Vikings. Discussing the contrast between the poem's heroic style and Andrew's reticence, Godlove points to two contrasting attitudes towards the role of suffering in the lives of saints as background for the choice of two different Andrews with which the Anglo-Saxon poet was confronted in constructing his story of Andrew as "reluctant apostle" (306): the Greek agonistic view finds value in suffering *en route* to salvation, while the Roman anesthetic view depicts saints stoic in the face of torture. Godlove argues that *Andreas* is aligned well with Anglo-Saxon apostolic discourse in portraying the humanity of Andrew. Turning to the poem, she sees the initial division of the apostles as a moment which foregrounds the poem's central tension, between the necessity of obeying God's commands and Andrew's human desire to avoid danger and uncertainty (312), and explores Andrew's unresolved reluctance, arguing that "the multiplicity of apostolic discourses overwhelms the poet, and leads him to portray Andrew as a soldier of Christ at war with himself" (332). Godlove considers the *Andreas*-poet's "metapoetic interruption" as "a meditation on the nature of the poet's task and skill, a consideration of the relationship between poetry and preaching" (348), and, following Andy Orchard's arguments for Cynewulf's influence on the *Andreas*-poet, reads the meta-poetic interruption as a response to the precedent set by Cynewulf, demonstrating the poet's awareness of his own and Andrew's perseverance in the face of their human inadequacies. Overall, this impressive dissertation makes a persuasive case for apostolic discourse as a widespread source of rhetorical inspiration in Anglo-Saxon England and a distinctive feature of Anglo-Saxon Christianity.

LB

Lindy Brady's "Echoes of Britons on a Fenland Frontier in the Old English *Andreas*" (*RES* 61: 669–89) neatly reconciles Mermedonia's inherent otherness with recent work that finds similarities between *Andreas*'s depiction of Mermedonia and the geography of Anglo-Saxon England (rather than the traditional Scythia). By identifying Mermedonia with Anglo-Saxon fens, and its cannibals with Britons, Brady argues, *Andreas* makes Mermedonia tantalizingly familiar to its Anglo-Saxon audience while still locating in Mermedonia an all too real threat. Like the fens, Mermedonia is described as both *igland* and *mearc*, and as Brady reminds us, a *mearc* is not merely a fixed physical border, but can also be an imaginative or cultural boundary between peoples that distinguishes between us (Anglo-Saxons, Christians) and them (Britons, cannibals, non-Christians). *Andreas*'s Mermedonia is simultaneously associated with the supernatural threats typical of Old English literature and with the Britons believed by Anglo-Saxons to inhabit the wild borderland spaces of England, including the fens, where they might shelter undetected in large groups (as in Felix's *Vita sancti Guthlaci*, Anglo-Saxon legal documents, and chronicles). The final section of the essay turns from how the Mermedonians are made geographically familiar to how their cannibalism is altered to match practices attributed to Britons. Classical sources painted Britons as cannibals who, unlike anthropophagi, did not depend on human flesh for food, but conducted ritual cannibalism. Similarly, while in other versions of the legend, the Mermedonians are cannibals by choice (they prefer the taste of human flesh), in *Andreas* they are cannibals because they have no access to other food.

JZ

Baptismal Creed

What counts as Old English poetry, and how can we define its characteristics without ignoring those types of poetry not often taught in an introductory class? Moreover, if poetry records for posterity that which a culture finds especially aesthetically important, Sarah

Larratt Keefer asks, what can vernacular translations of Latin liturgical texts tell us about what Anglo-Saxons found worth keeping? As a companion piece to Keefer's recent *Old English Liturgical Poems: A Student Edition* (Calgary: Broadview Press), "'Worship the Lord in the Beauty of Holiness': Latin Prayer and Old English Liturgical Poetry,"*On the Aesthetics of "Beowulf" and Other Old English Poems*, ed. John M. Hill, 101–13, is both a challenge to received generalizations about what Old English poetry is, and an introduction to the shared features of Old English liturgical poetry, including use of the eternal present and certain standardized names for God. These translations represented a move from the public space of the performance of liturgical prose to the "personal" (but not private) space of devotional poetry in the vernacular (103). As Keefer explains, liturgical poetry written in the vernacular was not intended to be used in the liturgy or in teaching, but was devotional or extra-liturgical, to be used in the refectory or at special events "to do with social or regnal celebration" (102). The final section of the essay focuses on *Baptismal Creed* (*olim The Creed*), which blends Latin quotation from the Creed and Old English poetry. In Keefer's reading, the poem is a deliberately crafted and very sophisticated adaptation of liturgical practice, inspired by the form of the *Responsorium*, though not intended to be performed. The author has eliminated exactly half of each of the main tenets of the Creed in the Latin portion of the text, but the missing second half is suggested by the Old English, as though call and response.

JZ

Battle of Maldon

In "Oaths in *The Battle of Maldon*," *The Hero Recovered: Essays on Medieval Heroism in Honor of George Clark*, ed. Waugh and Weldon, 85–109, Stephen J. Harris argues for a reading of *Maldon* that goes beyond its traditional interpretation as a poem concerned with loyalty as an optional decision, in which "each character is imagined" by modern scholars "to *choose* to honor his obligation or not" (85). Harris argues that *Maldon* is less concerned with the decisions of individual characters, but rather, "illustrates the demands of duty by exploring various oaths taken by various classes of men" (85). In Harris's careful reading, the poem understands loyalty to be not a choice, but rather, a legal obligation that binds members of a community to one another: actions are not choices, but social and legal contracts. The poem thus demonstrates a number of ways in which characters fulfill these obligations, because to ignore them would be to risk not only one's own life and reputation, but also the reputation, assets, and future of one's family. In other words, "what seems to be at issue in the poem is not loyal characters or actions versus disloyal characters or actions, but various degrees of loyalty" (87). Throughout the article, Harris explores the ways in which these degrees of loyalty are illustrated through a series of narrated incidents, arguing that *Maldon*, like the Bayeux Tapestry, is structured in a series of episodes, each designed to instruct its audience "in a series of associated legal obligations" that are "not meant to evoke loyalty, nor to critique it, but to explain it" (87). As Harris notes (using the example of Norse sagas), fictional narratives can nonetheless be valuable in understanding the social dynamics of legal proceedings. *Maldon* is concerned with "the legal value of an oath or promise" (88), a concept which was of great importance in Anglo-Saxon England. Harris discusses the weight placed on the spoken oath in Anglo-Saxon England, noting particularly that "oaths were thought akin to prayers and involved participation by a divine judge or judges" in both pagan and Christian belief systems, meaning that "acting legally was not distinguished from acting morally" (90). Increased practices of devotion were legally required in Anglo-Saxon England as a response to the Viking attacks, and *Maldon* participates in this conflation of oaths as both legal and religious obligation in the interest of national security.

Harris argues that the vocabulary of *Maldon* calls particular attention to legal bonds: the repetition of *forlætan* (to release) moves from the horse and the hawk in the poem's opening scene, to the spear that a Viking will later *forlet* into Byrhtnoth, to a man who will *forlet* the field. Throughout the corpus, *forlet* is "used to describe the abandonment or release of property by a previous owner to a new one" (92) and thus suggests the dissolution of legal bonds. Harris argues that just as the hawk's release is different in degree from the horse's release, "the poet prefigures a difference in degree among the oaths or vows of men" (93). For instance, the *cniht* who releases the hawk stands between a ceorl and nobility. While he must fulfill his military obligation when called upon, he is not defined by those military obligations, and, like the hawk, might eventually be released from them (though the poet is careful to note that he will fulfill his obligations). This emphasis on difference of degree resurfaces throughout the poem. Thus while Godric *forlet*, (abandoned) his lord, his brothers Godrine and Godwig *flugon*, flew, from the battle and to the woods, just as the hawk does. Harris raises the point that "one might conclude that with Byrhtnoth's death, and with the flight of Godric, the two brothers are legally released from their personal oaths to Byrhtnoth, and newly obligated by the lesser legal force of their kin relation to follow Godric" (93–94). Throughout, his close study of the poem il-

luminates moments at which *Maldon* calls attention to the process of oath making and fulfillment. For instance, "oaths require both a physical obligation and a spiritual obligation" (94), and the poem emphasizes both the intentions and the physical actions of fulfilling oaths.

Harris also explores the question of what a thane is actually meant to do once his lord has fallen in battle, as it would seem that only in the presence of one's lord can an oath be fulfilled, raising the questions of whether the oaths of the soldiers are still binding after Byrhtnoth's death and whether pagans and Christians can be bound together by oath. Overall, Harris finds that "success depends upon fulfilled oaths, each man depends upon the next, Byrhtnoth depends upon his troops, his troops depend upon him, the King depends upon Byrhtnoth, and all depend upon the Lord" (96). In other words, "the heroic individual is subsumed into this network of mutual dependence," which stands at the heart of a community in Anglo-Saxon England (96). Harris then finds evidence for the poem's concern with the question of whether heathens and Christians can bind themselves together by oaths, recognizing that the Viking messenger switches from addressing Byrhtnoth in the second-person singular to the second-person plural once he realizes that the community acts as a whole. *Maldon* represents the complexity of oaths between peoples who do not share belief in the same higher power, which Harris discusses in the context of II Æthelred. Finally, Harris tracks the pattern of deaths throughout the poem, arguing that the poem contains a pattern of reciprocal deaths, in which most are actually avenged on the field. *Maldon* carefully alternates between Anglo-Saxon and Viking deaths, so that "the poem's balanced lists are an attempt to mollify any potential claims of compensations or revenge for the earlier battle at Maldon" (100). In conclusion, Harris argues that "the question the soldiers ask themselves in this poem is emphatically not 'Should I or should I not be loyal?' but 'How far does my oath bind me?'" (100). *Maldon* illustrates "the legal extent of oaths and not an abstract conflict between loyalty and betrayal" (100), and is thus concerned with demonstrating how much each man's estate compels him to carry out an oath, and the force of an oath in Anglo-Saxon England.

Michael R. Kightley's article, "Communal Interdependence in *The Battle of Maldon*" (*SN* 82: 58–68), is likewise a thoughtful reading of *Maldon*, which explores the social relationships of the men in the poem. As he notes, no Vikings are named in the poem, while numerous Anglo-Saxons are given detailed resumes that include name, family lineage, class, and kingdom. Aesthetically, this creates the effect of positioning a group of distinct individuals on the Anglo-Saxon side, often with individual characters and motivations, against the uniform mass of the Viking army. However, Kightley explores this imbalance of information to argue not simply that the *Maldon*-poet seeks to pit a faceless Viking horde against a community of Anglo-Saxon individuals, but that "the poem is an extended exploration of the relationship between the individual and the community at large, and that it presents the fateful battle as evidence for the thorough dependence of the entire community—be it military, regional, racial, or national—on each of its component members" (58). Kightley discusses the long critical history of engagement with the concept of loyalty in the poem, but argues that, although loyalty is an important part of *Maldon*, we should not become too complacent in our understanding of its role. He argues that the critical consensus which has developed around the importance of loyalty in the poem has created a blind spot that treats the lord-retainer paradigm as central. However, the lord-retainer relationship is not the sole social bond that the *Battle of Maldon* explores—rather, "loyalty is only one of a multiplicity of social connections that underlie the poem" (59). Kightley argues that, while discussions of social relations based on loyalty tend to consider social relationships along a vertical scale (lord to retainer; warrior to king), *Maldon* is also interested in considering horizontal social relationships, and exploring the ways, both positive and negative, in which the decisions of an individual can reverberate throughout a community as a whole. The article includes an extensive list of seventeen examples in which individuals are seen to influence the broader community in *Maldon*, and Kightley argues that these moments are intratextual and that the poem as a whole seeks to create the rhetorical effect of "the assertion of the power of the individual to influence the community" (60). Kightley explores many of these moments throughout the poem—particularly in relation to the figures of Byrhtnoth, Godric, Wulfmær, Dunnere, and Æscferth—noting (as has been observed) that "the poem goes out of its way to make clear that the English defense force is composed of individuals from a variety of identity categories: different ages, classes, and geographical origins" (62). However, Kightley finds more significance in these details than simply a realistic description of an Anglo-Saxon army, arguing that *Maldon* depicts a "web of interdependency" that "extends well past Byrhtnoth's comitatus into the common *fyrd*" (63), finding the ceorl Dunnere's and the Northumbrian hostage Æscferth's ability to influence those around them particularly significant in this respect. After noting that the poem "employs a style heavy in causation in order to foreground the interdependence of each member of the English defense force" (64),

Kightley argues that *Maldon* asserts "that the individual-community relationship works in a similar way on the national level as it does on the level of the army" (65). The battle itself is thus evidence for the thorough dependence of an entire community (military, regional, racial, or national) on each of its component members, and can be read as suggestive of the interdependence of all England on all of its citizens. *Maldon* can be seen as a simultaneous critique of the decisions of individual English leaders that brought about defeat by the Vikings and rationalization of the defeat of the English: while *Englishness* is triumphant at Maldon, decisions of particular *Englishmen* can bring about the downfall of the whole community.

Paul Cavill's essay, "Heroic Saint and Saintly Hero: The *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* and *The Battle of Maldon*," *The Hero Recovered: Essays on Medieval Heroism in Honor of George Clark*, 110–24, makes a compelling case for the value of reading *The Battle of Maldon* and the *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* comparatively. These two texts were composed within a decade or two of each other; both deal with Viking attacks and the deaths of local leaders; and both have connections to Ramsey. While Cavill is careful to note that he is *not* claiming that these two texts are explicitly linked, he does argue that both texts contain important heroic and hagiographical themes, and that a comparison between the two can provide a fruitful illumination of these concepts. In *Maldon*, a comparison to hagiography proves particularly useful in understanding Byrhtnoth, who has been read as either tempted by, or engaged in flyting with, the Viking messenger. As Cavill argues, understanding Byrhtnoth from the perspective of the hagiographical—more specifically, the martyrdom—tradition "enables these disparate views to be reconciled in two ways: the martyr always wins the battle of words, but loses his or her life; and the course of action taken by the martyr is always ill-advised and excessive to those around" (111). Thus, reading Byrhtnoth through the lens of hagiography allows us to understand why he wins at flyting, but loses in battle—this is not a failure, but the ideal progression of events, in the life of a martyr. Cavill notes that both *Maldon* and the *Passio* feature a Viking messenger who announces both demands and threats. In *Maldon*, the demand is for money and the threat is battle; while the *Passio* features a demand of submission and tribute, and a threat of death. As Cavill notes, "in both cases, the heroes refuse the demand and choose the threat" (112), demonstrating "sublime contempt" for the Viking messenger (113). Both die as a result, and preserve their heroic status in their defiance, but "slightly modify the heroic conventions of the topos" in that they "deny the legitimacy of the demand and the right of the aggressor to make it, and most importantly, they question the assumption that might is necessarily right" (113). Cavill also finds a second parallel to hagiographical literature, namely, that both heroes take action contrary to the best advice of their counselors, likely stemming from the Biblical attempt by Peter to dissuade Christ from his mission and inevitable death: Edmund ignores the advice of his bishop to comply with the demands of the Vikings, while we learn in *Maldon* that Offa had warned Byrhtnoth that not all of his troops would prove loyal, and both men are aware of the likely consequences of such actions. Cavill also finds many parallels between the deaths of the two and argues that these hagiographical echoes make Byrhtnoth closer to a martyr. In the second half of the article, building on Roberta Frank's important argument that dying alongside one's lord was widely known and valorized in Anglo-Saxon England, Cavill uses this heroic concept to understand the *Passio*. While many heroic traditions seem inverted (Edmund refusing to fight, or offering tribute willingly), Cavill argues that the *Passio* actually affirms the heroic values of *Maldon*. Edmund's statement that he will not outlive his followers is a question of loyalty, and thus his "refusal to fight is thus made into a refusal to flee, the essentially heroic choice of standing firm and facing the enemy whatever the odds against him" (120). Edmund's refusal to flee the Vikings upholds the honor of his men—in contrast, pointedly, to the reign of Æthelred II. Edmund's refusal to flee thus "asserts the fundamental reciprocity of heroic loyalty" and preserves the honor of himself and his men (121). Overall, Cavill argues that these two texts shed valuable light on one another, as each is concerned, in its own way, with "what it meant to be a hero and a saint" (121). The hagiographical conventions of the *Passio* help to illuminate Byrhtnoth's saintly death, while comparison to *Maldon* illuminates Edmund's apparent anti-heroic stance as, in actuality, quite heroic. Cavill concludes that these texts affirm the royal saint and the saintly hero, understand that "Christian ends may be served by heroic means," and ultimately, in their own way, understand that "the Viking threat would need to be met with both faith and courage" (122).

LB

Cædmon's Hymn

In "Cædmon's Hymn: Context and Dating" (*ES* 91: 817–25), Dennis Cronan uses a close reading of Book 4, Chapters 23 and 24 of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* to argue for a revised date of the composition of *Cædmon's Hymn* in the early 680s, instead of the generally accepted dating of 657–680. As Cronan argues, the commonly accepted dating of the story of *Cædmon's Hymn* hinges

on its apparent occurrence during the abbacy of Hild (657–680). Cronan argues that while Book 4, Chapter 24, makes clear the importance of the abbess of Whitby in the acceptance of Cædmon as a poet and his assimilation into the monastery, and indeed, stresses numerous thematic and motivic parallels between Cædmon and Hild, a careful reading reveals that Bede never actually names Hild as the abbess during the episode in which *Cædmon's Hymn* is set. Since this omission seems surprising, Cronan argues that we cannot take the assumption that Hild is abbess at face value, and thus "Cædmon may have flourished as a poet a decade or two later than has commonly been assumed" (818). Chapter 23, immediately prior to the story of Cædmon, discusses Hild's life, death, and establishment of the monastery. As Cronan notes, "this brief life of Hild is so obviously the proper context for the story of Cædmon that it is easy to overlook the significance of what Bede accomplishes with this placement" (818). While "a network of thematic connections" bind Chapters 23 and 24 together, these connections only make Hild's omission in Chapter 24 all the more striking, as she would have been "the most important member of Cædmon's audience were she there" (818). Cronan elaborates the many connections between Hild and Cædmon—the legacy of Whitby, the importance of dreams in each chapter—arguing that "the story of Cædmon is presented as the most detailed illustration and perhaps the most significant manifestation of the impact of the light of Hild on the spread of the gospel and the development of the English church" (820). Yet Hild is not named in the story of Cædmon itself, and so Cronan argues that the mention of *an* abbess in the story of *Cædmon's Hymn* is actually a clever sleight of hand on Bede's part, one which preserves the importance of Hild even after her death. Bede omits Hild's name in Chapter 24 not to "kill her off" with "an early exit before he narrated the story of Cædmon," but to "emphasize the role of Hild, not to diminish it" (821). Thus, it is the name of Hild's successor Ælfflaed which is deliberately omitted, and in doing so, "Bede gives an appearance of continuity, eliding the *absence* of Hild, not her *presence*" (821). As Cronan argues, if this is true, the date of Cædmon should be adjusted: "instead of flourishing before 680, as he is commonly assumed to have done, Cædmon may still have been composing poems while Bede was a deacon during the 690s" (821). Cronan also argues for ambiguity in Bede's language in two passages—one that gives the impression Cædmon was the first to compose Christian poetry in English, and the other that implies that Cædmon was a herdsmen. In both cases, Cronan suggests that Bede "may have been willing to leave his readers with an impression that was not literally true if this impression was in the service of a higher truth" (823)—namely, the divine authorization of Christian poetry in English, or the clear biblical resonance of implying Cædmon was a herdsman. As Cronan concludes, we must recognize that the critical consensus for dating *Cædmon's Hymn* to the abbacy of Hild "is based upon what appears to be an instance of deliberate evasiveness on Bede's part" (824), making a slightly later dating likely.

Ian Lancashire's *Forgetful Muses: Reading the Author in the Text* (Toronto: U of Toronto P), includes a brief mention of *Cædmon's Hymn* as "the first muse experience in English poetry" (24), as a poem that "emerges from the unconscious, segmented as a cognitive psychologist today would expect" (25) in a book that, overall, takes a highly personalized neuro-cognitive approach to literature, arguing for the "muse" of the unconscious mind as the genesis of thought.

Dongill Lee's article on "The Authorship of 'Caedmon's Hymn' in Relation to Old English Composition and Theological Interpretation" (*Medieval and Early Modern English Studies* 18: 287–315), is in Korean, which this reviewer unfortunately does not read. However, the article is followed by an English abstract (314–15) from which I paraphrase: it is generally assumed that *Cædmon's Hymn* was composed by Cædmon. However, because Bede's Latin paraphrase of the *Hymn* in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* differs from the Old English version in terms of content, "some significant questions arise as to the original form of the alleged hymn and the true authorship of Cædmon" (314). Lee argues that "unlike the Latin paraphrase, the later versions in Old English show that they are composed following the tradition of theological interpretation established by those early Christian exegetes such as Augustine and St Basil," because it seems "quite unlikely that Bede omitted willingly or mistakenly those key phrases '*eci Dryctin or astelidae*' . . . and '*ece drihten aefter tida firum on foldum, frea aelmyhtig*'" (314). While Lee believes that Bede understood the hymn to be Cædmon's and was indeed paraphrasing an extant poem, the article concludes that "it is quite probable that the late Old English versions were reconstructed, based on the Cædmon's original hymn, by those who are familiar with the art of Old English composition and the Christian tradition of biblical interpretation initiated by the early Christian exegetes" (315).

Barbara Kowalik's interesting book, *Betwixt 'engelaunde' and 'englene lond': Dialogic Poetics in Early English Religious Lyric*, Studies in Medieval Language and Literature 31 (Bern: Peter Lang), consists largely of careful readings of many lesser-known early Middle English religious lyrics, but will be of particular interest to Anglo-Saxonists for her discussions of *Cædmon's Hymn,*

Fates of the Apostles, and *Advent Lyric VII*. The book as a whole argues that there is great dramatic potential in the dialogic form of the "somewhat-neglected" genre of early English religious lyrics, and Kowalik reads religious lyric poems as a dialogic means of communication between the earthly and heavenly realms of *engelaunde* and *englene lond*. While the bulk of texts under consideration are early Middle English lyrics (the book is followed by a six-page index of medieval texts discussed), Kowalik analyzes a variety of Old and Middle English religious lyrics in dialogue form, dialogic sequences of lyrics (individual poems juxtaposed to speak to one another in manuscript context), and explores the connections between dialogic lyrics and medieval drama. The book begins with an introduction which lays out the argument, subject, and critical methodology of the study—Kowalik builds on the work of scholars such as Christopher Cannon, David Wallace, Paul Strohm, and finds Mikhail Bakhtin's notion of dialogism particularly useful. Chapter One explores dialogue lyrics across a wide range of texts, including the Old English *Advent Lyric VII*, with its dramatic conversation between Mary and Joseph, and Kowalik fruitfully compares dialogic lyrics to medieval drama. While no Old English manuscripts are considered, this reviewer found the most intriguing part of Chapter One to be Kowalik's discussion of medieval lyrics in their manuscript context as "lyrical diptychs"—poems deliberately juxtaposed in a manuscript to create "dialogic assemblages" across multiple poems. As Kowalik argues, "some of the poems heretofore edited, printed, and discussed as individual texts meaningfully react with adjacent poems in the immediate manuscript context, forming semiotic structures of a higher level" (46), and future studies of early Middle English lyrics certainly cannot afford to ignore manuscript context following these conclusions. Kowalik finds many convincing illustrations of lyrical diptychs or triptychs, poems arranged deliberately to speak to one another: for instance, in New College, Oxford MS 88, "in the first poem Jesus pleads from the Cross, in the second—man replies" (46); two verses written in the margin of different folios of the sixteenth-century British Library, Royal 9. C. II; or the 1372 *Preaching Book of John Grimestone*, which Kowalik argues has been arranged to form a meaningful poetic and narrative sequence. The chapter concludes with a discussion of the potential for performativity of these dialogic lyrics and lyrical diptych sequences.

Chapter Two, "Cultural Transactions in Prayer Poems," will be of most interest to Anglo-Saxonists, as it contains discussions of *Cædmon's Hymn* and *Fates of the Apostles*. Whereas Chapter One considered dialogic poems in which both voices of the dialogue are represented, Chapter Two discusses prayer poems as a dialogue between the speaker and God—as Kowalik notes, "in prayer the speaker 'I/we' engages a more powerful 'thou/you' across a metaphysical boundary" (93). *Cædmon's Hymn* is the first example of such a prayer poem, and Kowalik combines a historical approach to Cædmon's life and known biography, Bede's conventions of biblical and historical writing, and a close reading of the poem itself, to argue that *Cædmon's Hymn* is an artful blend of new Christian and native Germanic imagery and poetic traditions: God is cast as a Germanic protector and lord, and earth conceptualized as a Germanic hall. Kowalik's reading of *Fates of the Apostles* (discussed in greater detail below, under the section on *Fates of the Apostles*, as "The Motif of Journey in Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles,*" *Þe Comoun Peplis Language,* ed. Krygier, Sikorska, Ciszek and Bronk, 99–111), argues that Cynewulf casts the apostles as undertaking Christianized versions of the heroic Germanic motif of the journey for fame and glory. The rest of the chapter considers a wide range of early Middle English prayer poems—those of St. Godric of Finchale, an *Antiphon* of St. Thomas of Canterbury, William of Shoreham, and Lydgate's prayer against the plague, among others—concluding that in dialogic prayer poems, "the cultural values associated with the present and the past, and projected upon the future, are negotiated and re-established through an appeal to a higher, celestial authority" (144–45). Chapter Three, "A Latent Metaphysics of Communication," attempts to "reconstruct an overall model of transcendent communication underlying medieval devotional poetry" (147). Kowalik considers poetic self-awareness of the lyric as a genre of communication between "middle-earth" and the heavenly realm, and the privileged role that the English vernacular eventually came to play in conceptualizing this system of communication, as well as poetic efforts to represent the languages of the natural world. Kowalik considers macaronic poems, poetic representations of music, ocular speech, and the intermediary of the Virgin Mary as channels of communication between the human and the divine in medieval religious lyrics, concluding that devotional lyrics can be understood as "an important branch of vernacular theology and as one of its most imaginative enactments" (206). Finally, "in lieu of conclusion," Chapter Four explores "continuations of dialogic poetics in Renaissance religious lyric." Kowalik concludes that, while "Renaissance lyric developed new individual styles, it often enacted religious feelings through dialogic scripts that go back to medieval prayers and dialogues" (207). She closes with Herbert as an example of a poet whose works are close to medieval

dialogic poetics, "preoccupied with interactions between *engelaunde* and *englene londe*" (226).

LB

Charm Against Theft

The "theft-ritual" appears in multiple legal manuscripts, including *Textus Roffensis*, but is not included in Liebermann's edition and has not generally been treated as a legal text. Andrew Rabin's "Ritual Magic or Legal Performance? Reconsidering an Old English Charm against Theft," *English Law Before Magna Carta: Felix Liebermann and "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen*," ed. Jurasinski, Oliver, and Rabin [see section 2], 177–95, argues for understanding it as a legal text, or at least one that "held some sort of legal meaning, whether or not it represented actual practice" (180). Drawing on John Hudson's concept of the "legal norm," Rabin explores the ways in which a text might supplement and shape legal practice and belief without necessarily being part of a formalized law code. In the first part of the essay, Rabin argues that the revisions to the "theft-ritual" were not the result of oral performance, but "most likely emerged from a highly literate, textual (and probably monastic) culture" (190). These intentional modifications were meant to distance the "theft-ritual" from magic and align it with legal texts (especially the Edward-Edmund group), and reflect contemporary interest in housebreaking as well as liturgical and Biblical precedence for the protection of home and property. The second section of the essay compares the charm to Anglo-Saxon anathemas, arguing that both threaten divine rather than human punishment "as a way to situate local custom within a larger system of legal norms and Christian orthodoxy" (193). In other words, these threats of divine punishment move the text from the local to the universal, exerting Christian and legal norms without necessarily being strictly religious or strictly legal texts.

JZ

Christ and Satan

Rafał Borysławski, in his article "Between *Oferhygd* and *Wræclastas*: Pride and Exile in the Speculative Afterlife of *Christ and Satan*," *Thise Stories Beren Witnesse: The Landscape of the Afterlife in Medieval and Post-Medieval Imagination*, ed. Liliana Sikorska and Katarzyna Bronk (Bern: Peter Lang), 21–30, argues that exile and excessive pride, *oferhygd*, are mutually interdependent in *Christ and Satan*, bringing traditional Germanic concepts into a Christian belief system. While pride is, in some ways, a necessary value for a Germanic hero; *oferhygd* (too much pride) can cause a hero's downfall, as is the case with Satan in *Christ and Satan*. Building on the work of J. R. Hall on the theological unity of the *Junius* manuscript, Borysławski argues that a concern with the themes of exile and pride is visible throughout all the poems in *Junius*, arguing more particularly for the centrality of St. Augustine's "views on pride as the primal source of all sin," "conjoined with the Old English topos of displacement and exile" (23). In *Christ and Satan*, Borysławski argues, Satan's exile is brought about by his excessive pride, and excessive pride as a cause of exile is a thematic constant throughout the poem, as Satan's state is clearly analogous to the postlapsarian plight of mankind: it "mirrors the fate of a presumptuous man in that it ends in exile from the divine grace" (26). Satan's exile parallels descriptions of exile in *The Wanderer,* and Borysławski also finds "inverted parallels to the pre-Christian tradition" recorded in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*: the description of Satan as *engla ordfruman* recalls the *engla/Engle* pun made famous by Pope Gregory, while the description of Hell as *windiga sele*, "windy hall," is the opposite of the image of the hall as peaceful center of human social life found in the story of the sparrow from the conversion of Edwin—as an exile, *heall* turns to *helle*, not a refuge but a place of exile. As Borysławski argues, "what *Christ and Satan* portrays is a terrifyingly graphic allegorical vision of an afterlife as everlasting exile from divine grace resulting from *oferhygd*" (27). Borysławski argues that the twelfth chapter of Alfred's Boethius similarly conceptualizes Hell as an antonym of hall (significantly, departing from *De Consolation Philosophiae* to do so), brought about as a result of pride. Thus, the warning against excessive pride "may have been particularly meaningful to the aristocratic Anglo-Saxon audiences for whom pride was an inherent attribute" (29), linking Germanic and Christian concepts together to warn that the afterlife of pride is exile, and *helle* is the opposite of *heall*.

LB

Christ I

Maria José Sánchez di Nieva's "The Significance of Mary's Role in the *Exeter Book Advent Lyrics*" (*SELIM* 16: 47–64), argues that the Marian content of the *Advent Lyrics* (*Christ I*) is not only worthy of study in its own right, but also aligns with the ideological concerns of the tenth-century Benedictine Reform, providing a valuable clue into a possible date for the *Advent Lyrics* themselves. The article considers the *Advent Lyrics* in the context of the increase of liturgical, literary, and iconographical material devoted to Mary during the period of the Benedictine Reform. Building on prior work, particularly that of Mary Clayton and Robert Deshman, on the importance of Mary in the *Advent Lyrics*, Sánchez di Nieva focuses particularly on the Marian imagery in Lyrics 4,

7, and 9 as a noteworthy departure from their antiphonal source—a departure that highlights Mary's presence. She argues that *Advent Lyric* 4 stresses Mary's prominence and active involvement in Christ's redemption of mankind, finding that "the Advent poet was concerned with characterizing Mary as a figure of supreme power and authority" (52), particularly in her role as queen consort, recalling Ælfthryth's role as the official patroness of nunneries (described in the preface to the *Regularis Concordia*) during her marriage to Edgar. In Lyric 7, Mary is seen to undergo a significant evolution from mortal woman to the Lord's temple. Significantly, as this lyric has no known liturgical parallel, it further underscores the prominence of Marian imagery in the *Advent Lyrics* as a whole, while its emphasis on Mary's legitimacy finds echoes in contemporary politics, as the New Minster Refoundation charter (966) emphasizes the legitimacy of Ælfthryth (and her son Edmund), in contrast to Æthelfæd. Lyric 9 builds on the prior lyrics as "a celebration of Mary's acknowledged status as queen of heaven" (56) with particular attention to Mary's chastity. Sánchez di Nieva points out moments at which the *Advent Lyrics* depart from the antiphonal source to elevate Mary's role, as well as contemporary parallels to the ceremonial aspects of queenship in the Sherborne Pontifical and Byrhtferth of Ramsey's *Vita sancti Oswaldi*. Finally, Sánchez di Nieva argues that paleographical evidence further supports the argument that "the Advent poet was clearly interested in endowing Mary with an outstanding role as queen consort of Christ and as His chief collaborator in Salvation History" (59)—namely, that "the use of end-punctuation, capitalization, and spacing seems to point to the scribe's attempt to define four sections in the Advent sequence, three of which precisely start at Lyrics 4, 7, 9—the Marian Lyrics," suggesting "the scribe's intent to grant the Marian Lyrics of the Advent sequence special visual emphasis" (60). The heightened importance of Mary in the *Advent Lyrics* also finds suggestive parallels to contemporary concerns of queenship, particularly the focus on Ælfthryth as Edgar's legitimate queen, and the overall emphasis on Marian devotion strongly suggests the influence of Benedictine concerns.

Tiffany Beechy's article, "*Eala Earendel*: Extraordinary Poetics in Old English," (*MP* 108: 1–19), argues that the Old English phrase *eala earandel*, which appears only once in *Christ I* (l. 104) as a translation of the Latin *O Oriens*, is nonetheless an oral formula—a "hapax phrase" (2), as Beechy terms it. Beechy carefully defines her methodology as a combination of literary criticism and a philological approach—as she notes, her essay's "disciplinary and epistemological orientation is literary-critical, though its approach is fundamentally informed by linguistics" (1)—to argue that even a hapax phrase can be understood as a formula with the right interpretive tools. Building on the work of Mark Amodio on oral formulaic poetry, Calvert Watkins on Indo-European tradition, and Roman Jakobson on the linguistics of poetics, Beechy takes an approach to understanding *eala earendel* as a formula that is not based on frequency, but on lexical distribution, and her essay as a whole seeks to make a case for "the interpretive (literary-critical, as opposed to exclusively philological) potential of close linguistic analysis" (2). As is well known, the Old English lyrics of *Christ I* are loosely based on the Latin antiphons, "amplifications" (3) rather than straightforward translations: just as the Latin antiphon expands its short invocation, so do the body sections of the Old English lyrics amplify their Latin sources while retaining content and structure, while their invocations are a more straightforward direct correspondence to the Latin. Of the invocations, each pairs Latin *O* with Old English *Eala* and a direct address to the relevant biblical figure. As Beechy notes, even these brief invocations, in the Old English translations, are artful—they are not glosses, but metrically sound "sense for sense" renderings. In contrast, *eala earendel* is the only "word for word" translation of its Latin source *O Oriens*, corresponding in "semantics and morphosyntax" (5). As Beechy notes, while "*earendel* is an exceptionally good match for *Oriens*" (6), it is extremely rare, appearing only seven times in the Old English corpus; while *Oriens* appears twenty-two times with an Old English gloss, none of which is *earendel*. Thus, the *Christ I* poet's choice of *earendel* seems significant.

Beechy argues that *earendel* is "part of a larger verbal network offering praise to the dawn and its associated celestial bodies" (7) from its use in *Christ I* and *Blickling Homily XIV*. Also part of this network is *Lucifer*, which is not automatically equated with Satan until Wycliffe in England, but rather, in the Anglo-Saxon period, "had several, usually positive meanings" (8): light-bearer, morning star, sign of Christ's birth. As this is glossed with *earendel* in the Blickling Homily, Beechy concludes that *earendel* was perceived by Anglo-Saxons as "an appropriate object of liturgical praise, an epithet for the morning star . . . the name of the prelapsarian angel of light . . . a quasi-mythological figure who personified a natural phenomenon (sunrise) and an astrological/astronomical object (the morning star)" (9). As Beechy notes, it is important to recognize that "the associative networks that maintain connections among words" (9) still exist even when not all words are present (as the word "merry" to a modern American English speaker would evoke only a small number of phrases: merry Christmas, make merry, etc.). Beechy argues that, similarly, *earendel*

in Old English is likely to be "associated with old litanies of praise to the dawn," triggering a series of associations: the vocative hail of O! (*eala*); the light (*leoma*), of the sun (*sunna*) and "the validating mark of truth (*soð-*)" (10). She argues that the *Christ I* poet links *eala earendel* in an appositive relation to the *soð- . . . sunna . . . leoma* collocation. There is dense poetic patterning in the section of the poem surrounding *eala earendel*, all of which "invokes a different attribute of the 'true light of the sun'" (11). Beechy uses Jakobsonian analysis and the work of Calvert Watkins to highlight the passage's exceptional poetic structure, a "dense structure of phonetic equivalence tokens" beyond the normal rules of meter that may represent an inherited form from an older stage of the language (14).

Beechy then concludes with a separate section on the possible formulaic status of *eala earendel*, discussing Germanic cognates of *earendel*, all of which are personal names, not generic nouns, and in each case, "all roads eventually lead to a definition 'shining one' or 'ray of light'" (15). In the Old English corpus, *earendel* is a rare gloss for Latin *iubar*, the preferred term being *leoma*; yet the poetic Durham Hymnal Gloss contains two instances of *earandel*, glossing *aurora,* which is also glossed with the more prosaic *dægrima*. Both words appear in the same line, glossing *aurora*, but the difference is that *earendel* adjoins the word *eall* (the other instance of *earendel* adjoins the word *eallunga*), and Beechy thus argues that the Durham Hymnal Gloss provides evidence of "a phonetic trigger to which the glossator was sensitive" (18), *eall-* being the trigger that produces *earendel*, while in the absence of *eall-* and needing a word for "dawn," *dægrima* suffices. This provides evidence enough that *eala earendel* is a formula, so much so that it would trigger phonetic-associative echoes. Beechy concludes that, while we are used to identifying formulas based on their frequency of appearance, historical linguistics can usefully identify "today's anomalies as yesterday's regularities" (19), of which *eala earendel* is an example.

In "Temporal Confusion: *Christ I* as Medieval Lyric" (*Enarratio* 15 [2008]: 1–16), Liam Felsen argues that *Christ I* is "much more than a secondary imitation of patristic thought," and in actuality combines Augustinian philosophy with the conventions of lyric poetry in order to allow its readers simultaneous access to "the past coexistence of Christ with the Father before the creation of the universe, the birth of Christ, through Mary, into the world of men, the Harrowing of Hell, and even the future Judgment" (1). Felsen understands the lyric to "exchange the diachronic or chronological order of the world for a synchronic or simultaneous one," and thus, in the "lyric moment," "all aspects of time—past, present, and future—come together as one"; likewise, as expressed in Book XI of Augustine's *Confessions*, while human beings exist in the temporal world, God, and divine perception, exist "outside the constraints of time" (2). Because *Christ I* depicts Christ's birth, yet the poem's audience is aware of his past and future actions from creation until judgment day, Felsen argues, "we momentarily can gain the same type of divine perception which—according to Augustine—is usually reserved for God alone" (3). Felsen follows the work of Thomas D. Hill in noting the Anglo-Saxon poet's rearranging of events in Christ's life, arguing that, in the lyric moment, "these events, no longer circumscribed by linear time, escape from the barriers of mortal temporality; in doing so, they allow us, for a moment only, to glimpse the singularity of time within which, according to Augustine, only God exists" (5). Thus, reading *Christ I* "through the lens of lyric poetry and Augustinian perception" forces a reader to interpret the poem "typologically rather than chronologically," creating a moment of divine perception (13).

LB

Chronicle Poems: Death of Edgar, Coronation of Edgar, Malcolm and Margaret

Scott Thompson Smith's article on "The Edgar Poems and the Poetics of Failure in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*" (*ASE* 39: 105–37), takes advantage of the fact that the two Edgar poems in the ABC manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* can be dated with such precision, as "near-contemporary witnesses to the events they describe" (107), to argue that these works can be usefully understood as products of two very different historical moments during the Benedictine Reform. Moreover, both poems usher in new ways in which poetry can function in the *Chronicle*, marking a shift away from its prior role solely as a celebration of West Saxon achievements. While *The Coronation of Edgar* (which appears under the annal for 973) is written from a monastic perspective late in Edgar's reign and adopts dynastic praise poetry to ecclesiastical concerns, praising the king in order to ultimately affirm his divinely-sanctioned sovereignty; *The Death of Edgar*, under the annal for 975, breaks with the tradition of celebratory poems that have appeared up to this point in the *Chronicle* and instead offers "a grim catalogue of misfortune which begins in Edgar's death" (107) in order, ultimately, to lament the attacks on monastic landholdings that come about in the wake of his passing. While both poems have come under criticism for aesthetic reasons, as Smith notes, recent scholarship has begun to see their value, particulary in understanding

late tenth-century political and cultural concerns. Smith extends this conversation, arguing that the poems can be best appreciated as products of their particular historical circumstances. As he argues, while *The Coronation of Edgar* follows earlier poems in the *Chronicle* in commemorating an important political event, here "the poem provides the event with a pronounced ecclesiastical rather than territorial interest," as Edgar symbolizes the ascendancy of the Benedictine reform, his consecration the combination of royal and ecclesiastical authority in one (106). Many texts produced during Edgar's reign "advocated ideals of unity and uniformity in the English kingdom" (109), particularly in the wake of the years of split rule between Edgar and Eadwig (957–59), years for which the sparse *Chronicle* accounts are blind to a flurry of political activity evidenced in wills and charters. After 959, ecclesiastical texts reveal "a monastic view of Edgar as a force for politicial unification endorsed by God" (111), rhetoric also present in documentary texts (charters, law-codes), revealing, at the very least, both ecclesiastical and diplomatic "attention to the significance of political unification" (112). The rhetoric of Anglo-Saxon political unity is well-matched with the "promulgation of a uniform monastic rule" designed to standardize institutional practice and subsume difference found in the Benedictine Reform, and a range of texts thus "collectively imagine Edgar as the foundation of nation and church, establishing the king as a guiding force essential to the unity and welfare of the English people" (115), goals further evident in Edgar's coin reform in the 970s. Thus, Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973 furthered this rhetoric of national unity centered around the figure of the king. *The Coronation of Edgar* in the *Chronicle*, however, unlike previous *Chronicle* poems, is less concerned with the "dynastic and territorial concerns advanced in the earlier poems" (120), instead presenting the coronation "primarily as an ecclesiastical affair" (119), underscoring Edgar's support for monastic reform and situating his kingship within Christian history.

The Death of Edgar represents an even sharper departure from previous *Chronicle* poems, as, rather than commemorating a dynastic event, this poem "rolls out an imagistic panorama of misfortunes beginning in Edgar's death" (122). As Smith argues, the poem "turns the common political dictum that a good king brings prosperity to its negative corollary: a good king's death means great disaster" (122). Similar anxiety over internal discord following a king's death appears in ecclesiastical writings in the eighth century (Alcuin writing after the deaths of Æthelred, Offa, and Ecgfrith), based on awareness of the social disintigration that could follow the death of a king, particularly when succession was uncertain, as well as in *Beowulf*. *The Death of Edgar* laments the internal disruption following the death of the king, particularly given the uncertainly of succession: Edgar's two sons, Edward and Æthelred, were not only young, but born to two different mothers, creating obviously competing interests. Smith argues, interestingly, that the poem's often-criticized structure—a catalogue of misfortunes—is deliberate, "the 'fragmentation' in the poem's structure mirrors a perceived fracturing of unity and prosperity in the kingdom after Edgar's death" (127). Particularly lamented, are, of course, the widespread attacks on monastic landholdings in the wake of Edgar's death, casting the monks as victims, yet without accusing particular attackers. The poem also laments the exile of Oslac, which Smith argues "thematically follows upon the 'scattering' of the monks from their land in Mercia" (133), and closes with more general experiences of doom across England, a litany of unhappiness which links "public misfortunes back to the death of the king" (136). Both Edgar poems, then, are "very much texts of their contemporary moments," and introduce "a new function for verse in the *Chronicle*" (137).

Thomas A. Bredehoft's important article, "Malcolm and Margaret: The Poem in Annal 1067D," *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History*, 31–48, adds a new poem (*Malcolm and Margaret*) to the canon of Old English poetry. This valuable essay gives us the poem itself, broadens the corpus of late Old English metrics, clarifies the events of Annal 1067D, provides new evidence for the relationship between (and dating of) the D and E versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, suggests that the *Malcolm and Margaret*-poet saw Ælfric as a poetic master worth imitating, and, finally, concludes with an edition, notes, and translation of *Malcolm and Margaret*. This poem stems from a five-line passage in annal 1067D, in alliterating and rhyming verse, printed by Earle and Plummer as verse in their edition of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (although it begins in the middle of a sentence). Yet as Bredehoft conclusively demonstrates, "annal 1067D actually includes a poem of no less than thirty-five lines, making it the longest of the Chronicle poems to be excluded by the ASPR" (32). He notes that this poem has not been recognized as such due to a failure to understand the metrical conventions of late Old English verse, and that moreover, perceptible thematic connections can be drawn between classical Old English poems and the *Chronicle*-poems, "suggesting that where modern scholars have often found irreconcilable differences, Anglo-Saxon chroniclers may have found continuities" (32). The poem occurs "at or near the beginning" of what has been understood as an interpolation in annal 1067D, "one of the many cases

of chronological look-forward in the Chronicle that announces to readers that the annal (or part of it) was composed some time after its nominal date" (33). Thus, the interpolation in annal 1067D looks forward to the marriage of Malcolm and Margaret in 1070, and Bredehoft argues that the beginning of the interpolation and the poem, which details Malcom and Margaret's courtship and marriage, coincide. While the interpolation has been hypothesized as deriving from a lost *Life* of Margaret, Bredehoft concludes that this hypothesis has arisen precisely because such a small portion of the interpolated material appeared to be metrical, thus giving the impression that "it was excerpted from some larger, but lost, source" (34). However, Bredehoft finds the poem "syntactically, stylistically, and rhetorically complete," eliminating the need to postulate a lost *Life* of Margaret.

Building on his earlier work *Early English Metre* (Toronto, 2005) and *Textual Histories: Readings in the "Anglo-Saxon Chronicle"* (Toronto, 2001), Bredehoft argues that *Malcolm and Margaret* clarifies our knowledge of later Old English verse, and thus our understanding of other passages that "seem only marginally poetic" (32). As he notes, late Old English verse differs from classical Old English verse (as described by Sievers and Bliss) in three basic ways: it makes no use of resolution; makes use of only two metrically distinct stress levels; and allows extrametrical syllables before any initial foot (34). There were also "associated changes at the level of the full line, allowing alliteration to link any two syllables . . . and allowing verse rhyme to link half-lines" (34–35). Bredehoft provides a detailed list of the types of stressed feet newly allowed in late Old English verse, noting that as a whole, there was "a much larger number of allowed metrical feet than classical verse," but the rules for combining them were simplified (35). *Malcolm and Margaret* displays verbal parallels with earlier poems, particularly *Chronicle* poems: *Beowulf*, *Daniel*, the 975DE poem, and *The Death of Alfred*. Moreover, many lines of *Malcolm and Margaret* echo passages from Ælfric's late Old English verse compositions. Bredehoft identifies a number of strong verbal parallels to Ælfric's works, and as he notes, identifying these parallels in light of understanding *Malcolm and Margaret* as a poem "offers surprising but important evidence for a near-contemporary perception that Ælfric himself wrote verse" (38). Bredehoft identifies several ways in which *Malcolm and Margaret* "fits well within the standards of late Old English verse" (38), and argues that as a whole, these lines do possess "the thematic coherence and unity that we would hope to find in a poem" (38) which stands on its own and need not be understood as an excerpt from a longer work.

Finally, Bredehoft concludes with an important discussion of this poem's role in the *Chronicle* tradition and the relationship between manuscripts of the *Chronicle*. He notes that the poem's passages which praise Margaret's Christian influence on Malcolm seem to "quite explicitly echo or recall the praise given to Edgar in the Wulfstanian poem recorded in annal 959DE," and revises his previous conclusion that the ecclesiastical and religious concerns of the Wulfstanian poems had little impact upon the *Chronicle*, placing *Malcolm and Margaret* in a continuation of two of the *Chronicle*'s most central themes: the legitimacy and perpetuation of the West Saxon royal line and its influence on Anglo-Saxon Christianity (39). Bredehoft notes that understanding *Malcolm and Margaret* more fully leads to a better understanding of the relationship between the D and E manuscripts of the *Chronicle*. D and E have been understood as sharing a common source, each with its own additional material. As Bredehoft notes, extracting the interpolation should thus "yield a resulting text more representative of the hypothetical shared source of 1067D and 1067E" (40), but this is not the case, as comparing the two versions (minus the poem) nonetheless demonstrates a close relationship between the two texts: "the 1067E version appears to be a mere simplification of the longer 1067D passage," and some of E's simplified material corresponds to the interpolated poem itself (41). Thus, Bredehoft argues that the E-manuscript derives from a text like D, which already included the 1067D poem, suggesting that "the end sections of the D Chronicle may have been more widely distributed than has generally been realized, and that it is the E-manuscript which diverges, in this section, from D, rather than the other way around" (42). These conclusions impact the dating of the D and E versions: if E relies on a D-like text, then it may be "impossible to date the composition of the 1067 annal (and possibly subsequent annals as well) to any point much earlier than Cubbin's 'circa 1080' with any certainty," thus suggesting that "we very probably ought to see the E Chronicle's post-Conquest record as one that has been highly and consciously edited" (42). Bredehoft argues that "the fact that the interpolation contains both a poem and an alliterating genealogy makes it almost certain that it was composed explicitly for the Chronicle, where these two genres are so prominent, rather than imported wholesale from some other source" (44). Overall, this valuable article adds to our knowledge of late Old English verse, our understanding of the *Chronicle* and the relationships between its manuscripts, and most importantly, discovers a new Old English poem.

LB

Elene

Alfred Bammesberger's "A Note on Cynewulf's *Elene*," (*N&Q* n.s. 57: 457–59), takes up the question of line 1228a in *Elene*, part of several lines which refer to the Feast of the Invention of the Cross on May 3. Lines 1226b–28a (in the ASPR) read, "Wæs þa lencten agan / butan vi nihtum ær sumeres cyme / on maias kalend," for MS *on maias.kł* in 1228a, and as Bammesberger notes, "even if it is unlikely that a definitive answer can be given, it is worth asking what the authorial version lying behind this manuscript reading may have been" (458). Bammesberger surveys various proposed emendations: P. O. E. Gradon offers *on Mai[u]s monaδ*, following Kenneth Sisam, about which Stanley expresses misgivings based on the number of alterations required and the irregular meter that results. Bammesberger agrees with these objections, and adds the additional problem that *on* is one of a category of Old English prepositions which take the accusative when there is motion, but the dative when there is none. Thus for 'in the month' we would expect *on monðe* (*on þam monþe* occurs three times in *The Seasons for Fasting*), and Bammesberger argues that *on Maias monðe* could suffice; yet if the word between *on* and *monðe* is monosyllabic, then "the half-line *on X monðe* can be read as a C-verse similar to *on þam monþe*" (458). Bammesberger follows Stanley's argument that *May* retains its Latin appearance in the diphthong *ai*, as well as its endings, in Old English; as Bammesberger notes, as in the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (the eclipse in 664: *wæs þy þriddan dæge Mai þæs monþes*). Thus, Bammesberger concludes that the authorial reading of *Elene* line 1228a was likely *on Mai monþe*. This is both logical (summer began on 9 May, and so six nights earlier is 3 May, the feast of the Invention of the Cross) and metrically regular (*on Mai monþe* is a regular C verse; similarly structured C-verses are to be found elsewhere in *Elene* and in *Beowulf*, as is double alliteration).

In "Literal and Spiritual Depths: Re-thinking the 'drygne seaδ' of *Elene*" (*Quaestio Insularis* 10 [2009]: 27–44), Daniel Thomas offers a thoughtful and philologically-grounded reading of an episode in *Elene* which has often troubled readers, namely, Elene's imprisonment of Judas Cyriacus in a dried-up well, a *drygne seaδ*. As Thomas notes, "the recognition of inverted hagiographical tropes in the account has made the presentation of the queen seem worryingly ambiguous," as "the incarceration and starvation of the Jewish representative by the Christian queen distortedly reflects the fate of countless Christian martyrs, threatened with unpleasant death unless they recant their faith" (27). Indeed, as Thomas notes, the troubling nature of this episode is only heightened by Cynewulf's significant departure from the legend as it appears in known Latin tradition: the *Acta Cyriaci*'s narration of Judas's confinement is brief and dry, while *Elene*'s is an elaborate thirty-line expansion of these sparse details. As Thomas argues, Cynewulf introduces details not present in the *Acta* and elaborates on Judas's suffering, and what was "merely a narrative detail in the prose becomes in the poem a significant episode" (29), a proposition strengthened by comparison with the Old English homily *In inuentione sanctae crucis*, which, it has been argued, shares the same ultimate Latin source as that used by Cynewulf, yet includes no more detailed description in the matter of Judas's imprisonment than does the Latin text. Thus, as Thomas concludes, "it seems likely . . . that the elaboration evident at this point in the poem may be attributed to Cynewulf's own invention" (30). While this poetic elaboration has been noted, particularly by Thomas D. Hill, most critics, following Hill, have read the episode figurally. While Thomas does not dispute these typological resonances, he argues that the specific language used by Cynewulf adds further significance, namely, that these lines "may invoke descriptions of hagiographical torture" (32). Thomas finds parallels between Elene's seizure and imprisonment of Judas and the torture of the Christian heroine by the Roman prefect Eleusius in Cynewulf's *Juliana*, as well as lines from *Daniel* which describe Nebuchadnezzar's command to place the three youths in the furnace: as he notes, "all three passages describe an order to put a captive into a place of torment using the formula *het þa* . . . and the verb *scufan* together with the prepositional phrase *in [x]*" (33). *Elene* inverts this expected hagiographical pattern.

While Thomas raises the possibility of a direct relationship between these three poems, he argues that the verb *scufan* warrants more attention in this context than it has received, as "an examination of the use of this verb in Old English literature suggests an association with the enforced movement of a subject into a more hostile or unpleasant environment as the physical enactment of a judgment made by a figure of authority" (34), as well as that it is "very widely attested in contexts relating to divine rather than terrestrial judgment" (35). Thus, *scufan* is frequently used to describe "relocations resulting from two specific examples of divine judgment" (35): the fall of man and expulsion from Eden, and expulsion from heaven and movement into hell. Thomas discusses examples from *Exodus, Beowulf,* and, particularly, *Guðlac A* to argue that *scufan* in *Daniel, Juliana* and *Elene* "carries an implicit association with divine as well as terrestrial judgment" (37), and that, in *Juliana* and *Daniel*, "a contrast is established between the false judgment

of the world and the true, divine judgment of the hereafter" (41). *Elene* is different. Thus while in *Daniel* and *Juliana*, "the judgment represented by the use of *scufan* is fundamentally at odds with the true judgment of God," in *Elene*, "the judgment passed on Judas by the Christian queen precisely foreshadows that which awaits him at the Last Judgment, if he does not reform himself" (41). Thus, "far from being unchristian," "Elene's action becomes symbolically an exercise of divine judgment" (41), a merciful act which gives him a chance to change before her symbolic punishment becomes eternal reality. Thomas argues that, while Judas's release is not described in either the Latin or Old English prose versions, "Elene commands his release in language which might be read in terms of a harrowing" (42). Overall, Thomas argues that this scene demonstrates Cynewulf responding to his source, inverting a hagiographical trope to emphasize the ultimate mercy of Elene's behavior.

LB

Dream of the Rood

Seeta Chaganti's "Vestigial Signs: Inscription, Performance, and *The Dream of the Rood*" (*PMLA* 125: 48–72), which opens by comparing *Dream of the Rood* to J. H. Prynne's 1968 prose poem "A Note on Metal," conceives the relationship between *Rood*, the Ruthwell monument, and the Brussels cross in a way that is informed by media theory and centered on the relationship between texts and the material artifacts on which they are written. Chaganti's method resists traditional source study that might determine a chronological relationship between these three instantiations of the cross, instead seeing "vestigial traces" of each in all three, with "each existing both inside and outside the time of the others" (51). As Chaganti conceives it, the time of these objects and poems is not merely the linear, earthly time of stone, metal, and parchment, but "a separate time of the vestigial sign. The vestigial sign conceives of time through space, marking the passage of time in the space occupied by what is left behind," and it "structures the network" of objects and events we would now call multimediacy (68). The relationship between *Rood*, Ruthwell, and the Brussels cross allows Chaganti to illuminate the relationship between inscription and performance that is associated with each medium: the Brussels Cross is a more private object that is constituted in part by the inscriptions that represent and shape the cross; Ruthwell is a fixed public object whose runic inscriptions (which may not have been part of the original monument) do not constitute the cross, but whose scale, layout, and potentially unfamiliar alphabet require participants to shape the stone by "perform[ing] visual, local, and communal acts of interpretive ritual around the monument" (60); and *Rood* finds a middle way between public performance and private inscription in which "each contain the possibility of the other" (60), reflecting "an Anglo-Saxon poetics defined by its place at the dialectical intersection of the silent, self-referential *différance* of inscription and the powerfully constitutive declarations emanating from religious ritual and performance" (50–51). Chaganti admits that in the Vercelli Book manuscript *Rood* does not visually constitute an inscriptional cross in the way that *carmina figurata* do, but claims that devices like chiasmus and the poem's multiple frames and enclosures "represent the cross through narrative structure" (61), while connections between the poem and the liturgical tradition (including the *Adoratio crucis* and *Visitatio sepulchri*) would have conjured images of the communal performance space of the liturgy. The article includes high quality photographs of the Brussels cross, Ruthwell monument, Vercelli Book, and Boniface's "Carmen Acrostichon."

Like Chaganti's article, Helen Damico's "Writing/Sounding the Cross: *The Dream of the Rood* as Figured Poetry", *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. Keefer, Jolly, and Karkov [see sect. 2], 166–203, considers the ways in which the poem suggests a relationship to the shape of the cross, in this case through the visual and aural effects of hypermetric lines. Although the poem has no special layout in the manuscript and the Vercelli scribe wrote the poem continuously across the page, Damico argues that the use of hypermetric lines creates a kind of *carmen figuratum* (or at least the poem "partakes of the tradition" of figured poetry [182]). Even if the poem survives because it is inscribed in a manuscript, Damico agrees with John Hollander that "[a]ll poems are at base oral" (170), and Old English poetry in particular needed to work its effects when heard as well as seen. Moreover, the dreamer is told that he must *tell* his vision to others. Thus "[t]he Dreamer's task . . . is simultaneously to speak and to inscribe the vision into the consciousness of the speech-bearers, so that they . . . might see the sound of the vision and retain it whole in their mind" (172). Tracing the history of figured poetry prior to Anglo-Saxon England, Damico also identifies the first part of the poem with a subtype of figured poetry called "Hellenistic outline poems" in which the shape of the poem is created by use of longer and shorter lines of verse. The piece concludes by comparing lines 78–156 of the poem, where there is minimal use of hypermetric lines, to Hrabanus Maurus's *De laudibus sanctae cruces* because "both works are devotional texts, presenting an abject and penitent author in prayer" who may be "in *proskynesis*, 'prostrated' before the cross" (188). Damico's

extended discussion of the history of figured poetry features many fine color reproductions, and an appendix reprints the poem as centered on the page rather than left-justified to suggest how modern editorial practices might obscure the cross structure implied by lines of shorter and longer length.

In the absence of an *ars poetica*, how can we know what makes an Old English poem aesthetically successful? In "Structural and Affective Relations in *The Dream of the Rood*: Harmonic Proportion and a Fibonacci-Type Commodulation," *On the Aesthetics of "Beowulf" and Other Old English Poems*, ed. John M. Hill, 161–75, John M. Hill suggests a quantitative approach, extending Robert D. Stevick's "commodular form" to shorter poems that cannot be divided into fitts or sections. Commodular form, examples of which include the golden ratio and the square root of two, is "when the structural measures of a form, whether for an illuminated page or for groupings of verse lines in numbered sections, relate to each other by a quantitative constant" (161). According to Hill, one reason why *Dream of the Rood* is aesthetically satisfying is that the poet has structured the poem in four sections, each comprising three units of 13 lines. At the same time, intensely emotional or affective moments and repeated words or themes of the first 144 lines of the poem are structured around the Fibonacci sequence (1, 1, 2, 3, 5, 8, etc.). To his credit, Hill admits that these structures do not explain everything in the poem, he is cautious about some of the patterns he identifies, and he takes care to explain how Anglo-Saxons might have identified the Fibonacci sequence (given that Fibonacci lived in the thirteenth century). If Hill is correct, then not only is this poem the work of a very skilled poet who may have wished to represent the idea of God as "divine geometer" (173), but we might also be able to imagine the units of Anglo-Saxon poetry in ways not defined by modern editorial punctuation or thematic structures.

Thomas D. Hill's brief article "The Cross as Psychopomp: *The Dream of the Rood*, Lines 135–44" (*Anglia* 128: 21–27) surveys possible sources for the reference in lines 135–44 of the poem to the cross as psychopomp—a guide for the soul from earth to heaven. After identifying similar allusions to the cross as psychopomp in Latin homiletic and liturgical texts and Old English Riddle 30 (wood or tree), Hill concludes that the image of the cross as psychopomp was "current . . . in relatively popular rather than more learned contexts" (27).

Lines 135–44 of the poem also feature in Heather Maring's "Two Ships Crossing: Hybrid Poetics in *The Dream of the Rood*" (*ES* 91: 241–55), but where Hill finds the cross as psychopomp, Maring sees support in the same lines for reading the cross as a sea-going ship. Her article supports and extends Carl Berkhout's assertion that the cross is a patristic *lignum maris* by defending the manuscript reading *holmwudu* (sea-wood) (line 91), then demonstrating how the poem also incorporates a "Sea Voyage type-scene," a device from oral-traditional poetry in which particular narrative structures—in this case the journey of a hero across the sea—occur in a familiar order. As Maring concedes, there is no literal journey across the sea in *Rood*, but the type-scene is flexible, and Maring argues that in *Rood*, Christ is imagined to travel a hero's journey to heaven via the cross. The strength of this essay lies both in its careful articulation of the components of the Sea Voyage type-scene (as first identified by John Miles Foley and others), and in its demonstration of how the poem unites the written patristic tradition of the cross as *lignum maris* with the oral tradition of the Sea Voyage type-scene.

Britt Mize's "The Mental Container and the Cross of Christ: Revelation and Community in *The Dream of the Rood*" (*SP* 107: 131–78) offers a rich, thorough account of not just the poem, but also Anglo-Saxon dream theory, the mind-as-container motif, and the relationship between *Rood* and the Vercelli Book manuscript, along with healthy footnotes and bibliography for anyone interested in *Rood* generally or any of the particular issues taken up by this essay. The article focuses on one use of the mind-as-enclosure motif in which the mind is a container of treasure, but rather than the treasure being material wealth, this treasure is a collection of wisdom given to a private individual which ought to be shared for the public good. The first section of the article elegantly synthesizes and extends current scholarship on dreaming in Old English literature (including the Old English *Daniel*), which suggests that dreams are represented as objects which enter the mind from without and leave behind a trace that is not always accessible to the dreamer, and that the dreamer experiences the dream passively rather than actively. Mize then turns to the dream vision in *Rood*, offering a number of fine close readings, for example insisting that *in/on breostum* both in this poem and in comparable phrases in Old English always means *in*, not *on* the heart. His main goal is to unpack how the vision is imagined to be received and then revealed by the dreamer, arguing that "[a] strong sense of the separation of the private from the public by the mental enclosure, and of the importance of voluntarily opening the barrier between them by communication, underlies this poem and informs many elements of it" (139). The poem cautions that one should not hoard wisdom (the treasure of the mind), just as one should not hoard treasure, but should share it for the public good. Part II turns to the rest of the Vercelli Book and images

of mental containment there, focusing on the poetry. *Homiletic Fragment I*, which precedes *Rood* in the manuscript, warns against the dangers of false speakers who hide negative thoughts in their minds, while *Rood* celebrates the proper sharing of the dreamer's private vision. In *Elene*, the mental state of Constantine before and after his vision of the cross are similar to the dreamer's in *Rood*, and in both cases a private vision leads to public action. Similarly, Cynewulf's epilogue to *Elene* describes his experiences in terms of mental enclosure as well—he receives the gift of understanding from God via private vision and later shares it with the world. Mize does not claim that these poems were necessarily intended by the manuscript compiler to be linked by this image of mind as container (though he leaves that possibility open), but rather argues that these parallels are evidence of how common this image is in Old English literature. Part III works through potential contexts for understanding the cross as decorated object or treasure—decorated crosses and reliquaries (like the Brussels cross), similar scenes in *Elene*, and finally Christ's dual nature as god and man, concluding that the cross in *Rood* is best understood not as a reliquary or other cross-shaped object, but as the cross itself. Rejecting comparison with reliquaries means that the cross and the dreamer's vision of it are containable objects, with the dreamer's mind the container. Moreover, "[t]he poem does not suggest merely that an understanding of the meaning of the Cross may exist in the dreamer's mind *just as* a relic may rest in a reliquary or ostensorium. Rather, this speaking Cross is intimately identified with the gift of enlarged understanding; it *is* the treasure of wisdom, the paradoxical wisdom of the Crucifixion, even as it is also the mentally enclosed True Cross, enshrined in the devout heart" (176).

In "Sources or Analogues? Using Liturgical Evidence to Date *The Dream of the Rood*," *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. Keefer, Jolly, and Karkov [see sect. 2], 135–65, Éamonn Ó Carragáin offers a masterful survey of the evidence (primarily analogues from the liturgy for Holy Week) that led him to suspect that *Dream of the Rood* has elements that are much earlier than he had previously thought, concluding that "the dream-vision frame may go back to songs sung in the late seventh or early eighth centuries" (146). The essay opens with "five general principles" (135), including an insistence that the extant poem in the Vercelli manuscript "is a tenth-century poem" (135) and a caution against being too eager to find sources for *Dream of the Rood* in other poems on the Passion or other liturgical texts, or using parallels between these texts to establish the date of a poem. As Ó Carragáin warns, "Christians have always celebrated Easter, and soon celebrated Good Friday: they have been meditating for almost two millennia on the same great narrative" (136). Nevertheless, revisions to the poem by the "*eall*-reviser," whom Ó Carragáin has made a case for elsewhere, suggest that the Vercelli poem is later than the Ruthwell Cross text and offer one way of beginning to date the poem. From there Ó Carragáin asks where the Ruthwell Cross text might have originated, seeking thematic connections between the poem and its analogues, the most important of which is that late seventh- and early eighth-century liturgists would have been just as aware of the connection between incarnation and passion as the poet is. Other connections he identifies include linking the cross to Christ, linking the cross's having to harm Christ with Mary having had to give up a vow of chastity to become pregnant, and linking the feasts of the Invention and Exaltation of the Cross. In addition to citing examples from liturgical sources, he also adduces parallels in texts by Bede, Tatwine, and other early eighth-century authors in order to suggest which elements of the poem may also have been present in early songs. For example, many of the "paradoxes" felt by the cross in the poem, such as that it hurt Christ but saved man, have verbal echoes in these authors. Finally, Ó Carragáin asserts that the "unity" of the life of Christ as presented in the poem (moving quickly from Incarnation to Passion to Judgement rather than focusing on a single event in his life) is "characteristic of earlier forms of Christian liturgy" (163), including the hymn *Veni Redemptor gentium*, Psalm 18, and the Easter celebration in the Gelasian Sacramentary.

Yuki Shimonaga's "The Structure and the Thematic Unity of *The Dream of the Rood*," *Multiple Perspectives on English Philology and History of Linguistics*, ed. Oda and Eto, 183–202, reconsiders the unity of the poem, dividing it into three sections (lines 1–3, 4–146, and 147–56), the second of which can be divided into four subsections. Rejecting the notion that the poem is primarily about the similarities between the cross and Christ, Shimonaga bases this division on a belief that the poem's central concern is the dreamer's "spiritual renewal or . . . personal salvation" (201). Because the dreamer is not exiled, Shimonaga also rejects labelling the poem an elegy, claiming that the dreamer's transformation is purely spiritual, not motivated by "worldly disgrace or misfortune" (199).

JZ

Exodus

Denis Ferhatović's article, "*Burh* and *Beam*, Burning Bright: A Study in the Poetic Imagination of the Old English *Exodus*" (*Neophilologus* 94: 509–22), uses thing theory to discuss the narrative role of two objects in *Exodus*: the *burh* (city, fortification, enclosure) which reappears in various permutations throughout the voyage of

the Israelites, and the shape-shifting pillar. Ferhatović begins with a brief overview of thing theory before turning to two objects, the *burh* and the pillar, in *Exodus*, which he argues that the poem deploys in "distinct but complementary ways to explore the larger themes of connection and disruption, tradition and innovation." The *burh* is "a horizontal force signaling, paradoxically, continuity within discontinuity," which follows the Israelites on their journey, and the shape-shifting pillar functions vertically, linking the Israelites "to the past and future through the biblical lineage" (510). Ferhatović begins with the *burh*, noting that *Exodus* "engages very frequently in meditations on various permutations of the urban landscape" for a poem set in the desert (511). Together, these moments create "a powerful poetics invested in the construction and transformation of cities" (511), reflecting the broader tendency of the text to blend two or more distinct components together. Ferhatović reviews the meaning of *burh* in Anglo-Saxon England before charting the appearance of the word in *Exodus*. *Burh* first appears in the compound *burhweardas* 'city-guardians', in relation to the destruction of the Egyptians' first-borns, and as Ferhatović notes, when the *burhweardas* are killed, so too are the future joys of the hall (512). Yet who are the *burhweardas*? Possibly the slain *frumbearna fela*, first-born, who are envisioned as "future maintainers of their culture" (512); yet also possibly the idols mentioned nine lines below. Ferhatović sees this episode as "a subtle fusing of objects and people around a containing urban core," in which "God shows his wrath by breaking and scattering a nation's material culture in addition to murdering" its descendants (513). The complexity of the *burh* continues, in that the doomed are at times depicted sympathetically—the *Exodus*-poet is well aware of the Israelites' ties to the Egyptians and their city. The imagery of the *burh* is carried throughout the poem in God's promise of more cities, and their worldly comforts, to the Israelites, while the Egyptians are left without even a messenger to announce their destruction in their cities. Yet "as the city provides common ground for the past and the future," it can also feature the potential for evil as well as good, through the ambiguous city of Etham in the borderlands, a depiction that reveals the poet's intertwining of the spiritual and the secular, as Etham is not a *burh* in the Bible (514). The Israelites encounter other mysterious settlements in the desert; they themselves travel in a *mægburh* (family-enclosure), and they encounter unknown settlements of border-dwellers on their way. The Ethiopians are likewise imagined "through the cluster of associations focusing on the city" (515), particularly treasure. Finally, when Moses parts the Red Sea, it first becomes a city, again creating the "phenomenon of people coming together with an evocative object" (517), before destroying the Egyptians, so that "the symbolically powerful demolition of *byrig* happens twice" (518). Ferhatović argues that each *burh* is "similar to yet distinct from the other," and that the *Exodus*-poet "invites us to seek out and meditate on the many guises of *byrig*" (518). Ferhatović next discusses *Exodus*'s elaboration of the shape-shifting pillar, arguing that it "continues and modifies the larger dynamic of presenting people in terms of treasured possessions, while concentrating them both in an urban core" (519). While ambiguous in meaning, the pillar shares traits with the *byrig*, and "remains recognizably protective and generative, at least for the Chosen People" (520). Ferhatović uses the work of Gaston Bachelard to argue that this pillar functions vertically, connecting the past, present, and future of the Israelites: within *Exodus*, if "horizontality betokens progression, the move from one land to another, then verticality reveals a central organizing principle, the pillar that, no matter what its transformations, bringing down to the earth God's presence, leading up from the children of Israel to Jesus," their descendant (520). Ferhatović ends with a discussion of the potential skaldic resonances in the language used to describe the *beam*, following the work of Roberta Frank, leading Ferhatović to conclude that the *Exodus*-poet "demonstrates his awareness that an artifact is that which passes between various groups, surviving for the ages because it shapes the peoples through whose hands it passes and by whom it is, in turn, shaped" (521).

Denis Ferhatović's Yale University dissertation, "An Early Poetics of the Artifact," applies thing theory to *Exodus, Andreas, Judith* and the Middle English *Cleanness*, arguing that these poems "contemplate their own status as crafted objects with formidable, but mysterious roots in the past, by calling up fragmented parts of larger structures, both architectural and corporeal, at key moments in their text" (i). Ferhatović begins the introduction with a discussion of *The Ruin* to argue for the value of the inanimate in the work of Old English poets; "the artful interweaving of people and things in general" alongside "the awareness that in time their own work will become fragmented and in need of creative refurbishing, like a ruin" (5). Ferhatović explains the unifying principle behind the project, which will investigate "artifacts handled and animated by the human and/or the divine" in *Exodus, Andreas,* and *Judith*, artifacts that "create a particular force in the texts, but do not remain in sight for long, thus preserving the mystery that envelops them" (5). The introduction explores what was considered "art" in Anglo-Saxon England, gives chapter summaries, an overview of thing theory (following the work

of Bill Brown and Bruno Latour), a discussion of relics as a medieval example of something that "blends the animate and the inanimate, appeals to the elemental and the cosmic, brings together the near and the far, and incites discussion of its origin and purpose" (16), and a discussion of *spolia*, as understood in an art-historical context—"artifacts in a new, physical context, especially in a manner that highlights their difference" (22)—which had become a literary trope by the Anglo-Saxon period (26).

Chapter Two, "Cities in the Desert, Artifacts in Motion in the Old English *Exodus*, is reviewed above under its separate publication "*Burh* and *Beam*, Burning Bright: A Study in the Poetic Imagination of the Old English *Exodus*" (*Neophilologus* 94, 509–22). Chapter Three, "Angels, Pillars, and 'Little Pieces' in the Old English *Andreas*," focuses on the two animated objects in the poem, the animated statue and water-spewing pillar. After an overview of *Andreas*'s manuscript context, sources and analogues, parallels to *Beowulf*, and genre, Ferhatović turns to his argument that a different framework for reading *Andreas*—namely, "that of the plastic arts, more specifically, of the stone artifacts that occur at particularly charged points of the narrative, the enclosure in which they do and do not fit, and of the stranger who moves among the objects" (70–71)—provides a fruitful paradigm for understanding this work. Ferhatović discusses the "forceful imagery" (71) of *Andreas*, moving to discussion of the animated statue in the Old English poem in comparison to the other extant versions of the legend. As he notes, the *Andreas*-poet not only highlights "the many levels of artifice at work in the angel-animation scene," but also "begins to ask what happens to the fragment outside of the enclosure" (75), using the object as a way to highlight landscape features, as overall, "it is only the Old English poem that circles around the theme of divine creation" (77). Ferhatović discusses the difficulty that the object is not described as having vanished by the end of the scene, arguing that the *Andreas*-poet challenges his readers to fill in the gaps. The chapter then considers the episode of Andreas's disintegration and reintegration, arguing that this passage explains the *Andreas*-poet's "relationship with and hope for his own work in pieces" (82), before turning to the oft-noted poetic interruption, which Ferhatović argues emphasizes fragmentation. In the chapter's penultimate section, "how to do things with pillars," Ferhatović argues that the pillars are *spolia*, "formerly outside supports of a building constructed by earlier inhabitants of the isle, which had been plundered by the Mermedonians" (90), and, building on the arguments of Daniel Tiffany, that "the group of pillars ravaged by storm acts as an acknowledgement by the text of its place in a long-standing history" (91). As Ferhatović notes, "such profound transformation through celebration of the material that creates and destroys is unparalleled in the Greek and Latin versions of the story" (95). Finally, Andreas's departure speech evokes his eventual departure from human life as well.

Chapter Four, "Broadening the Detail in the Old English *Judith*," also explores the place of objects in another Old English poem—but this time, rather than the animation of the inanimate, the chapter finds the transformation of an individual into an object, as Holofernes is turned into the object of his decapitated head. After considering *Judith* in its manuscript context, Ferhatović argues that "a sustained close focus on objects and people is associated throughout the text with a series of ever increasing small spaces, and thus with oppression and death in their literal and spiritual incarnations, while a more positive combination of artifacts, humans, and enclosures emerges in conjunction with imagery of breaking or cutting through" (107). The poem, Ferhatović argues, demonstrates "progressively more intense containment," which is reflected not only in "increasingly claustrophobic spaces, but also in downward movement followed by stasis that happens within those spaces from the very beginning" (107–108). Ferhatović tracks the way that the Assyrians are "brought low" by the trappings of their civilization (108), and throughout, that "enclosures appear along with treasure" (109) to the doom of the Assyrians—"only the damned are held down by artifacts and artifact-marked spaces" (111). Judith's "status changes from that of an object to be possessed to a possessor" (114), and Holofernes's head becomes itself an object, one with significant resonance throughout Vitellius A.xv. (as many have argued). Ferhatović argues that this "cluster of images" "could reveal the poet as a self-conscious *spoliator*" (118), one of many instances in which "Old English poets' elaboration of their sources often happens in relation to spaces, artifacts, and artifact-marked spaces" (118–19). As Holofernes's head becomes an object, the poem's prior focus on enclosed spaces opens up as Judith returns to Bethulia, and the head can be understood as "a token of objects to come, the first *spolium* in a series of many, a more mysterious and less literal one" (126), as the poet describes the treasures taken from the Assyrian army at the poem's end. The *Judith*-poet links earthly treasure to eternal reward, closing with lines evoking spaciousness, as God's mercy "can break through the enclosures of a body, a mind, a room, and a coat of armor, to encompass everything" (131). Chapter Five, "Proper and Improper Vessels in the Middle English *Cleanness*," argues that *Cleanness* (read in the context of the alliterative revival) creates a series of enclosing spaces, as does *Judith*, here

expressed in a series of different vessels. Following the work of Charlotte C. Morse on the importance of vessel imagery in *Cleanness*, Ferhatović explores the poem's status as fraught vessel through images of vessels which appear throughout it, considering sodomy, the spoliation of the temple, and Belshazzar's feast to ask, "which type of vessel is the poem, clean or unclean?" concluding, "an unfit vessel" (163). Ferhatović concludes by exploring the lack of everyday representations (food, sex, everyday objects) in most Old English poetry, arguing that when these objects do appear, they can be menacing—in the context of *Beowulf*, "uselessness appears as an understatement, when we know what damage a recycled, despoiled object can cause" (170), in contrast to their increased presence in later medieval texts—Old English poetry introduces artifacts with a glance; Middle English with a gaze.

LB

Fates of the Apostles

In "The Motif of Journey in Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles,*" *Þe Comoun Peplis Language,* ed. Krygier, Sikorska, Ciszek and Bronk [see sect. 3b], 99–111, Barbara Kowalik argues that journeying is a central motif in Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles*, which draws together the content of the poem, its Cynewulfian self-referential frame, and its audience to create literal and metaphorical journeys of the poem's protagonists, implied author, and implied reader. The motif of journeying is obviously important to the apostolic missions, but Kowalik also explores the way in which "Cynewulf makes a vital cultural transaction when he employs in the portrayal of his Christian protagonists the codes of Germanic heroic lays," "styling the first missionaries as fame-thirsty warriors" whose heroic virtues lie in "seeking fame through fighting in remote and foreign lands" (101). Kowalik argues that Cynewulf creates a more detailed geographical representation of the world than most Old English poems, echoing the *mappae mundi* of his day, and moving outward from England to increasingly more exotic parts of the world. Ultimately, while clearly, the ultimate destination of these apostolic journeys is the glory of heaven, Kowalik nonetheless argues that Cynewulf draws heavily on Germanic cultural material in order to make this point appealing to his audience, and thus "*Fates* is one of those Old English poems that implicitly disagree with Alcuin's total rejection of the Germanic heritage" (105). The motif of journeying extends to Cynewulf's authorial voice, as he draws parallels between his apostles' journeys and his own poetic craft, and eventual death, in terms of journeying. Cynewulf links poetic composition to exploration, communication of a message to its travel, and the literary survival of his poem through its communication, while his death is likewise conceptualized like a journey. Finally, "the journey motif underlies the projected reading strategies and reception of *Fates* as well" (108), as the reader must journey to discover Cynewulf's name, and his appeal for the prayers of his readers casts the act of reading as the sending-forth of a prayer outwards, and implies its journey to God.

LB

Genesis A

Richard Shaw's note on "Genesis A, Line 1705b: Textual Problems and a Proposed Solution" (*N&Q* n.s. 57: 452–55), offers a proposed emendation of the problematic line 1705 in *Genesis A*: þancolmod wer þeawum hydig. As Shaw notes, following the work of Henry Bradley, this line is precisely where we would expect to see the name Thare, father of Abraham (*Genesis* 11:26–7); the name is a surprising omission as it appears twice later in the poem as part of a patronymic for Abraham, and þancolmod wer (1705a) appears designed to alliterate with the missing name Þare. While Bradley's "over-complicated" suggestion for reconstruction (þancolmod wer Þare wæs haten) has not been accepted (453), Shaw argues that the name Thare (OE Þare) is likely to have been misunderstood and corrupted, as it is not self-evident as a proper noun or foreign name. While the name Þare should likely be introduced, Shaw follows A. N. Doane in rejecting *wer* as the place where Þare is "hiding," since þancolmod þare is metrically irregular (453). Thus, þeawum seems the likely place. Shaw argues that *hydig* provides evidence for corruption in the half-line. The word *hydig* has been understood to have two basic meanings (by Bosworth-Toller, Clark Hall, Sweet, Holthausen, Doane): chaste/modest, and disposed (to)/heedful (of). Yet as Shaw notes, analysis of the occurrences of *hygdig/hydig* in the corpus reveal that in all other instances of its use (three times in the *Durham Ritual Gloss* as a direct translation of Latin *casta*, and once in an Anglo-Saxon text on prognostics edited by Max Förster), the word unambiguously means 'chaste', raising the suspicion that "this second meaning of the word has been created simply for *Genesis A*, line 1705b, in an attempt to explain what would otherwise be an incoherent phrase not fitting the context: 'chaste in customs/virtues'" (454). Thus, *hygdig/hydig* and the closely related word *hygdignes* always appear to indicate chastity, and both the absence of Þare and the nonsense phrase þeawum hydig suggest the need for emendation. While Bradley's suggestion is overly complicated, a simple solution retains *hydig* as the second half of the compound word *wishydig*; translated (by BT, CH, Sweet, Doane) as variations of 'wise in thought'. Shaw

notes, "this is just the sort of meaning we would expect here, in order to parallel þancolmod, which is in effect a synonym of *wishydig*" (455). Thus, the corrupted current text þeawum hydig was originally Þare wishydig. Shaw argues that Bradley's original theory of scribal corruption, though his emendation is incorrect, would itself be perfectly plausible: the scribe, not recognizing Þare as a proper noun and so reading Þarewis as meaningless, reached for þeawis as the most likely word; yet recognizing the irregularity of its genitive singular form, altered it to the dative plural, þeawum, "in a brave attempt to make sense of an otherwise difficult phrase" (455). Shaw thus concludes that line 1705 in *Genesis A* is textually corrupt; the most likely reconstruction is þancolmod wer Þare wishydig, "the thoughtful-minded man, Thare the wise-minded" (455); and that *hygdig/hydig* can be an adverb as well as an adjective, but should be restricted in meaning to 'chaste/ly.'

LB

Gifts of Men

Michael D. C. Drout's "Survival of the Most Pleasing: A Meme-Based Approach to Aesthetic Selection," *On the Aesthetics of "Beowulf" and Other Old English Poems*, ed. Hill, 114–34, continues his argument of recent years (*How Tradition Works*, ACMRS, 2006) to argue that "memes" can be used to determine the aesthetic value of Old English poetry. Drout begins by noting that "one tries in vain to find any agreed-upon set of articulated aesthetic criteria by which to judge Old English poetry" (114), and suggests that this problem is "broadly analogous to the problems faced by evolutionary biologists who reason about the adaptive 'fitness' of organisms in specific environments" (115). While such arguments have been criticized for being tautological (the 'fittest' are those who have survived), biologists have solved their "very similar problem" in two ways: by "looking at the design of the organism in terms of non-subjective physical principles" (115) to see how well an organism fits its environment, and by breaking down global 'fitness' into narrower categories. Drout argues that, just as "genes that contribute to the survival and reproduction of the organism will be differentially reproduced and will spread at the expense of those that do not contribute to the survival and reproduction of the organism in which they are housed," we can read "aesthetic aspect of an artwork" for "gene" and "aesthetically effective" for "fitness" (116). In his essay, Drout continues his earlier "meme-based poetics" (*How Tradition Works*) into a "meme-based theory of aesthetics" (116–17). Drout begins by overviewing his meme-based theory of tradition, defining a "meme" as "when one person imitates another person, whatever is imitated . . . an entity that has managed to replicate itself from one mind to another" (117). In this system, memes that are more frequently imitated replace those less frequently imitated, and memes will eventually "adapt" to their environments, so that "a culture can be seen as an ecosystem of competing and cooperating memes" (117). Drout reiterates his understanding of traditions as a series of smaller memes, composed of *recognitio, actio,* and *justificatio* (trigger, tradition, and justification), in which the *justificatio* is "evolving towards or has evolved to the Universal Tradition Meme" (119), which he defines as "the *justificatio* 'because we have always done so'" (118). Finally, "meme-based tradition" includes "word-to-world fit," "the relationship of the meme or meme-complex to both the physical and the cultural worlds in which it exists" (119). Drout then discusses the process of how a meme enters the mind, arguing that patterns are encoded because "the cognitive machinery of the brain perceives and extracts patterns very well" (121). In terms of aesthetics, "there is selection pressure on memes to become easily taken up by the perceptual system and then to be able to be passed unchanged through the mnemonic and cognitive machinery of the mind;" two good tricks that would "differentially replicate those memes that evolve to them are distinctiveness . . . and the creation of pleasure" (121). As in Horace's understanding of poetry as both sweet and useful, Drout argues, "the filter of aesthetic form would select for 'sweet' and the social and political filters would select for 'useful'" (122). Drout argues that pleasure in an aesthetic work is created by the "decoupling" of "different cognitive subsystems that are normally interlinked" (122), and that "what is memorable is pleasurable" (123). Thus, he argues, "if remembering is pleasurable, variants . . . that are easier to remember are likely to be experienced as being more pleasurable," more likely to be "copied," and therefore, "mnemonically superior memes would be aesthetically superior memes" (123). Drout discusses pleasure and memory in his *ratio, actio,* and *justificatio* steps, concluding "if our postulate linking memory and aesthetic pleasure is correct, then we would expect to find that texts with formal characteristics which make them easier to remember . . . would generally be considered aesthetically superior to those that did not have such features" (125). Finally, Drout "tests theory against data" (126) in three wisdom poems from the *Exeter Book*: *The Gifts of Men, The Fortunes of Men*, and *Precepts*. His "data" about the "perceived degree of aesthetic success of the poems" is his "intuitive, subjective judgment that *Fortunes* is more aesthetically successful than *Gifts*, which in turn is more aesthetically successful than *Precepts*" to prove that his "theory is not invalid" (127). In each poem, Drout

discusses structure, noting that although the structure of *Precepts* is the simplest, it is also "the least mnemonically stable because any unit could easily be deleted . . . without doing violence to the entirety of the poem" (130), while in *Fortunes* and *Gifts*, only the catalogue portions could be. Comparing *Fortunes* to *Gifts* finds more cross-linking in *Fortunes*, leading him to conclude that, indeed, "*Fortunes* is mnemonically superior to *Gifts*" (132). He reiterates his earlier argument in "Possible Instructional Effects of the Exeter Book 'Wisdom Poems': A Benedictine Reform Context," in *Form and Content in Anglo-Saxon England in the Light of Contemporary Manuscript Evidence*, Louvain-la-Neuve: Fédération Internationales des Instituts d'Etudes Médiévales, Textes et Études du Moyen Âge 39, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari and Maila Amalia D'Aronco, (Turnhout: Brepols, 2007), 447–66, that these poems reflect Benedictine ideology, but *Precepts* errs too far to one side, whereas *Gifts* and *Fortunes* are "more balanced" (133). Finally, while "all three poems use agents to illustrate their abstract ideas," "*Precepts* is far less effective at this than the other two poems," and "*Fortunes* would be even more mnemonically effective than *Gifts*" (133). Thus, Drout concludes, "my own experience bears out this analysis," and "*Fortunes* is the meme that is most effective at getting itself reproduced" and thus "the most aesthetically effective of the poems" (133). Drout sees his paper as offering "a way to break out of the hermeneutic circle that weakens many other approaches to aesthetic selection" (135).

LB

Husband's Message

Silvia Geremia's "The Husband's Message: An Allegorical Sea Journey" (*Linguistica e Filologia* 30: 71–95) reasserts the importance of understanding the poem in its manuscript context and reading the poem allegorically. Rather than placing the poem in the context of the riddles or elegies, Geremia reads the poem in the context of poems like *Judgment Day I* that also feature unusually placed capital letters and in the context of the homiletic poems that precede *Husband's Message* in the manuscript, all of which are about the second coming of Christ. In Geremia's view, the poem can be understood as a message that after enduring the repentance of Booklet III of the Exeter Book, the faithful are invited "to get close to God" (80). The husband is then allegorically Christ, who is driven away and suffers on the cross, but will eventually reunite with God in heaven, while the woman is allegorically the soul or the Church. Geremia also offers a new interpretation of the runes at the end of the poem, arguing that the repetition of adverbs meaning "together" should force us to read the runes as two pairs followed by the single rune for M. The two runic pairs (S-R and EA-W) both allude to epithets for Christ, while the M refers to mankind, and the runic message may be translated "I hear 'Heaven', (who is) altogether 'joy of the earth' [Christ], and Mankind declare together by an oath" (87), the oath being a reminder of God's promise to Abraham as well as a message of hope to Christians that they may be saved.

JZ

Judgment Day II

In "The Anglo-Saxon Idea of Locus Amoenus: The Paradise in the Old English *Judgment Day II* and *The Phoenix*," *Thise Stories Beren Witnesse: The Landscape of the Afterlife in Medieval and Post-Medieval Imagination*, ed. Liliana Sikorska and Katarzyna Bronk (Bern: Peter Lang), 101–08, Jacek Olesiejko briefly summarizes the primary characteristics of the *locus amoenus* as transmitted by patristic and biblical texts (meadow; trees; water, perhaps the four rivers; a pleasant smell) then argues that Old English representations of Paradise in *The Phoenix* and *Judgment Day II* are influenced by them and can be interpreted exegetically. However, Olesiejko cautions against seeking the *locus amoenus* in other representations of nature in Old English literature. By contrast to Paradise, the post-lapsarian natural world in *Judgment Day II* and *The Phoenix* is presented as unpleasant and transitory, much like the natural world in other Old English literature.

JZ

Judith

Howell D. Chickering's witty essay, "Poetic Exuberance in the Old English *Judith*," *On the Aesthetics of "Beowulf" and Other Old English Poems,* ed. Hill, 24–42, is reviewed in *The Year´s Work in Old English Studies* for 2009 (2013), as it also appears as "Poetic Exuberance in the Old English *Judith*" (*Studies in Philology* 106 (2009): 119–36.

Ivan Herbison's "Heroism and Comic Subversion in the Old English *Judith,*" (*ES* 91: 1–25), argues that *Judith* has a much more ambiguous relationship to the heroic tradition than is generally acknowledged, and that throughout the poem, comic devices (parody, dramatic irony, and the grotesque) are skillfully juxtaposed against the heroic tradition to undermine and destabilize the ideas of the male hero, the feast, the heroic battle, and the comitatus, overall rejecting heroic ideals in favor of Christian ones. Herbison discusses the inherent difficulties of the Judith legend in a Christian context, arguing that the *Judith*-poet, confronted with the difficulty of writing a heroic poem without a male hero, shifts the focus of the poem to place greater emphasis

on God's role in Judith's victory, rather than her own skills as a leader. While Holofernes stands in the role of a leader, he is depicted as Judith's opposite in every way, yet their conflict "is not that of two opposing heroes; it is rather a conflict of moral and spiritual principles" (9). The poem stresses Judith's role as religious figure rather than hero, and the question of her gender is taken up by the poet, who exploits "the irony of Holofernes' defeat at the hands of a woman" by emphasizing her femininity in order to highlight "an ironic contrast between Judith's feminine beauty and the heroic bravery of her manly action" (11). Herbison argues that Judith, with God's help, is "enabled to appropriate the role of warrior-hero, normally assumed by a male character" and that this effectively subverts the role of hero (12). Thus, Judith's faith and femininity are positioned in rejection of many traditional heroic concepts. Finally, Herbison argues that it is the *Judith*-poet's use of "irony, parody, and other comic devices which most thoroughly and effectively subverts traditional heroic values and institutions" (13). He finds three forms of comic subversion: parody, dramatic irony, and grotesque humor, in which "situations, behaviour, and conventions normally associated with a heroic context" are undermined by these devices (14). Heroic tropes thus undermined include Holofernes's drunken feast, in which the feast is a parody of the subsequent battle scene, and Judith's absence from it condemns its secular excesses. Likewise, the unheroic approach to Holofernes's tent is a structural parallel to the later approach to battle, undermining the heroic nature of both. True heroic language is applied only to the victorious Bethulians in their victory over the Assyrians. Dramatic irony is frequently applied to ridicule the Assyrians, particularly in their attempt to rouse the headless Holofernes, and the grotesque description of Holofernes's fate further undermines heroic conventions. Herbison concludes that these strategies of comic subversion create "a disturbing and unsettling poem" (21), ultimately subverting heroic conventions and embodying "the disturbing Christian truth that the seemingly weak and vulnerable can become strong, and the seemingly powerful and unassailable can become weak" (22).

LB

Juliana

Kimberly Joy Tanner's Iowa State University M.A. thesis, "Radical Saints and Conservative Churches: Cynewulf's 'Juliana' in its Cultural Context," reads Juliana as a radical female saint, "remarkably independent and authoritative, denying any obligation to follow cultural, legal, or familial expectations that conflict with her understanding of her Christian faith" (1). Tanner's thesis argues that Cynewulf's poem celebrates this radicalism, in contrast to a lived experience of faith in early Anglo-Saxon Christianity that was more likely to be mediated, communal, and conservative in nature. This apparent contradiction could be reconciled by the Church, Tanner argues, in four key ways: understanding Juliana's elevated status as a saint, promoting legitimate authority in the face of the "illegitimate" authority of the Viking attackers, and emphasizing both "the way saints as a whole interact with people on earth" and "the way in which people on earth can maintain a proper relationship with heaven" (2). In addition to introductory and concluding chapters, the thesis contains chapters on "the poem and its context," "Juliana's faith," "the genre of independent saints," "the reception of independent saints," "the church in Anglo-Saxon England," and "how the church and *Juliana* interrelate." Overall, this thesis concludes that Juliana's seemingly transgressive behavior could be used by the church for conservative ends.

LB

Maxims I & II

Daniel Anlezark's "Acquiring Wisdom: Teaching Texts and the Lore of the People" is an introductory chapter in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Walker and Treharne [see sect. 4a], 297–320, in which Anlezark provides a broad overview of wisdom literature and "teaching texts" in both the Old and Middle English traditions. He begins by defining wisdom, a concept that cannot simply be equated with knowledge or experience, nor with literacy in a primarily oral culture. Thus, a "store of wisdom was preserved and transmitted in memorable sayings, proverbs, and maxims offering a guide to people on how to live life, rear children, and find success and happiness" (297). Anlezark discusses some texts which preserve this "store of wisdom," beginning with *Maxims I*, a collection of gnomic statements that nonetheless constructs a meaningful narrative, linking human experience to the cycles of the natural world, and inviting direct engagement of the audience through direct address. As Anlezark notes, "this dialogic element is an important aspect of wisdom itself," since "the acquisition of wisdom demands an active search for meaning" (298). *Maxims I* also touches on God's rule and the ordering of human society, presenting "an idealized version of the traditional Germanic life in the aristocratic hall" (299), and, overall, the reception of the older oral tradition into a learned literary milieu. Anlezark also discusses *Beowulf* as a mirror for princes, which "presents the Anglo-Saxon aristocratic audience with a mirror reflecting the process of maturity, from intemperate young man, to faithful warrior, to wise old king" (299),

particularly in Hrothgar's sermon. *Solomon and Saturn II* is discussed in the context of dialogue and debate, with wisdom the solution to Solomon's quest. After an introduction to these Old English texts, Anlezark continues to discuss education in the early Middle Ages, from monastic and cathedral schools in Anglo-Saxon England to the rise of the merchant class and universities following the Norman Conquest. *The Owl and the Nightingale* is a playful mockery of the educational practices of rhetoric and disputation, while the *Proverbs of Alfred*, which self-consciously references connections between wisdom and an Anglo-Saxon past, links Alfred both to proverbial wisdom texts and education in general. The rise of the university is linked to "the hardening of antifeminist attitudes in popular wisdom" (308), as seen in *The Owl and the Nightingale*. The medieval bestiary tradition demonstrates the wisdom to be found in the natural world, while the *Canterbury Tales* reveal collisions between book learning and popular wisdom, particularly in the figure of the Clerk, the *Wife of Bath's Prologue*, and the *Miller's Tale*. Overall, this chapter provides a useful introduction to texts concerned with wisdom and learning in medieval England.

Johanna Kramer's study, "Mapping the Anglo-Saxon Intellectual Landscape: The Old English *Maxims I* and Terence's Proverb 'Quot homines, tot sententiae'" (*Anglia* 128: 48–74), provides a source history for lines 167–68 of *Maxims I*, and adds an important new source—Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*—as the more likely direct source of these lines. While a classical Latin *sententia* by Terence ("Quot homines, tot sententiae") has long been identified as a source for line 167 of *Maxims I* ("Swa monige beoþ men ofer eorþan, swa beoþ modgeþoncas"), Kramer notes that no satisfactory route of transmission has yet been identified. The earliest known occurrence of the Latin proverb is in the classical comedy *Phormio* by Terence, and while Terence's plays were popular in classical and post-classical times, as Kramer notes, "his succinct and quotable expressions of universal human sentiments ensured the survival of many of his particular coinages as favorite aphorisms quite independently from his plays" (55). However, as Kramer notes, following the work of Susan E. Deskis, what has gone unnoticed is that while the *sense* of Terence's proverb is clearly evident in line 167, its wording is not a perfect match. As Kramer asks, "what results can we obtain if we do not merely search for analogues in sense but also for analogues in form?" (56). Her conclusion is that the author of *Maxims I* treats lines 167–68 like a complete quote, and "aims at preserving a specific sentence and particular syntax and wording" (56). As Kramer notes, line 167 syntactically parallels the Latin "Quot homines, tot sententiae," but significantly, this syntactic parallel extends to line 168, "ælc him hafaþ sundorsefan," which corresponds to the full Latin statement, which adds "suus cuique mos." Thus, lines 167–68 as a unit have an ultimate source in the full version of Terence's *sententia*, "Quot homines, tot sententiae; suus cuique mos." As Kramer notes, this realization "solves a long-standing editorial issue in regard to the line division of this passage" (58), namely, that while most editors group the word *longaþ*, which follows *sundorsefan*, with line 169, they have largely done so in the absence of "definitive external reasons" (59). The realization that line 168 syntactically mirrors the Terentian proverb provides unequivocal evidence that *longaþ* belongs grouped with line 169.

Kramer then explores potential routes of transmission for this proverb in Anglo-Saxon England. While Terence was known, and indeed popular, in the medieval period, there are no surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of his work. He was known, and cited (by the likes of Aldhelm, Bede, Abbo of Fleury, Frithegod of Canterbury, and Byrhtferth of Ramsey) in the Anglo-Saxon period, but none of these authors appears to have known his plays firsthand—rather, it is more likely that they were transmitted through an intermediary, such as the classical grammarians Priscian and Donatus. Thus, "even as the lines from Phormio were the ultimate source and inspiration for the *Maxims* proverb, judging by the lack of codicological and sparse textual evidence, it is unlikely that the Old English lines were translated directly from a complete or even excerpted text of the play" (61). As Kramer argues, "a more probable path of transmission" is that the full Latin proverb reached Anglo-Saxon England independent of its original Terentian source (62). She notes that "the Latin version is amply attested as an isolated *sententia* and appeared as such in late antique and early medieval texts as well as in proverb collections and other types of miscellanies, both with attributions to Terence and without" (62). However, the extended version of the proverb is rarer, which raises the question of transmission. This version is found in the *Collectaneum Miscellaneum* by ninth-century Irish scholar Sedulius Scottus, demonstrating that it was known in an insular intellectual context, even if it is difficult to trace a direct route from the *Collectaneum Miscellaneum* to *Maxims I*. To solve this puzzle, Kramer turns to the precise wording of lines 167–68, which add the phrase "ofer eorþan" at the expense of creating two metrically irregular lines, suggesting that the phrase as a whole was a complete statement to the poet. As Kramer notes, "ofer eorþan" usually translates "super terram" and thus has clear links to a likely underlying Latin source. Kramer suggests that an inverted variant of the Terentian proverb found in

Book I of Ovid's *Ars Amatoria*—"Pectoribus mores tot sunt, quot in orbe figurae"—is likely to be the ultimate source of the lines in *Maxims I*. Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* is known to have existed in Anglo-Saxon England, as part of Saint Dunstan's Classbook. Indeed, this is significant because it means that "the trajectories of *Maxims I* and Ovid's *Ars Amatoria* may have intersected at Glastonbury" (71), following Richard Gameson's argument that the *Exeter Book* was produced there. Kramer concludes with a discussion of the value of source study, arguing that it is not enough to simply know the ultimate source of a text, for "an Old English line can reflect an accretion of multiple sources, each of which plays its respective roles in shaping the surviving Old English" (72). Finally, Kramer argues that the proverb's inclusion in *Maxims I (C)* fits well within the context of the surrounding lines, which reflect on "human actions and interrelations" (73). Kramer ends with a plea for source study, arguing that source study can make "what we know about the education background of authors and the production of Old English texts richer and more complicated," "help to triangulate our knowledge of the transmission and reception of classical and patristic source materials in Anglo-Saxon literary culture," and contributes to "the more accurate mappings of the entire intellectual landscape of Anglo-Saxon England" (74).

Brian O'Camb's meticulously argued 2009 University of Wisconsin dissertation, "Towards a Monastic Poetics: Exeter Maxims and the Exeter Book of Old English Poetry," has already been reviewed in *The Year's Work in Old English Studies* for 2009 (2013).

LB

Nine Herbs Charm

Tiffany Beechy's "Bind and Loose: Aesthetics and the Word in Old English Law, Charm, and Riddle," *On the Aesthetics of "Beowulf" and Other Old English Poems*, ed. Hill, 43–63, like the other essays in the volume, attempts to expand our notion of what defines Anglo-Saxon aesthetics and what constitutes Anglo-Saxon poetry. Beechy's own definition of aesthetics is not beauty but "the cognitive and sensory effects of all kinds of stimuli, which necessarily constitute signs" (43). This leads her to Roman Jakobson's concept of the "poetic function," in which words matter as words rather than by pointing to things outside themselves, and repetitions and patterns (what Jakobson calls "equivalence") create structure. According to Beechy, by this definition Old English laws, charms, and riddles are all poetic. Just as a line of Old English poetry can be divided into two verses which must follow certain rules of meter and alliteration, Æthelberht's laws exemplify Jakobson's principle of equivalence because a particular structure ("*Gif* + CONDITION + COMPENSATION") marks each new statute (45). Other evidence for the poetic nature of the law codes (including Ine and Wulfstan) may seem more familiar: the use of alliteration, word pairs, and word play. Likewise, charms fulfill Jakobson's principle that "'the word [is] felt as a word'" (43) in that they incorporate incomprehensible snippets of Latin, Greek or "nonsense words," prioritizing ritual repetition over literal meaning (54). Beechy's secondary aim is to reveal the ways in which the different poetic functions of each genre illuminate Anglo-Saxon language theory: "[t]he goal [of charms] is to bind the world through language in its primeval, perfect function: naming = binding. . . . If the language of the laws is to order the relations between human beings, the language of charm is to order the cosmos in relation to human beings" (55). Finally, Beechy turns to Riddle 33 (iceberg?) to probe the ways in which riddles rely on ambiguity and resist easy solutions. Reading the riddles through Derrida, Beechy offers a lovely exploration of how the mind of the audience works through a riddle, but her real contribution in this section is in the way she places the ambiguity of the riddles in relation to other kinds of linguistic play and the relationships between signifier and signified in the law codes and charms. If the charms emphasize form and seek to create real effects through language by linking objects to names for them, "[t]he play of the Old English riddles reveals that there *is* a space between things and words, between real and ideal" (58).

JZ

Precepts

Aaron Ralby's "The *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti* and the Old English *Precepts*" (*N&Q* n.s. 57: 6–10) describes *Precepts* as "arguably both religious and secular" (7), claiming that certain unusual features of the poem—its reliance on general advice rather than specific examples of famous men, its attention to the value of proper speech and silence—have their source in Old English penitential literature, especially the *Poenitentiale Pseudo-Ecgberti*, although it is not clear whether the *Precepts* were influenced by an earlier, now lost version of the *Pseudo-Ecgberti* or by its sources.

JZ

Riddle 15

In "Vixen as Hero: Solving *Exeter Book* Riddle 15," *The Hero Recovered: Essays on Medieval Heroism in Honor of George Clark*, ed. Waugh and Weldon [see sect. 2], 173–87, Marijane Osborn makes a case for solving Riddle 15 not as "fox" but as "vixen" on the basis that the animal's

protection of its children matches the behavior of female foxes, and its opponent acts like a fox terrier. Strikingly, Osborn argues that the riddle does not attempt to disguise the identity of the subject, but rather presents an "accurate natural history" (177). Having originally been written for a course reader, the piece is essentially a student edition: it prints the full text of the riddle, lightly emended to standardize spelling, and includes a thorough glossary (though without extended notes on difficult grammatical issues).

JZ

Riming Poem

In "Reevaluating Emendations to the Old English *Riming Poem* LL. 17–18" (*N&Q* n.s. 57: 301–05), Douglas P. A. Simms advocates for emendations first proposed by Sievers and Kluge against those emendations accepted by most recent editors: in line 18, manuscript *geþyhte* would be replaced by *geþege* (or *geþæge*), and manuscript *mægen* by *wege* (or *wæge*). Having defended these emendations on the basis of meter, sense, and rhyme, Simms tracks the ways in which a scribe might have misread his exemplar to produce the manuscript readings, suggesting that *mægen* results from misreading the minims in *uuege* along with "the scribe's assuming a missing nasal stroke" at the end of the word (304), while *geþyhte* arises from the copyist misreading the second *g* of *geþege* as *gt*.

JZ

Rune Poem

Evidence for the use of Pliny's *Historia naturalis* in Old English poetry is, according to Mark Griffith, relatively sparse, even in texts about the natural world. However, in "A Possible Use of Pliny's *Historia Naturalis* in the Old English *Rune Poem*" (*N&Q* n.s. 57: 1–3), Griffith identifies in Pliny a possible source for the fruitless tree named *beorc* in stanza XVIII of the *Rune Poem*. If the *beorc* is, as Griffith believes, meant to be a poplar, which is not in fact fruitless, then the source for this error may be Pliny, who also mistakenly identifies the poplar as a fruitless tree.

JZ

Solomon and Saturn I

Clive Tolley's "*Solomon and Saturn I*'s 'Prologa Prima'" (*N&Q* n.s. 57: 166–68) challenges Daniel Anlezark's claim that *prologa* is a Glastonbury nonce-word meaning something like "first letter." According to Tolley, because *prologus* originally named the beginning of a Greek play, it need not mean "prologue" in the sense of something separate from the text, just as the *P* is the beginning of the Pater Noster prayer, but not separate from it. He also posits that *prologa* is being treated as an Old English (rather than Latin) vocative weak masculine noun, concluding that the author did not have as much skill in Latin as Anlezark attributed to him.

JZ

Soul and Body I

Amity Alissa Reading's 2009 University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign dissertation, "Soul and Body: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Self through the Vercelli Book," (*DAI* 71: 559), represents an ambitious attempt to understand the organizing principles of the Vercelli Book, the nature of Anglo-Saxon subjectivity, and Anglo-Saxon theologies of baptism, resurrection, and ascension (all of which are crucial components of the journey made by each self). Reading argues that the Vercelli Book was not a monastic collection, but was deliberately shaped by an interest in selfhood. Rather than seeking a modern subjectivity defined by the priority of the individual, Reading urges us to see that Anglo-Saxons understood subjectivity as performative, communal, and embodied. In the introduction and a first chapter on Vercelli Homilies IV and XXII and *Soul and Body I*, Reading resists binaries such as vernacular/Latin, poetry/prose, soul/body, and incorporeal/corporeal. Challenging us to rethink soul and body literature, Reading sees not a divide between a bad, corruptible body and a good, eternal soul, but rather "the soul-and-body motif," a construction which acknowledges that soul and body are not separable, but are always united and even dependent on one another. This model of subjectivity is also oriented toward eschatology and Judgment Day, because it is only after death that the body and soul can achieve perfection. Until that moment, it is often the body, not the soul, that must take proper action and perform penance. In Vercelli IV, for example, "each part, soul and body, is conceived of as having equal responsibility, but not equal agency, when it comes to salvation" (51). Chapter 2 introduces the importance of baptism throughout the Vercelli manuscript, but especially in *Andreas*. Drawing on a Pauline model of baptism, Reading argues that baptism is always bound up with death—the death of Christ that allows for human salvation, but also the symbolic death of the sinner and his or her rebirth as Christian convert. In this way, the repeated images of baptism in *Andreas* (the flood that resurrects the Mermedonians but also the salvation of the Old Testament patriarchs that prefigures it) remind the audience that all conversions (even Andrew's) are incomplete, and that salvation requires continually renewing one's commitment to faith and repentance from sins in expectation of Judgment Day. In Reading's formulation, Judgment should be understood not "as a discrete

event that will occur, but as an ideal spiritual state that is to be striven after continuously" (109). Although both self and conversion are necessarily incomplete before death, this does not mean that soul and body must be in an oppositional relationship to one another. Instead, Reading locates in Andrew's incomplete conversion "the idea of soul-and-body as completion-fantasy rather than antagonistic dichotomy" (88). Chapter 3 turns to the relationship between self and community as reflected in sermons for Rogationtide, the three-day period of communal penance and procession immediately preceding the feast of the Ascension. Drawing especially on Ambrose, this chapter "argues, first, that Ascension doctrine as dramatized by the baptismal rite addresses a crucial stage in the development of the religious self: absorption into and identification with a community; and, second, that Vercelli's Rogationtide and Ascension texts model the proper relation between the Christian self and the Christian community, which is analogous to that between the body and the soul" (132–33). At the Ascension, the self loses its individuality but becomes a general Christian subject whose identity is based on participation in the community of the faithful rather than the individual self. Ascension was not a single event: Christ's ascensions included the Ascension proper but also his resurrection and his return after the harrowing of hell, and all three reminded audiences of the reversal of ascension to come when Christ returns on Judgment Day. Reading argues that attention to these multiple ascensions might also help explain the presence in the Vercelli manuscript of *The Dream of the Rood*, which features several possible ascensions (including Christ's ascent onto the rood and the rood's "resurrection" after it has been buried). The rest of the chapter examines the ways some of the Rogationtide homilies (Vercelli X, XI, and XXI) modify their sources to strengthen the connection between soul-and-body and Rogation and Ascension as well as to emphasize the importance of bodily actions that might merit entrance into heaven. The final chapter of the dissertation focuses on Vercelli XVII, XVIII, and XXIII, hagiographical sermons on the Virgin Mary, Martin of Tours, and Guthlac, which Reading suggests are meant to model the ideal soul-and-body, giving appropriate weight to both soul and body without giving too much attention to either. The bulk of the chapter takes up how the homilies on Guthlac and Martin revise their sources in two crucial ways: they "1) downplay asceticism and monasticism; and 2) emphasize pious living through concrete acts" (191). This makes the lives of Martin and Guthlac not models of perfected sainthood, but "paradigms of Christian living that are embodied, performative, and imitable" (191). Building on the work of Mary Clayton and others, Reading considers whether the inclusion of two hermit saints (Martin and Guthlac) indicates a reaction against the communal life promoted by the Benedictine Reform, and also considers the ways in which the sermon author(s) adapted their sources "to make them compatible not with cenobitic monasticism, but with clerical and lay spirituality" (195). Reading concludes that the omission of references to monasticism in Guthlac and Martin are not meant to criticize cenobitic monasticism, but rather to transform their lives into models for a more universal audience.

JZ

The Wanderer and The Seafarer

Chris Bishop's "Fate, Virtue and the Metaphysical Winter in the Poetry of Wessex" (*Jnl of the Australian Early Medieval Assoc* 4 [2008]: 33–51), discusses images of winter in what Bishop terms "West-Saxon poetry" (33). Bishop claims that "the vernacular poetry of Wessex evinces an intense engagement with the concept of *wyrd*," and as he states, his paper "explores this reality of the West-Saxon psyche that shaped so much of their ontology and subsequent poetic discourse" as well as "the complex relationship of fatalism and Christianity" (33), particularly in light of the Old English system of verb tenses which mean that "in the poetry of Wessex, all actions take place either in a dramatic 'now' or in an historic 'then'" (35). In Bishop's view, "the West-Saxon mind perceived the machinations of *wyrd* as neither benevolent nor ambivalent, but as an arbitrary and inhuman force that pulled all things inexorably towards destruction" (33). Thus, "the poetry of Wessex" is "more than just fatalism" but "embraced a vision of predestination that was all-pervading, inescapable and entropic" (33). The article explores these concepts in the Franks Casket, *Deor*, *Beowulf,* the *Exeter Gnomics* and *Cotton Gnomics*, *The Fates of Men, The Ruin, The Wanderer,* and *The Seafarer,* among others. Bishop concludes that "the West-Saxon psyche was as shaped by their concept of *wyrd* as their poetry was by the discipline of alliterative verse and formulaic composition;" "it was a world of naked and unrelenting aggression: of death, fate and inevitable winter" (51).

In "*Dustceawung*: Texting the Dead in the Old English Elegies," *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature,* Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 19, ed. Jane Tolmie and M. J. Toswell (Turnhout: Brepols), 45–66, Mary K. Ramsey offers a thoughtful reading of the Old English elegies as a literary genre designed to provide a space for individuals to mourn and grieve the deaths of those they knew. Ramsey uses recent work on theories of mourning, memory, and trauma to explore

the process of grief, arguing that "in their recollection of times past and people lost, Old English elegies provided their Anglo-Saxon audiences a space for remembrance, for grief, and for examination of personal experiences by both making hearers a part of and holding them apart from the images and stories the poems describe" (47). She considers *The Wanderer, The Seafarer*, and *The Ruin* as distinct from elegies such as *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer* which include "the details of an individual situation of mourning" (47), the absence of which allows a listener a textual space to mourn their own individual grief. Ramsey explores the possibility that poetic laments are meant to "stand metonymically in the place of the dead" (49) as an aid to remembrance and mourning in an Anglo-Saxon England in which, while high-status grave mounds stand out on the landscape, it is not at all clear that lower-status graves had any markers at all. While wooden markers may have existed, as Ramsey notes, "whether through imperfect memory or the absence of the community, without durable markers, the burials quickly became anonymous" (52). Ramsey thus argues that in the absence of a marker, lament poetry can become "a locus for remembrance of an individual or communal life," in other words, Old English elegies can stand in place of physical monuments to the dead, "creating instead a memorial that was both portable and fungible, literally *not* carved in stone" (52). Ramsey reads the elegies as lamenting not just the loss of material objects, but also community, using trauma theory to explore the crucial role of discussing grief in mourning, a role that the elegies fulfill. She reads moments of remembrance in the individual elegies, arguing that references to the dead are deliberately vague and anonymous enough to invite an audience to recall their own memories of those they have lost. Building on the work of Nicholas Howe, Ramsey argues for the role that objects on the landscape can have in evoking memories of communities lost, in which ruins are meant as "a metonymic reminder of those who inhabited the buildings . . . a space to think of the dead that is both personal and impersonal" (61). In this context, the word *dustsceawung*, contemplation of the dust, is one that evokes contemplation of mortality and the transience of this world in a way that is both personal and impersonal —evoking both the deaths of companions, and mortality in general. Building on studies of mourning rituals, Ramsey argues that elegies "enable the audience to re-create the loss of companions through memory; the experience of knowing again then allows us to forget those lost companions, albeit briefly, in order to focus on the business of living" (65).

Antonina Harbus's significant study, "The Maritime Imagination and the Paradoxical Mind in Old English Poetry" (*ASE* 39: 21–42), offers a valuable contribution to our understanding of how Anglo-Saxons conceptualized the mind. Harbus argues that the particularly "maritime imagination" of Anglo-Saxon poets resolves two seemingly incongruous and potentially paradoxical metaphorical models of the mind in Old English poetry: the mind as enclosure (a space for storing one's thoughts) and yet something that can 'wander' away from the physical body. Harbus notes that Old English poetry is rife with examples of the mind as a storehouse, filled with the precious contents of wisdom (which can be doled out in appropriate circumstances, to worthy recipients); yet thought is also conceptualized as figurative travel, "which is likewise under personal control" (22). Yet as Harbus notes, while these two means of conceptualizing the mind are widespread in Old English poetry, "in the most extensive and effective examples, that cultural focus on the mind combines with another Anglo-Saxon preoccupation—the sea—to explore the compelling force of imagination and the metaphysical aspect of the embodied mind that requires both careful control and stability" (22); in other words, "it is the combined containing and travelling qualities of the ship that enable the paradoxical conceptualization of the mind both as a receptacle for thoughts and emotions and also as a travelling entity" (25). As she writes, "the Old English verse that deals most extensively with the peripatetic mind has a distinctly and pervasively maritime flavor" (22), as often the mind is seen to 'wander' in the context of a physical journey across the sea. Harbus discusses *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* as examples, noting that while the frequency of the sea in Old English poetry has, of course, been noted, what has not been is the ways in which sea voyages function as "Anglo-Saxon modes of cognition or representations of a thinking mind within a physical body" (24).

Harbus takes a cognitive science approach to Anglo-Saxon literature (in her words, "cognitive literary studies" or "cognitive poetics") and discusses recent work on metaphors in Old English poetry, building off the work of George Lakoff and Mark Johnson to understand how conceptual metaphors represent ways of organizing thought. In other words, metaphors are not just figures of speech, but people think in metaphors: as an example, for the modern metaphor "the mind is a container" (as in, 'file that thought away'), "people actually think in terms of the mind being a container and thereby conceptualize, organize, access and express their memories accordingly" (26). Harbus certainly demonstrates that "many of these ideas can be deployed fruitfully in the analysis of Anglo-Saxon textual practices" (29) when she turns to

metaphors of the mind in Old English texts, particularly poetry. While the metaphor of mind as container has been noted, she argues that Old English poetry has a more complex conceptualization of the mind, combining the more universal "mind-as-container" metaphor with "the more particularly vernacular idea of the mind as an entity wandering in a maritime context," resulting in "a conceptual blend that expresses the paradox of a metaphysical mind within a physical body" (29). Harbus discusses the inheritance of Latin uses of metaphor in Anglo-Saxon England, particularly that of the mind as a storehouse, and traces its appearance in a wide range of Old English poems, noting that an interesting consequence of the "mind-as-container" metaphor is the idea that the mind has both an inside and an outside, and thoughts can move in and out. As Harbus notes, while this idea appears widely beyond Anglo-Saxon England, "the transferred notion that the mind itself can travel is not" (31). Thus, Old English poetry displays a unique conceptualization of the mind as "travelling entity . . . somehow inside the body but separate from it," which "may require some form of control or vigilance by some other entity, perhaps the self" (31).

Harbus demonstrates the widespread linkage of ships and the mind in Old English poetry, in which "the mind is not only conceived of as a ship, but also, its imaginative capacity is activated by sea-travel" (33). Harbus argues that, in *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, travel is more than a mere trope of elegy—the mind is conceptualized as "travelling entity, able to move both metaphysically and metaphorically" (34). While critics have debated the potential flight of the soul in these poems, Harbus argues that the metaphor of ships allows us to understand the mind itself as disembodied, ultimately "conflating actual and metaphoric travel into a powerful Christian statement of the importance of destination and the erratic and uncertain nature of travel in any direction other than the heavenly one" (38). As Harbus argues, "this imported Christian imperative to travel purposefully rather than aimlessly is encoded in the vernacular version of the maritime metaphor of steering the vessel of the mind" (38), which resurfaces as a metaphor for restraint through the turbulence of life in Old English poetry. In addition to *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer*, Harbus finds couplings of mind and sea in *Wulf and Eadwacer, The Wife's Lament, Andreas, Christ II, Resignation B,* and *The Husband's Message*. Overall, Harbus finds connections between mind and sea in a wide range of Old English texts, making a persuasive case that the Anglo-Saxons could and did conceptualize the mind as both enclosure for thoughts and peripatetic entity; and that the particular affinity for seafaring and travel in Anglo-Saxon England provides a neat solution which reconciles the apparent paradox of "a human consciousness that is at once embodied yet metaphysical:" "the figure of the ship as a mind that both contains and travels" (41). Harbus's thoughtful conclusions have greatly enhanced not only our understanding of how the Anglo-Saxons conceptualized the mind, but also the rich resonances of seafaring in Old English poetry.

LB

Wulf and Eadwacer

In "An Anglo-Saxon Mystery" (*Language and Literature* 19: 99–113), Walter Nash meditates on the art of translation and the difficulty of teaching texts in translation to students with no knowledge of Old English. For the benefit of non-specialists, Nash opens by working through the long history of attempts to answer the question "what is *Wulf and Eadwacer* about?", to which he replies "[i]t all depends on how the poem is taught" (103). To illustrate the difficulty of understanding the poem, Nash prints six published translations of the poem (including several published pseudonymously on the web). Urging students to engage their own imaginations to picture what the poem describes before trying to translate or make sense of it, Nash ultimately admits that, at least at this point in his life, the "impact" of the poem for him is that "for human beings, there is no escape from the consequences of time and war and mischance; there is no resolution, no way out; no hope; no *redemption*" (110).

JZ

Works not seen

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4c. Beowulf

Text, Language, Meter

In a small, handsome, hard-bound volume, R. D. Fulk has edited with facing-page prose translation *The "Beowulf" Manuscript: Complete Texts and "The Fight at Finnsburg*," (Cambridge, MA: Harvard UP). It is the first Old English volume in a new series, the Dumbarton Oaks Medieval Library, which also includes editions of medieval Latin and Greek texts with facing-page translations. Two codices make up London, British Library, Cotton Vitellius A.xv: (1) the Southwick Codex and (2) the Nowell Codex, bound together in the early seventeenth century. The Nowell Codex, named after its first known owner Laurence Nowell, who wrote his name on the first page in 1563, is also called the *Beowulf* Manuscript, containing the five texts presented here: a headless fragment of the prose *Passion of Saint Christopher*, complete prose versions of *The Wonders of the East* and *The Letter of Alexander the Great to Aristotle*, and two poems, *Beowulf* and a portion of *Judith*. The Dumbarton Oaks edition is the first to print all five texts in the Nowell Codex together.

Though it now comes at the end of the codex, *Judith* may once have preceded the prose texts before being separated from them and rebound in its current final position. The Cotton Vitellius manuscript as whole was scorched in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, resulting in the loss of many letters from the margins of its pages, but the production values of the Nowell Codex were modest in any case when compared with the quality of other manuscripts surviving from Anglo-Saxon England. Illustrations of *The Wonders of the East*, for instance, not reproduced here, are judged by Fulk to be less skillful than those of another version of that text in British Library, Cotton Tiberius B.v, "reinforcing the impression that the Vitellius manuscript is provincial in origin" (xii). In addition, the

> final folio of *Beowulf* seems at one time to have served as the outside cover for the manuscript, since the writing is worn and the parchment torn. Although there is scholarly disagreement, it appears that someone, perhaps Laurence Nowell, retouched much of the writing on the verso of this leaf, and not always correctly, so that restoring the text of lines 3150–82 entails some difficulty. Even greater difficulties attend the reconstruction of the text in lines 2207–52, since the folio on which these verses are preserved has been particularly ill-treated. (xxi)

These lines seem likewise to have been retraced, but with even less accuracy than those on the final leaf, containing what Fulk judges to be an erased dittograph that he thus omits from the present text, which as a consequence is one line shorter than the 3182 lines of most other editions of *Beowulf*. "To preserve congruence with the lineation of other editions, however, the expedient has been adopted of omitting line 2229 without renumbering the remainder" (xxi), a choice also made in the fourth edition of *Klaeber's "Beowulf*," also known as *Klaeber 4*, that Fulk edited with Robert Bjork and John Niles in 2008.

This new text of the poem also replicates in most essentials the other editorial choices made in *Klaeber 4*, except that it omits the italics indicating the alteration of words by emendation, square brackets indicating the addition of letters or words, parentheses for conjectural restorations of obscure letters, and subtended points beneath the letters of words present in the Cotton Vitellius MS but of doubtful authenticity for syntactic or metrical reasons. It also omits the macron over etymologically long vowels (¯) and the raised point marking palatalization of *g* and affrication of *c* before front vowels (·) in the late West Saxon dialect of the two Cotton Vitellius scribes. On the other hand, except for personal names, the text hyphenates many more compounds than in *Klaeber 4* "as an aid to comprehension" (333). For instance, eight compounds are hyphenated in the opening eleven lines of the poem, whereas only one, *Gar-Dena* 'of the Spear-Danes' in line 1a, was so divided in *Klaeber 4*, as follows (marked in bold):

> Hwæt, we **Gar-Dena** in **gear-dagum**,
> **þeod-cyninga** þrym gefrunon,
> hu ða æþelingas ellen fremedon.
> Oft Scyld Scefing sceaþena þreatum,
> monegum mægþum **meodo-setla** ofteah,
> egsode eorlas, syððan ærest wearð
> **fea-sceaft** funden. He þæs frofre gebad:
> weox under wolcnum, **weorð-myndum** þah,
> oð þæt him æghwylc þara **ymb-sittendra**
> ofor **hron-rade** hyran scolde,
> gomban gyldan. Þæt wæs god cyning.

Fulk's facing-page prose rendering of these lines is quoted below in the section on translations and translation studies. He also includes an edition and translation of a sixth text, the fragmentary *Fight at Finnsburg*, now lost but printed from a transcript of uncertain reliability by George Hickes in 1703. Succinct notes to both texts and translations are supplied for all six works, as well as a select bibliography for each and an index to the whole volume.

In a "MS Reading of the Electronic *Beowulf* Edition" (*Nigata Koka Daigaku Bulletin* 15: 23–37) (in Japanese), Ryoichi Koyama judges Kevin Kiernan's *Electronic*

"Beowulf" 2.0 (2004) to be the most "respectful," that is, the most conservative edition of the poem available, but acknowledges that Kiernan's laudable effort to construe, whenever possible, the text of Cotton Vitellius A.xv "at its face value" leaves many interpretive problems unresolved.

In the *Daito Bunka Review* 41: 29–48 (in Japanese), Ajiro Atushi surveys twentieth-century "Textual Criticism of Old English and *Beowulf*," exclusive of Frederick Klaeber's standard edition of the poem, whose third edition of 1936 was supplemented in 1941 and 1950. The author begins with Albert Stanburrough Cook's edition of *"The Christ" of Cynewulf* (1900), moving on to George Philip Krapp's *"Andreas" and "The Fates of the Apostles"* (1906), Francis A. Blackburn's *"Exodus" and "Daniel"* (1907), Stanley Ripyn's *Three Old English Prose Texts* (1924), Dorothy Whitelock's 1930 edition of Anglo-Saxon wills, Krapp and Dobbie's six-volume *Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records* (1931–53), whose fourth volume is *"Beowulf" and "Judith"* (1953), concluding with A. N. Doane's *Genesis A* (1978). Some of these edited texts Atushi compares to their nineteenth-century predecessors; others, he assesses by quoting the judgments of various scholars, particularly with regard to their textual conservatism and the relative scholarly success of suggested emendations versus defenses of the extant text.

Michio Iwaya summarizes a selection of arguments published between 1892 and 2009 on "The Dating of the Composition of *Beowulf*" (*Hosei U Repository* 6 [2009]: 21–39) (in Japanese). Expanding Whitelock's argument in *The Audience of "Beowulf"* (1951), Iwaya rejects the possibility that the poem could have been composed during the period of Viking attacks on Anglo-Saxon England between the years 787 and 878, and so restricts the available options to before or after this period. The presence of plausible migration-era material in the Finnsburg lay of the poem, as well as several striking parallels between *Beowulf* and *Widsith*, which Iwaya assumes to be "the oldest English alliterative poem," despite its unique copy in the eleventh-century *Exeter Book*, suggests a way for the author to decide between the two sharply divergent choices he has allowed himself, that is, he favors a date before the year 787 for the composition of the poem.

In "*VII Æthelred* and the Genesis of the *Beowulf* Manuscript," (*PQ* 89: 119–39), Leonard Neidorf follows Dumville (1988) and others in placing the copying of the *Beowulf* MS in its current form to somewhere between the years 997 and 1016, a period of renewed Viking attacks upon Anglo-Saxon England. An elaborate program of public prayer and penance, plus a sizeable tax levy, was ordered by the king and codified in his laws of *VII Æthelred* issued at Bath in 1009. Neidorf believes that a nostalgia for past heroism and lost national unity revived interest in an old poem that dramatized such questions as "loyalty and betrayal, and invasion and defense" (135), making it newly relevant to the monastic community that invested considerable effort in its recopying for oral recitation "as their contribution to the king's efforts" (121).

Alfred Bammesberger reanalyzes "Wealhtheow's Address to Beowulf (*Beowulf*, Lines 1226b-7)" (*N&Q* 57: 455–57), in particular, her exhortation to the hero: *Beo þu suna minum / dædum gedefe, dreamhealdende*, commonly rendered: "Be kind to my son(s) in your deeds, enjoying success." Bammesberger interprets the final term *dreamhealdende* 'possessing joy, enjoying success' not as a present participial predicate adjective modifying the nominative singular *þu* 'you', that is, Beowulf himself in line 1226b, built upon the verb *healdan* 'to hold, possess' compounded with a preceding object *dream* 'joy, bliss, success', but rather as an uncompounded "absolute participle construction in the nominative" (457), referring to whichever of her two sons Wealhtheow trusts will eventually inherit the throne of Denmark, indicated by her use of the dative singular phrase *suna minum* '(to) my son'. In addition, Bammesberger understands *dream* in its more specifically political sense of royal power and prefers to render Wealhtheow's appeal, *Beo þu* 'Be thou', in the hortatory or subjunctive mood—as a fervent request—rather than as an imperative queenly command. Finally, Bammesberger interprets the adjectival phrase *dædum gedefe* 'fitting in behavior' in a practical sense, meaning "available in actions, helpful in deeds," yielding (by implication) for the queen's entire entreaty: "May you be supportive in deeds to my son who will then be in power."

Ryoichi Uemura writes on "Substantive Compounds in *Beowulf*: The Function of the First Element," (*Memoirs of the Osaka University of the Liberal Arts and Education [A, Humanistic Science]* 8: 199–218) (in Japanese), describing the flexibility and conciseness of compounds in Old English, but also their frequent ambiguity when both terms are nouns or substantive adjectives. Uemura identifies three types of substantive compound— coordinate, initial determinative, and final determinative—focusing his main attention upon the third variety, where the function of the first element and its relationship to the dominant second element is often hard to define. He suggests the initial term in such compounds is "not, properly speaking, a word but a word-stem," without an inflectional indication of case or number that might define more precisely its semantic relationship to the second element.

In "The Syntax of the Dative in *Beowulf* (I)" (*Memoirs of the Osaka University of the Liberal Arts and Education [A, Humanistic Science]* 8: 189–208) (in Japanese), the same author identifies the fundamental meaning of the dative case in Old English and other Germanic languages as "direction toward," acquiring, as in Latin and Greek, various adverbial uses by assuming the functions of a lost ablative, locative, or instrumental case. Uemura concludes by itemizing the many different uses of the dative in *Beowulf* with representative examples.

In "Layers of Versification in *Beowulf*" (*Anglia* 127.2: 238–60), Patrizia Aziz Hanna challenges the assumption on the part of some scholars that the poem preserves the oldest principles of Germanic versification and therefore can serve as an archetype of Germanic prosody in general. Instead, she finds that *Beowulf* deviates in significant ways from the metrical patterns often claimed for it, sometimes in contradictory formulations by different scholars. Hanna identifies distinct layers of versification in the poem, especially in its use of epic formulae. She explains these layers by positing that the poet observed an archaic "tetrametric" scansion, that is, at least four syllables per regular half-line—two of which are stressed—but introducing a modernizing vocabulary in which many traditional locutions had undergone morphological and phonological change between Common Germanic and Old English, thus prompting the invention of many new terms by the poet himself. This new poetic vocabulary required a degree of metrical adaptation, innovation, and sometimes even license on the part of the poet. Hanna analyzes the metrical systems proposed by Sievers, Heusler, and Kaluza in light of what she sees as a more natural, accurate, and complex description of the poem's prosody and considers how the strictures of these metrists would have played out in actual performance.

Bernard Mees had earlier offered a related analysis in "Before *Beowulf*: On the Proto-History of Old Germanic Verse" (*Jnl of the Australian Early Medieval Assoc.* 3 (2007): 207–23). Mees argues that the poem's prosody represents not a deviation from an archaic Common Germanic norm, but a brand new development in response to linguistic change in the British Isles, especially syncope, the loss of unstressed syllables between those of greater stress. By examining the few brief examples of Common Germanic poetry preserved in runic inscriptions—in particular, that on the fourth-century gold horn found in Gallehus, Denmark—Mees offers a new theory of the evolution of Germanic meter schematized in Figure 1 (223). In his proposal, early Germanic verse consisted of short isosyllabic tetrameters that came to be linked into alliterating couplets, such as that found on the Gallehus horn. Under the influence of Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic poetry, English-speaking clerics developed this traditional verse form into eight-syllable lines when composing poetry in Latin. In early vernacular verse, however, syncope disrupted the traditional 4/4, that is, octosyllabic scheme, inducing the often hypermetrical lines of *Beowulf*, a phenomenon that is also seen in the development of several distinct Old Norse meters.

Sources and Analogues

In "The Forbidden *Beowulf*: Haunted by Incest" (*PMLA* 125.2: 289–305), James W. Earl suspects that the poet may have known, but suppressed, a version of the Scylding legend in which Hrothulf was the son of an incestuous union between Hrothgar's brother *Halga til* 'the good Halga' (line 61b) and his own daughter. This unnamed woman is usually understood to be a sister married to the Swedish king Onela, according to the standard emendation of line 62: *hyrde ic* þæt [... wæs On]elan cwen 'I have heard that ... was Onela's queen'. However, in the Icelandic analogue *Hrólfs saga Kraka* 'Saga of Hrolf Kraki' (ca. 1400), the incestuous royals are not siblings, but a father Helgi (= Halga) and daughter Yrse, who gives birth to Hrolf (= Hrothulf). Yrse later marries the Swedish king Adils (= Eadgils), rather than his uncle Onela, but in whatever form the Christian poet encountered this story, Earl believes, he found its theme of incest "simply too hot to handle" (291). Nonetheless, the poet's suppression of this moral enormity from his narrative has left a ghostly presence, not least in the poem's distinctive atmosphere of a brooding curse or pending evil over the house of Scyld. Like a Germanic Mordred, the tainted Hrothulf sits silently with his uncle on the high seat at the very epicenter of the royal family, "radiating some vague threat" (290), which is twice intimated by the poet in lines 1013–19 and 1163b–65a. As in Sophocles' *Oedipus*, incest (like murder) must out. In fact, Earl suggests that the poet displaces the forbidden passion of Halga and his daughter into the monstrous intimacy he depicts between the cohabiting Grendel and his mother. These incestuous revenants illustrate for Earl the Freudian principle that "the demons we wrestle with in the night are also the return of the repressed" (304). This reflection leaves our hero as a kind of visiting family therapist, who successfully delivers the dysfunctional Scyldings from their hysterical nightmares—their haunting by demons who embody their own suppressed sins—but cannot help them with their long-term practical problems of inheritance and succession.

Christopher Abram hopes to shed "New Light on the Illumination of Grendel's Mere," (*JEGP* 109.2: 198–216), in particular, the *fyr on flode* 'fire in [*or* on] the water'

(line 1366a) that Hrothgar tells the hero can be seen at night. In Old Norse skaldic poetry "fire of the sea" and its variants is a common kenning for gold. At the feast of Ægir described in Snorri's *Skáldskaparmál* (ca. 1220) golden treasure emits enough light to illuminate a hall without torches and Abram suggests that this Norse concept of radiant gold may be an allusion to the legend of the golden treasure taken from the dragon Fáfnir by Sigurd the Völsung and deposited in the river Rhine. The poet knows this legend and alludes to an early version of it in lines 874b-900, attributing the dragon-slaying to Sigemund (= Sigmund), the father, rather than Sigurd, his son (and nephew), as in the Icelandic versions of the legend. Abram concludes that an audience attuned to Germanic tradition would most likely have understood the illumination of Grendel's mere to derive from the golden treasures secreted within it, like the hilt of the giants' sword recovered by Beowulf, even though this light may also have suggested "hellfire" to those attuned to the kinds of parallels observed between the poet's description of the mere and that of the Christian underworld in Blickling Homily 17.

Heide Estes writes on "Raising Cain in *Genesis* and *Beowulf*: Challenges to Generic Boundaries in Anglo-Saxon Biblical Literature" (*The Heroic Age* 13 [August, online]). Just as Abraham in the Old English poem *Genesis* "is re-imagined as a formidable warrior in the mold of Beowulf or Byrhtnoth," so biblical stories, such as Cain's killing of Abel, are invoked by the *Beowulf* poet to explain the origin of the race of monsters. Sacred history and secular legend are thus "fused into a single cultural matrix."

Geoffrey Russom discusses "History and Anachronism in *Beowulf*," in *Epic and History*, ed. David Konstan and Kurt A. Raaflaub (Malden, Mass.: Wiley-Blackwell), 243–61, dismissing the possibility that the poet "learned about anything as trivial as Hygelac's raid" upon the Merovingian Franks in the early sixth century from written sources like Gregory of Tours' *Historia Francorum*, written later in that century, or the early eighth-century *Liber Monstrorum*, both of which refer to the northern king. He assumes instead that the poem was composed in early eighth-century England from an oral tradition that "evidently brought details of the event from Scandinavia and preserved them for a significant length of time" (244). Why such a minor event about distant peoples of the past should have been remembered at all in Anglo-Saxon England is not addressed, but Russom believes that, if so, "such a tradition might well preserve information about pre-Christian culture, about the way people thought and felt in Germania before it was integrated into systems of centralized power inherited from Rome" (244), including those of the Roman Catholic Church and its biblical view of universal history. Russom follows Watkins (1995) in seeing not only Common Germanic, but also Indo-European ideals of heroism expressed in the poem, preserved in the traditional formulaic language of four parallel Germanic traditions: Old English, Old Norse, Old Saxon, and Old High German. In particular, Russom calls into doubt theories that a literate Christian poet is merely inventing a vision of the past that bears little relation to oral-traditional representations of it. Instead, he argues that the Christian poet simply relocates a traditional hero-tale in the postdiluvian but pre-Mosaic period of Old Testament history, notionally the time of the patriarchs Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob. The Great Flood of Genesis 6, as well as the earlier story of Cain and Abel, are obvious cultural anachronisms in a poem set in pre-Christian Scandinavia, but the poet's "modernizing strategy" has found a plausible home for his traditional material in "the blank spaces of biblical history" (257). The poem's innovative biblical anachronism is thus "a restricted domain," beyond which "what looks archaic is likely to be archaic" (245). In this traditional Germanic ethos set within its new Judeo-Christian time-line, there is a celebration of the antique pagan concept of heroic glory—Old English *blæd*—not so different from Greek *kléos* in Homer's *Iliad* or in the many other surviving examples of ancient Indic, Hittite, Persian or other Indo-European narratives.

Earl R. Anderson is also committed to *Understanding "Beowulf" as an Indo-European Epic: A Study in Comparative Mythology* (Lewiston, NY: Edwin Mellen). In fact, Anderson's range of comparative reference extends far beyond Indo-European traditions to include the Akkadian *Epic of Gilgamesh* (second millennium BC) and the *Secret History of the Mongols* (fourteenth century AD). In particular, Anderson argues that the poet constructs his narrative from a repertoire of archaic themes and motifs common to a "Romano-Celto-Germanic *Kulturbund*" (2) or western European "cultural complex," reflective of earlier epic traditions, rather than representing an idiosyncratic, one-off product of a self-consciously Roman Catholic clerical culture in Anglo-Saxon England where such pre-Christian heroic values are treated with ironic distance or implied censure. For instance, Anderson notes that Beowulf's admonition to Hrothgar to cease mourning for Æschere is paralleled in both *Gilgamesh* and Homer's *Iliad*, implying in neither case that the mourner is weak or unmanly for feeling such a depth of sorrow for his dead friend. Rather, Anderson insists, this "charismatic affection" (4) introduces a migratory type-scene where, in its Germanic form, a king stricken by grief is challenged to appoint an appropriate

avenger. Similarly, Beowulf's swim back Geatland with thirty enemy mailshirts after the fall of Hygelac in Frisia invokes another epic type-scene, best illustrated by three Armenian analogues, summarized as the hero's "retreat at a body of water," where swimming to safety is presented as "an honorable alternative to death by slaughter or drowning" (3). Anderson sees Beowulf's "dis-arming" of Grendel not as a kind of slick wrestling move, but as an instance of the "combative handshake," seen likewise in Firdausi's Iranian *Shâhnâma* "Book of Kings" (ca. 1000 AD), the Armenian *Sasna Crer* "Wild Men of Sasûn" (nineteenth century AD), the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied* "Song of the Nibelungs" (thirteenth century AD), as well as in several modern Irish folktales (3). Anderson's comparison of scenes reveals distinctions, as well as continuities, between these many branches of epic tradition. For instance, in a "South Indo-European complex," represented by Greek, Armenian, Iranian, and Indic epics, heroes like Achilles are often confronted with a fateful choice between (1) everlasting fame but early death or (2) a long life but ultimate obscurity. Real heroes in these traditions choose the former, of course, or we would not know about them, but Germanic heroes, on the other hand, according to Anderson, resist this either/or fatalism, as does Beowulf during his youthful encounter with the sea-monsters who drag him to the bottom of the sea and almost drown him in a violent storm after he has been swimming for five days with Breca. Here, our hero demonstrates a specific one-two punch of Germanic virtues: *geþyld* 'patience, perseverance, tenacity' joined with *ellen* 'instinctual fighting courage' (cf. lines 572b-73). Mustering these two qualities helps Beowulf "alter the course of *wyrd*" (4), to change or deflect his fate from its impending doom, and ultimately, through the same approach to similar challenges, live to a ripe old age until the hero finally meets his match in the dragon. Anderson believes that familiarity with these traditional components of oral epic clarify many other critical questions about the poem, including (1) Is the murder of Hondscioh by Grendel a deliberate "tactical sacrifice" on the part of the hero? (2) Is Hygelac's raid on the Franks "reckless piracy" or a "pre-emptive defense against an imperial power"? (3) After Hrothgar's "adoption" of Beowulf, does Wealhtheow fear the king's nephew Hrothulf or the hero himself as the more serious threat to the royal prospects of her sons? (4) Does Beowulf have a legal right to the dragon's hoard and is it properly or improperly reburied with the hero?

In "The Big Picture: Collocations of Action and Background Scenes in *Beowulf* and *Andreas*" (*Jnl of the Australian Early Medieval Assoc.* 3 [2007]: 59–68), Emily Baynham compares the way episodes of fast-paced narrative action are punctuated by rather terse descriptions of natural settings in the two poems. Beowulf's violent struggle in the mere and resurfacing with Grendel's head inspires spontaneous joy on the part of his men who had despaired of the hero's life, but is immediately followed by a description of the once bloody, turbulent, and monster-filled lake now "drowsing" under the clouds, returning to its normal condition as a quiet upland pool in contract to the busy human scene (lines 1626–31). Similarly, in setting off home for Geatland, Beowulf marches down to the beach with his men in the morning, while the "world's candle shone" upon them, "strongly from the south" (lines 1965b-66a). Baynham comments that in *Beowulf* the poet compares human action with a glimpse of its natural environment, so that "change is contrasted with the unchanging, movement with the stationary, the momentary with the ongoing. By focussing on the unchanging image of the shining sun in the hero on the beach theme, the poet emphasizes that when the Geats are gone from life, as they soon will be from the scene, the physical world will still remain" (67). The *Andreas*-poet uses a similar technique, in his case, to stress the ever-present power of God in human affairs and in his creation in general, punctuated by the dramatic miracles of Saint Andrew, whereas the *Beowulf*-poet employs such contrasts to underscore the limitations of his hero's human agency in impacting the world for good. "To focus on the physical world as a testament to Beowulf's achievements illustrates their value," Baynham argues, "but also their limit" (67).

Asa Simon Mittman and Susan M. Kim include *Beowulf* in their discussion of "Monsters and the Exotic in Medieval England," *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Walker and Treharne [see sect. 4a], 677–706. The authors follow Orchard (1995) in arguing that human champions like Beowulf come to resemble the monsters they fight, even as they struggle against them. The poem demonstrates, they believe, the futility of such efforts, "the ductility of those borders," "the inextricability of the monstrous from human life" (688).

Renato Rodrigues da Silva offers "Reflexões acerca da Hierarquização Social na Inglaterra Anglo-Saxônica à luz de sua Literatura [Reflections on Social Hierarchy in Anglo-Saxon England in Light of Its Literature]" (*Brathair*, Edição Especial [Special Edition] 1 [2007]: 81–86) (in Portuguese), in which he sketches out the development of a stratified political system in Anglo-Saxon England during the seventh and eighth centuries with particular reference to *Beowulf*, Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* (ca. 731), and various Anglo-Saxon law codes.

Angélica Varandas challenges the thesis of Joseph Campbell's *Hero with a Thousand Faces* (1993), in

examining "Do Rosto do Herói Medieval: Beowulf e Gawain [The Face of the Medieval Hero: Beowulf and Gawain]" (*Brathair* 10.2: 26–50) (in Portuguese). Varandas agrees that the general character of heroes and the trajectory of their quests may often be structurally similar, but argues that each figure also evinces striking differences as well, specific to the particular cultural contexts in which they were imagined. Medieval European heroes, for instance, exhibit a certain religious, almost allegorical, quality that can be ideologically powerful and thus culturally unifying. An epic warrior like Beowulf, who nonetheless attributes his success to the Christian God, served to facilitate the transition from pagan heroic values to Christian faith in the audience of the poem, while a romance hero like Sir Gawain, a chivalric knight, serves to solidify an ideal of Christian heroism by replicating on behalf of King Arthur's court Christ's vicarious atonement. In both cases, the hero's function is culturally foundational and his *rosto singular* 'face singular' (46), that is, a unique expression of its own time and place rather than the replication of a universal theme.

Martin K. Foys and Whitney Anne Trettien examine "Vanishing Transliteracies in *Beowulf* and Samuel Pepys's *Diary*," *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts*, ed. Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne, Essays and Studies, n.s. 63 (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer), 75–120. The fairly recent coinage *transliteracy* means the ability to read and interact using several media tools or electronic platforms at once, including speaking, signing, handwriting, typing, texting, and other forms of audio, visual, or digital discourse. The authors argue that Samuel Pepys's tachygraphy or special shorthand in his *Diary* of 1660–69 and the runic inscription on the hilt of the giants' sword in lines 1687b-98a of *Beowulf*, as well as the three uses of the runic *eþel* at lines 520b, 913a, and 1702a in the *Beowulf* MS itself, reveal how a once intelligible but now obsolete technology of communication privileges, naturalizes, and thereby "constructs" (by its comparative obscurity) the dominant mode of discourse represented by canonical texts. The authors note that Timothy Druckery (2006) has challenged the "lazy linearity" of this reductive temporal trajectory of communication from oral-traditional performance to written manuscripts like Cotton Vitellius A.xv to printed modern scholarly editions and translations of *Beowulf*. In his section of the essay, Foys reminds us that weapons and treasure, too, are powerful non-verbal tools of communication in the poem, constituting yet another mode of discourse that has been suppressed in its significance by the factitious authority of the written word. Even the new *Electronic "Beowulf" 2.0* (2004), with its several multi-media applications, comes in for criticism in this regard, since it is "resolutely anchored in the recovery of a single text," promoting the "pre-existing and proleptic heuristics of study that preserve only what they have already remade in their own 'image'" (98–99). The authors suggest no practical solutions to such simplifying appropriations of earlier communicative media beyond regretful awareness of their lost multiplicity, a sentiment that comports well with the elegiac themes of the poem.

In "The Heroic Laconic Style: Reticence and Meaning from *Beowulf* to the Edwardians," *Acts of Recognition: Essays on Medieval Culture* (Notre Dame: U of Notre Dame P), 155–80, Lee Patterson reprints an essay that he first published in 2000, covered in YWOES for that year. He examines the aristocratic tradition of heroic understatement in Old English secular poetry, mainly *Beowulf*, as it reemerged in the late nineteenth century, both in popular English literature and in medieval scholarship, especially W. P. Ker's *Epic and Romance* (1897). For Patterson, the device of litotes and other forms of rhetorical restraint "are ways of making meaning visible in the act of hiding it." For example, the hero Beowulf reveals a shrewd awareness of the political situations in which he finds himself and a superior consciousness of the grim exigencies of the world in which he lives. These realities are hidden from many of his fellow-characters whom he tries to help or protect, but their morale would not be improved by an explicit assessment on the part of the hero. Beowulf's terse utterances reveal his determination to act bravely in spite of his intelligence of a world in which death is imminent and heroic action of dubious efficacy. Heroes are tight-lipped, Patterson believes, because they understand and feel their world not "too little but too much" (156).

Alfredo Bonadeo compares *Martial Valor from "Beowulf" to Vietnam* (Bloomington: AuthorHouse), challenging the view expressed by Aristotle in his *Nichomachean Ethics* that courage is an inherently noble virtue and that, accordingly, its ends must be noble, too. Bonadeo argues, to the contrary, that the purposes to which courage is put ultimately define its legitimacy, whether it can be judged as a virtue or a vice. He begins his discussion with Beowulf, a character whom he understands to value courage for its own sake, or more particularly, for the fame it brings him, rather than for the benefits that result from its exercise *per se*. Bonadeo takes the last word with which the hero's people memorialize him—*lofgeornost* 'most eager for fame' (line 3182b)—as the bottom line of Beowulf's personal values, declaring that his "true reason" for going to Denmark as a young hero was to display his courage on a wider international stage, demonstrating "little interest" (1) in the sufferings of the Danish people and even scorning, in his exchange with

Unferth, the quality of their own courage to date (lines 590–601a). This ambition for renown is what motivates Beowulf to take unnecessary risks like fighting Grendel without a weapon, seeking out Grendel's mother in the mere, and fighting a fire-breathing dragon single-handedly in a face-to-face confrontation. The hero's attitude is summarized in his speech to Hrothgar after the death of Æschere: "Each one of us must endure an end of life in this world; let him who may achieve fame before death; that is best for the lifeless warrior later on" (lines 1386–89). Bonadeo finds this paramount commitment to one's public reputation for courage, even at the cost of one's own life or that of others, to result in a kind of murderous heroics that are often as brutalizing to the perpetrator as to his victims, a phenomenon he illustrates with examples from the American war in Vietnam. Bonadeo concludes: "Over time it has become harder and harder to be a hero: good causes are hard to find and very few individuals are willing to do deeds that create a reputation for valor ... In the present times valor has lost its mystique while abhorrence of death and love of life have grown" (215), thus rendering the kind of heroism displayed by the Anglo-Saxon hero not only obsolete, but dangerous.

Following "An Ogre's Arm," her 1998 study of Noh song *Rashohmon*, Michiko Ogura compares "*Beowulf* and the *Book of Swords*: Similarities and Differences in Scenes, Features and Epithets," (*SELIM* 16 [2009]: 7–22). The fifteenth-century *Rashohmon* was based on the *Book of Swords* (1215), which contains three monster-fights analogous to those in *Beowulf*: (1) the hero Watanabe-no-Tsuna confronts and takes the arm of a masculine ogre; (2) the ogre returns for his arm in the form of an old woman; and (3) a giant spider attacks the hero and his lord Yorimitsu. Ogura attributes these similarities to a universal oral-traditional narrative triplism. The main differences between *Beowulf* and the *Book of Swords* can be found in the identity and significance of the monsters: (1) the Japanese ogre is really a noble lady transformed by the jealousy of another woman; and (2) since dragons are benign water deities in Japanese tradition, the alpha monster is imagined as a huge spider rather than a flying serpent, in this case first appearing in disguise as a Buddhist priest in Lord Yorimitsu's bedchamber, but later hunted down by the hero and killed in its own spider mound.

Criticism

John M. Hill has collected a volume of essays *On the Aesthetics of 'Beowulf' and Other Old English Poems* (Toronto: U of Toronto P), in which Geoffrey Russom reconsiders "Aesthetic Criteria in Old English Heroic Style," 64–80, returning to a thesis first expressed by Magoun (1953) that the poem was composed extemporaneously by an oral poet using traditional formulas whose prosodic regularity was more important to him in a particular verse than its precise meaning in that context. Russom argues that the *Beowulf* poet was not slavishly driven by these oral-traditional formulas, however, but rather adapted them to the thematic requirements of his poem in an unusually thoughtful virtuoso performance that gives little evidence of Latin Christian learning, except for a few biblical allusions to the Old Testament, which stories themselves could have been acquired aurally: "Close inspection of *Beowulf* reveals unsuspected stylistic virtues, but these make systematic use of Germanic archaisms and have no demonstrable link to Christian-Latin style" at all (79–80).

In the same volume, Peggy Knapp writes on "*Beowulf* and the Strange Necessity of Beauty," 81–100. She finds this universal need for "humanly produced beauty" (82, note 4) so arresting because the world is "filled with dangers for the human community" (81), which fact might seem to make us more pragmatically defensive rather than open to aesthetic contemplation. She finds that *Beowulf* depicts this dangerous and ultimately deadly world in an intricately crafted vision that eschews easy or definitive explanations of the meaning of life on earth, but rather one which "haunts thought" and gives rise to pleasures "from the way imagination and understanding circle around it," like the Geatish horsemen who surround Beowulf's barrow at the end of the poem, a scene "both impressive and enigmatic" (82), displaying "the futility and impermanence of heroism" (100) even while it memorializes the hero's sacrifice, leaving the effect and meaning of that heroism open to the reader's own unfinished response.

Thomas E. Hart compares "*Beowulf* and Boethius on Beauty and Truth," 176–208, hypothesizing that the *Beowulf* poet somehow learned, as did this late antique writer, especially in his *Consolation of Philosophy* (ca. 524), a theory of poetic composition in which words are linked both "truly" and "artfully" according to patterns of numerical proportion that purportedly reflect larger universal harmonies, an mathematical aesthetic that can also be found in the writings of St. Augustine on Wisdom 8:1 and 11:21. Hart provides a substantial appendix of charts detailing numerical proportionalities in the appearance of key words and their variants according to *fitt* or *metrum* number (as well as to verse line) in the two works, respectively.

Yvette Kisor reviews the history of the poem's critical reception, especially assessments of its design and unity,

in "The Aesthetics of *Beowulf*: Structure, Perception, and Desire," 227–46. She finds most useful for understanding the organization of a poem with as many narrative gaps as *Beowulf*—most notably the fifty-year leap forward in lines 2208a-09a—Wolfgang Iser's theories of reading (1974 and 1980) in which he argues that readers "co-create" a literary work by imaginatively filling in *lacunae* and resolving ambiguities in the original text in order to satisfy their own desire for meaningful coherence. Like Knapp, Kisor sees the "range of interpretations possible in this model of reading . . . proof of the text's inexhaustibility" as a work of art (240). As Iser says, the "potential text is infinitely richer than any of its individual realizations" (1974, quoted 240).

In "'The Fall of King Hæðcyn': Or, Mimesis 4a, the Chapter Auerbach Never Wrote," 247–65, Tom Shippey imagines what the author of that classic work of literary criticism on "the representation of reality in Western literature" (1946/1957) might have said about *Beowulf* in between his discussions of the late antique Latin author Gregory of Tours and the Old French *Chanson de Roland*. Like Kisor, Shippey notes the many narrative gaps, illogicalities, and unanswered questions in the poem, especially in the speech of the messenger to the Geats on the death of Beowulf in lines 2910b-81, which recounts at length the troubles between the Geats and other peoples in the old days, including the fall of another king, Beowulf's uncle Hæthcyn at the hands of Ongentheow of the Swedes. Shippey argues that these obscurities are not "accidental," nor the result of confusion or incompetence: "The poet knows what he is doing. But he does not care to do what might have been expected from any author still connected with the Classical tradition" (258), especially Homer, who offers clearly organized descriptions of action and appearance in the physical world with minimal commentary on interior or emotional life. For his part, the *Beowulf* poet is concerned above all else to show honorable people acting honorably, creating a "society" of both characters and readers or auditors that can include not only noble warriors like the hero and his kinsmen, but also foreigners, enemies, "churls," women, and even (one could say) the tonsured monks who copied the poem and comprised at least part of its readership (258–59).

> The admired virtue is not the dash and élan of Roland and Charlemagne's cavalry, rather self-control, self-restraint, endurance, and discipline. . . . This is what the warriors are showing when they sit silently and passively waiting for their leader's return, or for the news of his death. . . . There is a time for dignified silence, and there is a time for plain speech, as the Messenger shows when he *lyt swigode* ('kept back little') [line 2897b], and spoke *soðlice* ['truly', line 2899a] . . . . Even more admirable, however, than dignified silence and plain speech is something in between the two, the litotes or understatement by which the hero, or the poet, announces that he has grasped the situation fully but will not allow it to perturb his self-control. . . . The Messenger's remark that 'the favour of the Merovingian has not been given us' [lines 2920b-21] is a shadow of the real situation—the Merovingian hates them bitterly, intends only their destruction—but it shows him observing this and not giving way to fear even of what he knows is going to happen. (259)

Old English poetry is thus a "low-information" genre, one not meant to offer a temporally logical sequence of hitherto unknown facts, but rather to reinforce through formulaic repetition and variation a behavioral ideal where a noble word or phrase's importance in the alliterative prosody of the poem is often in inverse proportion to the amount of new knowledge it is intended to convey.

In *The Hero Recovered: Essays on Medieval Heroism in Honor of George Clark*, ed. Robin Waugh and James Weldon (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications), the editors offer several pieces on *Beowulf*. Sarah L. Higley examines "Thought in *Beowulf* and Our Perception of It: Interiority, Power, and the Problem of the Revealed Mind," 23–46. She notes the poet's reticence in disclosing his hero's inner feelings, compared to the freedom with which he reveals the emotional life of weaker characters: the troubled Hrothgar, the threatened Unferth, or the aberrant Grendel. Beowulf may speak at greater length than these other figures, but his words are more a performance of his public resolve than a revelation of his private thoughts. However, the poet reverses his practice in Beowulf's old age, uncovering the hero's fear that he may have provoked the dragon's attack through some moral failing of his own. This glimpse of the old king's emotional distress recalls that of King Hrothgar at his parting from the hero in Denmark years before: his breast "*wells up inside* with the greatest of *mind-sorrows* and *dark thoughts* that are *foreign* to him" (Higley's emphasis, 37, stressing the similar phraseology in lines 1870–80a and 2327b-32). Yet, Beowulf dismisses these doubts, puts on his game face, and calls out the dragon from its barrow in a booming voice, as if he were still a young hero without a care or kingdom in the world. In the final word of the poem, the people of Beowulf remember him "without irony" as *lofgeornost* 'most eager for fame', a king devoted with superlative passion to his public identity as a hero (40).

In "Transforming the Hero: Beowulf and the Conversion of Hunferth," 47–64, Judy King understands

Beowulf's heroism as a kind of moral evangelism modeled on saints' lives. She argues that the hero not only rescues the Danes from monsters, but also inspires a fundamental change of heart among them, beginning with Hrothgar's spokesman Hunferth. King prefers the ethnophoric form of this character's name "Hun-spirit" as it appears in the *Beowulf* MS, since as such it identifies him as a morally responsible agent rather than an emblematic figure of *Unferth* 'Un-peace, Discord', the unaspirated form of his name to which it is customarily emended for reasons of alliteration. For killing his brothers, the hero warns this character that *þu in helle scealt / werhðo dreogan* 'you must suffer damnation in hell' (lines 588b-89a), a prediction whose second person singular auxiliary of necessity *scealt* 'must' King semantically massages in order to allow the possibility of Hunferth's repentance: "you *deserve* damnation in hell" (my emphasis). She compares this rebuke to those delivered by Christian martyrs to their persecutors, some of whom are thus inspired to convert. Hunferth later signals his reformation by offering Hrunting to Beowulf, a sword presumably tainted by the blood of his brothers which is then washed clean in the waters of the mere and returned to its owner. The "conversion" of Hunferth and "baptism" of Hrunting signify the conversion of the Danes as a whole from the fratricidal violence of pagan tribalism to the noble Christian heroism displayed to them by Beowulf.

John M. Hill contributes "The King and the Warrior: Hrothgar's Sitting Masculinity," 65–82, reprising his argument from *The Narrative Pulse of "Beowulf"* (2008). Quoting Sahlins on Fijian kingship (1985), Hill distinguishes between kingly *gravitas*, "the venerable, staid, judicious, priestly, peaceful, and productive dispositions of an established people," and heroic *celeritas*, "the youthful, active, disorderly, magical, and creative violence of conquering princes" (66). Hrothgar demonstrates not only the stable continuity of the Scylding monarchy through time, but also comes to possess as his own achievement Beowulf's victory over the Grendelkin as well, since it is in return for past favors to his father that the young hero has come to serve the king in the first place. Hrothgar's subsequent feelings for Beowulf thus do not soften into what Dockray-Miller (1998) has called "effeminate irrelevance" (quoted 80), but rather grow into a deeply rooted masculine *gravitas* as this ruler of a wide realm adopts the strongest man on earth as his spiritual son and protégé.

In concluding the collection, Daniel Timmons provides a transcript of "Heroes and Heroism in the Fiction of Tolkien and the Old Norse World: An Interview with George Clark," 233–41, which he conducted in 2003. When asked about *Beowulf*'s influence upon Tolkien's fiction, Clark tartly replies: "Tolkien influenced *Beowulf* almost as much as *Beowulf* influenced Tolkien" (234), meaning that the modern author's essay, "*Beowulf*: The Monsters and the Critics" (1936) is perhaps the most widely persuasive analysis of the poem to date, but unfortunately reveals what Clark calls Tolkien's "instinctive dislike" of "these daring-do, throw your life away, risk-taking people, seeking fame ... These are motives Tolkien doesn't have any sympathy for whatsoever" (235). According to Clark, Tolkien manipulates the character of Beowulf's heroism in the poem to make it comport more closely with the kind of reluctant, dutiful, self-doubting heroes he creates in his own *Lord of the Rings* (1954–55).

Following the anthropologists Sahlins (1963) and Clastres (1974), Oren Falk observes "A Dark Age Peter Principle: Beowulf's Incompetence Threshold" (*EME* 18.1: 2–25). Falk argues that the value system promoted by the poem may be ostensibly royalist in aspiration, but is actually designed to keep heroes from establishing themselves as dynastic kings by requiring them constantly to outdo their own former achievements and so eventually face a challenge beyond their power to succeed, thus eliminating them as potential despots. Falk sees Beowulf as an ephemeral "Big Man," like the charismatic chieftains of some other societies, who achieve rather than inherit their authority. Ironically, the hero's slaying of the dragon is finally what wins him the exalted status and lasting fame he needs to dominate all rivals, even as his death in doing so safely removes him from the political contest. The poem thus subverts, even as it celebrates, royal authority, reasserting the values of a decentralized aristocracy against the entrenchment of power by an incipient state. Falk does not address the fact that for half a century the mature Beowulf quietly governs the Geats at home—*Ic on earde bad / mælgesceafta, heold min tela* "I awaited in my own land the turn of events, held my own well" (lines 2736b-37)—without feeling the need to prove himself further or seek foreign adventures to magnify his status, or that when their king dies his people mourn him at least as much for his kindness as their stay-at-home protector as for his ambition as a fame-seeking hero.

Joseph E. Marshall, in "*Goldgyfan* [Gold-giver] or *Goldwlance* [Gold-proud]: A Christian Apology for *Beowulf* and Treasure," (*SP* 107.1: 1–24), investigates the poet's distinction between shared and hoarded gold, seeking to defend the hero from accusations by Goldsmith (1970), Crook (1974), Bliss (1979), and others, who argue that Beowulf, though he declined the treasure in Grendel's mere as a young man, succumbs to avarice in old age when he seeks to plunder the dragon's hoard. Marshall points out that neither the Bible nor the

Church fathers ever condemn riches *per se*, rather their misuse (cf. Ambrose on Luke 16:9 and Matthew 25:15–18), noting that avarice only "occurs when one seeks to amass material goods beyond their reasonable limits for their own sake" (12). Though Beowulf is described as *goldwlanc* 'gold-proud, splendidly adorned with gold' when he leaves Hrothgar's court with the royal Scylding heirlooms with which he has been rewarded for killing Grendel and his mother (line 1881a), the hero is also consistently characterized as a *goldgyfa* 'gold-giver' himself (line 2652a), in contrast to the truly "gold-proud" dragon, who is a kind of "anti-lord" like Heremod in keeping its treasure all to itself. A good king's gold is amassed in order to be given away. Since the dragon has destroyed Beowulf's hall and ravaged his kingdom, it follows that the king no longer has treasure of his own to share with his people as redistributive caretaker of their collective wealth. His decision to seek out the dragon's hoard, then, is motivated by a proper kingly concern for his people's prosperity rather than greed for gold *per se*. In addition, Beowulf tells Wiglaf that he wants his burial mound raised as a point of navigation for mariners rather than as a repository for treasures he hopes to accompany him in death. It is the Geats' own decision to bury the dragon's gold in Beowulf's barrow, an impulse the poet describes as mistaken in that they fail wisely to use for their own benefit treasure their king has won for them at such cost to himself. The *Beowulf*-poet makes clear that no one gains from the permanent alienation of wealth in the ground, where it lies *swa unnyt swa hit æror wæs* 'as useless as it was before' (line 3168a).

In "External Prolepsis in *Beowulf*," in *Þe Comoun Peplis Language*, ed. Marcin Krygier, *et al.* [see sect. 3b], 113–30, Rory McTurk distinquishes between "narrative," what the author says happens, and "story," what he actually describes happening in the historical present of his poem. McTurk illustrates this distinction through the poem's many instances of *analepsis*, recollections of past events or flashbacks, and *prolepsis*, anticipation of future events or flashforwards, which are both internal and external to the main action of the poem that begins with the funeral of Scyld Scefing in Denmark and ends with the hero's own obsequies in Geatland. In *Beowulf* there are many examples of backward-looking analepsis, both internal and external, in the latter case referring to events before the death of Scyld going back to God's creation of the world. There are also many instances of internal prolepsis, in which events, like the death of Hygelac against the Franks, are clearly anticipated. But external prolepsis, descriptions of the future beyond the death of the hero, are rather more rare, reserved primarily for predictions of trouble for the Geats once word gets out that their king is dead and the poet's more general asseverations of God's past, present and continuing care for mankind into the future. McTurk believes the poem's more restricted external prolepsis in both these negative and positive forms makes even more poignant the "tragic irony" that the hero's noble efforts, though approved and aided by the Christian God, are expended in a benighted and ultimately doomed pagan world, "in which neither he nor anyone else has received the gospel of Christ" (128).

Anne Savage sees a more complex elegiac effect in "The Grave, the Sword, and the Lament: Mourning for the Future in *Beowulf*" in *Laments for the Lost in Medieval Literature*, ed. Jane Tolmie and M. J. Toswell, Medieval Texts and Cultures of Northern Europe 19 (Turnhout: Brepols), 67–80. Savage follows Carver (1998) in reading the Sutton Hoo ship-burial as an act of mourning, a public display of personal possessions designed to bond observers to their dead leader and create a living memory of him in the minds. According to Carver, the multilayered funerary tableau excavated at Sutton Hoo is an elaborate and multivalent "poem" of grief (quoted 69). Savage sees the poem *Beowulf* itself as a similar "monument to the dead" (70), one in which the hero's own funeral obsequies are described in great detail, including the construction of his burial mound in which are interred Beowulf's physical remains—his ashes, weapons, and treasures—in a mortuary display that joins the historical moment of the poem's conclusion with the future of the poet's own day (70). Savage notes with Neidorf (summarized above) that the extant text of the poem was copied during a desperate period of foreign invasion and internal strife, so that its lament for Beowulf's death and prophesied destruction his people in the past becomes a kind of "mourning for the future" of the audience of the poem.

In 1820 N. F. S. Grundtvig entitled his Danish translation of the poem *Beowulfes Beorh*, a choice that Matthias Eitelmann finds particularly apt, adopting it as the central image of his own study, *Beowulfes Beorh: Das altenglische 'Beowulf'-Epos als kultureller Gedächtnisspeicher* [Beowulf's Barrow: The Old English Epic *Beowulf* as a Repository of Cultural Memory], Anglistische Forschungen 410 (Heidelberg: Winter). Like Savage, Eitelmann observes an analogy between the Geats' commemoration of their dead king by interring his cremated remains in an elaborately constructed burial mound and the poem itself as a similar *Gedächtnis* 'memorialization' in which an oral pagan tradition has been transformed by the poet's imagination and then reconstructed as a written text. Like any cultural "monument," this imposing *Denkmal* gestures toward a past that it only partially and imperfectly preserves. Eitelmann thus asks several

questions of the text that he wishes his readers to contemplate: (1) To what extent is pre-Christian tradition not only preserved in *Beowulf*, but also transformed, in the same way that individuals often exaggerate and even falsify their past experiences in the process of retelling them? (2) To what extent does the translation of oral poetry into written form alter the way that tradition is organized and expressed? And (3) what effect did this fictionalized memory of the pagan past have upon the Christian audience for whom it was intended? The author concludes that we are, in fact, able to reconstruct something of the experience of the original audience of *Beowulf* since particular artistic forms bound by implicit formal requirements ensure a certain continuity between past and present, oral and literate, pagan and Christian traditions. These preserve, if incompletely, culturally relevant knowledge in living memory. [CRD/EC]

Daniel F. Pigg explores "Laughter in *Beowulf*: Ambiguity, Ambivalence, and Group Identity Formation," *Laughter in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Times: Epistemology of a Fundamental Human Behavior, Its Meaning, and Consequences*, ed. Albrecht Classen, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 5 (Berlin: de Gruyter), 203–13. The author notes that laughter is explicitly mentioned only three times in the poem, twice as a noun and once as a verb: (1) Đær *wæs hæleþa hleahtor* 'there was laughter of heroes' (line 611a) after Beowulf rebukes Unferth and proclaims his own resolve to confront Grendel; (2) Grendel's *mod ahlog* 'heart laughed' (line 730b) when he sees the band of Geats sleeping in the hall; and (3) the messenger announces to the Geats that their lord has now *hleahtor alegde, / gamen ond gleodream* 'laid aside laughter, his happiness and mirth' (lines 3020b-21a) after his death against the dragon. In each case, Pigg notes, "laughter signals a kind of failure" (213): (1) the inability of Unferth to intimidate Beowulf, having himself failed to confront the monster; (2) the monster's soon to be disappointed expectation of feasting; and (3) the end of the hero's own confident career as protector of his people. The poet opens his account of life in the great hall Heorot with the loud sound of *dream* 'mirth' among former enemies (lines 88b-89a), a collective levity no less fraught and vulnerable than are the individual instances of laughter in *Beowulf*. The poet deploys this fundamental reflex sparingly, not only to signal confident communal solidarity, but also its concomitant, the pride and presumption that besets all transitory earthly beings: monsters, heroes, and ordinary humans alike.

In "Grendel's Approach to Heorot Revisited: Repetition, Equivocation, and Anticipation in *Beowulf* 702b-727," in *Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature*, ed. Yoshiyuki Nakao and Michiko Ogura (Frankfurt: Peter Lang), 187–97, Hideki Watanabe stresses the ambiguity of two "characters," the monster Grendel and the hall Heorot, whom the poet describes in repetitively contradictory terms. Grendel is both a mighty *rinc* 'warrior' (line 720b) and a hellish *feond* 'fiend, enemy' (line 725b); Heorot is magnificent, high and horn-gabled (lines 82a and 704a), but a wretched shell at night, denuded of its human occupants, except for the blood and bodies of those who have been slaughtered by the revenant *in sele þam hean*, a hall whose dative singular descriptor in line 713b can mean *heah* 'tall' or *hean* 'abject, humiliated, miserable'. Both the magnificent and bright, and ominous and terrible, aspects of the scene are intertwined through constantly repeated terms, building to a crescendo of suspense as Grendel *com on wanre niht / scrīðan sceadugenga* 'came creeping in the dark night, a shadow-stalker' (line 702b-03a), just as earlier in the evening at dusk *scaduhelma gesceapu scrīðan cwoman / wan under wolcnum* 'shapes of covering shadows came creeping, dark under the clouds' (lines 650–51a). Watanabe finds that at the end of Grendel's approach to Heorot in this scene, the poet suddenly drops his repetitive, retarding use of elaborate compound phrasing that serves only to heighten the mystery and suspense of the monster's visitation and returns to simple pronouns and direct action verbs to propel his narrative of the monster fight briskly forward.

Daniel Anlezark writes on "Old English Epic Poetry: *Beowulf*," in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. Saunders [see sect. 4a], 141–60. He draws a comparison between the monsters of the poem and various human characters that evince similar traits:

> When the desire for violence and wealth are divorced from the desire for social well-being, the idealised life of the hall is destroyed. Grendel loves violence for its own sake, and is not interested in the rewards and prestige brought by animosity directed against a nation's enemies; instead, he literally relishes the taste of blood. His mother has no desire to settle her dispute with the Danes peacefully, and she is so far removed from the peace-weaving role that she, like the young Thryth, spreads death. The dragon, like Heremod, sits on his wealth, removed from society and gift-giving, and similarly leaves it in chaos. (158)

Beowulf, on the other hand, become a blessing to his people and the "mournful note on which the poems ends does not suggest the failure of" the ideals he represents; rather, "it laments the impossibility of enduring happiness in a world where a ruler's heroic desire for prestige, essential to maintaining power, is rarely accompanied by an eagerness for social happiness—expressed in [the hero's] mildness, gentleness and kindness to his people"

(159). "The life of Beowulf is framed by the murky anarchy which is the product of forgetting social obligations and noble traditions," Anlezark concludes. "The words of the epic created by the poet discover order in the midst of this ancient chaos, an order echoing across the tradition that the poet evokes through singers within his song, a living tradition into which he invites his own noble audience" (159).

In "Manifesting *Beowulf*'s Meta-Monsters," *Interpreting Great Classics of Literature as Metatheatre and Metafiction: Ovid, "Beowulf," Corneille, Racine, Wieland, Stoppard, and Rushdie*, ed. David Gallagher, Studies in Comparative Literature 68 (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen), 91–98, Ali M. Meghdadi argues that the "primary concern" of *Beowulf* "is meta-textual" (91), meaning the poem is intended to transcend its own narrative of a human hero fighting monsters to reveal those monsters as partly external, representing a world which "attacks" and "thrashes" human beings from without, and partly internal, "the worst and most frightening things about being human" (97). Grendel and his mother may be real physical foes in the story, but they also reveal in its "meta-narrative" the hero's human egotism, his "fear of being forgotten" (95). Even though they threaten neither the hero's life nor even his status as a Geatish prince, Beowulf seeks out the Grendel-kin explicitly to create a name for himself, to avoid becoming an obscure nonentity, a fate which the unfriendly Unferth predicts and which the hero must counteract through violent aggression. The dragon likewise symbolizes the fearful oblivion that all human beings must face at the end of their lives, "the *unknown* space of eternity and death" (author's emphasis, 96). The hero Beowulf, Meghdadi suggests, thus becomes "an allegorical representation of our species" (98) as a whole in its response to our individual insignificance. He memorializes the perennial human struggle against personal obscurity in a way analogous "to the everlasting life offered" triumphant Christian souls in heaven (97). This eternity of art also secures immortality for the anonymous poet who now lives on forever in the imagined life of the hero of his poem.

Rosemary Huisman writes on "Narrative Sociotemporality and Complementary Gender Roles in Anglo-Saxon Society: The Relevance of *Wifmann* [Woman] and *Waepnedmann* [Armed Man] to a Plot Summary of the Old English Poem *Beowulf*" (*Jnl of the Australian Early Medieval Assoc.* 4 [2008]: 125–36). The poem depicts idealized masculine behavior in its essential plot—the hero fights two monsters as a young man in Denmark and then a dragon as an old king in Geatland—but it also offers a more general, complex, and specifically Anglo-Saxon characterization of ideal aristocratic gender roles, both male and female. These roles revolve around the central image of the social fabric, where women are imagined ideally to weave positive relations between competing groups through marriage alliance (cf. line 1942a), that is, by bearing children who become the threads knitting together different kindreds, while men are supposed to preserve the integrity of this fabric through the force of arms. The male and female monsters in the poem violate these culturally specific or "sociotemporal" gender norms. Grendel does not use weapons like a normal *wæpnedmann* 'warrior' (line 1284b) and is impervious to them, ripping apart the social fabric and devouring its members. His mother—*ides aglæcwif* 'lady assailant' (line 1259a)—also tears apart the social fabric, weaving no peace in her union with an unknown husband, bearing a son who only perpetuates the hatred of her family toward all other human groups, personally exacting blood-vengeance for Grendel's death upon Hrothgar's loyal thegn Æschere, and then bearing arms against the hero himself with her *seax* 'dagger' like a *wæpnedmann* (line 1545b-46a).

Dana Oswald discusses "Dismemberment as Erasure: The Monstrous Body in *Beowulf*," chapter two of her *Monsters, Gender, and Sexuality in Medieval English Literature*, Gender in the Middle Ages 5 (Woodbridge: D. S. Brewer), 66–115. Oswald's thesis is that we can discover what is important in a narrative, what is threatening or anxiety-provoking to its author and audience, by its rejection, occlusion, or sometimes even complete erasure from the text. In *Beowulf*, the destruction of "dangerous bodies," especially that of an aggressive, monstrous, masculine female like Grendel's mother, reveals the poet's real fear of what she represents: on the one hand, her violation of conventional gender norms; on the other, the appeal and danger "of exogamous sex" (114), revealed by the fact that the hero suppresses his intimate physical grappling with the she-troll in his report of their encounter to his uncle Hygelac back in Geatland. More generally, the monsters of the poem are used to construct social Difference or Otherness in the early medieval society of Britain composed of competing tribal, religious, and other groups speaking different languages. Relations between these peoples, whether friendly or hostile, were unavoidable and thus threatening to the integrity of one's own group. Maintenance of ethnic, gender, and class boundaries is fundamental to the mission of the poem and for that task monsters are crucial:

> To make monstrosity indelibly visible is to assure people that they will know a monster when they see one; it also assures the people that they themselves are not monstrous. . . . It clearly says: stay away from monsters, from those who do not look like you, no matter how appealing, and no matter how fascinating. But it also

> says: you are who you are, and you are here to serve a defined purpose, whether that is fighting, farming, praying, or giving birth to children. It indicates that social roles must be maintained because the body's function and status possess a clear and unchanging essence. (114–15)

Following an earlier version of her argument in "Nature in *Beowulf* and Its Relation to Man" (*Bulletin of the Japanese Assoc. of Studies in the History of the English Language* [2008]: 1–10) (http://homepage3.nifty.com/iyeiri/jshell/08kenkyu9b.pdf), Yoshiko Asaka is joined by Simona Alias to offer "An Analysis of 'Nature' in *Beowulf* from the Perspective of its Relation to Man" (*Osaka International University Jnl of International Studies* 23.2: 1–12). The authors find the natural world in the poem to be depicted as hostile to humankind, manifested by the monsters who are a part of it and by a negative characterization of features of the physical landscape like the *wulfhleoþu* 'wolf-slopes' in line 1358a or *wynleas wudu* 'joyless wood' in line 1416a. The authors note that *gecynd* is used to gloss or translate Latin *natura* in other Old English texts and consider whether negative clerical views of the fallen natural world, illustrated by Augustine and Bede, may have influenced the Old English poet of *Beowulf*.

João Bittencourt de Oliveira returns to the question of "Paganismo e Cristianismo no Poema *Beowulf* [Paganism and Christianity in the Poem *Beowulf*]" (*Brathair* 10.1: 100–26) (in Portuguese). The author dates the composition of the poem to the seventh or eighth centuries, suggesting that it reflects not the pre-Christian values of sixth-century Scandinavia—the setting of the poem—but rather those of early Christian Anglo-Saxon England, where the concept of a traditional pagan warrior's brave submission to *wyrd* 'fate, necessity' is subtly massaged to suggest a Christian hero's acceptance of God's will.

Jodi-Anne George supplies a reader's guide to essential criticism of the poem in *Beowulf* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan), beginning with a selective overview of the major scholarly debates about the poem. In her first chapter, "'Rude Beginning'": 1705–1899," George traces the reception of the poem from its earliest notice in Humphrey Wanley's 1705 *Catalogue of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* through its first editions and translations in the nineteenth century. Chapter Two, "'Conflicting Babel': 1900–1931," notes the emphasis at this time on the poet's sources in Greco-Roman and/or Nordic traditions, its historicity and genre, and the balance between its pagan and Christian elements. In Chapter Three, "The Monsters Meet the Critics: the 1930s and 1940s," George discusses the impact of Tolkien's famous British Academy lecture of 1936 and his division of the poem into two basic, though unequal, movements—the rise and fall of a noble life—rather than three roughly equivalent monster fights. "The Debates Continue" in the fourth chapter on the 1950s and 1960s, with an increasing focus upon the Anglo-Saxon audience of *Beowulf* and their imagined reception of the poem, whether as the performance of an oral tradition or as a work of literary art requiring the kind of close reading introduced by New Critics of the period. "Stock-taking in the 1970s" is reviewed in Chapter Five when feminist criticism of *Beowulf* first began to emerge with an intensified debate over the pagan or Christian thrust of the poem and, concomitantly, over the moral quality of the hero's character. Chapter Six reviews "Critics on the Crest of a Wave: the 1980s," in which approaches from semiotics, cultural studies, masculinity studies, and postmodern deconstruction began to be broached. Chapter Seven describes "An Embarrassment of Critical Riches: the 1990s to the present," in which George invokes the explosion of historicist, anthropological, sociological, and post-colonial readings of *Beowulf*, in addition to a re-opening of many old debates, as well as a discussion of the poem's humor and irony. George's final Chapter Eight, "*Beowulf* in Popular Culture," surveys prose adaptations, films, animations, graphic novels, musical works, and retellings for children inspired by the poem. In all of these surveys, George provides representative quotations from the various critics she cites.

Dissertations and Theses

In "Noun Phrase Word Order Variation in Old English Verse and Prose," Ph.D. Diss., Ohio State U, Salena Ann Sampson challenges Pintzuk's conclusion (2001) that metrical constraints consistently outrank syntactic constraints in Old English poetry, for which she uses the text of *Beowulf* as her primary data base. Instead, she finds that metrical and syntactic constraints are constantly in tension in the creation of Old English verse and that the more varied syntax of noun phrases in poetry simply reflects the more ambitious stylistic effects and nuances of meaning sought by poets over most prose writers, effects which they often generate by deviation from the expected word order of everyday speech.

Lisa G. Brown considers "Borders and Blood: Creativity in *Beowulf*," Ph.D. Diss., Middle Tennessee State University. Following Margaret A. Boden (1996), Brown argues that the young hero's transgression of boundaries, including his violation of the bodily integrity of his opponents, reveals the power of creative destruction. Grendel spills blood, too, of course, but he consumes it for himself, rather than making something new from

the blood he sheds. As an old king, Beowulf becomes similarly controlling and non-creative, obsessively guarding the frontiers of his kingdom from external enemies and suppressing all internal conflict as well. The result is a violent explosion from the dragon that destroys not only the king's body, but also the coherence of his realm from within.

Keri Anne Wolf writes on "Place, Space, and Identity in Six Old English 'Comitatus' Poems," Ph.D. Diss., U of California, Davis (Proquest 3436496]), arguing that the identity of warriors and exiles in Old English poetry changed over time, revealed by the kinds of cultural space they are imagined primarily to occupy. In *Beowulf*, for instance, the king's hall supersedes even the land upon which it is built, since within its walls is formed the relationship between a king and his retainers that preempts all other forms of social commitment. In contrast, the tenth-century *Battle of Brunanburh* invokes a much broader notion of national identity consistent with a territorial concept of *Englaland*. This poem suggests that the class of men who were auditors of heroic poetry in the various earlier Anglo-Saxon kings' halls were now becoming Englishmen *per se*, men who mapped their primary identity not upon their relationship with a particular ruling monarch, but upon loyalty to the broader realm of which they were leading members.

Alistair McLennan compares "Monstrosity in Old English and Old Icelandic Literature," Ph.D. Diss., U of Glasgow (uk.bl.ethos.525528), examining the kinds of anti-social behavior or personal transformation that cause humans to be identified as monsters and the vernacular terms used to describe them. McLennan observes parallels between the *þyrs* Grendel (line 426a) and the ruined king Heremod in *Beowulf*, but except for the descendents of Cain, human beings in the poem are not actually transformed into monsters as are the undead revenants of Icelandic sagas, like the heathen shepherd Glámr in *Grettir's Saga*. In such Icelandic outlaw narratives, the criminal impulses of the protagonist and stress of his social isolation can result in severe psychological disorder, but Grettir or Gísli do not themselves become monsters and end their life-stories having garnered a considerable degree of public sympathy and respect, especially in their unusual fortitude and tragic deaths.

Pouneh Saeedi-Tabatabai considers "Corporeal Configurations of the Heroic and the Monstrous: A Comparative Study of *Beowulf*, *The Shahnameh*, and *Tristan*," Ph.D. Diss., U of Toronto (Proquest NR97164). The author details a host of similarities between heroes and monsters in three medieval texts: the Old English poem (MS ca. 1000), the Persian epic (ca. 1010) and the Middle High German romance (ca. 1210), especially "gigantism," the superior size and strength that enables heroes both to master monsters and to impose their will upon other human beings. In fact, the author sees the monsters in these works as personifications of human groups occupying territories conquered by the hero. Heroes thus come to appropriate not only the land of monstrous Others, but even, in some sense, their attributes as well, producing a new kind of unstable, dynamic being who is "both susceptible to and a harbinger of change."

Ann Park Lanpher writes on "The Problem of Revenge in Medieval Literature: *Beowulf*, *The Canterbury Tales*, and *Ljósvetninga Saga*," Ph.D. Diss., U of Toronto. She argues that blood feud was a normative institution of the cultures in which these works were imagined and that exacting vengeance for death or injury was considered both a right and a duty by responsible members of society, a kind of self-help justice intended to protect the life, limbs and the honor of one's self and one's family. Nonetheless, each of these works also dramatize the paradox of the revenge imperative, a principle that often perpetuated violence as often as forestalled it.

Aaron Francis Ralby writes on "*Wyrd*, Wisdom, and Warriors: Heroic Sapience in Medieval Germanic Epics," *DAI* 71: 940, Ph.D. Diss., Cornell U (Proquest 3396267). Ralby compares the nature of wisdom in three texts—the Old English *Beowulf*, the Old Norse *Völsunga Saga* and the Middle High German *Nibelungenlied*. He concludes that the hero Beowulf reveals his intelligence in multiple ways: through formal speeches, sharp verbal retorts, the giving and receiving of advice, gnomic observations, but preeminently, through his avowed and demonstrated resignation to *wyrd* 'fate'. Sigurd's wisdom in Völsunga Saga is revealed by his ability to ask searching questions, adduce proverbial and arcane lore, give and receive advice, understand the speech of birds, and foretell the future. However, Sigurd's most important intellectual gift, as with Beowulf, is his wise perspective on the brevity of life and his calm resignation to his fate. In contrast to these two heroic narratives, Ralby finds that Old English and Old Norse wisdom poetry tends to stress acceptance of God's will, rather than the inevitability of fate or death *per se*, while the wisdom celebrated in the *Nibelungenlied* is a far more worldly and secular kind, mainly characterized by the ability to negotiate the political complexities of life at court, even though here, too, the wisdom of Hagen is closer to that of the older heroes Beowulf and Sigurd in his clear-eyed perspicacity and resignation to his fate, "unparalleled by any other character" in the poem.

Michael Koch also conducts a similar comparison of *Beowulf—Siegfried—Dietrich: Vergleichende Studien zur Darstellung und Charakterisierung des Helden in der*

germanischen Epik [Comparative Studies of the Representation and Characterization of Heroes in Germanic Epic], Ph.D. Diss., U Osnabrück 2009, published in Aachen by Shaker Verlag. Koch identifies the Old English hero Beowulf with the Old Norse figure Böðvarr Bjarki, the Middle High German Siegfried with the Old Norse Sigurðr, and the Middle High German Dietrich von Bern with the Old Norse Þiðrekr, finding strong similarities in the various problematic births and difficult childhoods of these three (composite) characters. Because of their superhuman strength, but capacity for making mistakes in their relations with other human beings, each hero comes to resemble the monsters he confronts, but in such a way, Koch believes, as to make him an even more sympathetic, rather than threatening figure to the respective audiences of the works in which he appears.

Harley Jerrod Sims explores "Countries of the Mind: Conceptualizing Imaginative Reality in *Beowulf* and Other Medieval Narratives" (*DAI* 71.1: 177), Ph.D. Diss., U of Toronto 2009. Sims suggests that the audience of *Beowulf* is led to accept the fantastic world of the poem as "hypothetically concrete" by analogy with their own experience of ordinary physical reality, comparing in his final chapter the plausibility of the hero's various feats of superhuman strength with staged performances by the Swedish strongman Magnus Samuelson.

Rodger Ian Wilkie considers "The Hero on the Edge: Constructions of Heroism in *Beowulf* in the Context of Ancient and Medieval Epic," Ph.D. Diss., U of New Brunswick 2007, *DAI* 70: 3020. Wilkie compares the Anglo-Saxon hero Beowulf with the Greek Achilles and the Irish Cú Chulainn, stressing the capacity of these heroes for dangerous rage, a condition that threatens their societies even while it is exercised to protect them. These Indo-European heroes push the boundaries between order and chaos, human and monstrous, culture and nature, coming to resemble the very forces they confront as a kind of cybernetic organism or cyborg, that is, a human being who has been weaponized by extreme emotional hostility into an agent of mass destruction.

'Beowulf' and Material Culture

In *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited*, ed. Martin Carver, Alex Sanmark, and Sarah Semple (Oxford: Oxbow), most of the contributors include the poem at some point in their discussion of current archaeological research into the pre-Christian belief systems of the Anglo-Saxon and Norse peoples. For instance, Julie Lund notes in chapter three, "At the Water's Edge," as relevant to the dating of the composition of *Beowulf*, that the giant ring sword, which the hero finds in Grendel's mere, is more characteristic of the kind of singular elite weapon deposited in southern Scandinavian lakes during the Viking age, the eighth through eleventh centuries, than of an earlier period, the fifth and sixth centuries, when Anglo-Saxons were migrating from Jutland and northwestern Germany to Britain and depositing weapons in rivers rather than lakes. She writes:

> In England there is at least one lake that has a theophoric place-name, Tyesmere in Worcestershire, a name meaning the mere of the God Tiw. . . . In essence this place-name is identical to Tissø, the lake of the God *Tyr* [in Sjælland, Denmark], one of the most significant places for weapon deposition in Scandinavia. But in contrast to Tissø, no weapons have so far been discovered in Tyesmere. This follows a general picture: whereas the English rivers contain a large number of weapons, as of today no weapons from the Anglo-Saxon period have been found in English lakes. (57–58)

In chapter four, "At the Funeral," Howard Williams discusses the choice between cremation and inhumation in particular local contexts, as well as the creative combination of different kinds of mortuary practice, illustrated by the several varieties of funeral depicted in *Beowulf* as well. Williams argues that these dynamic funerary rituals were not intended to convey ideas of the afterlife *per se*, but rather functioned as a "mnemonic performance" or "technology of remembrance," designed "to transform the dead and to reconstitute" their relationship with the living into the future (79), a kind of selective memorialization that both Savage and Eitelmann see as a function of the poem itself (summarized above).

Verity Fisher criticizes the "'*Beowulf* and Sutton Hoo Syndrome': Integrating Text and Material Culture in the Study of the Past" (*Jnl of the Australian Early Medieval Assoc.* 4 [2008]: 83–97). This term was used by John Hines (2004) to describe the tendency of scholars to treat archaeological discoveries, like the early seventh-century ship burial in Mound 1 at Sutton Hoo in East Anglia, as if they were mute physical illustrations of more explanatory historical or literary accounts, such as the ship funeral of the Danish king Scyld Scefing described in *Beowulf* at lines 26–52. Such comparisons stress the similarities and downplay significant differences between objects and texts, Verity avers, privileging the latter. Material artifacts should be interrogated on their own terms, she insists, as primary evidence of human behavior and belief without the class, gender or religious biases inspired either by the documentary records that have been preserved from the period or anachronistic

assumptions on the part of analysts from their own time. She offers no specific example of how interpreters have been led astray by a comparison between *Beowulf* and Sutton Hoo, simply stressing her methodological point that the material remains uncovered by archaeologists should first be scrutinized independently of textual records before attempting their integration into a more complex depiction of the culture in question.

Translations and Translation Studies

In *The "Beowulf" Manuscript: Complete Texts and "The Fight at Finnsburg"*described above, R. D. Fulk offers a fresh facing-page prose translation of the poem in accordance with interpretations explained more fully by himself, Bjork, and Niles, in *Klaeber 4* (2008), "though the vocabulary employed ranges more widely than what is to be found in the glossary of that edition" (xxii). Fulk renders the first eleven lines, quoted above in Old English, as follows:

> Yes, we have heard of the greatness of the Spear-Danes' high kings in days long past, how those nobles practiced bravery.
>
> Often Scyld, son of Scef, expelled opponents' hosts, many peoples, from mead-seats, made men fear him, after he was first discovered destitute. He lived to see remedy for that: grew up under the heavens, prospered in marks of distinction, until every neighbor across the whale-road had to answer to him, pay tribute. That was a good king.

Sung-Il Lee offers a rendering of the poem in *"Beowulf" and Four Related Old English Poems* [*The Fight at Finnsburg*, *Waldere*, *Widsith*, and *Deor*]*: A Verse Translation with Explanatory Notes*, with a foreword by Robert D. Stevick (Lewiston: Edwin Mellen). The opening lines appear as follows:

> What! Have we not heard of the glory
> Of the Spear-Danes' kings in olden days—
> How those princes performed deeds of valor?
> Not a few times Scyld Scefing seized
> The seats of banquet from many a tribe,
> Mighty opponents, and terrified the earls.
> Since the time when he was found a deserted infant,
> He grew up in tender care, soared to the sky,
> And prospered with unparalleled honor, till
> All neighboring nations over the sea came
> To obey and pay tribute to him: a good king he was!

In an elegant paperback volume, *Beowulf* (Cangas do Morrazo: Rinocerante), Jorge L. Bueno Alonso offers a translation of the poem into alliterative Galician verse of which the opening eleven lines are as follows, revised from an earlier version of the first 118 lines published in 2005:

> Escoitade!
> Dos bravos daneses, nos días doutrora,
> da forza dos seus reis e dos feitos máis nobres
> que acadaron os heroes, escoitamos historias.
> E cómo dos salóns de augemel, Scyld, fillo de Sceaf,
> as tropas do inimigo, moitas tribos, botou fóra.
> Aquel que atoparan, cando neno, esfarrapado,
> mellorou e metíalles ós guerreiros moito medo
> e creceu baixo os ceos, acadou honor e gloria
> ata que por tódalas tribos, as de máis lonxe
> e as veciñas do seu mar, vieiro da balea, se fixo
> respectar e delas recibiu tributo. Aquel foi un rei bo.

André Crépin has republished his 2007 translation of *Beowulf* into modern French prose with an introduction and notes, Lettres gothiques 4575 (Paris: Le livre de poche), covered in YWOES for that year.

In "Morris and Medieval Narrative," Appendix A of William Morris, *The Wood Beyond the World* (Peterborough: Broadview), editor Robert Boenig reprints lines 1050–1159 of the 1895 Kelmscott Press translation of *Beowulf* by Morris and A. J. Wyatt entitled, "[Fitt] XVII. They Feast in Hart. The Gleeman Sings of Finn and Hengest" and "[Fitt] XVIII. The Ending of the Tale of Finn," 179–84. Wyatt was an Anglo-Saxonist at Cambridge "who gave Morris lessons in Old English and prepared a prose translation of the poem which Morris worked into poetry," keeping "as many of the original words in his translation as possible," so that "Morris's use of archaic language is even more pronounced in his *Beowulf* than in *The Wood Beyond the World*" (179). The first thirteen lines of the excerpt read as follows:

> Then the lord of the earl-folk to every and each one
> Of them who with Beowulf the sea-ways had worn
> Then and there on the mead-bench did handsel them treasure,
> An heir-loom to wit; for him also he bade it
> That a were-gild be paid, whom Grendel aforetime
> By wickedness quell'd, as far more of them would he,
> Save from them God all-witting the Weird away wended,
> And that man's mood withal. But the Maker all wielded
> Of the kindred of mankind, as yet now he doeth.
> Therefore through-witting will be the best everywhere
> And the forethought of mind. Many things must abide
> Of lief and loth, he who here a long while
> In these days of strife with the world shall be dealing.
> (lines 1050–62)

For purposes of comparison, Boenig supplies his own literal rendering of the lines translated by Morris and Wyatt:

> Yet again the lord of earls
> gave gifts at the mead benches
> to all who took the sea-trip with Beowulf,
> old heirlooms. And then he ordered
> gold be given over for the one whom earlier
> Grendel had wickedly killed—as he wanted with more.
> But the wise God and one warrior's heart
> would not give him that fate. The Measurer governs
> all the kin of man, as he continually does.
> Therefore understanding is everywhere best,
> forethought of mind. Much of good and ill
> will he have, he who here long
> enjoys the world in these times of trouble.

Sandra M. Hordis considers "What Seamus Heaney Did to *Beowulf*: An Essay on Translation and Transmutation of English Identity" (*LATCH: A Jnl for the Study of the Literary Artifact in Theory, Culture, or History* 3: 164–72). Hordis suggests that Heaney's explicit desire to use his translation as a way to come to terms with the fraught historical relationship between England and Ireland creates what Spivak (2000) calls a "frayed" text, one that is strained by the translator's desire to domesticate the original to his own agenda rather than to recreate its alien world in the imagination of a target audience, in this case, the undergraduate readers of *The Norton Anthology of English Literature*. Hordis finds Heaney unduly "possessive" (166) toward the Old English of the text, especially in his insistence that a few Anglo-Saxon archaisms in his own Ulster dialect mean that he has been writing, in some sense, Old English "from the start" (quoted 167). Similarly, Hordis finds unfortunate Heaney's choice of "So" to render the poem's opening *Hwæt*, since it severs, as Heaney himself suggests, the following narrative from all prior discourse, narrowing "the experience of the poem by transmuting the relationship" between the traditional poet and an audience deeply familiar with his repertoire

> to the more colloquial relationship of the *town curmudgeon and his fellows*, localizing and domesticating the text from its first word. . . . In this sense, Heaney's *Beowulf* becomes a piece of a larger narrative to which we have no access either literally or figuratively. (168–69, author's emphasis)

Hordis concludes that the epic masterpiece has been "transmuted" rather than translated, "possessed of an Irish national identity" rather than an early English one, so that the target audience of Heaney's *Beowulf* will be looking for the Anglo-Saxon past in the words he has chosen, but seeing instead a past that has been refracted "through modern Irish lenses in North American classrooms" (172).

Jennifer Lorden discusses "Rewriting *Beowulf*: Old English Poetry in Contemporary Translation" (*Quaestio Insularis* 10 [2009]: 60–74), reviewing the stated translating goals and resulting efforts of Tolkien (1950), Heaney (1999), Liuzza (1999), Alexander (2001), and Morgan (2002). The author concludes that a perfectly transparent rendering of the original Old English poem into modern English is simply not possible and that the "translated text always remains an interpretation" (74).

Performances, Film and Other Adaptations

In the title of his contribution to *Essays in Medieval Studies* 26: 101–08, William Hodapp quotes the *Beowulf* poet's observation in line 1355b on the Danes' ignorance of Grendel's paternity: "'no hie fæder cunnon' [they knew of no father]: But Twenty-First Century Film Makers Do." Two films in particular, Sturla Gunnarsson's *Beowulf and Grendel* (2005) and Robert Zemeckis's *Beowulf* (2007), provide a father for the monster, who in the poem is only described as a descendent of Cain (line 107a). Sturla Gunnarsson begins his film with Grendel's father being forced over a cliff's edge to his death by Hrothgar for a crime no more serious than stealing a fish, an event witnessed by the boy-troll Grendel. In Zemeckis's *Beowulf* Hrothgar himself fathers Grendel upon Grendel's mother, who personifies the seductive corruption of power. Quoting the *Pogo* comic strip of 1948–75, Hodapp concludes that both film-makers manipulate Grendel's paternity in order to stress an equivalency between monsters and humans: "We have met the enemy and he is us" (107).

Andrew Klavan rejects this equivalency in "*Beowulf* (between 700 and 1000 A.D.)," including the poem among the world's top *Thrillers: 100 Must Reads*, ed. David Morrell and Hank Wagner (Longboat Key, FL: Oceanview), 8–10. Klavan appreciates the poem's "brooding, blood-soaked celebration of warrior manhood," which he finds not at all a monstrous ideal, but the ultimate source of all goods things we enjoy in life: "Every moment of tranquility and freedom implies the warrior who protects it. The world of *Beowulf* is the real world" shorn of its illusions, pretences and pieties (8). The human race may generally be guilty of "fraternal violence," an "evil" whose origin the poem addresses in the story of Cain, an impulse thus "woven into human nature, but . . . individual men may choose to stand against it," even when it requires violent action against others to do so (9–10). Klavan feels that Gaiman and

Avary's script for the 2007 film *Beowulf* completely "subverts" and "corrupts" this heroic "vision of the original" poem (9), "descend[ing] into moral equivalence and relativism" (10) in its depiction of the hero's seduction by Grendel's "slinky" mother, who tells him: "I know that, underneath your glamour, you're as much a monster as my son, Grendel" (quoted 10). Klavan prefers the Old English Beowulf's point of view: "*she's* the monster and he's the guy who's got to kill her so that men may live in peace. That may not be nuanced or urbane or pseudo-deep, but it's actually more honest, more like life as it is lived. . . . Some monsters really are monsters and just have to be taken down. That's why poets write—or used to write—epics honoring the warriors who do the job" (10, author's emphasis).

Karen Emanuelson seeks a middle ground in "Monster or Warrior? Beowulf as a Problematic Hero," *The Image of the Hero II*, ed. Will Wright and Steven Kaplan (Pueblo: Society for the Interdisciplinary Study of Social Imagery, Colorado State U-Pueblo), 174–77. She reviews Parkes Godwin's *The Tower of Beowulf* (1995), Frank Shaefer's *Whose Song is Sung* (1996), Michael Crichton's *Eaters of the Dead* (1976/1992), and its movie version *13th Warrior* (1999), starring Vladimir Kulich as the Beowulf figure, plus other film renderings of the poem: *Beowulf* (1999) starring Christopher Lambert; *Beowulf and Grendel* (2006) starring Gerard Butler; and *Beowulf* (2007) starring Ray Winstone. Emanuelson concludes that it is the very Otherness of the hero, his superiority to ordinary people and aloofness from them, his flaws and mistakes, as much as his courage and strength, that holds a special fascination "for a jaded and alienated audience" (177). If Beowulf is a monster, he is a very cool one.

Kristin Noone makes something of the same point in "The Monsters and the Heroes: Neil Gaiman's *Beowulf*" (*The Weird Fiction Review* 1: 139–53), suggesting that in his three different versions of the poem's narrative—(1) a poem, "Bay Wolf" (1998); (2) a novella, "American Gods: The Monarch of the Glen" (2004/2006); and (3) the film script *Beowulf* with Roger Avary (2007)—Gaiman has "re-imagined the epic hero as something new, a hero who is also inescapably one of the monstrous" himself (139), but also "capable of greater compassion and personal sacrifice than those humans around him. He is a mutation of the old Beowulf, adapted for continued success as a hero in an age that demands him and is suspicious of him, that requires both his great deeds and his outsider status" (152).

In *Essays in Medieval Studies* 26: 109–16, "The Cinematic Sexualizing of *Beowulf*," E. L. Risden discusses the dominance of salacious themes in five film adaptations of the poem: Graham Baker's *Beowulf* (1999), John McTiernan and Michael Crichton's *13th Warrior* (1999), Hal Hartley's *No Such Thing* (2002), Sturla Gunnarson's *Beowulf and Grendel* (2005), and Robert Zemeckis's *Beowulf* (2007). Risden argues that the sexuality in these films "refigures *Beowulf* entirely: we get not the epic with its ideals of heroism, loyalty, and personal accomplishment balanced with martial service and self-sacrifice, but exoticisization [*sic*] and titillation that reshape the story as fable about the problems of male sex-drive" (109). In Baker's *Beowulf* Grendel is the son of Hrothgar and Grendel's mother, a seductive blond bombshell who turns into a hideous hard-shell crab. Beowulf defeats this monstrous female crustacean, but then rides off with Grendel's half-sister, a "bodacious, leather-bodiced" biker-chick (113). *13th Warrior* celebrates male bonding, the power of which overcomes a nubile but feral Mother Goddess, depicted more as a figure of cannibalistic rapacity than of regenerative sexuality. Zemeckis's *Beowulf* shows both Hrothgar and the hero as vulnerable to the seductions of Grendel's mother, a personification of pride, who gives birth to monsters depicting her lovers' own inner corruptions. In *Beowulf and Grendel* feminine power over men is manifested by a sexy red-haired witch, who becomes the lover of both Grendel and Beowulf, thus illustrating a more progressive female attitude toward racial harmony and inspiring regret in the hero for his intolerance and cruelty to trolls. *No Such Thing* is not really a version of *Beowulf*, but it features a vulnerable male troll who becomes the object of emotional interest to the young female heroine in a kind of "beauty and the beast" narrative, which "hints at sexuality, but hinges on sorrow" (114). In each of the five films, Risden suggests, male sexuality is portrayed as a weakness in supposedly strong men that is exploited by female characters sometimes for good, but mostly for malign, motives. All five movies conclude with unresolved relations between the sexes, "a heightened sense of isolation rather than intimacy, of anxiety rather than relief—whatever catharsis the epic may provide, film resists it" (114–15).

In "The Untold Stories of *Beowulf*: Cinematic Renditions and Textual Interpretations," (*Tamkang Review: A Quarterly of Literary and Cultural Studies* 41.1: 111–31), Kuo-jung Chen invokes the literary theorist Mikhael Bakhtin to posit a "dialogic" relationship between textual interpretations of the poem and three film adaptations: Graham Baker's post-apocalyptic *Beowulf* (1999), Sturla Gunnarson's Icelandic *Beowulf and Grendel* (2005), and Robert Zemeckis's computer-enhanced *Beowulf* (2007). In each case, Grendel and his mother are made to engage human characters sexually, as well as violently, displacing external conflicts between the forces of good and evil to the interior spaces of the human heart with its "guilty

conscience and hidden past" (111). The archaic values of the original poem are thus controverted, according to Chen: personal redemption replaces public action, but this theme serves to revivify *Beowulf* for a "new age" of self-fulfillment and thus secures its place as "a vital part of modern culture" (111).

In *"Beowulf" al Cinema: Quello che le Riscritture "non" Dicono* [*Beowulf* at the Movies: What the Rewritings *Don't* Tell] (Venice: Cafoscarina), Marina Buzzoni considers why the poem was selected for five fresh film adaptations in the last decade, including Howard McCain's *Outlander* (released 2009) with James Caviezel as Kainan, an alien soldier from a distant planet who crashes into a Norwegian lake in AD 709 with a monstrous prisoner, the Moorwen, who escapes. Instead of worrying about the inevitable distance between the original text and its cinematic rewritings, Buzzoni seeks to understand the filmmakers' motivation in remaking the medieval poem for a modern audience in the first place, including sexualizing the threat posed by Grendel's mother and a reevaluation of heroic sacrifice after the suicide bombings of the World Trade Center on 9/11/2001. The author suggests that current theories of translation no longer stress the translator's duty to produce an exact copy or relatively faithful transposition of the original text in a new idiom, but rather privilege the recreation of the translated text as an original work of art for its own day, in very much the same way that the *Beowulf* poet himself transformed his oral-traditional sources to recreate the written Old English poem we have.

Lori Ann Garner writes about "Returning to Heorot: Beowulf's Famed Hall and its Modern Incarnations" (*Parergon* 27.2: 157–81). Following Foley (1999), she expands the concept of "traditional referentiality" in the performance and reception of oral-formulaic narratives to include visual representations of physical structures as well, a phenomenon she calls "architectural poetics" (158). In particular, Garner suggests that readers of modern graphic novel and film versions of the poem are temporarily returned to "an ancient mythopoetic past" by scenes depicting the great timber hall Heorot in *Beowulf*, where they "confront the inherent tensions between heroic ideal and human reality, just as the Anglo-Saxons did themselves" (181). Garner concludes, "the relative stability of Heorot's architectural features in connection with heroic ideals speaks to the power of the architectural tradition to endure across multiple media, for widely diverse audiences, and with vastly different interpretations of the story itself" (180).

Mary Kate Hurley compares "*Beowulf* and Bethlehem Steel" (*The Heroic Age* 13, August, online). She notes that recent film adaptations, whether admired or disdained, "form part of the legacy of the poem's performance," each one finding a new beginning in the poem's old ending. In order to make her point Hurley draws on the parallel of defunct or struggling heavy industries in the "rust belt" of western New York State, each of which has also had to adapt to current economic conditions and new environmental standards, building "a future from the remains of the past."

Translating in his title line 343b of the poem—*Beowulf is min nama*—María-José Gómez-Calderón contributes "'My Name is Beowulf': An Anglo-Saxon Hero on the Internet" (*Jnl of Popular Culture* 43.5: 988–1003). Gómez-Calderón observes an irony that this foundational text of English literature was recently almost removed from the English curriculum at major British universities only to enjoy increasing popularity in electronic media at the same time, including the role-playing game *Land of Giants* and television episodes of *Star Trek* (1966-present) and *Xena, Warrior Princess* (1995–2001), as well as in the several film versions discussed above.

Teaching 'Beowulf'

Stan Bernard narrates *A Quick Guide to 'Beowulf'*, Instant Expert: Arts and Literature (New York: A & E Television Networks, 2009), DVD, a 47-minute program from the "Clash of the Gods" series written by Mashizan Masjum, produced by Sarah Hodgson, and directed by Christopher Cassel and Jess Lyne de Ver. Billed as "the oldest story in English," the program comprises a dramatized, partly animated retelling of the hero's adventures, interspersed with commentary on their significance by various contributors, led by Michael Drout, who is given special thanks in the concluding acknowledgements. Despite minor inaccuracies and conflations in its account of the poem and its period, the program's casting and settings are effective, including scenes from the Trelleborg and Roskilde museums in Denmark and other evocative landscapes. It also includes an interactive quiz, a study guide with discussion questions, plus further "activities . . . appropriate for 8th grade students and above." It is recommended for "English literature and global studies courses, and for course units on mythology and literary theory."

In *Core Texts, Community, and Culture: Working together in Liberal Education: Selected Papers from the Tenth Annual Conference of the Assoc. for Core Texts and Courses, Dallas, Texas, April 15–18, 2004*, ed. Ronald Weber, *et al.* (Lanham, MD: Univ. Press of America), 33–37, Christine Cornell makes the case for including "*Beowulf*: The Other Epic" in a curriculum devoted to "the great conversation of Western thought" (33), even

one already featuring other prominent epics and expressions of the heroic ethos like Homer's *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, and Virgil's *Aeneid*. Cornell argues that the Old English poem provides "a voice from the often-neglected centuries between Augustine and Dante," which responds in a particularly "compelling and thoughtful manner" (34) to ideas inspired by Judeo-Christian, classical, and native pre-Christian traditions, especially on the big questions of fate and free will, the brevity of human life and immortality, the creation and governance of human community, the forces—human, natural or divine—that ultimately govern the affairs of men and women on earth. In addition, the *Beowulf* poet as a Christian looked back upon the attitudes and beliefs of his pagan ancestors with intellectual distance, to be sure, but also with sympathy and admiration, a respect that makes his poem "ideally suited" to a humane discussion of values and ideas (37).

Debra Best provides the syllabus and teaching materials of her early English literature survey in "Monsters of Medieval England: A Course Outline" (*Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching* 17.1: 61–81), explaining that literary representations of the monstrous symbolize a "culture's fears and social concerns" (62), including perceived threats to national sovereignty and religious faith, family relations and gender identity, moral purity and spiritual integrity.

In "From *Beowulf* to Bounty Killa: Or How I Ended Up Studying Slackness" (*Jnl of West Indian Literature* 18.2: 131–44), Carolyn Cooper considers how the curriculum has changed in the Department of English, now the Department of Literatures in English, at the University of the West Indies at Mona, Jamaica. She uses the Old English poem "as a metonym for the canonical 'English' literary curriculum," which she read as student long ago, not wishing its "absolute rejection" or total replacement on the syllabus by Reggae or dancehall poet-singers like Bob Marley and Bounty Killa, but rather "a permissive praxis that contests the very notion of 'the canon' and inclusively redefines the appropriate subjects of literary scholarship" (143).

In "Beowulf in Pakistan" (*Northwest Review* 48.2: 133–35), Aurangzeb Alamgir Hashmi also takes the poem and its hero as kind of a synecdoche for the entire English literary tradition, which he invokes with both jocular irreverence and heartfelt appreciation. For instance, of *Beowulf* he writes:

> It has yet to be mentioned that the single extant manuscript of this poem in the British Library (unless an avid fan is already busy shipping it across the Pond as you read this) is without a title. It was recited as if from an oral edition [with] alliterative rhythms echoing down the ages. . . . Authorship was of little consequence. Post-structuralism was anticipated by pre-medieval scholarship: [t]he poem had written itself. In any case, the author dropped dead after writing it. There were no birth records for people or words (134).

Nonetheless, Hashmi takes this untitled, anonymous poem derived from Anglo-Saxon oral tradition as foundational, as *primum inter pares* among many other works of poetry and prose in the English language that were to become deeply influential in the educational experience of himself and his fellow countrymen, whether at home or abroad, even rivaling their own native oral and literary traditions, for some of which, however, *Beowulf* itself represents perhaps the closest English analogue.

In *Idiom* 46.1: 69–72, David Pargetter writes on "Interpreting *Beowulf*" for students as a coherent work of Christian literary art, in which the "structure of the poem, its focus on heroes and monsters, its ethical code with the poet's direct teaching of Christian virtues, are all key unifying aspects of the poem" (72). Pargetter finds that earlier "whimsical passing references to God and his power" in *Beowulf* are finally subsumed in the fate of the hero's soul at death, choosing to support this claim Seamus Heaney's confident translation (1999) of the ambiguous lines 2819b–20: "His soul fled from his breast to its destined place among the steadfast ones."

CD

(Warm thanks to Emily Coda for her help with parts of this review)

Works Not Seen

Setsuko, Haruta. "The Female Perspective in *Beowulf*." *Studies in English Literature* (English Society of Japan) 82 (2010), 155–57. [in Japanese]

Suzuki, Seiichi. "Anacrusis in *Beowulf* with a Comparison to Germanic Prosody." *Studies in English Literature* (English Society of Japan) 82 (2010), 161–63. [in Japanese]

Tsunenori, Karibe. "Klaeber's *Beowulf*: Comparing the Third and Fourth Editions." *Studies in English Literature* (English Society of Japan) 82 (2010), 164–66. [in Japanese]

4d. Prose

a. Alfred and the Alfredian Circle

Five contributions were reviewed this year addressing works associated with King Alfred and his circle. In the first, "The Star-like Soul in the *Metra* of the Old Eng-

lish *Boethius*," *ASE* 39: 139–62, Karmen Lenz tracks the poetic trope of the human soul as a star. Lenz finds that the modulations of the image constitute an "exclusively poetic" depiction of spiritual conversion that nonetheless participates in the intertextual system consisting of the Latin original, the prose translation, and the commentary tradition. Here, "exclusively poetic" means that the dramatization of spiritual conversion takes place on a poetic plane, which both parallels the main text and creates its own level of structure. The relationship between the radiant soul and the divine source of light is the central driver of this image. While Boethius's original text employs star imagery to figure the soul, the Old English translation amplifies the image and gives it the poetic connotation that is the focus of the article.

In a linguistically-oriented study entitled "An Approach to the Schematic Structure of the Preface to the *Pastoral Care*," *Studia Neophilologica* 82: 1–11, Dolores Fernández Martínez extends the schematic approach to the Preface to discourse analysis or functional grammar. Her analysis largely confirms what literary scholars have found using more traditional rhetorical analysis but relies on a specialized jargon to relate her findings to the broader system of functional grammar. Here is one example:

> On the whole, the symbolic purpose of the linguistic mechanisms that articulate the phase of Contact is based both on the compulsory requirement of an institutional link between Christianity and state power, further extended to education, and on the strategic communication instituted by the first person plural in order to allow for the display of other stages and for the accomplishment of the objective or Desideratum. (6)

Analysis of four stages in the Preface—Desideratum (a better state of learning), Contact (the audience), Impediment (Viking depredations leading to ignorance), and Arrangement (a new plan, originating with and centered on Alfred)—confirms what traditional approaches have found in the text's rhetoric: that Alfred appears as a "model Christian king . . . [enticing] the readers, rather than giving them orders, to tackle the rot of English intellectual life" (11). Fernández Martínez concludes that further work should be done in order to see whether this functional, teleological approach could be extended to other texts from the period. Work such as this serves not to produce new insight so much as to put what literary scholarship has long been able to say on its own into the schematic language of a specific kind of discourse analysis—namely, functional grammar. Linguists who work in functional grammar will be more interested in this work than specialists in the period or in the Alfredian corpus.

In "Alfred and the Children of Israel in the Prose Psalms," *N&Q*, n.s. 57: 10–15, Emily Butler argues that the style of exegesis in the introductions to the first fifty Old English prose Psalms owes much to Hiberno-Latin exegesis, probably transmitted via Bede and, in particular, his commentary on Ezra. While her source study, which expands upon Patrick P. O'Neill's work in *King Alfred's Old English Prose Translation of the First Fifty Psalms* (Cambridge, MA: The Medieval Academy of America, 2001), points to some interesting possible connections, one wishes for more details than the abbreviated context of *N&Q* allows. For example, when Butler observes, following Fr. Martin McNamara, that the non-Roman readings in the prose Psalms are often Gallican, and speculates on that basis that these readings might have been inspired by Irish sources, which often drew on the *Gallicanum*, one gets the sense she is overreaching. Mixed versions of the Psalter are not uncommon, and the *Gallicanum* was in common use during this period in most regions in the Christian West outside of Italy and Anglo-Saxon England. While it is possible that certain Gallican readings in the prose Psalms derived from Irish biblical texts, Butler would need to show that the particular reading in question derived from the Insular family of biblical witnesses to substantiate her reading.

Likewise, Butler's conclusion, while interesting, is highly speculative. Here again, one wishes for more elaboration and more concrete evidence of the links she identifies. She states:

> None of the introductions mentions Ezra in particular, but he [i.e., Bede commenting on Ezra] may have been an important element in the Anglo-Saxon development of this style of exegesis that prominently linked allegorical and literal meanings. If such a method of exegesis was current in Anglo-Saxon England, perhaps originally introduced through Irish influence and encouraged by the writings of Bede, then the Alfredian court was an ideal place for it to be fostered and put to use in the interpretation of the psalter.

While there may have been such influence, Butler's evidence is optimistically circumstantial. That said, the primary value of her article lies in its potential to move the discussion forward. When examined more closely, the connections and influences Butler points out may well bear out her conclusions. As it stands, however, her article raises more good questions than it provides convincing answers. One eagerly awaits more work by the author on this topic.

Another short article addresses the Ohthere interpolation in the Alfredian translation of Paulus Orosius's

Historiae adversus paganos. In "Ohthere's Lecture on the Geography of Norway," *ANQ* 23:1–5, Alfred Bammesberger sets out to solve some of the notoriously difficult and unclear geographical references in the description of Norway famously inserted into the Alfredian Orosius. For the most part, Bammesberger stitches together a series of suggestions made by other scholars, picking and choosing from among them to come up with a logically consistent understanding of the text. His main contributions are twofold: First, he suggests that, from Ohthere's perspective, it is reasonable that all his uses of the word *land* should be taken to signify Norway, as opposed to the various other possibilities suggested through the years; second, following the lead of Christine Fell and others, Bammesberger suggests that certain difficulties can be explained if we imagine the report in direct speech. Taking this idea to an extreme, Bammesberger ends the article with a hypothetical reconstruction—in Old English—of Ohthere's report in the first person. While Bammesberger's proposals for understanding the geographical references in this passage certainly seem reasonable and may help move the discussion forward, they unfortunately lack any proof based on new evidence beyond their apparent plausibility *prima facie*.

In an article that addresses matters loosely related to the Alfredian canon, Malcolm Godden offers an intriguing reassessment of the Old English *Life of St. Neot* in "The Old English Life of St Neot and the Legends of King Alfred," *ASE* 39: 193–225. This is an important, though unfortunately long-neglected, text, singular for its hagiographical content, historical context, and interpretation of the kingship and reputation of Alfred the Great. Godden persuasively calls into question the traditionally-held belief that the text should be ascribed to the twelfth century, arguing that a "variety of evidence, including language, relation to other texts, content and treatment of Alfred and the Vikings, coheres to suggest that the *Life* was composed early in the eleventh century" (194).

Godden begins building his compelling case by describing the *Life* and addressing its manuscript context. Godden then enumerates the integral stylistic, grammatical, and lexical connections between the Old English *Life* and other Old English texts, including the sermons of Wulfstan, the Old English Bede, a Blickling homily, and the anonymous Sunday letter homily Napier 44, among others. Numerous connections with the work of Ælfric follow, a proclivity, Godden argues, that "suggests an author steeped in his works" (198). At the end of this extensive catalogue of comparisons, Godden concedes that a knowledge of the authors and texts he lists would not be unheard of in twelfth-century works; however, he concludes with the notion that "the kind of wholesale recomposition using phrases and expressions drawn from Ælfric and Wulfstan and others that we see in the Life of Neot . . . is without parallel in the twelfth century" (201).

Godden proceeds to address the numerous textual discrepancies between the Old English Life; its Latin source, *Vita I*; and another possible Latin source, *Vita II*. The variants in the three lead Godden to offer the convincing argument that: "[T]he Old English Life was not dependent on either of the earliest Latin *vitae* extant, I or II, but was an adaption of some earlier lost *vita* which was in some respects closer to the original legend and its Cornish roots" (207). Godden then posits that, given the content and homiletic form of the *Life*, the text must have been intended for use on St. Neot's feast day for either a lay audience or a mixed audience of laypeople and monks.

Godden's final concern is the *Life's* articulation of the legend of King Alfred, and he persuasively argues that the text's treatment of the king as a coward and a sinner is wholly distinct from any text of the period, including *Vita I* and *Vita II*, Asser's *Life*, and the *Chronicon Aethelweardi*, though the trope of the miraculous intervention of a saint in a king's reign is paralleled in other texts, including the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto*, William of Malmesbury's *Gesta regum Anglorum*, and *Felix's Life of St. Guthlac*. Godden concludes that the *Life of St. Neot* "was probably composed not in the twelfth century but early in the eleventh (that is, probably 1015 X 1030), by an author who was . . . working within a well-established tradition of vernacular prose hagiography . . . and not using any of the extant Latin *vitae* but adapting an unrecorded earlier *vita*, probably in Latin" (222).

Note that Stefan Jurasinki, "Violence, Penance, and Secular Law in Alfred's Mosaic Prologue," *The Haskins Society Journal* 22: 25–42, is reviewed under the section "Old English Law."

b. Religious Prose

Ælfric

There were a significant number of contributions to Ælfrician scholarship for 2010, including three separate articles on his *Grammar*. In the first of these, "Exploring Continuities and Discontinuities between Ælfric's Grammar and Its Antique Sources," *Neophilologus* 94: 333–52, Fabienne Toupin considers the relationship between Ælfric's *Grammar* and its two main sources, Donatus's *Ars minor* and the *Excerptiones* of Priscian. In his conceptual framework and orientation towards an authoritative Latinity, Ælfric remains in accord with

his sources, which value grammatical knowledge—the authoritative, prescriptive account of Latin—as an end in itself. According to Toupin, the higher grammatical studies emphasized by Martin Irvine in *The Making of Textual Culture: 'Grammatica' and Literary Theory, 350–1100* (Cambridge, Cambridge UP: 1994) are absent not only from the Anglo-Saxon context but also from that of the earlier authorities such as Donatus, Priscian, and Isidore. One wonders where Augustine and Cassiodorus fit into this framework. Since Toupin does not address Irvine's seminal work on the topic, it is difficult to accept his characterization of grammatical culture.

More locally, however, and more felicitously, Toupin reads Ælfric's innovations—the choice of the vernacular as a medium of instruction, and the substitution of Christian material and Anglo-Saxon personae for some of the Latin authors' exempla—as indicative of the work's purpose as a teaching text for Anglo-Saxon monks and oblates. Ælfric is not, according to Toupin, going rogue and creating a vernacular grammatical system complete with a stable technical jargon in English. Rather, he is glossing in English so that students may progress to the Latin system. This more localized argument of Toupin's essay bears weight: Ælfric's grammatical treatise is not focused on describing English or on developing a grammatical understanding using English terms; rather, its vernacularity is pragmatic—geared toward allowing Anglo-Saxon students to gain a foothold in Latin learning.

Also addressing Ælfric's *Grammar* is Dieter Kastovsky's chapter, "Translation Techniques in the Terminology of Ælfric's Grammar: Semantic Loans, Loan Translations and Word-Formation" in *Language Change and Variation from Old English to Late Modern English*, ed. Kytö *et al.* (see sect. 3), 163–74. In this lucid and succinct essay on Ælfric's translation strategies for approximating Latin terms in his *Grammar*, Kastovsky takes for granted what Toupin considers arguable—that the primary if not sole purpose of the *Grammar* was rudimentary instruction in Latin for those entirely unfamiliar with that language, not the creation of grammatical knowledge of the vernacular. After a brief background discussion of Ælfric and the Benedictine reform, the essay lays out the main types of borrowing on display in the *Grammar*—that is, the different ways in which Ælfric brought Latin grammatical concepts into English: 1) semantic loans, which give a new sense to an existing OE word, e.g., using *tid* for Latin *tempus* ('tense'); 2) loan translations or calques, which render morpheme for morpheme, as in OE *betwuxaworpennyss* for Latin *interiectio*; 3) loan renditions and loan creations, which the present writer finds difficult to distinguish: renditions still attempt to approximate some morphological aspect of the original, whereas creations are free approximations or paraphrases; 4) True borrowing, involving the importation and lexicalization of a foreign word, modern examples of which include words like *burrito*, *karaoke*, and *angst*.

The essay finds that true borrowings are exceptionally rare in the *Grammar* and are restricted to a couple of major categories, such as *casus*—sometimes appearing as *casa*, a regular OE weak noun—and *declinian*. Semantic loans, where a native word has adopted a new sense, are also relatively rare and are "reserved for major linguistic categories" (172). The majority of OE terms are calques and other types of renderings (loan renditions and loan creations), indicating that Ælfric contributed creatively to the body of grammatical terminology. Aside from the major categories, he was innovating as he created his Latin primer for native speakers of Old English.

In the last of three articles on Ælfric's *Grammar* reviewed this year, "*Uterque Lingua / Ægðer Gereord*: Ælfric's Grammatical Vocabulary and the Winchester Tradition," *JEGP* 109: 421–45, Don Chapman explores Ælfric's use of both Latin and English in his grammar. As Chapman notes, Ælfric's grammar concerns itself with the Latin language, but Ælfric writes about the Latin language in his native English tongue—which means that analysis of Ælfric's grammar entails the tradition of *uterque lingua,* a tradition that Ælfric inherited through his studies at Winchester. In making use of both Latin and English, Ælfric follows key precedents earlier established by King Alfred in his extention of the reach of Latin monastic learning through translation into English. Given the decline of Latin learning in Anglo-Saxon England, Ælfric's grammar was intended to instill a knowledge of both English and Latin (*uterque lingua*) in the minds of his young pupils:

> Ego Ælfricus, ut minus sapiens, has excerptiones de Prisciano minore vel maiore vobis puerulis tenellis ad vestram linguam transferre studui, quatinus, perlectis octo partibus Donati, in isto libello potestis utramque linguam, videlicet Latinam et Anglicam, vestre tenerritudini inserere interim, usque quo ad perfectiora perveniatis studia.
>
> ("I Ælfric, as one knowing little, have applied myself to translating into your language these excerpts from the lesser and greater Priscian for you tender little boys, so that, having read through Donatus's eight parts of speech, you may in this book apply to your tenderness both languages, namely Latin and English, in the time until you reach more perfect studies"; 421–22)

Chapman then takes up the main themes of his article: the specific terminology Ælfric uses to define

grammatical concepts and Ælfric's varying use of Latin or English for that grammatical terminology. For example, Ælfric usually renders the Latin *nomen* 'noun' as Old English *nama* 'name', and he mentions nouns in his grammar 229 times. In the vast majority of these instances—224 times according to Chapman—Ælfric uses just the Old English term *nama*, rather than the Latin *nomen,* when referring to nouns. To cite but one example, Ælfric writes:

> bonus ys nama, þonne byð of ðam bonitas godnys (17.11)
>
> "*Bonus* is a noun; from that, then, is *bonitas*, that is goodness"; 423)

Elsewhere in his grammar, the reverse holds true, and Ælfric instead favors the Latin term over the Old English. He uses the Latin *nominativus* twenty-four times when referring to the nominative case, but he uses his corresponding English translation, *nemniendlic*, just once, and, in that sole instance, he pairs the Old English term with the Latin:

> NOMINATIVVS ys nemniendlic: mid ðam CASV we nemnað ealle ðing (22.10–11)
>
> ("NOMINATIVUS is nominative: with that CASU, we name all things"; 423)

Elsewhere in his grammar, Ælfric predominantly employs both Latin and Old English terms when discussing a grammatical category, showing little, if any, preference for either language. Chapman rightly questions why Ælfric varies in his practice. Why, in some cases, should an Old English term be favored over a Latin term? Why does the reverse also hold true? What status do the Old English terms hold? Are the Old English terms merely grammatical glosses or fully-fledged grammatical terms? After reviewing various scholarly opinions on these questions, including the work of Mechthild Gretsch and Vivien Law, Chapman plausibly hypothesizes that Ælfric's use of grammatical terminology depends largely upon lexical correspondences established at Winchester between the Latin and Old English terms. This is an idea much indebted to the work of Gretsch, who links Ælfric's grammatical terminology to his training at Winchester. Gretsch observes that a primary feature of Winchester vocabulary "is the development of an English *Fachsprache* to render Latin terms, just as Ælfric did with his grammatical vocabulary" (431). Following in her footsteps, Chapman suggests that Ælfric possibly learned specific translation practices for Latin terms in Æthelwold's school at Winchester. As evidence for these practices, he cites Ælfric's own words on the subject:

> scio multimodis verba posse interpretari, sed ego simplicem interpretationem sequor, fastidii vitandi causa. Si alicui tamen displicuerit nostram interpretationem, dicat, quomodo vult: nos contenti sumus, sicut didicimus in scola Aðelwoldi, venerabilis presulis, qui multos ad bonum imbuit.
>
> ("I know it is possible to translate words in many ways, but I follow a simple translation for the sake of avoiding putting off the reader. If, nevertheless, our translation displeases anyone, let him express it however he wants: we are content to express it just as we mastered it in the school of the venerable prelate, Athelwold, who inspired many to good"; 434)

Drawing on Ælfric's words, Chapman surmises that there may have been "some sort of hierarchy of bilingual correspondences" and that *simplex* could refer to just a single way, that is, "the one way that Ælfric and other students were taught" to translate certain terms in Æthelwold's school (434). If that is true, it would follow that although knowing Latin and English—*uterque lingua*—was important in the Winchester school, there may have been other practices that were critically important to master as well: knowing, for example, as Chapman suggests, the specific lexical correspondences between Latin and Old English terms. In the conclusion to his essay, Chapman speculates, with good reason, that Ælfric chooses to use the Old English grammatical term when it had a general sense outside of the grammatical domain—hence, Ælfric's decision to use Old English *nama* to refer to nouns, since the word *nama* held good currency in Old English and would easily be understood by students using the grammar. In other situations, when the lexical correspondences were not yet established, because "the Latin term lacked senses outside the grammatical domain," Ælfric would demonstrate the meaning of the Latin term by providing an English word that reflected the etymology of the Latin term. Chapman thus posits an etymological bias on Ælfric's part in handling grammatical terminology, and this seems generally consistent with Ælfric's overall literary practice. Based on this premise, Chapman offers at least a partial explanation for Ælfric's use of both Latin and Old English terms together. When Ælfric discusses the interrogative pronoun, for example, he uses both the Latin term, *interrogativus,* and the Old English term, *axiendlic*, six times together. Because the Old English term *axiendlic* had a less general foothold than, say, *nama*, Ælfric treats this grammatical category differently and does not allow *axiendlic* to stand on its own. Other variations in *Ælfric's lexical practices may prove more difficult to understand from the viewpoint of his "*simple translation" theory or the lexical currency of a specific Old English word, however. Chapman notes that when treating the passive voice, Ælfric uses the Latin *passivus* by itself sixteen times and the English *ðrowigendlic* by itself fourteen times. Is there

rhyme or reason to his handling of these terms? Chapman's concluding words—"In short, Ælfric would have used the *uterque lingua* tradition to teach in *uterque lingua*"—summarize his explanation for some of Ælfric's lexical practices, but Ælfric's alternating use of *passivus* and *ðrowigendlic* may evade easy explanation (435). Thus, while Chapman's conclusion offers a possible explanation for some of Ælfric's lexical practices and a promising path forward for further study, it must be noted that some of Ælfric's lexical practices still defy ready or easy explanations. Nevertheless, this excellent essay raises interesting questions and points to possible solutions. If Chapman does not offer complete answers for all questions regarding Ælfric's lexical practices, his essay—especially the helpful appendices—should aid further efforts. Much fine work has gone into producing this valuable study.

Several works this year addressed Ælfric's homiletic works. In "Conceptual Metaphors of *Sawel* in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*," *Respectus Philologicus* 18: 159–69, Lina Inčiuraitė works with the assumption that "in Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* contemplative faculties are presented in a distinct and subtle way" (159). By "contemplative faculties," Inčiuraitė primarily means references to the word *soul*, and a lengthier study might allow ample room to explore the ways in which Ælfric's conception of the soul, or of the contemplative faculties more generally, might prove genuinely distinctive. Because of its relativity brevity, this essay instead offers just a brief survey of references to the soul in Ælfric's homilies, a glancing reference to historical conceptions of the soul, and a very brief aside on the topic of metaphor, which is loosely linked to Ælfric's varied descriptions of the soul. The essay seems primarily aimed at an audience new to the writings of Ælfric and does not attempt to provide new scholarly insights. Rather, it offers a brief introduction to Ælfric by noting a few of passages in his *Catholic Homilies* that refer to the soul.

With respect to historical treatments of the soul, Inčiuraitė opens with the statement that "[t]hrough millennia the question regarding the nature of human *soul* remained unanswered" (159). Here it should perhaps be noted that the article contains solecisms that apparently reflect translation and editorial issues; the journal, *Respectus Philologicus,* hails from Vilnius, Lithuania, and seems to deal primarily with articles written in Lithuanian, Russian, and Polish. Something of a language barrier seems to be in play throughout the article, which may reflect the birthing pains of a journal attempting to include articles written in English as a second language.

Inčiuraitė's survey of Ælfric's conception of the soul is at its best when it sticks closely to the scholarship of leading authorities in the field. After her opening remarks, Inčiuraitė briefly mentions conceptions of the soul found in the writings of Democritus, Anaxagoras Anaximander, and Heraclitus before turning to Ælfric's writings. In discussing Ælfric, she takes note of the seminal article by Malcolm Godden, "Anglo-Saxons on the Mind," in *Learning and Literature in Anglo-Saxon England: Studies Presented to Peter Clemoes on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday*, ed. Michael Lapidge and Helmut Gneuss (Cambridge: CUP, 1985), 271–85. Godden's article offers the best and clearest brief guide to Ælfric's understanding of the nature of the human soul, and his writings inform the work of Inčiuraitė at nearly every turn. Perhaps Inčiuraitė's indebtedness to Godden's essay can best be illustrated by quoting a representative passage or two from her article:

> Before the analysis of conceptual metaphors of *soul,* it is important to point out that Anglo-Saxons adopted an unsurpassable attitude towards the nature of human soul. According to Malcolm Godden, the *classical* and the *vernacular* traditions of thought about the soul and mind are seemingly obvious among the Anglo-Saxons. The classical tradition is strongly represented by the Anglo-Saxon writers, among them Alcuin of York, King Alfred the Great, and Ælfric of Eynsham. Whereas the classical tradition identified the intellectual mind with the immortal soul and life spirit, the vernacular tradition "preserved a distinction of the soul and mind, while associating the mind at least as much with passion as with intellect." (160)

Despite palpable translation issues, the general gist is clear enough, and most readers will be able to follow the distinctions made by Godden and echoed by Inčiuraitė. Elsewhere, Inčiuraitė—again closely following Godden—writes:

> It is the *rational spirit* or *rational self* that makes a human being unique (Godden 1987, p. 279). It follows that only the man and angels possess *rational spirit*. Consequently, the soul is a rational spirit, for the seed of God's truth is dwelling in it (Godden 1987, p. 272). For comparison, Alcuin holds the opposite view towards rationality of the soul. He claims that ratio is a distinctive property of the mind and not the soul, meanwhile Alfred's and Ælfric's opinions coincide for they both believed that rationality is the feature of the soul. Malcolm Godden supports this view by stating that "the soul is distinctly the thinking power or agent" (ibid, p. 279). With reference to the quotation above, if the *soul* is the rational *spirit*, then it results that a man consists not only of the *body* and the *soul*, but also of *spirit*. However, Ælfric does not make a clear-cut distinction between the spirit and the soul because for

> him the soul is a rational spirit. Hence, a rational and contemplative soul seeks refuge in its eternal homeland, i.e. SOUL as a NOMAD. (164)

Here, Inčiuraitė gives a generally helpful summary of key points in Godden's article. In addition, she also discusses metaphorical concepts associated with Anglo-Saxon conceptions of the soul, such as the representation of the soul as a bird. If the general thread of the argument seems clear enough here, at other times, that thread seems lost in translation. On occasion, editorial or typographical slips unintentionally obscure or even reverse the intended meaning:

> In Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, one of the apt metaphors represents the soul as a SPIRIT. Trapped within the human body it is an essential rational inner called *soul*. Consider the lines where the soul pertains to a SPIRIT: "Wite gehwa þæt seo *sawul* is *gast*. and be eorðlicum mettum ne leofað. ac ure hwilwendlice lif bið mid mettum gefercod" (ÆCHom II, 36.1 B1.2.38). "Let everyone know that the *soul* is a *spirit*, and lives not only on earthly meats: but our transitory life is sustained by meats" (ÆCHom 1846, p. 463). (163)

Here, the translation of the quoted Old English passage should not say that the soul "lives *not only* on earthly meats" but rather that the soul "lives *not* on earthly meats" (emphasis mine), which is in fact the translation given in Thorpe's edition of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies* that the article is quoting. The distinction being made here is, of course, that between the eternal soul, which does not live on any earthly food at all, and the transitory body, which depends on earthly food to sustain its existence. Because of the slip in copying the translations from the Thorpe edition, is seems as if the soul desires a second helping of earthly meats.

Despite these lapses, Inčiuraitė's essay provides a helpful survey of scholarship on Ælfric's conception of the soul for a potentially new audience of readers. Scholarship on Old English and on Ælfric has certainly made important inroads in other regions where English is not a primary language, and perhaps Inčiuraitė's article will help to promote further scholarly exchanges with Central and Eastern Europe. Ælfric is certainly a fitting topic for the pages of *Respectus Philologicus*, and with additional editorial effort and support from the wider academic community, Old English philological studies may well be poised to take flight in Lithuania and the surrounding regions.

In a somewhat different vein, Rebecca I. Starr's article, "Raising John's Body: Ælfric's Homily for the Assumption of John the Apostle," published in *Medieval and Early Modern English Studies* 18.2: 317–40, will prove of interest to scholars interested in gender criticism and early medieval conceptions of the body. In examining Ælfric's *Catholic Homily* I.4, which is about John the Evangelist, Starr notes how the general exclusion of female saints from the homilist's First Series represents a certain "gender asymmetry" that is "atypical of its genre, the *sanctorale*, and period" (319). While there may be a lack of parity between the number of male and female saints in this particular homiletic collection, Starr's statement that "none of the forty homilies in *CH* I includes a female saint's life" is somewhat misleading when one acknowledges that at least two of these homilies directly address events in the life of St. Mary: *CH* I.9 on the Purification of Mary and *CH* I.13 on the Annunciation. Using gender asymmetry as a jumping off point for her gender criticism, Starr seeks to demonstrate how Ælfric's portrayal of John offers an "ideal example for masculine Christian performance" through his ascetic self-denial and sexual continence (e.g. he abandons his bride-to-be when choosing to become a disciple of Christ). In the first section of the article, subtitled "The Vulnerable Male Body," Starr draws upon *CH* I.4 and *CH* I.33 to show how Ælfric's "attention to the vulnerability of the male body and inattention to the vulnerability of the female body reverses typical Christian constructions of gender" (320). Starr notes how women in the early Middle Ages—particularly those of noble birth—were urged to remain chaste, avoid public places, and cover their bodies, while similar strictures were seldom placed upon men. While this may be true of lay society, such a "reversal" in the constructions of gender would hardly have been out of place in a monastic setting, where Ælfric frequently argued for clerical celibacy. Starr is, perhaps, correct in noting that John's decision to commit to lifelong virginity "marks his body as a permeable container that must be sealed in order to make him holy," but she fails to make a compelling case that this act is somehow unique with relation to gender constructs (322). For those individuals seeking to sanctify themselves in preparation for salvation, especially those living in a monastery or cloister, the goal of "sealing" the body would have been desirable regardless of gender.

In the second section, entitled "The Masculinization of Merit," Starr argues that Ælfric favors the salvific power of merit achieved through works rather than God's grace. While there is good reason to assert that the homilist granted good deeds a role in salvation, Starr's interpretation represents a potentially reductive reading of Ælfric's theology based on a single passage that might be better served by a close examination of Lynne Grundy's *Books and Grace: Ælfric's Theology* (London: Kings College CLAMS, 1991). Starr offers a gendered reading of John's raising of a widow's only son, the death of

whom would bring an end to the mother's lineage. She interprets John's ability to restore the boy to life as an attempt by Ælfric to cast the apostle in the role of the "originary father who fathers converts that father other converts, forming a synthetic all-male heredity who become the church" (330). Starr admits that "there are implied women converts, but since they do not perform miracles in *CH*, they have little capacity to reproduce the church within the gender paradigm Ælfric provides for the masses" (330).

Since Starr herself recognizes that Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* "includes a parity of male and female saints' lives," the First Series of *Catholic Homilies* may prove too small a sample size to support such a far reaching claim about the homilist's overarching "gender paradigm" (319 and 330). Starr is on much firmer ground in her third section, "Raising John." Here, she highlights Ælfric's insistence on the corporeal assumption of John's body at the time of the apostle's death, thereby ignoring the cautionary words of more skeptical sources such as Bede, Smaragdus, and Haymo. In the end, Starr advances some keen insights into Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the body and John's strength in fending off worldly sin and pollution. Indeed, she is likely correct in stating that John's "disciplined body makes him the ideal representative for the ascetic, monastic life Ælfric wishes to impart to the brothers" (325). More problematic are her attempts to apply gendered readings to *CH* I.4.

Perhaps the most noticeable oversight in the article is the author's failure to adequately contextualize John within the ranks of the Twelve Apostles. John was, of course, not the only apostle to forgo marriage or abandon a wife. The apostolic lifestyle demanded such sacrifice, so the Apostles were often looked to in Anglo-Saxon England as paragons of the monastic life. The assumption of John, both body and soul, was nevertheless unique among the Twelve. Often referred to as beloved of Christ—or *cristes dyrling*, as Ælfric deems him, John is granted a special dispensation in death and is spared the crown of martyrdom suffered by his apostolic brethren. Given this broader context, one is left to ponder whether Ælfric's emphasis on John's assumption and perfect virginity should simply be viewed in the light of monastic ideals, or whether Starr is justified in arguing that *CH* I.4 truly "masculinizes the drama of salvation" (333).

Next, In "Hagiography in Homily—Theme and Style in Ælfric's Two-Part Homily on SS Peter and Paul," *RES* 61: 167–87, Hiroshi Ogawa explores Ælfric's *Passio Petri et Pauli* (*CH* I, 26) and its Latin sources in order to understand how Ælfric adapts the genres of hagiography and homily in order to shape a coherent design for his *Catholic Homilies (Sermones Catholici)*. Ogawa begins by noting that the differences between the genres of hagiography and homily may not be as great as suggested by the two names; he voices agreement with the opinion held by Donald Scragg, who asserts "that a 'fine line' divides the homily from the saint's life, especially when the latter is appropriate for liturgical use" (167). Homily and hagiography can, of course, be found intermingled in various Old English collections, as in the Blickling Homilies—perhaps better referred to, given the possible distinction between homily and hagiography, as the Blickling Collection. Various scholars, most notably Malcolm Godden, have commented on the fact that the two volumes of Ælfric's so-called *Catholic Homilies* contain about twenty hagiographic texts. Although some would say that these are simply exceptions, Ogawa follows in the footsteps of Godden, who views these texts as part of Ælfric's "experiments in genre." Godden's article, "Experiments in Genre: The Saints' Lives in Ælfric's Catholic Homilies" in *Holy Men and Holy Women: Old English Prose Saints' Lives and Their Contexts*, ed. Paul E. Szarmach (Albany, NY: SUNY Press, 1996), 261–87, is pivotal to Ogawa's argument, and he quotes the relevant section from Godden's article in order to establish his own assessment of Ælfric's homily on Peter and Paul:

> But, though it seems possible that Ælfric knew such collections [as the Blickling Homilies and some Latin homiliaries] and was influenced by them, these were not his sources, as we have seen, and the Latin homiliaries at least were of little help as models, using only very brief and cursory narratives of saints. In adapting hagiographic material for a preaching collection, Ælfric had to experiment for himself in developing a kind of hagiography appropriate to the collections and functions that he had conceived and in finding ways of combining the often spectacular narratives of miracles with the more sober and discursive discourse of exegesis and preaching. (168)

Ogawa also follows Godden's lead in trying to determine how Ælfric develops hagiography in ways fitting for the *Catholic Homilies*. Whereas Godden examines six items in the two series in his study, Ogawa instead narrows his focus to just a single item, Ælfric's *Passio Petri et Pauli*. Ogawa suggests both that Ælfric uses both narrative and homiletic discourse when dealing with the legend of the two apostles in the second part of his homily and that Ælfric's use of homiletic discourse links the hagiographic and legendary material back to the primary homiletic purpose of the text. Homiletic language is also seen in the legendary section of the text in both "Paul's reply to Nero and Peter's speech before being crucified, where Ælfric the homilist has almost replaced Ælfric the narrator" (167). If one accepts the thesis that Ælfric may

consciously be attempting to bridge two different genres in *Passio Petri et Pauli*, it is clear that later in his career Ælfric seems to have abandoned attempts to bridge such gaps. This is the Godden thesis put forward in "Experiments in Genre," and Ogawa fully concurs with Godden's conclusion; indeed, Ogawa uses the text of Peter and Paul as detailed evidence in support of Godden's broader study. Ogawa concludes his article by endorsing Godden's assessment of Ælfric's changing approach to the genre of hagiography: Godden, he writes,

> sees 'a change of heart about the genre' clearly taking shape in Ælfric first in the life of St Cuthbert in the *Catholic Homilies* (Second Series, x), where his earlier idea of combining the genres is giving way to a new idea about the relationship of hagiography and homily and a new style for the former—a style which takes clearer shape as rhythmical prose accompanied by the use of 'generalizing epithets' as 'the universalizing hagiographic diction' in subsequent items and the *Lives of Saints*. The *Lives of Saints* (dedicated to two pious warlords who were longtime patrons of Ælfric) is also a collection of 'reading pieces rather than preaching texts', and it tends to show 'the separation of direct *sententia*, or doctrinal material, from narrative.' Behind all these factors, Godden goes on to argue, is Ælfric's concern about 'the troubling qualities of hagiography', such as the status of miracles, which probably prompted him to abandon the idea of combining the genres. (187)

Thus, Godden's article and Ogawa's study document Ælfric's early attempts to bridge the genres of homily and hagiography before his decision to abandon these efforts in his third major collection, his *Lives of Saints*, where hagiography seemingly trumps homily, though for reasons that involve both different audiences and a different purposes.

The last work addressing Ælfric's homilies reviewed this year considers their reception and treatment during a later period. In "*Ræd*, *Unræd*, and Raining Angels: Alterations to a Late Copy of Ælfric's Homily 'De Initio Creaturae,'" *N&Q* n.s. 57: 295–301, Stephen Pelle examines a twelfth-century reworking of Ælfric's text found in London, British Library, Cotton MS Vespasian D. xiv. The main alteration to Ælfric's original homily comes in the form of severe abbreviation: this twelfth-century manuscript contains only the first 70 lines of the original 296. At least one scholar has suggested that this severe abbreviation is the result of a faulty exemplar, but Pelle believes that the omission of the "redemptive and eschatological elements" found in the late version of the homily comes by design—perhaps with the intention of reshaping the homily into a kind of prologue to the remainder of the manuscript, which deals with man's fall and redemption as well as with "the final conflict between good and evil on Doomsday" (297).

Whether or not the severe abbreviation of the homily was done by design may well continue to be a matter of debate, but, in addition to his speculation about the design and intention this late version of Ælfric's homily, Pelle makes several other interesting observations about further alterations to the text. Pelle notes a change of wording with regard to Ælfric's use of the word *ræd* 'counsel', where the later Vespasian version substitutes *unræd* 'ill advice, ill counsel'—a substitution that may strike some as a bit ham-fisted, since Ælfric's original seems abundantly clear to any reader with a modicum of common sense:

> þa gefæstnode he þisne *ræd* wiþ ðam werode þe he bewiste. 7 hi ealle to þam *ræde* gebugon; þa ða hi ealle hæfdon þisne *ræd* betwux him gefæstnod. þa becom godes grama ofer him eallum.
>
> ("Then he (i.e. Lucifer) established this counsel among the troop over which he had command, and they all submitted to that counsel. When they had all established this counsel among them, then God's wrath came upon them all"; 297)

In the Vespasian version, each of the three occurrences of *ræd* has been replaced with *unræd*. Pelle notes that Michael Fox, who has previously written on this alteration of the Vespasian text, has suggested that Ælfric's intention "was to portray the utter futility of Lucifer's plan"; Pelle adds that the alterations "may be seen as an effort to strengthen Ælfric's point" (297). Whether the Vespasian reading strengthens Ælfric's point or not may be a matter of literary debate. Ælfric's original reading, albeit a bit understated, seems clear enough: any *ræd* undertaken by Lucifer after his fall is self-evidently a matter of *unræd* in Christian theology, but both Fox and Pelle are correct to note that the Vespasian version spells out Lucifer's *unræd* with blunt force—even if Ælfric himself might have been displeased by the alteration.

Pelle breaks important ground in his analysis of the Vespasian text's apocryphal addition, which states that it took three days for all of Lucifer's angels to fall into hell:

> Þa wearð he 7 ealle his geferen forcuðre 7 wirse þonne ænig oðre gescæfte; 7 þa hwyle þa he smeade hu he mihte dælen rice wyð God, þa hwile gearcode se Ælmihtige God him 7 eallen his geferen helle wyte, 7 heo ealle adræfde of heofenrices mirehðe, 7 let beofeallen on þæt ece fyr, þe heom gegearcod wæs for heora ofermettum. Swa feola heora wæron þæt þry niht 7 þry dagæs heo hruron of heofonum into helle, swa swa hregn deð on eorðan.

("Then he [i.e. Lucifer] and all his companions become more despicable and worse than any other creation; and while he deliberated how he might divide power with God, the almighty God prepared the pains of hell for him and all his companions, and drove them all from the joy of the kingdom of heaven, and let them fall into the eternal fire that was prepared for them on account of their pride. There were so many of them that they fell for three nights and three days from the heavens into hell, as does rain upon the earth"; 298)

Pelle connects this addition to similar references found in *Genesis B*; the *Wiener Genesis*; Robert de Boron's Joseph d'Arimathie, written ca. 1200 and sometimes referred to as *Le Roman du Saint-Graal*; and other continental texts (or texts with continental associations). Based on these parallels, Pelle speculates, with good reason, that this particular apocryphal addition to Ælfric's homily probably derives "from an originally continental tradition," which points to interesting directions for future study of these later versions of Ælfrician texts and the influences (some apparently continental) that shaped the form and function of these texts (300).

Only one article this year addressed matters directly pertaining to Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*. In "The Apocryphal Legend of Abgar in Ælfric's *Lives of the Saints*," *PQ* 89: 383–402, Christopher Cain explores the problematic placement of Abgar's legend within the context of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. The legend of Abgar immediately follows Ælfric's narration of the martyrdom of Abdon and Sennes, two third-century Persian kings. Ælfric says that he will lengthen his narration of Abdon and Sennes by adding an account of yet another king, King Abgar, whom he identifies as a "blessed" king reigning in the Syrian land during the time of Jesus. Ælfric then gives a brief account (106 lines) of the apocryphal legend of King Abgar of Edessa. Ælfric's narration mentions the king's illness and his reputed letter to Jesus asking for a cure. More remarkably, Ælfric's account includes a reply, purportedly written by Jesus, which Cain quotes and translates:

Þa awrat se hælend him sylf þis gewrit
and asende ðam cynincge ðus cwæðende him to:
Beatus es qui credidisti in me cum ipse me non uideris.
Scriptum est enim de me quia hii qui me uident, non credent
in me et qui non uident me ipsi credent et uiuent.
De eo autem quod scripsisti mihi ut ueniam ad te
oportet me omnia propter quæ missus sum hic explere
et postea quam compleuero recipi me ad eum a quo missus sum.
Cum ergo fuero assumptus mittam tibi aliquem
ex discipulis meis ut curet ægritudinem tuam
et uitam tibi atque his qui tecum sunt prestet.

("Then the Savior himself wrote this letter and sent it to the king, thus saying to him: "Blessed are you who believes in me when you don't see me. For it is written about me that those who see me will not believe in me, and those who don't see me, they will believe and live. Concerning that about which you wrote to me—that I should visit you—it is proper for me to fulfill all those things for which I am sent here, and after I have completed them I will return to him who sent me. When I have been taken up I will send to you one of my disciples to cure your illness and give life to you and also those who are with you"; 384)

Cain rightly questions why Ælfric includes such a problematic text in his *Lives of Saints*, especially when, elsewhere in his writings, Ælfric resoundingly condemns apocryphal texts. Could Ælfric have been unaware of the doubt surrounding the authenticity of the letter? This seems most unlikely, and Cain provides good evidence that Ælfric very likely knew of the text's questionable status. The letter is condemned in the *Decretum Pseudo-Gelasianum*, and its apotropaic use should have been known by Ælfric. He would, of course, also have known of the Church's widely documented attempts to stamp out the use of amuletic texts among both clergy and laity. As Cain notes, Augustine "rejected textual amulets (*ligaturae*) and other superstitious practices involving writing, like *characteres*, as intercourse with demons" (390).

In addition to documenting the text's questionable status within the Church, Cain also traces the text's circulation as a separate document. The text, originally found circulating in the fourth-century Greek history of the early church by Eusebius and in the fifth-century Latin translation by Rufinus, began to appear independently from a very early date. Later, the text began to appear in association with the apocryphal legends of Thomas. Cain summarizes the nature of the association:

Rufinus states that Thomas sent Thaddeus to Edessa, and tradition asserted that Thomas's remains were brought to Edessa after his martyrdom in the east. It is a tradition that Ælfric seems somewhat reluctant to acknowledge fully, saying only that "se godes apostol wearð syððan geferod to syrian lande mid micelre arwurðnysse þam ælmihtigan to lofe se þe on ecnysse rixað riclice mihtig" (The apostle of God was carried to Syrian land afterwards with great honor to the praise of the Almighty who reigns in eternity gloriously mighty). (391)

Because of this association with Thomas, Skeat questioned why the Letter of Christ to Abgarus had been appended to the stories of Abdon and Sennes by Ælfric: "it is not clear why this Letter is introduced at this place, as

it belongs rather to the Life of St. Thomas" (385). Cain challenges Skeat's objection. On the one hand, Cain accepts Skeat's factual statement that the story of Abgar was frequently associated with the legends of Thomas, but, on the other hand, he argues that, precisely for that very reason, Ælfric consciously tried to disassociate the two texts. Cain concisely summarizes his argument in this way:

> So what I am suggesting is that Ælfric sanitized his retelling of the Abgar legend in part by divorcing it from the hagiographical narrative [of Thomas] that indirectly endorses the letter's use as an amuletic text. And we know that Ælfric was already suspicious of some Thomas narratives. As is well known, Ælfric rejected the inclusion of a *vita* of St. Thomas in his *Catholic Homilies*, a collection in which several other apostolic lives appear, on the grounds that Augustine objected to an *ungeleaflic* (incredible) episode in the narrative in which the hand of a cupbearer who struck Thomas at a banquet is later returned to the banquet in a dog's mouth. (394)

Cain's hypothesis is certainly intriguing, and there may indeed be an element of guilt by association in the letter's link to the legends of Thomas. However, some might well raise the objection that Ælfric had the option of simply omitting the Abgar narrative entirely, especially given its unorthodox standing. Does associating Abgar with texts other than the apocryphal Thomas legend really sanitize the Abgar text in any substantial and meaningful way? This question may deserve further exploration. Cain partially addresses this and similar questions by voicing his own final opinions:

> Ælfric did not choose the patently obvious arrangement suggested by his Latin sources in part because he rejected the endorsement of the magical efficacy of Jesus' letter to Abgar that he found there and sought instead to distance the connection between these two texts as he reshaped them in the vernacular for lay readers. (396)

Again, some may still raise the question of whether or not distancing the Abgar and Thomas narratives, "the patently obvious arrangement," actually works to diminish the impact of the heterodoxy of the Abgar narrative. Could the physical separation of these two apocryphal texts in Ælfric's writings work to improve the reception of either to those committed to rooting out religious error? Cain's excellent article offers an intriguing hypothesis that will be of further interest to scholars exploring Ælfric's treatment of apocryphal materials. Certainly, the inclusion of the Abgar narrative in Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* raises many questions about Ælfric's efforts to shun apocryphal texts. It may well be possible, as Cain notes, that Ælfric's lay patrons, Æthelweard and Æthelmær, prevailed on him to include this popular text just as Ælfric tells us they did in the case of the *passio* of Thomas; if so, then the context of Abgar's narrative perhaps becomes a less significant factor. Instead, scholars may need to shift focus to assess Ælfric's (reluctant) willingness to provide translations of texts of interest to his patrons and to his wider, English-speaking audience. Since the letter was already widely available in Latin—and in one of Ælfric's most trusted sources, Rufinus, then perhaps Ælfric could take some solace in the fact that he was making a translation from a trusted source, despite any misgivings he may have had. And, as Cain has argued, perhaps the context of the narrative in his *Lives of Saints* may have diminished, in Ælfric's view, the questionable standing of the Abgar narrative with its very remarkable *epistola salvatoris*.

Finally, we should take note of W.R. Johnson's *Ælfric´s 'Colloquy' in a Modern English Translation* (East Burke, VT: Plowboy Press), which is a trilingual text featuring not only Johnson's translation but also the Latin text and Old English gloss, as edited by G.N. Garmonsway in 1939. This magnificent edition is a limited, letterpress edition printed, according to the Plowboy website on "Barcham Green Sandwhich in black, brown, and red. Bound long-stitch in Gray Flax Canal from Papeterie St-Armand and housed in a wooden slipcase." This beautiful, meticulously produced edition is limited to 100 numbered copies and should be on every collector's list. The work pays homage to labors of love, whether of learning, of ploughing, or printing. Plowboy Press was founded by Andrew Miller-Brown in 2004, who is to be congratulated for producing this homage to Ælfric; *Aelfric's Colloquy* was one of just two runners-up for the thirteenth Carl Hertzog Award for Excellence in Book Design, making it the perfect Yuletide gift.

Wulfstan

While several contributions this year focused on Wulfstan's legislative works, which are included in the subsection "Old English Laws," only one addressed his religious writings: a monograph by Joyce Tally Lionarons, *The Homiletic Writings of Archbishop Wulfstan: A Critical Study*, (Woodbridge, Suffolk: D. S. Brewer). At issue for this reviewer is the subtitle of the book, *A Critical Study*, for the book is assuredly about the homiletic writings of Wulfstan, but, while it is a study, it is not critical in the accepted sense of that word. It is not literary criticism; it displays critical thinking, but so should any study of any subject. As I will explain below, it is hard to envision the audience for this volume, and it seems to me to confuse

at least two genres of scholarship, though some chapters are lucid and constitute a contribution to the ongoing reassessment of Wulfstan.

Chapter one outlines the life and career of Wulfstan as well as the history of Wulfstan scholarship, then provides an exceedingly clear, usable annotated list of manuscripts associated with him. Chapter two reassesses the editorial decisions made in previous eras by Napier and Bethurum, as well as the later reassessments by Ker, Wilcox, Cross, and Hall, according to modern editorial standards that see variation as a feature to retain and, conversely, consider the idea of a perfect or cleansed text a fallacy. This chapter carefully reconsiders extant texts for inclusion in the Wulfstan homiletic canon, but the frequent recourse to Wulfstan's blending or nondistinction between law and homily leads to the obvious question—though Lionarons does not address it—of why we are establishing a specifically homiletic canon at all.

Chapter three provides a detailed consideration of Wulfstan's eschatological homilies, text by text, which begins to seem like the wrong way to undertake the work. Synthesis only appears at the very beginning and very end of the chapter, articulating Lionarons's disagreement with Godden's location of a shift in Wulfstan's eschatological thinking in the *Sermo Lupi ad Anglos*, arguing instead that his view continued to develop until his death. Because the chapter is not organized by a developing argument but according to chronological order, it does not provide exposition so much as a record of primary philological work. As a detailed manual to Wulfstan's eschatology it was nearly unreadable for this reader. It leads me to address again the meaning of the subtitle of the book: a critical study. It is certainly not literary criticism, although it is critical insofar as it makes judgments. It is also a study, but one that occupies a place of limbo between edition and critical study. Anyone interested in such close consideration of variation and of borrowing and condensing—say, between Ælfric and Wulfstan—on a line-by-line basis would want to just compare editions or versions themselves.

We look to monographs to provide something more: a synthesis and an argument, the illumination that comes from time spent thinking through material. This book, though, is neither edition nor monograph. It is editorial apparatus elevated to the layout and register of monograph. Technical apparatus-like handbooks and handlists are certainly important in our field, but those are usually organized according to manuscript witnesses. Lionarons's book is organized according to theme, so that it is hard to get a sense of manuscript context, and, as a result, neither theme nor manuscript gets satisfying treatment. At times, glimpses of analytic insight appear, as in her observation that, "while Ælfric is concerned with teaching salvation history and making a theological point, Wulfstan is primarily interested in examining the moral failures of paganism" (105). In general, though, the chapter titles are misleading. While chapter four, for instance, is titled "Salvation History and Christianity," it is not about this topic so much as about the texts that are about the topic—a distinction that leads to the overall tediousness and lack of clarity of the book.

Chapter five considers the homiletic writings concerned with the theme of pastoral or pontifical oversight. Again, as with other chapters, a reader should not come to this one for synthesizing, interpretive insight about Wulfstan's treatment of a bishop's responsibilities in these homilies. One would come to the chapter for a manuscript by manuscript account of the extant texts and fragments touching on this theme. Chapter six considers Wulfstan's homilies concerning the sacraments, from which, Lionarons explains the Eucharist is conspicuously absent. Rather, baptism and penance are the foci. Lionarons observes the general paucity of public penance in Anglo-Saxon England, against which Wulfstan urges both public and private penance in addition to communal penance in response to national calamity both ongoing and imminent. Chapter seven, on the Danish invasions vis-a-vis the *Sermo Lupi*, is a thoughtful, thorough, and coherent consideration of that homily in the light of history, the extant manuscript record, and past scholarship, which concludes with genuine insight. Chapter eight is concerned with the less-discussed homilies related directly to—that is, deriving from—legal codes and the *Institutes of Polity*. This is dicey territory because of the grayness of the boundary between legal and homiletic writing and because of the sometimes awkward adaptation of legal statutes for oral delivery, as Lionarons characterizes it. The chapter ends with the assertion that, in what Lionarons considers to be one of Wulfstan's last sermons, Napier 50, he comes "full circle" to where he began his career—with exhortation about moral living and warnings (to the *witan*, most likely) of the end times. But that statement is the final statement of the book, meaning that the book has no conclusion, no thoughts on Wulfstan's career as a whole, no assessment of his place in literary, homiletic, and cultural history. This absence is symptomatic of what has been noted already: the book's lack of a coherent argument. It might have been called a manual or a handbook, or it might have offered a progressive kind of edition that shows a reader all of the variants that the book instead awkwardly describes.

The Old English Martyrology

Among the large number of contributions on topics related to Old English religious prose this year, two short notes, both published in *N&Q* n.s. 57, focused on the Old English *Martyrology*. In the first, "Pelagia's Cloak in the *Old English Martyrology*" *N&Q* 57.1: 3–6, Christine Rauer examines the saint's attire as she ascends the Mount of Olives to live a humble life at the site where Christ himself once prayed. The OE martyrologist mentions that Pelagia was clothed *mid hærenre tunecan on mid byrnan, þæt is mid lytelre hacelan* ("in a hair tunic and in a ?byrnie, that is in a short cloak"). Rauer points out that OE *byrne* largely appears in poetic texts and generally refers to a coat of mail, though sometimes it may convey a more figurative meaning of 'protection'. Also unusual is the glossing of *byrnan* as *hacelan*; Gale Owen-Crocker defines OE *hacele* as a 'full-length cloak, possibly hooded, worn by both sexes'. Rauer notes that this gloss is preserved in both branches of the text and, therefore, likely represents part of the original text. In the corresponding passages found in the potential source recensions of the *Vita S. Pelagiae*, variants on the Latin word *birrus* 'a cloak to keep off rain' are used. Rauer explains how the gloss *mid lytelre hacelan*, therefore, equates nicely with *birrus* and demonstrates the martyrologist's correct understanding of the term. Since the martyrologist had a tendency to incorporate Latin technical terms into other entries, Rauer posits that the compiler may simply have inserted *birrus* into the original text. Since *birrus* could present a difficult reading for those unfamiliar with the term, scribal interference may have adapted the word to the more recognizable *byrnan* at an early stage in the work's transmission history. Rauer, however, offers a second possibility, which she feels is more plausible: that the martyrologist himself "made the jump from *byrrus* or *byrrum* to *byrnan*" (5). She relates such a jump to the martyrologist's "surprising flexibility in the apparent coinage of new Old English words, or the apparent reinvention of existing words in unusual contexts" (5). Alternatively, Rauer acknowledges that "the martyrologist may have perceived the already existing OE term *byrne* . . . as semantically related and formally resembling *birrus*" (6). Lastly, as Marianne Chenard has previously pointed out, the substitution of *byrnan*, with its martial connotations, may have been interpreted as fitting within the context of the passage. Here, Pelagia may wear the item as protection from physical or spiritual harm while on her journey up the mountain. Rauer also points out where, in some versions of the saint's life, Pelagia is thought to have taken the *birrus* from the male Nonnus or puts on male attire. Since coats of mail are typically associated with male clothing, the use of *byrnan* may represent an attempt by the martyrologist to underscore the garment's provenance.

In the second of these two notes, Andrew Breeze suggests a new solution to a crux in the *Old English Martyrology* concerning the place-name *Ludica* in "Locating *Ludica* in *The Old English Martyrology*," *N&Q* 57.2: 168. As described in the martyrology entry for St. Erasmus, the saint takes a journey with an angel *in Ludican ðære ceastre* (with the variant *lucridam* in one manuscript). Breeze argues that *lucridam* and *Ludican* derive from the Latin life of Erasmus, which includes the phrase *in Lucrinam civitatem* in reference to Lucrino on the Bay of Naples. The Latin placename is, in turn, based on the Greek life of St. Erasmus, which places the saint in Loukridos in present-day Macedonia.

Anonymous Homilies

Three articles this year examined anonymous homilies. In "More on the Sources of Blickling Homily III," *N&Q* 57.3: 281–90, Robert Getz contributes to the source study of vernacular prose literature. He proposes Latin sources—some already identified, some new—for several sentences in the first half of Blickling Homily III for the first Sunday in Lent. Charles D. Wright already identified the *Liber questionum in evangeliis* (*LQE*), a Hiberno-Latin commentary on Matthew from the first half of the eighth century, as a source for the homily. Getz argues that, while the homilist likely drew on a Hiberno-Latin compilation, he also used material with which he was familiar independently from such a compilation. In summary, when the homilist draws on a compilation, the material's "greatest part was derived from the tradition of commentary on Matthew associated with the name Frigulus, and transmitted in the *Liber questionum in evangeliis*; while the rest included several comments now attested in other Hiberno-Latin texts and the *Glossa ordinaria*" (289–90). For the material presumably taken from a compilation, Getz identifies precisely which sentences or passages can be attributed directly to *LQE*, which draw most likely on an earlier commentary on Matthew by a certain Frigulus (preserved in a ninth-century manuscript of Italian origin), and which may have reached the homilist by different sources altogether, for example, through the *Expositio libri comitis* by Smaragdus or other texts, which at times make for closer parallels than the Frigulus-*LQE* tradition. In regard to material derived from independent sources, Getz identifies the following direct correspondences: for a passage on Matthew 4:7, the homilist draws on comments in the *Glossa ordinaria* on Deuteronomy 6:16. When describing the absurd contradiction of the devil offering

Christ all the earthly kingdoms, the homilist adopts six lines from Sedulius's *Carmen paschale* (II.190–5). For a list of virtues in a reflection on Christ taking on human form, the homilist finds a model in Gregory the Great's homilies on Ezekiel, specifically on Ezekiel 1:5.

Next, in "A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent, Revisited," *Anglia* 128: 28–47, Charles D. Wright reexamines an earlier thesis posited by J.E. Cross about the Latin source used for an Old English Lenten homily that survives in Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Junius 85/86, termed Homily I in Luiselli Fadda's *Nuove omelie anglosassoni della rinascenza benedettina*. Cross's supposition, made in a 1982 *Anglia* article titled "A Doomsday Passage in an Old English Sermon for Lent," was that the author of the Old English Fadda I used a Latin sermon on the Last Judgment as a source for the homily, a text from the *Patrologia Latina* titled Pseudo-Augustine Sermo App. 251. Cross further argues that the homilist employed App. 251 but redacted it liberally by adding his own memories of eschatological tropes to the Latin material. Wright reassesses this position and argues that a variant copy of App. 251 identified as Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana MS, Pal. Lat. 556, printed in 1963 by Graziola Maioli from a ninth-century codex in Anglo-Saxon script, indicates that the Old English homilist was actually "translating a fuller version of the sermon that accounts for most of the apparent additions, as well as for further material in the Old English homily beyond the passage isolated by Cross" (28). Ultimately, Wright asserts that the redaction of App. 251 found in Vaticana, Pal. Lat. 556 "brings us much closer to the immediate source [of Fadda I]; and the fact that [the Vaticana text] was copied by an Anglo-Saxon scribe suggests that this version may represent a distinctive Anglo-Saxon redaction of the Doomsday sermon" (33).

Throughout his essay, Wright addresses the variants in Fadda I, App. 251, and the Vaticana text at length, assessing the homilist's editorial choices with thoroughness and clarity. His discussion moves fluidly from an assessment of the larger literary elements that appear in, or are omitted from, the Old English sermon (e.g. biblical allegories and theological terms) to the basic grammatical choices of the homilist, all with a command and a facility that fully acquaints the reader with the issues at work in the texts under discussion. For the reader's convenience, Wright offers a chart that reproduces Mailoi's edition of the Vaticana text, together with Migne's text of App. 251, and the Doomsday passage from Fadda's edition, clearly emphasizing the divergent and parallel passages therein. In addition, Wright assiduously makes the connection between a homilist's translating concerns and his audience, which "must have included laypersons, or at any rate married clergy" (46). Wright focuses on the homilist's rendering of exile, perpetual feasting in heaven, and the multiple grouping of souls—all while clearly articulating the kind deliberation with which the Old English homilist must have engaged in the editorial process, a praxis culminating in a sermon calibrated to reach the widest possible audience. Wright leaves his own audience with a caveat regarding the margin of error in play when scholars can only use the manuscript evidence made available to them, but, on an optimistic and pragmatic note, he also posits that "if we can do no more than save the appearances, we should do that as well as we can, and adjust our conclusions if and when a new discovery causes the appearances to change" (47).

Also focusing on anonymous homilies is Erika Corradini's "The Composite Nature of Eleventh-Century Homiliaries: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, 421" in *Textual Cultures: Cultural Texts*, edited by Orietta Da Rold and Elaine Treharne (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), 5–19. In this article, Corradini reflects on the inconsistent nature and seeming incoherence of eleventh-century homily collections—especially in the light of the liturgical cycle. By analyzing the make-up and contents of one such manuscript, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 421, she aims to demonstrate that "the loose structure of some of these codices, those that seem not to have been deliberately planned, was less haphazard than one might expect, and that the ostensibly disorganised make-up of such books is not as incoherent as it looks at first glance" (7). Tracing the construction and reconstruction of composite manuscripts yields valuable information about the production and use of homiliaries in the eleventh and early twelfth century. After a brief codicological description and transmission history of CCCC 421, Corradini begins her discussion with paleographical and codicological evidence linking the manuscript to Exeter to show that it was used and modified at Exeter, where it was deposited (along with the very similar companion manuscript CCCC 419) in the mid-eleventh century as part of Bishop Leofric's collection. The style of certain orthographic changes link CCCC 421 to other "Exeter-produced and corrected manuscripts" and also "underline the utilitarian function of the works," for they suggest to Corradini that the manuscript's texts were intended for reading out loud to audiences (9).

CCCC 421 also underwent codicological revision at Exeter. Two separate sets of quires, produced at Exeter in the later eleventh century, were inserted, with paleographical evidence indicating that the homilies contained in the inserted portions originally belonged to a single homiliary, which is now spread over several manuscripts. If such a collection indeed existed, Corradini

concludes, then "the texts now contained in the four volumes together would have formed the homiletic collection which Bishop Leofric used to fulfill his preaching duties" (11). Corradini then considers the purpose of a composite collection like CCCC 421. In her view, the original manuscript was intentionally reshaped into a collection that could serve the demands of its new context, that is, episcopal preaching. As Leofric built his homiliary, he may have felt the need for an expanded selection of texts that offered more flexibility for a wider range of preaching occasions because of "the intensification and perhaps diversification of his diocesan duties" in the later eleventh century, which saw the growth of parish churches and an increased need for church consecrations (13). Preaching was a way to assert episcopal power in the wake of ecclesiastical reorganization and fragmentation. This, then, is the context in which Corradini wants us to read composite homiliaries like CCCC 421. The generic nature of the homilies included in the collection fits typical episcopal preaching occasions, such as the anniversary of a church or a synod, thus also giving clues to the homilies' audiences. When CCCC 421 was acquired and then modified by Leofric, this process not only helped further disseminate vernacular sermons, especially Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, but it "also entailed re-contextualisation and re-purposing of the texts in an episcopal frame," showing that bishops actively participated in realizing reform ideals (17).

At the same time, this re-purposing was accompanied by the reconfiguration of the collected texts, and this "Breaking of formal boundaries, whether textual or codicological, created a modern way of sharing contents and knowledge, which, indifferent to the original rigidity of texts and collections, allowed for more thematic and structural flexibility than can be accounted for in earlier codices" (18). According to Corradini, the analysis of the life of CCCC 421 reveals that "the manuscript's cultural and intellectual value was preserved by disrupting its original codicological integrity," which, in turn, allows us to recognize composite homiliaries as "an expression of their users' interests and of the books' cultural function" (18). Corradini shows convincingly enough that the absence of systematic content does not always equal incoherence or lack of purpose; less convincing is her point that a manuscript's reorganization preserved its cultural value. She notes that CCCC 421 shows no signs of use after Leofric's death in 1072 until the sixteenth century when it was in Matthew Parker's possession. This contradicts her earlier claim that the re-purposing and reconstructing of homiliaries leads to "a rather long life" for manuscripts and that this "longevity is due to a continuous updating of both their physical form and content" (7). CCCC 421 did not really see "continuous updating," and its longevity lasted much less than a century—perhaps only about twenty-five years in the composite form compiled under Leofric.

c. The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

An important contribution to the study of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle was made this year by Alice Jorgensen, ed., *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History* (Turnhout: Brepols). Jorgensen's introduction to "the first interdisciplinary essay collection devoted to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" explains that its twelve chapters ask "what are we reading when we read the Chronicle and how are we reading it?" (4). Jorgensen's skillful overview of the Chronicle's itself and prominent directions in recent scholarship emphasizes the Chronicle's plurality: of manuscripts and types of relations among them; of authorship and agendas; of styles, genres, and manuscript contexts; of places and times of compilation and copying, "ranging from the south-west in the ninth century to the fenlands in the twelfth" (16). Yet as Jorgensen also observes, awareness of such plurality must not obscure the wholeness of any text of the Chronicle as it held cumulative and immediate, if continually shifting, meaning for its readers in any of these times and places. *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is designed to support these complementary perspectives through its array of studies that situate Chronicle texts sometimes as evidence and sometimes as objects of analysis in their own right. The volume's subtitle, *Language, Literature, History*, identifies the disciplinary approaches guiding each of its three sections, although the order in the book itself is Literature (five essays), History (five), and finally Language (two). Because the first contribution, by Thomas A. Bredehoft, proposes that a passage of annal 1067 in MS D is a hitherto unrecognized Old English poem, it is treated in the poetry section of the Year's Work.

Susan Irvine's essay, "The Production of the Peterborough Chronicle," begins by laying out the evidence that the scribe of the Peterborough Chronicle, the E text of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, likely drew on a single non-Peterborough version of the Chronicle that continued up to that year, a now-lost text whose existence is also attested by the Latin Waverly Annals and Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*. To the material from this exemplar, the Peterborough compiler added information of local interest now known as the Peterborough Interpolations, attempting "to smuggle Peterborough's records into the narrative so that they become seamlessly part of an authoritative account of English

history"—perhaps composing the interpolations himself while in the process of copying (53). Whereas the material up to annal 1121 comprises a single large act of copying and compilation, the First Continuation (annals 1122–1131), probably inscribed by the same person, are a much more piecemeal production. Irvine argues that these annals, too—not all of which mention Peterborough—have one or more prior sources rather than being wholly original compositions. They are handled in similar fashion to the annals up to 1121, with Peterborough interpolations being worked in. She finds that similarities between the Peterborough First Continuation and the *Chronicle* of John of Worcester imply the reliance of both texts on a common source, which may have been a non-Peterborough vernacular chronicle extending beyond 1121.

In the next contribution, "Double-Edged Déjà Vu: The Complexity of the Peterborough Chronicle," Malasree Home looks closely at the composition of the Peterborough Chronicle. Home especially considers exclamatory rhetoric and other distinctive aspects of voice that are characteristic of the First Continuator, found in the Interpolations to the earlier material and in the continuation covering 1122–1131, and points out that their presence in the Peterborough Interpolations (recounting earlier events retrospectively) prevents attributing such vigor to passion over current affairs. These rhetorical signs of emotional involvement, Home suggests, are a device for creating stylistic unity between the pre- and post-1121 annals and for imparting a sense of immediacy to "hide the fact that the Interpolations were actually composed and written much later" than the annals that incorporate them (75). Similarly, from the last portion of proto-E, the continuator adopts the practice of beginning each annal with information about the royal court, "a structural leitmotif conveniently obscur[ing] the fact that the First Continuation was compiled at a different time and place" from the received version of the Chronicle (79). Additionally, noting a few instances of phraseology shared between the Peterborough Interpolations and the First Continuation and differences in usage between the First and Second Continuations, Home concludes that the scribe of text E up to 1131 was also the author of the Interpolations and the First Continuation and conjectures that the Second Continuation's scribe may likewise have been its author.

In the following chapter, "Sentence to Story: Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle as Formulary," Jacqueline Stodnick argues that the plain, formulaic style of the short annals that make up much of the Chronicle is "part of a coherent historiographic technique that mediates difference and disorder in the historical record itself by means of a deliberately restricted diction" (95). After setting her investigation in its relevant contexts of historiographic theory, previous opinion about style in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the investigation of formulaic language in Old English and Anglo-Latin verse and prose, Stodnick argues that the use of homogeneous phraseology for similar events has cumulative effects on the reception of the text, such as "minimiz[ing] unevenness . . . caused by its multiple sources, compilers, and continuations" and producing the implication that nobles, kings, bishops, and popes are all part of "a comprehensive framework that does not differentiate between secular and ecclesiastical authority" (101–2). Formulas typical of the Common Stock of the Chronicle (i.e., the original compilation up to the early 890s), or of discrete portions of it, are at times retained or resumed in the various post-Alfredian continuations, and Stodnick compellingly reads some of these instances as imparting thematic significance to later events—up to and including the Norman Conquest—by mapping them onto the patterned descriptions of earlier ones. Such strategies have a classifying effect that can, in a holistic reading of a Chronicle text, associate widely separated occurrences without making an explicit assertion of their similarity.

Alice Jorgensen concludes *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*'s section of literary-critical analysis with her own fine essay, "Rewriting the Æthelredian Chronicle: Narrative Style and Identity in Anglo-Saxon Chronicle MS F." She first examines the writer's style in annals 983–1016 of the C, D, and E texts (the so-called Æthelredian Chronicle or Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut) as a contributor to their portrayal of English identity, and then turns to a study of the changes made in version F of the Chronicle (based on an ancestor of MS E) as these may further inform an understanding of one reviser/translator's sense of group identity.

Jorgensen explains that the Æthelredian Chronicle's vision of national identity is "characterized by a tension between unity and fragmentation" whereby the English are threatened by outside forces but also undermined by the "sometimes prickly interaction of multiple groups" (115) within. The chronicler's evaluative, analytical narration, enlivened by an array of stylistic devices including complex indications of simultaneous identification and disaffection, produces the "expansion from event to process and from specifics to trends" that typifies the Æthelredian material's distinctive historiographic perspective (117). By contrast, the revision and Latin translation found in MS F (also known as the *Domitian Bilingual*, produced at Christ Church Canterbury around 1100) takes a more disinterested tone partly reflecting chronological distance from the events narrated, but

partly symptomatic of other factors including its author/scribe's differing approach to identity and perspective. The F writer's strong tendency is to abbreviate and simplify, but in ways that intelligently reconcile the style to that of earlier annals and execute priorities present in that material. In both his English and his Latin versions (the latter not always exactly matching the English, but having a character of its own), he "speaks not as an individual but as the confident performer of tradition" (125). MS F's presentation of a unified English identity is less nuanced and paradoxical than that of the Æthelredian Chronicle, tied to an institutional perspective that attaches the sense of nation to the interests of Christ Church Canterbury ("simultaneously local and national, since Canterbury conceived itself as central to the story of the English people as a Christian nation" [135]) and drawing heavily on Bede's portrayal of the English people as a community in covenant with God.

The first chapter in the History section of the volume, Barbara Yorke's essay, "The Representation of Early West Saxon History in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," freshly examines the annals for seventh and eighth centuries in the Common Stock to help determine whether the Chronicle was compiled in—or at least in coordination with—Alfred's own circle and interests. Yorke considers the affirmative answer likely. A close reading and historical contextualization of several details in the account of Cynewulf and Cyneheard (s.a. 755) turns up a preoccupation with good and bad kingship, and ideas about the appropriate procedures for opposing an unworthy king, that accord with other writings from Alfred's reign. Patterns apparent in other accounts of seventh- and eighth-century events reinforce this suggestion: a tendency to emphasize the distinguished ancestry and affiliations of Alfred's own branch of the West Saxon royal family while downplaying or undermining other branches, the mention of numerous burial-places of Alfred's ancestors or near kin, and a cumulative impression that Alfred's West Saxon predecessors had established strong ties to Rome that culminated in Alfred's own alleged consecration as a king there at age five. Yorke does not propose that these accounts were created from scratch for the purpose of promoting the interests of Alfred and his family, but sees the seventh- and eighth-century annals as "the result of customizing, or editing, traditions and sources which already existed" to align them with "the viewpoint of King Alfred and his inner circle" (159).

In the next contribution in this section, "The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Continental Annal-Writing," Anton Scharer briefly compares the Chronicle to the *Royal Frankish Annals*. He stresses the literary nature of annals in general, constructed with the intention that they would be read as multi-year narratives, such that fabrications and spin were presented as part of a larger coherent story and thus less likely to be conspicuous to readers than we might expect. What makes the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle unique, according to Scharer, is its inclusion of such elements as genealogies, "epic" (the tale of Cynewulf and Cyneheard), and a "universal, providential perspective" within which Anglo-Saxon history, starting with the mission of Augustine from Rome, is encompassed (164). The Chronicle is a "self-contained history book," unlike the *Royal Frankish Annals*, which relied on co-texts with which they circulated to give a fuller picture of history (165). A Carolingian history anthology was likely present in Alfredian Wessex and Asser's biography of Alfred may be seen as a supplement to the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle in imitation of such textual conjunctions.

The next chapter, Scott Thompson Smith's "Marking Boundaries: Charters and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" argues that the Chronicle's accounts of the expanding West Saxon dominion after Alfred's reign parallel the tradition of land diplomas to define the kingdom as a geographically bounded entity that could be passed down from one king to another even as its borders shifted. Smith is cautious about asserting that the Chronicle writers purposely drew on the methods of vernacular land charters, which detail "[t]he ambulatory tracing of boundaries [that] inscribes the spatial limits of possession," but he makes a strong case that the Chronicle and contemporary charters "share a common vision for writing land, one which fuses the textual representation of boundaries with the representation of power" (172–3). The movements of Edward the Elder's forces to and along frontier *burh*s are repeatedly recounted, often using the connective þonan 'from there' to link a new location to a previous one in an itinerary structure; a similar pattern is found in the representation of Edward's sister Æthelflæd's military movements in the Mercian Register (annals 896–924 in Chronicle MSS B and C). Although the post-Edwardian annals become briefer and less detailed, they sustain the narrative of uninterrupted expansion (sometimes through omission of inconvenient facts), and the poem *The Capture of the Five Buroughs* (s.a. 942), with its rehearsal of numerous place-names and land features, can be seen as resuming the earlier, charter-like interest in creating a well-defined bounded territory subject to heritable *anweald* 'rule, sovereignty'.

The next contribution, Ryan Lavelle's "Geographies of Power in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Royal Estates of Anglo-Saxon Wessex," notes the curious paucity of references to royal estates in the Chronicle and the difficulty this creates for the reconstruction of West

Saxon royal movements and centers of power. His essay undertakes to find the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle's evidence for the use of place as a "demonstration of kingship" (190). Lavelle carefully considers the terminology used in vernacular and Latin sources and discusses many instances in which Latin accounts (those of Bede, Asser, Æthelweard, and John of Worcester) identify royal estates as such while the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives only the place-name, even in reference to the same event. He infers that the writers and readers of the vernacular Chronicle were familiar enough with the contemporary status of these places not to require an explanation of their significance. Battles often took place very near places that can be identified as royal estates, and Lavelle points out that in particular, "the Chronicle's record of the Viking wars of Alfred and Æthelred . . . reflects uses of royal estates both to assert and to attack royal authority" (201). Lavelle interprets Alfred's movements following the Viking attack at Chippenham in 878—first to Athelney, then from there to "Egbert's Stone" and Edington, in a route passing several royal estates—as "laying claim to his right to rule: in effect, reclaiming his kingdom even before the battle" at Edington and reads the Chronicle's later accounts of Vikings' enjoyment of the *feorm* (feast or render owed by an estate to the king) during Æthelred's reign as a similar but inverted performance of territorial power (207).

Alex Woolf's contribution is the last essay in the History section. In "Reporting Scotland in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," Woolf studies the Chronicle's references to events beyond the northern limits of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, focusing his discussion on occurrences of the ethnonyms *Scottas*, *Peohtas*, *Cumbere*, and *Strǽcledwalas* in MS A. For both the *Scottas* and the *Peohtas*, Woolf finds that a distinction emerges between annals in the "proto-historic phase of the Chronicle" that mention them, drawing exclusively on Bede, and annals that are near-contemporary to the Chronicle's compilation during Alfred's reign (223). In both cases an Alfredian-era awareness of northern Britain appears that is not present in entries describing earlier Christian Anglo-Saxon England. Nevertheless, when the *Peohtas* are mentioned together with the *Strǽcledwalas* s.a. 875, it is in the account of the movements of the Great Danish Army: the "broad horizons" of the Danes, rather than any independent West Saxon interest, "drew the gaze of south[er]n eyes" (225) to northern Britain. Not until annal 920 does the activity of West Saxons bring them into reported political contact with *Strǽcledwealas* and *Scottas*, when both groups submit to Edward the Elder.

The term *Scottas* evidently by this time refers to the inhabitants of Alba (which will first be called *Scotland* s.a. 933) rather than being chiefly an ethnonym associating its designees with Ireland, and subsequent Chronicle entries continue the newer usage. *Cumbere* appears only in annal 945 and designates the same people called *Strǽcledwealas* s.a. 920. Woolf analyzes these shifts in nomenclature in detail, reasoning that *Cumbere* is a Northumbrian usage brought into MS A from scribe 3's sources for annals 926–45 and, based on evidence from Latin and Norse, that *Scotland* may similarly be a northern English term. The use in annals 875 and 920 of the Welsh-derived word *Strǽcledwealas*, a form lacking the prosthetic /y/ of later Welsh, which Woolf shows may already have been present in spoken Welsh of this period, could imply the influence of written Welsh and, in turn, that "the chronicler (or chroniclers) responsible for these annals . . . were working in a house (or houses) which had established connections with south Wales" (238). Woolf finds these evolutions of terminology consistent with, and partly revealing of, the changing nature of West Saxon hegemony and ambition as it shifted attention from Anglo-British to Anglo-Danish alignments and conquests.

Jayne Carroll begins the language section of the volume with "Coins and the Chronicle: Mint-Signatures, History, and Language." Carroll points out that 28 of the 88 places securely identified with mint signatures are not mentioned anywhere in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and adding the evidence of coins to that of the Chronicle often gives a fuller picture of events. Cissbury in Sussex, for example, has mint signatures from the reign of Æthelred indicating an etymology of the place-name's first element as *siðest* or *siðmest*, marking Cissbury as the 'last stronghold' for moneyers who might have removed their operations to a fortified place (as we know Somerset moneyers from Bruton, Crewkerne, and Ilchester moved to the hill-fort at South Cadbury in the same period). Mint signatures can combine with the records of the Chronicle to tell us that Chester is unlikely to have been the unidentified northwest Mercian mint producing coins in the 870s; its minting activities in all likelihood started after its refortification by Æthelflæd in 907. Another unidentified minting place, *Weardburh*, founded by Æthelflæd and from which she issued a charter, has a mint signature containing an abbreviation for *civitas* (indicating a walled Roman town) that has not previously been taken into account; on its basis Carroll very tentatively proposes Whitchurch near the border of Shropshire and Wales but concedes that the evidence she offers is useful "mainly to dispute previously suggested identifications" of *Weardburh* (259). The mint signatures from Derby imply that the site of the Roman fort at Little Chester is meant rather than the nearby

later town known as Derby, and also, considered as a Scandinavian place-name being used officially at an early date (927 x 939) by non-Scandinavian moneyers, goes against arguments that it was a strictly local name or one being used by Scandinavian settlers alongside the English name *Norðworðig* in a bilingual community. More likely, it is "a Scandinavianization of a pre-existing name of British origin used by the Anglo-Saxons" (258).

Carroll shows that the orthography of mint signatures can also be linguistically informative. Their spellings support the accepted etymology of Stafford but rule out most of those proposed for Cricklade, and they provide evidence that certain phonological changes occurred earlier than is usually thought: the loss of the distinction between voiced and voiceless /r/ and /l/ in initial position (which is long maintained orthographically in standard Old English by the spelling *hr–* and *hl–* for the voiceless versions) and the monophthongization of diphthongs. In many different ways, then, attention to mint signatures in relation to other linguistic evidence such as that in the Chronicle repays the effort.

The final essay of *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, "Norse-Derived Vocabulary in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," by Sara M. Pons-Sanz departs from previous studies of Norse-derived vocabulary in the Chronicle by focusing on versions and parts of it other than the Peterborough Interpolations and Continuations in text E, where Norse influence on the lexicon is to be expected (due to settlement patterns around Peterborough). Pons-Sanz privileges annals shared between two or more Chronicle MSS for a more general view of the absorption of Norse linguistic items into Old English. In the annals compiled prior to 983, she finds only four terms that qualify, all related to warfare or seafaring: *sumorlida*, *cnearr*, *eorl*, and *hold*. Annals from the Chronicle of Æthelred and Cnut (annals 983–1022 in MSS C, D, and E) add seven more terms, mainly from the semantic fields of law and administration; nearly all of these are attested earlier in non-Chronicle texts that are not closely associated with areas of Danish settlement, and they appear already to have been largely naturalized to Old English usage by the time they appear in the Chronicle. In the next set of annals Pons-Sanz examines, those of the so-called Abingdon Chronicle (providing linguistic evidence for the period from ca. 1040 to ca. 1070), she finds a cluster of technical terms mainly relating to legal, administrative, and nautical activity that might have been picked up by the Chronicle writers from usage at Cnut's itinerant court or from contact with personnel from his fleet. Again, most of these appear to have already been well established in English or to have been entering wider usage at the time the Chronicle attests them. By contrast to this pattern, in some instances the northern annals of MSS D and E, and several times D but not E, record Norse-derived words that "may have been fairly uncommon in Anglo-Saxon and early Anglo-Norman England" (295). Pons-Sanz suggests that the compilers of this material in text D had some familiarity with Norse terminology through contact with speakers of Norse, perhaps through Scandinavian settlement in Worcestershire or through ties between religious houses.

Two more items addressed the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle this year, both published in *Anglo-Saxon England* 39. In the first of these articles, "Why is the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* about Kings?" (43–70), Nicholas Brooks urges caution in the face of many recent studies of the distinctions between different versions of the *Chronicle*, arguing instead that a centralized agenda might underlie the continuations of the "common stock" annals. Dissemination could have been active, with the royal household sending annals out to those churches maintaining versions of the *Chronicle*, or it could have been more passive, with certain ecclesiastics granted access to records while attending *witenagemots*. This would explain both the surprising detail of some annals and the striking similarities in content and language between versions that also show local emphasis and bias in the same annals. Brooks also argues that the consistency of the language from the "common stock" annals down to 1131 suggests that at least one annalist was maintained in the royal household, keeping track of major events in English, at least two generations after the Conquest and after the language of court rapidly shifted to French and the language of official documents had shifted to Latin. By contrast, the "second Peterborough continuation" (1132–1154) reinforces these arguments about earlier stints, while showing itself to be "indeed local and retrospective writing" (61).

In the second article on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle reviewed this year, "Royal Wisdom and the Alfredian Context of *Cynewulf and Cyneheard*," *Anglo-Saxon England* 39: 71–104, Francis Leneghan places the 755 annal and the tale of Cynewulf and Cyneheard in the context of Alfredian texts, broadly defined, and the wider norms of ninth-century kingship, as laid out in the Old English translations of *Cura pastoralis*, Orosius, and Boethius. The increasing importance of moral strictures (such as the requirement that a king be of legitimate birth) and royal genealogies, as well as the Alfredian construction of royal wisdom and the correct exercise of power, provides the framework within which we should read the annal for 755. The annal demonstrates the unfitness of Sigeberht for rule, as witnessed in his disloyalty towards his loyal ealdorman. Similarly, although both Cynewulf and Cyneheard command the loyalty of their thanes,

they both display a lack of wisdom. Cynewulf's merciful treatment of both Sigeberht and Cyneheard (in exiling, rather than executing, them) and his bravery during the fight with Cyneheard show that he had kingly qualities valued in ninth-century Wessex, but his lack of foresight, the possibility of immorality in meeting a concubine (as Leneghan argues the weight of the evidence should lead us to interpret *wifcyþþe*), and his lack of restraint and prudence during the fight all undercut Cynewulf's authority and fitness for rulership, in the context of Alfredian political rhetoric. Leneghan argues that the opening reference to Sigeberht's *unryht* actions and the closing reference to the *rihtfæderencyn* of both Cynewulf and Cyenheard create a frame within which the narrative explores the notion of *ryht* kingship and succession. According to Leneghan, the narrative of *Cynewulf and Cyneheard* exemplifies the need, in Alfredian thought, for noble ancestry to be paired with moral strength in order for kingship to be legitimate.

d. Old English Law

2010 was a good year for Old English Legal Studies, marked first and foremost by the publication of the collected volume of essays *English Law Before Magna Carta: Felix Liebermann and "Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen,"* edited by Stefan Jurasinski, Lisi Oliver, and Andrew Rabin (Leiden: Brill). Six items addressing matters related to Old English prose appear in this volume. To begin, Robert D. Fulk sets out in a highly technical essay, "Localizing and dating Old English Anonymous Prose, and How the Inherent Problems Relate to Anglo-Saxon Legislation," 59–79, as his title suggests, to identify the date and place of origin of the corpus of Old English anonymous prose based on a close reappraisal of the dialectal admixture that typifies it. Throughout the article, he reassesses previous methods that have been used to answer this question, with special emphasis on the reliability of dialectal analysis. His goal in this contribution, ultimately, is to see what his findings might reveal about the large body of anonymous Old English prose. Notably—and with his typical thoroughness—Fulk evaluates (often quite critically) prior attempts to address this matter, ranging from old (and new) philological approaches to the potential contributions of modern sociolinguistic theories.

Of special interest to legal scholars, Fulk employs data gathered (by himself and others) from Old English legal texts to support his claim that, among competing hypothesis seeking to explain the presence of non-West-Saxon dialectal features in late Old English anonymous prose, "it appears just one of these explanations accounts very satisfactorily for the kinds of nonstandard features actually encountered, and that is the explanation that much anonymous late West-Saxon prose was originally composed in the Anglian dialect" (64). After making his case in detail and countering other claims along the way, Fulk then turns to its implications for dating. As he points out, the two matters are closely related: his conclusions about what factors led to the mixed dialectal features in otherwise West-Saxon texts bear directly on the question of when they were originally composed.

Based on a variety of evidence, Fulk concludes that the likeliest interpretation of the available data, including not just dialectal variables in the anonymous texts but historical circumstances as well, is that the bulk of Old English material containing a significant number of Anglian features was likely composed in an Anglian setting, and is probably earlier than previously recognized. More specifically, Fulk reasons that if the bulk of such texts were written during the Benedictine Reform:

> it is hard to understand why [they] should have survived only in West-Saxon copies. The earlier tenth century, on the other hand, is an unlikely period for such a large outpouring of translations from Latin, given the ruinous state of monasticism and the rareness of literacy before the revival. A likelier period for the composition of much of it is thus before the destruction of the monasteries in the middle of the ninth century. (78)

Fulk ends with the observation that, in terms of its diversity of linguistic sources, the corpus of Old English anonymous prose has much in common with Anglo-Saxon legislation.

While upon first inspection Fulk's claims may perhaps seem a bit far-reaching, it is important to realize that his argument addresses a body of texts within the Old English corpus, not a single document. Taken in this light, his case—which, as he admits, is based on probabilities—is both reasonable and convincing. Most of all, this article stands out (like some of his other recent work) for his careful methodological insights regarding both specific arguments by individual authors and, more generally, about the methods traditionally applied to Old English texts and the assumptions that underlie them. Above all, his measured revival of scientific models to assess the value of this kind of research is refreshing.

Immediately following Fulk's essay, there is another article aimed at the question of dating, albeit this time of an individual text. In this lucidly written article, "The Dating of *Quadrapartitus* Again," 81–93, Richard Sharpe challenges Liebermann's date for *Quadrapartitus*, based on a painstaking re-analysis of the evidence of manuscripts and what they can reveal about the document's

textual history. Liebermann (and Wormald later on) had identified differences in tone, inconsistent references to historical events, and apparent organizational contradictions (or oddities) between separate portions of the text. Based on this evidence, they concluded that the document was compiled over the course of some extended period of time (as many as twenty years in Liebermann's estimation), with adjustments and revisions made over the course of its history. Sharpe, however, presents a convincing argument, based mostly on historical grounds and especially on a close reading of the document in the light of differences between the manuscript witnesses, that while the text did in fact likely evolve with individual contents added or subtracted for contemporary, mostly political exigencies, the motivations behind these changes have been misunderstood by previous critics. As a result of his (re-)analysis, Sharpe is able to posit that portions of the text, such as the *Dedicatio*, were likely composed as early as the 1090's, and the rest of it during or before 1108. These dates are significantly earlier than those proposed by Liebermann, who thought that the text had been finished no earlier than 1113 and no later than 1118, after many years of continuous work.

Most illuminatingly, Sharpe concludes by drawing attention to the fact that the evolving nature of *Quadripartitus* is obscured by the text Liebermann presents or, as he suggests, "rather the use his readers have made of it" (93). On this point, he reminds us that we (and, implicitly, future editors of *Quadripartitus*) should keep Liebermann's intention for including *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* fully in mind. Liebermann was interested, above all, in what light *Quadripartitus* could shed on the Old English material it translated. He was not concerned, at least not primarily, with providing a fully developed edition of the text itself.

In the next essay in this collection, Stefan Jurasinksi addresses the Anglo-Saxon treatment of forced servitude in "The Old English Penitentials and the Law of Slavery," 97–118. Taking an often-neglected approach in which he has a great deal of expertise, Jurasinski's stated aim is to address the topic by viewing it in the light of its evolution in scholarship. He begins by summarizing how historians, primarily of British extraction, dealt with the topic of slavery most often as something that caused them discomfort. He points out, too, that the relatively small amount of historiography on the topic fails to account for contributions by nineteenth-century German historians, who showed considerable interest in this facet of Anglo-Saxon law. Foremost among these German scholars was Felix Liebermann, whose entry on servitude in his *Rechts- und Sachglossar* volume of *Gesetze der Angelsachsen* constitutes the most lengthy treatment of the subject before David Pelteret's 1995 monograph *Slavery in Medieval England*. As Jursasinski rightly points out, Liebermann's contribution warrants closer study.

This background provides a context for his closely-focused and enlightening study of the treatment of slavery in the Old English penitentials, a fruitful source of inquiry which, for reasons he describes in detail, has been unduly neglected. His close examination of these texts demonstrates that Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastical lawyers—those who composed the penitentials—were deeply concerned with the traditions of secular law and, in particular, with screening masters from punishment not elsewhere provided to them explicitly (for example, in Continental Germanic law). This fact, too, he argues, has been occluded in scholarship, even mid- to late-twentieth-century scholarship, which, he suggests, may have been influenced by the same forces which shaped Liebermann's views. Jurasinksi's study ends with a close reevaluation of the treatment of slave marriage, and the question of whether or not such a union might legally be separated by their individual sale to separate masters, or by the manumission of one partner. On this point, Jurasinki plausibly argues that, while the Anglo-Saxon jurist who translated Theodore's provision in the Old English *Scriftboc* may well have sought to synthesize divergent views on the topic, including those as far afield as Regino of Prüm, it is just as likely that his position was determined by local circumstances.

Jurasinski's essay displays not only a thorough knowledge of Anglo-Saxon secular and ecclesiastical law, but also just how much an understanding of the social and political forces that shaped particular scholarly views at a given time and place can reveal. This essay is packed with details to back up its claims and make scholars of Old English law all the more eager to see Jurasinski's forthcoming monograph, provisionally entitled *Secular Law and the Old English Penitentials*.

Next in the collection is a contribution by Thom Gobbitt, entitled "I Æthelred in Felix Liebermann's *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* and the *Mise-en-Page* of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 383," 119–35. In this essay, Gobbitt argues that Liebermann's "static" presentation of the legislative contents of CCCC 383 fails to accurately portray their "changing contexts as evidenced in the *mise-en-page*" (119). Gobbitt begins with a succinct but thorough description of the manuscript and its history. He continues with a discussion of some of the flaws inherent in Liebermann's editorial practices, culminating with an explanation of his focus on Liebermann's infelicitous choice to follow Reinhold Schmid's division of the Anglo-Saxon law codes into numbered chapters and clauses, something which has no basis in

the manuscript witnesses. Gobbitt points out that, while previous critics have analyzed the failings of this choice with respect to the codes of Alfred/Ine (notably Dammery and Wormald), no one has applied these criticisms to the manuscript contexts of the codes themselves. This will be his goal, especially as pertains to I Æthelred, which serves as his illustrative case study.

In the main body of his article, Gobbitt first demonstrates, with a wealth of evidence, that the chapter/clause divisions in Liebermann's edition of I Æthelred significantly distort what actually appears in CCCC 383. What is more, he notes that, while Liebermann's editorial framework facilitates comparison between different versions of the text, it nonetheless obscures a great deal of relevant contextual information. Gobbitt counters Dammery's assessment that addressing the problem in a new edition would be "too cumbersome," with the objection that a more accurate edition would "be more preferable to a system that destroys information" (127). Gobbitt continues with a thorough examination of the amended first line of I Æthelred in the manuscript, which he convincingly argues was added later in a different hand. An understanding of when this correction was made is significant, since it may shed light on whether the scribe who copied it perceived I Æthelred as an independent code, or as an appendix to Alfred/Ine. He then argues, based on his analysis of the ink under UV lighting in comparison with the rubrication and miniating of the rest of the manuscript, that this change was made in the twelfth century, and—significantly—was not anticipated by the main scribe. In his conclusion, Gobbitt plausibly argues that the changes made to I Æthelred reveal that "the original manuscript (and legal) context of the exemplar(s) was different from its later, amended use" (134).

Ultimately, Gobbitt's analysis raises important questions about what the goals of an edition should be. While his arguments about the manuscript context of I Æthelred are fully convincing, less so are his criticisms of Liebermann. For example, is it really true, as he claims, that "[w]hile it may be cumbersome to produce new editions that amend these flaws and devise tables of correlation between a new approach and the old, it is also becoming increasingly necessary" (135). Certainly, purists would agree. That said, is it reasonable to expect that any edition, even the best of them, should accurately and fully represent the manuscript contexts of each and every one of its witnesses? Given current trends in scholarship, this is a question which Anglo-Saxonists will have to confront head-on. The outcome of that debate aside, Gobbitt's study provides an admirable example of the details lost when explication of manuscript contexts is jettisoned in favor of editorial convenience.

In the next contribution, "I–II Cnut: Wulfstan's *Summa*?," 137–56, Mary P. Richards argues against work by Wormald and Stafford to suggest that I Cnut and II Cnut should not be read as a single composition. Rather, Richards sees similar and related, but distinct purposes and methods in the two works. I Cnut is a very coherent, carefully crafted compendium of ecclesiastical legislation, whereas II Cnut is a far less coherent assemblage of assorted legal and homiletic material. Furthermore, Richards suggests that Wulfstan may be attempting in II Cnut to create a work similar to Alfred's *domboc*.

In the last essay from this volume reviewed in this section, "Royal Protections and Private Justice: A Reassessment of Cnut's 'Reserved Pleas,'" 157–75, T.B. Lambert sets out to reassess the implications of a series of passages describing the royal prerogative to pursue justice for certain offenses, privileges that Maitland describes as "royal pleas." While one might question the magnitude of the author's claim that this prescription constitutes "[u]ndoubtedly one of the most controversial passages in the entire Anglo-Saxon legal corpus," he nonetheless makes his case that the matter is important and unresolved (157).

Lambert begins by summarizing Maitland's position, namely that a class of crimes summarized by the terms *hamsocn*, *griðbryce*, and *forsteal*—the "reserved pleas" found in II Cnut—represent an attempt by the king to reassert royal authority. The author continues by summarizing the generally well-received criticism of this position by Naomi Hurnard who, in a 1949 article, argued that these crimes instead should be regarded as minor, emendable offenses among a host of other "royal pleas" he sought to defend explicitly, since they were among the likeliest to be usurped by local lords. Wormald not only accepted Hurnard's arguments enthusiastically but expanded them as well, helping to solidify a belief about the significance of these "royal pleas" that Lambert claims to be false.

To begin, Lambert demonstrates the weaknesses in Hurnard's (and to a lesser extent Wormald's) argument, convincingly showing that their assessments rely on a circumstantial, dubious reading of a passage in the *Leges Henrici Primi* and a startlingly small amount of positive evidence from the charters, almost all of which can be challenged under close analysis. Thus, while Lambert fails to refute Hurnard's argument, he successfully points out its substantial weaknesses. He then offers an alternative reading of the evidence. Namely, Lambert argues that in the context of other, more clearly-formulated statements of the same issues in the *Leges Henrici Primi*, we should more properly regard Cnut's claim to these

"royal pleas" as an attempt on the king's part to increase his authority. That said, Lambert is quick to point out that he is not calling for a revival of Maitland's position, that is, that these "royal pleas" represent a straightforward attempt by Cnut to expand his authority at the expense of local usurpers. Rather, he convincingly argues that that the crimes Cnut reserved to himself to punish under his own authority should be regarded as a royal attempt to regulate certain kinds of violent crime, not at the expense of local authority, but rather as part of a network of authorities in Anglo-Saxon England working simultaneously to address these issues. In the end, he concludes: "What we see here, I think, is an impressive expansion of royal jurisdiction over violence. The crown was still far from having a monopoly but by Cnut's day it must have been very difficult indeed to kill a wary enemy without breaching one of the king's protections" (171). Surely, Lambert's reassessment of Cnut's "royal pleas" must be considered deeply as future scholars reconsider the history of Anglo-Saxon legal institutions.

In addition to the essays in *English Law Before Magna Carta*, several more articles were written on legal matters. Addressing the topic of Alfred's long-neglected Mosaic Prologue, Stefan Jurasinki points out in "Violence, Penance, and Secular Law in Alfred's Mosaic Prologue," *The Haskins Society Journal* 22: 25–42, that historically, there has been a sense that the Prologue, based on Exodus, was somehow extraneous from both the corpus of Alfredian translations (whatever is taken to be part of that corpus) and Alfred's law code itself. The theory that Alfred was attempting to bring Mosaic law into accord with Germanic tradition may well explain some of the changes that are made to the translation from Exodus, but we should also remember the ways in which Alfred introduced penance or other ecclesiastical penalties into what had been exclusively secular penalties. In such instances, rather than bringing Exodus into line with secular tradition, Alfred seems to be bringing it into line with the pastoral theology current in the late ninth century. An especially clear demonstration of this comes when Alfred's Prologue follows pastoral teaching in punishing the anger that led a master to beat a slave to the point of death, rather than following the Anglo-Saxon and broader Germanic precedent for treating a slave as moveable property that could be used to pay a debt.

Two articles considering Wulfstan in his role as legislator are considered in this section. In the first of these, "Ghaerbald's *First Capitulary*, the *Excerptiones Pseudo-Ecgberhti*, and the Sources of Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar*," *N&Q* 57: 161–5, Michael Elliot points out that *The First Capitulary* of Bishop Ghaerbald of Liège was often copied with Pseudo-Ecgberht's *Excerptiones*. Unlike modern scholars, however, Anglo-Saxons seem to have recognized that *Capit. I* was a separate text, by a different author. Elliot uses Wulfstan's *Canons of Edgar* as an illustrative example: when Wulfstan drew on the "B" recension of the *Excerptiones* for his *Canons of Edgar*, he seemed to treat *Capit. I* as a distinct source, rather than as part of the *Excerptiones B*. Elliot also calls for further work on several of Wulfstan's early non-homiletic texts.

In the second article addressing Wulfstan's legal activities, "Evidence for Wulfstan's Authorship of the Old English *Að*," *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 111: 43–54, Andrew Rabin extends the results of a 1950 article by Dorothy Bethurum to demonstrate that the language of the legal tract *Að* is most consistent with the language of Wulfstan and that the tract was most likely written by Wulfstan. The case for Wulfstan's authorship is stronger in the second clause of *Að* than for the first, but Rabin notes that the text reflects some of the thematic content familiar from Wulfstan's known works. Moreover, it is likely that the text can be placed early in Wulfstan's forays into legal writing.

Two more items address topics that—while not strictly concerned with law—fit broadly into that category. First, Allen J. Frantzen's freely accessible electronic resource, "The Anglo-Saxon Penitentials: A Cultural Database," <http://www.anglo-saxon.net/penance/>, is a welcome contribution to the field and will be of use primarily to those seeking a thorough introduction to these often-neglected documents. Seemingly, the database is intended to appeal to graduate students and scholars of Old English who focus on other kinds of texts but who desire to learn more about the penitentials. Let me begin by emphasizing the wealth of information that is available in this database, all of it of high quality. It is divided into six main categories, which, for the most part, provide useful introductions to the topics they label: texts, translations, manuscripts, cultural index, background, and bibliography—in addition to an introduction and a credits page.

That said, certain criticisms do apply, which can be addressed as the site evolves. First, in the experience of this reviewer, the organization overall was often not intuitive, a matter which might be ameliorated somewhat by changing the labels in the menu options. For example—somewhat oddly—the author apparently means the same thing by the options "texts" and "manuscripts," both of which ultimately direct the user to diplomatic transcriptions of individual manuscript witnesses. Second, the background section is quite abbreviated; one is left wanting more. Third, the bibliography includes some very general items that treat the topic of penitentials only tangentially (Patrick Wormald's *The*

Making of English Law is a case in point) and is already a bit out of date (R.D. Fulk and Stefan Jurasinksi's EETS 2012 edition of the Canons of Theodore, to take a prominent example, has not been added, leaving one to wonder if the site is being regularly updated). All such criticisms aside, the site has some interesting and eminently useful features. Most of all, the cultural index, which marshals canons from all the texts under topical headings, such as (to take a few examples) animals, children, emotions, and sex, invites new connections within the subject matter. Without question, this database will be of great use to students of the topic, especially once its glitches are resolved; for example, although the site directs interested users to open the site in Firefox, numerous problems with the display remain even in that platform. This reviewer, to be sure, certainly hopes that the author will continue maintaining and developing this resource.

Next, in an unpublished Arizona State University M.A. thesis, "The Performativity of the Written Word in Two Anglo-Saxon Wills," Kasandra M. Castle focuses on the vernacular will of King Alfred and the Latin will of Æðelric (dated to 804). She argues that these two wills speak to a period in which the oral ceremony and the written document cannot be separated. Castle nevertheless reads the two wills as moving towards the period when the written document will be uniquely dispositive, pointing to various features in the will of Alfred that seem to place the written will on an equal level of importance with the oral ceremony of laying out his intentions. Æðelric's earlier will shows even greater reliance on primarily oral procedures in order to lend a performative quality to the written document. The thesis includes transcriptions and translations of the two documents.

Æthelred II

Despite the imminent millennial anniversary of his reinstatement to the throne, only one publication this year dealt with Æthelred II, Andreas Lemke's "'Ealle þas ungesælða us gelumpon þuruh unrædas': Voices from the Reign of Æthelred II," *Von Æthelred zum Mann im Mond: Forschungsarbeiten aus der englischen Mediävistik*, ed. Janna Müller and Frauke Reitemeier (Göttingen: Göttingen Niedersächsische Staats- und Universitätsbibliothek), 13–121. This master's thesis examines source materials from the reign of Æthelred II, with a view to the effects of the Danish invasions on the perception of the king's reign. Lemke particularly seeks out sources that might refute the traditional perception of the king as weak and incompetent. The compiler of the Chronicle during this period appears to take a dim view of the king's abilities, but it would be wise to consider the wide range of alternative sources. The evidence of the Chronicle is that royal presence on the battlefield has a powerful effect on the morale and fighting power of the army, but the compiler of the Chronicle in this period (probably working retrospectively and fitting events to a later narrative of national defeat) tended to decontextualize many of Æthelred's actions. Lemke suggests that one way of reading the Chronicle account of Æthelred's reign is as a lesson in how not to handle the Scandinavian incursions, a lesson meant to provide hope for a rightful return to Anglo-Saxon self-rule. If this wish for Anglo-Saxon rule of Anglo-Saxon England could not be voiced openly under the Danish, then perhaps the best way of communicating the lessons of the past is under the guise of harsh condemnation, and the chronicler seems to have laid store by the possible return of the exiled æthelings of the House of Wessex.

The continued production of charters during the latter part of Æthelred's reign suggests that the government was indeed still functioning and that, crucially, the king was working to shore up his sphere of influence in more remote and potentially Danish-leaning parts of the kingdom, such as Northumbria. Similarly, the legislation issued during Æthelred's reign bears witness to a robust legislative process, and the king also maintained "firm control" of the monetary system, which remained remarkably stable throughout his reign, with the exception of the tumultuous year 1015 (75).

Lemke uses other writings from the period to provide a fuller context for his argument. The early writings of Ælfric show a preference for spiritual guidance and obedience over physical warfare, but some of his later works seem to emphasize the duty to defend the country, though always in the context of pious behavior. Wulfstan also emphasizes spiritual matters by asserting in the *Sermo lupi* that English defeats have come about through sin, thereby placing blame not with incompetent governance, but with the Anglo-Saxon people. Lemke also treats *The Battle of Maldon* and the Old English *Promissio regis* briefly, but it is more difficult to draw clear conclusions from these texts. Lemke concludes that rather than showing a uniformly or even overwhelmingly disapproving set of critiques of Æthelred, the sources from Æthelred's reign in fact display a resolve to carefully analyze past experiences and to persevere in a struggle to defend the kingdom. In other words, there is little to suggest that contemporaries viewed Æthelred as "unready."

Anglo-Saxon Perceptions of the East

Two articles this year might loosely be grouped together based on their treatment of Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the East. In the first, "Wonders and Wisdom: Anglo-

Saxons and the East," *ES* 91: 360–73, Heide Estes offers an intriguing assessment of the Anglo-Saxon preoccupation with the "East" by using the Old English texts found in London, British Library MS, Cotton Tiberius, B.v for illustration. She argues that the Anglo-Saxon understanding of the East "depended upon Biblical exegesis, saints' lives, and other texts derived from Latin sources," especially Augustine's *De Civitate Dei* and Isidore's *Etymologiae* (361). For Estes, the "East" is a significant concept in Anglo-Saxon texts deserving of further exploration because it simultaneously defines the roots of Anglo-Saxon society while it offers fantastical Others that function as antagonistic avatars to that society, beings who represent, in their grotesqueness, the lack of permanence and stability that the Anglo-Saxon community longed for.

The first part of Estes's piece assesses the depiction of the East in medieval maps of the world, and she focuses on the example of the "Cottonian" world map found in Cotton Tiberius, B.v, which "contains actual Asian places and geographical features . . . alongside such curiosities as Noah's Ar[k] gryphons, and Gog and Magog" (363). Then, Estes shifts her analysis to a detailed discussion of the other materials in the Cotton Tiberius codex, beginning with the *Wonders of the East*, which yields numerous fantastic Anglo-Saxon interpretations of the beasts of that region. Estes offers an intriguing assessment of the treatment of gender in the text, discussing the kinds of "monstrous females" depicted there and arguing that the "specifically feminine categories of monstrosity indicates that gender is perceived as a category of difference and, simultaneously, suggests that the conception and ideology of difference itself is gendered in Anglo-Saxon England" (364). Indeed, this particular exploration of gender in Anglo-Saxon texts occupies the larger part of the essay. Estes cultivates it by citing Jerome's theories of "male normative" gender, by incorporating Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's assessment of the originary and inimical role of the monster in English history, and by comparing the giving of women as gifts in the *Wonders of the East* to the other "groups [in the text] comprised solely of women, who are under no masculine power and whose humanity is suspect" (365). Ultimately, Estes argues convincingly that the *Wonders of the East* "works to establish clear boundaries between masculine and feminine in terms of acceptable social roles as well as of physical configuration" (66).

The remainder of the essay includes an analysis of the other texts in the Cotton Tiberius manuscript. Estes addresses the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle*, describing Alexander's trials and travails in his travels through Asia; the "women who resemble men . . . [who] fall into the realm of dubious humanity"; and the Asian King Porus's surrender of his weapons, and thus his masculinity, to the hyper-masculinized Alexander (367). She considers the *Life of St. Christopher* in which "a monstrous Asian, a being of dubious humanity with a dog's head and without the capacity of speech . . . accepts faith and brings it to Europe, where he is responsible for the conversion to Christianity of European men," and the Old English poem *Judith* in which "the tropes of femininity, Jewishness, and eastern setting intersect in their figuration as simultaneously originary and menacing" (368–69). Estes ends her analysis with a discussion of *Beowulf,* its contextualization with the other materials in the manuscript, the monstrosity of the eponymous protagonist, and the masculinity of Grendel's mother. Ultimately, Estes concludes that, in the Cotton Tiberius B.v codex, "'The East' . . . is a place of the imagination . . . a realm whose wild characters and characteristics opposed the wished-for stability of roles and functions 'at home' among the English" (372).

In the second of two articles addressing matters bearing on Anglo-Saxon perceptions of the East, "'If One Who Is Loved Is Not Present, A Letter May Be Embraced Instead': Death and the Letter of Alexander to Aristotle," *JEGP* 61: 373–86, Susan M. Kim addresses the *Letter of Alexander to Aristotle* from a literary point of view. Her essay considers the *Letter* not primarily as a monster narrative, as recent treatments have done in seeking to situate the text among its manuscript neighbors, but rather as a meditation upon the implications of literacy for the writing subject (in the psychoanalytic/critical-theory sense). The essay is somewhat dismissive of the *Letter*'s relationship to monsters, especially given the graphic unboundedness of the monsters and marvels depicted in the adjacent *Wonders of the East*, which may have been intended to supply some of the orientalized monstrosity Alexander is so keen to dominate. But the essay does track the text's anxieties and defiant resistances to the death and displacement associated with writing. As writing opens up the possibility of communication at far distances and of knowledge about foreign lands, it also implies the possibility of communication after one's own death, of one's words separated from their speaker. In Alexander's case, writing at once defies and expresses knowledge of the writer's imminent doom. The *Letter* in this light takes on the heroic-cum-elegiac tones familiar from other Anglo-Saxon texts, from *Beowulf* to "The Wanderer" and "The Seafarer."

The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English

Three contributions to the *Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Elaine Treharne and Greg Walker (Oxford: Oxford UP), touch on matters relating to Old English prose. First, in her article entitled, "Textual Copying and Transmission," Orietta Da Rold explores the possibilities, and the inherent difficulties, in attempting to analyze "the transmission of medieval texts in their manuscript culture" (33). This second chapter of the *Oxford Handbook* explores the authorial anxieties apparent in the works of Ælfric and Chaucer, the relationships between those authors and the scribes who copied their work, the milieus in which the manuscripts for those authors were produced, and the significance of concepts like "textual integrity, functionality, and usage" to the larger discussion of material culture in the medieval period (34). Throughout the piece, Da Rold offers close readings of primary material in an attempt to discern what those authors might have known or not known about the subsequent transmission of their texts, and then combines those accounts with brief, helpful assessments on the state of scribal culture in the medieval period and the current scholarship in the field of medieval manuscript culture.

Da Rold begins her article with a brief description of Robert Darnton's theory of the "Communication Circuit," which includes the author, the publisher, the printer, the shipper, the bookseller, and the reader in circular proximity to each other. It is Da Rold's point that "[w]ith minor adjustments, [Darnton's theory] should apply to all periods in the history of the printed book" (35). She then begins to deploy this theory by focusing on the relationship between authors and scribes and by discussing the anxiety apparent in Ælfric's preface to the first series of *Catholic Homilies*, when he patently expresses his concerns about the "preservation of authorial intention" in the subsequent scribal transmission of his texts (37). Da Rold writes that "Ælfric is the first author in English to show a preoccupation with the transmission of his work . . . He does not wish to be blamed for any mistakes due to careless scribes . . . But Ælfric's directions contextualize a book culture in which variation and differentiation is expected, although uniformity is what an author wishes for" (39). For contrast, Da Rold then shifts her discussion to Chaucer and his address to *Adam Scriveyn* and points out that, unlike Ælfric, Chaucer expresses his authorial anxiety in terms of linguistic variance rather than scribal error, when he "talks about a recognized variety in English and thus worries about possible errors which might lead scribes to 'myswrite' or 'mysmetre' his book" (41–2).

Da Rold then addresses the relationship between scribes and authors in the medieval period but openly acknowledges the difficulty of that kind of study given the dearth of evidence and scholarship in the field. She does, however, recount the important work of Clemoes in his analysis of the development and localization of manuscripts pertaining to Ælfric's first series of *Catholic Homilies* and posits the need for that kind of further investigation into the transmission of medieval texts. By way of modeling this kind of work, Da Rold briefly explores the codicology of Cambridge University Library Ii.1.33, a manuscript containing the first series of *Catholic Homilies*, and some manuscripts of Chaucer's *Canterbury Tales.* After these case studies, Da Rold concludes that "more work is needed on the association of these specific examples within the wider book culture for other known and anonymous authors across the Middle Ages, so that Darnton's communication circuit can be suitably applied, modified, and understood for the history of the medieval book and its literary milieux" (48, 51).

Next, in "Writing, Authority, and Bureaucracy," the fourth chapter from the *Oxford Handbook,* Nicholas Perkins explores the intersection between the written text, political and religious authority, and social bureaucracy from the Anglo-Saxon period to the fifteenth century. The essay is split into five segments that "explore how relationships of power are staged or created in the productive interplay between bureaucratic repetition and the imagination" (69). Perkins's essay is at once articulate and compelling, and the premise from which it operates is an intriguing one. After an initial segment titled "Contexts," in which Perkins offers the analytical framework for his argument, he proceeds to assess the "relationships between spoken and written languages, authoritative structures and religious practice" in texts from the Anglo-Saxon period. In this second segment, titled "Early Administration," Perkins concentrates the bulk of his attention on texts that at once record and provide social continuity. He addresses the significance of genealogies and the marks on Grendel's body in *Beowulf*; offers a fascinating example of a "text of account" in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica Gentis Anglorum*; in which a Mercian layman relates his harrowing vision of the after-life; and includes a discussion of the Anglo-Saxon *liber vitae,* which assures the heavenly place of monastic patrons by providing a physical and spiritual account of their benefices. All of these texts, Perkins writes, "richly suggest the interlinked relationships of authority with writing and bureaucratic processes in early English contexts, where accounting is a telling metaphor for judgement and authoritative discourse" (74).

In the third segment titled "Recording Authority,"

Perkins remarks on texts spanning the early Norman period to the High Middle Ages and begins by assessing the political and social significance of the Domesday Book; the emergence of legal compendia; and the "growth of written procedure in the royal administration," exemplified by FitzNigel's *Dialogus* (76). Perkins's discussion then turns to *The Owl and the Nightingale,* a thirteenth-century poem that is "steeped in ethical, intellectual, but also legal and bureaucratic discourse" and to the dangers—and potential unreliability—of the written word, exemplified by the tale of forgery reported in the twelfth-century *Chronicle of the Abbey of Bury St. Edmunds* by Jocelyn and the narrative turns produced by textual tampering in medieval romances like the Breton lai *Emaré* (78). These texts, Perkins argues, exemplify the connection between the political, social, and written realms, and he posits that, "By the late fourteenth century, conditions were in place for a particularly close engagement between bureaucratic practice, forms of written authority and imaginative work" (80).

In the fourth segment, titled the "The Bureaucracy of Love," Perkins addresses the "dual processes of writing and loving" so prevalent in works like Chaucer's *Complaint to his Purse* and *Complaint unto Pity,* which combine the employment of petitions and bills (mechanisms of fourteenth-century administration) with the poetic rhetoric of supplication and grievance. The last segment, "Scribal Labour," addresses the interconnectedness between administrative documentation and the imaginative product in terms of the career of Thomas Hoccleve, whose poetry "was extremely sensitized to the relations between the specifics of scribal labour and authoritative power of documents on the one hand, and persuasive, sometimes marginal voices on the other" (83). Ultimately, Perkins ends his essay by calling into question the theory posited by M.T. Clanchy, who differentiated between bureaucracy and the development of lay literacy and education in England, arguing contrarily that "medieval literature often revels in mingling pragmatic and imaginative forms or desires. Medieval practices of bureaucracy, then, can help us to ask certain questions . . . of texts across traditional period boundaries" (84).

Finally, in the eleventh chapter of the *Oxford Handbook*, Bella Millet considers the Old English sermon in "Change and Continuity: The English Sermon before 1250," 221–39. Here, Millett surveys the homiletic or sermon tradition from the tenth century, the period of the earliest extant vernacular collections, to the mid-thirteenth century, when Old English became unintelligible and "the last direct links with the pre-Conquest sermon had been broken" (236). Millet chooses sermon over homily as perhaps a more general term, though she helpfully sketches the traditional difference between homilies per se, which explicate a scriptural passage, and sermons—a later innovation—which are organized around a theme. The earliest sermons in English were compiled in anonymous collections represented by the Blickling Homilies and the sermons of the Vercelli Book. These show multiple influences ranging from Latin patristic writing to Irish exegesis to the vernacular poetic tradition. The style is "often highly wrought" and uses rhythms and poetic devices such as alliteration borrowed from the poetic tradition. Millett locates the impetus to write sermons in the vernacular (unique in Europe during this period) with Alfred's response to Viking incursion, specifically his program of translation into the vernacular as a stopgap to redress the erosion of learning. The sermon collections of the two famous Anglo-Saxon vernacular homilists, Ælfric and Wulfstan, represent in some respects the taming of the vernacular sermon, bringing it into step with especially Ælfric's punctilious orthodoxy. Stylistically, however, these writers, too, saw fit to employ devices from vernacular poetry as well as the same sources as the earlier anonymous sermons. In other words, the major difference between the sermons of the named writers and the anonymous sermons is that the former have known authors and the latter do not. The Norman Conquest saw the replacement of Anglo-Saxon abbots with ones from the continent, and the fall of English as a language fit to record. The few collections that exist in the couple of centuries after the Conquest draw heavily on pre-Conquest sermons, and have been taken variously as backwards-looking or instead progressive attempts at "literary resistance" on the part of English monks under occupation and faced with ongoing political change.

Some of these sermons bear the impress of having been intended for a monastic audience while others seem intended for a more general audience. According to Millett, "these monastic sermon-collections look back to the pre-Conquest vernacular sermon tradition, but they also show a pragmatic willingness to draw on newer Latin sources—often associated with Anselm and his circle—to meet the needs of their different audiences" (230). In some cases, "older and newer traditions are combined within the same sermon" (230). The early Middle English sermon style shows a break from the pre-Conquest, Anglo-Saxon tradition in adopting some of the new recommendations from the Third and Fourth Lateran Councils, which were meant to more effectively organize sermons to appeal to the laity. In addition, the appearance of preaching friars further encouraged the development of the new, more appealing style. The new sermons that emerge show little interest in archaizing

vernacularity and instead innovate with syllabic lines and rhyme that show the influence of continental and Anglo-Norman writing.

The *Ancrene Wisse* group is the last group of sermon texts treated by Millett, and its mixing of both pre-Conquest and newer preaching methods is evidence that "the demarcation between older and newer preaching traditions in the early Middle English period may have been less sharp than has sometimes been assumed" (235). Indeed:

> pre-Conquest sermon material continued to be copied, adapted, and imitated until the early thirteenth century, but from the mid-twelfth century onwards it coexisted with other types of homiletic writing. English writers were experimenting with new preaching materials and methods well before the Fourth Lateran Council of 1215; sometimes works reflecting both older and newer preaching traditions are juxtaposed in the same sermon-collection, indicating that they were current in the same milieu, and sometimes both traditions are integrated within a single work . . . The coexistence of older and newer preaching traditions in the post-Conquest period was no more than temporary . . . but . . . the variety of the material which survives to us suggests a pragmatic and sometimes creative response to political, institutional, and linguistic change. (236)

Varia

A work that defies easy classification is Kenichi Tamoto's *Learning in Mediaeval England (600–1100): A Medley of Philological Studies in Anglo-Saxon Literature* (Saarbrücken: VDM). In this volume, Tamoto offers yet another type of study, a collection—or a "medley" in the words of the author—of writings, mostly about the Anglo-Saxon corpus and the history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship. There is no larger organizing principle. In the author's words, "the present writer would like the readers nostalgically to enjoy the fruit of the Anglo-Saxon learning." The introduction gives a history of Anglo-Saxon scholarship from the Early Modern period. Chapter one surveys Anglo-Latin authors. Chapter two discusses the Old English glosses in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Chapter three describes a transcription done by Junius of excerpts from the Rushworth Gospels (MS Junius 76). Chapter four discusses a piece of marginalia in the Lindisfarne Gospels. Chapter five surveys known authors in Old English. Chapter six discusses loan words and cross-cultural influences in Old English, particularly in Ælfric. Chapter seven considers the style of Ælfric's homily on Judith. Chapter eight explores the significance of the absence of "lily" in Ælfric's description of Judith's adornments. Chapter nine considers the word *hagustealdd* and its truncated appearance in place-names. Chapter ten muses on the socio-linguistic function of proper names, drawing in part on the author's personal experiences. The work seems meant for a readership entirely unfamiliar with Anglo-Saxon studies. Enjoining readers to nostalgia and "national studies" indicates that the volume was not intended primarily for a scholarly audience, yet some of the topics are so specific one cannot imagine their appeal for general readers.

Dissertations

A number of important dissertations on Old English prose-related topics were produced this year. Emily Elisabeth Butler's University of Toronto doctoral dissertation, "Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England" investigates the formation and functioning of "textual communities" in medieval and early modern England. Butler suggests a new understanding of the term "textual community" and applies the concept to five case studies which relate to one or more actants and their role(s) in the formation a textual community: (1) Bede, (2) King Alfred and his grandson Æthelstan, (3) Ælfric and Wulfstan, (4) the Worcester Tremulous Hand, and (5) Archbishop Matthew Parker. In each of these case studies Butler tries to show that "linguistic distance" plays a key role.

Butler's introductory chapter aims at defining the concept of textual community. Starting with Augustine's *De doctrina christiana*, the chapter discusses theorists such as Brian Stock (1983, 1990), Stanley Fish (1980), and Martin Irvine (1990), and specifies Butler's take on textual community as opposed to that of her predecessors. Two "important contentions" are that "a textual community can function diachronically" and that textual communities "are formed by textual activity beyond writing itself (whether it be composing or recording), including reading, glossing, adapting, translating, selecting and preserving" (9–10).

Each of the five case studies is interesting and informative, and all give evidence of wide reading. In each, Butler emphasizes "linguistic distance" as a key aspect of the textual community—a concept which emerges in different guises in the various communities discussed. Thus, Bede's sources included not only Italian and Irish texts written in Latin but also texts and ideas from traditions further afield. Alfred and Æthelstan functioned as bookish spiders in a web of texts that would inform English textual culture in the centuries after their deaths. Many of these texts were translations from Latin. Ælfric and Wulfstan provided a corpus of texts whose reception and appreciation stretched beyond England and beyond Old English. The Worcester Tremulous Hand

is identified as a central figure in a West Midlands textual community, who coped with the linguistic distance between Old English, Middle English, and Latin. And finally, Archbishop Matthew Parker was the pivotal figure in a textual community that tried to bridge the linguistic distance between Old and Modern English in order to apply Anglo-Saxon wisdom to sixteenth-century religious strife and nation building. Parker's ideas are illustrated with the help of a translation of his 1574 preface to his *Ælfridi regis res gestae*.

In her conclusion, Butler provides a synthesis of the results of her five case studies, which are all linked in more than one way. Thus, King Alfred "translated" the *Regula pastoralis* of Gregory the Great, "who was admired and cited by Bede" (201). At the same time, Alfred functioned as a model for Parker, whose own program aimed to spread earlier—i.e. Old English—scholarship. The five textual communities thus merge into a continuum of textual tradition in which linguistic distances are constantly bridged.

Another contribution covering a wide range of texts was Rosa Maria Fera's 2009 University of Cambridge doctoral dissertation, "Seeing the Light: Understanding Vision in Old English Prose." Fera's dissertation investigates sight in Old English prose, as one of the five senses, which is used metaphorically to symbolize the eye of the mind or to cause the illumination of the soul. In three chapters she provides a detailed and scholarly discussion of this topic with a great number of relevant citations from Latin and Old English texts and with ample recourse to secondary literature. Fera concentrates entirely on Old English prose and has divided her corpus into Alfredian and Ælfrician prose. In addition, she spends some pages on interlinear glosses as a prose genre that is relevant because of its direct and visible translations.

In her first chapter, Fera discusses the five senses in Old English prose with reference to classical and patristic ideas about the symbolic and metaphorical application of the senses. The chapter is well structured and first discusses the significance of the inner and outer senses before continuing with the representation of the senses as inanimate objects, zoomorphic shapes, and anthropomorphic representations. The latter section also contains an excursus on the iconographic importance of the Fuller Brooch, which is relevant to the theme of the book but somewhat out of place in the chapter. Subsequently, Chapter I turns to divergent translation techniques and the resulting lexical representations of the five senses. It turns out that the Old English *Boethius* and the translation of Augustine's *Soliloquia* provide the most fruitful quarry of Anglo-Saxon ideas about the five senses because the translators—whoever they were—engaged intensively with philosophical and patristic ideas. The emphases on the lexical aspect of this type of research and on translator's techniques provide a solid basis for what is to come in the subsequent chapters.

Fera's investigation shows that in an Anglo-Saxon context sight is more prominent than the other senses; "eye" was even used as a general term for the senses, reflecting the function of the other four senses as the eyes of the mind. The order of the senses as found in the works of Gregory the Great, starting with taste, became standard in England only with Ælfric. Having established the importance of sight, Fera continues with the discussion of sight in Alfredian prose, which she considers in the context of its use as a metaphor for knowledge acquisition. This chapter is the longest in the dissertation and focuses on the Old English *Boethius* and, especially, the *Soliloquies*, which is discussed in great detail. Steeped in Neoplatonic thought, Augustine's ideas about the *visio corporalis*, *visio spiritualis*, and *visio intellectualis* provide the basis for Fera's discussion, which takes the reader through the complexities of Anglo-Saxon prose and considers the possible influence of Frankish mysticism and the Augustinian theory of the visual ray. Whereas in Alfredian prose sight symbolized knowledge acquisition and spiritual illumination, in the chapter on Ælfric's works, the discussion shifts to sight as belief and to the opposite of sight, blindness, as a metaphor for the absence of faith. Intellectually less challenging, Ælfric uses the metaphor of sight effectively in his role as a preacher, teacher, and advocate of orthodoxy. Fera's dissertation is interesting, informative, well structured, and well documented, and she provides a sound treatment of her subject, with many additional perks such as the consideration of pictorial representations of the senses.

Also considering a wide range of documents was Aleisha Olson's University of York dissertation, "Textual Representations of Almsgiving in Late Anglo-Saxon England." Here, Olson addresses "the textual references to almsgiving in the homilies, law codes, wills and charters of the tenth and eleventh centuries in order to determine first, how almsgiving was conceptualised by ecclesiastical authorities, and second, how almsgiving by the laity was understood to function in society" (2). Olson's treatment of the subject matter is methodical and balanced, and the texts that she has chosen for her study are sufficient for her purpose. Hers is a broad conception of the connections between late Anglo-Saxon textual representations of almsgiving and actual charitable practices, and her fundamental thesis, namely "that almsgiving played a vital part in lay devotional practice" is not one that can be disputed (2).

The contents of the five chapters of the dissertation can be summarized as follows. In the first chapter, the "Introduction," Olson offers a historiographical and literary exploration of almsgiving in Anglo-Saxon England, assessing the descriptions of the practice offered in texts such as the poem *Alms-giving*, Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, Ælfric's sermon titled *Cathedra sancti petri*, and the tenth-century legal texts such as the law code titled *I Edmund* and the will of Æthelgifu. She outlines the limitations and methodology of her project, ultimately arguing that in the Anglo-Saxon period "almsgiving should be situated . . . [within] the relative functions of wealth and poverty, the importance of secular display and the fundamental nature of gift-exchange in society" (74). In the second chapter, "The Promotion of Almsgiving," Olson turns her attention to the incentives and prescriptions for almsgiving outlined in tenth- and eleventh-century homilies. She discusses Ælfric's two series of *Catholic Homilies*, his *Lives of Saints*, and his *Supplementary* Homilies; the Latin and Old English homilies of Wulfstan; and the homiletic materials in the Blickling and Vercelli books, positing that these texts encourage the lay audience "to give alms in certain ways at certain times of the year in order to assert their piety" (145).

In the third chapter, "The Legislation of Almsgiving," Olsen compellingly discusses the status of almsgiving in the Anglo-Saxon law codes of the same period. Her coverage of the issue is extensive, ranging from a discussion of the biblical injunctions found in the laws of Ine contained in Alfred's *domboc* to an assessment of the moral and legal obligations outlined by *VI-VIII Æthelred* and *I-II Cnut*. At the end of her investigations, Olson finds that "the progression of legislation on church dues demonstrates that ideas of almsgiving and a reciprocal gift-exchange relationship with God had penetrated the secular aspects of society more deeply than had been visible in . . . the homiletic texts" (196). In the fourth chapter of the dissertation, "The Perception of Almsgiving," Olson addresses the ways in which single acts of almsgiving were chronicled in the charters and wills of the tenth and eleventh centuries, focusing on the specialized vocabulary of charity within those documents. Olson offers numerous textual examples of individual bequests and donations and persuasively, though cautiously, posits the connection between those gifts and the nature of lay devotion and belief in salvation during this time period. Olson's conclusion delivers on what it promises. She provides a concise summary and synthesis of the subjects and findings covered in her treatise and ends by asserting that "almsgiving was an intrinsic part of late Anglo-Saxon society, both religious and secular, influencing the ways in which the laity were encouraged to display their Christian piety, seek forgiveness for their sins, distribute their possessions and render payments to their churches" (277).

A particularly interesting contribution that likewise covers a wide range of documents was Jordan Zweck's Yale dissertation, "Letters from Heaven in the British Isles, 800–1500." It examines an important and neglected series of texts, the so-called *Sunday Letter* tradition, an epistolary sermon on the importance of keeping the sabbath believed to have been written, variously, by God or Jesus and transmitted directly to man sometime in late antiquity. Her dissertation focuses primarily on the reception and treatment of this textual tradition in England, particularly Anglo-Saxon England, from the ninth century and continuing on to the sixteenth. Beyond Anglo-Saxon England, she also discusses the tradition of the *Sunday Letter* in medieval Ireland and Iceland and includes a short description of the afterlife of the *Sunday Letter* up to modern times in an epilogue. To be sure, Zweck's dissertation is at its best when she discusses matters relevant to Anglo-Saxon England. That said, her discussion of the *Sunday Letter* tradition in Ireland and Iceland raises pertinent questions and serves to provide a context for the Old English focus of her argument. Most welcome are her translations of the six surviving Old English witnesses of the text.

In her first two chapters, Zweck raises fascinating questions about the circulation and audience of the *Sunday Latter*, with implications for other fields such as sermon, literacy, and communication studies, and which invite further investigation. For example, the exhortation that their messages be spread —found in all Old English *Sunday Letter* sermons—is compared to current-day technological communications that admonish a similar objective. Arrestingly, she states: "Much like modern chain e-mail, these sermons always contain injunctions to their audiences to continue to circulate the message whenever possible. Using the work of D.L. d'Avray, I demonstrate how this command, by blurring the distinction between preacher and audience, enforces and demands the *Letter*'s popularity and, more importantly, creates something like a system of mass communication combining oral and written transmission" (19).

In her third and final chapter, Zweck considers some theoretical implications of her work, including the role of the *Sunday Letter* in forming textual communities and its role as a talismanic object, that is, not as a text per se but as an item that could utilized even by the illiterate to evoke certain kinds of protections. Zweck describes the latter function as follows:

> A textual amulet is a short apotropaic document usually worn on the body. In the post-medieval period,

> the *Sunday Letter* came to be known primarily as an apotropaic object (that is, it promised healing or protection for those who came into contact with it), but of the medieval vernacular *Letters* I have surveyed, only one Middle English example is apotropaic. None of the Old English *Sunday Letters* seems to be. In the Old English *Letters*, whether one receives the reward of heaven or the poisons and gnats is entirely dependent on one's own behavior, and the behavior of one's community. (87)

This observation leads into a discussion of the role of form and function in texts like the *Sunday Letter*, inspired in part by recent work on legal documents. Ultimately, Zweck concludes: "It might be most useful to think of these Old English *Letters* as early examples of the chain letter: by a combination of threats and promises, the chain letter inspires its recipient not just to make a single copy, but to make multiple copies (or, in the twenty-first century, to forward the chain email to a predetermined and often dismayingly large number of recipients)" (89). This chapter ends with a discussion of the implications of these theoretical points as regards the *Sunday Letter* sermons in Anglo-Saxon England and in Middle English, culminating with a close examination of the *Sunday Letter* poem found in John Audelay's manuscript, Oxford, Bodleian Library MS Douce 302.

Zweck's dissertation covers a great deal of historical and cultural ground in a relatively short space; the full text, with appendices, notes, and bibliography comes to just over one hundred and ninety-nine pages. That said, the questions she raises will interest scholars in a number of fields outside of her particular specialty. Without question, she lays solid foundations for future research, which, it is to be hoped, will soon be forthcoming in a more thoroughly developed monograph.

In a somewhat different vein, Scott Thompson Smith explores "the ways in which the Anglo-Saxons used writing—in both its documentary and discursive sense—to establish legitimate and enduring possession of property and in doing so formed longstanding cultural ideas that connected writing and holding land" in his Notre Dame dissertation "Writing Land in Anglo-Saxon England," *DAI* 71 (2). [See his essay "Marking Boundaries: Charters and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" in the edited collection *Reading the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: Language, Literature, History* reviewed above] Smith's treatise is a thought-provoking, innovative discussion of the ways in which land functions as both a trope and an unstable physical possession in a variety of Latin and vernacular Anglo-Saxon texts. Some of the strengths of this work include the author's willingness, and ability, to transverse the boundaries of genre by including a variety of tenurial texts (e.g. royal diplomas, saints' lives, and historical chronicles) in his analyses without resorting to the simplistic classification of the function of land in "literary" versus "practical" written works. In addition, Smith chooses to foreground the content and purpose of charters in his analysis, a genre often relegated to the critical shadows for the abstruse, linguistically florid, or mundane texts that make up that corpus, and, in the process, he sheds some welcome light on the function of these texts and the ways in which they "contribute to, challenge, or extend ideas about holding land in early medieval England" (12). Finally, Smith's treatise covers a variety of textual treatments of the uses and abuses of land in the Anglo-Saxon period. His work includes chapters on the Anglo-Saxon terminology of land ownership, on land as literary motif, on the notion of land possession in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the land as a literary trope in the case study of *Guthlac A* and *Genesis A*.

The contents of the four chapters of the dissertation, comprising over three hundred pages, can be summarized as follows. In the first chapter, "The Terms of Possession," Smith explores "the ways in which Anglo-Saxon legal texts aimed to control the acquisition, use, and transmission of property" (12). As part of that discussion, he focuses on royal diplomas and the terminology inherent in those documents of land possession, particularly the two terms of *bocland* and *lænland*, which express the notions of "eternal possession and temporary lease" respectively (12). In the second chapter, "Storied Land," Smith explores local property disputes rendered in Old English texts and focuses on one particular genre, the *talu*, which is a text that indicates land possession by "incorporating fictional devices such as direct speech and dramatic tableaux . . . [which] frequently construct and then appeal to a simple ethical basis to dictate the fact of possession" (13). In the third chapter, "*Westseaxna Land*: Dynastic Latin in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle," Smith offers a compelling discussion that contextualizes the ideological work of historiography with the genre of the royal diplomas and argues that a primary purpose of the Chronicle is to legitimize "West-Saxon political authority as the natural fulfillment of historical and spiritual destiny" (13). In his final chapter, "Promised Land," Smith addresses "the ways in which vernacular biblical poetry and the lives of saints articulate the relationship between landholding and faith . . . the divine promise of land for the Christian faithful . . . and the disinheritance of the unfaithful," primarily in the texts of *Guthlac A* and *Genesis A* (14).

Focusing on a single document, Larry Swain provides a new and welcome critical edition and assessment of

Ælfric's *Letter to Sigeweard* [hereafter referred to as the *Letter*] in his University of Illinois dissertation, "Ælfric of Eynsham's Letter to Sigeweard: An Edition, Translation and Commentary." This dissertation, spanning almost 400 pages, is a balanced and systematic treatment of Ælfric's eleventh-century epistle to an obscure nobleman known as Sigeweard. Swain is thorough in contextualizing the *Letter* within its social, political, and ecclesiastical milieus, and he is assiduous in his close reading of the issues under discussion in that text; however, he also freely admits when his construal of the evidence is precarious, or when it diverges from more traditional scholarly interpretations of the Ælfrician corpus. Though the *Letter* was edited and published in the 1997 reprint of Crawford's emendations, and though the text was considered by Richard Marsden in his important edition of *The Old English Heptateuch and Ælfric's Libellus de veteri testamento et novo: Volume I* for EETS in 2009, a thorough assessment and commentary of the *Letter* has not hitherto been available to Old English scholars. Swain's work strives to fill this void, and it will certainly be of use to those individuals who work closely with the Ælfrician corpus.

After an introduction to the project in chapter one, Swain offers a second chapter in which he outlines the historical events and social developments of the mid-tenth century that gave shape to the intellectual milieu of Ælfric's *Letter*. Swain contextualizes that work within the ecclesiastical and catechetical traditions of the Benedictine Reform in a compelling, thorough way, and ultimately argues that the *Letter* emerges from the intersections "of the Viking raids during Æthelred's reign . . . [of] the resulting change in how England, monasticism, and the royal house were viewed . . . [of] the Benedictine Reform movement . . . and finally [of] the religious and intellectual tradition of the Reform movement's concerns to use any methods necessary to teach catechism to lay and monk alike" (36).

Chapter three provides an introduction to the *Letter*. Here, Swain enumerates the manuscripts in which the text survives; addresses the issues of authorship, dating, and structure connected to the *Letter*; and contextualizes that material within the larger Ælfrician corpus. The largest share of this chapter, however, is devoted to a discussion of the various themes addressed in the *Letter,* and Swain addresses, in turn, the ways in which the necessity of good deeds, the evils of drunkenness, and the political milieu of eleventh-century England are broached in the text. Swain then turns his attention to discussing Ælfric's process of composing the *Letter*, arguing that the author spent decidedly less time on the *Letter* than on his other written materials. Chapter four assesses the manuscripts, reception, and modern editions of the *Letter* in detail. Chapter five considers the Latin sources for the *Letter*, including a range of patristic texts and the Vulgate, while chapter six addresses the Old English sources for the *Letter*, including the *Genesis*, *Exodus,* and *Daniel* poems found in the Junius 11 manuscript. Chapter seven considers Ælfric's biblical canon in detail, and Swain argues there that, in reflecting on the order of Ælfric's canonical books of the Bible presented in the *Letter*, it is apparent that "Ælfric does not follow any of the common and available patristic orders in his discussion of the Bible" (164). Chapter eight is an interesting reconsideration of the life and career of Ælfric in the light of biographical references the author makes in his written materials and in the *Letter* in particular. Finally, chapters nine, ten, and eleven offer a rigorous, yet accessible, edition, translation, and commentary of the *Letter* itself.

In "Ælfric and the Orient," University of Nevada Las Vegas, Jacqueline Elkouz examines the reasons why Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* uses different saints (notably, many saints from the Orient) than most contemporary Anglo-Saxon lists of saints. In many cases, when Ælfric departs from normal Anglo-Saxon practice in fixing feasts for the *Sanctorale*, he takes saints or their feast dates from Byzantine or Orthodox usage. During the second wave of Viking invasions, Ælfric reminds Anglo-Saxons that they do have Christian heroes among them, following in the footsteps of the early martyrs venerated in the Eastern churches, and that it is never worthwhile to risk one's soul in order to save one's life. Although the thesis takes on a slightly defensive tone when discussing early Christian martyrdom in the Roman Empire and other related topics, Elkouz is able to demonstrate a number of ways in which Ælfric draws upon Eastern traditions in his writings, considering Christianity's status with respect to pagans, Jews, and the temptations of the devil.

Two dissertations treated the rhetoric of the homilies in very disparate ways: Stephen Yeager's University of Toronto dissertation, "Poetic Properties: Legal Forms and Literary Documents in Early English Literature" and Jennifer Randall's Georgia State University dissertation, "Early Medieval Rhetoric: Epideictic Underpinnings in Old English Homilies." In the first of these, Yeager ambitiously spans the Old and Middle English periods, arguing that legal and homiletic discourses were fundamentally interrelated throughout the period. Furthermore, the particular relationship between the two discourses from text to text, and context to context varied according to the needs of a given writer, time, and situation. Yeager finds that later strategies used older ones in complex ways, so that a post-Conquest tradition

of fealty to the past preserved at least nominally but also often stylistically aspects of Anglo-Saxon written culture, with its ethos of orality. In the Middle English politico-homiletic poems Yeager treats, such as *Piers Plowman* and the fragment *Mum and the Sothsegger*, we may find aspects of Wulfstan's homiletic and legal stances toward power, deployed in the circumstances of the fourteenth century. In the words of the author, "This thesis argues that the Middle English alliterative prosody of the *Piers Plowman* tradition was influenced by a discourse combining law, history, homily, and poetry which was inherited from the administrative practices of the Anglo-Saxon period" (ii).

Chapter one argues that Wulfstan combined homiletic rhetoric and legal citation/quotation in composing the codes *I-II Cnut* and embedded direct quotation of existing laws within his customary homiletic language, thus making a powerful case to the king for the autonomy of ecclesiastical institutions based on an appeal to his predecessors. Chapter two considers the post-Conquest Latin translations of Cnut's laws, which reproduce in Latin the sound-patterning characteristic of the original Old English, and in some cases even exceed or add to these effects, signaling that these stylistic devices bore some rhetorical value. Indeed, Yeager asserts that their evocation of Anglo-Saxon oral poetics functioned to assert their link with the Anglo-Saxon past and the authority of its laws and procedures, arguing in their "present" (post-Conquest, increasingly bureaucratized) era for the continued autonomy of local, mostly ecclesiastical institutions. Chapter three explores the sharpening distinction between literary and legal genres in the thirteenth century through the two versions of Lawmon's *Brut*, a poem that echoes Anglo-Saxon rhetorical modes to pose challenges to present power structure by asserting that Anglo-Saxon oral discourse constituted the authentic language of English law, the true law. Chapter four considers variant witnesses to the tradition of the *Life of St. Egwine* in the South English Legendary in order to argue for a "disjunctive" philological approach to editing, one that privilege neither literary-philological notions of recovery of an ur-text nor diplomatic notions of incommensurability. Differing choices among variants, including interpolation and elision, do not necessarily signify alterations to a foundational original, but instead themselves constitute discursive strategies that should be read in relation to one another rather than edited away; all participate in ongoing discourse that is at once editorial and creative, and always responsive to contemporary needs. The fifth and final chapter considers the quasi-legal, quasi-poetic discourse of the *Piers Plowman* tradition (comprising all versions of the poem as well as the fragment *Mum and the Sothsegger*). Strategies of reading developed in the preceding chapters are brought to bear on this tradition to show that all versions of *Piers Plowman* are valid iterations of the poem with different emphases and aims, and that the fragmentary *Mum* is not a radical Wycliffite text, as has been alleged, but rather utilizes the rhetoric of the Anglo-Saxon past to articulate a conservative stance that harkens back to an idealized past instead of advocating specific reforms. Ultimately, "though the poetic fragment is best categorized as a work of literature, the genre of *Mum and the Sothsegger* has its roots in a documentary practice literally as old as the recorded history of medieval England, whose continued impact on both the law and literature of the English-speaking world has yet to be fully assessed" (247).

While Yeager's study carries Old English homiletic writing forward into the Middle English period, Jennifer Randall's Georgia State University dissertation, "Early Medieval Rhetoric: Epideictic Underpinnings in Old English Homilies" looks backward to the classical period. Randall asserts that the classical rhetorical tradition made its way into Anglo-Saxon writing through the vehicle of the scriptures (undoubtedly familiar to Anglo-Saxon writers) because the translations of the scriptures into Greek and Latin were done by writers steeped in the rhetorical tradition. Randall's subsequent readings of Anglo-Saxon texts focus on the epideictic vein of classical rhetoric with its focus on praise of virtue and blame for vice, arguing that rhetoric in the classical period was a tool of the elite establishment and even a class marker in and of itself, and that in the early medieval Christian context it was stripped of its characteristic penchant for adornment and stylistic flourish and instead focused on the plainspoken exhortation to moral living, seizing upon epideictic praise-and-blame as its starkest, simplest framework. Of course this reading of the rhetorical tradition vis-a-vis early medieval praxis would be complicated by recourse to the body of ornate Anglo-Latin writing in the hermeneutic style, but this tradition appears to fall outside the scope of Randall's study, which is focused narrowly on didactic writing, most of it homiletic (although Alfred's translation of the *Cura pastoralis* is included).

The central conceptual flaw of this study is that it fails to take seriously something it mentions in the introduction, that basic rhetorical phenomena such as praise, blame, and the attempt to persuade are human universals; all communities employ language to achieve goals and relate interpersonally. Evidence of rhetoric in the Anglo-Saxon corpus or any corpus is not necessarily evidence of classical inheritance specifically, even when a potential conduit of transmission such as the scrip-

tures can be found. And Randall's focus on the epideictic rhetoric of praise and blame, in addition to a long list of tropes she finds evidence for one by one, blinds her to aspects of Anglo-Saxon textuality that are clearly related to the vernacular tradition, such as when she considers a passage in Alfred's translation of the *CP* that figures sovereignty as a process of steering upon the stormy seas of the mind and ignores the seafaring thematics which clearly partake of the vernacular tradition in favor of the observation that "such an example of extended analogy and allegory represents the rhetorical tropes that come to define Christian as well as early medieval writing and these allegories and analogies truly indicate consideration for audience, word choice, and word placement, all of which are classic rhetorical issues inherited, preserved, and carried into the medieval world" (163). Few would accept that the Anglo-Saxons were so neglectful of language that mere consideration of word choice and audience must be indicators of classical influence. It is a shame to neglect the evident hybridity in the texts Randall treats so one-sidedly. Her point that Anglo-Saxon writers were using rhetoric with sophistication and purpose is very well taken, but the rhetoric they were using was not solely derived from classical epideictic. A much more nuanced study could have been produced had this been taken seriously and deployed as a methodology of reading.

In general, the study appears throughout to be besotted with the definitional clarity offered by the classical rhetorical tradition. It never considers the likelihood of rhetoric being a linguistic universal and instead applies itself to finding and identifying classical rhetorical structures in vernacular Old English writing, even when such native elements as alliteration and interlace are staring us all in the face. Thus it lacks solid conceptual grounds. Randall's final sentence states, "any individual, at any time, can be inspired to use their words to awaken others' emotions and change the world, and this is the legacy of early medieval rhetoric" (309). The study cannot sustain such a claim. In addition, it must be pointed out that both this study and another in this group, Yeager's "Poetic Properties," confuse the terms *prescriptive* and *proscriptive* consistently, and this is alarming and potentially very confusing when the studies are concerned with the recommended versus prohibited demarcations of legal texts on the one hand and what to praise versus what to blame, on the other.

One dissertation this year addressed Anglo-Saxon hagiography. In the field of Anglo-Saxon hagiographical studies, the emphasis on local English cults has long eclipsed research into more universally venerated saints. Produced under the direction of Andy Orchard at the University of Toronto's Centre for Medieval Studies, Valerie Susan Heuchan's dissertation, entitled *All Things to All Men: Representations of the Apostle Paul in Anglo-Saxon Literature*, takes some important first steps in addressing this *desideratum* by advancing our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxon Church's understanding and treatment of St. Paul, arguably the most theologically significant and influential of the early apostles. The pervasiveness of Pauline theology and the vast number of references to the apostle's canonical epistles in Anglo-Saxon literature make for a massive undertaking, the scope of which can in no way be managed comprehensively in a single dissertation. With this caveat in mind, Heuchan acquits herself admirably well in providing a broad overview of Paul's influence on Anglo-Saxon writers in both the Latinate and vernacular traditions. Rather than taking up the unwieldy task of tracking down every reference to Paul or his letters, Heuchan wisely chooses to focus on several themes and texts that she feels to be "the most fruitful and intriguing." The resultant work offers some illuminating snapshots into the Anglo-Saxon reception of Paul, which, in turn, begin to build a more encompassing image of the saint's veneration in early medieval England.

The first chapter, "Introduction: Forms of Veneration of the Apostle Paul in Anglo-Saxon England," serves as a competent distillation of previous scholarship, briefly touching upon church dedications, select hymns and prayers drawn from liturgical sources, and a few writings by Bede and Aldhelm that directly address the apostle or reference his epistles. Outside of some perceptive discussion about seventh- and eighth-century conceptions of Paul gleaned from epithets for the apostle used by Bede and Aldhelm, the chapter treats its sources far too cursorily to offer much new in way of scholarship. In her second chapter, "Boniface and Paul: *Virtus in infirmitate*," Heuchan argues convincingly for the profound influence that Paul exercised upon Boniface, who viewed himself as the spiritual and evangelical successor of his apostolic forbearer. Drawing almost exclusively upon epistolary evidence, Heuchan demonstrates where Pope Gregory II's commission of Boniface's ministry is steeped in Pauline imagery, which would have served to underscore the missionary's self-identification as contemporary apostle. Heuchan strengthens the connections between Paul and Boniface by pointing out where the latter adopted distinctly Pauline salutations in his own letter writing. Often these letters would ask for copies of important religious texts as a means of consolation during trying missions abroad, drawing further parallels between Boniface's and Paul's suffering as self-imposed exiles from

their homelands either explicitly or implicitly via verbal correspondences with the Pauline epistles.

The third chapter builds upon Heuchan's earlier article, "God's Co-workers and Powerful Tools: The Sources of Alfred's Building Metaphor in his Old English Translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies*," published in *N&Q* 54.1 (2007): 1–11. Accepting the vernacular translation of Augustine's *Soliloquies* as genuinely Alfredian (though perhaps not by Alfred himself), she argues that the image of the wise architect selecting the best timbers to build a dwelling-place (for which there is no direct parallel in the Augustinian original) derives from 1 Cor. 3:9–14 and Asser's account of Alfred's enchiridion (itself derived in part from Aldhelm's prose *De virginitate*). This argument comes in direct response to Thomas Carnicelli's suggestion that the passage reflects Alfred's knowledge of woodcraft and construction as well as Prodosh Bhattarcharya's proposal that the translator drew upon the image of tree-cutting found in Gregory the Great's *Cura pastorilis*. Heuchan's suggestions regarding sources stand up nicely against competing arguments but should not be ruled as conclusive until a fuller study of building metaphors in early Christian and patristic writings can be conducted. The fourth chapter, "Ælfric, Paul and the *lareow*," safely views the Anglo-Saxon homilist as an imitator of Paul in the light of their mutual aim to bring sound, orthodox teaching to their respective audiences. Heuchan analyzes Ælfric's use of the term *lareow*, demonstrating where the word, initially used as a translation for either *magister* or *doctor*, comes to be applied to Christ, Paul, and Ælfric himself in reference to their role as Christian *praedicatores*. She further explores Ælfric's discussion of the role of teachers in several of his writings and highlights the homilist's use of the apocryphal *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* (BHL 6657) with its attendant commentary on teaching to the various segments of society.

The fifth chapter, "The *Passio Petri et Pauli*," looks more specifically at the reception of the apocryphal passion narrative in Anglo-Saxon England, focusing on its transmission history and potential influence on Bede, Aldhelm, the *OE Martyrology*, Cynewulf's *Fates of the Apostles*, Blickling Homily XV, Wulfstan's *De temporibus antichristi*, and Ælfric's homilies. The sixth chapter, "The *Visio Sancti Pauli*," takes a similar approach to another highly influential apocryphal work, providing a helpful condensation of previous scholarship regarding the apocalypse's preservation, transmission and adaptation in various Anglo-Saxon writings (particularly Blickling Homilies IV and XVI). Chapter seven, "Perceptions of Pauline Apocryphal Literature in Anglo-Saxon England," compares the general acceptance by Anglo-Saxon authors of the *Passio Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli* with the refusal of more orthodox writers such as Ælfric to address the *Visio Sancti Pauli*. Heuchan then complicates our understanding of Anglo-Saxon notions of "authority" and "authenticity" by examining circumspect attitudes toward Paul's extra-canonical Epistle to the Laodiceans and other apocryphal texts. An eighth, concluding chapter then glances back at the evidence presented, showing where Paul and his writings served to inspire missionary activity, provide metaphors for the construction of Christian communities, and inform orthodox teaching.

While several new arguments do emerge on occasion, the dissertation's real contribution is its ability to condense and evaluate previously diffuse scholarship regarding Paul's cult in early medieval England. As is the case with so many dissertations, a great deal of editing will be necessary before the work can be realized as a monograph. The primary emphasis on Pauline imagery is often obscured by digressions about epistolary forms and overly long analysis of transmission history based on evidence that does little to further our understanding of Anglo-Saxon notions of Paul himself. Additionally, there are several glaring omissions that must be addressed as the project progresses. For example, while mention is made of Bedan exegesis, there is almost no detailed discussion shedding light on how Anglo-Saxon commentators interpreted the events of Paul's life as represented in canonical scripture. That said, Heuchan's dissertation proves a welcome addition to hagiographical studies in its ability to distill a vast amount of information about the Anglo-Saxon treatment of a truly foundational Christian figure into a single volume. Heuchan shows promise as a young scholar, and we should look forward to good things to come.

Although not a dissertation, Michael Pieck's study, *Old English Prose: Passio et Vita: Two Concepts of a Saint's Life in Anglo-Saxon England*, also addressed matters relevant to Anglo-Saxon hagiography. This work originated as a seminar term paper produced for a class, which the author has published with the online self-publishing site GRIN Verlag (Munich). It takes Ælfric's *Life of Edmund* and *Life of Æthelthryth* as examples of two distinct hagiographic genres, the *passio*, concerned with the active life of a holy martyr, and the *vita*, recounting the exemplary life of contemplation led by a holy person. The *Life of Edmund* is a *passio*, and the *Life of Æthelthryth* is a *vita*. The essay sets out to consider differences in grammatical usage and style that may relate to their different genres, but first it lays out a history of the Anglo-Saxon period and its major figures—one of the symptoms of its term-paper status. Ultimately, the study shows that the *Life of Edmund* uses more active constructions and

more features from the verse tradition, whereas the *Life of Æthelthryth* uses more passive constructions and is plainer. Since Pieck does not consider any of the other lives authored by Ælfric, he cannot definitively link these features to genre, since the differences may also be attributable to sources or to the different genders of the two saints. The paper includes in an appendix Modern German translations of both saints' lives.

SA, TB, BC, KD, JK, TL, BM.

This section was completed with significant help by Kevin R. Kritsch.

Works Not Seen

Chetwynd, Peter Nicholas. "*Nu nellaþ his willan wyrcean*: Portrayals of Sin in the Blickling and Vercelli Homilies." Ph.D. Cambridge Univ., 2010.

Krstovic, Jelena O. *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism, Vol. 118.* Detroit: Gale, 2010. xiii + 579 pp. [includes a section on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*]

Krstovic, Jelena O. *Classical and Medieval Literature Criticism, Vol. 128.* Detroit: Gale, 2010. xiii + 531 pp. [includes a section on Ælfric]

Sartore, Melissa. "Outlawry, Governance, and Law in Medieval England." Ph.D. Univ. of

Wisconsin-Madison, 2010. [Proquest 3437253]

5. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

Early Anglo-Latin and Insular Texts

One of the more influential Insular texts of princely admonition from the early Middle Ages is the seventh-century *De Duodecim Abusiuis Saeculi*, which, since Mario Esposito's work on the subject, has been considered as Irish in origin. It was certainly popular, with over 200 manuscript witnesses, and Charlemagne (or at least his scholars) and King Alfred can be counted among its admirers. In "The Just King and the *De Duodecim Abusiuis Saeculi*," *Parergon* 27.1: 27–52, Julianna Grigg has placed this text within its Irish milieu and reconsidered its contents and their message. All documents of the *speculum principis* variety attempted to found good secular governance upon scriptural antecedents, and *De Duodecim Abusiuis Saeculi* was no different. Grigg considers arguments for and against various influences on *De Duodecim Abusiuis Saeculi*, including the Irish *Audacht Morain* and Biblical wisdom literature. She ultimately draws some comparisons (cognate, rather than source influences) to the writing of Gildas, who also connected the Just King (the concern of the ninth abuse) to the fertility of his lands. Anglo-Latinists will not find a great deal of specific interest for them in this article, nor does Grigg really break new ground as to the interpretation of *De Duodecim Abusiuis Saeculi*, but anyone with an interest in early medieval kingship, the Alfredian transmission of Latin texts, or the role of Irish clerical ideas of kingship will find her study both useful and erudite.

In "A Path to Holiness: Hagiographic Transformation and the Conversion of Saint Guthlac," in *Conversion to Christianity from Late Antiquity to the Modern Age: Considering the Process in Europe, Asia, and the Americas*, ed. Calvin B. Kendall *et al.* (Minneapolis: Center for Early Modern History, University of Minnesota, 2009), 161–83, Christian Aggeler traces how the life of St. Guthlac follows the path to sanctity which could be termed transformative, being the type of saint who discovers sanctity only after he had originally embarked upon a secular life. These types of narratives present the conversion as an epiphanic moment, rather than the saint being marked with such virtues from the outset of life. Aggeler argues that the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci* represents a particularly exemplary model of the saintly life—one which might encourage its readers to adopt a similar path. Aggeler examines four different versions of Guthlac's life, including the Latin *vita* written by Felix, the Old English poem *Guthlac A*, the Guthlac Roll (ca. 1200) and the Middle English Life (ca. 1400). Aggeler considers several stages at which Felix seems to intentionally depart from earlier Anglo-Latin models, including Bede's own *Vita Cuthberti*, in order to explore "more intensively" than his models the "phenomenon of conversion."

Olga Gusakova studies three Anglo-Saxon saints' lives in "A Saint and the Natural World: A Motif of Obedience in Three Early Anglo-Saxon Saints' Lives" in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, ed. Peter Clarke and Tony Claydon (Suffolk, UK: Ecclesiastical History Society and Boydell & Brewer), 42–52. Gusakova interprets the ways that these *vitae* represent natural obedience and the human condition. She considers the anonymous *Vita Cuthberti* as well as Bede's *vita*, and Felix's *Vita Guthlaci*. In these lives, both fauna and elemental aspects of the world offer obedience to the saints. They offer a form of restoration to a world order lost through human association with sin. Bede notes that the chain of being that links God to humanity to nature is founded upon the principle of obedience. The obedience of the natural world to the saintly hierarchy offers humanity an example of proper behavior and suggests an approach toward sanctity.

AJA

Aldhelm

In "An Echo from Nonius Marcellus in Aldhelm's *Enigmata*," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 61: 257–65, Chiara Meccariello suggests that verse 41 of Aldhelm's Riddle 100 (*Creatura*), "sum levior pluma, cedit cui tippula limphae," owes something of its inspiration to Nonius's description of the *tippula* 'pond-skater' in his *De compendiosa doctrina* (264.8): "levissimum, quod aquas non nando, sed gradiendo transeat." Nonius also refers to two additional sources that may equally influence Aldhelm here. They are Varro's *Bimarcus* (*men.* fr. 50), "ut levis tippula lymphon frigidos transit lacus" and a fragment of Plautus (*fab.inc.* fr. 33, v. 153), "levior es quam tippula." Meccariello shows that Aldhelm retains not only the original emphasis on the creature's *levis* 'lightness' from Nonius and Varro but also the comparative form of the adjective used by Plautus (*levior*), which, admittedly, applies to

the feather in Aldhelm's riddle (*pluma*). Aldhelm may also borrow Varro's phrase *tippula lymphon* for his own *tippula limphae*. Finally, Aldhelm's full riddle on the *tippula* (Enig. 38) contains other links to these sources: "verse 4 'nec natura sinit celerem natare per amnem' could be an elaboration of Nonius's 'non nando,' and the close of verse 5 'fluvios transire feroces' has the same structure as Varro's 'frigidos transit lacus.'" The use of both *transire* and *gradior* in Riddle 38 also indicates knowledge of Nonius. As supporting evidence, Meccariello cites the preceding Riddle 37 (*cancer*) and notes the similarity in language and movement between Aldhelm's crab (*retrogranda*, 3) and that of Nonius (*retroversum cedam*). Near the end of the discussion, Meccariello notes that in a group of manuscripts of Aldhelm's *Enigmata* the title of Riddle 38 is followed by a "slightly modified form of Nonius's definition of *tippula*: 'quae non nando sed gradiendo aquas transilit,'" and that the *Leyden Glossary* describes *tippula* as "vermis qui currit super aquas," a close echo of Plautus ("super aquam currens"). Ultimately, says Meccariello, this evidence speaks to the general circulation of *De comp. doctr*. in Anglo-Saxon England and its influence on Aldhelm in particular.

PMcB

Bede

Pope Benedict XVI's *Church Fathers and Teachers*: *From Saint Leo the Great to Peter Lombard* (San Francisco: Ignatius Press) offers thirty-five short reflections on notable figures of the Church. These were originally talks given to general audiences between March 2008 and December 2009, after J. A. Ratzinger was elected pope. Bede is twelfth in a list that includes Boethius, Gregory the Great, Columban, Boniface, Rabanus Maurus, and many others. Benedict also includes chapters on monastic and scholastic theology, the Cluniac Reform, and cathedral architecture. His account of Bede is characteristic. It begins with a brief account of Bede's life and then turns to "three of Bede's favorite topics": biblical commentary, the history of the Church, and teaching. "On the one hand," writes Benedict, "[Bede] listens to exactly what the text [of the Bible] says, he really seeks to hear and understand the text itself; on the other, he is convinced that the key to understanding Sacred Scripture as the one Word of God is Christ, and with Christ, in his light, one understands the Old and New Testaments as 'one' Sacred Scripture." In his discussion of the *Ecclesiastical History*, Benedict emphasizes "the Catholicity" of the Church and "apostolicity and Roman traditions." As teaching resources, Bede's homilies on the Gospels and feast days of the Church "celebrate the mysteries of the faith and reproduce them coherently in life." By interweaving the Bible, liturgy, and history in his theology, Benedict says, "Bede has a timely message for the different 'states of life,'" so "for scholars he recalls two essential tasks, to examine the marvels of the Word of God in order to present them in an attractive form to the faithful and to explain the dogmatic truths, avoiding heretical complications and keeping to 'Catholic simplicity,' with the attitude of the lowly and humble to whom God is pleased to reveal the mysteries of the Kingdom," whereas pastors must "give priority to preaching, not only through verbal or hagiographical language, but also by giving importance to icons, processions, and pilgrimages," and to "consecrated people" Bede "recommends they devote themselves to the Divine Office, living in the joy of fraternal communion and progressing in the spiritual life by means of ascesis and contemplation, and that they attend to the apostolate by collaborating with Bishops in pastoral activities for the young Christian community and by offering themselves for the evangelizing mission among the pagans, outside their own country, as 'peregrini pro amore Dei.'"

Calvin B. Kendall and Faith Wallis provide the first English translations of Bede's *De natura rerum* and *De temporibus* in *Bede*: On the Nature of Things *and* On Times (Liverpool: Liverpool UP), though they are comparable to Kendall and Wallis's previous translations of *Bede*: *The Reckoning of Time* and *On Genesis*, both of which appear in the Liverpool University Press series, "Translated Texts for Historians" (xcix–ci and 53–7). *On the Nature of Things* is an inventory of the material universe based on a venerable classical model, Isidore's *De natura rerum*. *On Times*, by contrast, represents the new Christian genre of the *computus* manual—a genre which Bede himself played a very significant role in developing. Kendall and Wallis's seventy-page introduction to the translation counts for a third of the volume, where they offer a wealth of insight over fourteen separate sections on "The Date and Purpose," "Structure and Content," "Unity of Conception," "The Place of *ONT* and *OT* in Bede's Thought," "Bede's Template: Isidore of Seville's *De Natura Rerum*," "Bede's Transformation of *DNR*," "Bede's Attitude Toward Isidore," "The Easter Controversy and the Pedagogy of the *Computus*," "The Christian World-Chronicle," "Bede's Science," "The Transmission of *ONT* and *OT*," "The Reception of *ONT* and *OT*," "Principles Governing this Translation," and an "Inventory of Manuscripts and Editions." The translation of these texts is fluid, clear, and idiomatic, and Bede's sources are conveniently italicized throughout with source-findings based on the Latin editions of Jones and Mommsen. A commentary accompanies each chapter of each text, and these provide important

context for understanding and interpreting the two works. Four appendices provide further contextual matter, including "Bede's Hymn on the Six Days of Creation and Six Ages of the World," "An Excursus on Bede's Mathematical Reasoning," "Bede's Calculations of Tidal Periods and the Purported 'Immaturity' of *On the Nature of Things*," and a word on "Bede and Lucretius" (chiefly for the students of classical literature). In short, this is essential reading for anyone working on Bede, given how his scientific views are bound to his religious mentality.

In "Visions of Divine Light in the Writings of Adomnán and Bede" in *Adomnán of Iona*: *Theologian*, *Lawmaker*, *Peacemaker* (Dublin: Four Courts), 289–302, Stephen Sharman examines "visions of divine light" in the *Vita Columbae* of Adomnán and in Bede (primarily in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*). Sharman concludes that the two writers are "theologians of the ascetic life working and living in the same tradition" and in particular that both are influenced by "a common tradition of discourse about sanctity" deriving from the Church Fathers and Gregory the Great in particular. Sharman cites Gregory's *Dialogues* on the faithful eye being able to see souls of the dead rising to heaven (iv. 7, *PL* 67, col 332). It is a vision of divine light, as he says. Other examples include visions of light above the Host and light signaling the presence of the Holy Spirit in the childhood of Columba. Because the whole of the volume is dedicated to Adomnán, Sharman spends most of his time on the *Vita Columbae* rather than on Bede. Only broadly does he connect the two authors, arguing that both are part of a common tradition of hagiographic writing.

Henry Wansbrough's *The Use and Abuse of the Bible*: *A Brief History of Biblical Interpretation* (New York: T & T Clark) [esp. Ch 5, "St. Bede," 63–73], is filled with wit and insight. It offers a selective but gratifying overview of biblical interpretation from the first century to the present day. Wansbrough does not aim at complete coverage but instead selects authors or moments which are either his favorites or seem to him to have "special interest or importance." For this reason, his discussions are especially lively and engaging. The book contains a chapter on Bede, the beginning of which offers an account of Boniface's request to Egbert of York and Huetbert of Wearmouth for Bede's treatises in return for which he offers "two small casks of wine to use for a merry day with the brethren." Wansbrough then outlines Bede's life, learning, and place in the *glossa ordinaria*, his theory of the four-fold sense of scriptures, his allegorical interpretation of Tobit, and a brief conclusion. Each of these sections is no more than a page or two. The whole biography is framed at the beginning by Bede's words at the end of the *Ecclesiastical History* and at the end by Cuthbert's account of Bede's death in his letter to Cuthwin. The middle section covers the plague at Jarrow; the Synod at Whitby; the visits of Roman painters, stained-glass artists, and cantors; and the Codex Amiatinus. The section on learning highlights Bede's developing knowledge of Greek but also a sense of his humor. There is also a page on Bede's library, "which must have been well impressive," and Wansbrough cites Bede as the principle source in the *glossa ordinaria* for several books of the Old Testament. In the section on the four senses of scripture, Wanbrough notes that Bede's theory of the fourfold sense of Scripture became "the classic and dominated all medieval exegesis." He then outlines the theory briefly, pointing out that the figurative senses are often "far from obvious." Ultimately, writes Wansbrough, Bede's purpose in studying scripture is "edification against sin, consolation amid care, and instruction against error." The conclusion emphasizes the role of Bede's commentaries in shaping biblical interpretation in the high Middle Ages. In short, this is an inviting book, which is hard to put down.

In "The Old English Boethius, the Latin Commentaries, and Bede," in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England*: *Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff* , ed. George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts, Arizona Studies in the Middle Ages and Renaissance 35 (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS), 225–52, Joseph Wittig considers "what light the Latin glosses might shed on the OE version of the meter [3m9.13–14], with particular attention to MSS of English provenance and to Bede as an important source for the glossators." Wittig begins with Vat. lat. 3363 and a gloss based on Bede's *De Temporum Ratione*. This gloss is relevant to the added material in the Old English rendering of 3m9.13–14. After an extensive and careful analysis of the gloss and related glosses in other Latin manuscripts, Wittig concludes that there is no sign that the gloss influenced the Old English meter directly. In fact, despite correspondences between various Latin glosses and the Old English text, there is no evidence that they are direct sources for the additions in the vernacular meter. Many of the correspondences are, moreover, commonplace. As Wittig concludes, "[a]ll one can finally say here is that some glosses reflect the same interpretive focus as the OE translation," so it may be better to think of the Old English text and Latin glosses as part of a general current of interpretation surrounding

the *Consolatio*, which was becoming increasingly important and studied in monastic schools.

PMcB

The pages of the Cambridge postgraduate journal *Quaestio Insularis* offer an interesting give and take over the meaning of the word *castella* in Bede's *Historia ecclesiastica gentis Anglorum* II.xxviii.3 between Michael Winterbottom in "Bede's *Castella*," 10 (2009): 1–7 and Andrew Breeze in "Bede's *Castella*: Homesteads or Castles," 11: 209–14. In this passage, speaking of the tireless itinerant preaching of St. Chad (d. 672), Bede writes that the bishop went round through *oppida rura casas uicos castella* in order to evangelize his people "in the manner of the apostles." Breeze had argued in "Bede's *Castella* and the Journeys of St. Chad," *Northern History* 46 (2009): 137–40, for translating *castella* as 'homesteads', rather than the 'great houses' suggested by Dorothy Whitelock (in her *English Historical Documents c. 500–1042*), partly because the list would progress from high to low, and thus 'strongholds' after 'homes' would make no sense. Winterbottom, in his response, suggests that the list should be considered as two distinct lists: *oppida rura* ('towns and fields') and *casas uicos castella* ('buildings, villages, hamlets'). He notes that while forts and fortifications suggested by 'strongholds' seem absent from the early Anglo-Saxon landscape, Bede would have known the word through Isidore; in any case, it is likely that neither Bede nor his audience would have found the notion of *vici* or *castella* easy to distinguish. Breeze, in his response, notes the Old English translation of Bede, which offers *hus* for *castella*, and disagrees with Winterbottom that here the OE translator had changed the order of the words, with *hus* translating *casas* instead of *castella*. While he concedes Winterbottom's erudition, he also notes that little separates their arguments, as both agree that "strongholds" is a poor understanding of whatever Bede may have meant by *castella*.

Seppo Heikkinen in "*Quae non habet intellectum*: The Disappearance of Fifth-Foot Spondees from Dactylic Hexameter Verse" in *Interfaces between Language and Culture in Medieval England: A Festschrift for Matti Kilpiö*, ed. Alaric Hall *et al.* (Leiden: Brill), 81–98, traces the development and eventual desuetude of the fifth-foot spondee in Anglo-Latin verse. The presence of a fifth-foot spondee in hexameter verse (rather than a dactyl) had long been considered an unusual effect in Latin poetry, where it was occasionally used for comic effect and was considered a Grecism; by the time of Virgil and Horace it had fallen almost entirely out of use. Such an aversion to the fifth-foot spondee continued into the medieval period. Both Aldhelm and Bede considered its use uncouth and improper, respectively. In fact, Bede goes out of his way to suggest alternate scansions for Late Latin lines that appear to contain such an effect (e.g., "Scribitur et titulis: Hic est rex Iudaeorum" from Caelius Sedulius's *Carmen Paschale*, V.196, which Heikkinen scans ī-u-de-ō-rum). While much of this ground has been covered previously, students and scholars looking for a concise overview of Anglo-Latin cadence will find the essay of interest.

AJA

Alcuin

Walter Berschin, "Alkuin und die Biographie," in *Alkuin von York und die geistige Grundlegung Europas: Akten der Tagung vom 30 September bis zum 2 Oktober 2004 in der Stiftsbibliothek St. Gallen*, ed. Ernst Tremp and Karl Schmuki, Monasterium Sancti Galli 5 (St. Gallen: Verlag am Klosterhof), 169–84, approaches Alcuin as a biographer in the context of his lives of Willibrord, Richarius, Vedastus, and Martin. Although Alcuin turned to biography late in life, the number of surviving manuscripts written before 1500, given in parentheses, speaks to the popularity of these works: *Vita S. Willibrordi* (71), *Vita S. Richarii* (22), *Vita S. Vedasti* (75), *Vita S. Martini* (65), and *Transitus S. Martini* (10). Each of these texts, says Berschin, reveals something about Alcuin's role as a biographer. For example, his twinned life of Willibrord, his earliest work on a single individual, suggests two different audiences. Because of the ease and accessibility of the prose, Berschin suspects that it was written for church reading, while the poetry was intended for schools. Manuscript evidence also suggests that the poetry was less popular: Only seven of the seventy-one manuscripts contain the poetic life of Willibrord. Alcuin's *Life of Richarius* is a revision of an earlier, more plainly styled work. It was Angilbert who asked Alcuin to improve the eloquence of the text. The final product is the only biography dedicated to Charlemagne, and in it Alcuin makes Richarius less the penitent man and more the preacher. Berschin underscores the importance of the sermon to Alcuin as a point of style (*praedicatio*). Alcuin's *Life of St. Vedastus* is something of a different creature. It lacks much of the textual framing found in *The Life of Willibrord*, including the *capituli* that head up the episodes, and while *The Life of Richarius* includes a few, conventional allusions to the Bible, the *Life of Vedastus* is full of them, including a number of references to more obscure parts of the Bible. Berschin suggests that Alcuin wanted to move beyond the more familiar passages of Scripture to lead his readership into a deeper appreciation and contemplation of the Bible. Berschin also notes that Alcuin's approach in the *Life of Vedastus* is overtly edifying and didactic, and this concern for preaching reappears in his *Life of Martin*

(*Vita S. Martini*), where the importance of the *praedicatio* is highlighted. The *Sermo de transitu S. Martini* is also attributed to Alcuin and of the same style as the *Vita Martini*. Berschin suggests that both texts were perhaps written to commemorate two important celebrations at Tours: the *Ordinatio S. Martini* (Jul. 4th) and the *Depositio S. Martini* (Nov. 11th). As an appendix to the discussion, Berschin offers two unpublished hymns appearing in Merseburg 105 (fol. 79r), which are attributed to Eusebius—perhaps Eusebius of Tours; both have Martin as their subject and both appear in the context of *The Life of Vedastus* and that of *Martin*. They are therefore relevant to the biographical focus on the discussion. In all, this is an illuminating treatment of Alcuin's writing near the end of his life—writing that tells us a great deal about both Alcuin himself and his intended audiences.

Louis Holtz offers a commanding overview of grammatical reform under Alcuin's custodianship of Aachen in "L'œuvre grammaticale d'Alcuin dans le contexte de son temps," in *Alkuin von York*, 129–50. Long before Alcuin's arrival at Charlemagne's court, the king had resolved to address the impoverished state of learning in his empire. To that end, he brought scholars and resources from abroad. That Adam of Masevaux gave Charlemagne a copy of Diomedes's *Ars Grammatica* as a gift in 780 speaks to the kind of books that were already of interest to him at the time. Of course, Alcuin's reputation preceded him; his teaching talents were well known beyond England. In all likelihood, Alcuin himself had taught grammar at York, since grammar was the first stage of any program of education at the time, though Alcuin never lost sight, says Holtz, that it was but the first step to more advanced studies and "wisdom and knowledge of God." But it was precisely this first step that was needed here in order to reform basic speaking and writing skills. Alcuin's contributions in this respect were considerable: Through Alcuin, grammar studies were given priority and actively promoted; connections between grammar and other branches of knowledge—philosophy, theology, etc.—were affirmed; and Priscian's *Institutiones Grammaticales* (hereafter *IG*) was given new life. Another consequence of the initiative taken by Charlemagne and Alcuin was a renewed demand for manuscripts of classical and patristic texts to serve as exemplars for students. In fact, if not for Charlemagne and Alcuin, we would not now have many of the classical texts we now do. In *De grammatica*, Alcuin displays his breadth of knowledge and debt to prior authorities. Like all grammarians of the time, he owes a debt to Donatus and others—Varro, Diomedes, *et al*.—but Alcuin's debt to Priscian is peculiar. Most Anglo-Saxons, if they knew Priscian at all, would have known his *De nomine de pronomine et de verbo*, a work of minor significance, yet Alcuin shows clear knowledge of the *IG*, the first sixteen books of which (on formal elements such as vowels, letters, syllables, etc.) and the eight parts of discourse influence the *De grammatica*. Holtz argues that few, if any of Alcuin's contemporaries would have understood the *IG*, given its complexity, since the first sixteen books prepare the reader for the last two. The last two books, seventeen and eighteen, are introduced in manuscripts by a separate preface and title, *De constructione*, and they show how the eight parts of discourse are related and combined in speech. Holtz argues that Alcuin was one of the few of his time to have understood this relationship, and he points to an as yet unedited work, *Excerptiones super Priscianum*, as proof. The *Excerptiones*, probably written by Alcuin, is not so much a commentary on Priscian's *IG* as a reworking of it that makes clearer the relationship between books 1–16 and 17 and 18. Holtz argues that Alcuin limited himself to the use of books 1–16 in his *De grammatica*, since the last two books involve a pedagogical approach different from traditional texts. He believes that Alcuin felt the time had come for a renewal of grammatical study but not yet a reform of its pedagogy. This may explain why the *IG* was not circulated widely in Alcuin's time, even though he knew and used it himself. It may also explain why the work ends up at St. Amand, where Alcuin's favorite student lived, suggesting that he was sharing the work with a small circle of friends, whom he deemed worthy to appreciate the whole significance of Priscian's *IG*. In short, this is a magisterial discussion of grammatical reform during the Carolingian period, and there are so many connected strands of insight that it is difficult to cover them all.

In "Alcuin's Theology," *Alkuin von York*, 91–106, Ann E. Matter considers Alcuin's theological stance against Adoptionism and against Felix of Urgel and Elipantus of Toledo in particular. In 799 Alcuin faced both men at a public hearing at Aachen, which lasted more than a week. Felix and Elipantus were the most famous proponents of Adoptionism, and they believed that "the Second Person of the Trinity, or at least the human nature of Jesus, incarnate on earth, was in some way subordinate to God the Father until the moment in which he was baptized in the River Jordan, and therefore 'adopted' as the Son of God." Alcuin's writings about the Adoptionist controversy are "an excellent place to look for [his] theological originality," says Matter, given Alcuin's tendency to question dissident theological systems using a traditional framework of heresy and orthodoxy. In this case, Alcuin looks to the canons of Ecumenical councils

and dogmatic summaries, including the *Liber ecclesiasticorum dogmatum* of Gennadius, which he injects with "imagination and even elegance." "Conservative elegance" is a hallmark of Alcuin's most famous theological work, *De fide sanctae et individuae Trinitatis*. Written around 802, this three-book treatise, indebted to Augustine's *De Trinitate*, was widely circulated throughout the Carolingian empire—with over 100 extant manuscripts—often appearing alongside four other works: Alcuin's *De ratione*, the *Adesto*, the *Credimus*, and a short dialogue of twenty-eight questions and answers on the Trinity. These may have constituted "the official Carolingian textbook of Theology." Matter therefore moves on to consider the manuscript tradition of this collection and its transmission, in order to suggest how the collection served two important periods in time: the last years of Alcuin's life and the generations or so immediately after it. Matter alights on several important features of Alcuin's theological writing, ultimately concluding that the *De fide* produced an easier and more readily approachable version of Augustine's *De Trinitate*, while the accompanying texts formed a collection that was part of a "systematizing catechesis." Matter concludes with a call to reconsider Alcuin's *De fide* in this light and in the light of the theological debates, which ensued in later centuries. She then provides a list of the nearly forty manuscripts collated for a new critical edition of the *De fide*, which she is preparing with Eric Knibbs.

In "Alkuins Dichtung," *Alkuin von York*, 107–28, Francesco Stella reexamines the place and value of Alcuin's poetry in Carolingian studies. Little attention has been paid, writes Stella, to the poetry of Alcuin, who is better known as grammarian or exegete, orator or theologian—not poet, as editions of his works under-emphasize his poetic oeuvre. Still, Alcuin's contemporaries—notably Hrabanus Maurus—speak to the importance and influence of his work, and Alcuin's poetry sheds light on various facets of his life and times. Stella offers a general overview of Alcuin's major poetic achievements and offers a number of important insights, despite the tremendous scope of his canon. The encomiastic *York Poem*, for example, aims to leave the Middle Ages with an epic and not just an "archaising, propagandist or political panegyric." Central themes of *regnum* and *pietas* come together in the narrative to unfold the history of holy men in power and power enhanced by holiness. This part of Stella's discussion is particularly illuminating. Carm. 9 in contrast highlights the beauty of the world in the knowledge that it cannot last. Alcuin's *Life of Willibrord* is a model for many Carolingian and Ottonian biographical poems, and his *Inscriptions* show a side of everyday life seldom seen in medieval literature. These poems are full of feeling and realism, and they open a window to the private corners of monastic life: the taverns, inns and baths, the kitchens and toilettes. More introspective is Alcuin's famous lyrical poem, *Mea Cella* (Carm. 23), which offers a model of monastic life and "the small holy city." It is about Alcuin's memory of the monastery and lost youth. The heart of *Mea Cella* can be found at verse thirty-one, "Nos miseri cur te fugitivum, mundus, amamus" ("Why do we wretched love you, fleeing world?"), and this, says Stella, is perhaps the heart of all of Alcuin's poetry. The source for all of this is the monastic classroom. It is in school where friendships and life-long connections are made, where expertise and political power thrive, and where legal and religious institutions take shape to govern kingdom and empire. In *Mea Cella* the school is a place of knowledge transfer. In his *York Poem* it is about power transfer. Alcuin's verses on the cuckoo (Carm. 57, 59, 60) emphasize the strong bonds between teachers and students, and here the school is described as a nest; its students as the birds. From this point of view, the monastery becomes less a place of quiet contemplation and more one of jubilant song and vitality. It is the kind of noisy place Alcuin remembers with fondness in *Mea Cella*. Ultimately, writes Stella, Alcuin may not be "a great poet," but he is "an honest one (or true) and open," and his verses, though not always original or even elegant, provide models for his successors and leave them (and us) with lively glimpses into his personality.

Olivier Szerwiniack turns to the ever-vexing question of sources in "L'*interpretatio nominium* d'Alcuin: une source intermédiaire du début de l'*Expositio in Mattheum* de Raban Maur," in *Raban Maur et son temps*, ed. Philippe Depreux *et al*., Collection Haut Moyen Âge 9 (Turnhout: Brepols), 251–58. Did Hrabanus Maurus know and draw upon Alcuin's *Interpretatio nominium* for his genealogy of Christ in his *Expositio in Mattheum*? On the one hand, Bengt Löfstedt makes no mention of Alcuin's *Interpretatio* in his 2000 edition of Hrabanus, nor does Sylvia Cantelli Berarducci in her 2006 study of his exegetical sources. This is not so surprising, however, since it is Jerome (*Interpretatio nominum Hebraicorum*) and Aileran (*Interpretatio mystica et moralis progenitorum Domini Iesu Christi*) who are the chief sources for the *Expositio in Mattheum*. Even so, it is unusual that Hrabanus does not rely upon his teacher's work at all; in fact, Szerwiniack provides good evidence that he does. Specifically, Hrabanus separates his genealogy of Christ into two parts, the second of which bears some resemblance to Alcuin's *Interpretatio*. Hrabanus's literal and allegorical interpretations of names are also close to

those of Alcuin. Szerwiniack offers the case of "David." In explicating the Latin sense of the Hebrew, Alcuin says, "David manu fortis uel desiderabilis," and Hrabanus writes, "Dauid desiderabilis uel fortis manu nulli dubium, quin Christus significet." Next, treating the allegorical significance of the name, Alcuin shows how David prefigures Christ. He says, "In David desiderabilis, quia dictum est: Speciosus forma prae filiis hominum [Ps. 44, 3]; item fortis bellator, dum diabolum uicit et humiliauit calumniatorem nostrum." Hrabanus likewise writes, "De quo Psalmista ait: 'Speciosa forma prae filiis hominum' [Ps. 44, 3]; et item 'Dominus,' inquit, 'fortis, Dominus potens in proelio' [Ps. 23, 8]". In short, Hrabanus models his literal and allegorical interpretations of David's name on those of Alcuin. The problem is, says Szerwiniack, the case of David is special. Seldom are Hrabanus's Alcuinian borrowings word-for-word as they are in the case of David, and this is perhaps why neither Löfstedt nor Cantelli cite Alcuin as a source for the *Expositio*. Furthermore, Alcuin draws heavily on the *Interpretatio mystica* of Aileran, so that it is difficult to tell whether Hrabanus is echoing Alcuin echoing Aileran or echoing Aileran directly. Szerwiniack's sensitivity to the complexity of this problem leads to a thoughtful appreciation of Hrabanus's own contributions to the *Expositio in Mattheum*. Knowing the sources well, Szerwiniack is able to show how Hrabanus adds his own touches to particular passages, as when he switches out the biblical quotation or alters the allegorical explanation of a name. In short, Szerwiniack draws a clearer picture of the contributions of Hrabanus himself to the *Expositio in Mattheum*, and this is perhaps the most important discovery here.

In "Alkuin und die angelsächsische Rätseldichtung," *Alkuin von York*, 151–68, Dieter Bitterli considers Alcuin's place in the tradition of Anglo-Latin riddle-writing. Alcuin's *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino*, though written in prose, contains several short riddles in dialogue form, some of which go back to Symphosius, and his *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* likewise contains elements similar to the riddles in Latin and Old English (e.g. the Exeter Book riddles). The only poem of Alcuin's that derives with certainty from the Latin *enigmata* tradition is Carm. 5 ("comb"). It is a verse epistle addressed to Riculf of Mainz written ca. 794. The rhetorical approach of Carm. 5, whereby an inanimate object becomes a *bestia* 'creature' that bites with its *dentibus* 'teeth' is well known from the poetry of Symphosius, Aldhelm, Tatwine, and Eusebius, and other elements of the poem are typical of the riddle tradition (personification, paradox, the closing formula, etc.). Carm. 63.1–5 and 64.1–3 evince similar features. Carm. 64.1–3 are riddles on "the furnace," in which the personified stove shows its mouth, head, and nose, while, stylistically, the use of opposites, paradox, and the first person, announce generic characteristics of the riddles. Carm. 63.5–4 are of a different sort. They are word and letter games. Carm. 63.1 plays on the words *mălum* 'evil', *mālum* 'apple', and *mulam* 'mule', while Carm. 63.2 deconstructs *virtus* 'virtue' to *vir* 'man', *tus* 'incense' and *virus* 'poison'. Carm. 63.3 offers a riddle in which *sanus* 'whole' becomes *anus* 'an old woman' and then *sus* 'a sow'. All three are similar in approach to *enigmata* written by Symphosius (e.g. *porcus*/*orcus*) and early Anglo-Saxon riddlers (e.g. Aldhelm's *aries*/*paries*). Old English Riddle 23 (*agob* = *boga* 'bow') and runic Riddle 75 (*dnuh* = *hund* 'hound') are in the same category. Alcuin's *Disputatio Pippini cum Albino* contains many of these riddling features. The "fish in the river," a question-answer exchange between Alcuin and Pippin, is similar both to a riddle by Symphosius ("Est domus in terris clara quae voce resultat") and to Exeter Book Riddle 85 ("Nis min sele swige"). Many of the "Quid est?" exchanges between Pippin and Alcuin likewise appeal to the genre, and these sections of the *Disputatio* breathe new life into the traditional form of the dialogue. Alcuin's *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* also reveal reflexes to the riddle tradition in the context of mathematical word problems, so the *propositio* that a father and his son marry a widow and her daughter asks the reader to guess how the two sons will be related if the father marries the daughter and the son her mother. The answer? They will be uncles and nephews simultaneously. Old English Riddle 46 on Lot and his daughters is part of this same category. In all, says Bitterli, these examples show not only the persistence of the riddle tradition but also how texts and genres of the period often overlap and, in the case of Alcuin, fluctuate between literacy and orality, Latin and the vernacular. This last point is crucial for anyone doing source studies on Anglo-Latin literature.

David Ganz provides a very useful list of manuscripts of all the major works of Alcuin written in the ninth century in "Handschriften der Werke Alkuins aus dem 9. Jahrhundert," *Alkuin von York*, 185–94. The list follows a brief introduction without further commentary. The summary below includes the title of each work and number of manuscripts associated with each: *De virtutibus et vitiis* (25); *De fide sanctae Trinitatis* (100 MSS, ca. 30 in 9th c.); *De rhetorica* (20); *Ars grammatica* (16); *Interrogationes et responsiones in Genesim* (16); *In Canticum canticorum* (8); *In Ecclesiasten* (3); *In Iohannis evangelium* (13); *Expositio in s. Pauli epistolam ad Hebraeos* (3); *Adversus Felicem Urgellitanum episcopum Libri* VII (2); *Libellus adversus Felicem* (1); *Adversus Elipandum Toletanum* (2);

Vita Vedasti (5); *Vita Willibrordi* (2); *Vita Richarii* (2); *Letters* (20).

In "Alcuin and Manuscript Illumination," *Alkuin von York*, 195–228, Lawrence Nees addresses "the difficult problem of Alcuin's role in the development of Carolingian visual art in general and of Carolingian book illumination in particular." After a thorough analysis of some suggestive evidence, Nees concludes that Frankish motifs and styles are a better source of influence on the Touronian books of Alcuin's time, and there is little evidence for Alcuin's "interest in or involvement with the decoration of manuscripts." Nees provides a meticulous discussion of several manuscripts produced at the Carolingian court, beginning with Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. 75, a Bible produced at Tours in Alcuin's time. He draws a comparison between the layout of the Canon Tables in grids in St. Gallen Cod. 75 and a similar presentation in the Gospels from Saint-Martin des Champs, a text already familiar to Charlemagne's court by 795. In particular, Nees notes the similarity of the large animals drawn in the lunettes of the Canon Tables to those in other manuscripts, including the Lindisfarne Gospels, but concludes that there is nothing exclusively Northumbrian about the animals in St. Gallen Cod. 75 and nothing to connect them with Alcuin, specifically. Nearly a century of research, he says, has tried and failed to identify York as a significant center of Insular book illumination, and so it may be that Alcuin had little or no contact with illuminated books even while resident in Northumbria. In the closing pages of his analysis, Nees offers further evidence for the potential influence of Alcuin on three particular codices: Oxford, Bodleian Library, Cod. Douce 176; the Gospels manuscript, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 23; and Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod. 99, a rare illustrated Apocalypse. Each of these manuscripts may bear the stamp of Alcuinian influence, and Nees theorizes that the Cod. Douce 176 may have been a gift from Alcuin to Gisela, sister of Charlemagne, who herself gave Alcuin a Psalter and Sacrementary. It is perhaps a return gift. Also, the ivory work on Douce 176 is similar to that of the Dagulf Psalter, so it may be that the two are connected gifts. Likewise, Stadtbibliothek, Cod. 23. is perhaps a Christmas present from Alcuin to Charlemagne given between 798 and 803. Nees suggests that the dedicatory poem based on Aileran's longer work on the animal symbols of the four Evangelists may in fact be Alcuin's work. Finally, Valenciennes, Bibliothèque municipale, Cod. 99 has been unconvincingly connected with Alcuin before, but Nees mentions the dissertation of Teresa Nevins (*Viewing Revelation: Text and Image in Ninth Century Apocalypse Manuscripts*), which offers fresh evidence to connect features of the codex with an Insular or even Northumbrian home. The manuscript may or many not be connected with Alcuin, but the point, says Nees, is that we should be looking to assess Alcuin's influence on manuscript illumination in wider circles beyond Tours.

PMcB

Tenth-Century

In "The Homiliary of Angers in Tenth-Century England," *Anglo-Saxon England* 39: 163–92, Winfried Rudolph has edited a very intriguing new witness of Anglo-Saxon preaching, namely text fragments located on the flyleaves of London, BL MS Sloane 280. The fragments contain pieces from the so-called Homiliary of Angers, named by Raymond Étaix in 1994, and shown by Aidan Conti to be comprised of pages from both the Taunton Fragments (Taunton, Somerset County Record Office, DD/SAS C/1193/77, mid- or late-eleventh century) and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 343 (late-twelfth century). The two fragments Rudolph adds to Conti's previous list of manuscripts and fragments brings the total to twenty-one. Rudolph assigns them to Kent in the second half of the tenth century, making them the earliest known witnesses to the Homiliary of Angers. Rudolph offers a thorough summary of their material and codicological context; their palaeography, spacing, and punctuation; and their contents. In regard to their contents, Rudolph interestingly suggests that these fragments represent an attempt at original exegesis (176). Rudolph considers the status of the Homiliary in tenth-century England and makes a few modifications to previous assessment of its value, noting that its undoubted origin in Kent would place it at a "geographically and intellectually significant interface" between Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent. He suggests that the collection reached England from France during the Benedictine reform but admits that such questions can only be answered after a complete edition of the text has been produced. All in all, this is a very useful paper that those interested in Anglo-Saxon preaching will find highly valuable.

In an interesting essay slightly over-burdened by its apparatus, Eric Denton offers a close analysis of the treatment of the sick and—especially—the disabled by family members in the *vitae* of St. Swithun, as written by Lantfred of Fleury and Wulfstan of Winchester ("Family Matters? Attitudes towards the Care of Kith and Kin in the Tenth-Century Miracles of St. Swithun," *Quaestio Insularis* 11: 120–68). Tracing the treatment of the "sick, needy, and disabled" by those ostensibly closest to them and noting the reactions of the hagiographers to said treatment, Denton observes some interesting albeit

subtle differences in the handling of such narratives by Lantfred and Wulfstan, and offers some hypotheses concerning Anglo-Saxon medical care. The accounts are concerned with afflictions not uncommon to Anglo-Saxons such as blindness, deafness, and lameness, and Denton notes how Wulfstan "tempers" Lantfred's accounts, so that aid comes when the afflicted turn from "worldly relief to spiritual considerations," whereas Lantfred seems intent on demonstrating Swithun's role in aiding those who have no one to help them—not even family (133 and 134). Denton traces potential sources for Lantfred's and Wulfstan's attitudes, and finds little reason to think that previous Anglo-Latin hagiography offered guidance as to the treatment of such curative miracles, nor, *contra* Lapidge, does he think that Adrevald's *Historia translationis Sancti Benedicti* and *Liber miraculorum S. Benedicti* provided significant templates. Rather, Denton argues that, while Lantfred may have been slightly influenced by Continental works, a more significant model is to be found in the native Anglo-Saxon legal and social *mores* surrounding the family.

In "Interactions between Brittany and Christ Church, Canterbury in the Tenth Century: The Linenthal Leaf," in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell: Sources, Style, Performance, Historiography*, ed. Emma Hornby and David Maw (Woodbridge: Boydell and Brewer), 47–65, Emma Hornby declares her intention to situate the Linenthal Leaf, a fragment of the pre-Conquest Mass Proper tradition, within the larger context of the Canterbury scriptorium, which has been largely overlooked in contrast to Winchester. Hornby argues for a connection between the "Breton Mass Proper tradition and that of Christ Church, Canterbury in the later years of the tenth century" (48). Hornby traces the history of neumatic notation in late tenth-century Canterbury manuscripts, which has both Breton and Anglo-Saxon characteristics. The Linenthal leaf itself exists only as a fragment, but contains three fragments of offertory verses and incipits for three chants of the *Dominica vacat*. Hornby posits that perhaps Breton refugees brought their notation, chant-style, or repertoire to Canterbury. An appendix summarizes pre-Conquest manuscripts written at Christ Church, Canterbury, including notation.

AJA

Anglo-Latin Language

In "Colloquial Latin in the Insular Latin Scholastic *colloquia*?" in *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, ed. Eleanor Dickey and Anna Chahoud (Cambridge: CUP), 406–18, Michael Lapidge offers the first of two fascinating papers on colloquial Anglo-Latin in this volume. The other is by Michael Winterbottom's "Conversations in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*," 419–30. The question here is, to what extent are these colloquies to be considered "colloquial" or "literary" Latin? For a start, Lapidge provides an valuable overview of the tradition, in which he makes important connections between late antique Greek-Latin colloquies meant to teach the living language to children and those produced in later centuries, such as the *colloquia* of Ælfric and Ælfric Bata, which are more "literary," given that Latin was a dead language by the late tenth century. That being said, Lapidge shows that late antique and medieval *colloquia* have much in common. Often, for example, they begin in the same way with "conversation relevant to the child's day." The child "wakes up, summons his slave to fetch his clothing and water so that he may wash," etc., and the medieval monk does much the same, although he calls upon his "brother" in the absence of a slave. In short, there is good cause for scholars of Anglo-Saxon *colloquia* to take these late antique sources into account. Specific to Lapidge's discussion on colloquial Latin is a text known as *De aliquibus raris fabulis* "Some Unusual Stories," a colloquy written when Latin was perhaps still a colloquial language in sub-Roman Britain. The text is preserved in a single Welsh manuscript (now Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 572, fols. 41–50), perhaps of the fourth or fifth century, though the date is difficult to set. Lapidge wonders if the language of the text might not shed some light on the question at hand, "whether, in other words, the colloquial Latin which it attempts to inculcate is a genuine reflection of the spoken Latin of sub-Roman Britain." To this end, he provides an impressive overview of the development of the Latin language from late antiquity to the Anglo-Saxon period with reference to phonology, morphology, verbs, syntax, vocabulary, and the *De aliquibus raris fabulis*. These sections offer a wealth of insight into the development of Latin, and they are enough on their own to make this chapter essential reading. More to the point, after careful consideration of the evidence, Lapidge finds that the language of *De aliquibus raris fabulis* does not suggest colloquial Latin, despite "the author's occasional use of 'affective' colloquial language"; rather, it speaks more to the literary development of the language.

In "Conversations in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*," *Colloquial and Literary Latin*, 419–30, Michael Winterbottom explores the intriguing question of Bede's colloquial Latin in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*. Can Bede, for whom Latin was a "learnt and learned language," be said to have known colloquial Latin and communicated it to readers? Winterbottom says no. At best, the conversations in the *Historia Ecclesiastica* are "literary constructs, with

no definable relation to anything that was or might have been spoken in Latin at this period." Yes, Bede varies his style, which is sometimes ornate, sometimes not, but Winterbottom warns that such degrees of difference do not necessarily constitute colloquial Latin. Each case must be weighed individually. So Edwin's words to a friend in *HE* 2.12.2 are at once impassioned but also formal and carefully wrought. Ceolfrith's report of a conversation with Adamnan (*HE* 5.21–15) is likewise clearly influenced by epistolary Latin and the rhetoric of religious argument. Both of these are staged "conversations." Caedmon's complaint to the heavenly messenger in *HE* 4.22.2 is at the other end of the spectrum. Although the language is not definitively high or low, it is plain enough and certainly "contrast[s] with the grand topic of the dreamt song." The account of Herebald's riding accident in his youth in *HE* 5.6.2 is also reported in simple, direct terms, but all we can say for these examples is that Bede varies his style depending on the situation. Noble and low-born figures may speak in simple terms, but it does not mean that their language is colloquial. Intense displays of emotion may appear to be spontaneous but may in fact be stylized or formulaic. The same may be said for prayers and authorial comments appearing to be conversational. Ultimately, it is likely that Bede learned his "conversational" Latin from literary sources, such as the Bible, saints' lives, Jerome, Sulpicius Severus, and Gregory the Great. He manipulates these sources to fashion his own literary conversations that serve the rhetorical needs of the moment.

PMcB

General and Late Texts

In "Complex Identities: Selves and Others," in *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Walker and Treharne [see sect. 4a], 434–56, Kathy Lavezzo examines "the complexities of medieval identity formation by surveying the depiction of the Jews and Saracens in English texts produced throughout the medieval period, from the time of Bede (ca. 673–735) to the second half of the fifteenth century." The scope of the survey is ambitious. Lavezzo begins with the reference to the Muslim conquest of Africa in Bede's commentary on Genesis 16:12 and the prophecy to Hagar. Lavezzo observes that Bede vilifies Islam. She argues that Bede's rhetoric is rooted in Jerome's deprecations of the "Saracens"—a term no Arab peoples would use—as a "deceitful" people. As Lavezzo contends, "[t]he Saracens are frauds and in reality Ishmaelites (or, alternatively, Hagarenes from Hagar)," so Bede establishes the Saracens as a dangerous "other" who stand against the universality of Christendom. Ælfric describes the Jews in his sermon on Maccabees I and II. It is an example, says Lavezzo, of how English writers dealt with the "theological problems that Jews posed," namely that they were God's chosen people, until "some of them would not believe that [Christ] was the Very God," as Ælfric puts it. This problem of "chosenness" as it relates to Anglo-Saxon literature is dealt with at length by Samantha Zacher in the same volume ("The Chosen People: Spiritual Identities," 457–77). For her part, Lavezzo emphasizes Ælfric's view that descriptions of literal battles by Old Testament Jews, while heroic in history, are better understood prophetically as significations of the spiritual battles of future Christians. Figural or typological readings of the Old Testament "enabled Christians to read Jewish history as an imperfect version of episodes within Christian history." Put differently, it is a way for Christians to deemphasize the alterity of the Jews. So ends Lavezzo's discussion of Anglo-Saxon England. Following the Conquest, images of the Jews were subjected more directly to "a process of fictionalization," to borrow Anthony Bale's phrase, especially in narratives about Jews murdering children. One such tale, told by Herbert de Losinga (d. 1119), ends with the story of a Jewish boy who accompanies his playmates to mass and takes communion. Enraged, his mother tells his father, who puts the child in an oven. In remorse, the mother tells some nearby Christians, who then pry the oven open to find the child safe within, having been protected by the Virgin Mary. In Losinga's sermon, Mary becomes a vital force against the heathenism of the Jews. From here, Lavezzo considers other examples from late medieval England, including the depiction of Saracens in the Crusades as "unclean, evil, licentious." As Lavezzo notes, however, late medieval literature does at times attempt to resolve some of the differences between Christians and practitioners of other religions. Chaucer's *Man of Law's Tale* offers marriage as one solution, but the relationship remains complex. Lavezzo concludes by stressing two points: depictions of "others" are essential to "notions of selfhood in the medieval West," and "inquiry into the problem of alterity is anything but conventional and straightforward." She resists the generalization that depictions of the Jews and "others" are predictable. In fact, she says, these relationships between Christians and marginalized peoples are often complex.

Samantha Zacher explores representations of the Jews in Anglo-Latin and Old English literature in "The Chosen People: Spiritual Identities," *The Oxford Handbook*, 457–77. Focusing on 1.22 of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* on the coming of the Germanic tribes and the Old English *Daniel*, Zacher highlights variations on the theme of "chosenness." She begins with Deuteronomy 7:6–10

and 26:16–16 to provide a biblical context for the theme of "chosenness" as it relates to Israel, and she adds that in Deut. 26:16–19 the elect status of Israel depends on strict obedience to God. Reading *Ecclesiastical History* 1.22 closely, Zacher argues that Bede aligns the fallen nation of the Britons with the fallen nation of the Jews, who have not accepted Christ into their hearts. She offers some convincing links to Paul's Epistle to the Romans 11:1–5, in which the language is similar (esp. the verbatim echo of *plebem suam quam praesciit*). Bede therefore channels not only Gildas but also Paul, and his repudiation of the Britons simultaneously promotes the incoming Germans as the new chosen-elect. All of this, suggests Zacher, is rhetoric associated with "emergent English nationhood." Moving on to *Daniel*, Zacher argues that the poem represents a less politicized use of "chosenness," which instead emphasizes replacement and a more inclusive point of view: "While the Hebrews at the beginning of the poem collectively lose their earthly sovereignty *and* their divinely chosen status, the poet's view of Jews cannot be reduced to a purely negative statement." Daniel and the three youths remain Hebrew and chosen throughout the poem, and the character of Nebuchadnezzar learns to embrace the Hebrew God in terms that evoke "a universalist Pauline conception of chosenness." Reviewing the opening lines of the poem (ll. 1–16), Zacher again makes a connection to Deut. 7 and 21, highlighting the Israelites's good fortune, which lasts only while they are obedient to God. The turn at line 17, marked by *oðþæt* 'until', is the point at which the Israelites fall out of favor. But the emphasis on the virtue and faithfulness of Daniel and the three youths offers a way to regain that favor. As part of the language of the elect, the *Daniel*-poet uses the adjective *gecoren* 'chosen' three times of the three youths and twice of Daniel (more than in the Vulgate), and so emphasizes the theme of "chosenness." "It would seem," says Zacher, "that each time the word *gecoren* appears in *Daniel* it is always presaged by the allocation of divine wisdom," which validates the precondition of obedience in Deut. 7 and 21. Zacher concludes that while the *Daniel*-poet's view of the Jews is different from that of Bede—he does not condemn Israel outright—it is nevertheless part of the same language of election, which frequently accompanies characterizations of the Jews in Anglo-Saxon literature.

In "Mysterious Friends in the Prayers and Letters of Anselm of Canterbury," in *Friendship in the Middle Ages and Early Modern Age*: *Explorations of a Fundamental Ethical Discourse*, ed. Albrecht Classen and Marilyn Sandidge, Fundamentals of Medieval and Early Modern Culture 6 (Berlin: de Gruyter), 309–48, Jacob R. McDonie explores the dimensions of friendship within the writings of Anselm—not only in his *Letters* but his *Prayers* as well, where saints are "friends" in order to "triangulate a relationship with God." McDonie begins with Anselm's letters to his friend Gundulf, which imply a close relationship and mutual understanding, but a reading of Anselm's *Prayers* alongside these letters qualifies the picture. In his *Prayers*, Anselm is so overwhelmed by his own sins that we may rightly wonder how much of himself is he actually sharing with his friends. Anselm's self-portraits in his letters are therefore at least partly illusory, says McDonie. They are speech acts, which create illusions of stability and immutability in friendship, while Anselm is in fact rather guarded about his own weaknesses. Anselm's few letters to women are of a different nature. His correspondence with Frodelina sets her on a moral pedestal to distance and sanctify her, as if she were a saint. McDonie suggests that Anselm does this to deflect his own sexual desires and perhaps protect himself from temptation. His letter to Gilbert (*Ep.* 130) on the other hand is a conundrum, and despite suggestions of homoerotism in the letter, McDonie argues that "Anselmian male-male friendship can be an eroticized state of mind" through which friendship with Gilbert may be revived by "signs of sameness and symmetry, registered here through eyes ("oculo ad oculum," *Ep.* 130.13–14) and lips ("osculo ad osculum," *Ep.* 130.14) embracing each other." In other words, the letter may imply nothing more than innocent affection. In his *Prayers* to his "saint friends," Anselm places greater importance on the spiritual benefits of divine friendship. As McDonie puts it, "[i]ntercession is the ultimate friendly activity." Anselm is careful, though, not to reveal too much about his own sins, lest he jeopardize his friendship with the saints. He therefore focuses on episodes in *their* earlier lives, where God showed them mercy. This allows Anselm to avoid personal introspection and yet still appeal for mercy. In the same way, he appeals to the saints for love, since "the act of loving friends activates virtue within oneself that pleases God." In sum, although Anselm's *Prayers* follow the outlines of the medieval genre, he stretches the boundaries of friendship to evade "painful self-examination" and instead uses logic to access intercession through mercy and love. His letters to his friends, when read in light of the *Prayers*, suggest a more guarded Anselm than readers may suspect.

In *The Christology of Theodore of Tarsus*: *The Laterculus Malalianus and the Person and Work of Christ*, Studia Traditionis Theologiae 6 (Turnhout: Brepols), James Siemens observes that "[l]ike the other poems ascribed to Theodore by Michael Lapidge, the *Laterculus* is about

Christ and reveals something about Theodore's conception of Christ; unlike them, the *Laterculus* does not arise from personal, pious sentiment. [It] is a rather more standard piece of theological prose." The sources for *Laterculus* are far ranging, as far apart as Gaul and Mesopotamia. Siemens focuses on the influence of Ephrem of Syria, since the Syriac tradition contributes to Theodore's Christology. The description of the incarnate Logos in *Laterculus*, for example, is Ephremic as is much of the figural language in chapter fourteen. Otherwise, the Syriac influence on *Laterculus* can be seen in the "picture of Christ who is the restorer of humankind, who has achieved this restoration by means of having recapitulated all the ages and conditions of humankind in himself, who, in doing so, has effected healing among human beings, fed them, liberated them from their bondage, and so enabled them to become, once again, the creatures they were meant to be." But the Syriac material is not the only important influence on Theodore's theology. His pastoral work as archbishop of Canterbury is to be taken into account as well as other evidence from his life. Siemens therefore discusses: 1) the legacy of his school and influence on Aldhelm; 2) the transmission of Syriac ideas, and particularly knowledge of Ephrem; 3) Bede's exegesis, especially in the context of the rebuilding of the temple in forty-six days in John's Gospel, and the Lucan nativity narrative; 4) and Anglo-Saxon evidence, including the liturgy, and the context of such works as the Blickling Homilies. Siemens concludes with the statement that much work remains to be done and that one line of inquiry would be to consider more thoroughly the relationship between the vocabulary and grammar of the *Passio s. Anastasii* and *Laterculus* in order to assess more clearly the nature of Theodore's authorship. There are also exegetical links to Bede to be considered, especially vis-à-vis his commentary on Luke. But above all Theodore himself is to be better understood and placed more comfortably in the context of the early medieval theological world.

Immo Warntjes's *The Munich Computus*: *Text and Translation*; *Irish Computistics between Isidore of Seville and the Venerable Bede and Its Reception in Carolingian Times*, Sudhoffs Archiv: Zeitschrift für Wissenschaftsgeschichte, Beihefte 59 (Stuttgart: Franz Steiner Verlag), a revised and expanded version of his Ph.D. thesis from the Dept. of History of NUI, Galway in 2007, makes an impressive contribution to the study of *computistics* or medieval time-reckoning (see also Wallis's translation of Bede's *De temporibus* this year in *Translated Texts for Historians*, 56). This remarkably lucid book provides the first edition of this important work, which survives in a single manuscript—Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, Cm 14456—and which was known first for its text of the Regensburg annals (*Annales Ratisponensis*), edited by Jean Mabillon in 1685. Only in 1878 did a 21-year-old doctoral student, Bruno Krusch, draw attention to the *Computus*. His interest lay chiefly in the references to a *laterculus* in the text—an 84-year Easter table relevant to the paschal cycle. In fact, scholarly interest in this feature of the *Munich Computus* dominated studies of the manuscript up to 1985. Otherwise, the text has drawn attention for a few Old Irish words, but their importance has yet to be fully explained, says Warntjes. For his part, Warntjes argues that the text of the *Computus* is also important as a witness to the Hiberno-Latin language and its influence on Bede's computistical writings, which owe a debt to "the Irish phase in the history of computistics, i.e. the period between the reception of Isidore and that of Bede." Warntjes's introductory sections provide a wealth of additional information on the *Computus*, including discussions of date (718/719); authorship (anonymous but by "an Irishman for an Irish-speaking audience"); provenance (southern Irish monastery); transmission (Brittany, Luxeuil, esp. Cologne, Regensburg); structure (four major sections: solar theory, lunar theory, reckoning of Easter, the 19-year cycle, and *saltus lunae*); sources (interdependency between *Computus Einsidlensis*, Munich Computus, and *De ratione conputandi*; Isidore, Macrobius, *et al.*); and reception and influence (esp. the relationship of *Computus Einsidlensis*, Munich Computus, and *De ratione conputandi*). The text of Warntjes is made even more accessible by the addition of 68 chapter divisions, and the translation is not literary but more utilitarian, which is helpful for the more technical passages. An *apparatus criticus* lists "all variants and noteworthy features of the MS." An *apparatus fontium* lists "all sources used by the Munich computist." And an *apparatus comparationis* provides cross-references to comparable texts, to highlight the "importance and reception" of computistical concepts in other texts. In all, this monumental edition will no doubt shed much light on Bede's sources and it will also further illuminate the early Irish contribution to this scientific field. It's a remarkable book.

Jesse Dean Billett's Cambridge University dissertation, "Divine Office in Anglo-Saxon England, 597–ca.1000," challenges the conventional notion that the Divine Office in early England was derived primarily from the Benedictine Rule. Billet offers good evidence to show that the Roman rite was introduced early (as early as 597) and that it was frequently used throughout the seventh and eight centuries. Only in the 10th century with the reforms of

Dunstan, Æthelwold, and Oswald did the Benedictine Office take precedence. In Part One of his study, Billet discusses several canons approved by the synod of Clofesho in 747, including Canon 15, which promotes the use of the sevenfold *horarium* and the singing of the whole psalter each week—both features of the Roman Office. Billet then provides evidence for the Roman *horarium* in Anglo-Saxon sources and offers clear signs of the seven-fold Roman office in "Aldhelm's Malmesbury ca. 700, Wearmouth and Jarrow during Bede's lifetime, East Anglia under Ælfwald in the mid-eighth century, and the unknown house (possibly Crayke) described by Æthelwulf in the first quarter of the ninth century." Billet also refers to the 15th-century history of St. Augustine's Canterbury by Thomas of Elmham, which suggests that the Roman rite may have been used there early on. Part I concludes with the development of the Office throughout the 9th and 10th centuries, leading to the widespread use of the Benedictine Rule. Part II examines the manuscript evidence for English Office Chant in the 10th century. Here, following a careful examination, Billet concludes that both the breviary fragment in London, British Library, Royal 17. C. XVII, and the fragmentary chant book in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Rawl. D. 894 are probably productions of the mid-tenth century and corroborate his earlier evidence, "suggesting that the Benedictine *cursus* was introduced to England much later than has normally been assumed." The final pages of the dissertation contain further evidence, including Latin texts for many of the manuscripts in question. This is an important and enlightening dissertation for anyone working on the Divine Office.

PMcB

John R. Fortin examines Anselm's attitude toward death, judgment, heaven, and hell ("Saint Anselm and the Last Four Things," *The American Benedictine Review* 61.2 I: 183–203) and suggests that Anselm saw heaven as modulating and moderating a Christian's reaction to the other three. Although Anselm did not, unlike Thomas More, treat of the "four last things" in a systematic way in any of his writing, Fortin believes that he can trace his thinking on the matters in his writings *Cur Deus homo*, *De Concordia, De conceptu virginali et de originali peccato*, his meditations, and other central texts. He notes that the death of Christ is foremost in Anselm's thinking, and marks out death as a necessary good. So too, must judgment be a matter looked forward to by all Christians. Heaven by contrast is central to Anselm's thought and is the prism through which he sees the other three. Heaven is the model of three types of order, namely moral order, salvific order (concerned with beatitude and happiness), and the mystical order of perfect number. Anselm believed that there was a perfect number for the inhabitants of heaven, which is intended to make up for the number of lost or fallen angels.

David Hiley ("The Saints Venerated in Medieval Peterborough as Reflected in the Antiphoner Cambridge, Magdalene College, F.4.10," in *Essays on the History of English Music in Honour of John Caldwell*, 22–46) does a great service in his examination of the Peterborough Antiphoner, which has been somewhat overshadowed by the Worcester Antiphoner since the days of M.R. James. The book's near-completeness (only three leaves appear to be missing) makes it a trove of information regarding the medieval English antiphoner tradition. Hiley describes the manuscript and its contents in fine detail, compares it to other liturgical office books, and finishes with an account of local saints' offices. Musical notation resembles other manuscripts from the period 1225–1325. Of primary interest to Anglo-Saxonists will be the Kalendar, which includes Guthlac, Elfeg, Edmund, John of Beverley, Dunstan, Botulf, Etheldreda, Swithun, Kenelm, Oswald, Aidan, Cuthbert, Wilfrid, and Birinus. Hiley also offers a brief account of the contents of the Sanctorale. An appendix lists all of the post-Pentecost canticle antiphons for the Octave of Pentecost. Several excellent plates are included, as well as examples of musical notation.

In her essay "'Bless, O Lord, This Fruit of the New Trees': Liturgy and Nature in England in the Central Middle Ages," in *God's Bounty? The Churches and the Natural World*, 53–65, Tamsin Rowe seeks to understand how nature bendictions, such as the blessings of trees, crops, and herbs, were interpreted and developed within the context of medieval thought. She positions herself as engaging with and clarifying some foundational statements by M.D. Chenu on the relationship between medieval liturgical developments and Scholasticism. Anglo-Saxonists may be interested in her mention of the Winchester *Liber Vitae* (British Library, Stowe 944) and the portable breviary known as the *Portiforium* of St. Wulfstan (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391). Rowe traces the "deployment of these blessings outside of the traditional sacramentary" to the eleventh century, from which she posits a somewhat earlier timeframe for any medieval shift in attitudes toward nature than proposed by Chenu.

David F. Johnson and Winfried Rudolf have identified more marginalia that can be ascribed to the eleventh-century Worcester scribe referred to as Coleman ("More Notes by Coleman," *Medium Aevum* 79: 1–13). Since Neil Ker, Coleman has been specifically associated with the

man who had been chancellor to St. Wulfstan, prior of the cell at Westbury-on-Trym, and author of the lost life of Wulfstan II, Bishop of Worcester. Johnson and Rudolf have identified his hand in three additional manuscripts: Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Hatton 114; Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 178; and London, British Library Cotton Otho, MS C.i, vol. 2. The notations are primarily marginal rubrics, identifying central figures of passages of note (e.g., ANNA at Hatton 114 27v, or BALTASAR at CCCC 178 119), but also include various signs for cross-referencing. The passages chosen for notation correspond with Coleman's "preferred preaching topics of repentance and chastity" (5). Numerous excellent plates are provided, clearly showing the marginalia and providing useful context.

AJA

Works Not Seen

Davies, Joshua E. "An Acknowledged Land: Place, Poetry and History in Early Medieval and Postmodern Britain and Ireland." Ph.D. King's College London.

Douglass, Brian. "Constructing Spiritual Landscapes: Aspects of Centrality and Peripherality in Anglo-Saxon England and Early Medieval Ireland." Ph.D. Univ. of York.

Glerup, Michael, Robert C. Hill and Carmen Hardin. "Commentaries on Genesis 1–3." Ancient Christian Texts. Downers Grove (IL: IVP Academic).

Glunz, H. H. "A History of the Vulgate in England from Alcuin to Roger Bacon: Being an Inquiry into the Text of Some English Manuscripts of the Vulgate Gospels." (Cambridge: Cambridge UP) [a reprint of the 1933 edition].

Hill, Joyce. "An Unmatched Pair: Two Eleventh-Century Manuscripts of the Homiliary of Paul the Deacon in Durham Cathedral Library." *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 41: 95–111.

Humphrey, Illo. *Boethius ([b.] Rome, ca. 480–[d.] Pavia, ca. 524)*: *His Influence on the European Unity of Culture*: *from Alcuin of York ([d.] 804) to Thierry of Chartres ([d.] 1154)*. Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz.

6. Manuscripts, Illuminations, Charters

Manuscripts and Charters

Rohini Jayatilaka writes a basic introduction to the field for this year in "Old English Manuscripts and Readers," in *A Companion to Medieval Poetry*, ed. Corinne Saunders (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell), 51–64. Jayatilaka covers runes, alphabets and languages, manuscript preparation, the Codex Amiatinus, the cost of manuscript production, binding, and writing in four dense paragraphs. The statement that the Franks Casket offers the only surviving poem in runes (51) causes the knowledgeable reader to stop and wonder why the Ruthwell Cross text does not appear as well (maybe because it's not a complete poem? or because reading the poem on the cross would require unprecedented height and also acrobatic ability?). But for a student looking to get a preliminary sense of the field such an issue would not arise, and Jayatilaka offers a very tight and coherent presentation. Later paragraphs address the question of oral versus written poetry in the earliest period of vernacular writing, the early copies of *Caedmon's Hymn* and *Bede's Death Song* and their format in manuscripts, the *Leiden Riddle*, and the copying of poems on stone or ivory such as the Ruthwell Cross and the Franks Casket. The review then takes an intriguing turn, constructing the story of Alfred's youthful acquisition from his mother of a book of vernacular poems as the earliest reference to manuscripts of Old English poems. Although the story, as Jayatilaka states, is a doubtful one, it corresponds to the reference in Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in which the monks write down the poems of Caedmon. Similarly, Cynewulf's use of acrostics was for readers, not listeners, and other poems also seem likely to have been written from the outset. Given the author's extensive knowledge of Alfredian translation, it is hardly surprising that the prose and verse prefaces to the Old English translation of Gregory's *Pastoral Care* get an entire paragraph covering the layout, the scribe, and the intent of the text. Jayatilaka compares the prosimetrical *Boethius*, with verse texts embedded in prose, to the poems written in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and to the verse and prose dialogues of Solomon and Saturn. These sections, with new information densely presented about the manuscript layout and format, are particularly strong, focusing on the mixed prose and verse texts that deserve more attention as a mode of presentation common in the tenth century and later. At this point the chapter turns unsurprisingly to the four main poetic manuscripts, each of which gets an efficient couple of paragraphs. The description of the Exeter Book as housing "about 132 poems in Old English plus one riddle poem in Latin" (59) suggests the care taken with the material here, and the innovative approach, although some might wonder about the statement that the manuscript copies a collection from at least fifty years earlier. Arriving in the mid- to late eleventh century, Jayatilaka comments on the Paris Psalter and its functional approach to poetry as an aid to understanding the Latin, the verse *Menologium* and maxims written before a copy of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, and the complicated mix of Latin and Old English prose and verse found in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 201 and its two major scribal stints at the beginning of the eleventh century and about half a century later. She briefly surveys the poems that survive as fragments or later copies, before pointing out in her conclusion how little evidence we have for drawing firm conclusions about the production and use of Old English poetry. She does point out that vernacular prose and verse texts on similar themes were often copied together, while Old English and Latin poetry only very rarely appeared in the same manuscript. This is a deft and dense analysis.

Joshua A. Westgard finds a highly appropriate set of additions to manuscript copies of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* with which to express his gratitude to his doctoral supervisor in "The Wilfridian Annals in Winchester Cathedral Library, MS 1 and Durham Cathedral Library, MS B. II. 35," in *The Study of Medieval Manuscripts of England: Festschrift in Honor of Richard W. Pfaff*. ed. George Hardin Brown and Linda Ehrsam Voigts (Tempe: ACMRS and Brepols), 209–23. It seems appropriate to begin with an assessment of the footnotes, as these offer as much as the main text, beginning with a very judicious assessment of R.A.B. Mynors' textual approach and variant readings, comments on the relationships among the manuscripts of *HE* based on Westgard's own collations, extensive bibliography, detailed textual analysis of the materials edited in the article, careful explication of the annals with their sources and textual relations, palaeographical study of the most significant manuscript, and reconsideration of the year

numbers inserted in the Wilfrid annals. In an appendix Westgard offers a really useful supplement to Mynors in a detailed list of the twenty main manuscripts of the *HE*. The serious aficionado of footnotes and appendices will be delighted. In the main text, Westgard follows up a reference in Mynors's "Textual Introduction" to address a set of additions about St Wilfrid which survive in at least twelve copies of the *HE*, and which were compiled at some time between 731 (completion of the *HE*) and the beginning of the eleventh century, which is the date of the first of the manuscripts containing these additions (Winchester Cathedral Library, MS 1). Westgard assesses the work of Plummer and Mynors in their establishment of the *stemma* of these additions, including its division of the manuscripts into two main groups, those associated with the Winchester and Durham manuscripts respectively, which derived independently from a lost archetype. Westgard's edition of these annals collates both the Winchester and Edinburgh versions, but uses the Durham version as the base text despite its scribe's editorial interventions. The additions, one of which is mysterious, refer to six annals between 658 and 705; Westgard edits them with a translation, and he notes that the information in them nearly all derives directly from the main text of *HE*, sometimes as direct echoes of that text.

Given the particular focus on Wilfrid in a surprisingly large number of manuscripts of *HE*, the edition raises questions about the origin of this material. Westgard corrects Plummer's misapprehensions about this material as being northern in origin, noting that Wilfrid's bones were at Canterbury from the mid-tenth century (having been mysteriously moved from Ripon where he was buried). The manuscript into which these annals were first copied was textually related to C (London, British Library, MS Cotton Tiberius C. ii), and Westgard argues that this was almost certainly a Canterbury manuscript. The other manuscripts do not provide further clues. The mysterious annal for 667, which offers just an opening, does not help sufficiently, since Westgard disagrees with Plummer's musings that it might refer to the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. Westgard instead argues that the opening simply suggests that the abbot was writing, or planning to write, annals. Using the year numbers, Westgard suggests that the abbot might have intended to produce a supplement to this section with these numbers (copied not sequentially but as a group in later versions). The surviving annals, he argues, "may have been a first foray into the writing of annals, which the abbot had intended to continue for the period from 653 to at least 675" (220–1). Westgard concludes by positing provenance in a Mercian monastery, perhaps one founded by Wilfrid, in which a supplement might have been planned to offer a discussion of the Christianization of that region and its king Wulfhere. The conclusion might perhaps be somewhat fanciful (based as it is on the mysterious curtailed entry for 667), but the chain of logic leading in its direction—especially the logical argument about the year listings given that they occur that way in manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle—is largely a solid one.

Two papers from the last of the *Sancta Crux / Halig Rod* volumes are relevant here. The volume is *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World: Studies to Honor the Memory of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Sarah Larratt Keefer, Karen Louise Jolly, and Catherine E. Karkov (Morgantown: West Virginia UP), and the first paper in it is Michelle P. Brown, "The Cross and the Book: the Cross-Carpet Pages of the Lindisfarne Gospels as Sacred Figurae" (17–52). Brown returns to a manuscript about which she previously published a monograph, considering here the carpet-pages (all five of them, the introductory and the four apostles, all provided in beautiful color plates on pages 48–52). She argues forcefully for the manuscript as an "aesthetic encyclopedia" (18) in which the visual styles of at least three peoples co-exist comfortably. The carpet-pages with their facing incipit pages are "magnificent devotional diptychs" (19) which provide a "series of sacred *figurae*, or symbolic diagrams embodying Christian exegetical thinking" (20). The paper travels very far through the medieval world, touching on Coptic cross designs; jeweled bosses; prayer mats; the iconoclastic controversy; the trumpet spirals and pelta of Celtic art; the arithmetical and geometric layout of the carpet pages; the quadrivium and spiritual truth; the intentional inconsistencies of measurement in all except the cross-carpet page of St. John; Mediterranean and Middle Eastern influences on the decoration; parallels with the Lichfield Gospels; the kinds of crosses used on the carpet-pages (Latin, ring-headed or solar, equal-armed Greek, and TAU crosses); parallels to the text from Insular, Breton and continental contexts; using the sign of the cross for a dedicatory function; metalwork processional crosses as analogies; liturgical focal points in the church; the new liturgies from Rome for the Veneration and Exaltation of the Cross; and more. The paper ranges across various kinds of material context, as Brown compares the layout to metalwork techniques and examples from a variety of Insular and Irish contexts, including St. Cuthbert's pectoral cross, architectural parallels, sculptured and painted slabs from Ireland, and the analogy of the carpet-pages to the *crux gemmata*, or jeweled cross of the early Christian tradition. She points out that the layout almost suggests that each gospel has its own incarnation cross and ends with a strong and convincing argument for the carpet-pages as

reflecting new liturgical developments from Rome. The prayer mats were introduced as a surface for kneeling to kiss the cross, and Monkwearmouth/Jarrow developed a Good Friday station for adoration of the cross, as Brown demonstrates. Moreover, the development of reliquaries and chapels for the cross suggest its growing importance. The Lindisfarne Gospels, Brown argues, focused on a symbolic and abstracted depiction, reflecting a sophisticated unease with literal imagery. The argument ranges far afield, replicating and surveying not only the traditional analyses of the Lindisfarne Gospels but also the more general traditions of early Insular art and archaeology, and—most helpfully—Brown situates those traditions within a very broad Mediterranean context including Byzantine and Coptic influences as well as Arabic and Hebrew approaches to sacred calligraphy.

Catherine Karkov in the same volume considers two manuscripts associated with Ælfwine of Winchester, his prayer book and the *Liber Vitae* of New Minster in "Abbot Ælfwine and the Sign of the Cross" (103–32). The prayerbook (London, British Library MS Cotton Titus D. xxvii and xxvi), produced between 1023 and 1031, is the work of two scribes, the second of whom might be Ælfwine himself because the more innovative texts are in this hand, including the prayers to the Holy Cross and the Special Offices. Karkov analyses the manuscript by way of the drawings which introduce the three sections of devotional texts. The Crucifixion, introducing the series of twenty-one prayers to the Holy Cross, combines text with image as it specifically names Ælfwine and unites him as a figure contemplating the Godhead with the other such figures, Mary and John. The iconography connects Ælfwine to John the Evangelist, whose Book of Revelation says that the saved will be marked with the sign of the cross on their foreheads at the Last Judgment. The immediately preceding pages include a copy of the *passio* according to John and a prayer to the cross. The following pages have seven prayers to be said in front of a cross and addressed to seven parts of Christ's body (the five wounds, the mouth, and the ears). Intermingled with the devotional prayers are seven psalms, which also highlight the interaction between the supplicant's words and the body. Further links exist in the ensuing prayers, which end with a prayer to redirect the salvific power of the cross onto the supplicant's own body in all its parts. The drawing of the Trinity has less obvious imagery of the cross, but the haloes are cruciform, and some of the prayers and hymns in this section invoke the cross as bringer of peace to humanity and the kingdom of heaven. Finally, the drawing of Ælfwine with St. Peter and his double cross-key, which itself refers to Peter's crucifixion and resurrection, offers a final set of links between the abbot, the cross, and the figures of salvation. The specific theme that Karkov sees at the centre of the manuscript is that of the soul in the hour of death, facing the moment at which Peter either admits the individual to heaven, or not. Peter serves as both judge and doorkeeper, and the monks of Winchester, led by Ælfwine, saw themselves as a community joining with Peter; Karkov cites a Latin poem to this effect identified by Michael Lapidge as a Winchester product. The paper finishes with the *Liber Vitae* (London, British Library, MS Stowe 944), with its opening donation image using both color and the arrangement of figures to form a royal axis horizontally and a "vertical ecclesiastical or spiritual axis" (118) to focus the reader on the sign of the cross. The altar cross being donated also echoes the Crucifixion image in the prayer book, while the figures in the image look forward to the sequence of the Last Judgment on the next pages. They are ready to join the procession to heaven, dressed as they are like the saved and standing near a cross, which is not unlike the processional cross leading to the cross-keys of Peter on the facing page. In addition to calling forth the Peter of the prayer book, the doorkeeper and shepherd here also parallels the role of the abbots of the New Minster, Ælfwine and later Æthelgar (whose name appears over one of the ecclesiastical figures). Books appear again to great effect, as among other references this manuscript lists names of the confraternity of the monastery expecting to join the elect. The abbot here focuses on protecting the soul at death, and through the sign of the cross he asserts the rights of his community. Karkov usefully provides two appendices giving the contents of the two manuscripts and the five relevant illustrations, although only the donation image is in color.

In "The Anglo-Saxon Bride of Christ: Text and Image," *Quaestio Insularis* 10 (2009): 8–26, Kirsty March examines "the depiction of Mary as bride, bridal chamber and queen"(8). She considers the bride of Christ *topos* in the Bible, from the faithless and vain prostitute in Jeremiah and Isaiah to the beloved in *the Song of Songs* with Christ as her bridegroom. As foretold in Isaiah, the Virgin becomes the bride, especially in Luke's Gospel, although her life appears more fully in the Pseudo-Matthew and the *Proteuangelium*. The Anglo-Saxons were well aware of the *Marian Apocrypha*, while Bede wrote a commentary on *the Songs of Songs* and even Aldhelm used imagery from Solomon's supposed text in his songs to mark the Annunciation. Bede focuses entirely on the Song of Songs as an allegory for Christ and His church, but, March argues, he appears to emulate the text in his poem dedicated to Æthelthryth, depicting her as a supernal bride of Christ. Depictions of these figures appear to

reinforce these linkages: in the Benedictional of Æthelwold, Æthelthryth resembles the Virgin in the Annunciation scene of the same manuscript. The manuscript also illustrates the Nativity and the death and coronation of the Virgin; March analyzes these images carefully for the way in which the Virgin dominates in one image as the living womb of the Christian church. On the Ruthwell Cross the Annunciation scene reflects the linkage between the cross and Mary, as does the poem the *Dream of the Rood*. March brings in images from the *Boulogne Gospels* (Annunciation) and the Judith of *Flanders Gospelbook* (Crucifixion) for the Virgin as a continuing dominant figure and one wearing the clothing of a bride and queen. In the Gospelbook the Virgin is even a young, beautiful figure and intercessor, moving towards Christ and also breaking the frame to bring the audience into the image. March points out contrasting images of the Virgin in several psalters, focusing on the proud image of the regal Virgin whose womb is the bridal chamber for the bridegroom and the vessel through which God found a way to humanity. Further evidence for this interpretation of the pictorial Virgin comes from Aldhelm's *Carmen de Virginitate* and its link between the womb and the temple, the evidence of even the skeptical Bede applying the bridal metaphor to the Virgin in *Homelia* i.3, the dramatization of the Annunciation in the Old English *Advent Lyrics*, 318–25, and even the imagery of the Virgin and Solomon's bed in *Blickling* I. Finally, the Quinity of the Ælfwine prayer book presents the Virgin as queen of heaven and also as mother of Christ. Her complex depictions fuse the human nature of Christ through her body to the regal authority in heaven of the Virgin and Queen.

Cameron Louis, a fine editor for the Records in Early English Drama project, provides a transcription of a curious document in the Canterbury Cathedral archive, a charter which purports to be early but which Louis (and previously, the members of the Historical Manuscripts Commission) identifies as early modern. The transaction is not a major one, as the piece of land in question, near Duntone, has the value of half a sterling mark, but the scrivener includes nearly a dozen witnesses. Louis notes that several medieval rhyming charters, perhaps intended to be serious, do exist, in "A Canterbury Cathedral Burlesque Anglo-Saxon Deed" (*N&Q* 57: 459–60).

Finally, on the lighter side is a very brief notice, "History as it Happens: Anglo-Saxon Treasures Online" (*History Today* 60.6: 9). A note informs us of the good news that 550 manuscripts from the Parker Library are available online through a joint initiative between Cambridge, Corpus Christi College and Stanford University. Probably, we knew that.

MJT

Illuminations

The chief illuminator of the late Anglo-Saxon "Utrecht" style is the subject of Richard Gameson's "An Itinerant English Master around the Millennium," *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, ed. Rollason, Leyser and Williams [see sect. 7], 87–134. His work is found in a remarkable five manuscripts produced for Continental as well as Anglo-Saxon patrons, and Gameson describes each one and provides a number of images. Gameson suggests that this artist gained his knowledge of the Utrecht style by helping to copy its illuminations for the Harley 603 psalter; he might have been the artist known as "B." The parallels between his style and that of the ivory corpus of the M7943 crucifix (now in the Victoria and Albert Museum) are also noted, as is the attribution of this object to Saint-Bertin, which is also where one of the artist's psalters (Boulogne, BM, MS 11) was made. These observations point to an artist active at some point during the last decades of the tenth century and the first decade of the eleventh century who was highly regarded on both sides of the Channel. The number of locations where he worked suggests that he was a professional called in to decorate manuscripts produced "in-house," and there is no positive evidence that he was a monk. Indeed, Gameson concludes with the intriguing possibility that some of the finest illuminations in a series of great Benedictine manuscripts were produced by secular rather than monastic hands (133).

EAR

In the foreword to the posthumous collection of Robert Deshman's hugely important articles on early medieval art history, Herbert L. Kessler notes that Deshman "believed that he had no choice other than to work steadily on a problem until it was got right. For Robert Deshman, getting things right was its own reward" (ix). Kessler subtitles his foreword "An Honest Scholar," and notes that Deshman generally started his analyses with a small detail, with the individual object, and that as he worked he put "strong pressure on small, seemingly insignificant details" (viii). The result is a set of thirteen essays that, together with his extraordinary booklength study of the Benedictional of St Ethelwold, offer the whole of Deshman's insightful and enlightening work. Not only should every art historian have a copy of *Eye and Mind: Collected Essays in Anglo-Saxon and Early Medieval Art by Robert Deshman*, ed. Adam S. Cohen (Kalamazoo: Medieval Institute Publications), but so should every student of the early Middle Ages in northern Europe. The art historians already know about the significance of Deshman's material for the study of the history, liturgy, poli-

tics, the church, philosophy, and theology in the early Middle Ages in places ranging from Byzantium to Ottonian Germany to Anglo-Saxon England (the primary focus) to Carolingian France. Kingship and its trappings are a major focus, as is the study of imagery and iconography in specific texts with an eye to ramifications in the very broadest sense. As Adam Cohen points out in his introduction to the volume (xi–xviii), Deshman's work collected in the volume should "serve as a stimulus for the reintegration of that art into our contemporary understanding of the Middle Ages in general" (xvii).

Generally speaking, collected works of medievalists tend to be rather cursory productions in which the papers are reprinted from their original publications, with a brief introduction to each paper added. Here, the editor and the press have done exactly the opposite: the papers have been overhauled and to some extent updated with more recent bibliography, newly typeset so that the pagination—including cross-references among the papers—is consecutive and helpful. The updated bibliography is somewhat patchy; it is surprising, for example, that Eamonn O'Carragain's *Ritual and the Rood* never appears. However, in and of itself the preparation of the text is a massive job. The 233 images, admittedly all black and white, are nonetheless clean and crisp, and in most cases are full-page illustrations. In some cases the original somewhat blurry images appear to have been used, but in many cases new and better images are in place that really permit the focus on the detail that Deshman wanted. The images are together at the end of the book, with a list of them at the beginning for easy access, which also makes sense. A complete and consolidated bibliography occupies forty pages, followed by three indexes: biblical citations (very handy), manuscripts, and a general index. The latter could use more sub-categories, and having a single-column index is an unusual and not entirely felicitous decision. However, the book is beautifully produced. My paperback copy was a very reasonable forty-five American dollars, because the press and four other groups subsidized the production costs. As Cohen's introduction reveals, the volume is a major collective effort, and all those involved should congratulate themselves. They deserve it.

Cohen organizes the pieces thematically, starting with two general studies of Anglo-Saxon art, then studies of individual manuscripts, and then moving into issues of rulers, kingship, and political theology. The last two papers shift into iconography and theology in studying specific images, as do some of the earlier papers. Two papers were published in *The Art Bulletin*, two in *Anglo-Saxon England*, two in *Frühmittelalterliche Studien,* one each in *Viator*, *Word and Image*, and *Zeitschrift für Kunstgeschichte*, and the last four as chapters in books including the *festschrift* for Deshman's mentor Kurt Weitzmann, the collection of studies of the cult of St. Swithun edited by Michael Lapidge, the earliest product of the SASLC group edited by Paul Szarmach, and Szarmach's later collection on preserving and transmitting Anglo-Saxon culture. This information had to be gleaned from the end of each paper, an unusual place to put it.

"Anglo-Saxon Art: So what's new?" begins the collection with a frank analysis of the reference texts and catalogues in the field, and then turns to the difficult issue of dating and localizing works of art in Anglo-Saxon England, and analyzing their sources. Deshman carves through the surviving material, noting in passing the loss of frescoes, textiles, and major precious metalwork. He concludes that a relatively secure chronology exists for late Anglo-Saxon manuscripts, but argues against a complacent acceptance of Francis Wormald's decisions with two specific examples. The first example is two evangelist portraits added to London, British Library MS Add. 40618, an eighth-century Irish pocket gospelbook; Deshman argues, *pace* Wormald's date to the first half of the tenth century, that the closest analogue is the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, and that the images were added closer the date of that manuscript, c. 973. Deshman also calls into question the desire to find meaning, suggesting that the fishy figure in the genealogical list of Luke in the Book of Kells is not pointing anywhere, and certainly not at the name of the prophet Jonah in order to hint that the book is from Iona. Ornament can be symbolic or decorative, and narrative images "are often so isolated, idiosyncratic, and ambiguous" (8) that their meaning can be difficult to decode. Several times in the article Deshman advocates caution, opposing the desire to consider Hiberno-Saxon images as some kind of Rorschach blot-tests. He is particularly concerned about creating long links derived from exegetical texts, wanting to focus more on Anglo-Saxon art in context, considering sources, iconography, and culture together. In short, the article is a conspectus of approaches to Anglo-Saxon art, pointing out the strengths and weaknesses of each with vivid and telling examples. The examples are not kind to fellow students of Anglo-Saxon art, but they are productive. Unsurprisingly, Cohen provides a lot of additional bibliography for this 1997 piece.

Next is "Anglo-Saxon Art after Alfred," perhaps Deshman's most well-known article, an award-winner in *The Art Bulletin* in 1974. The focus here is late ninth- and early tenth-century works, starting with the Athelstan or Galba Psalter and exploring both insular and foreign sources. Detailed liturgical and iconographical knowledge

leads to important new conclusions, including that the artists of the psalter "had a direct knowledge of Eastern works" (23), probably from post-Iconoclastic Byzantium. Deshman also considers the embroidered stole and maniples of St. Cuthbert in Durham, finding parallels from Constantinople for the textiles as well. Finally he turns to the court patronage that must have influenced the artists of Winchester, and probably other cathedral scriptoria as well, linking together the commissioning of the Cuthbert embroideries with manuscripts made for the occasion. He explores how Byzantine works could have found their way to England as gifts exchanged with Athelstan, and suggests that the psalter may well have belonged to the king. Deshman's last exploration concerns the style, involving close comparisons of details among his materials. He concludes, rightly, that style, iconography, and ornament must all be considered in order to draw conclusions about whether insular traditions from earlier periods continued. They blended with Carolingian and Byzantine art, carrying on in disguise until the Romanesque period. Revisiting the Galba Psalter in 1997 in a posthumous article "The Galba Psalter: Pictures, Texts, and Context in an Early Medieval Prayerbook," Deshman looks again at this obscure and difficult period of manuscript production. This time the paper begins by investigating early medieval schemes of psalter decoration, since the Anglo-Saxon additions to the early ninth-century Carolingian book are a precursor to the Christological cycle found in later English psalters. He compares the Tiberius Psalter and an older insular scheme surviving in the Southampton Psalter, and the later developments in the twelfth-century Winchester Psalter, comparing the specific miniatures as well as the typological schemes. Merging the schemes of the psalter and the gospels, the Galba Psalter and later insular psalters emphasize visually the psalter's role as an Old Testament text, which prophesies the New Testament, offering an allegorical and Christological cycle. Deshman argues that this cycle is rooted in earlier insular art, taking the appearance of Christ with the alpha and omega as his evidence for universal harmony and hymnody. The analysis is detailed, connecting the images with the liturgical use of the psalms in the offices, and the sacramental and devotional symbolism of the imagery. It ranges widely, including the *Adoro te* prayer (misspelled on p. 45 as *Adore te*) used by the Carolingians but first appearing in the Book of Cerne, the saints in the litany and imagery and the metrical calendar, the themes which also appear in the *Old Irish Treatise on the Psalms*, and the connection to Alfred's cultural revival. An appendix addresses the issue of provenance, insisting on Winchester in the later Anglo-Saxon period because of its direct influence on later Winchester manuscripts. Somewhat astringently, Deshman routs David Dumville's arguments, in passing commenting that if styles and imagery can pass from one Anglo-Saxon center to another, so also could palaeographical fashions. The article is not just a meditation on the Galba Psalter and its iconography but also a study of the role of the psalms in late Anglo-Saxon England.

"The Leofric Missal and Tenth-Century English Art" continues the theme of discovering the accomplishments of the tenth century by considering Anglo-Saxon additions to a composite manuscript whose earliest section is a ninth-century sacramentary; a second section with computistical matter, a calendar, and drawings; and more recent liturgical and historical texts perhaps added in the time of bishop Leofric. The second section, mostly added between 969 and 979 at Glastonbury, has the drawings on which Deshman concentrates in order to elucidate these early examples of the "Winchester style" and their antecedents and parallels. He looks at the Dunstan drawing, images from the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, and the Utrecht Psalter and its successor psalters. He discusses the technique, ornament, and iconography of these pictures in some detail, describing them as "perhaps the earliest English examples of drawings in coloured line, a technique which subsequently became widespread in Anglo-Saxon England" (66). He finds colored line drawing in Carolingian art, but also antecedents in earlier miniature paintings in Anglo-Saxon England including a "double line" technique of painting. Deshman adduces a close link between the Leofric Missal material and the Benedictional in particular, suggesting Winchester as the locus of influence. Similar images to the Dextera Domini and to the Mors and Vita drawings are to be found in the eleventh-century Winchester manuscript, the Tiberius Psalter, with both manuscripts linked to the Pachomius legend and paschal calculations. Deshman concludes for contacts between Glastonbury and Winchester, and deeper historical connections between the two in terms of the monastic revival; Canterbury acquired the style when Dunstan went there from Glastonbury, and it was perhaps most vigorously promulgated by Ethelwold at Winchester, hence its modern name. The artist of the Leofric Missal, at Glastonbury, was well aware of the new developments, and in some ways surpassed them.

Two shorter papers address imagery associated with St. Swithun: "The Imagery of the living Ecclesia and the English monastic reform" from 1986 and "Saint Swithun in Early Medieval Art" from 2003, long after Deshman's death. In the first, the image of Swithun in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold connects the saint to an

architectural column, a symbolic support of the church. Elsewhere in the manuscript an architectural connection is made between Christ's crib and the church altar, and to a significant extent the crib is also a miniature architectural edifice, a building. Since the altar is a microcosm of the Church, it is also a church, the building, an Ecclesia. The many buildings beneath Christ's feet in manuscript illustrations are the cornerstone from the psalms and from the Easter antiphon, the living foundation of the church. Deshman argues that the Anglo-Saxons were particularly preoccupied with this theme because they had been translating Swithun's relics in Winchester (this seems a somewhat extreme position to take on the importance of Swithun during the monastic reform, because the relics of other saints were also being translated and presumably might have influenced the link that Deshman is promulgating between the architectural imagery of the living church and current liturgical and ecclesiastical developments). Perhaps, Deshman suggests, Swithun enters the church just as the monastery and its environs are cleansed of the non-conforming clerics, just as a proper monastic setting is established. Deshman applies the architectural symbols of the cornerstone and the column also to Dunstan, arguing that the reforms themselves are a new column, a new living church. The second Swithun article also begins with the Swithun image in the Benedictional, over the ensuing pages using almost identical words to connect Swithun to the monastic reforms (it seems likely that Deshman intended to rewrite this material into the conspectus of Swithun images that the last part of the article becomes), although the role of one of the expelled canons, Eadsige, in explicating the need for Swithun's relics to be inside the church is somewhat expanded. Monasticism itself was the column, the cornerstone of the Ecclesia. Deshman adds further proof in this article, referring to William of Malmesbury's mention of an image or statue of Swithun acquired in eleventh-century Sherborne, and a set of wall paintings in the church of Corhampton in Hampshire, near Winchester. The miracles of Swithun appear in these frescoes, and suggest "the possibility of the former existence of illuminated manuscripts of the life and miracles of St. Swithun" (101). These images derive from the miracles of Swithun as described in the various accounts of his life, and the three narratives of his posthumous miracles. The final representations of Swithun are not narrative: a stained glass window in the chapel of Winchester College, now available only in a copy, a lost image on gilded silver at the same college, and another stained glass figure of the saint from the end of the Middle Ages in Winchester Cathedral.

Next is a major article on the Christological focus of ruler theology which revises and extends the arguments made on the subject by Ernst H. Kantorowicz: "*Benedictus Monarcha et Monachus*: Early Medieval Ruler Theology and the Anglo-Saxon Reform." Kantorowicz had suggested that monastic piety and focus on the veneration of Christ might have influenced a christological focus for kingship. Deshman begins with the image of King Edgar and the *Regularis Concordia*, arguing that he is a dominant figure, a co-author, almost an abbot—and connecting this image with another in the same manuscript to reinforce the point, an image in which Benedict as abbot explicating his rule wears a yellow diadem very like Edgar's. Deshman then investigates contemporaneous accounts of Edgar's reign and images of Benedict, wearing both a diadem and a rectangular breastplate. The Bible, the Benedictine Rule, and other parallels, including the Arundel Psalter and some Winchester manuscripts, lead Deshman to posit a lost Winchester archetype with Ethelwold its commissioner. With Ethelwold now at the core of the issue, Deshman turns to analysis of a large group of materials associated with Ethelwold: his translation of the Rule and its illuminating prologue, the charter he wrote in 966 which was really a piece of propaganda for the monastic reform of Edgar's kingdom, the *ordo* used for Edgar's coronation, donor portraits involving kings in late Anglo-Saxon England (including the Liber Vitae image with Cnut and Emma), and the *Vita Oswaldi* which describes Edgar as the "great royal patron of the monastic reform" (124). Deshman concludes that the Anglo-Saxons certainly focused on the christological connection of kingship, but also that they used an earlier Celtic tradition of men being both king and abbot, and were careful also to acknowledge the importance of three Carolingian documents connected to Louis the Pious and to Smaragdus. Deshman concludes the section arguing that the inordinate lateness of Edgar's coronation rite was a deliberate choice to parallel with Christ's baptism, and perhaps also to connect to the monastic rite of consecration. Deshman concludes with wide-ranging and fascinating, if somewhat speculative, argument by comparing some Carolingian images of kings, notably a Christ-like image of Louis.

The next paper addresses the same nexus of material concerning ruler image and ruler ideology, although it appeared in print twelve years before its predecessor: "*Christus Rex et Magi Reges:* Kingship and Christology in Ottonian and Anglo-Saxon Art." Deshman unsurprisingly begins with a *Christus rex* image from the Benedictional of Ethelwold and its exemplars including the Maastricht cross, Reichenau manuscripts, and other

texts. Deshman argues that associating Christ with a wreath or diadem, if not crowned, was an ancient practice, more recently visible in the Utrecht Psalter. He then picks up the iconography of the Magi as crowned kings, also from the Benedictional of Ethelwold, a new motif also owing itself to Carolingian psalter illustration; Deshman cites both the Utrecht Psalter and the Stuttgart Psalter. Deshman points out an unnoticed element of the miniature of the Adoration in the Benedictional, a set of overlapping gold diadems being given to Christ, and by the Magi. The Anglo-Saxon artist here revives an ancient imperial tradition, and greatly emphasizes Christ as King. This use of an *aurum coronarium* occurs in other images of the Magi, in Ottonian ruler portraits, and in the Lothar cross in Aachen, which has a cameo of the ruling German emperor Otto III on one side and on the other God crowning Christ on the cross with a wreath. As the author puts it, "the Lothar cross expressed a Western idea that the ruler mystagogically imitated Christ's humiliation on the cross and his consequent exaltation as the Cosmocrator" (151). The paper then draws specific parallels to contemporary Ottonian ruler portraits in manuscripts including the Uta Lectionary, the Sacramentary in Ivrea, the Warmund Sacramentary. It considers coronation liturgies also focusing on the connection between the ruler and Christ, before turning to direct connections between Ottonian Germany and Anglo-Saxon England in the late tenth century and into the reign of Cnut, a ruler known to have used manuscripts as gifts to the Germans. Deshman also reviews ecclesiastical ties between the two lands, and the possibility of artists travelling themselves, especially Benna. He posits that the new iconography of the crowned Magi and Christ was an English invention, and provides detailed examples of English influence in the Bernward Gospels (a Hildesheim manuscript). He concludes with ruminations upon the possible political significance of this christological imagery with its implications of imperial power. A postscript addresses a story by Henry of Huntington about Cnut, the famous one about attempting to order the tides to hold, but points out that Cnut's gold crown adorned the crucifix of Christ in Canterbury, a real-life parallel to the diadems donated by the Magi to Christ.

The Warmund Sacramentary is the focus of the next and shorter article, which also concerns the ruler portraits: "Otto III and the Warmund Sacramentary: A Study in Political Theology." Written before the previous article, this one focuses on the ruler portrait and coronation image in the Italian manuscript, the Warmund Sacramentary. The two *ampullae* of holy oil either suggest a hybrid Gallican-Roman liturgy in which the candidate receives the presbyteral salving and the episcopal consignation, or reflect metaphorically the double role of Christ as king and priest. Deshman proposes that both explanations can be correct, exploring the biblical origins of a close relationship between baptismal and royal salving, and offering one Carolingian example in which baptism and coronation cohered: with Charlemagne's two sons in 781. Also, the image of the baptism of Constantine in the Sacramentary offers a precedent for the link between sacerdotal and regnal power, and the *ordo* used for the coronation of the Ottonian kings closely resembled the *ordo* for ecclesiastical, especially episcopal, anointing. Finally, Deshman connects Kantorowicz's analysis of the Norman Anonymous, from about 1100, which almost presents the king as co-ruler with Christ. In short, the Sacramentary reflects the Christ-centred political theology of the Ottonians.

The next two papers continue the theme of ruler theology, but turn to Charles the Bald, the late Carolingian king. "Antiquity and Empire in the Throne of Charles the Bald" briefly addresses the newly-available throne in 1995, considering the iconography of the backrest, especially its gable, which others have suggested connect the king with Christ, the one ruling from the throne and the other from the Cross. Deshman modifies this, offering several parallels and suggesting that the image is an *aurum coronarium*, the ancient imperial rite which renders homage to the king. He compares images depicting ancient thrones in consular diptychs, and concludes that the throne offers a Christian reinterpretation of late antique images of imperial authority. One Metz ivory in particular may have provided a source for the ivory carvers of the throne, and Deshman concludes with a brief exposition of the complicated Carolingian relationship with Metz in the period. Next, Deshman turns, in a second paper invoking the work of Kurt Weitzmann, to the small and sumptuous prayerbook created by his court school for Charles the Bald: "The Exalted Servant: The Ruler Theology of the Prayerbook of Charles the Bald." He begins with the two-page miniature of the king kneeling in proskynesis in front of Christ on the cross, an example of a widespread devotional image albeit one usually associated with donors or authors. Here, as Deshman points out, the proskynesis is not entirely realistic, as although the king appears to be kneeling, the posture of the rest of the body suggests lunging towards the cross, adoring the cross. The cult of the cross, and the relationship between humility and exaltation that it evokes, suggests to Deshman that this unique image of a prostrate ruler implies a spiritual triumph for Charles the Bald. The paper then explores the link to Byzantium, including the ruler's own interest in the Byzantine

emperors, images in several prayerbooks and in a mosaic in the Hagia Sophia, the Good Friday liturgy, and details of the figural scale and iconography of the image. Both the Byzantine and Carolingian rulers appear trampling a serpent, transfixing it with a lance; they are exemplary rulers in the war against evil. The kings have great personal piety, and that devotion exactly accords with their right to rule. The second part of the paper addresses the ivory covers that the prayerbook once had, which were copied from the Utrecht Psalter; the figures engage in devotion but also connect to David, specifically to the circumstances of Psalm 50, the *Miserere*, with the rebuke of David and his penitential suffering for his behavior with respect to Uriah and Bathsheba. Deshman suggests that the Carolingians had a special interest in David's repentance as linking his humility to his authority, as the opposite of the pride and arrogance of the Old Testament king Saul. Thus the ivory covers, with images of these moments, illustrate the greatness of David and the possibility of greatness of Charles the Bald. Citing specific psalms and the illustrations connected to them, Deshman constructs a picture of the iconography of Charles's kingship, and he connects that to the throne in the Vatican, as discussed above. He notes the need to investigate the iconography of the Utrecht Psalter in greater depth, in order more fully to understand this concatenation of images and royal theology. The paper finishes with brief explorations of the close correspondences in iconography between the miniature and the ivory covers which emphasize Davidic and Christological models, and of the imagery which commonly assimilates the Ottonian emperors to Christ as king, using the scriptural authority of Philippians 2:5–11.

Deshman investigates another motif in "Servants of the Mother of God in Byzantine and Medieval Art," which investigates the many servants appearing in Nativity images but not deriving from canonical texts. Midwives come first, from the apocryphal infancy gospels and other popular texts, often bathing the infant Christ. The Anglo-Saxon example of this motif occurs in the *Old English Martyrology*, which refers to the efficacy of the bath water for performing healing miracles and for baptism. Deshman traces the notion of service to the Virgin in a text by Ildefonse from seventh-century Spain, in a mosaic in Old St. Peter's dedicated by Pope John VII in 706, in frescoes from the same period in the vestibule of the catacomb of San Valentino, and in the murals painted in the early ninth century in the crypt of a church dedicated to Mary in San Vincenzo al Volturno. Ambrose Autpert, from that monastery of San Vincenzo, included these mariological themes of devoted service in his writings. Other later writers explored these questions as well, including Amalarius of Metz and Paschasius Radbertus. Deshman argues that Western writers and artists took the Eastern motif of the servants, changed its focus, and turned it to the cult of the Virgin. Taking a second image, Deshman considers the attendant drawing back a curtain in the Annunciation or the Visitation as already in sixth-century Byzantine images but interpreted by Western artists as a scene of revelation, of witnessing. Once these figures had been used to demonstrate the sanctity, to reveal the Virgin, they proliferated and developed new purposes. One fastens a curtain, or weaves the temple veil, or holds a pitcher or a spindle; in the ninth century the servant oversees Mary nursing her Child. Thus in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, a midwife adjusts the Virgin's pillow. In the last pages of this extremely broad-ranging paper, Deshman connects the motif to the heavenly queenship of Mary, liturgical ceremonies in which the servants function as representatives of the contemporary worshipper, and the role of these servants in the liturgical dramas developed by Amalarius of Metz. By the end of the Middle Ages, living donors could appear in these images, servants who can boldly appear themselves and not just through surrogate figures.

The last paper provided here is one that Deshman worked on in the last days of his life, leaving it largely complete at his death. "Another Look at the Disappearing Christ: Corporeal and Spiritual Vision in Early Medieval Images" also focuses on a motif, assessing its origin and depiction through the early Middle Ages, though sadly not into the later medieval period. The article is not as tight as usual, and I suspect that had Deshman had the opportunity, he would have reorganized it and cut out some repetition. Nonetheless, it is a fine and intelligent assessment of early medieval theology, connecting an Anglo-Saxon motif with liturgical drama and with a mainstream theological approach of the Christian church—although with an Anglo-Saxon quirk in the depiction. Deshman starts with Schapiro's classic study of this original Anglo-Saxon figural type, using a written vernacular text by Ælfric not cited by Schapiro and the imagery of the Ascension of Enoch from the Junius manuscript. He then notes that the theology here is about the fact that Christ ascended without help, needing no help, and notes also that the motif is associated with incarnational symbolism, with a mandorla for Christ or Mary or both. Also, a cloud appears. Deshman connects all the early images of the disappearing Christ to the Utrecht Psalter and Grimbald Gospels, noting their link to the Virgin, and their profound incarnational significance. Thus the unaided ascent in the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold prefigures

the disappearing feet ascent in the next generation, and the development is also evident in the role of the cloud as a kind of sacred nimbus developing from the cloud that symbolizes Christ's human nature. The feet are both his humanity and his incarnation, and also the members of the Church. The essential feature of this motif, however, is the masking of the upper body of Christ in a cloud. The religious significance of this element is difficult to determine: Deshman investigates various texts including a Blickling homily, a treatise of Adamnán, some of the sites in the Holy Land, the stational liturgy of Jerusalem, and the growing liturgical development of drama, of involvement in the life of Christ. The viewer should, Deshman argues, be able to identify with the Apostles who are above, watching Christ ascend from the level being reached. The association, as Deshman puts it, is with "regarding Christ's life as a living actuality" (260). From the fourth century onward, this was standard practice, rooted in many aspects of Christian behavior. Deshman agrees with George Henderson that the real source of this image is simply the literal interpretation of the Ascension in Acts 1:9–10, with the Anglo-Saxon preference for literal word illustration. The paper reviews Augustine and later commentators on the visual withdrawal of Christ, investigating the related theology. The imagery of the pictorial cycle in the Tiberius Psalter demonstrates how only the eyes of spiritual belief could understand the divinity of Christ in the miniature of the Doubting Thomas (Christ is unadorned with mandorla, and unaccompanied by disciples). The drawings of the Pentecost and Ascension mirror one another, as unless Christ disappears, the Paraclete will not come down. The Bernwald Gospels, an Ottonian manuscript, have elements that seem derived from the Anglo-Saxon exegesis, although in the disappearing Christ image, John the Evangelist appears alone and separate staring upwards at the arc of heaven—he comprehends, because of his intelligence and his association with the eagle, the complex symbolic meaning of the image. John's mental ascent to heaven intertwines elegantly with the disappearing Christ. These two images also link with the idea of the eternal coexistence of the Son and the Father in heaven, as depicted in Anglo-Saxon images in the Arenberg and Odbert Gospels, which Deshman analyzes in detail and connects back to the Utrecht Psalter illustration of the Apostolic Creed. The last section of the paper considers why these interlocking motifs would have developed in late tenth- and early eleventh-century England, and uses the St. Albans Psalter to demonstrate that "the disappearing Christ established that images can and do aid in the acquisition of spiritual understanding" (275). This argument is, Deshman points out, exactly the opposite conclusion to that reached by Schapiro. Only in a later medieval context would Schapiro's arguments about optical realism and naturalism be correct. The paper is an important one.

Just rereading Deshman is a daunting task: the details fly fast and furious, each one tied to the development of an argument that rolls with inexorable logic. Searching for the missed connections, or the ones that seem less fully developed than others, becomes an impossible task, as teasing apart the logic and seeing where Deshman's links are not as convincing is a herculean endeavor. Mostly it seems best just to trust the work of this extraordinarily meticulous and scholarly thinker. He did not just look at manuscripts, sculpture, jewelry, architecture, precious objects, and other images from early medieval Europe, but he also traced the linkages into the later medieval period. This book offers an impressively reworked collection of Deshman's lifetime work other than his critical masterpiece, the study of the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold. Some of the papers are slight, and others do have some repeated elements. Sometimes this comes from the later and more mature scholar returning to an image with greater knowledge and a willingness to explore issues further. And sometimes this is the result of a scholar continuing to work until his untimely death, and trying to finish projects up. Nonetheless, this is a very fine and extremely useful collection of papers: Adam S. Cohen and especially the Medieval Institute Press are to be commended for the elegant layout and careful presentation of this complex material. Deshman's ability to find sources for Anglo-Saxon images in Late Antique and especially Byzantine images, his ability to elucidate links across the Channel to Carolingian France and to Ottonian Germany: these are stunning strengths. Those reading this book will have the opportunity to appreciate the extent to which Deshman placed the imagery and iconography of late Anglo-Saxon texts into a significantly more cosmopolitan and international locus than is generally recognized.

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7. History & Culture

7a. General Sources and Reference Works

Robin Fleming's *Britain after Rome: The Fall and Rise, 400–1070* (London: Allen Lane) offers a different kind of history of the Anglo-Saxon period in Britain after Rome; one which is structured around close engagement with material evidence as much as the more traditional chronicles, charters and other written relics of the early Middle Ages. As such, the balance of her coverage differs in several respects from previous single-volume treatments of the subject. One is in its chronological focus. Out of thirteen chapters, eight partially or wholly concern the period from the fifth to the seventh centuries. This may be put alongside, for example, Sir Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* (the third and final edition of which appeared in 1971), where the same period is covered in seven out of eighteen chapters. Another difference, related to this first one, concerns the primary thematic interests explored in the book, which are social and economic in the broadest, most holistic sense. Fleming's avowed focus is stated in the introduction: "This is a book about the people of early medieval Britain and the communities in which they lived. It is also a narrative history, one that sets out to tell the story of these people's lives" (xix). The order here is telling, for the traditional focus on major institutional and political development gives way to concern with how life was lived by the people of Britain—their homes, life-cycles, material existence and contacts of various kinds with authority. More specific thematic divisions are reflected in individual chapters. Two, for example, turn to towns (one to those of the seventh to ninth centuries, the second on those of the later ninth to eleventh centuries), and three relate to religion and the Church in different periods from paganism to the reformed monasteries of the tenth and eleventh centuries. The wider geographical dimension implied by Fleming's title is also actively pursued: she is aware of the similarities and differences in the adjoining territories of Scotland and Wales, if primarily in the context of comparison to England. Fleming's concentration on the experience of life in early medieval Britain necessarily requires extensive use of archaeological material and other sources pertaining to the physical quality of existence at the time, such as the appearance and topography of the landscape, and the genetic characteristics of human remains. The value of these sources is most evident in her treatment of the first three centuries of Anglo-Saxon England. She paints a vivid, and at times bleak, picture of "Life among the Ruins," as one chapter on the fifth and early sixth centuries is entitled. Fleming stresses the dramatic collapse of living standards and social complexity in the period after the effective end of Roman rule: a contrast made all the more effective by a first chapter which summarizes the comparatively comfortable state of life in the Roman province of *Britannia*. As her chapters move on to the period first dimly covered by the written record, Fleming effectively weaves the written and material records together. Assertion of elite status through monumental burials containing conspicuous quantities of wealth, or through construction of larger, more well-appointed settlements, is compared with the creation of genealogies and origin myths to sustain claims of dominance, and the establishment of clearer territorial boundaries to facilitate exploitation of resources. Comparisons of this sort are pursued throughout the book, including into the ninth, tenth and eleventh centuries. The late Anglo-Saxon period, on which Fleming has written extensively in the past, is particularly closely examined. Throughout the period covered by the book, however, Fleming's well-chosen examples draw on all the sources at her disposal to weave a compelling narrative about, as she puts it in the introduction, "the hundreds of thousands of nameless individuals who lived died alongside the likes of King Offa and Harold Godwineson" (xix). The result is a fascinating and wide-ranging exploration of what living in Anglo-Saxon England and its neighbors may have been like, capable of informing and captivating either the new student or the veteran scholar.

Martin Aurell's *La legende du roi Arthur: 550–1250* (Paris: Perrin, 2007), a welcome introduction to the world of Arthurian literature by an eminent historian, announces its approach in blunt language: "La nature fictive des textes arthuriens est patente. Cette evidence n'empêche pas l'analyse historique" (31). Only part one ("Le héros des Bretons") will be relevant to the work of Anglo-Saxonists, as most of the book is absorbed in the historical situation of Geoffrey of Monmouth and of the vernacular authors of the High Middle Ages who expanded upon his fictions (particularly Chrétien de

Troyes), with some attention given as well to the many appropriations of Arthurian narrative outside of strictly literary contexts. Early chapters on representations of Arthur in earlier Celtic and Latin literatures offer few surprises to those familiar with this field, as the book is intended above all to give thoughtful readers a sense of current scholarly views while introducing the main Latin and vernacular sources. Aurell is anxious that these not be seen in isolation from one another: "L'analyse des textes cléricaux montre . . . la perméabilité des cultures à travers la langue de l'Eglise et la langue vernaculaire, deux mondes qui ne coexistent pas dans l'indifférence mutuelle" (67). Containing several lovely color plates, the book is deftly and gracefully written, a superb introduction to Arthurian literatures and to the role of Arthur in historiography and polemic.

Nations in Medieval Britain, ed. Hirokazu Tsurushima (Donington: Shaun Tyas), contains essays that began as papers given at Japanese symposia in 2006 and 2007 on the subject of the medieval nations in the British Isles. In his introduction "Introduction: What Do We Mean by 'Nations' in Early Medieval Britain?" (1–18), Tsurushima defines nations as embodying the idea of a political community with a common culture. He brings in Robert Bartlett's emphasis on the creation of a self-identity in terms of relationships with others; the roles of religious communities and kingdoms in the emergence of the nations of Britain are also addressed, following Benedict Anderson. The introduction concludes with a brief discussion of the methodological problem of applying modern labels such as "Anglo-Normans" to people who never called themselves this and reminds us that historiography all too easily can reflect modern political considerations rather than those of the historical period being studied. Due to the original circumstances of composition, the essays in this collection tend towards being surveys rather than new research. The ones most relevant to Anglo-Saxon history are as follows. In "Why are the English not Welsh?" (19–31), Ann Williams discusses the Germanic emigrations to Britain and the processes by which the Anglo-Saxon language and an "English" identity became adopted by the British inhabitants. In "The Danes and the Making of the Kingdom of the English" (32–44), David Roffe provides an introductory history of the Danelaw, with particular attention to land organization. He argues that shires developed first in the Danelaw and subsequently became a model for the rest of England in the eleventh century. In "Northumbria and the Making of the Kingdom of the English" (45–60), William M. Aird examines the place that the Northumbrian kingdom of Bernicia had in the making of a unified kingdom of the English. Focusing on the period from 950 to 1156 and choosing a regional historiography over a national one, he argues that the West Saxon kings of the tenth century and their Danish and Norman successors in the eleventh and twelfth centuries had to compete for influence in the region with the emerging kingdom of the Scots. Bernicia was not always English, Aird emphasizes, and historians should not write its history teleologically. In "The Normans and the Making of the Kingdom of the English" (61–70), Emily Albu draws attention to the instability of Norman identity in groups of Normans settling outside of Normandy. She argues that identification as Englishmen was attractive for some Normans, so that the Conquest changed the Normans as well as changing the Anglo-Saxons.

The essays in the Gedenkschrift, *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century: Studies in Honour of Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947)*, ed. David Rollason, Conrad Leyser, and Hannah William, Studies in the Early Middle Ages 37s (Turnhout: Brepols), are grouped under the headings of "Routeways, Contacts, and Attitudes," "Kingship, Royal Models, and Dynastic Strategies," "Law and the Working of Government," "The Church: Organization and Culture," and "The Vision of the Past." Conrad Leyser's "Introduction" (1–13) places the contents of the volume in context. At the heart of this is of course Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): the great German early medievalist, who worked for over thirty years on the Monumenta Germaniae Historica before Nazi persecution led him to relocate to Durham University in England in 1939. Levison's famous series of lectures on England and the Continent in the Eighth Century, delivered in 1943, set a model for communication and intellectual co-operation across Europe, which was particularly influential in post-war Germany. In England, however, it was not until somewhat later that Levison's legacy began to be exploited. Leyser sees the work of his own father, Karl Leyser (1920–92)—another German-Jewish refugee who made his home in England—as a central part of this process in bringing English and German medieval scholarship closer together in the 1970s and after. Since then research on the broader European context of Anglo-Saxon England has gathered pace significantly. The volume's overarching insistence on comparison and on re-examining the scholarly consensus yields a number of new insights; see the appropriate subsections below for reviews of specific articles.

7b. Religion and the Church

Malcolm Lambert's *Christians and Pagans: The Conversion of Britain from Alban to Bede* (New Haven: Yale UP) takes on the difficult task of narrating the history of British Christianity during the so-called Dark Ages of the third through the eighth centuries. As Lambert points out, recent advances in archeology, historiography, and textual studies make this period, if not accessible, at least more open to study than ever before. In undertaking this history, Lambert attempts to counteract prevailing historical narratives that draw sharp distinctions between Roman and post-Roman Christianity as well as between the Christian culture of Anglo-Saxon England and that found elsewhere in the British Isles. Writing for both a popular and scholarly audience, Lambert traces what he sees as a largely coherent narrative from the martyrdom of St. Alban through to the Northumbrian renaissance of the eighth century. His account is particularly compelling when highlighting the commonalities between seemingly disparate insular religious practices or such apparently unconnected historical figures as Saint Cuthbert and Saint Columba. It also effectively integrates recently discovered archeological with more traditional textual scholarship, though this reader would have been grateful for more illustrations than the few black and white photos included in the mid-volume insert. It is inevitable in a volume of this sort that lay reader would desire fewer details at the very moments that the academic reader clamors for more, and there were certainly moments that would have benefitted from a more nuanced discussion. In particular, although the *Historia Ecclesiastica* serves as one of the volume's principal sources, Lambert's discussion of Bede and his works was particularly disappointing. Only the *Historia* receives significant mention, and even this is somewhat slipshod: while the opening books are praised for their veracity, the emphasis in the final books on miracle and fable are treated as evidence of Bede "falter[ing]" (297). Despite its shortcomings, however, Lambert's account nonetheless provides a useful ready reference for one of the least understood periods in early British history.

Nicholas Orme's *Cornwall and the Cross: Christianity 500–1560* (Chichester: Phillimore, 2007) is a marvelous tour by an eminent historian of medieval England through an overlooked and fascinating region. The preserve of Celtic-speaking bishops even after its conquest by the West-Saxon king Egbert in the first decades of the ninth century, Cornwall developed an ecclesiastical culture distinct from that of its English overlords, the "Catholic Church of which Cornwall was part claim[ing] to be an independent self-governing organisation" (10) for much of this period. Sadly the Cornish church in the tenth century did not tolerate well the siphoning off of resources initiated by the English conquest, with ancient monasteries suffering dispossession of lands and even the bones of some of Cornwall's most revered saints being sent east. All that survives of the cathedral and abbey of St. Germans is a modest Norman church. Nonetheless, the region is of tremendous interest for its wealth of saints' cults that seem to have been of entirely local interest and for the idiosyncrasies of its religious culture. Though only the first couple of chapters deal closely with matters that will be of immediate interest to Anglo-Saxonists, *Cornwall and the Cross* is written with such clarity and is so handsomely illustrated that it would be an excellent choice for an undergraduate or graduate course considering more local aspects of English history.

In "Rochester, Hexham and Cennrígmonaid: the Movements of St Andrew in Britain, 604–747," *Saints' Cults in the Celtic World*, ed. Stephen Boardman, John Reuben Davies and Eila Williamson, Studies in Celtic History 25 (NY: Boydell Press, 2009), 1–17, James E. Fraser points out that in Anglo-Saxon England, continentally oriented bishops linked the senior or dominant ecclesiastical center within a province to a Petrine dedication, and the most eminent of its suffragan centers to an Andrean one. Moreover, the junior partner was often located on the other side of a major political cleavage within the province. This is seen in the case of Ripon and Hexham (and the later case of York and Hexham) and the case of Canterbury and Rochester. Fraser uses this pattern to argue that the Pictish foundation at Cennrígmonaid (now St. Andrews) was originally dedicated to St. Andrew, for the royal chapel at Bamburgh, which was the principal royal stronghold of the Bernician kings, was dedicated to St. Peter, and the parishes near the massive Pictish fort at Burghead were dedicated to St. Peter as well. But regardless of the situation in the seventh century, after 715 a new church was built at the northern episcopal seat at Rosemarkie and dedicated to St. Peter, and an Andrean dedication (or rededication) followed at Cennrígmonaid.

In "Church and Monastery in Bede's Northumbria," *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. DeGregorio (see sect. 7), 54–68, Sarah Foot provides insight into the ecclesiastical setting of Bede in seventh- and eighth-century Northumbria. She pinpoints factors which characterized this region and its religious structures: among these were the nature of conversion and Christianization, diocesan organization and the number

and diversity of monastic institutions. This survey is at times highly critical of the Church, fastening on some of the complaints Bede and others made, or occasionally their distorting prejudices. Thus Foot stresses the problems posed by having a small number of very large dioceses, which limited the efficacy of pastoral care. The special status of Bede's own monastery is also effectively conveyed. Monkwearmouth-Jarrow had an unusual organizational structure, stringent standards of religious discipline and a very strong reputation for learning. For this reason, Bede found other contemporary monasteries wanting, though Foot notes that their inhabitants and patrons may not have shared the same expectations of communal religious life. There is also attention given to the practical aspects of monastic foundation: the need for land and its careful exploitation.

Ian Wood addresses the circumstances behind "The Foundation of Bede's Wearmouth-Jarrow," *Cambridge Companion,* 84–96. These are decidedly more complicated than might be expected from the serene impression conveyed by a cursory reading of Bede's writings. Division of the monastery into two segments was unusual, and for the first few years of their existence, only Wearmouth possessed a papal privilege; Jarrow's had to be sought separately. There are also hints in Bede's homilies about disgruntled locals angry with the initial grant of land on which Wearmouth was founded, claiming that it had been wrongly taken from others. Jarrow's foundation was supported by King Ecgfrith, for the good of his soul. Even the twinned relationship of the two cannot be taken for granted. Jarrow's close ties to King Ecgfrith meant that his death, only a month or so after the new church was dedicated, posed a major threat to its continued existence. Affiliation with Wearmouth may have been a survival strategy rather than an original part of Benedict Biscop's intentions.

Another article by Ian Wood on Wearmouth-Jarrow is "The Gifts of Wearmouth and Jarrow," *The Languages of Gift in the Early Middle Ages*, ed. Wendy Davies and Paul Fouracre (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), 89–115. Here Wood examines how, in the absence of surviving charters, Bede's *Historia Abbatum* and the *Vita Ceolfridi* might be used as evidence for practices of land tenure and property transfer in early Northumbria. Wood points out that the introduction of the charter and the institution of *bocland* radically altered landholding practices in early England, yet evidence for the nature of this transition and the traditions of gift-giving and land-granting that lay behind it is rarely found in traditional legal or documentary sources. As Wood notes, however, "Bede's *Historia Abbatum* and the *Vita Ceolfridi* allow us to see the actual workings of a gift culture, and indeed to see how much of that culture infused the life of the two monasteries, and determined the behavior of their inmates" (93). The picture Wood paints is one in which gift giving was a highly fraught affair structured around carefully observed rituals of obligation and reciprocity. Often, there was little to distinguish the offering of land as a gift from the exchange of property for bribery or political advantage: "Because there was more than one way in which a gift could be seen, any narrative of giving inevitably presented an interpretation by the author who told the tale, and as often as not there were those who would have done so differently, in different language" (115). Wood's argument thus offers a useful illustration of the ways in which legal transactions and political relationships were mediated by ritual, rhetoric, and the ideological investments of the participants.

The missionary work of Boniface has never lacked for scholarly attention, yet John-Henry Clay's *In the Shadow of Death: Saint Boniface and the Conversion of Hessia, 721–54* (Turnhout: Brepols) promises new insights by emphasizing "the physical landscape in which the mission took place not as a naked arena, but as a crucible of cultural conflict and conversion" (5). That Clay's study takes up the geographical emphasis characteristic of much recent historical scholarship does not prevent him from offering readers more traditional overviews of Boniface's biography as well as thoughtful consideration of the peculiar place he has assumed in the modern imagination, particularly in Germany. For its thorough summary of the last century of Bonifatian scholarship alone, which takes up the first two chapters, the book will be immensely useful. The rest of the book is divided between sketching the cultural landscape of Boniface's youth in Wessex during the late seventh century and that of Hessia on the eve of his mission. The former is a search for the origins of Boniface's characteristic attitudes, concerned with "the way in which an elite West Saxon identity was constructed around a myth of Continental origin" as well as the strenuous orthodoxy and Rome-centered views of the early West Saxon church (57). Clay focuses more than have many scholars on the achievement of Ine, who "attempted to strengthen the bonds between king and church to an unprecedented extent" (57). Subsequent chapters subject the mission to comparably exhaustive analysis, describing the beliefs and superstitions Boniface and his cohort are likely to have encountered while historicizing the notion of mission through careful examination of contemporary sources.

The books draws heavily on the author's own extensive travels in the region and makes for fascinating reading.

Francesca Tinti brings new light to "England and the Papacy in the Tenth Century," in *England and the Continent*, 163–84, a relatively neglected period in the history of English-papal relations. She stresses, however, that this neglect is largely due to the absence of papal legates from England after the early ninth century. The reason they stopped visiting was that a tradition grew up of newly elected archbishops of Canterbury making the journey to Rome in person to receive the pallium—a custom which meant that most late Anglo-Saxon prelates had some contact with the Holy City. A particularly vivid witness to this is found in a privilege recording St. Dunstan's receipt of the pallium, preserved in his own pontifical, which Tinti discusses in detail. She also emphasizes the value of papal letters, such as the one Bishop Æthelwold secured in support of the expulsion of the secular canons from the Old Minster in Winchester; and of Anglo-Saxon coin-finds in Rome, which are especially numerous in the first decades of the tenth century. Tinti closes by emphasizing the greater frequency of contacts between England and Rome at the end of the tenth century, including the growth of penitential pilgrimage.

Tinti argues that, given the direct role of Pope Gregory I in the establishment of the English church, Rome enjoyed its affection and deference to a remarkable extent, which makes the seeming loss of such ties in textual evidence of the tenth century all the more surprising. It is no doubt a remarkable puzzle, particularly given "that there ceased to be visits of papal legates for two centuries after 824" (164). Though Viking attacks, along with the increasing tendency of archbishops of Canterbury to travel to Rome to receive the pallium, may perhaps explain this extraordinary development, Tinti looks for causes in Rome rather than England. As Tinti observes, a drought of textual evidence is also apparent in Rome at this time, with compilation of the *Liber Pontificalis* ceasing toward the end of the ninth century and papal letters also decreasing dramatically in number (166). That the papacy ceased to engage in such detailed record keeping is probably due to the degradation of the papacy itself given that it was at this time under the sway of Theophylact and his descendants. So preoccupied were the popes of this period with mere survival that foreign concerns likely dwindled in importance: thus "[n]one of the popes of the 930s seems to have had any direct contact with England" (168). The most important developments in English ecclesiastical history, such as the reform of the monasteries, probably took place without much in the way of papal initiative (173). The usual sort of contact between Canterbury and Rome would not resume until the end of the tenth century.

"Once upon a time, the story of tenth-century monastic reform was told as a tale of upheaval and revolution" (255) begins Simon MacLean in "Monastic Reform and Royal Ideology in the Late Tenth Century: Ælfthryth and Edgar in Continental Perspective," *England and the Continent*, 255–74. More recent scholarship, however, has come to recognize the extent to which this narrative is a construct designed to serve the ideological needs of the reformers themselves. The ways in which kings and, especially, queens adapted to and made use of this ideological environment is the subject of MacLean's article. In particular, he examines how the career of Queen Ælfthryth, third wife of King Edgar, came to be represented in abbatial terms, and how this representation compares to that of the career of her contemporary, Queen Gerberga of West Francia. Drawing on a range of evidence from charter witness-lists to the *Regularis Concordia*, MacLean highlights the ways in which Ælfthryth comes to be associated with figures of monastic authority, thereby formalizing her place at court. The comparison of Ælfthryth's career to Gerberga's—and the identification of an intriguing possible link between the two women in the figure of Abbot Womar of Gent, an acquaintance of both Gerberga and Ælfthryth's advisor, Æthelwold—allows MacLean to make a strong case for the power of royal women during the tenth-century reform: "For these queens, pseudo-monastic political identity was not a cover for passivity or reclusivity. . . . The way in which its discourses brought to light and reshaped the formidable status of its secular patrons both male and female is one of the most notable features of the tenth-century monastic reform on both sides of the Channel" (274).

Did the Anglo-Saxon church have much in common with that of Spain? Do developments on the Iberian Peninsula shed any light on its more disputed peculiarities? Such questions are the concern of Wendy Davies's "Where are the Parishes? Where are the Minsters? The Organization of the Spanish Church in the Tenth Century," in *England and the Continent*, 379–397. They are prompted by the seeming shift, much debated by historians, from pastoral care administered from mother-churches or "minsters" (and local churches under their supervision) to the ascendancy of the parish, a change not brought to completion until the twelfth century. The intermediate stages remain vague, with the

tenth century, as Davies observes, conventionally seen as "the heyday of the well-resourced mother-church with pastoral responsibilities" (380). Contemporaneous evidence from Spain shows some of the same indeterminacy as in England, with the term *monasterium* designating a range of different institutions and perhaps being interchangeable with "church" (386). Religious communities of uncertain character are likewise comparable to the groups of "veiled vowesses" found in later Anglo-Saxon evidence (386–7). Yet nothing quite like the English "mother-church" is in evidence here, which does not mean that the varied institutions of the Spanish church did not provide pastoral care. Even more than is the case in England, the appearance of the parish structure in Spain seems an abrupt shift given "the apparent absence in northern Spain of forerunners of the parish structure or of alternative mechanisms of pastoral care" (393). English practice remains somewhat idiosyncratic in this respect.

The intermediate phase between conversion and the establishment of parishes in the Norse world is the focus of Stefan Brink's "Pastoral Care before the Parish: Aspects of the Early Ecclesiastical Organization of Scandinavia, especially Sweden," *England and the Continent*, 399–410. Brink's analysis shows the profound differences between ecclesiastical life in England and in Scandinavia. The virtual absence of monasticism in the latter made the conversion of the Norse world very much a "top-down" series of developments, driven above all by the power of bishops and other ecclesiastics who first ensconced themselves as valued counselors in various royal households before demanding tithes in support of their nascent networks of churches. Yet the resulting picture, Brink concludes, allows for developments in Scandinavia very much like those assumed by the minster hypothesis, with the important exception that these "mother-churches" were not in any sense monastic, being devoted exclusively to the pastoral care of the laity (408). Evidence for such developments, Brink argues, has come to light in recent excavations, which show that most large farming estates possessed long before the establishment of parishes their own wooden or stone churches that were sites of both worship and burial (405). These would not survive the introduction of the parish system.

Scholars have long been comfortable discussing "pontificals" without a clear sense of what these documents were. So alleges Sarah Hamilton in "The Early Pontificals: Anglo-Saxon Evidence Reconsidered from a Continental Perspective," *England and the Continent*, 411–428. Hamilton argues that pontificals "were much more than personal books of liturgy used by the bishop in his ministry" (412). That they may be traced no further than ninth-century Francia has suggested their origins in Frankish reforms of the episcopacy at this time, a series of developments that inspired the tenth-century reform of English monasticism. Others have seen in these texts evidence for the increasing authority of bishops in tenth-century England and Francia alike—and not always as a result of royal sponsorship. Pontificals, it is sometimes held, served the practical needs of these bishops as they assumed weightier responsibilities, being compilations of the various rites they were obliged to perform. Yet many features of these texts point toward other purposes: "The lack of tabula in many codices, combined with the very diversity of their content, means it would be difficult for the uninitiated to find their way around the book easily" (418). After a close comparison of English and continental pontificals, Hamilton concludes that they are not adequately described as "pragmatic texts" (as has been common practice) given the diversity of their contents. In all likelihood, these texts "reflected the interests and identities of both bishops and their cathedral communities" while serving as "repositories for institutional memories" (427).

In "The Divine Office and the Secular Clergy in Later Anglo-Saxon England," in *England and the Continent*, 429–71, Jesse Billett attempts to demolish the thesis that, in the period prior to the Benedictine Reform in England, "performance of the Divine Office was one of the traits distinguishing secular clerics from monks (and nuns)" (429). It cannot be said, according to Billett, that the expulsion of the secular clergy from the Old and New Minsters was meant to allow for worthier performance of the Office, for it was not in any sense "the sole preserve of monks and nuns," being even "the main responsibility of the more numerous clerics in lower orders, who could not preside at the Mass" (431 n. 4). As Billett acknowledges, the thesis itself does not originate with him, though it has never been argued in such detail. His main purpose is to shed light on the significant and overlooked role of the Office in the life of secular and lower clergy prior to the Reform. The evidence considered leads Billett to dismiss notions of the Office being "basically extinct" prior to the Reform (most having been given fullest expression in the work of David Knowles) and even to wonder "whether such a reform was even necessary" (440). Billett finds evidence for more continuity in liturgical practice in the pre- and post-Reform periods, his richly documented essay

exemplifying the new skepticism of many scholars about the scope and achievements of the Reform.

In "The Staff of Life: Cross and Blessings in Anglo-Saxon Cereal Production," *Cross and Cruciform in the Anglo-Saxon World*, ed. Keefer, Jolly and Karkov [see sect. 2], 279–318, Debby Banham investigates the rituals that she thinks must have accompanied every stage of the process of cereal production in late Anglo-Saxon England. Proceeding from plowing through sowing, the Rogationtide blessing of the crops, harvesting, threshing, milling, and baking to putting the loaf on the table, she uses the evidence of charms, blessings, the *acta* of the Clofesho synod of 747, various homilies, and the *Dialogues* of Gregory the Great to show that only when the Church was directly involved with the process and end-product of growing grain was the sign of the cross involved for certain. Nonetheless, she argues that there must have been unrecorded rituals involving the sign of cross. A translation of the *Ærcerbot* charm rounds off this interesting and well-informed article.

Carol Davidson Cragoe's "The Custom of the English Church: Parish Church Maintenance in England before 1300" (*Journal of Medieval History* 26: 20–38) looks at the post-Conquest development of the statutes dividing responsibility for parish church fabric and contents between rector and parishioners. The essay begins with a review of the earlier statutes on this subject. Late tenth- and early eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon laws had given the clergy responsibility for maintaining the entire church, and it is likely that this was also the practice in the earlier Anglo-Saxon period, as seen in the council of Clofesho's 747 requirement that priests look after houses of prayer. The earliest specific references to church fabric maintenance in England are found in Ælfric's letter to Wulfsige III (ca. 993–95), the so-called "Canons of Edgar" (1005–08), and the ecclesiastical code of Æthelred (1014), all of which required tithing and divided the tithe revenues into three parts along Carolingian lines. One of these three parts was designated for church building (*cyrcbote*). Once dues had been paid by the parishioners, the sources are very clear that the burden of care for a parochial church fell to its priest. The Anglo-Saxon system was thus in accordance with continental practice and, according to Cragoe, after the Conquest continued to function well.

7c. Ecclesiastical Culture

The Cambridge Companion to Bede, ed. Scott DeGregorio (Cambridge: Cambridge UP), is a major resource for students of Anglo-Saxon England. Some of the historically oriented contributions are reviewed separately, but a number are treated more briefly here. Michelle P. Brown, for example, covers several basic topics in order to put "Bede's Life in Context" (3–24). After providing an overview of what Bede wrote, addressing the question of why he produced these particular works, she describes his life as a monk, including his attachment to his spiritual father, Abbot Ceolfrith, and the angry suggestions for church reform that he made at the end of his life. The theme of language leads to the topic of writing and manuscripts, which in turn leads to the topic of material culture. Brown's essay is illustrated with a number of photographs and facsimiles, and in a nice touch she also uses the miniature of Ezra in the Codex Amiatinus to illustrate Bede's view of himself. In the "British and Irish Contexts" (69–83), Clare Stancliffe gives us the political geography of Bede's Northumbria, both in reality and in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*'s presentation of the Britons and Irish. As regards "Bede and Education" (99–112), Calvin B. Kendall argues that Bede was the intellectual force that linked the civilization of the ancient world with the Carolingian renaissance. Kendall emphasizes the achievements of Abbots Benedict Biscop and Ceolfrith, discusses others who might have taught Bede, describes Bede's role as an educator at Wearmouth-Jarrow, lays bare the extraordinary knowledge of Latin that lay behind Bede's skill as a poet, explains the importance of rhetoric. Kendall concludes with interesting discussions of Bede's rooms at Jarrow and the legacy of his version of the contemplative life. Faith Wallis considers "Bede and Science" (113–26) in terms of nature and measurement but notes that for Bede, *scientia* meant merely 'knowledge', which in turn was subordinate to *doctrina christiana*. Bede's engagement with Isidore's *De Natura Rerum* is explored, which leads into the problems of determining the date of Easter and defending the Dionysian computus. For "Bede and History" (170–90), Alan Thacker focusses on the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, the *Lives* of St. Cuthbert, and the *History of the Abbots*. After discussing the models for Bede's histories and his moral purpose in writing, Thacker summarizes the content and the sources of the works mentioned and then turns to Bede's agenda and audience. His conclusion deals with the political contexts, such as the valorization of Wilfrid and the rule of Wearmouth and Jarrow. Most interestingly, Thacker takes exception to Patrick Wormald's argument that Bede thought of the English as a single people and instead argues that Bede's *Angli* comprised "the axis between the Northumbrians and the men of Kent" (185). David Rollason explores "The Cult of Bede" (193–200) in the Middle Ages, which is shown to have been infor-

mal and modest. Immediately after Bede's death, Cuthbert's letter about Bede to Cuthwin has hagiographical aspects to it, but there are no other texts about Bede's life until after the Conquest. His feast appears in English liturgical calendars then, although on the Continent he was sporadically commemorated as a saint from the early ninth century onwards. His relics were objects of devotion after his death, with the cult being ended by the Viking attacks and revived at Durham by the early eleventh century. In "Bede and the Continent in the Carolingian Age and Beyond" (201–15), Joshua A. Westgard argues that Bede envisioned his works reaching a wider audience, which is of course what happened. Revisiting the question of Bede's immediate audience, Westgard reviews the early distribution of his works in England and on the Continent, with the example of the library of St. Gall held up as characteristic. The place of Bede in the twelfth-century renaissance is briefly touched upon, supported by a very helpful century-by-century table of the surviving manuscripts of Bede's works. The essay concludes with a brief discussion of why Europeans were so interested in the conversion and the early history of the Anglo-Saxons. Allen J. Frantzen goes for the *lectio difficilior* in explaining "The Englishness of Bede, from Then to Now" (229–42), seeing it as a function of Bede's ambivalent sense of insularity. The "happy separation" (230) between England and the rest of the world struck a chord with later compatriots, argues Frantzen, who saw Bede as the same kind of Englishmen as themselves. Frantzen's survey extends to the modern period, but for Anglo-Saxonists, the section on the reception of Bede in the Anglo-Norman period may be of particular interest. There he was noted for his exegetical writings as much for his historiography, and eleventh-century religious leaders looked back to his age as the high point of English learning. The appropriation of Bede was partial; Lanfranc on one hand used the *Historia Ecclesiastica* to demonstrate the precedence of Canterbury over York, but he also downplayed the importance of several Anglo-Saxon saints admired by Bede. As a historian, Bede was imitated by Williams of Malmesbury, Orderic Vitalis, and Henry Huntington, authors who also denigrated the Anglo-Saxons in order to justify the Norman Conquest. Geoffrey of Monmouth makes different use of the *Historia*; it is merely a source, for the Golden Age Geoffrey wishes to invoke is that of Arthur and not of Bede.

In "Wanderers between Two Worlds: Irish and Anglo-Saxon Scholars at the Court of Charlemagne," *Difference and Identity in Francia and Medieval France*, ed. Meredith Cohen and Justine Firnhaber-Baker (Farnham: Ashgate), 77–98, Linda Dohmen uses the example of the Anglo-Saxon and Irish visitors to the court of Charlemagne to explore the difference between being a foreigner—that is, coming from another place—and being a stranger—that is, not belonging to the in-group. In this particular case, the analysis must also take into account self-identification as a *peregrinus*, a person who leaves his homeland in order to be closer to his home in heaven. Being accepted at Charlemagne's court and finding a second home there would nullify such a person's *peregrinatio*. Contemporary accounts show that Alcuin and his fellow Britons were identified as foreigners by the Franks, and their chosen identity as *peregrini* required that they maintain their foreignness, even if they were no longer strangers.

In "Flemish Monasticism, Comital Power, and the Archbishops of Canterbury: A Written Legacy from the Late Tenth Century," *England and the Continent*, 67–86, Steven Vanderputten turns to monastic sources for a better understanding of Flanders's internal dynamics and of the key role played by monastic institutions in the development of comital power there. The sources in question are four letters written by Flemish abbots to the archbishops of Canterbury between the years 980 and 991, and they show that relationships with England were not only beneficial to the financial and sociopolitical welfare of Flemish monastic institutions but were vital to consolidating the county's international position between the Kingdom of France and the Empire. The letters also shed light on the archbishops of Canterbury. Dunstan seems to have been an active patron of the monastery of Saint Peter's at Ghent, and Æthelgar was a patron of the monastery of Saint-Bertin and visited it twice, whereas his successor Sigeric snubbed Saint-Bertin and chose to visit Arras instead.

Michael Wood unearths the career of the little-known Israel of Trier, "A Carolingian Scholar in the Court of King Æthelstan," *England and the Continent*, 135–62. An Irish *peregrinus*, Israel was a monk of Saint-Maximin when Robert was archbishop of Trier, perhaps after 934. His scholarship was in the tradition of Auxerre, and at some point after 939 he became tutor to Bruno of Cologne. Wood cleverly assembles the scattered references and the implications of the manuscript evidence to fill out the picture of Israel's visit to England in the 930s, which most likely was connected with the teaching program of Æthelstan's court. Although Wood modestly says that he has constructed merely a speculative sketch, his sketch is remarkably detailed and convincing, and the many facsimiles that accompany this article add even more to its value.

Marco Mostert elucidates the well-known "Relations between Fleury and England," *England and the Continent*, 185–208, through a comparison of the lists of 1, 500 manuscripts from Fleury and the 2, 770 manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England. The *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts* shows that only 56 Continental manuscripts in England date from the tenth and early eleventh centuries, and of these, seven or eight contain the work of English authors, suggesting that they were imported to recover native texts. Only four manuscripts contain Carolingian works, and the remainder are biblical, liturgical, and hagiographical. Almost all of the manuscripts are from France and the southern Low Countries, but only one is definitely from Fleury. Mostert explores the possibility that three other manuscripts (BAV, MS Vat. lat. 3363, 84; BL, MS Harley 64789; and BL, MS Harley 2506) may have been produced at Fleury as well. Conversely, some six or seven extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts were at Fleury, in addition to traces of the work of Anglo-Saxon scribes and artists, and it is clear that other Anglo-Saxon manuscripts that were brought to Fleury have not survived. The total number is a very small percentage of Fleury's library. Together with the evidence of hermeneutical poetry, the manuscript lists confirm thus confirming the scholarly consensus that the initiative for contact came from England and that the direction of the flow was from France.

In "The Policy on Relic Translations of Baldwin II of Flanders (879–918), Edward of Wessex (899–924) and Æthelflaed of Mercia (d. 924): A Key to Anglo-Flemish Relations?" *England and the Continent*, 473–92, Brigitte Meijns compares and contrasts the installation of relics carried out by an interrelated group of royals: the Wessex siblings Edward the Elder, Æthelflaed, and Ælfthryth; Æthelflaed's husband Æthelred of Mercia; and Ælfthryth's husband, Baldwin II of Flanders. The many contrasts are explained away by the different histories and political contexts of these polities, and the similarities are argued to be the direct result of mutual influence through family connections. Meijins's underlying analysis—that the installation of relics in the churches of newly built military strongholds was intended to protect the stronghold, enhance the prestige of the ruler, and sanctify the ruler's power—seems plausible, but these are such basic functions for relics that coincidence could account for the perceived parallels perfectly well.

Thomas F. X. Noble analyzes "The Interests of Historians in the Tenth Century," *England and the Continent*, 495–513, with reference to Flodoard of Reims, Richer of Reims, Rodulfus Glaber, Widukind of Corvey, Thietmar of Merseberg, Liudprand of Cremona, and Æthelweard and the Anglo-Saxons chroniclers. The English historians are not the focus of this essay, but like the others they address the themes of history's heroes and villains, the hand of God, the role of women, the importance of the papacy (or the lack thereof), and the lack of interest in the tenth-century "reformation".

In "Insular History? Forgery and the English Past in the Tenth Century," *England and the Continent*, 515–44, Julia Crick considers the implications of tenth-century charter references to the past. Such references might take the form of historical example, forged documents, or scribal imitation of earlier scripts. To give some examples, at St. Albans, authentic charters state that Offa had been a patron, and at Canterbury Offa appears in forged documents (evidently because his conquest of Kent made him a plausible grantor of land and privileges). Canterbury is also where most examples of tenth-century imitation of earlier scripts are found. Crick argues that in the tenth century, archival manipulation and historical knowledge went hand in hand: individuals sought and derived guidance from the past as one aspect of larger historical, textual, and ideological processes (531). Moreover, the need to recopy documents from before the Viking Age gave enterprising monks the opportunity to "improve" those documents at the same time. An appendix of eleven tenth-century pseudo-originals and related charters rounds out the article, and numerous facsimiles of charters illustrate Crick's argument.

In "A Big Dog Barks: Ælfric of Eynsham's Indictment of the English Pastorate and Witan" (*Speculum* 85: 505–33), Robert K. Upchurch examines Ælfric's extensive revisions to his homily for the Second Sunday after Easter in the first series of his *Catholic Homilies*. Pointing out that the changes far exceed those incorporated by Ælfric into any of his other works, Upchurch argues that, "the homily seems to capture a moment in time when Ælfric was acutely aware of the domestic problems facing the Anglo-Saxon ruling class and their spiritual advisers and felt positioned to do something about them. More specifically . . . he recast the original sermon as a defense and demonstration of good preaching to be delivered by a powerful bishop on a Sunday when both lay magnates and members of the clergy had assembled to conduct legal business" (505–6). Upchurch's detailed and utterly convincing argument establishes with authority that the alterations must have taken place sometime between 1002 and 1006—likely at the same time that Ælfric was composing his pastoral letters for Archbishop Wulfstan

of York—and that his principal source was Augustine's Homily 46, "On the Shepherds." Although the bishop for whom the sermon was composed remains unknown, Upchurch plausibly suggests that either Wulfstan or Ælfeah of Canterbury may have been the intended preacher. Upchurch's article is a masterful analysis of the sermon he aptly describes as "the loudest and longest bark of [Ælfric's] career" (533).

John Blair's brief article "The Kirkdale Dedication Inscription and its Latin Models: *romanitas* in late Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire," *Interfaces between Languages and Cultures in Medieval England*, ed. Hall *et al*. [see sect. 2], 139–46, concerns the remarkable inscription found on the side of a re-used stone coffin, mounted now over the south doorway of the parish church in Kirkdale, North Yorkshire. Written in the vernacular, this text is inscribed in two panels either side of a sundial, and tells how Orm Gamalsson had bought and rebuilt the ruined church in the time of King Edward the Confessor and Earl Tostig (1055–1065). Blair calls attention to a close parallel to the formulation of this inscription—unique in the context of late Anglo-Saxon England—in several Roman-period inscriptions from Britain. Nineteen of these concern, in whole or in part, the reconstruction of ruined buildings during the tenure of named consuls. Three of these come from York, only about twenty miles from Kirkdale. It is very likely that the inspiration for Orm's inscription came from one of these Roman examples, or another of similar form. Blair also notes that Kirkdale is one of the earliest Romanesque churches in England, and that the combination of up-to-date architectural influences with a classicizing inscription suggests the influence of a learned agency—possibly Ealdred, archbishop of York.

The subject of Aidan Conti's "Ælnoth of Canterbury and Early Mythopoiesis in Denmark," in *Saints and Their Lives on the Periphery: Veneration of Saints in Scandinavia and Eastern Europe (c. 1000–1200)*, ed. Haki Antonsson and Ildar H. Garipzanov, Cursor Mundi 9 (Turnhout: Brepols), 189–206, is Ælnoth, a monk of Canterbury, who had been in Denmark for 24 years when he wrote a life of St. Knud, sometime before 1117. This puts Ælnoth outside of the period of Anglo-Saxon history proper, but the work is to some degree written in the tradition of the lives of Anglo-Saxon royal martyrs. The main point of interest to Anglo-Saxonists is how Ælnoth constructs a number of links between the Danish king and England. Not only is the hagiographer English, but he replaces references to Anskar—the German missionary to Denmark—with references to the English missionary Eskil; he suggests that the Danes are the rightful sovereigns of England; and he adds mention of the relics of Oswald to his source's mention of the relics of Alban.

Practice in Learning: The Transfer of Encyclopaedic Knowledge in the Early Middle Ages, ed. Rolf H. Bremmer Jr. and Kees Dekker, Medievalia Groningana, New Series 16 (Paris: Peeters), focuses on the exchanges of scholarship between the Continent and the British Isles. The twelve essays deal with this topic at every level of detail, ranging from Michael W. Herren's "Storehouses of Learning: Encyclopaedias and Other Reference Works in Ireland and Pre-Bedan Anglo-Saxon England (1–18), which examines the general role of Ireland and England as preservers of the great early encyclopedias, to Rolf H. Bremmer's "Leiden, Universiteitsbibliotheek, Vossianus Latinus Q. 69 (Part 2): Schoolbook or Proto-Encyclopaedic Miscellany?" (19–53), which considers a single manuscript, to the four essays that deal with glossing and marginalia. Other essays treat specific authors who worked in England, such as Ælfric and Eucherius of Lyons, and the remaining essays investigate themes such as prognostics, maps, and *exempla*. As a whole, the volume takes a laudably broad and interdisciplinary approach to its topic, especially as regards the new-philological attention to the relationship between texts and the books that contain them and the new-historical contextualization of individuals and their works.

7d. Society and the Family

Neil Price's "Foreword: Heathen Songs and Devil's Games," *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited*, ed. Carver, Sanmark and Semple [see sect. 9], xiii-xvi, briefly addresses the "problem" of understanding paganism in Anglo-Saxon England. This encompasses not only the historiographical imbalance between the scanty written sources and the considerable archeological evidence of funerary finds but also the disputes over terminology and the fact that it is impossible to separate beliefs from other aspects of Anglo-Saxon society. Price also mentions some of the high-level insights about paganism that the contributors to the volume offer, such as the haziness of the boundary between humans and animals, and the dominant role of women as agents and mediators of supernatural power.

In her brief though wide-ranging essay, "'And then there was silence': The Lack of Transmission of Anglo-Saxon Attitudes Towards Suicide," *Journal of the Australian Early Medieval Association* 2 (2006): 234–9, Fotini Toso asks why references to suicide are so rare in Old English literature, especially when compared

to their relative frequency in texts of the Classical and later medieval periods. Drawing on a range of Classical sources, including Plato, Tacitus, Flavius Josephus, and Augustine, Toso traces the evolution of traditional attitudes towards suicide from Stoic resignation to Christian condemnation. Suggesting that perhaps "the severe stance of the Church forbade Christians to discuss or explore the issue" (235), Toso argues that depictions of the unsettled soul in Old English poetry may have served as a means of indirectly exploring such a delicate topic. As an example, she offers a suggestive reading of *The Wife's Lament* as a monologue spoken by the disturbed spirit of a female suicide. Although admittedly speculative, Toso's argument highlights both the need for further work and the potential of a comparatist approach to shed light on such a difficult subject.

As its title indicates, Ann Williams's *The World Before Doomsday: The English Aristocracy, 900–1066* (London: Continuum, 2008) offers an analysis of upper status communities and individuals during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Straightforward as this may seem, Williams notes in her introduction that defining such terms as "upper status" or "aristocratic" can be more difficult than first appears: "social standing was primarily determined by birth, specifically the rank of the father, and an aristocrat's offspring, male and female, were *ipso facto* of aristocratic status, but the definition of that status is a more complex matter, involving wealth, lordship and that peculiarly mediaeval association known by its German name as *Königsnehe*, 'closeness to the king'" (1). The aim of Williams's study, then, is to define the parameters of aristocratic status in pre-Conquest England while taking into account the "extraordinary variations" (10) in wealth, property, and power possessed by those who claimed such status. Her first chapter focuses on what she calls "the upper crust" (11), ealdormen and earls. Surveying the families and careers of Odda of Deerhurst, Æthelweard the Chronicler, and Godwine of Wessex, she examines "the double role of the great thegns, who were not only members of the king's court, from whose ranks his councillors and officers were drawn, but also local magnates" (17). Influential as the great thegns were, however, only a few ascended to the status of earl, and claims to this status offered no guarantee of power or security independent of the king's favor. As Williams points out, "rich they might be, and powerful, but the earls did not as yet constitute a social class; they were still the servants, albeit the greatest lay servants, of the king" (24). The second chapter uses the careers of Tovi the Proud, Osgod *clapa*, and Wulfstan of Dalham as case studies of the roles of royal stallers and *pedisequi*, those of hereditary aristocratic standing yet who were more closely tied to the court than the regional magnates. For such individuals, access to wealth and power depended on their ability to sustain a connection to the king. Without connections of this sort, and lacking the wealth or property of an earl, such individuals could easily descend to the level of a local thegn, the lowest rung on the aristocratic ladder and the focus of Williams's third chapter. In this chapter, which focuses especially on the families of local thegns in Kent and Mercia, Williams notes that regional independence increased the further one was from the center of royal power; nonetheless, by the reign of King Æthelred, even local thegns north of the Humber appear to have understood themselves as members of a recognizable social class that formed part of a centralized political hierarchy culminating with the king and his court. With her fourth chapter, Williams turns from task of defining the aristocracy to interpreting its role in Anglo-Saxon society. In chapters four and five, she examines the vertical relationships that bound aristocrats to their lords, focusing especially on the various forms of military obligation and land tenure. Her nuanced discussion of the mutual benefits military service offered to lord and thegn is particularly useful. As she notes, "among the intangible benefits of commending oneself to a more powerful lord was status. A man's standing depended, in part at least, on that of his lord; as we have seen, a king's thegn outranked a median thegn (commended to a lesser lord), even if their landed resources were broadly comparable" (73). Chapters Six and seven consider the ways in which aristocratic status was displayed and communicated. In Chapter Six, readings of *Geþyncðu*, the first text in Archbishop Wulfstan's Compilation on Status, and *Gerefa* allow Williams to map out the features of the aristocratic burgh. As she argues, the geography of the *burh* "forshadows the long-standing alliance between the parochial clergy and the local squirearchy, which emerged in the later Middle Ages to dominate the course of English local history well into the modern period" (104). Chapter seven moves from property to more portable "trappings of authority" (105): weapons, jewelry, clothing, and horses. More a catalogue of practices than anything else, this chapter highlights the extent to which aristocratic display enabled enhancements in aristocratic status, which in turn led to more aristocratic display. In her final chapter, Williams attempts to convey a sense of the later Anglo-Saxon aristocratic lifestyle. Underlying this chapter is the claim that many of the features and pastimes associated with later medieval upper status life were already fully integrated into Anglo-Saxon aristocratic culture by the end of the tenth century. She ends by pointing out that

the goal of many such practices seemed to be the same as the forms of display discussed in the preceding chapters: to reinforce class distinctions via visual language of upper status living. And of course, as Williams concludes, "what's the point of being rich if no-one notices?" (137).

7e. Gender and Identity

In "'Britain': Originary Myths and the Stories of Peoples," *The Oxford Handbook of Medieval Literature in English*, ed. Greg Walker and Elaine Treharne (Oxford: Oxford UP), 611–28, Anke Bernau raises some general issues about medieval British origin myths. Although Geoffrey of Monmouth's origin stories receive the most attention, the opening section of this chapter discusses the origin stories recounted by Gildas, Nennius, and Bede and explains their various interpretative frameworks and methods of legitimation.

7f. The Economy, Settlement, and Landscape

In "Routeways between England and the Continent in the Tenth Century," *England and the Continent*, 17–34, Stéphane Lebecq surveys the evidence for routes, products, and organization of Anglo-continental trade in the tenth century. He begins with the earlier context—the rise of the coastal emporia in the seventh and eighth centuries, their subsequent decline in the ninth century, and the impact of the Vikings. Scandinavian raids and settlement helped draw England into a profitable northern trading network, though connections with the rest of continental Europe remained strong. Lebecq pursues their significance with specific reference to the role of London in the later tenth century. He uses the famous law code IV Æthelred to map London's extensive continental trading connections, to list some of the commodities which came into the city (including bulk goods for mass trade as well as valuable treasures for the elite) and to gain some understanding of the administrative background which supported frequent connections between England and its continental neighbors.

7g. Magic, Medicine, and Science

Bodies of Knowledge: Cultural Interpretations of Illness and Medicine in Medieval Europe, BAR International Series, 2170, ed. Sally Crawford and Christina Lee (Oxford: Archaeopress), is the first in an interdisciplinary and multidisciplinary series called Studies in Early Medicine, devoted to questions of medicine, health, and society in the pre-modern world. In their introduction (1–4) to this volume, the editors summarize the individual contributions and argue that medieval ideas about illness and its cures should not be compared to modern medical practices; rather, they should be understood as social constructs and should be viewed in terms of culture, not science. The essay of most interest to Anglo-Saxonists is Crawford's own: "The Nadir of Western Medicine? Texts, Contexts and Practice in Anglo-Saxon England" (41–52). Crawford first reviews the archeological and osteological evidence for medical practice among the early Anglo-Saxons. Documentary evidence as well as archeological evidence points to the existence of "witch/wise/medical" women (43) in early Anglo-Saxon England, but with the conversion, disease was attributed to sin, and churchmen became doctors in the Roman tradition. Crawford interprets Bald's Leechbook as showing that Anglo-Saxon practitioners were not ignorant or uncritical followers of foreign texts, and she concludes that aspects of Anglo-Saxon medical knowledge mirrored the best available anywhere at the time; charms and chants were reserved for ailments beyond the healer's power to cure. Anglo-Saxon medical texts per se, however, should be considered primarily in terms of textual culture, as Anglo-Saxon histories and law codes are.

The sparse textual evidence for a pandemic that overran late seventh-century England is the subject of Katherine Barker's article, "The *Magna Mortalitas* of the Later Seventh Century in Dorset: Aldhelm First Bishop of Sherborne, Saints Peter and Paul, and a Possible Eye-Witness Account" (*Proceedings of the Dorset Natural History and Archaeological Society*, 131: 19–26). Bringing together Anglo- and Hiberno-Latin sources, Barker catalogues the vocabulary for plague and pestilence that would have been familiar to those Insular authors writing in what Michael Lapidge has labeled the "Hermeneutic Style." Doing so enables Barker to identify a series of potential references to the plague in the works of Aldhelm of Sherborne, as well as a possible eyewitness account in a letter to Aldhelm by his student Æthilwald. As Barker points out, identifying these references not only helps shed light on a little known episode in early Anglo-Saxon history, but it also provides new insight into the early history of Dorset, a region all too often overshadowed by its more powerful neighbor, Wessex. Perhaps of greatest interest, though, is the fact that these references may also help clarify the abandonment in the late seventh century of a series of settlements in and around Hampshire and Chalton, as well as in Dorset itself. As Barker observes, "we may have here a rare instance of an otherwise obscure early medieval literary and poetic source with the potential to prompt

an on-the-ground archaeological enquiry on a county scale" (25).

John Maddicott's "Plague in Seventh-Century England" in *Plague and the End of Antiquity: The Pandemic of 541–750*, ed. Lester Little (New York: Cambridge UP), 171–214, is a reprint "with minor changes" of an article that appeared originally in *Past and Present* 156 (1997): 7–54.

7h. Law, Politics, and Warfare

As Sean Davies in "The Battle of Chester and Warfare in Post-Roman Britain" (*History* 95: 143–58) points out, the victory of Æthelfrith at Chester around 616 was the key event that helped split the surviving post-Roman British kingdoms by severing the land connections between Devon and Cornwall, Wales, and the kingdoms in the north and Scotland. New information comes from the excavation of a fortress and the mass grave of the battle casualties. For example, references in the written sources to large armies seem to be accurate, for the bodies of at least 112 men—thought to have been those of the victorious Northumbrians, judging from the care with which they were buried—indicates that their force comprised around 500 soldiers at a minimum and probably as many as 1, 000. Horrific head wounds suggest that helmets were rare and that most of the blows were struck over the tops of shields or a shield-wall. Moreover, despite the expense of swords, most of the wounds were created by them and not by spears or axes. The fortress seems to have been the work of an army on the campaign, and Davies speculates that the beginning of its construction is what drove Selyf ap Cynan of Powys to attack the Northumbrians. Davies's analysis of the archeological finds is prefaced by a substantial discussion of the political background of the battle.

James Campbell's "Secular and Political Contexts" in *The Cambridge Companion to Bede*, ed. DeGregorio, 25–39, concerns Bede's setting in contemporary Northumbria. Like other Anglo-Saxon kingdoms, it was made up of smaller units, most famously Bernicia and Deira (though there were smaller internal divisions too). Also like other kingdoms, it experienced a fraught politics: kings could be installed and removed in rapid succession, with only limited respect for family connections. The aspects of Northumbria's internal organization highlighted here include those pertinent to the higher echelons of society. Land tenure (especially the implications of bookland for ecclesiastical landlords) and the impact of war and exile are discussed in particular detail. However, Campbell also discusses the importance of trade and an expanding currency in the early eighth century, and closes his chapter with comments on relations with other territories (the Britons, Francia and Ireland) and on the importance of feasting and conviviality at all levels of society.

Alfred's Wars: Sources and Interpretations of Anglo-Saxon Warfare in the Viking Age, by Ryan Lavelle (Woodbridge: Boydell), explores the practice and politics of warfare across the Viking Age, not just during the time of Alfred. Far from being an introduction to the subject, it takes for granted a thorough knowledge of Anglo-Saxon history and all the sources cited. Instead, under the large headings of "Friends and Foes," "Organization and Equipment: Land," "Organization and Equipment: Maritime," "Campaigns and Strategies," "Fortifications," "Battles and Battlefields," and "Peacemaking and Peace Agreements," Lavelle discusses some appropriate themes and subtopics and quotes a wide variety of primary and secondary sources. Sometimes his focus is on the Anglo-Saxons themselves, as with the discussion of the military roles of horses, and sometimes his focus is on the historians' debates, as with the discussion of Hollister's critique of Stenton's view regarding the elements of the *fyrd*. Lavelle does not restrict himself to reviewing scholarly arguments and analyzing the disagreements; at times he extends the research himself, as when he expands Brooks's table of wills that refer to heriots and adds maps to Magoun's article on a naval battle that took place in 896. Because topics recur across chapters, *Alfred's Wars* is difficult to use as a reference work, but it is well worth reading for its many insights. Lavelle's understanding of the sources as cultural productions and his sensitivity to theoretical issues such as ideology and gender complement his familiarity with Anglo-Saxon history, and his sociological interpretations of the practice of warfare are persuasive. Although the individual subsections can be read on their own, scholars will find this interesting and well-informed book difficult to put down once started.

John Insley considers the evidence for "Continental Germanic Personal Names in Tenth-Century England," *England and the Continent in the Tenth Century*, 35–49, noting the relative neglect of this subject in published scholarship. Such names "occur predominantly among the names of moneyers in the Old English period," being particularly conspicuous in the "so-called St. Edmund Memorial Coinage of c. 895–915" (38). Here difficulties abound, however, for these names sometimes (as in the case of 'Pancrad' = *Þancrad*) evince a failure to recognize Germanic characters. A more secure source of evidence are "moneyers' names in the coinages of Æthelstan

(924–39) and Edgar (959–75)," in which Insley sees a pronounced influence from Romance, such as "Flod- for Germanic *Hlōþa" (40). Most of the moneyers' names considered by Insley are judged to be "predominantly West Frankish in type" (49) and to offer to subsequent investigators the possibility of new insights regarding language contact in this otherwise murky period.

In "Exiles, Abbots, Wives, and Messengers: Anglo-Saxons in the Tenth-Century Reich," *England and the Continent*, 51–66, Andreas Bihrer develops a new model for assessing relations between tenth-century England and the Reich. He characterizes this as a "middle-distance" relationship: one between territories close enough that frequent and varied connections were possible, but far enough apart that such connections were not routine or easily maintained. The result was that England and the Reich enjoyed bursts of interaction, punctuated by periods of isolation; moreover, links were highly personal in nature, leading to the creation of "islands" of connectivity in both territories based on key institutions or favored locales of well-connected individuals. Bihrer thus explores the use and nature of contacts in order to ascertain how "translocal social spaces" were constructed. Of necessity, he focuses largely on royal and ecclesiastical cases, drawing on sources such as confraternity books as well as texts connected with travelers and correspondents such as St Dunstan, Matilda of Essen, Ealdorman Æthelweard and several lesser-known Anglo-Saxon abbots who found fame as monastic reformers in the Reich.

Veronica Ortenberg answers the questioned posed in the subtitle of her essay—"'The King from Overseas': Why Did Æthelstan Matter in Tenth-Century Continental Affairs?"—by emphasizing the many Carolingian aspects of Æthelstan's upbringing and reign (in *England and the Continent*, 211–36). She argues that due to his numerous family links, Æthelstan was perceived by Continental rulers as a Carolingian and even perceived himself to be the new Charlemagne. Ortenberg offers a detailed examination of Æthelstan's influence on Ottonian Frankia and suggests that in the 930s, Æthelstan might have thought about becoming emperor.

David A. Warner's "Comparative Approaches to Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian Coronations," *England and the Continent*, 275–92, looks at Otto I's coronation at Aachen in 936 and Edgar's coronation at Bath in 973. Methodologically, each case relies on the interpretation of a unique literary source compiled decades after the event, namely Widukind of Corvey's *Deeds of the Saxons* for Otto and Byrhtferth of Ramsey's biography of Oswald for Edgar. Noting that current scholarship does not hold Widukind's account of Otto's coronation to be reportage but rather places it within the context of his authorial agendas and strategies, Warner suggests that Byrhtferth's account should be treated similarly. When considered within the overall structure of the *Vita Oswaldi*, it becomes apparent that the account of the coronation of Edgar is one of many accounts of rituals or ritualized behavior onto which Byrhtferth attaches his own views. In the case of Edgar, the rituals are used as a pretext for rendering praise and for illustrating what good kings ought to do.

In "Tenth-Century Kingship Comparatively," *England and the Continent*, 293–308, Janet Nelson examines the lengthy yet poorly attested reign of Conrad of Burgundy (937–93) for the evidence it may provide concerning the exercise of royal authority in the early middle ages. As Nelson notes, Conrad poses a particular problem for historians: despite the length of his reign, Conrad appears to have done very little during his time on the throne. Indeed, his rule is remarkable largely because so little appears to have happened. Taking as her starting point the assumption that "longevity of life and of kingly tenure may have its own impact" (295), Nelson suggests that the nature of Conrad's reign as well as the strategic location of his kingdom positioned him to function as a peacemaker and negotiator. As Nelson shows, from the 940s to the 980s Conrad intervened decisively in a series of tenurial disputes and succession crises in Provence, the Rhone Valley, Ravenna, and elsewhere. Although the absence of a direct political descendent for Conrad's Burgundy has left the king outside the standard nationalist or theological histories that preserve the reputations of more famous monarchs, Nelson makes a compelling case for Conrad's contemporary significance and for the relevance of his reign to histories of early medieval kingship.

Like Warner, Thomas Zotz compares the coronations of Otto I and Edgar in "Kingship and Palaces in the Ottonian Realms and in the Kingdom of England," *England and the Continent*, 311–30, but in this case it is a prelude to the much bigger question of whether the Ottonian empire and the Anglo-Saxon realm can validly be considered side by side. Counterintuitively, they can be, at least in some regards. In terms of territory, the area marked out by the triangular itinerary of the Ottonian rulers north of the Alps is about the size of the English kingdom, and both realms were constantly expanding in the tenth century. The palace at Tilleda—the only

Ottonian secular royal palace to be completely excavated—is around 25 meters by 8 meters, similar to the size of English palaces of the tenth century, and a further point of comparison is the variety of locations in which the tenth-century rulers of both realms were buried. In terms of the practice of government, palaces, royal courts, bishoprics, and monasteries were in both countries the stations of the itinerary. The only significant differences that Zotz perceives have to do with the development of capital cities and the location of festivals, which was less fixed in England than in the Ottonian realm.

In "Written Law and the Communication of Authority in Tenth-Century England," *England and the Continent*, 331–50, David Pratt examines the links between the legislation of King Æthelstan and its Carolingian analogues in order to shed light on the place of written legal documents in later Anglo-Saxon culture. Challenging Patrick Wormald's claim that "in several respects England was not a 'country of written law' before the Norman Conquest," Pratt suggests that "one may wonder at the usefulness of postulating a single 'culture of written law', against which all other legal cultures should be judged" (333). He argues instead that the documentary record indicates a gradual "textualization of legal culture," that is, a move "towards practices which were either experienced or understood in relation to certain written texts" (333). Building to a close reading of the Dunsæte treaty and the final clauses of VI Æthelstan, Pratt asserts that these texts "lend credence to the wider significance of written law under tenth-century English kings. Theirs was a kingdom integrated, as perhaps none of her Continental neighbours, by means which included law in writing" (350).

Charles West's "Legal Culture in Tenth-Century Lotharingia," *England and the Continent*, 351–75, attempts to counteract the prevailing impression of the Carolingian successor-state as a place of political fragmentation and social instability. Drawing on Patrick Wormald's discussion of "legal culture"—whereby the law functions more through socially-accepted norms than through specific prescriptions recorded in legal texts—West suggests that the surviving manuscripts of Lotharingian law functioned as "texts of authoritative orientation as much as texts of constraint" (375). In other words, the writing of law was an excercise in the establishment of norms rather than the specific restriction of particular behaviors: an attempt to decree what ought to be rather than regulate what is. For Anglo-Saxonists, the most useful part of West's argument occurs near the end, when he suggests an affinity between Lotharingian and English legal practices. Most intriguing is his suggestion that the manuscript Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Bodley 718, a canon law compilation used by Archbishop Wulfstan of York, may have been copied from a Lotharingian exemplar. The argument is speculative, but it is does suggest that the relationships between English and Continental legal practices during this period were far closer than they often appear.

Yann Coz's "The Image of Roman History in Anglo-Saxon England," *England and the Continent*, 545–558, brings the volume to a rather perplexing conclusion. While it's hard to argue with Coz's thesis that "the Roman past, and the ancient past more generally, never had the same impact on Anglo-Saxon intellectual and political life as it did in the Carolingian and post-Carolingian world," such a statement will not come as a revelation to most Anglo-Saxonists (545). Who has argued otherwise? Nonetheless, the chapter offers a good survey of the ways in which Roman antiquity was available to those who could read and write in the era before the Conquest, much of it paraphrasing the author's 2007 doctoral thesis defended at the University of Paris IV-Sorbonne. Coz attributes to the Anglo-Saxons a shared lack of interest in Roman history, with such themes only emerging "at a time of crisis, when the king's traditional legitimacy was starkly diminished" (558). Alfred's tendency to emphasize the native inheritance of Anglo-Saxon law over any possible influences from elsewhere is in keeping with the general insularity of outlook characteristic of his age. In contrast, the Carolingian preoccupation with Rome may reflect an effort to suppress memories of the Merovingians and establish a fictive continuity with the remote past.

George Molyneaux's Oxford D.Phil. dissertation on "The Formation of the English Kingdom, c. 871–1016" takes as its theme the institutional development of the English kingdom in an extended tenth century, formally spanning the period from Alfred's accession to the death of Æthelred II, but in practice focused largely on the period of Edward the Elder to Edgar (899–975). The latter reign emerges from Molyneaux's work as a phase of particular importance, in which many of the features most strongly associated with late Anglo-Saxon England apparently came into being, or were consolidated for the first time. Molyneaux divides his study into four lengthy principal chapters, supported by a shorter introduction and conclusion. The introduction lays the historiographical foundations for the study: admiration of the institutional strength of late Anglo-Saxon England, but with relatively little precision about how and when

the central features of this polity came into being. The conclusion in turn looks at comparanda for late Anglo-Saxon England elsewhere in Europe, ranging beyond the relatively well-known German and Scandinavia parallels to central Europe and Spain, showing that the elements of cohesion characterizing England in the later tenth century were not as exceptional as is sometimes claimed. The four chapters in turn scrutinize the origins and development of these characteristic features of late Anglo-Saxon England. The first looks at the view that there was a sense of English cohesion and unity driving the military expansion of the tenth-century West Saxon dynasty. Molyneaux's major case-study is the Old English Bede. Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* was central to the thesis of incipient English national consciousness and divine ordination for conquest conceived by Patrick Wormald, and so its vernacular adaptation (probably made at some point early in the tenth century) might be expected to pick up on this theme. To a large extent, however, it does not, and neither do many other texts of the tenth century: instead, the impression is of a more adaptive, indeed often reactive, process aimed at safeguarding Wessex and Mercia. The subsequent chapters devote similarly critical attention (respectively) to the coinage, to local administrative structures and to the complex relationship between royal authority and other (especially elite) power structures. Molyneaux stresses the complex, heterogeneous nature of the coinage in England between the time of Alfred and Edgar's reform of the 970s, and that evolution of this and other institutions at many levels in England did not proceed at a uniform pace or with a unifying common purpose. He emphasizes the reign of Edgar as a period of institutional formalization and innovation, in contrast to the more *ad hoc* processes of government and administration in previous decades. Taken as a whole, this amounts to a challenging and important new thesis on the key features which made late Anglo-Saxon England distinct.

Timothy Bolton's *The Empire of Cnut the Great* (2009), a revision of his Cambridge doctoral thesis, "re-examines the nature of Cnut's hegemony through the perspective of the political historian" (4) with a particular focus on aspects of his Scandinavian empire, the evidence for which poses innumerable challenges. Much of Bolton's evidence for the nature of Cnut's hegemony in England comes from the names of witnesses in royal charters, which become pronouncedly Scandinavian in the aftermath of Cnut's conquest. The extent of administrative continuity from the reign of Æthelred II has been somewhat debated, and Bolton finds a bit more evidence for it than has been acknowledged in the past: though "numerically small," the figures who survived were likely of great importance (35). As Bolton moves to consideration of how the effects of Cnut's rule were felt at the local level, he finds evidence in the distribution of lands that the king "redrew the political boundaries of Mercia to break up any existing blocks of resistance" while seeking to "suppress local opposition" in London and elsewhere (76). Yet these measures seem to have been merely reactive, giving no evidence of an underlying strategy to remake English institutions as would the Normans some decades later, and any bitterness that may have resulted plays no role in our standard view of Cnut's reign as one of essential continuity with the English past—an aspect of Cnut's reputation owing in part to his generosity toward the English church, of which Bolton offers a careful description. In the second half of the study, Bolton turns to the nature of Cnut's Norse empire, where one is confined to the more doubtful resources of numismatics, archaeology, and the writings of highly untrustworthy historians. From these Bolton sifts evidence of a far more "vigorous" effort toward "extending the machinery of control throughout the regions under his authority" (202). Bolton's study is a major contribution to our knowledge of the reign of Cnut and offers valuable insights into the nature of early medieval governance generally.

J.R. Maddicott's *Origins of the English Parliament, 924–1327* (Oxford: Oxford UP) is a major contribution to the study of British parliamentary institutions on par with the work of H.M. Chadwick, H.G. Richardson, and G.O. Sayles. Maddicott's book provides what will surely become the authoritative account of parliamentary origins while also contributing to our understanding of the origins of the Common Law, the development of English legislative practices, and the evolution of the British monarchy. Although his primary interest lies in the centuries following the Norman Conquest, Maddicott's opening chapter on "The Witan of the English People" offers much for Anglo-Saxonists to consider. While noting that royal councils had been a feature of medieval kingship as early as the fifth century, Maddicott argues that we cannot speak of a truly "national" council—one recognizable as a forerunner of the later medieval parliament—until the reign of King Æthelstan. Maddicott's discussion of the sizes, locations, and compositions of follows closely on the work of scholars such as Simon Keynes and Cathrine Cubitt; however, in his discussion of the dual purpose of royal assemblies to promote royal charisma and legal consensus, he suggests a useful way of understanding the function of the meetings and, perhaps more significantly,

provides a new lens through which to view the links between the royal council of the Anglo-Saxon kings and the parliament of later monarchs. Ultimately, he claims, the pre-Conquest royal assembly "was not just a proto-parliamentary institution. It also helped create the conditions of peace and order necessary for its own survival and for its transmission into the post-Conquest world" (56).

71. The Norman Conquest and Settlement

The second half of Michael J. S. Bruno's study of "The Investiture Contest in Norman England," subtitled "A Struggle Between St. Anselm of Canterbury and the Norman Kings: Part II" (*American Benedictine Review* 61: 307–24) takes up with Anselm's consecration as archbishop of Canterbury in 1093. He immediately faced challenges to the primacy of Canterbury and his ability to assert ecclesiastical control without the king's approval. To make matters worse, Anselm was a supporter of Pope Urban II, whereas King William II withheld his recognition of Urban for political advantage. Bruno emphasizes the feudal power that came to Anselm with his elevation, for the see of Canterbury was the greatest ecclesiastical barony in England, and he argues that Anselm was not originally a zealous Gregorian reformer but only became one as a result of the souring of his relations with William. However, it was only with the strong support of Pope Paschal that Anselm was able to resist the demands of Henry I and force the new king to accept ecclesiastical control over the appointment of bishops.

In "The Domesday Boroughs Revisited" (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 33: 127–49), Julian Munby surveys a rich and historiographically complicated subject, beginning with a summary of salient pieces of scholarship on Domesday boroughs. He emphasizes the need to view boroughs in the context of Domesday Book as a whole; a point not always fully appreciated in previous work. The article offers an interim report of a larger project on the treatment of boroughs in the different Domesday circuits, looking at how the agencies responsible for collecting information from different parts of the kingdom approached towns and related settlements. Munby's principal conclusion is that their varying criteria and different levels of detail should play a larger role in historical assessments of towns in late Anglo-Saxon and Norman England.

SAJ reviewed: Aurell, Billett, Brink, Clay, Coz, Wendy Davies, Hamilton, Insley, Maddicott "Plague", Orme, Tinti; RN reviewed: Bihrer, Blair, Campbell, Fleming, Foot "Church and Monastery", Lebecq, Leyser, Molyneaux, Munby, Tinti, Ian Wood "Foundation" ;

AR reviewed: Barker, Lambert, MacLean, Maddicott *Origins*, Nelson, Pratt, Toso, Upchurch, West, Williams *World*, Ian Wood "Gifts";

EAR reviewed: Aird, Albu, Banham, Bernau, Bremmer and Dekker, Brown, Conti, Cragoe, Crawford, Crawford and Lee, Crick, Sean Davies, DeGregorio, Dohmen, Frantzen, Fraser, Kendall, Lavelle, Mostert, Noble "The Interests of Historians", Ortenberg, Price, Roffe, Rollason, Rollason/Leyser/Williams, Stancliffe, Thacker, Tsurushima, Vanderputten, Warner, Wallis, Westgard, Williams "Why are the English", Michael Wood, Zotz.

8. Names

There are several important books in this year's bibliography. Two of them are continuations of the ongoing surveys of place-names by county. In *The Place-Names of Lincolnshire, Part Seven: Lawress Wapentake* (Nottingham: EPNS) by Kenneth Cameron and John Insley in collaboration with Jean Cameron is based on the material gathered by the late Kenneth Cameron and organized by his wife Jean Cameron, with the etymological discussions and analyses provided by John Insley. The name of the wapentake itself reflects the Scandinavian settlement of the area and derives from an Old Norse personal name **Lag-Úlfr* meaning something like 'Ulf the law speaker', ON *hriś* and ODan *rīs* 'coppice'. The common Scandinavian place-name elements in the names in the wapentake include *bȳ* 'a village or a stead', *þorp* 'a secondary settlement', *bekkr* 'a stream', *deill* 'a share of land', *eng* 'meadow, pasture', *gata* 'a way, path, road, or street', *garðr* 'an enclosure', *holmr* 'a water meadow', *kirkja* 'a church', and *vangr* 'an in-field'. An analysis of elements in names in the first seven volumes of the Lincolnshire County Survey will appear in the eighth volume. In this volume, following the usual order, the parish names are listed in alphabetical order, followed by the major names, minor names, and field names also in alphabetical order with some etymological analyses.

The Place-Names of Dorset, Part Four: The Hundreds of Uggescombe, Eggardon, Tollerford, Cerne, Totcombe & Modbury, Yetminster, Beaminster, Beaminster Forum & Redhone, Whitchurch Canonicorum and Goddesthorne (Nottingham: EPNS) by A.D. Mills completes his four volumes on the place-names of Dorset with the listing of the place-names in the hundreds of south-west Dorset and the parish of Seaborough, which was formerly in Somerset, and the parish of Holmcombe, which was formerly in Devon. It follows the format of his earlier volumes and ends with an alphabetical list of all of the Dorset parishes and the volume and page number in which each is discussed. Volume five will deal with the names of the Dorset Rivers and an analysis of elements and personal names, among other things.

A. D. Mills's *A Dictionary of London Place-Names*, 2nd revised ed. (Oxford: Oxford UP) includes around eighty new entries added to the first edition as well as revisions and corrections. Some of the new entries are of medieval origin such as *Marshalsea Road* but are recorded only from the fourteenth century. The almost forty-page introduction, while showing that the book is intended for a general but educated audience, presents a broad overview of the scholarly conclusions from name studies over the last hundred years.

In *A Place-Name History of the Parishes of Rottingdean and Ovingdean in Sussex: Including Woodingdean and Saltdean* (Nottingham: EPNS), Richard Coates discusses over 800 place names in this part of Sussex that were not discussed in Mawer and Stenton's *The Place-Names of Sussex*, including field names and street names. The first part of the book discusses the longest-established names in Rottingdean, but only two, *Rottingdean* itself and *Balsdean*, are traced back to the (late) Old English period. The second part of the book is a categorized gazetteer of names in historic Rottingdean with classifications as focused as "Racing Stables" and "Public Open Spaces." The third part of the book is a history of Ovingdean, but only Ovingdean itself is recorded as early as The Domesday Book, where it is listed as *Hovingedene* and *Hoingesdene*. While the book is scholarly and thorough, it will be of less interest to Old English scholars than to Middle English and Early Modern English scholars.

Carole Hough has two essays this year dealing with name-types. In "The Name-Type Maid(en)well" (*Nomina* 33: 27–44), she argues rather convincingly that the name-type Maid(en)well as in *Maidwell* in Northamptonshire and *Maidenwell* in Lincolnshire and nineteen other place-names in southern Britain represents a dedication to the Virgin Mary rather than other proposed meanings such as a general meeting place for young women or a place where young woman engaged in fertility rites. Hough proposes that the medial <e> inflection in medieval spelling reflects a feminine genitive singular rather than a genitive plural, since OE *mægden* as an epithet for the Virgin Mary follows the common pattern of personal names being inflected according to their natural gender instead of their grammatical gender. Thus the appearance of <e> rather than the <es> that would be expected with a neuter name like *mægden*. In "The Name-Type Fritwell" (*JEPNS* 42: 87–89), Hough strengthens her argument for the etymon of the parish name *Fritwell* in Oxfordshire as well as various field-names as OE **frehtwella* 'spring used for divination' by noting the additional occurrences of OE *freht* 'augury' in the Leicestershire

field-name recorded as *Frewell* and possibly in another Leicestershire field-name *Free Well Close* first recorded as *Frewell*. She further notes a lost minor name in Billingham parish in County Durham *frythwell(')gate* as coming from the same source and suggests "that **freht-wella* should be regarded as an onomastic rather than a lexical item."

Three articles in this year's bibliography focus broadly on place-name elements. In "Harrow" (*JEPNS* 42: 43–62), Keith Briggs presents a large corpus of place-names with *Harrow* as an element, which he breaks into separate lists of names from EPNS volumes, names taken from Ordnance Survey maps, and names from other print sources or unpublished sources. After examining many of the names, he concludes that the conventional wisdom to derive such names from OE *hearg* denoting a heathen temple or shrine is questionable except for the few oldest names compounded with *dūn*. Although there are several possible explanations for the Harrow field-names, Briggs thinks most of them refer to the shape of the field, which is often triangular, rather than to an agricultural instrument.

In "Old English *stoc* 'place'" (*JEPNS* 42: 79–85), by the late Margaret Gelling with Duncan Probert, Probert has reworked an unpublished paper Gelling gave him in 1996 when he was her student. There are more than a hundred major place-names in which OE *stoc* appears, but the article concludes that "*stoc* is perhaps the most colourless habitative place-name terms in the Old English vocabulary." Although the element probably referring to a 'secondary settlement that was part of a large estate', it occurs with initial elements that are personal names as in *Alwarestock*, river-names such as *Tawstock*, bird-names like *Lark Stoke*, and religious names like *Godestock*."

In "A Slippery Customer: Proto-Indo- European **(s)lei-* and its progeny in some place-names in Britain" (*Nomina* 33: 65–85), Alan James suggests that the Proto-Indo-European **(s)lei-* root in river-names such as *Leven* should be interpreted more specifically than just 'flow' but as 'flow directly or smoothly' and that it may refer not only to the rivers themselves but also, and perhaps primarily, to the land over which they flow. James also notes that some *Leven*-type river-names that have been assumed to derive from an early Celtic 'elm-tree' root **lēm-* really derive from Proto-Indo-European **(s)lei-* too, but, because of phonological coincidence and the fact that the elm trees sometimes grew along these rivers, etymological confusions resulted.

Richard Coates has two of the many articles this year that focus on individual place-names. In "Chicklade without any Britons" (*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazine* 103: 312–314), he rejects Andrew Breeze's suggestion that the name *Cricklade* contains OE *gelād* 'river-crossing' and a form of the ancestor of Welsh *crych* 'wrinkled, rippling' used to identify a stretch of water. Coates, of course, accepts OE *gelād*, but he argues that the first element of the name comes from a form like OHG *kriah-*, *crieh-*, or *chrieh-* meaning a bullace, a species of plum, like German *Krieche* or Dutch *kriek* 'black cherry' that might be familiar to literate people such as monks and might tie into the story that a university had been founded at Cricklade by "disoriented Greek philosophers." In "The First Element of Buildwas, Shropshire" (*JEPNS* 42: 75–78), he agrees with Gelling that the second element in *Buildwas* is OE **wæsse* 'land by a river which floods and drains with dramatic swiftness' and suggests that the first element OE **bilde* 'exceptional, supernatural power' would give *Buildwas* the meaning of 'ominous floodplain' in the sense of bearing an omen from some supernatural agent.

In "Scarborough Revisited" (*Nomina* 33: 87–100), Diana Whaley argues against what she calls the "Icelandic hypothesis" for the names *Scarborough* and *Flamborough* and uses topographical evidence to support the derivation of *Scarborough* from OE *sceard* 'cleft' as a noun or adjective and OE *burh* 'fortification' so that the name means 'fortification by or with the gap' or 'the notched fortification' and the derivation of *Flamborough* from OE *flān* 'arrow', probably in a topographical sense, so that the name means 'the fortification by the arrow-like headland'. In "Kinder Scout" (*JEPNS* 42: 63–74), George Broderick builds upon Paul Brotherton's conclusion that the first element of *Kinder Scout*, a plateau in Derbyshire, derives from a British **cantjo-treb(ā)* meaning 'farmstead/hamlet/estate at the edge/rim, boundary, edge estate'; however, Broderick prefers to restrict the name to refer primarily to the western and northern edges or overhang of *Kinder Scout* because the second element *Scout* comes from Scand *skút* 'a cave formed by jutting rocks'.

In "Celts and the Wylye" (*Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Magazines* 103: 314–317), Andrew Breeze argues that the river *Wylye* is named after a chaste, modest, unobtrusive, and seemly nymph associated with the river and derives from the Common Celtic *ueil-* and OE *ea* 'river'. Therefore, the name itself refers to a stream that the Britons thought of as "modest, unassuming, unobtrusive, seemly." In "*Wildene*, a Hitherto Unidentified Domesday Book Holding in Hatfield Hundred" (*Sussex Archaeological Collections* 148: 253–254), M.J. Leppard suggests that *Wildene* was the original name of Posingford Farm and that the first element derives from OE *wald* or *weald* 'forest' rather than *wild* and that the

second element comes from OE *den* 'seasonal woodland pasture'.

In "The Place-Names of Foxhall in Suffolk" (*JEPNS* 42: 31–42), Keith Briggs discusses the lost ancient names of Foxhall Parish in Carlford Hundred in Suffolk such as the Domesday Book *Aluredestuna* 'Alfred's farmstead', *Derneford* 'hidden ford', and *Isleustuna* from ON *ísleifr* and OE *tūn*. He proposes locations for these names in some cases but not in others. In "Three Place-Name Related Sussex Surnames" (*Sussex Archaeological Collections* 148: 254–255), M.J. Leppard points out that the topographical surname *atte Heldele* cited by Richard McKinley and found in the subsidy rolls in 1327 had become a hereditary surname by 1388 when John Heldele was returned as a member of Parliament. In addition, Leppard argues that the surname *Dallingridge* has absorbed the prefatory *de* shown in an earlier form *de Halinggerigge* c. 1230 and that the *Place-Names of Sussex* identification of *Daedeling(a)hrycg* as 'ridge of *Daedd*' or 'ridge of Daedel's people' is incorrect. Leppard also notes that the surname *Grimstead* in medieval times was always prefaced by *de* as in *Richard de Grensted*, so it should be viewed as a by-name rather a hereditary surname.

In "Place-Names with Christian Associations" (*JEPNS* 42: 5–30), Vladislav Alpatov creates a matrix for classifying place-names with Christian associations beginning with classifications like location, ownership, event, and quality; these are further divided into various categories, but one category under "Quality" is "Location," which is odd since one of the initial classifications before the divisions is also "Location," which is listed as parallel with "Quality." He also divides the place-names into the categories: "holiness," "the Church," and "the Bible" before he applies his matrix for their analysis.

Oliver Padel, in "Ancient and Medieval Administrative Divisions of Cornwall" (*Proc. Of Dorset Natural History and Arch. Soc.* 131: 211–214), argues that the large hundreds in Cornwall are the result of the Anglo-Saxon ruling class being a minority in Cornwall and adopting the large pre-English administrative units, which served as units for military call-ups. The boundaries of the old Cornish hundreds tended to intersect at large centers like *Lewnewth* and *Keverango*, the later meaning 'the hundreds' in Cornish. *Bodmin* is at the center of Cornwall and is near the point where the north-south and east-west divisions of the hundred boundaries intersect, and there is a nearby church of *Lanivet*, the meaning of which seems to be 'second wood', referring to a pre-Christian religious site. Padel suggests that the location was probably the center of the tribal territory of the Cornwii and was also adopted by the Anglo-Saxons as their administrative center. He also notes that assemblies and markets occurred along the boundaries of the hundreds, which were common in other Celtic-language areas like Gaul and Ireland.

In *Scottish Place-Names* (Edinburgh: Black and White, 2008), Maggie Scott lists the place-name elements that occur in names of Scotland's hills, valleys, rivers, settlements, and streets and illustrates each of these elements in specific place-names. She does not pretend, however, to examine all of Scotland's place-names in this little book, which is not intended for a scholarly audience.

Works Not Seen

Halloran, Kevin. "The Identity of Etbrunnanwerk." *Scottish Historical Rev.* 89 (2010), 248–53.

9. Archaeology, Numismatics, Sculpture

9a. Excavations

Though the villages of Stow Longa and Tilbrook have been the subject of some recent work, Rob Atkins's "Roman, Anglo-Saxon and Medieval Settlement at Stow Long and Tilbrook (Huntingdonshire)," *Proc. Of the Cambridge Antiquarian Soc*. 99: 75–88 has uncovered new information about both settlement and abandonment of the area during the Anglo-Saxon era. The excavation revealed three settlements all dating from the Middle Saxon period and one settlement potentially dating earlier, perhaps from as early as the Roman era. The waxing and waning fortunes of the farmsteads and Stow Longa itself may reflect the changing political climate over the period, as the area was affected by the decision of both religious and secular lords. Atkins posits that Stow Longa in particular was more important earlier in the period but by the end of the period had become part of a larger holding.

Martin Carver spends part of his editorial in *Antiquity* 84: 295–98 on the Staffordshire Hoard. He summarizes what the hoard was and what was known about it in early 2010 and goes on to criticize the reception of the news even by scholars as "Hollywood stars on Oscar night." Furthermore, he apparently has little liking for Tolkien: twice in two paragraphs he uses a comparison to the *Lord of the Rings* to denigrate the reaction to the hoard, stating that audiences care more for a six-hour epic about talking trees than matters of history. In any case, there is not a lot of meat or substance in this piece, but then, considering what it is, that is not a surprise.

Martin Carver bases his book, *The Birth of a Borough: An Archeological Study of Anglo-Saxon Stafford* (Woodbridge: Boydell), on a series of excavations undertaken between 1975and 1985. Stafford did exist before the early tenth century, but when Æthelflæd, daughter of Alfred the Great, established the town as the site of a *burh*, the small town's fate changed to emerge as an economic center at least until 1066. After the Conquest, the site was all but abandoned until it once again began to rise to prominence in the late twelfth century and thereafter.

The book is divided into six chapters. The first, "Questions," is introductory and serves to orient the reader to the questions that Carver poses, the book's arguments, and the essential history. The chapter focuses on the issues surrounding the late ninth- and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon development of *burhs* throughout Saxon controlled territory. The second chapter discusses the history of the excavations and explains how and why the targeted excavations were done. In this chapter, Carver amalgamates a large amount of archaeological data from 1975–85 and narrates those excavations in an intelligible manner. Chapter three then goes into more detail about the seven principal excavations in Stafford during these ten years. This chapter in particular is heavily illustrated, containing original photographs of the excavations and site drawings. Carver concludes the chapter with a proposed chronology, based on data from the excavations, for the development of Stafford

Carver makes his major argument in the book in the next chapter. Much of the discussion surrounding the *burhs* has been concerned with the models on which they were based. Carver here argues that Stafford as a *burh* was modeled on Roman precedents. The author examines the purpose of the *burhs* through their "form and function." The chapter is very thorough and includes discussion in particular of the Staffordshire ware industry, the mint, the early phases of the church, and even dietary concerns such as the processing of cereal grains and what types of animals were eaten by the populace. The chapter is heavily illustrated with drawings and photographs. Chapter five discusses the decline of Stafford in the post-Norman Conquest period, the construction of a castle in the city, and the sections of the town that seem to have been abandoned. Chapter six draws these strands together and, using the information from Stafford as a probable model for the rest, offers a discussion of the development and use of *burhs* by Wessex in the period. Carver also returns to the topic of the models for the *burhs*, often proposed to be royal estates or ecclesiastical foundations. As noted previously Carver argues that neither is actually the case and suggests that these fortifications were built on a Roman model, chosen for strategic reasons with little regard to their royal or ecclesiastical uses. Though it depends on the foregoing sections, this last chapter in particular will be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists generally.

Kate Ravilious' "Anglo-Saxon Hoard," *Archeology* 63.1: 22–23, is a very brief notice in *Archaeology*'s annual "Top 10 Discoveries" of 2009 Feature. In a few quick paragraphs, Ravilious describes the finding the of the Staffordshire Hoard, notes the hoard's principle contents, and quotes Ian Wykes on the theorized origins of the hoard. In her final thoughts, the author, again quoting Wykes, notes that the contents of the hoard, such as the garnets, indicate that long distance trade was still occurring. She also connects the hoard with *Beowulf*.

"Staffordshire Hoard to the West Midlands," *British Heritage* 31.4: 8, is a brief "in passing" note, which records that the Hoard will stay in the West Midlands for study.

LS

9b. Cemeteries, Bioarcheology, Funerary Archeology and Practices

The anonymous author of "Saxon Queen Found in Cathedral: Magdeburg, Germany," *British Heritage* 31.5: 11, reports on the excavation of the remains of Queen Eadgyth in Magdeburg Cathedral, Saxony. The granddaughter of Alfred the Great, Queen Eadgyth was married to Otto I in 929 AD AND DIED IN 949 AD.

HF

A slim volume from 2004, *The Prittlewell Prince: the Discovery of a Rich Anglo-Saxon Burial in Essex* (London: Museum of London Archaeology Service, 2004). is a Museum of London publication about the Prittlewell Prince find. The text gives basic background to the find, its importance, and a description of what was found. The book includes coor and black and white photographs of the various objects. The forty-four pages include bibliography.

LS

The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Blacknall Field, Pewsey, Wiltshire (Devizes: Wiltshire Archaeological and Natural History Society), by F.K. Annable and B.N. Eagles, is a report of the Anglo-Saxon cemetery in the title, which was excavated between 1969 and 1976. Altogether 104 inhumations and four cremations were excavated. Several males exhibit crushing or cutting trauma from weapons; several of these injuries proved to be fatal. The authors note that the artifact and clothing style is typically "Saxon." Notable artifacts include four swords and a *francisca*, a wide range of brooches, and a possible drinking horn. Dating of the grave good assemblages indicates that the cemetery was in use between 475 and ca. 550 AD. The authors suggest the polyfocal arrangement of graves may indicate family burial plots.

HF

In her short article "Three Men and a (Leaky) Boat," *British Archaeology* 112, Helen Geake quickly examines the so-called "alternate theory" about who is buried in Mound One at Sutton Hoo. For the last 70 years and more, Rædwald has been the favored occupant. In 1993, M. Parker Pearson, R. van de Noort, and A. Woolf published an article in Anglo-Saxon England, "Three Men in a Boat," in which they argued that the occupant of Mound One was not an East Anglian king but more likely an East Saxon or even Kentish king. The reason for this short article is that this theory was given some prominence in a February 2010 BBC documentary. Geake quickly surveys the evidence for the theory, noting that discerning between East Saxon and East Anglian burial materials had been impossible for seventh-century burials until very recently. Since then, differences in style between East Anglian and Kentish material have come to light, and, given the already a discernible difference between Kentish and East Saxon burials, the king can now be identified as East Anglian. This new understanding means that Parker Pearson's theory of an East Saxon burial at Sutton Hoo is untenable. Geake, however, does end with a rather unnecessarily dismissive comment about how history is seductive to someone who works in pre-history like Parker Pearson, and so he made mistakes. Yet the information available in 1993 made the published argument a viable one even if, in the intervening seventeen years, new developments and understandings have changed that.

LS

In *Cemeteries and Society in Merovingian Gaul: Selected Studies in History and Archaeology, 1992–2009* (Leiden: Brill), Guy Halsall brings together eleven chapters relating to burial practices in the Lorraine region of France. Nine of the chapters are previously published or re-written works, while two were written for this monograph. Particularly useful are Halsall's five commentaries, which tie the selected works together, embellishing and expanding on some of the earlier pieces. The book is divided into four parts. The first, "History and Archaeology," provides background to Halsall's position that history and archaeology must be used together in order to study the past. He discusses the limitations and theoretical issues associated with both disciplines. In part two, "Un-Roman Activities: Cemeteries and Frankish Settlement, 1992–2009," Halsall presents three chapters in which he discusses the origins of fourth- and fifth-century row-graves (Reihengräber) and the ethnic associations of federate graves in northern Gaul. Specifically, Halsall argues that these burial practices do not have Germanic origins, but are derived from late Roman customs. Hal-

sall also investigates the effects of Childeric's grave on Merovingian politics. Part Three, "Burials, Rituals and Commemoration: The Evolution of and Idea: 1995–2009," consists of three chapters focusing on mortuary ritual within Merovingian society. Here Halsall argues that it is necessary to recognize the performative aspects of furnished burials and the way in which people were commemorated within the permanent landscape. Finally, Halsall discusses the extent to which burial evidence can indicate religious change. In part four, "Age and Gender in Merovingian Social Organization," Halsall investigates the importance of childhood, adolescent, and adult gender identity for the organization of Merovingian society in the sixth century. He argues that masculinity and femininity were negotiated in complex ways, which varied at different times during a man or woman's life course.

HF

Christina Lee examines the social territory of child burial in "Forever Young: Child Burial in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Youth and Age in the Medieval North*, ed. Shannon Lewis-Simpson, The Northern World 42 (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 17–36. Defining childhood is itself difficult, but she opens interesting territory by examining the burial of children with impaired adults, a group she argues was socially distinct from disabled adults. She sees an overlap in the identification of these liminal groups in their often-clustered placement in cemeteries. Children are underrepresented in Anglo-Saxon cemeteries, raising both social and demographic questions. Were they buried more shallowly? What were the birth and death rates in different areas? Are we looking at a shift in understanding from paganism to Christianity that reflects beliefs of personhood? Children's grave goods are notably absent, with a few exceptions, as are those of the old and infirm, suggesting that physical ability and need for care played out in funerary display. She notes that the presence of knives and beads varies with age and gender differentiation (between the ages of three and twelve) but that jewelry and swords were included only if the deceased had developed economic ability (between the ages of twenty and fifty). Rather than taking these absences as signs that medieval families did not care for children, she suggests that swords and jewelry were markers of difference in social responsibility and family or kin continuation. Thus when children were buried more elaborately, it was a social acknowledgment that the generational line had transferred from the survivors to their dead children. Finally, as baptism and death shared a theological link, cluster burials in close proximity may reflect the need for special prayer and assistance. She also ties this argument to the economic viability of the impaired.

FA

"The early medieval cemetery at the Castle, Newcastle upon Tyne," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 39: 147–287, by John Nolan, Barbara Harbottle, and Jenny Vaughan, is a report of an Anglo-Saxon cemetery located near the remains of the Roman fort *Pons Aelius* in Newcastle upon Tyne. The site was excavated between 1978 and 1992. 660 individuals were excavated from the cemetery, which was in use from the late seventh century to the twelfth century. The full extent of the cemetery is unknown because the construction of the castle in the eleventh century destroyed many of the burials. Few artifacts were included in the graves. Burial structures included wooden coffins, stone cists, and wood-lined graves. The individuals buried in the cemetery may have lived in a settlement that documentary sources refer to as "Monkchester." However, the settlement has not yet been found. A possible Christian chapel was also excavated at the site.

HF

9c. Sculpture, Monuments, and Architecture

Paul Bidwell's survey, "A Survey of the Anglo-Saxon Crypt at Hexham and Its Reused Roman Stonework," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 39: 53–145, is as complete as they come. The article begins with an overview of excavations in the crypt from the 18th century to the present. Bidwell gives a fairly complete account of each archeologist and the type of work they did at the site. Bidwell then gives a description of the stone in the crypt, which was originally used in bridges and a mausoleum at nearby Corbridge, four miles (six km.) away. The author then describes how the stone was reused, with its surfaces and edges reshaped prior to placement in the chamber. Other Roman materials, including statuary, inscriptions from a granary, and material dedicated to Apollo, were also used, taken from other areas around Corbridge. The summary gives a detailed description of each section of the crypt.

The survey concludes with a discussion of possible explanations for the reuse of Roman stones. One suggestion is that a multitude of Roman buildings were available for reuse and repurposing, as Hexham is similar in environment to southern Gaul, where many Roman buildings also existed. . This is in some contrast to Wearmouth-Jarrow, Ripon, and other Northumbrian foundations that did not have the easy availability of Roman stones from which to rebuild. Furthermore, it is likely that, as he did at Wearmouth-Jarrow, Wilfrid used his contacts in Gaul and Rome to bring craftsmen from those regions to assist in the building of this new foundation. These craftsmen might have found conditions similar to where they were from—a plentiful supply of Roman stone—and thus have been more inclined

to use it. The article includes bibliography, drawings, maps, building plans, and a few photographs.

LS

In "Barrows and Buildings, Ditches and Dwellings: The Appropriation of Prehistoric Monuments in Early to Middle Anglo-Saxon Settlements" (PhD diss., Univ. of Sheffield), Vicky Crewe presents a new direction for research on the reuse of prehistoric monuments in Anglo-Saxon England. Rather than focusing on the reuse of prehistoric monuments in burial, ritual, or assembly sites, Crewe focuses on forty-two settlement sites within or in close proximity to prehistoric monuments in central England (defined by Crewe as within 150 meters). Crewe separates her corpus into two main categories: settlements located on or near Neolithic or Bronze Age barrows and settlements aligned to linear features such as Bronze Age or Iron Age enclosures. In this data set, round barrows were the most commonly reused prehistoric monument. Intriguingly, this research shows that sunken-featured buildings were frequently constructed on barrows; Crewe suggests these buildings may have functioned as funerary structures. This research also shows that larger buildings were often situated closest to prehistoric monuments; whether this association is function- or status-related is not clear. Situating settlements in association with prehistoric monuments was most common during the early Anglo-Saxon period. As with burials located within prehistoric monuments, Crewe demonstrates that the construction of settlements in or near such features signaled legitimate authority, linking those in power with the near and distant past.

HF

Nigel Saul's *English Church Monuments in the Middle Ages: History and Representation* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2009) is an important addition to the study of medieval sepulchral monuments. Thorough and well written, Saul's analysis begins with a chapter reviewing the key earlier literature and the issues of dealing with these objects both as expressions of style and in their societal and religious context. Chapter two traces the Anglo-Saxon practices from the seventh and eighth centuries (as evinced by Sutton Hoo, the Hackness and Hexham crosses, and Viking-indebted grave slabs) to the ninth century, which reflected the religious ambivalence of the era, and to the major changes of the eleventh century, including the demographic shift of non-royal burials inside the church and the increased emphasis on effigy depictions. Saul connects the eleventh-century changes to Norman practices of intra-mural burial, which were a stimulus for developing monuments with genre forms (crosses, chalices, and books for priests, swords for knights, etc.), and to social-religious developments, such as twelfth-century humanism and purgatory, which became as an impetus for depicting likenesses. Chapter two is an in-depth look at the range of the production market, where imports from Tournai and Meuse valley sparked native production in the Purbeck stone, and at distribution across regions and sites; he concludes that patronage of these monuments cut across social class, including a level of elite patrons and a level of lower social class imitators. Chapter four is an examination of the different categories of production: cross slabs, freestone effigies, alabaster monuments, wooden effigies, which have been an under-examined category in the past, incised slabs, and brasses. Saul here concludes that, contrary to expectation, these wide ranges of materials and forms were more of a rural than urban activity until the fifteenth century. Chapter five, "Choosing a Monument," looks at the aesthetic choices of monument builders. This is territory with sounder evidential ground in the late Middle Ages, though Saul looks at groupings of styles and materials to suggest some patterns in the earlier periods; this chapter also has interesting sections on the siting of monuments within their architectural settings. Chapter six puts these monuments into their social and religious contexts in order to help us assess function and meaning and asserts the importance of Catholic prayers for the deceased in the effigeal design; the connection beyond the individual to familial commemoration in chantry chapels is part of this social identification. Chapter seven looks at the range of composition and design (vertical or horizontal; one figure, two, or several; figure posture; surrounding architecture), which suggested particular meanings. The remaining chapters deal with specific categories of tombs: ecclesiastics ("designed to locate the deceased in the setting of a divinely ordained order and to do so . . . through personal attire," 176), military effigies (which continued beyond the class relevance), civilian monuments (where types and standards form the basis for depiction, overriding social designations), lawyers (predominantly thirteenth and fourteenth century), women (treated as a socially distinct category with their own set of conventions and standards), and "the macabre" (cadavers, etc., as part of a distinct, though not widespread late medieval taste). Each of these chapters is discussed with several examples in depth, though one might wish for more illustrations. Inscriptions are treated as a separate chapter, befitting their intricacies of form and language, and negotiation of commemoration vs. sentiment. This useful reference book also has a handlist of monuments and a comprehensive bibliography.

FA

9d. Artifacts and Iconography

Edoardo Albert and Paul Gething, in "The King of Swords," *History Today* 60.2: 5–6, discuss the significance of the Bamburgh sword, a pattern-welded blade made with six strands of welded iron. Brian Hope-Taylor found the sword in 1960 during the excavation of Bamburgh Castle. The authors suggest that the sword, created in the seventh century, may have been made for King Oswald of Northumbria and passed down as an heirloom until it was finally deposited in the castle during the eleventh century.

In "The Staffordshire Hoard: 'It Will Change the History of The Dark Ages,' " *British Heritage* 31.1: 12, the anonymous author reports on the early research conducted on the Staffordshire Hoard found in Lichfield, Staffordshire in 2009. The author makes note of the martial features of the hoard, which include pommel caps, hilt plates, and scabbard decorations. The few non-martial pieces in the hoard are three crosses, one notably inscribed with a Biblical verse from the Book of Numbers. The author reports that the hoard likely dates to the seventh century.

HF

In a brief article, "Alliteration in the Romulus Plate Inscription on the Franks Casket," ANQ 23: 147–50, Alfred Bammesberger examines the lines on the Romulus Plate. Based on metrics and alliteration, he suggests the following reading of the lines: *romwalus and reumwalus /in romae caestri/ oþlae unneg/ a fǣddǣ hiǣ wylif/ twǣgen gibroþer/ …t-/b'-*….While noting that other sequences are possible, Bammesberger stresses that at least two full lines of alliterating verse are present on the panel, and this indicates regular alliteration throughout the cited portion of the poem, regardless of how it might have continued.

In "A Note on the Whitby Comb Runic Inscription" *N&Q* n.s. 57: 292–95, Bammesberger focuses on the runes on the Whitby Comb, especially the Latin translation portion. He discusses R. I. Page's research on the comb, particularly his translation of *aluwaludo*. Bammesberger notes the similarities between this word and the Old English (OE) word *alwald*. Bacmesberger discusses in particular the analysis of rune 20, which Page argues is "o" and which scholar Gaby Waxenberger argues is not. Bammesberger argues that rune 20 is an "a." The word, therefore, should be analyzed as *aluwaluda*, a form of the word *alwalda*. The two *u*'s on the comb are secondary vowels.

LS

"New Bracteate Finds from Anglo-Saxon England," *Medieval Archaeology* 54: 34–88, by Charlotte Behr, is a discussion of finds as well as a catalogue of thirteen bracteates and three similar discs found since 1993. The new finds bring the total number of bracteates found in England to fifty-four. The objects date to the later fifth to the first half of the sixth century, and the majority are from Kent. Behr suggests that like Scandinavian bracteates, Anglo-Saxon bracteates were seen as possessing amuletic powers—used either to attract the good will of the gods via the image of the god or to protect against evil via the motif of the vanquished beast. New bracteate finds from the burials of wealthy females at Dover Buckland, Kent, support arguments that the pendants were produced in a local workshop and were ideologically linked to Scandinavia and the cult of the god Woden (Odin). Behr also discusses the importance of the bracteate die found in Essex, noting that it confirms bracteate production within England itself. Many English bracteates have similarities with those found near Sievern in the Elbe-Weser triangle, leading Behr to suggest a direct link between the two areas. She argues that Sievern was a center for bracteate production and trade. Once the gold foil pendants had been introduced to communities in England, local production began, although their use within different communities was diverse. In Kent, bracteates were buried with elite women, while in other areas of Anglo-Saxon England, single bracteates were deposited as offerings, often folded or bent at the time of deposition.

In "Stil II als Spiegel einer Elitenidentität? Der Tierstil von der Herkunftsmythologie bis zur Königssymbolik und Kirchenkunst im angelsäschischen Britannien," in *Zwischen Spätantike und Frühmittelalter: Archäologie des 4. bis 7. Jahrhunderts im Westen,* ed. Sebastian Brather, Ergänzungsbände zum Reallexikon der Germanischen Altertumskunde 57 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 2008), 297–322, Karen Høilund Nielsen discusses the development of Style II iconography in Anglo-Saxon England. She argues that Style I animal art was used by a wider population in East Anglia and Kent and was particularly associated with brooches belonging to women of leading families. This style incorporated origin myths that linked certain kin groups to Scandinavia. Style II animal art emerged in the last third of the sixth century and was associated with fewer items, namely, items associated with high-status men. This development can be seen most notably in the grave good assemblage at Sutton Hoo. Weapons and drinking vessels decorated with Style II iconography strengthened the position of kings in East Anglia and Kent, legitimizing their origins and emphasizing direct connections with Scandinavia. An-

glian Style II eventually became incorporated into Christian iconography, particularly in illuminated manuscripts made in Northumbrian scriptoria.

HF

Jane Hawkes's "Gathering Fruit at Ingleby: An Early Medieval Sculptural Fragment from Ingleby, Derbyshire," *Jnl of the British Arch Assoc* 163: 1–15, addresses a stone cross fragment, which shows two trees, on a broad face and on a narrow face respectively, and an unusual figure with a bag and a staff on a third face. Hawkes first corroborates the original dating of the work as a pre-Conquest work (late 8th or early 9th century), with parallels to the Athelstan Psalter, early Christian and Byzantine pieces, and Anglo-Saxon pieces such as those found at Codford St. Peter (Wiltshire). Hawkes convincingly suggests that the staff is most likely a reaping hook or a billhook for pruning, which she sees in the context of late Antique sources. Its fragmentary nature complicates the iconography of the work, but Hawkes places the work less in the context of the Labors of the Month and more in the context of the Tree of Life. This tree flourishes on the broad side, with the river beneath suggesting baptism, and the second tree represents the Eucharist. This analysis is supported both visually and by the works of Augustine and Cassiodorus. The Ingleby fragment is thus more richly understood in the context of crosses from the late Anglo-Saxon period.

FA

Jane Kershaw's "On the Trail of Viking Women," *British Archaeology* 115, is a quick overview of Viking-era Scandinavian jewelry found in gravesites in England over the last twenty or so years. Kershaw notes that until recently, Scandinavian women have been all but invisible in discussions of the invasion into England and the establishment of the Danelaw. Now, however, linguistics and metalwork are showing how important women were in this process. In fact, a greater number of women came in the wake of the Great Army than previously supposed. The jewelry that has been found now represents all known Scandinavian types and covers the entire period, demonstrating that the presence of this jewelry is unlikely the result of trade or mere accident. Slowly, then, the picture of Scandinavian women in England during the Viking Age is becoming a little clearer.

In "At the Water's Edge," in *Signals of Belief in Early England: Anglo-Saxon Paganism Revisited* ed. Martin Carver, Alex Sanmark, and Sarah Semple, (Oxford: Oxbow), 49–66, Julie Lund examines the "use" made of geographical features such as lakes, rivers, bogs, and the like by pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons. In doing so, the article rests heavily on comparisons with Scandinavia and northern Germany. Lund begins by discussing votive offerings that were deposited into water. The notion behind a votive offering is the "gift," and in the gift economy the offering, the gift, retains something of the giver, whether the recipient is divine or human. Furthermore, repeating here older arguments regarding objects, Lund contends that a gift may develop its own history and its own tale or tales. Lund further discusses how this feature of offered objects might relate to their ritual status and deposition. The article also examines rivers as a locale where votive objects were placed; these objects were not limited to weapons but also included other objects such as tools and jewelry.

Since water, and in particular rivers, were parts of the Anglo-Saxon "cognitive landscape," Lund suggests that bridges, fords, and other types of crossings were likewise important for ritual offering and gift giving, noting again the frequent use of such sites on rivers for votive offerings. At last, Lund turns to lakes as a body of water. She muses on the fact that while there is a great deal of evidence for Scandinavian use of lakes for votive offerings, there is none for the early Anglo-Saxons. Finally, Lund discusses the Christian attempt to suppress the practice of offerings at waters' edges, but she also notes a revival of the practice in the Danelaw.

Young-Bae Park's "The Older Futhark and the Old English Runes: Towards Further Understanding of the English Runic Scripts," in Imahayashi, Nakao, and Ogura, *Aspects of the History of English Language and Literature* [see sect. 3b], 39–59, is a surprisingly brief article considering what it sets out to do. In the introduction, the author lays out the central issues around runes and their history, moves on to discuss theories of runic origins, discusses the origin of the runes, offers some interpretations of early runic inscriptions, and discusses the Anglo-Saxon runic development. Considering that this paper was originally delivered at a conference, its brevity is not surprising. As such, in the general sweep of its coverage, there is little that is new in the overall treatment of theories regarding runes, runic development, and so on. But this piece would serve very well as an introduction to runic studies. What is new are some of the suggested interpretations of both Germanic and Anglo-Saxon runic inscriptions; as is well known, some inscriptions are ambiguous due to the debatable phonological value of some of the runes. Park offers a likely interpretation of some of these, though again, the brevity of the article prevents a full-scale discussion of both the analysis and its motivations.

One important feature of this article is that Park examines the meaning of "runes" in Germanic languages. He attempts to move us away from the "magical" connotations that have burdened a great deal of runic studies. Rather, Park argues that in the period of the earliest inscriptions "rune" meant inscription or even message and had nothing at all to do with secrets, mysteries, or magic. Park suggests that many theories regarding runic origins and the use of runes in Germanic cultures have been wrong simply as a result of the theorists' misunderstanding of the meaning of "rune."

LS

In "A Feast for the Eyes: Representing Odo at the Banquet in the Bayeux Tapestry," *Haskins Society Jnl* 22: 83–122, Elizabeth Carson Pastan looks critically at the prominent depiction of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux. This depiction is central to the question of what attitude the tapestry depicts takes towards the Norman Conquest. Scholars have focused on the scene of Odo's banquet to examine both the social economy of the upper class and the symbolic systems associated with the Last Supper. Thus Pastan carefully examines the scene in connection to its surrounding elements, Odo's biography, and the question of patronage. Pastan summarizes some of the scholarly positions on Odo. Pastan argues that later sources have been applied uncritically and have incorrectly led scholars to believe that Odo is aggrandized in the tapestry, that scenes that should have been unequivocally biased toward the Normans are often ambiguous, and that Odo and the "designer" are problematically conflated. Pastan reads scenes against each other; for example she reads Bosham feast against Odo's, many other early comparative images, and the comparative source-scene in the *Gospels of St. Augustine*, which Pastan throws into question. She also reads the inscriptions against the images, examining their the visual prominence and the prominent reference to Odo specifically by title. Finally, she draws attention to the collaborative nature of the embroidery's production and of the monastery of Saint Augustine to make her point: set against this environment, in which many individuals were aware of the narrative value of the feast and benediction before the battles and were aware of the comparative images on which to draw, Odo's prominence should be attributed to the social context of the Conquest rather than to the arrogant sole designer of the embroidery.

Elizabeth Carson Pastan's "Building Stories: The Representation of Architecture in the Bayeux Embroidery," *Anglo-Norman Studies* 33: 150–85, first and foremost asks if it matters whether or not the designers and executors of the Bayeux Embroidery had in mind real buildings. Noting that the 1493 Nuremberg Chronicle's buildings were tropes of city design and do not reflect our modern emphasis on verisimilitude, she suggests that the buildings of the Bayeux Embroidery structure the work as a whole and should be seen both as aspiring to some historical depiction of the architecture and as using convention to contribute to the experience of viewing and interpreting. Drawing richly on studies from Holmes in 1959 and Beech and Lewis, both in 2005, Pastan argues that the choice of places, inscription amplification, and additional descriptive elements support the long-posited manufacture in Canterbury. Pastan divides the thirty-three buildings into three categories—authentic, conventional or copied from other representations, and fanciful—though she notes the fluidity and overlap of these designations. Her discussion of the buildings in the Embroidery includes a summation of why they are characterized as they are. For example, the authenticity of Edward's mid-eleventh-century Westminster Abbey is reinforced by the description in the *Vita Ædwardi* and some archaeological construction details. She also explains how the buildings serve the narrative, for example, underscoring through isolation and detail the importance of the scenes around it and the childlessness of Edward at his death. Similarly, her discussion of Bosham, its inscription in the Embroidery, and its history with the Godwine family is masterfully intertwined, and she suggests the use of the architecture to convey an aura of truth to the narrative, even if the buildings' representation is not exactly truthful. Understanding the connotations these buildings might have held for a contemporaneous audience, viewing them against the desolate openness of Hastings in the final battle, as a story independent of the Conquest, is the strength of Pastan's thorough examination.

FA

Mike Pitts, in "Research Continues as Saxon Hoard is Valued at £3.3m," *British Archaeology* 110 Jan/Feb, reports that after evaluation, the Department for Culture, Media, and Sport's treasure valuation committee has assessed the Staffordshire Hoard at £3.285 million. Pitts notes that while only basic cataloguing has been done on the hoard, exhibitions of selected items from the hoard have been well attended. The Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and the Potteries Museum, Stoke-on-Trent, are likely to share the hoard.

HF

Edited by Stephen Pollington, who provides the text, Lindsay Kerr, who provides the drawings, and Brett Hammond, who provides research and photographic

plates, *Wayland's Work: Anglo-Saxon Art, Myth and Material Culture from the 4th to the 7th Century* (Swaffham, Norfolk: Anglo-Saxon Books) is a difficult book to assess. The book attempts to summarize and present in a readable format the current scholarship on early Anglo-Saxon art and material culture. The volume is divided into six sections. The first, "Barbaric Style," is an overview of the current scholarship regarding the function and style of early Anglo-Saxon art and artifact. The second section discusses style and evolution, placing Anglo-Saxon art and its phases into context alongside Roman and other Germanic parallels. In the introduction, Pollington mentions the position that the "artist is an artisan" but decidedly comes down on the side of the "artisan as artist." Then the third section of the large book focuses on metalworks, smiths, their tools and techniques, and the like. Next comes a section that outlines the phases of Anglo-Saxon artwork and examines the works themselves. The fifth section, "Reading the Record," addresses the issues of "what it all means" in context. Finally, the volume closes with a short section on post-conversion art, an addendum giving an overview of Celtic art, and a very nice set of maps. Not least in this volume are the appendices: three on typology of buckles, pottery stamps, and wrist-clasps, another appendix on Old English color, plants, and animal taxonomies, and a brief addendum on the Staffordshire Hoard.

The difficulty in talking about this volume is that there is both a good deal of negative to say but also a good deal of positive. Beginning with the negative, the text of the book summarizes issues rather than breaking any new ground. Furthermore, the text is aimed more at the general reader than the specialist. Even so, while there is much that the general reader will appreciate, art historians will be frustrated by the absences of scholarship that should be mentioned in such a volume, such as Roberta Frank's challenging the use of later literary texts to explain earlier art and artifacts. The text posits a continuum of Germanic culture, and Pollington makes a number of interesting connections. But his emphasis on the continuity ignores the local incarnations of Germanic culture, the local unique features. There are some interesting oversights as well. The Lindisfarne Gospels, for example, are presented as a product of Germanic culture without mention of the Irish influence that is clearly present. In addition, there are some factual errors that are disturbing. Hanging bowls are described as cauldrons. The text also incorrectly states that whalebone was the preferred replacement for ivory rather than walrus. There are other such errors.

But all is not bad. There are many images in the volume that, as far as I am aware, have not been published elsewhere. For the student or scholar who is not an art historian, a great deal of the synthesized information, even with its oversights, will be quite useful and informative. While there are items missing in the bibliography, still the present bibliography is very useful, and on certain subtopics it is quite complete. Much of the text is a useful synthesis of the field for the non-specialist. The illustrations and photographs are done well and produced well. Furthermore, the thematic structure, the topics, and the cultural connections drawn in the book make the volume a solid addition to the personal library, despite the above mentioned faults.

Sarah Semple's "In Open Air," in Carver, Sanmark, and Semple, *Signals of Belief in Early England,* 49–66, is interested in what she calls the "pre-Christian sacred landscape" among the Anglo-Saxons. She opens by examining current theories about pagan Anglo-Saxons and how these approaches may enlighten a study of landscape. She spends time arguing—unnecessarily in my view—for an interdisciplinary approach to the issues. She does remark on the issue of periodization: landscape archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England must be seen as an extension of pre-historic and Romano-British landscape studies. Semple then delves into the issues of how the pre-Christian Anglo-Saxons may have understood their land; she points to the fields, groves, hilltops, and so on dedicated to the gods. She examines the places designated *hearg* on hilltops and their use. Semple also looks at fissures, cracks, pits, and like formations that the Anglo-Saxons believed were inhabited by monsters, gremlins, and similar creatures. Likewise, the water is inhabited by *nicoras*. Semple wonders whether at least some of the votive offerings might be directed toward these creatures rather than toward the gods. Finally, Semple turns to Anglo-Saxon attitudes towards and reuse of ruins, Roman period structures, pre-historic burial mounds, poles, and temple sites.

LS

Edited by Sally Worrell, Geoff Egan, John Naylor, Kevin Leahy, and Michael Lewis, *A Decade of Discovery: Proceedings of the Portable Antiquities Scheme Conference 2007*, BAR British Series 520 (Oxford: Archaeopress) brings together nineteen papers that illustrate the research potential of the Portable Antiquities Scheme, which serves to record archaeological finds made by the public in England and Wales. Papers focus on lithic production; metalwork finds from the Bronze, Iron, Roman, and Anglo-Saxon periods; medieval pilgrim trinkets, seals, and combs; and studies of Roman settlement and medieval trade.

HF

9e. Regional Studies and Economic Studies

Martin Carver first frames "Four Windows on Early Britain," *Haskins Society Jnl* 22: 1– 24, with a discussion of our scholarly tendencies to isolate southeast Britain even within Britain and to place the individual artist within the consensus of medieval production. The question whether these tendencies are warranted is pertinent and compelling. Carver looks at four case studies: central English Wasperton cemetery from the fourth to the tenth centuries; Sutton Hoo in the southeast from the sixth to the tenth centuries; the northeast Scottish monastery Portmahomack from the sixth to the eleventh centuries; and the *burh* of Stafford in the Midlands from the tenth to eleventh centuries. Carver sees these cites as broadly connected and grounded in their examination of the Roman and British pasts. His analysis of these archaeological sites suggests that there is far more complicated overlap among the cultural interfaces of Anglo-Saxon, Roman, Christian, Germanic, pagan, and even prehistoric Britain than previously thought. Wasperton shows tendencies towards strongly Germanic styles in its culturally distinctive grave goods and inhumation practices while Sutton Hoo exhibits at a continental style in its carefully constructed barrows. Stafford, as a strategically oriented, planned town or *burh* under Æthelflæd in 913, illustrates the connection to the Roman past. The monastery of Portmahomack shows a compromise between past and present through its Iron Age Pictish crosses on grave markers, its ties to Iona and Northumbria, and its creation of Christian liturgical goods. "For when, between the fifth and tenth centuries there was no overarching authority in the island," Carver writes, "the actors were free to develop and pursue original politics and cosmologies."

FA

Pam Crabtree, in "Agricultural Innovation and Socio-Economic Change in Early Medieval Europe: Evidence From Britain and France," *World Archaeology* 42: 122–36, examines the transformation of animal husbandry practices in the Middle Saxon period (650–850 ce). Faunal assemblages at early Anglo-Saxon sites indicate that while sheep, goat, pig, and cattle were all utilized, cattle was the predominant large-mammal domesticated. This pattern can also be found in sixth-century Merovingian sites. Crabtree suggests that the reliance on cattle reflects an extensive, self-sufficient economy. In contrast, Middle Saxon faunal assemblages indicate that animals were increasingly raised for the exchange market. Specifically, high proportions of mature sheep indicate an intensification of wool production. Specialization in pork production is also indicated by the increase in proportion of pig remains at Middle Saxon sites. Crabtree argues that the emergence of high-status estate centers and wealthy monastic sites in the seventh and eighth centuries necessitated moving away from small-scale, non-specialized animal husbandry and towards practices that created specialized products such as wool. These products became part of the growing trade networks within the region.

Emily Forster investigates the environmental context of post-Roman Britain in "Paleoecology of Human Impact in Northwest England during the Early Medieval Period: Investigating 'Cultural Decline' in the Dark Ages" (PhD diss., Univ. of Southampton). Forster's research questions the validity of the traditional view that woodland regeneration after 410 ad reflected abandonment of agricultural land and population loss. To examine this hypothesis, she collected sediment cores from six tarns in the Lake District and analyzed pollen and diatom data. Two tarns, Barfield Tarn and Loughrigg Tarn, provided excellent data for the period of study. These tarns produced different results, indicating that land-use developments were highly localized. Pollen from Barfield Tarn indicates that cereals were farmed in the post-Roman period, whereas at Loughrigg Tarn, palynological analysis suggests a decline in agricultural activity and an expansion of oak forests in the post-Roman period.

HF

A. J. Grayson's article, "Thames Crossings near Wallingford from Roman to Early Norman Times" *Oxoniensia* 75: 3–34, is a straightforward treatment of the title's subject. Scholars have been interesed in Wallingford because of its location on the river. A Roman road ran through the area, and some Roman artifacts have been found in the town, though there is no evidence that a Roman town existed there. There is some evidence of a small, early Saxon-era village. But it was not until Alfred the Great chose the site as one of the *burh*s and established a mint there that the town began to rise to some prominence. Its importance continued until the fourteenth century, when the town was eclipsed by Abingdon. The article gives background on fords in this period, examines in particular the fords in the area around Wallingford, and assesses the most used areas for fording the Thames.

As the title of the article, "The Relationship Between Wandyke and Bedwyn Dykes: A Historiography" *Wiltshire Arch and Natural History Magazine* 103: 269–88, indicates, Ben Lennon does not present any new archaeological evidence so much as go over what previous authors have said about the relationship between the dykes. In the past, modern scholars have believed that

Bedwyn Dyke was simply a continuation of Wansdyke. The article begins by examining the two Anglo-Saxon mentions of the "Bedwyn Dyke," contained in charters from Cynewulf in 778 and Edgar in 968 (S264 and 756 respectively). Lennon examines each charter in detail, and though in different languages and giving different details, he also engages in a comparative study of the two. He then discusses the two late medieval mentions of the area. He notes that in none of these instances is the "Bedwyn" Dyke associated with Wansdyke. The first modern examination of the area in 1719, however, does make an explicit association between the two features, though in such a fashion as to suggest that the association is already a common belief. Lennon examines other eighteenth- and nineteenth-century mentions of the dyke and notes that all associate the Bedwyn with the Wansdyke. Crawford in 1922 did question the association, but it was not until 1960 that Fox and Fox's *Wansdyke Reconsidered* gave firm evidence that the two were not part of a single system of dyke works. It was also Fox and Fox who coined "Bedwyn Dyke" as a name for the feature crossing the Bedwyn Valley. Two subsequent studies presuppose that Bedwyn is part of Wansdyke; while Lennon offers a critique of both, he also notes that each article contributes some astute observations regarding the dyke. The author concludes that the notion that these two dykes were connected as part of a system owes its origin to the incorrect early modern view that the Saxons built large earthwork systems as boundaries and defenses in a systematic way. But Lennon assures us that Bedwyn is best considered to be a separate landscape feature from Wansdyke and perhaps is even from a different historical period.

LS

In "Livestock and Deadstock in Early Medieval Europe from the North Sea to the Baltic," *Environmental Archaeology* 15: 1–15, Terry O'Connor reviews the available evidence for animal husbandry in eighth- through eleventh-century northern Europe, focusing specifically on cattle, sheep, and pigs. Taking data from published excavation reports, O'Connor compares both the relative abundance of taxa and mortality profiles from sites across the North Sea and Baltic region—the region most affected by Scandinavian movement and trade during this time period. In England, O'Connor found that faunal assemblages from sites located within the Danelaw have more cattle than sheep or pig, while faunal assemblages from Saxon sites have relatively more sheep and pig. At sites of early towns throughout the North Sea and Baltic region, such as at Haithabu, Germany, assemblages show a high proportion of pigs, indicating that pigs were utilized as fast-growing meat sources. Raising and butchering pigs appears to have become a stable strategy for feeding growing populations. At other proto-urban centers, like Ribe, Denmark, an unusually large proportion of subadult cattle were slaughtered, indicating a high demand for meat products. O'Connor concludes that although some regional patterns can be found in the data, animal husbandry in northern Europe during this time was diverse; no distinctive "Viking" husbandry can be identified.

In "The Environmental Contexts of Anglo-Saxon Settlement," in *Landscape Archaeology of Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. N. J. Higham and Martin J. Ryan, Publications of the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies, 9 (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press), 133–56, Tom Williamson argues that settlement patterns in Anglo-Saxon England were strongly shaped by environmental factors. Williamson challenges the assumption that nucleated villages emerged in lowland England because that area had been the most extensively settled and cleared. He argues that in the Midlands, heavy clay soils could only be ploughed during a brief period each year. Due to the fact that ploughs and oxen teams were expensive and likely shared among many cultivators, clustered farms and intermingled holdings would have ensured that more fields could be successfully cultivated. Williamson also argues that the differing burial practices in early Anglo-Saxon England can be explained not by the arrival of large groups of distinct immigrants but by topographical boundaries at major watersheds. The traditional "Anglian" area, where cremation cemeteries predominate, forms what he calls the "North Sea Province," a region that was topographically open to cultural influences and migrants from across the North Sea. The "Saxon" region (his "Channel Province") faced the continent and was less permeable to cultural ideas from Scandinavia and northern Germany. Thus we see an absence of cremation cemeteries in this area. Williamson provides a solid argument that environmental contexts, as well as cultural contexts, must be examined when looking at settlement patterns in Anglo-Saxon England.

HF

9f. Interdisciplinary Studies

In "Climate and Archaeology: An Appreciation," *Acta Archaeologica* 81: 139–49, Klavs Randsborg summarizes climate research as it relates to archaeological and historical data, citing evidence from polar ice cores, lake sediments, tree-rings, and volcanic deposits and linking this evidence to human events ranging from the Paleolithic to the modern day. In particular, Randsborg discusses

the effects of a poor climate on European cultures during the fifth and sixth centuries AD. In the fifth century, tree rings indicate low solar activity, which has been linked to reports of wet weather and poor harvests in northern Europe and accounts of drought in central Asia, which may have led to the westward movement of the Huns. Randsborg also discusses the Norse settlement of Greenland, citing evidence of a worsening climate in the fourteenth century as a possible (but not the sole) factor in the eventual abandonment of the colonies.

HF

9g. The Anglo-Saxon Church

Jon Cannon's unillustrated article, "The Lost Anglo-Saxon Church of Westbury-on-Trym," in *British Archaeology* 114, asks the reader to see a church beyond its present unremarkable condition. Cannon takes us through the basic history of Westbury as a collegiate church from at least 804, with a reformed community under John Carpenter, Bishop of Worcester (1443–1476) beginning in the fifteenth century. The crypt was celebrated for its fifteenth-century paintings. But what concerns Cannon most of all is the relation of the crypt to the present apse. The floors are not aligned, and the oldest of the apse buttresses suggests a much older polygonal apse. Citing Anglo-Saxon precedents at Repton, Derbyshire, and to a lesser extent at Brixworth, Northamptonshire, and Deerhurst, Gloucestershire, Cannon also connects this construction to the slope of the nave walls and to a remnant of a reused tomb slab with pre-twelfthl-century carvings. Westbury's history in the ninth and later the eleventh centuries, when there were unsuccessful efforts to install a monastic community, and John Carpenter's strong connection to the site suggest that "this ordinary-looking parish church was once a very impressive place indeed, its richly-screened east end resplendent with paint, stained glass, tilework and sculpture. Its high altar was raised theatrically above the rest of the church, hiding the crypt-chapel, with its distinctive form and decoration: the cadaver effigy of the bishop probably lay there, or possibly in the chancel, near the entrance to the crypt." Without drawings or images it is hard to visualize, but further work is available in Cannon and Nicholas Orme's report, *Westbury-on-Trym: Monastery, Minster, and College, published in 2010 by the Bristol Record Society.*

FA

9h. Numismatics

Leon Wild's article, "Olafr's Raven Coin: Old Norse Myth in Circulation," *Jnl of the Australian Early Medieval Assoc* 4 (2008): 201–211, suggests an interpretation of the raven coins of Olaf, king of the Danelaw and Dublin. The first third of the article reviews Olaf's career. The next section of the piece reviews the numismatics concerning the coin and related items. The last section offers a review of ravens in Norse mythology, from "beast of battle" motifs to symbols of victory or defeat or both to their role as Odin's eyes. In conclusion, Wild suggests that the raven coin was, on the one hand, probably minted with stolen casts by an Anglo-Saxon in York and acceptable to traders and merchants from the south of England. But, on the other hand, it also conveys York's independence and difference in religion from both the south of England and from the Anglo-Danish noblemen and the church and is an example of the linguistic and religious pluralism of the Yorkish kingdom.

LS

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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*
BAR	*British Archaeological Reports*
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*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JEPNS	*Journal of the English Place-Name Society*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MA	*Medieval Archaeology*
MAI	*Medieval Abstracts International*
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MP	*Modern Philology*
MRTS	*Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
NOWELE	*North-Western European Language Evolution*
OEN	*Old English Newsletter*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PQ	*Philological Quarterly*
RB	*Revue Bénédictine*
RES	*Review of English Studies*
SELIM	*Revista de la Sociedad Española de Lengua y Literatura Inglesa Medieval*
SN	*Studia Neophilologica*
SP	*Studies in Philology*

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