OEN

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

FOR 2012

CONTRIBUTORS

Anya Adair	University of Hong Kong
Rachel Anderson	Grand Valley State University
Tiffany Beechy	University of Colorado
Mary Blanchard	Ave Maria University
Emily Butler	John Carroll University
Erik Carlson	U of Arkansas—Fort Smith
Jill Hamilton Clements	U of Alabama—Birmingham
John David Cormican	Utica College
Kees Dekker	University of Groningen
Mary Dockray-Miller	Lesley University
Shannon Godlove	Columbus State University
Eugene Green	Boston University
Alison Gulley	Appalachian State University
Sarah Harlan-Haughey	University of Maine
Matti Kilpiö	University of Helsinki
Karmen Lenz	Macon State College
Patrick McBrine	Bishop's University
Joseph P. McGowan	University of San Diego
Joey McMullen	Indiana University—Bloomington
Sharity Nelson	University of Central Oklahoma
Dana Oswald	U of Wisconsin—Parkside
David Porter	Southern University
Alexandra Reider	Yale University
Erin Sebo	Flinders University
Brita M. Wårvik	Åbo Akademi

EDITORS

Stefan Jurasinski	State U of New York—Brockport
Stephen Harris	University of Massachusetts
Michael Moynihan	Independent Scholar

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Foreword

YWOES 2012 exists in an unfinished state; one section is missing entirely, and others (e.g. "History and Culture") are substantially shorter than usual. Given the calamities that accompanied its preparation, however, even this outcome surpasses the expectations many of us had even a few months ago. The work of completing this issue was undertaken amid strains like nothing we could have foreseen or imagined. Reviewers were sometimes locked out of offices and academic libraries for months on end while redesigning classes and learning new technologies on short notice. What little time was available for scholarly work often took place under circumstances permitting little if any concentration or even quiet. That the issue is nonetheless in publishable form is owing to the heroic efforts of our contributors. It is offered to our readership in the hope that the present trials will not be with us too much longer, and in the knowledge—abundantly confirmed in the following pages—that the study of pre-Conquest England remains foundational to present-day work in the Humanities.

Contributors to *YWOES* are named on the title page, and the authorship of individual sections is indicated by their initials within or at the end of each section. Dissertations, redactions, summaries, and popular works are occasionally omitted, and their absence in no way constitutes negative judgment.

Readers who would like more information on the books and articles reviewed here will find fuller bibliographical citations in OEN 46.4, our annual bibliography.

SJ

1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

Siân Ellis, "How the Normans Changed England" and "Norman Treasure Trail," *British Heritage* 33.4 (Sep 2012): 44–48. "Dust off your Norman passport," says Sian Ellis, by way of inviting us on a tour of sites central to the Norman Conquest, what she calls in a handy chart "The Norman Treasure Trail" (44). Ellis deftly covers the basics of the Norman toppling of the last Saxon king and its aftermath, and recommends that the traveler start with an English Heritage audio tour of the Battle of Hastings site in near present-day Battle, East Sussex. Along with visiting the site of William's coronation at Westminster Abbey on Christmas Day, travelers can see Norman motte-and-bailey strongholds in Oxford and Barnstaple and visit Marcher (border) castles, like Berkeley Castle in Gloucestershire and Chepstow Castle on the high cliffs above the River Wye. Ellis urges the visitor to take in some of the glorious Norman cathedrals, including those at Durham, Gloucester, and Rochester. The historically curious can wind up their tour of Norman sites with a visit to the New Forest which Normans appropriated as hunting lands and which today includes the Rufus Stone, said to mark the spot where William's heir, his second son William "Rufus" died after being hit by a stray arrow.

Siân Ellis, "Journey into Anglo-Saxon England," *British Heritage* 33.2 (May 2012): 38–43. Ellis begins her recommended tour of Anglo-Saxon England by attacking the bane of all medievalists, the term "Dark Ages," noting that instead of being the benighted era of popular imagination, the age "invented" the notion of an English nation. Likewise, the Staffordshire Hoard, now on permanent display at Birmingham Museum and Art Gallery and The Potteries Museum & Art Gallery, Stoke-on-Trent, shows that these so-called Dark Ages in fact "razzle-dazzled." As she does with her short article on Norman England, Ellis clearly lays out the historical context of early medieval Britain. A visitor interested in the relics of the time period might begin on the southeast coast with a replica of the Viking ship Hugin in Kent. The West Stow Anglo-Saxon Village in Suffolk today features reconstructed dwellings. Grave goods can be viewed at the Corinium Museum in Cirencester, Gloucestershire, and, although often overshadowed by the showy Canterbury Cathedral, St. Augustine's Abbey nearby reminds us of Gregory's late

sixth-century mission to convert the English. No tour of Saxon England would be complete without visit to Lindisfarne where Aidan established a monastery in the eighth century. Ellis lists several of the approximately 250 Saxon church ruins in England, singling out Odda's Chapel (rediscovered in 1865 as part of a farmhouse) and St. Mary the Virgin priory church, both at Deerhurst in Gloucestershire. Other notable sites are Bede's World and St. Paul's Church at Jarrow.

Siân Ellis, "Offa's Dyke & Hike: An 8th-century Stroll through the Welsh Marches," *British Heritage* 33.1 (March 2012): 24–28; and "What's on Offa?" *British Heritage* 33.1 (March 2012): 28. Ellis covers the "best bits" of the 177-mile Offa's Dyke Path National Trail, which runs from Sedbury Cliffs near Chepstow, through Welsh border country to the Irish Sea. Offa's Dyke, of which about 60 miles remain, was built in the late eighth century by Mercia's ruler and is Britain's longest ancient monument and best example of an Anglo-Saxon dyke. In an article which explores the question of why the dyke was built in the first place, Ellis recommends Llanfair Hill, particularly in the early morning light. The Offa's Dyke Center features displays about the dyke and Mercian and Welsh princes, and provides maps and guides of the hike. The sidebar "What's On Offa?" includes resources for planning a trip.

Maren Clegg Hyer, "Cædmon and the WebQuest," *Studies in Medieval and Renaissance Teaching* 19.2 (2012): 95–116. Hyer's article addresses the use of Web-Quest, which allows the teacher to imbed hyperlinks "hat lead students through online course materials and form a document that encourages critical interaction with the material, in teaching medieval literature in both introductory classes and upper-division classes for majors. Using her unit on "Cædmon's Hymn" as an example, Hyer explains how in the first portion of the project, in order to provide context, she directs students to sites offering samples of Old English, images of the manuscripts in which the poem is found, and sound files of the poem being read. The second, more structured section of the WebQuest links to a discussion of the poem's context in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and, at another site, information about Abbess Hild and monastic life. The third section

includes questions for students to answer, such as "How many manuscript versions are there of the poem?" (100). The fourth section, titled "Is this poetry?" introduces students to a poetic form different from what most are used to and also fulfills one of the outcomes of Valdosta State University (where Hyer teaches) addressing students' knowledge of societies and cultures other than their own. The final section features "Contemporary Cædmon," an apparently changing collection of responses to the hymn, including—at the time Hyer wrote the article—music composed to accompany this poem. Hyer discusses the challenges of designing and using a WebQuest, including technological issues and how best to incorporate the project into the class work, and offers examples of student responses, with many of them finding the material easier to grasp in this interactive way than through the traditional textbook, even as they sometimes struggled with the technology. Despite the occasional difficulty, Hyler's approach seems interesting and engaging for use both in the traditional classroom, which she discusses here, and in online courses.

Stuart D. Lee, "Anglo-Saxon Studies and Digital Technologies: Past, Present, and Future," *Literature Compass* 9.12 (2012): 996–1003. Lee looks retrospectively at digital technologies in Old English studies, and surmises that medievalists may be said to have been at the forefront of the now decades old move to incorporate technology into teaching and research, noting, for example, Peter Baker's *Introduction to Old English* which was accompanied by online material and Kevin Kiernan's groundbreaking digital edition of *Beowulf*. He chooses Patrick Conner's *The Beowulf Workstation*, which presented a variety of resources in a hypertext environment, to illustrate two important tenets of how to study Old English: first, that one must incorporate multidisciplinary primary and secondary sources; and second, the text should nevertheless remain central. Lee offers suggestions as to where IT use in medieval studies might expand, and, from the vantage point of 2019, many of his suggestions were spot on: social media, YouTube, image analysis, and so on are indeed commonly used both in the classroom and for research. One can only wonder what new technologies might be in use over the next decade.

Marilina Cesario and Kathrin Prietzel, "Introduction," ES 93.5 (2012): 506–8, a special issue titled, *Holy and Unholy Appetites in Anglo-Saxon England: A Collection of Studies in Honour of Hugh Magennis*. This introduction by Marilina Cesario and Kathrin Prietzel, who served as guest editors for a special collection of essays

in honor of Hugh Magennis, provides a brief overview of the articles included, and as such does not advance an argument of its own. They note that the title of the collection—with the keywords holy/unholy and appetites (not just for food but for greed, wrath, knowledge, and so forth)—encompasses Magennis's well-regarded work involving saints' lives and communal feasting and provides a thematic framework for the volume.

Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, ed., with the assistance of Gaby Waxenberger, *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2011). The seventeen papers collected here were first presented at the Twelfth Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists (ISAS) in Munich, Germany, in August 2005, and together consider the exchange of cultural influences between continental Europe and the Anglo-Saxon world. After an introduction noting that Anglo-Saxon England was always in contact with the Continent—culturally, politically, and artistically—each chapter addresses a different element of exchange.

Helmut Gneuss's essay starts the conversation with a short overview of past accomplishments in early medieval English studies, and then focuses on several notable current projects, including the *Dictionary of Old English* (DOE), *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture* (SASLC), *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici*, and *Prosopography of Anglo-Saxon England* (PASE). Some areas in which Gneuss encourages more work are the criteria for dating Old English poetry, including the ever-controversial *Beowulf*, and the origin of Old English dialects.

In his contribution, John Hines relies on archaeological evidence and to a lesser extent on the literature of the time period to describe the home life of the early English. He begins with the "remarkable" discovery in 2003–2004 of the Prittlewell Chamber-Grave on the site of the early twelfth-century Benedictine Prittlewell Priory at Southend-on-Sea in Essex (22). He notes the preponderance of items for entertainment, such as drinking-horns, wooden tubs for food service or handwashing, and the lyre, used in performing for groups, and surmises that the grave was perhaps conceived of as a transitional space of the rest from which one might rise. In the next section of his essay, Hines examines poetry such as *Beowulf* and *The Battle of Maldon* as well as the *Domesday Book* for representations of house and home—and of space generally—and argues that the descriptions convey a sense of the value of home and social structure as well as a clear conception of self and the individual.

John D. Niles's chapter examines the Danish origins of the *Beowulf* story, using as his starting point

excavations of two halls at Lejre on the island of Zealand, Denmark, which is often identified as the seat of the Scyldings. He breaks down his new hypothesis on the development of the story into six parts in the following order: first, the storyline of the monster haunting the hall arose in Denmark, perhaps at Lejre; second, the story developed into a "two-troll" plot; third, the legend arrived in England during the Viking period, where other elements (the dragon episode and Beowulf's death) were added; next, the story was turned into a poem; and finally, Christian elements were added.

In chapter three, Alger N. Doane likewise proposes a multi-stage process in the development of an Old English work. He argues that the first stage of *Genesis B* involved a group of collaborators who, perhaps not fully comfortable with Old Saxon, relied heavily on cognates to produce a word-for-word West Saxon translation of the Old Saxon Genesis in the ninth-century. Such a process would account for what Doane calls the "half-baked" linguistic nature of Genesis B (70). He points to several examples in the text such as pure or modified Old Saxon spellings and vocabulary. Succeeding transcriptions of the poem through the tenth century became less Saxon as scribes Anglicized the text in an attempt to clarify the text.

The next essay, by Thomas A. Bredehoft, argues that four texts other than Genesis B show evidence of being influenced by the Continental Old Saxon dialect: *The Dream of the Rood*, the poetic *Solomon and Saturn*, *The Battle of Finnsburg*, and the *Metrical Preface to Wæferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues*. He points to metrical features of the poems that are uncommon or unmetrical in Old English verse but common and metrical in Old Saxon. In his discussions of *Dream of the Rood* and *Solomon and Saturn*, he also notes some similarities with the *Heliand*. The chapter includes a helpful appendix on Old Saxon meter and "s-foot" formalism.

Most histories of the English language point to the small number of loan-words as evidence of minimal Celtic influence on Old English. Angelika Lutz, however, argues that there are clear signs of Celtic influence heretofore unrecognized. She notes that superstrate language contribute mainly vocabulary, while substrate languages (Insular Celtic in this case) contribute morphological and syntactic features. She points to several features in Old English that are present in Insular Celtic but not in other languages that influenced the language such as Latin and French: the two-fold paradigm of "to be" (*ic beo*, *ic eom*, etc.); the progressive aspect (here the argument relies on the work of Markhu Filppula); and the lexical evidence of Old English designations for Celts and their status, specifically the use of the word

wealh and related words for "slave" derived from "Celt." Lutz also disagrees with the standard argument (which relies on Bede and Gildas) that the Celtic Britons were either killed, driven out, or enslaved by their invaders and endorses instead the theory of acculturation.

In chapter seven, James Palmer explores the relationship of Anglo-Saxon missionaries, monks, and pilgrims who traveled to Frisia and Saxony on the Continent in the eighth century and the Frankish plans for expansion and frontier defense. He is particularly interested in identity and authority, and relies on two ninth-century saints' lives, a genre which both reflects and shapes culture, Altfrid of Münster's *Vita Liudgeri* and the anonymous Bremen *Vita Willehadi*.

James Roberts also examines identity through his study of the correspondence between the most senior ealdorman in late tenth-century England, Æthelweard, and Matilda, abbess of Essen in the years 973–1011. Specifically, he is interested in the intended function of the contemporary Latin *Chronicon Æthelweardi*. The *Chronicon* relates that Matilda requested of her distant cousin, Æthelweard, information on their family history. Roberts argues that his text constructs a specific Anglo-Saxon identity which was considered important within Ottonian society, as evidenced by Henry I's decision to find his successor, Otto, an English wife. Otto's wife Edith was linked by Hrotsvit to the martyred St. Oswald, whose cult thrived in England. Given that the cult of Oswald was important to Essen specifically during the dates when Matilda was abbess there, Roberts wonders why Æthelweard did not discuss Oswald with Matilda and presents several possibilities. He suggests, for example, that Æthelweard may simply have been unaware that Oswald personified the Christian and royal Anglo-Saxon tradition that Ottonians desired a link to. While we can only speculate at this point, Roberts shows that such questions illustrate how little we know about the audience, function, and production of the *Chronicon* and that Anglo-Saxon identity was not uniform either in England or on the Continent.

The next chapter, by Rodney Aist, offers a preliminary investigation of the religious thought and imagination of Bishop Willibald of Eichstätt (700-787) as conveyed through his image of Jerusalem in the *Vita Willibaldi*. In the first section of the chapter, Aist addresses Willibald's descriptions of Jerusalem, with particular emphasis on the place of the Holy Cross. Secondly, Aist argues that to Willibald, Jerusalem was a remote, far off place, a view that contrasted with the usual contemporary depiction of Jerusalem as the center of the world. Despite the bishop's characterization of a Jerusalem removed from the daily life of Europeans,

Willibald's arduous journey to get there could be understood as a symbol of perseverance for Christians and a sign that they could all enter Jerusalem—understood to be the heavenly city—someday.

Barbara Yorke's article addresses Rudolf of Fulda's *Vita S. Leobae* and his descriptions of the religious communities with which she was associated. Yorke suggests that though his description of Wimborne in Dorset—where Leoba received her training—as strictly sex-segregated might be realistic in some ways, there is also the likelihood that he idealizes the nunnery in a reflection of contemporary anxieties about the mingling of male and female religious. From there, she notes that although it's tempting to see Rudolf's description of Leoba's German foundation at Tauberbischofsheim as representative of nunneries in England, we must acknowledge not only the differences between her new and old homes but also the fact that Rudolf is writing in a genre with its own conventions and context. Additionally, although Rudolf writes within fifty years of Leoba's death, the memories and oral traditions on which he draws were themselves refracted through specific Anglo-Saxon and Frankish conventions and contexts.

Richard Marsden relates the history of the Codex Amiatinus, the oldest surviving complete Latin Bible and thus the earliest witness to the Vulgate text, which contains emendations, additions, and notations made as late as the sixteenth century. The codex was produced at Wearmouth-Jarrow and transported soon after, in 716, to St. Peter's in Rome. After a sojourn in San Salvatore, Monte Amiata, it is now housed in Florence in the Biblioteca Medicea Laurentiana.

The twelfth essay, by David A. E. Pelteret, presents neglected and/or new evidence about travel between England and Italy in the early period, with emphasis on the seventh through mid-tenth centuries. He examines, for example, the experience of Bishop Wilfrid who, ca. 704, became sick on his return journey from Rome. Carried by litter to Meaux, northeast of Paris, he received a vision from an angel of the Lord who told him that he would recover, return home, and regain his most precious possessions, and, eventually, die in peace. From this story the author explores many of the questions it raises, such as "Why Meaux?" and "What route did Wilfrid take to get [there]?" (247). In addition, from Wilfrid's story we can learn of the social networks that supported pilgrims. (Eanflaed, queen of the Northumbrians, commended Wilfrid to her family in Kent; perhaps Wilfrid's ecclesiastical status afforded him lodgings more comfortable than the tents depicted

in the Utrecht Psalter.) Such questions and suggested answers remind us of the work that remains in understanding how early pilgrims undertook and survived their often arduous travels.

Lucia Sinisi provides an interpretation of of a poem by Alcuin of York (c. 735–804), the poetic epistle *Cartula perge cito trans pelagi aequora cursu*. She responds specifically to Dieter Schaller's 1970 analysis which argued that the epistolary form developed from a need of poets to communicate with each other in the Carolingian court and was designed to be read aloud in each of the itinerant courts of Charlemagne and thus build and maintain a network of contacts. Sinisi argues that instead it belongs to the genre of "the poet's apostrophe to his own work or his own book" (278). Alcuin sends his book on a journey that takes it from England to Saint-Denis and home again, with stops on the way and a list of important people it will meet. The author believes that the poem was intended to provide instructions to an unknown young man, possibly a student of Alcuin who carried a letter or book to Charlemagne.

Chapter fourteen, by Catherine A. M. Clarke, offers a close-reading of Abbo of Fleury's panegyric to Ramsey Abbey in his *Vita Oswaldi*, which was included in several other manuscript locations. The poem is variation on the convention of monastic *locus amoenus* and relies on the imagery of reflection, mirrors, and light. Notably, the poem links the movements of the night sky with the fenland setting of Ramsey, which Clarke identifies as a major center for the production and circulation of astronomical works in early medieval England.

Next, Nicholas Brooks examines whether Archbishop Wulfred's early ninth-century cathedral reform at Canterbury was influenced by contemporary Continental models or simply a parallel movement drawing on similar roots. Brooks examines Chrodegang's *Regula Canonicorum* for his community at Metz and the *Institutio Canonicorum* of Louis the Pious, which included a revision of Chrodegang's Rule, as well as later documents showing Wulfred's bequests to the community (included in the appendix). Such transfer of estates within a religious community corresponded to those at Frankish cathedrals, however, a third bequest of "certain houses" to Wulfred's successors—possibly referring to particular Canterbury clerks rather than the next archbishop—suggests that Wulfred, not the community, owned the property. Brooks concludes that reform in England and on the Continent moved along parallel paths.

Michael Hare's contribution examines a wall-painting discovered in 1993 at St. Mary's Church in

Deerhurst, Gloucestershire featuring an image of a standing figure holding a book. Such figures were common in Christian Europe, and in England appeared, for example, on the Ruthwell Cross. There, the figure is Christ, and in fact the figure on this wall-painting was initially identified as such. Because of its similarity to contemporary images of saints, it is now thought to be an as-yet-unidentified male saint. With further comparison to draped figures in manuscripts and in wall-paintings, and noting the general difficulty of dating wall-paintings, Hare suggests a date from the late ninth century through the early eleventh century but suggests the latter half of the tenth century as most likely. Finally, Hare examines the structural context of the panel and liturgical context of the painted figure.

The last essay in this book, by Debby Banham, shows the decline of Old English medical texts, which appear to have developed in isolation from the Continent, and the corresponding increase of Latin medical texts in the eleventh century. The Latin texts reflect what Banham terms "the new medicine," meaning that the English now had access to an international body of medicine. The article includes a table listing English medical manuscripts up to 1100, and an appendix of the contents of London BL, Sloane 1621, a Latin manuscript indicative of the medical knowledge that became available to the English.

AG

2. Memorials, Tributes, History of the Discipline

The most exciting developments in the history of the discipline this year come from Shirley Ann Brown, who published her archival work on Nazi interest in the Bayeux Tapestry. The academic version appears as "Decoding Operation Matilda: The Bayeux Tapestry, the Nazis, and German Pan-Nationalism" in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches: Proceedings of a Conference at the British Museum*, ed. Michael J. Lewis, Gale R. Owen-Crocker, and Dan Terkla (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 17–26. The popular version is "The Strange Tale of the Bayeux Tapestry, Archaeology and the Nazi Party," *British Archaeology* 122 (Jan-Feb 2012): 44–9. In both, Brown details how the Nazis planned to use the Bayeux Tapestry as "a great monument of Germanic history" that "bore witness to the earlier unification of the Germanic cultures of England, Normandy, and Scandinavia … [and so] could serve as precedent for the Nazis' desire to recreate a unified Germania" (*British Archaeology*, 47-48). In the summer of 1944, they moved the Tapestry to Paris with plans to take it to Germany, probably to Himmler's "Nordic Academy" that never materialized. In both articles, Brown compellingly "provides a case study of how a work of art from the distant past can be transformed into a cultural icon embodying an ideological viewpoint foreign to its original intent" (*The Bayeux Tapestry*, 17).

Kenneth Tiller, "Anglo-Norman Historiography and Henry of Huntingdon's Translation of The Battle of Brunanburh," *SP* 109.3 (2012): 173–191. At the other end of the chronological spectrum, Tiller analyzes the cultural valences of Henry of Huntingdon's translation of the Old English *Battle of Brunanburh* into Latin in the twelfth-century *Historia Anglorum*. For this poetic translation, which Tiller terms Henry's "most innovative versification" (174), Henry was using the A text of the *Chronicle*. Tiller analyzes "the historiographic implications of Henry's text as a translation of an Old English poem in the context of a multilingual Anglo-Norman culture" (175), arguing that Henry valued the OE as historically and aesthetically important even as he consciously reframed the poem in the higher-prestige language.

Johan Gerritsen, "Aylett Sammes and the History of Ancient Britain," *Quærendo* 42.3/4 (2012): 186–92. Investigation into early modern work on Old English continues to find new sources and persons of interest. Gerritsen presents an analysis of Aylett Sammes's *Britannia Antiqua Illustrata*, published in 1676, which ended with a full Old English version and Modern English translation of the Laws of Ine. Gerrtsen provides the amusing note that at least one of the many negative reviews from contemporary scholars suggested that Sammes did not have the philological or historical skills to have written the book himself.

Dabney Bankert describes a 132-page paper manuscript of a somewhat alphabetical OE-to-Latin glossary in "Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Rawlinson C.887: An Unpublished Seventeenth-Century Anglo-Saxon Glossary by Nathaniel Spinckes," *The Library* 13.4 (2012): 400–422. Spinckes, a nonjuring bishop, was an acquaintance of George Hickes who compiled this glossary from early print editions, not manuscripts; Bankert shows that there is no "clearly identifiable purpose for the glossary," and suggests that Spinckes was simply keeping his own notes as he struggled to read Old English, showing an expansion in our understanding of this early generation of scholar/antiquaries.

Margarita Mele-Marrero, "A Testimonie's Stance: Editorial Positioning in Ælfric's Sermo in Die Pascae," *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 47.4 (2012): 81–95. Mele-Marrero enhances our understanding of the religious motivations of Archbishop Matthew Parker and his circle as well those of other, later editors of Ælfric's *Sermo in Die Pascae*, arguing that editors have used "quantifiable markers that facilitated the positive reception of the text" (81). Poor copyediting mars this essay's overall presentation.

A copy of the 1566 *Testimonie of Antiquitie* was the centerpiece of a small exhibit at the Rare Book and Manuscript Library at the University of Illinois Urbana-Champaign in 2009. Its catalog appears as Patrick D.

Olson, *Collating Cædmon: Editing Old English Texts and the Evolution of Anglo-Saxon in Print* (Urbana, IL: The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, 2009). The exhibit included items from the chronological spectrum of Old English texts in print, including the rare 1819 translation of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* by Anna Gurney who published her work anonymously as "by a Lady in the Country."

Medieval Rural Settlement: Britain and Ireland, AD 800-1600, ed. Neil Christie and Paul Stamper (Oxford: Windgather, 2011). Gurney's work is an indicator of the explosion of nineteenth-century Anglophone interest in pre-Conquest England. Two essays in *Medieval Rural Settlement* provide historical background to the investigations in medieval settlement study in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In the introduction, Mark Gardiner, Neil Christie, and Paul Stamper see the late nineteenth-century focus on medieval settlements as a symptom of that era's desire for a "simpler" time. The authors invoke William Morris and the arts and crafts movement to show interest in the historical landscape (2–10) In the same volume, Christopher Dyer and Paul Everson, "The Development of the Study of Medieval Settlements, 1880–2010." Dyer and Everson interrogate ethnically-focused approaches to land-use studies where settlements were identified as primarily Germanic or Celtic or Roman. These approaches are no longer used in the field but did form its origin. The authors also trace the development of current scientific approaches that focus on the lives of ordinary (rather than elite) people through excavation, place-name work, and other techniques (11–30).

Also at the turn to the twentieth century, John Robert Mortimer was working in excavation and archaeology in Yorkshire as the field turned from amateur to professional. Stephen Harrison's engaging biography of Mortimer details the ways that Mortimer contributed to that shift, even as he was not accepted completely into the field because of his lack of university education and his social status as a "tradesman." Stephen Harrison, *John Robert Mortimer: The Life of a Nineteenth-Century East Yorkshire Archaeologist* (Pickering: Blackthorn Press, 2011). While much of Mortimer's work was on prehistoric sites, he did excavate some Anglo-Saxon sites in Yorkshire as well. His major work was *Forty Years' Researches on British and Saxon Burial Mounds of East Yorkshire* (1905), which is handily available open-access on archive.org.

The ethnic focus that Dyer and Everson disparage was the primary lens during much of the nineteenth century, and much of the 2011–2012 work in the History of the Discipline already seems out of date as I write this review in the summer of 2019. Even the term "Anglo-Saxon studies" is now a subject of debate in larger discussions about racism in the field and its history, about decolonizing medieval studies as a whole and pre-Conquest English studies in particular. Notably, none of the authors whose work is reviewed below uses the term "racist," preferring the more congenial "racial" or seemingly neutral "nationalist." (I do not mean this point as a criticism of these colleagues but as an indicator of how dramatically the conversation has shifted in just a few years.) Michael Kightley, "Hereward the Dane and the English, But Not the Saxon: Kingsley's Racial Anglo-Saxonism," *Studies in Medievalism* 21 (2012): 89-118. Knightley analyzes Charles Kingsley's 1865 novel *Hereward the Wake: the Last of the English* and its reception. While academics condemned it, it was enormously popular and defined Kingsley as a "gatekeeper" (Kightley's useful term) for the general public to eleventh-century England. Kingsley's work valorized the hyper-masculine Vikings. Kingsley presents a romanticized Hereward as an "Anglo-Dane" who is implicitly superior to the English and the Normans.

Joanne Parker investigates a similar cultural moment in her analysis of the popular Victorian reception of the Battle of Brunanburh in "Brunanburh and the Victorian Imagination," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston(Exeter: Univ. of Exeter, 2011), 385–407. Parker suggests that the Victorians overall seemed to have preferred Alfred to Æthelstan, noting Alfred's folkloric appeal (burnt cakes, St. Cuthbert) and Æthelstan's potentially low-class origins (one tale identified his mother as a shepherdess). Parker describes two nineteenth-century plays that featured the events at Brunanburh, but it was Tennyson's 1880 literary translation that ultimately provided Æthelstan and *Brunanburh* with popular cachet. Parker also provides an excellent overview of sanitized Victorian children's books (history and fiction) and poetic adaptations of the Old English poem, showing the ways that many of these texts were driven by local pride in largely fictional "histories."

Michael Modarelli, "The Struggle for Origins: Old English in Nineteenth Century America," *MLQ* 73.4 (2012): 527–43. Modarelli's title echoes Frantzen's 1990 *Desire for Origins*, yet another indicator of the shift in disciplinary conversation in just a few years. Modarelli

recaps much of the work produced in the history of early medieval English studies in the years leading up to his essay, then provides an engaging discussion of Ralph Waldo Emerson's Anglo Saxonism and Emerson's identification of "Saxon" virtues with those of Emerson's New England: self-reliance, independence, etc. While Modarelli shies away from the word "racism," he does conclude decisively that many groups in the United States at the turn to the twentieth century "disseminated nationalist Anglo-Saxon agitprop" so that "America began to embrace a Saxon nationality that had never actually existed" (542).

Richard J. Watts as well does not explicitly discuss "race," but "nationalism" is very much part of his focus in his compelling *Language Myths and the History of English* (OUP, 2011). Here, I will comment only on the parts of the book that focus on Old English texts, although the book itself includes analysis of the history of the English language up to our present. Watts combines precise and technical linguistic analysis with what he terms the "myths" about language that English and American cultures tell themselves. His sociocognitive and constructivist perspectives inform our understanding of Language in general (as an integral part of human existence) as well as for the English language in particular. For Watts, those myths include those about the longevity or "ancient" nature of English as well as those about the unbroken nature of the English language tradition. For example, Watts ties much of the root of these myths to the early nineteenth century, arguing that class conflict in the 1830s led to the "myth of the ancient language" as a way to develop nationalism and patriotism among the working classes without having to provide them with actual economic or political power (32). For Watts, the "myth of the ancient language" is the motivation for early-daters of *Beowulf*. He discusses the *Beowulf*-dating controversy in detail in chapter two, largely agreeing with Kiernan on a late date for the poem (although not quite as late as Kiernan postulates). As with the issue of racism noted above, however, the conversation has moved on since Watts's book appeared with the 2014 publication of Leonard Neidorf, *The Dating of Beowulf: A Reassessment* (Cambridge: D. S. Brewer, 2014), and the critical reviews that collection engendered. Watts's work still seems timely: in his third chapter he discusses the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (he uses the plural "Chronicles") as an example of what he terms the "myth of the unbroken tradition of English," showing how a variety of "discourse archives" actually created

a series of conflicting *Chronicles* in various versions for various purposes.

Two items this year point towards the future of the discipline more than to its past. Helmut Gneuss, "Anglo-Saxon Studies: Past, Present, and Future," *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2011, 1–19). Gneuss lauds the field for its implicit interdisciplinarity before recommending potential future directions for inquiry like dialectical research and updated editions of Old English and Anglo-Latin texts. Richard Burt, "Backing Up the Virtual Bayeux Tapestries: Facsimiles as Attachment Disorders, or Turning over the Other Side of the Underneath" in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches: Proceedings of a Conference at the British Museum*, ed. Michael J. Lewis, Gale R. Owen-Crocker, and Dan Terkla (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 27- 36. Burt's comments on the virtual versions of the Bayeux Tapestry and other medieval artifacts point more to crucial questions about overall methodologies as the field grapples with ongoing digitization of the artifacts we study. Burt cautions against both "fetishizing" the original object and an assumption that a digitized version is an improvement on the original object.

A number of obituaries marked the loss of a variety of specialists in early medieval studies with focuses on Old English, the Viking Age, or northern Europe more generally. These include Richard A. Hall, director of archaeology at the York Archaeological Trust, who excavated at York's Coppergate and helped develop the Jorvik Viking Centre there, as well as his colleague Ronald Butler, who served as president of the Yorkshire Archaeological Society and edited its journal; Lawrence Butler, "Obituary: Dr R. M. N. Butler (1929–2012)," *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 84 (2012): 224–26. Philip Ratz, the most important archaeologist of Somerset in the twentieth century, ended his academic career at York as well; see *Proceedings of the Somerset Archaeology and Natural History Society* 155 (2012): 317–18. M. P. Barnes, "Raymond Ian Page," *Saga-Book* 36 (2012): 121-25. Barnes pays tribute to the late Raymond Page, Elrington and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Cambridge, noting especially his contributions to runic studies. "Dr. Peter Brandon," *Sussex Past & Present* 126 (April, 2012): 9; Peter Brandon is lauded for his work on medieval agrarian history as well as for his work in adult education and university extension teaching.

Essays in a *Festschrift* for Harold Fox praise Fox's multi-disciplinary work in geography and history to analyze field-systems and seasonal settlements throughout Britain; Bruce Campbell, "Harold Fox as Historical Geographer: A Personal Appreciation" and Christopher Dyer, "Harold Fox: His Contribution to Our Understanding of the Past," both in *Life in Medieval Landscapes: People and Places in the Middle Ages: Papers in Memory of H.S.A. Fox*, ed. Sam Turner and Bob Silvester (Oxford: Windgather Press, 2012) 1-14. The volume also provides a bibliography of Fox's published work.

Two sections of Timothy Reuter's memorial *Festschrift* celebrate Reuter as a comparativist who drew important connections between the Ottonians, the early English, and others; Henry Mayr-Harting, "Foreword" and Patricia Skinner, "Introduction" in *Challenging the Boundaries of Medieval History: The Legacy of Timothy Reuter*, ed. Patricia Skinner (Turnhout: Brepols, 2009), vii–viii and 1–3. Glanville Jones, Professor of History at the University of Leeds, died in 1996. His 2011 *Festschrift* provides a bibliography of his publications, an appreciative biography, and a synthesis of his work, much of which focused on Welsh kinship structures; J. B. Smith, "Glanville Jones: An Appreciation" in *Britons, Saxons, and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R. J. Jones*, ed. Paul S. Barnwell and Brian Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 9–23.

The only American listed in the obits this year by Chao Gejon, "John Miles Foley (1947–2012)," *Fabula* 53.1–2 (2012): 111–13. Gejon focused on Foley's wide-ranging contributions to the field of oral tradition scholarship, of which his work on Old English texts forms only a small part. From Scandinavia, the field lost Gösta Holm, a specialist in early medieval Nordic languages; Lennart Elmevik, "Gösta Homl 8/7 1916–12/3 2011," *Namn och bygd* 99 (2011): 141-45. The field also lost Ole Crumlin-Pedersen, the founder of the Roskilde Viking Ship museum; Hugh Murphy, "Ole Crumlin-Pedersen (1935–2011)," *The Mariner's Mirror* 98:1 (2012): 7. Alheydis Plassmann remembered Michael Richter as one of the earliest German medievalists working in Celtic studies, in *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 59 (2012): 1–3.

An interesting collection that does not fit neatly into either "history of the discipline" or "memorials" is *Wilhelm Levison (1876- 1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil*, ed. Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen with Alheydis Plassmann (Siegburg: Verlag Franz Schmitt, 2010). It is a collection of essays about the life and work of Wilhelm Levison, a German Jew and early medieval historian who fled Nazi Germany in 1939 and came to Durham, where he continued his research and teaching until his death in 1947. His lectures there were collected into his *England and the Continent in the Eighth Century*. David Rollason provides a fascinating biographical sketch (319–332). Yitzhak Hen analyzes the parallels of exile and religious persecution between Levison's life and that of one of his primary research subjects, Willibrord, the eighth-century Northumbrian who became a Frankish Bishop as part of the early English mission to the continent (187–198).

Four *Festschriften* appeared while their celebrants are still alive, always a happy circumstance. *The English and Their Legacy, 900-1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams*, ed. David Roffe (Woodbridge, Suffolk: Boydell Press, 2012). It provides a bibliography of Williams's publications (257–261). S. D. Church celebrates Williams's accomplishments on Domesday Book as well as her informal and effective teaching style (she led seminars in her home, 1–4). Two memorials praise the work of Michel Sot, a French medievalist who worked primarily on the High Middle Ages but is of interest to early English medievalists for his significant contributions in early medieval hagiography; Rosamond McKitterick, ""Un historien et son haut Moyen Âge: Michel Sot," *Rerum gestarum scriptor: Histoire et historiographie au Moyen* Âge*: Mélanges Michel Sot*, ed. Magali Coumert, Marie-Céline Isaïa, Klaus Krönert, and Sumi Shimahara (Paris: Paris-Sorbonne, 2012), 11–31 ; and in the same volume, Pierre Riché, ""Un historien à l'oevre, Michel Sot," 33–35. Alastair Minnis, Éamonn Ó Carragáin, and Marilina Cesario each provide a "Personal Preface" to the special issue of *English Studies* 93.5 (2012), titled *Holy and Unholy Appetites in Anglo-Saxon England: A Collection of Studies in Honour of Hugh Magennis* (at 502–505). They (a teacher, a coeval colleague, and a junior colleague) celebrate Magennis as a colleague to introduce the following essays.

A similar tribute to Henrietta Leyser is found in *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400–1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser*, ed. Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith (Surrey: Ashgate, 2011). It is marred by James Campbell's paternalistic and sexist "praise" of Leyser's groundbreaking work in his Introduction (1–6). Campbell rightly celebrates Leyser's 1995 *Medieval Woman: A Social History of Women in England 450-1500* as a crucial milestone in the development of women's history (especially for medieval studies,

which lagged behind other chronological fields in all aspects of women's studies). Campbell then ostensibly praises Leyser by ridiculing the "extravagant fantasies" and "strident indignation" (3) that he sees to characterize other feminist work in the discipline. His peroration notes that Leyser deserves a place "when someone writes a book about women medievalists" (6). Perhaps he would not include her in a book about medievalists more generally? He also is obviously oblivious to the existence of the 2005 *Women Medievalists and the Academy*, to which Leyser contributed (and in which she is not a subject). The collection also includes a bibliography of Leyser's publications.

Works not seen:

McCombe, Robert. "Gold under Gravel, Gold under Glass: Anglo-Saxon Material Culture through Excavation, Collection and Display 1771-2010." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Manchester (2012).

MDM

3. Language

Filippa Alcamesi, "The Old English Entries in the First Corpus Glossary (CCCC 144, ff. 1r–3v)" in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New Perspectives in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography*, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Claudia Di Sciacca (Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2011), 509–540 (plate of fol. 1r of CCCC 144 at p. 541). Alcamasi considers a number of difficult lemmata and interpretations and their possible resolution in her contribution to this collection of glossarial studies As with a number of studies from this collection, Alcamesi seeks to restore this brief "First" Corpus Glossary to its early ninth-century manuscript context and textual history so far as it can be determined. The major "Second" Corpus Glossary occupies fols. 4r–64v, preserving over 8700 entries and dwarfing the 3 folios and 342 entries under consideration. The First Corpus Glossary is of interest for Hebrew and Greek proper names and other arcana among its batches of entries, deriving (in Alcamesi's view) largely from earlier class glossaries and recurring in some later class glossaries as well (511–13). Indeed, the manuscript rubric to this section of CCCC 144 is *Interpretatio nominum ebraicorum et grecorum* (Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 36). Alcamesi turns to the more difficult entries among the 342 in "Meritt-style" (much of this collection is deeply indebted to the method and work of Herbert Dean Meritt with "hard words") and groups them by "semantic class": seafaring terms (515–20), plant names (521–25), biblical terms (525–26), members of society (526–27), names of birds (527–29), rural tools and common objects (529–38), and grammar (539). The last class consists of two bilingual entries involving interjections: *sicini* : *ac ðus* (the lemma derives from *sic* + *ne*) and *va* : *euwa* (539). The latter is of particular interest, and, curiously, the order of the entry is not considered, which becomes clearer in another entry from the same glossary drawn from Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae*, *eheu* : *wa la wa*. As to sources, most of the 342 entries in the First Corpus Glossary derive from Isidore's *Etymologiae*, the Bible, or Hiberno-Latin sources (including the *Hisperica famina*). Though this collection participates too in the "cult of Theodore and Hadrian" (as does the field of Anglo-Saxon studies in general, a point to be returned to below), Alcamesi sounds an interesting note seldom heard pointing to alternative origins in Irish learning. In consideration of the entry *mantega* : *taeg* (which also appears in the same form in the Second Corpus Glossary and as *mantega* : *tig* in the First Cleopatra Glossary, 535), Alcamesi first suggests *mantega* = *mantica* 'small bag for the hand, wallet', then that the OE interpretation *taeg* "could be related to Old Irish *tiag*" (535) as a term for 'book-satchel', with reference to Richard Sharpe's study "Latin and Irish Words for 'Book-Satchel,'" *Peritia* 4 (1985): 152–56. The tenuous connection suggested is bolstered somewhat by entries in the Second Cleopatra Glossary in which the Hiberno-Latin term *schetha/scheda* 'book-satchel' is glossed by OE *taeg/teah*. Missing here is phonological analysis of OE *taeg/tæg/tēag* and Old Irish *tiag* (as in *tiag liubhair* or *tiag lebar*).

Thomas A. Bredehoft, "Three New Cryptic Runes on the Franks Casket," *Notes and Queries* 58.2 (2011), 181–183. Building on C. J. E. Ball's suggestion that "cryptic runes" are to be interpreted for some of the readings to the inscription on the right panel of the Franks casket (the notorious *Her Hos sitæþ* Runic verse), Bredehoft proposes that three instances of the alternative R-rune be taken as the vowel /u/ on the basis that "the key to the cryptic runes lay in the final consonants of the vowels's rune-names: *os* and *is* were both replaced by alternate froms [*sic*] of 's'" (181). So here, *ur* could be expected to be used to decipher the alternate R-rune forms as *u* in the instances where it occurs: *hærm bergæ* (line 1a of the transcribed verse), *Ertae* (2b), and *særden* (3a). This produces at first some unusual phonological forms: *on **hæum** bergæ* (*hæhum < *heahum*), *Eutae* (taken as plural despite the following singular verb form, and thus not a singular proper name or theonym but the plural ethnonym 'Jutes'), and *sæuden*. This last is the most phonologically implausible of the three proposed changes, and Bredehoft himself admits, "The third cryptic rune, which revises 'særden' to 'sæuden,' I must confess, I can make nothing of" (183). Bredehoft makes more of a cultural argument for the proposed re-interpretation:

But if such a reading is correct, the relation-
ship between the two horses or horse-like fig-
ures on the right side of the Casket and the
Jute in the text may well centre on Hengist
and Horsa .... The presence of a figure named
'Hos' on the Franks Casket, however, might
make it especially tempting to find an alliter-
ating parallel with Hoc, father of Hildeburh
and Hnæf in the Finnsburh story, where both
Hengest and the Jutes make their appearances
.... In the ways in which these new readings
both allow us to spot formulaic analogues
and also give a potential reason for locating
the action on the cryptic side as within the
orbit of Jutish history and perhaps even the
Finn story, this essay reminds us how the early
eighth century was a time when inheritances
from the Germanic world were still highly val-
ued .... (182–183)

One immediate difficulty is altering 2b, traditionally
transcribed *swæ hiri Ertae gisgraf*, to *swæ hiri Eutae
gisgraf*.

Reading 'Eutae' for 'Ertae' in line 2b also seems
to improve the reading, as well as opening the
door for a re-imagining of the whole design
of the Casket's right-hand side. 'Eutae' I take
as the Casket's form of the tribal name 'Jutes',
here apparently in the singular, in concord with
the verb 'gisgraf'. The use of the 'eu' diphthong
is otherwise unattested in this word (182).

The grammatical solecism of a tribal name in the
plural requiring the reader to construe it as singular
to match the singular verb form (*gisgraf = gescræf <
scrifan*) then produces a semantic difficulty as Brede-
hoft really does want the plural he draws in Hengist
and Horsa. Banishing *Ertae* in favor of "otherwise
unattested" *Eutae* not only deracinates the divine from
a clearly "pagan" mythological panel but introduces
a phonological novelty. The *lectio difficilior* can be
defended when it resolves a longstanding crux; here
it introduces new cruces. The desire to bring in the
Jutes to the panel does open up the interpretation to
very interesting parallels, but there are still nagging
problems of relative chronology of sound changes and
iconography (it is a very busy panel and finding Jutes
or even Hengist and Horsa in there leaves other fig-
ures unexplained). Curiously missing from this study's
citations are Marijane Osborn, "The Grammar of the
Inscription on the Franks Casket, Right Side," *Neuphi-
lologische Mitteilungen* 73 (1972): 663–671; and from the
Germanicist and Runologist Wolfgang Krause, "Erta,
ein anglischer Gott," *Die Sprache* 5 (1959), 46–54.

Andrew Breeze examines a medieval Cornish appel-
lation for the Blessed Mother in his "Middle Cornish
Myghternas Nef 'Queen of Heaven'," *Devon and Corn-
wall Notes and Queries* 40.10 (2011), 295–297. The eccle-
siastical Latin *regina caeli/coeli* made its way into the
Sarum Missal (Salisbury, eleventh century) and into
more general use, while the Cornish version of the epi-
thet is found in a newly recovered fifteenth-century
Cornish play *Bewnans Ke* (Life of Kea) and as *Marya
myghternas nef* in the *Beunans Meriasek* (Life of Meria-
sek), who is the Breton bishop St. Meriadoc. The form
myghtern 'king' is fairly well attested—compare Welsh
mechderyn and Old Breton *machtiern* (295). A connec-
tion to OE studies here is that the Welsh form *mech-
deryn* was, in Breeze's view, applied to Edmund of
Wessex "in 940, after he capitulated to the Vikings of
Leicester and put his realm in crisis" (295) in the *Armes
Prydein* (Prophecy of Britain), a bardic (even vatic)
account of the tenth-century Anglo-Saxon battles with
allied Viking and Celtic forces (through to Brunan-
burh and beyond). Middle Cornish *myghternas* would
be the feminine form 'queen', and *nef* is the word for
'heaven' well attested in all the Celtic languages (Old
Weslh *nef*, Mod. Welsh *nefoedd*, Irish *naomh*). Breeze
concludes his brief note with an interesting observation
on the decline in semantic range or value to the Celtic
terms *myghtern* (Cornish) and *mechderyn* (Welsh) from
'king' to 'lord'. He writes that "by the twelfth century
the related Welsh term *mechderyn* was politically obso-
lete, while the Breton one *machtiern* had by the ninth
century sunk to be used of a civilian lordling with no
right to a warband (the preserve of a count) who bus-
ied himself with disputes over ownerless fields, or ren-
ders of pigs, ale, and cheese." The linguistic change is
"the result of atrophy in the language of power follow-
ing Anglo-Saxon conquests of Cornwall in the ninth
and tenth centuries" (296). To back up for a moment,
Breeze's note on *myghtenas nef* is so brief that he does
not cite his study from the same year that sought to
identify the "Saxon overlord" in the *Armes Prydein* with
Edmund rather than Athelstan of Wessex, the referent
in the traditional interpretation; Andrew Breeze, "Dur-
ham, Caithness and *Armes Prydein*," *Northern History*
48.1 (2011), 147–152. See also his "*Armes Prydein*, Hywel
Dda, and the Reign of Edmund of Wessex," *Études cel-
tiques* 33 (1997), 209–222. The passage in question from
the *Armes Prydein* asserts that "this *awen*" (l. 107, the
poetic inspiration or even 'vision') foresees that "the
Saxons because of the Britons will cry out in woe"
("Saesson rac Brython gwae a genyn," line 90); in *Armes
Prydein*, ed. Ifor Williams (Cardiff: Univ. Wales, 1955).
Williams glosses *gwae a genyn* as 'gwaeddant' (41), and,

"Dyfed and Glywyssing need not tremble, the retainers of the high king will win no praise" ("na chrynet Dfet na Glywysssg / nys gwnaho molawt meiryon mechteryn," ll. 99–100) or "may get no praise." Williams notes that *gwnaho* may have the sense of the future or conditional: "Gall yr ystyr fod yn ddyfodol neu ddymuniadol," (43 note to l. 100). The boasting and lamenting in both the *Armes Prydein* and OE "The Battle of Brunanburh" bear further comparison, as does, for study of the history of the English language, the sense that one language's expansion can be seen as dispossession by speakers of another tongue.

Richard Dance, "'Tomaʒan Hit is Awane': Words Derived from Old Norse in Four Lambeth Homilies," in *Foreign Influences on Medieval English*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Magdalena Bator (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 77–127. Dance offers another installment in his prolific work on Norse loans in medieval English, a number of which have been reviewed in this section in previous years and which now include two monographs. The first is *Words Derived from Old Norse in Early Middle English: Studies in the Vocabulary of The South-West Midland Texts* (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2003). The second is *Words Derived from Old Norse in Sir Gawain and the Green Knight: An Etymological Survey*, published as *Transactions of the Philological Society* 116.S2 (2018), 2 vols., and as a stand-alone monograph (Oxford: Wiley-Blackwell, 2019). Here a similar methodology obtains for the four Lambeth Homilies as for Dance's massive investigation of *SGGK*: "'etymological' in a broad and applied sense" (78). The present study is also one on a subject given much greater attention in recent years, "late OE" and the nature of the development of Middle English: "Nonetheless, it is well known that Old Norse loans visible in the mainstream of the Old English textual record are much fewer, and different in kind, from those attested once Middle English literary traditions get into full swing in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (79). In addition,

> Current research is, rightly, encouraging us to see the textual culture of this time as more and other than a period in which "debased," "late" Old English hesitantly gave way to an embryonic Middle English, and we need to be able to view the evidence for lexical developments in the same light: as the output of a living community of readers/writers/speakers with complex relationships of their own, to each other as well as to the past traditions to which they responded. (119)

"Loan" is also used here broadly to encompass loan words proper and loan shifts/semantic borrowing, and an examination of texts shows the complex nature of lexical substitution. The Lambeth Homilies in London, Lambeth Palace Library MS 487 of the twelfth century are localized on the basis of dialect to NW Worcestershire. One example involves Lambeth Homily IX's reworking of Ælfric's homily *In die Sancto Pentecosten*; *Ælfric's Catholic Homilies: The First Series*, ed. Peter Clemoes (OUP, 1997), 354–364. Here Ælfric writes, "Ða geleafullan brohton heora feoh. 7 ledon hit æt þæra apostola foton." *Feoh* is replaced in the Lambeth reviser's homily by the late OE loan form ON *gersum*; DOE, s.v. *gærsum*, MED, s.v. *gersum*(e). The Lambeth replacement of his variable vocabulary for 'wealth' (*gestreonum*, *goldhorde*, *golde*) with *eahte* "has the effect of making Ælfric's references to wealth read more uniformly … *gersum* was placed at the apostles' feet … but the means by which this was obtained, the thing that was given up in order to procure it, was the people's *e(a)hte*" (118). Dance spends considerable time on an "etymological typology," revising the types in Erik Björkman's seminal *Scandinavian Loan-Words in Middle English* (Halle: Max Niemeyer, 1900–1902 ; rpt. New York: Greenwood Press, 1969) 2 vols. Dance ranges from those presumed loans "offering formal comparative evidence for derivation from Old Norse, i.e., one or more phonological and/or morphological developments not supposed to have occurred in Old English" (Type A), to "those lexemes whose Germanic root is not recorded in Old English before Norse begins to have an effect, but is recorded in Old Norse" (Type B), to those forms whose root "is attested earlier in Old English" but "rather than using Scandinavian input to account for wholly new morphemic material, one is arguing here for loan or influence from Old Norse in order to explain a novelty in one or more of the following": derivational form, orthographical [phonological] form, sense, formation of compound or phrase, frequency (Type C), and finally those forms for which "any really convincing etymology is difficult to arrive at" (Type D, 88–92). The titular form *awane* is treated under section 4.1, "Items accepted as (probably) Norse-derived" (94). The hapax *a-wane* (an adj. likely from an adverbial phrase) Dance sees (following Björkman) as probably from ON *ván* and it appears in Lambeth Homily II in what is likely a proverbial expression, "to dei he may, Tomaʒan hit is awane" (94–95). This departs from the MED entry which simply queries "? OE *ā-wana*" (s.v. *awāne*).

A major collection of glossographical studies appeared in 2011, *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses: New*

Perspectives on in the Study of Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography, ed. Patrizia Lendinara, Loredana Lazzari, and Claudia Di Sciacca (Porto: Fédération Internationale des Instituts d'Études Médiévales, 2011). Besides studies by the editors, in this section are reviewed contributions by Antonette diPaolo Healey, Malcolm Godden, Rohini Jayatilaka, Concetta Giliberto, David W. Porter, Paolo Vaciago, Maria Amalia D'Aronco, Maria Caterina De Bonis, Maria Rita Diglio, Giuseppe De Bonis, and Filipa Alcamesi (following their order of appearance in the volume).

Antonette diPaolo Healey, "Late Anglo-Saxon Glossography: The Lexicographic View," in this collection, 1–18. Healey, longtime and now emerita Editor of the Toronto *Dictionary of Old English*, opens with a survey of the nature of glossary material in broader lexicographic work, ranging from Henry Sweet to Herbert Dean Meritt to Toronto's own work in establishing a new dictionary of Old English and grappling with methodological questions (as well as new technology). Meritt is cited with his caution that "Once a word is placed in a dictionary, the very fact of its niche there tends to induce its inclusion in later dictionaries and to give it a usually quite fitting garb of authenticity" (2-3; citing *Fact and Lore about Old English Words* [Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1954], p. viii); hunting down and excising 'ghost words' was part of Meritt's great lexicographical output, balancing the many words he added to the OE lexicon (a good many of them from glosses). Christopher Ball is cited from *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* (UTP, 1973; at p. 6) expressing "a healthy suspicion of glosses as indicators of normal usage" (3). Healey's survey turns then to the 'late' glossographic materials, such as the Durham glossary of plant-names (Durham, Cathedral Library, Hunter 100) or the Laud Herbal Glossary (Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 567), which share a number of entries, and further methodological considerations: "Adding to the complexity are the *glossae collectae*, forming an intermediate stage between the occasional interlinear glosses and the alphabetical glossaries" (5). A concrete if complicated example of late glossing is turned to: OE renderings of *decimae* ('tithes') in the interlinear glossed *Liber Scintillarum* of Defensor, at cap. 27, and Blickling Homily 4 (and its variant in Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 86; 9-13): the former employs the abstract noun *teopung* and Blicklng-Junius the phrase *teopan sceattas*. The DOE Corpus is turned to in delineating frequency of practice in glossing *decimae* in "standard late Old English" (12): the abstract noun occurs "about 110 times" (12; including such major writers such as Ælfric and Wulfstan), while the phrase *se teopa dæl* is next in

frequency (45 times), while *se teopa sceatt* occurs "only 11 times, six of them in *Blickling Homilies* 4 (12). Healey sees a possible explanation in gloss variation in a corresponding variance in practice: "The different lexical choices made by the glossator [to the *Liber Scintillarum*] and translator [of the homilies] in rendering their source suggests how different scribes manifest clear linguistic preferences" (16-17).

Maria Amalia D'Aronco, "Anglo-Saxon Medical and Botanical Texts, Glosses and Glossaries after the Norman Conquest: Continuations and Beginnings. An Overview," in *Rethinking and Recontextualing Glosses*, ed. Lendinara, Lazzari, and Di Sciacca (2011), pp. 229–248. D'Aronco surveys late Anglo-Saxon medical texts, including "the last Old English book of medicine" (242), the *Peri Didaxeon* in London, BL, Harley 6258 B, and especially early Norman medical texts brought into or produced in post-Conquest England. The latter period is one that saw a dramatic increase in medical activity in England, at least in terms of "identifiable physicians active" in England: 11 in the period 1066–1100, 90 in the period 1100–1154 (236) as well as in the quality of texts available, including texts deriving from the famed medical school of Salerno. While much of the material considered in this chapter is indeed later (thirteenth century), a number of texts such as Oxford, Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 567, of the twelfth century (N.R. Ker, *Catalogue*, no. 345) straddle the traditional period division. Laud Misc. 567 contains both the important "Laud Herbal Glossary" (at the late end of OE glossarial tradition) and the *Viaticus peregrinantis* of the eleventh-century physician Constantinus Africanus (an interesting slip by D'Aronco is *viaticum* for *viaticus*, 243). D'Aronco's study closes with a look at one Latin-OE glossarial pairing, *electrum* : *elehtre*, here not the alloy electrum but the plant lupine. The interpretation is first found in the Épinal-Erfurt glossaries (247 and n. 80) and D'Aronco suggests that this Anglo-Saxon glossary pairing had an influence down to the fourteenth century in the English recensions of the Alphita glossary of plant names (a product of Salerno), an exemplar of which, BL Sloane 284, has the fuller notation *Electrum multos habet stipites, folia virida et flores croceos* (246), which may be the work of "a copyist who was familiar with the medicinal plant lore as transmitted by the Anglo-Saxon vernacular glossaries" (247).

Giuseppe D. De Bonis analyzes the adjectives in the OE gloss to the *Regularis concordia* (RC) in his contribution to the significant glossographical collection of studies edited by Lendinara, Lazzari, and Di Sciacca with his "Glossing the Adjectives in the Interlinear Gloss to the *Regularis Concordia* in London, BL,

Cotton Tiberius A.iii," pp. 443–73. De Bonis looks particularly to the glossator's use of strong and weak adjectives, and why more use is made of the former, even when not grammatically required:

In light of the glossator's linguistic awareness, it is possible to affirm that he used the strong [adjectival] inflexion whenever he wanted to be more faithful to Latin, the source language, than to Old English, the target language .... Sometimes, however, the glossator used the Old English strong inflexion regardless of the syntactical value of the Latin adjectives, because he considered the strong declension of the Old English adjectives as the basic one .... The study of the distribution of the two adjective inflexions has shown that the weak declension belonged to syntactical and morphological glossing, playing its defining role with the help of a determiner that underlines the attributive value of the adjective and limits the semantic value of the following noun. On the other hand, the strong inflexion may be used both as part of the syntactical and morphological glossing, with its predicative value, and as part of the lexical glossing, without the support of any other grammatical device. (462, 472)

On the basis of his analysis of adjectives in the RC gloss, De Bonis sees a more sophisticated glossator at work, departing at times from the views of Lucia Kornexl, editor of the standard text of the interlinear glossed RC, *Die Regularis Concordia und ihre altenglische Interlinearversion* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink, 1993). De Bonis sees that "a gloss may have more than one function" (450), that is, lexical/semantic, morphological, syntactic. While "Kornexl argues that the 'Glossator' would have noticed the Latin words missing only in case of an empty space left in the manuscript ... [i]n my opinion, he was fully capable to understand and analyse the syntactical structure of the Latin text he was glossing" (448 n. 21).

Maria Caterina De Bonis, "The Interlinear Glosses to the *Regula Sancti Benedicti* in London, BL, Cotton Tiberius A.iii: A Specimen of a New Edition," in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses*, pp. 269–297. De Bonis announces a new edition meant to supersede Henri Logeman's of the OE interlinear glosses to the *Regula Benedicti* entitled, *The Rule of S. Benet: Latin and Anglo-Saxon Interlinear Version* (London: Trübner, 1888). The very brief specimen edition (296–297) offers a page of text corresponding to fols. 121r 19–121v 18. Plates IV–VI follow (unpaginated after 297) with a color facsimile of Tiberius A.iii f. 121v and the corresponding pages in Logeman's edition (9–10 in the 1888 edition), which, for all its faults, has outlasted many other editions of OE texts. The bulk of the study serves as prolegomena

to the anticipated edition, with interesting notes on the original text: "The *textus purus*, which is thought to go back to St. Benedict's original, is represented by St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 914 (A), which was copied by two monks from Reichenau in 817" (270), one abbey Irish-founded, the other with Irish affiliations. And textual criticism:

With the increasing application of new technologies to textual criticism, it initially appeared that digital editions could solve any problem related to any kind of text, since they allow the handling of a huge amount of information that a 'paper' edition could hardly show without drawbacks .... However, the editor's task is not only to provide information about the edited text, but also, and mainly, to provide a reliable text for a reading public made up of scholars and students. (286)

As to the later Tiberius A.iii copy,

The interlinear glosses feature a conspicuous number of atypical forms that lie somewhat in between transcription mistakes and non-standard forms due to some phonetic changes which took place at the time of the transcription .... Several 'unusual' Old English forms attested in the glosses under examination, but not documented elsewhere, probably offer evidence of the glossator-scribes's idiosyncrasies and could be interpreted as the breaking down of the Late West Saxon scribal and orthographic traditions, which was characteristic of the so-called transitional Old English. (279-280)

Among the results one awaits in De Bonis's promised edition are "some plausible suggestions as to the exemplar(s) used by the glossator-scribes, in general," and evidence that "shows that they used at least one bilingual exemplar, in particular" (295).

In the same collection, Maria Rita Diglio turns to "The Fortune of Old English Glosses in Early Medieval Germany" (pp. 371-95), in particular the "Leiden Family" of glossaries in High- and Low-German-speaking areas (e.g., Alemannic, such as Reichenau and St. Gallen, and Franconian, such as Cologne and Werden). The overall schema of influence—from Insular to Continental—is not overturned in Diglio's survey, but a number of refinements to the state of the question, so to speak, are made. For one, to the "Leiden Family" and the demonstrably interrelated Épinal-Erfurt-Werden-Leiden-Corpus Glossaries (375) are added the glossary fragments in Berlin, Staatsbibliothek, Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Grimm-Nachlass 133,2 + 139,2 (374 and n. 14). Then Diglio addresses the nature of borrowing Latin-OE lemmata-interpretamenta pairings

from Continental centers that were part of the Anglo-Saxon (and Irish) *Missionsgebiet*. Also, Diglio addresses the matter of determining and classifying such borrowings. One class contains manuscripts that evince genuine multilingual activity. Another, those into which interpretamenta in Old High German, Old Saxon, and Middle Franconian were inserted by presumably novice Continental Germanic-speaking scribes. A third, those that preserve glosses that are indeterminately "Germanic," which may be Old English forms of Mercian or Anglian in a number of cases, or OHG or OS or Middle Low Franconian, etc. And finally, OE with "Germanic coloring," a concept familiar to readers of the monumental Elias Steinmeyer and Eduard Sievers collection *Die althochdeutschen Glossen*, 5 vols. (Berlin: Weidmann, 1879–1922). The "why" of the matter is turned to, and that answer might be a bit simpler:

> … one marvels at the large amount [*sic*] of Anglo-Saxon glossaries which were copied on its [medieval Germany's] soil. Possibly those books were not intended to be brought back to England but, on the contrary, they were aimed to introduce German monks to a cultural legacy whose knowledge was considered necessary. Since the capacity of mutual comprehension between the Anglo-Saxon missionaries and their German cousins in their respective vernaculars can only be conjectured, the real usage of the words in question and the extent of their circulation in Germany is still to be proved. (376)

Such glossaries are thought to be part of the whole Theodore-and-Hadrian-Canterbury-School project, though perhaps not from any single archetype. See Michael Lapidge, "The School of Theodore and Hadrian," *ASE* 15 (1986), 45–72, which is the authoritative statement of the case, bolstered by Lapidge and Bernhard Bischoff on biblical glossaries believed to derive from the school of Theodore and Hadrian, *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian* (CUP, 1995). Evidence from these glossaries has been expanded by biblical glossaries such as St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 299, among others, edited by Paolo Vaciago: *Glossae Biblicae*, 2 vols. (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004).

This, in turn, brings up the more complicated matter of the Rz-tradition: the biblical and class glossaries edited in the Steinmeyer-Sievers collection, such as those in Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek Aug. 99, fols. 37r–52v, not discussed here by Diglio (but see the review of Vaciago's contribution to the volume *Rethinking and Recontextualing Glosses* below). Of

course, glossaries would be an essential tool in training a native clergy in the Insular missionary fields on the Continent, and the surviving glossaries suggest rather less a teaching tool for the acquisition of rudimentary Latin so much as aids for those already reading or trying to read Latin texts, which answers the question of whether classroom instruction was any way impeded by competing vernaculars as the aim was to transition to Latin—a tradition alive in western Christendom down to Vatican II. Diglio grounds these points of discussion in a number of entries from the various glossaries at 379–394. Perhaps things could be a little clearer about the "Anglian" and "Mercian" elements in the Werden glosses (379–82), though this would entail a longer and more phonologically grounded discussion than that given here. For example, in the pairing *promontorium: hooh*, "the digraph <oo> used to render the long vowel /o:/ could be a Mercian trait" (380). That would have been more interesting, and perhaps even probative, had the phonological feature been pursued further. One can perhaps see "Old Saxon coloring" in an entry such as *tubuli: stemn<a>e theuta*, contrasting OS *theuta* (lacking the High German /þ/ > /d/) with the usual OE gloss *þeote* (minus Gmc a-mutation) and OHG *dioza*. Here Diglio draws on A. N. Doane's work with the Werden glosses, "The Werden Glossary: Structure and Sources," in *Beatus Vir: Studies in Early English and Norse Manuscripts in Memory of Phillip Pulsiano*, ed. A.N. Doane and Kirsten Wolf (Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2006), pp. 41-84. In Werden A, "[G]losses mostly preserve Old English traits, due to their Insular origin, while Old Saxon traces are very few and are probably due to scribal interference" (383), although cited just above on p. 383 is the gloss *gisuop* to *peripsma*, which "shows the characteristic Old Saxon prefix *gi-*".

Diglio turns then to the *varia glosemata* in Oxford, Bodleian Library Auct. F.1.16, s. x/xi, from the Benedictine Abbey of Liesborn in Westphalia. (The fragments of the glossaries Werden A, B, and C are from southern Westphalia from a century earlier.) Among the glossary entries deriving from the Épinal-Erfurt Latin-OE glossaries are some 59 OS interpretations. Interesting is a possible shared error among the Épinal, Erfurt, Corpus, and OS Oxford (Auct. F.1.16) glossaries: *acinum* 'grape' rendered as *hindberiæ* (Ép.-OE), *hindbergen* (Erf.-OE), *hindberiae* (Corp.-OE), and *hindbiri* (Oxf.-OS) 'raspberry', where the proper gloss perhaps should have been *winberige* (et varr., 'wine-berry' = 'grape'). This would be another line of evidence for the direction of influence as Insular to Continental. The Oxford *varia glosemata* also exhibit instances of lemmata "glossed by words normally having different meanings

in the German-speaking area" (387), and that glosses found exclusively in the Leiden Family glossaries (here, Épinal-Erfurt-Corpus) and Oxford Auct. F.1.16 show that, despite the closeness of these glossaries, "they [the OE glosses from Ép-Erf-Corp] did not become established into the German language" (387). So even if the glossary interrelations have not been further "disentangled," one can see a larger matter of divergence among West Germanic languages in the eighth-eleventh centuries. The infamous Épinal-Erfurt entry *bradigabo: felduuop* appears here no closer to resolution, and remains among those "hard words" resisting solution Herbert Dean Merritt probed in his lexicographical investigations, *Some of the Hardest Glosses in Old English* (Stanford: Stanford UP, 1968). But the Continental occurrences of the gloss (about 10) argue for seeing a misspelling in Épinal-Erfurt and reading *-hop* for *-uuop* in the second element of the compound OE gloss (bolstered by the likely understanding of the lemma *bradigabo* as a plant-name). These and other examples Diglio presents offer support to her emphasis on "the importance of Continental manuscripts for the reconstruction of the textual tradition of the earliest Anglo-Saxon glossography" (390).

Claudia Di Sciacca, "Glossing in Late Anglo-Saxon England: A Sample Study of the Glosses in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 448 and London, BL, Harley 110," in the same collection, 299–336. Di Sciacca takes up the matter of the uses and purposes of glosses. CCCC 448, Part I (fols. 1–86) contains three texts with glosses, the *Epigrammata ex sententiis Sancti Augustini* and *Versus ad coniugem suam* attributed to Prosper of Aquitaine, and the *Synonyma* of Isidore of Seville. Harley 110 contains the same texts in the same order as the first part of the Corpus Christi MS. Both date to the tenth century (300–301). After surveys of the Latin and OE glosses in the two codices (302–330), Di Sciacca turns to a section "The Corpus and Harley glosses and Ælfric Bata" (330–333), focusing on the interesting detail that in *Colloquium* 28 Ælfric Bata "likely interpolated the text of the *Synonyma* with *interpetamenta* of glosses contained in the Corpus and Harley codices at least five times" (330). In contrast to Malcolm Godden's study of the OE Boethius and its glossarial appendix, in which he found evidence of both rudimentary and genuine "scholarly" use of the glosses, Di Sciacca notes rather cautiously about these Corpus and Harley glosses that "it can be said that quite a few elements undoubtedly evoke some sort of educational setting for the two manuscripts, but whether such a didactic element should be read as synonymous with classroom use is much more problematic" (333).

Concetta Giliberto, "Precious Stones in Anglo-Saxon Glosses," in the same collection, pp. 119-51. Giliberto's chapter, surprisingly, at first, does not involve that many lexical tokens: 8 generic terms for 'precious stones' (the problematic *eorcnanstan*, *gimm*, *gimcynn*, *gimstan*, *maððumsigle*, *searogim*, *sincgim*, and *sincstan*) and 22 "Old English words for specific gems" (such as *aðamans* 'diamond/adamant', *carbunculus* 'carbuncle', or *cristalla* 'crystal', where the Lat. > OE loan pattern is obvious). Such a seeming dearth of OE gem-terms in glossed texts/glossaries seems curious given the types of texts glossed and their abundance of precious stones and gems (Isidore's *Etymologiae*, Aldhelm's *De viginitate* prosa and metrica). Giliberto ascribes this first of all to "the defective knowledge and limited circulation of precious stones in Anglo-Saxon England" (119), and yet "[i]n spite of their limited acquaintance with stone lore, the Anglo-Saxons were fond of gemstones and ornamental minerals" (120). Giliberto begins with the generic terms, such as those generated by Ps 20:4 *de lapide pretioso* (121–24, at 123), then turns to the "terminology for specific gemstones" (125–47), including "[t]he only word of Anglo-Saxon origin indicating a particular gem ... *sæcol* ... literally 'sea-coal' ... traditionally identified with the jet or gagate, a lustrous black mineral which is indigenous to Britain and well known since ancient times" (125). Bede mentions *gagates* (OE *sæcol*) in the *Historia ecclesiastica*, its abundance in Britain, inflammability, and power of warding off serpents (I.i). So too did Isidore, a reference that could be added to Giliberto's evidence for the term:

> gagates lapis primum inventus est in Sicilia, gagatis fluminis fluore reiectus; unde et nominatus, licet in Britannia sit plurimus. Est autem niger, planus, levis et ardens igni admotus. Fictilia ex eo scripta non delentur; incensus serpentes fugat, daemoniacos prodit, virginitatem deprehendit; mirumque, accenditur aqua, oleo restinguitur. (*Etymologiae* XVI.iv.3)

That markings upon pottery with the stone cannot be erased is a piece of lore from Pliny, *Historia naturalis* XXXVI.xxxiv, who has other fantastic details about jet—interesting is the decline in detail from Pliny to Isidore to Bede. This dearth of specific gem-terms in OE makes more sense as Giliberto lists OE *interpretamenta* found in the glossed texts, many of them named gems by color—*hwit stan*, *read stan*, *græg stan*, *blæc stan* (126, 128–31)—even beryl and crystal, which could also be referred to as "transparent" (131). An interesting extended section is Giliberto's discussion of OE *eolhsand* 'amber' (133–39), which is also to be found glossing *electrum* in a seeming mismatch:

Therefore, the occurrence of OE *eohlsand* 'amber' as an *interpretamentum* of Latin *electrum* might be explained by the association of the amber with the *lyncurius*, because of their common electrostatic properties and because - according to an old belief - like the *lyncurius*, amber too was produced by the crystallized urine of the lynx. (137)

Though, as Giliberto notes, the *eolh* 'elk' of this compound would hardly likely be confused for the lynx. If jet had its unusual folkloric associations, so did *dracontia* 'snakestone' (143–45). A section on "Stones and minerals with special properties" follows (145–47), such as *magnites* [*magnes*] at 146. Giliberto concludes on the note that "the bulk of the Anglo-Saxon glosses to the names of precious stones is concentrated in the oldest alphabetical glossaries, namely the Épinal, Erfurt and Corpus, as well as in the Leiden Glossary" (149).

A number of important results of long-term study of the corpus of glosses to Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* by Malcolm Godden and Rohini Jayatilaka are presented in Godden's contribution to this collection, pp. 67–91. Godden and Susan Irvine produced a magisterial 2-volume edition of the OE text, *The Old English Boethius: An Edition of the Old English Versions of Boethius's De Concolatione Philosophiae* (OUP, 2009). Now Godden and Jayatilaka have been at work on the massive corpus of glosses (in OE and Latin) to the text from the Anglo-Saxon period. Godden begins with the perennial questions of the origin and purpose of the glosses, in general and to this text in particular. It is one of the most frequently glossed texts in the period, perhaps second only to the Psalms, Aldhelm, and Isidore. It begins with a review of the debate over continental vs. native origins and what might be termed the "schooltext" debate (67–68). As Godden notes, there is plenty of evidence with which to settle these debates:

> Altogether we are dealing with more than eighty witnesses to Boethian glosses from the period up to 1100. There are about seventy-four manuscripts containing the text with glosses, thirteen of them fragments .... The manuscripts come from many different places but about a fifth of the surviving glossed copies are from Anglo-Saxon England - thirteen copies of the complete text and three glossed fragments. Several of these are preserved in Continental libraries, which might suggest that there were many more such manuscripts in Anglo-Saxon England and that those that remained in England had a poor survival rate

in the sixteenth century. They are generally very heavily glossed, with substantially more glosses than we find in manuscripts elsewhere in Europe. (69)

And a kind of answer is immediately evident. Godden's section, "Nature of the glosses," begins:

> As with most school-texts … there are also many longer glosses that take issue with Boethius's argument or extrapolate it or offer analogies or provide the full story behind an allusion; or simply offer an etymology or describe the figure of speech in use. They seem, that is, both to help the understanding of the text and to use it as a basis for accumulating knowledge of all kinds. (70)

The origin of the glosses is a much more complicated matter, and Godden offers a classification scheme by type, not entirely unlike that used with the glossed Psalters, and employing alphabetic sigla (71–86). Glosses often provide signal evidence for intellectual and educational activity, as did the Biblical Commentaries that Bischoff and Lapidge associated with Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury, or as did glosses from Iona and Lindisfarne for the Irish-influenced north. The authors write,

The *Old English Boethius* in particular is testimony that the glosses could well have been generated in England by Anglo-Saxon scholars: its author was evidently able to draw on a body of knowledge and range of sources, in science, classical history and legend, very similar to that used for the glosses, in order to supplement what they provided. And the case *for* the English origin of these glosses is their failure to appear in non-English manuscripts, given the sheer number of glossed manuscripts that survive. (84)

Turning to users of the Boethius glosses, Godden assembles four test cases of tenth-century scholars: Byrhtferth of Ramsey, Ratherius of Verona, Dunstan, and the anonymous translator/author of the OE Boethius. This last scholar, if unknown by name, used the glosses "invisibly in his own vernacular version." In addition,

> Often those glosses themselves became triggers for free expansion and development within the Old English text. So, for instance, when Boethius mentions in passing the rebellion of the giants against Jupiter, the glossators cite the parallel story of the Tower of Babel, as a Biblical account of giants rebelling against God. (90)

Although this would mean the glossator is drawing also on *apocryphal* material as well, perhaps to do with Genesis 6 as much as with Genesis 11. The case studies return to the question of what use the glosses were put to: "Generally, these scholars used Boethius and the glosses in pursuit of their own scholarly interests, in writing or study or adaptation. The glosses were for them an extension of the Boethian argument and stories, a source of additional material not just an explanation of what Boethius meant" (90). And so, in summation,

> The number of glossed copies of the full text shows that the whole text of the *Consolation* was being intensively studied in tenth-century England, but it was perhaps at a fairly advanced level of scholarship when readers could be expected to cope with the celebration of the wisdom of pagan philosophers and the unguarded repetition of stories from pagan legend. They are then testimony to Anglo-Saxon scholarship in the tenth and eleventh centuries, not just to ninth-century Carolingian scholarship, and not just to the activities of the classroom. (91)

Rohini Jayatilaka, "*Descriptio Terrae*: Geographical Glosses on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*," in the same collection, 93-117. Its core theme: "Anglo-Saxon glossators ... helped elucidate Boethius's text for readers, but more particularly to pass on to them a body of geographical lore that complemented the other sources of geographical knowledge available in late Anglo-Saxon England" (115-16). Critical is the pairing "geographical lore" and "geographical knowledge" as place-names in Boethius occasioned geographical comment both real and spurious, even fantastic. In the latter category belong, to an extent, texts such as the *Epistola Alexandri* and *De mirabilibus Orientis*, not considered here by Jayatilaka. Starting with the simple and unassailable notion that for the era geography is "the description of the earth" (96), Jayatilaka hews to a "practical" sense of medieval geography (see 94 and n. 4 for others). The impetus for this study is the in-progress project on "the early medieval Latin commentaries on Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy*" (93), and "about thirty place names specified in the text of the *Consolation* and, so far, roughly the same number ... embedded in the glosses elcudiating a passage or point in the text" (96). To anyone familiar with the broader corpus of OE glosses, or that very significant part of the corpus devoted to elucidating the Bible, Isidore or Aldhelm's bouncing and deliberately abstruse verse output, this is not an impressive sample, but it sticks to the Boethian limit drawn. Jayatilaka offers several case studies from the Boethius

commentaries and glosses they occasioned in the A-S period: Vesuvius (97–102); the Caucasus (102–105); the *Poeni leones* and *Marmaricus leo* (106-108); the rivers Tagus, Hermus, and Indus (108); and the odd wind-name *biza*, possibly of Frankish origin (114). A word Jayatilaka frequently invokes is "confusion," which is what often makes medieval geography so interesting: they did not have the earth fully mapped out and, to our continuing pleasure, often populated the blank spaces on that map with an imaginative geography.

Loredana Lazzari compares the texts of an eleventh-century Anglo-Saxon glossary (Antwerp-London) and a seventeenth-century transcript of it in "Learning Tools and Learned Lexicographers: The Antwerp-London and the Junius 71 Latin-Old English Glossaries," in this collection, 179-207. Though Lazzari calls for "a synoptic edition of the two texts" (207), the Antwerp-London Glossary and Francis Junius's transcript of some half a millennium later, we have now David Porter's edition of Antwerp-London (reviewed in this section) and Lazzari's own extensive notes of comparison between the two "copies"—a term put within quotes as Lazzari notes points of departure between the two (for one, Junius's transcript contains 2978 entries, Antwerp-London, 2993; 189). There is also the matter of Junius at work, as the transcript preserved now as Oxford, Bodleian Library Junius 71, because of Junius's alterations, rearrangements, additions/deletions, has not been securely identified as being of Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus 16.2 + London, BL Additional 32246 (what we know as the Antwerp-London Glossary). The story of the relationship between Antwerp-London and Junius 71 is an interesting one, as Junius noted in what is now Junius 71 that he had copied the glossary *ex membranis ... Rubenii* (186), this presumably being what was later catalogued as Plantin-Moretus 16.2. The "Rubens manuscript" involves none other than that Rubens, Peter Paul Rubens, who had the medieval manuscript from the Plantin-Moretus family, as a loan. Junius borrowed the manuscript in turn from Rubens's son Albert, at which point the realization set in that it ought to be returned to the Plantin-Moretus family collection. That Junius at times copied a bit loosely, and regularized and normalized (dialectally) manuscript spellings, led some to question whether the "Rubens manuscript" had been another witness to the glossary now lost. Lazzari leans toward the most likely explanation—that Junius did indeed make a transcript of the Plantin-Moretus BL Additional MS—but phrases it very cautiously, "We are then left with two choices: either the A-L Glossary was the direct source of the transcript, or the latter was derived from a manuscript which was, in its turn, a copy

of the A-L Glossary. Therefore, the transcript must have been derived from the A-L Glossary, whether directly or at one remove" (204). As Lazzari discusses Junius as more than a mere transcriber, of interest is her section on "Variant spellings" (190–91), in which we can see Junius "flattening" dialectal variants in Antwerp-London toward the late West Saxon he held as standard (*yrfegedaal > yrfegedal, hærpestre > hearpestre*, 191).

A study of the semantic range of OE *heafod* 'head' is concluded by Antonette diPaolo Healey by "cataloguing a few of the current uses of 'head' which are not in Old English" (such as 'taller by a head' [of persons]; 40), while the main of "Old English *hēafod* 'head': A Lofty Place?" *Poetica* (Tokyo) 75 (2011), 29–48, explicates the 16 senses of *heafod* in the *DOE*. Healey, Editor emerita of that lexicon, first mentions the "only rival" (31) to *heafod* (*hafela*), then proceeds to the "literal … transferred … figurative" senses of *heafod* (33–40). But many of the still current senses of 'head' were with the language from early on: "To the Anglo-Saxons the head, though less frequently than the heart, is a seat of thought," *polian heafdes* had the sense of 'to forfeit one's head' (lose one's head/life, as by execution), and the enumeration of animals could be 'by head' (*mid tweolf heafdum sceapa*, 34). Among the many extended or "transferred" senses of *heafod* is the titular 'summit, eminence' (35) sense (the 'lofty place' of the subtitle, as one still has in *headland* or *-head* toponyms, although in the north of the country, or Dublin's Howth, the form may preserve ON *höfuð*). Along with 'mouth' and 'finger,' 'head' is one of the body metaphors put to use in toponyms by transfer (36). *Heafod* could represent the 'head' or 'start/beginning' of a period of time as well, as with the pairing *caput ieiunii* : *heafod lenctenes fæstnes* (37). An antedating to 'figurehead' in the *OED* by some six centuries is argued for in the curious fate of both the *scipes heafod* (which Healey takes as 'figurehead') and actual head of Welsh King Gruffydd ap Llywelyn, which were sent as rather barbaric tribute to Harold Godwinson after Gruffydd was slain in 1063 at Snowdonia (37). As 'head' could refer, as to persons, to "the chief participant in an action, a principal" (38), so *heafod* "can also be used figuratively of places … [a]nd again the notion of superiority, distinction, or prominence is foregrounded" (38). This sense of 'prominence' or 'elevation' appears in Book III of the OE Bede with reference to the position (as in ranking) of Iona: "monigra mynstra heannisse 7 heafod Scottas hæfdon" (38, and 44 n. 43). One wonders if there is some influence of the ecclesiastical sense of *elevatio* at work in such instances. Healey's tour of the senses of *heafod* is thorough and entertaining, with a specialist's eye

for detail and an abundance of contextual information to interest the generalist (read *décapitation* for *decapitation* at 48 in the title of Paul-Henri Stahl's study of the punishment).

Marcin Krygier, "On the Scandinavian origin of the Old English preposition *til* 'till'," in *Foreign Influences on Medieval English*, ed. Jacek Fisiak and Magdalena Bator (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2011), 129–38. Krygier reexamines the question of whether OE *til* is a loan of ON *til*. A survey of the major handbooks on the history of the language and the history of English syntax (131–32) shows an "apparent regurgitation of the same set of facts" (132) whereby *til* became fossilized in the consensus view as a Norse loan. It is interesting not only that a high-frequency form should be borrowed, but also that it should be borrowed from a closed class of function (grammatical) words, prepositions (although *til* was also used as a conjunction). With the caveat that "[t]here is little doubt that charters and grants evidence has to be rejected, as most of them … can be reasonably shown to be Middle English forgeries" (135), Krygier examines the early, extant, verifiable attestations and concludes that the "two earliest attestations of *til* should probably be seen as genuinely English." These are poetic occurrences in *Cædmon's Hymn* and the Ruthwell Cross Runic inscription. "Although trade contacts between Scandinavia and England before the arrival of the Vikings have been amply attested, a Scandinavian borrowing in a highly formulaic, poetic language of early Old English verse does not seem very likely" (136). In Krygier's brief reassessment of the question it is refreshing to see also an alternative viewpoint to recent ideas of a "superstratal" contact situation between speakers of ON (in the superstratum) and OE: "The overall result of the contact between Old Norse and Old English speakers constitutes a textbook example of adstratal contact situation" (130). See the review of Lutz, "Language Contact in the Scandinavian Period" below.

Anya Kursova, "Indirect Borrowing Processes from Latin into Old English: The Evidence of Derived and Compound Nouns from the First Book of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People* and Its Interpretation in the Light of Naturalness Theory," in the same collection, 177–212. Kursova tests the principles of said Naturalness Theory and previous work on direct and indirect loans in the historic periods of English. As Naturalness Theory generally looks to find constraints on language change, at the outset we are given initial constraints to Kursova's study: "The main aim of the present paper is to enrich the analysis of loan-formations

in Old English by application of Naturalness Theory and by analysing the data extracted from an electronic corpus of Old English" (178). The "Naturalness Theory" here tested is that along the lines of the work of Wolfgang U. Dressler of the University of Vienna. The opening constraints raise the hackles of the philologer by the seeming theoretical *hysteron proteron* and its use of a very small subset of an electronic corpus. Kursova tests in particular earlier work on loan-formations in OE by Helmut Gneuss, the published version of his 1953 Freie Universität Berlin dissertation *Lehnbildungen und Lehnbedeutungen im Altenglischen* (Berlin: Erich Schmidt, 1955); Dieter Kastovsky's massive chapter "Semantics and Vocabulary" in *The Cambridge History of the English Language*, ed. Richard M. Hogg (CUP, 1992), 1:290–408; and Lucia Kornexl, "'Unnatural Words'?: Loan formations in Old English glosses," in *Language Contact in the History of English*, ed. Dieter Kastovsky and Arthur Mettinger, 2nd revised ed. (Frankfurt: Peter Lang, 2003), 195–216. The application of Naturalness Theory seems to accord well with the results of these earlier studies, especially Gneuss's seminal 1955 study (see 201), which is a tribute to Prof. Gneuss's categorization of loan types, but also brings into question the utility of the Naturalness model. A general schema for classifying "indirect loans" into OE (from Latin, that is) is introduced that is heavily dependent upon Gneuss 1955:

> … one may subdivide all indirect borrowings into semantic loans (SLs) and loan-formations (LFs). Semantic loans in their turn are subdivided into analogical and substitutive, while loan-formations are represented by loan-translations (LTs), loan-renditions (LRs) and loan-creations (LCs). (178)

This is the standard treatment and the first example examined by Kursova quibbles slightly with Gneuss labelling of OE *mildheortnes* for Lat. *misericordia*, a loan-translation as "[a] better equivalent seems to be the OE *earmheartnis/armheartnisse* … mentioned by Gneuss as really rare" (180). This may be an overly rigid or literal interpretation of loan translations by a theoretical linguistic model that despite its self-nomination as "Natural" seems to view language, its morphology in particular, as a system autonomous of its users despite a seeming concession such as, "Creation of a new word seems to be rather a dynamic process governed by certain derivational patterns and rules" (190). The critical, and revelatory, usages here "governed … patterns and rules" neglect the widely (even wildly) creative element to language (and not just in verse) and, of course, the guiding constraint is rather less morphology (which

certainly has an important role) than *sense*. Loan formations are not simply a matter of exact lexical matching or substitution, but matters of good sense and even aesthetic appeal. Some more quibbling about zero- or back-formation, that it is "equal to suffixation and the suffix is zero" or "may also be seen as a case of negative suffixation, where a suffix is not added, but deleted" leads to the citation of Dressler's Naturalness "framework" and the odd observation that "in this theory conversion is not seen as a zero-derivation, but as a morphological metaphor" (181). The selection of pairings from the OE Bede's Book I also seems odd, driven more by service to the theory (which predominates 194–210) than to either salience or frequency of the loan formation type: lumped together are *mereswyn : delphin(us)*, *meregrot : margarita*, *halwendnes : salubritas*, *hidercyme : incarnatio*, *eorðweall : vallum* among others (182–187). The pairing *ordfruma : auctor* is seen as "a redundant formation (superfluous type), i.e., the parts are superfluous and repeat one another: *fruma* already means 'beginning, origin' but it is completed by *ord* which means 'origin, source' and makes the meaning more precise or intensifies it" (186). This is a case where the theoretical linguist needs more of the lowly philologer's craft: OE compounds, when used in prose and poetry, can be poetically descriptive: as with kennings such as *ordfruma*, which occurs in OE prose from Bede to Ælfric, but also in the *Rune Poem*. In the scheme of Pāṇini's Sanskrit grammar, *ordfruma* might be labelled as a *karmadhāraya* compound in which the descriptive nature of the compound is appositional. Loan formation and loan translation are not necessarily a mechanical morphological process, but, in the case of the only text considered here (the OE Bede), a product of translation—that is, the sample from the electronic corpus is skewed to where the translator (not Alfred, in the current view) rendered Latin simplexes with OE compounds. And in the end compound formations are not just morphological (though that is the vehicle of their surface expression) but semantic. OE seems pressed unwillingly into service in finding data by which to test a school of linguistic theory, and the fit is often uneven. More disconcerting are the numerous errors in the text and citations: read "than" for "then" (at 178, 181); "at" for "al" (179); *sanctificatio* for *sanctification* (180); "English" for "Enlgish" (182 n. 2); "healthiness" for "healthyness" (183, 189); "salutary" for "saltary" (183); *wæl* for *wæll* (185), among others. Here one would have like to seen less "Naturalness Theory" and more OE data than just Book I of the OE Bede to test out newer ideas of approaching the loan formations so ably analyzed by Gneuss, Kastovsky, and Kornexl.

In the same collection, Paolo Vaciago focuses on "*lemmata ... specifically as segments of the source text from which they are drawn*" (209) in "Updating the *Lemma*: The Case of the St. Gallen Biblical Glossaries," 209–27. Vaciago redirects attention to what gets glossed and grounds his study in Continental glossaries he has been editing for the Corpus Christianorum series (*Glossae Biblicae*, 2 vols., CCCM 189A-189B), the "St. Gallen biblical glossaries" (St. Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek 295, 96–240, and Lavanttal, Stiftsbibliothek 82/1; see now McGowan, *Manuscripts in Switzerland*, ACMRS, 2012). Vaciago notes that St. Gallen 295 with its lemmata "provides a fuller quotation of the source text than *G* [St. Gallen 9] and *G** [St. Paul im Lavanttal 82/1]" (212). A more general point is that these early glossators seem sometimes to have rechecked their lemmata against source texts, as St. Gallen 295 seems to have done. What Vaciago finds in these St. Gallen biblical glossaries, such as that the addition to an entry in St. Gallen 295 often "coincides with the beginning of a colon where the *lemma* proper is found" (213), sounds rather like a form of proto-index. As editor of these glossaries in (to date) two volumes in the CCCM series, Vaciago is able to marshal an abundance of quite specific and useful detail. He issues the general conclusion that:

> the *lemmata* of a glossary are not necessarily fixed in time once the glossary has come into being and the textual segments of the *lemmata* are detached, so to speak, from their original context. A *lemma* can be modified in the course of the transmission of the glossary, and, whatever the ultimate underlying factors or motives, it can be updated with reference to the source text from which it derives. (217)

A more specific point of interest is "the use of glosses as evidence for the reconstruction of the tradition of the text from which they are drawn. The Leiden Glossary and the Milan biblical glossaries are a case in point since they have been studied in the past in this perspective" (218). The "tradition" in this case is that of the school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury being behind the great glossarial tradition of these Biblical commentaries and Leiden Family of glossaries. Vaciago notes that "it may perhaps be more economical to suppose that the copyist/compiler of the Leiden Glossary may have revised, or *updated*, the *lemmata* of the *Regula* glosses on the basis of S or of its exemplar (that must at some point have been available at St. Gallen)" (219 n. 13). This is a very significant matter; in brief, the notion that a "Canterbury Glossary" from the school of Theodore and Hadrian (perhaps with the collaboration of Aldhelm) is the progenitor of the entire

Leiden Family of glossaries (and beyond, to nearly the whole glossarial corpus of Anglo-Saxon England and its Continental *Missionsgebiet*) meets with a number of stumbling blocks in terms of influence, chronology, and attribution. For one, it requires an elision of Irish and English schools in the north (the activity of Iona, Lindisfarne, Wearmouth-Jarrow), as well as of continental influence (the flow was not unidirectional after Theodore and Hadrian came to Kent). Glossary interrelations have seen important advances in scholarship, from J. D. Pheifer's *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Clarendon Press, 1974) to the work of the senior editor of the collection under review, Patrizia Lendinara. But we still do not understand the traditions fully, and they seem to be much larger than originally thought, spanning much farther than Lindisfarne to Canterbury, or Canterbury to Winchester. We must now also look to Ireland, Wales, Brittany, and Irish- and English-founded or -influenced continental centers such as Fulda, Echternach, and, in terms of manuscript production and glossary activity, the vitally important Irish foundation at St. Gallen.

Patrizia Lendinara, "Glossing Abbo in Latin and the Vernacular," also in *Rethinking and Recontextualizing Glosses* (see above), 476–508. Seemingly about the two sets of glosses (Latin, OE) to Abbo of St-Germain-des-Près, *Bella Parisiacae urbis*, the contribution by one of its editors and leading OE glossographer Patrizia Lendinara starts with the glosses to Book III of Abbo's poem—i.e., the book addressed to a fellow cleric offering advice on their way of life, rather than the first two that address the Viking siege of Paris November 885–May 886. In tracing the sources to lemmata and interpretamenta it opens up to the broad late classical–early medieval lexicological tradition that began on the Continent. Book III is a *carmen figuratum* Lendinara also describes as glossarial: "The Latin glosses are contemporary with the text. They were meant to accompany the lines of the poem and prop them up from the very beginning" (507). As Abbo "constructed" his verses using vocabulary from glossaries in a "hermeneutic Latin," or, following Georg Goetz, "glossematischer Latinität" (477–78 and n. 10), and in turn created the Latin glosses to this "glossematics" poem, one sees in Abbo's poetic work (dating to 888 x 896–97) the results of an educational and lexicographic program begun on the Continent (Visigothic Spain, northern Italy, Gaul in particular) in late antiquity through to the Carolingian Renaissance. Add to this the OE glosses dating to the second half of the tenth century (475) and the tradition expands to encompass the various flows of texts

and transmission from the Continent to the British Isles and back (in the Irish and Anglo-Saxon *Missionsgebiet*), and back again in Benedictine Reform Anglo-Saxon England. The school of Theodore and Hadrian at Canterbury figures prominently in this story, but as but one segment in a complex chain of events not fully understood (as, likewise, not all lemmata and glosses have been traced to their sources). In the section "The sources of the Latin glosses" (481–86) Lendinara begins the tour of the wide-ranging sources to Abbo's glossarial text and apparatus (poem and Latin gloss): "Abbo drew the majority of his items from well-known monolingual glossaries circulating on the Continent" (481), from the Abstrusa Glossary to the Abolita, the (Pseudo-) Philoxenus Glossary, the *Liber Glossarum* and *Scholica Graecarum glossarum*. This is a tradition still so sketchily known that a standard reference remains the outline of transmission made by the editor of many of these glossaries, Wallace M. Lindsay, "The Affatim Glossary and Others," *The Classical Quarterly* 11.4 (1917), 185–200. Lindsay was editor of *Isidori Hispalensis Episcopi Etymologiarum sive Originum Libri XX*, 2 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon, 1911), the "source" *par excellence* OE scholars point to in their glossographical studies to the neglect of that other great early author also edited by Lindsay, Festus, who stands behind many of the continental glossaries in which Lendinara finds Abbo's sources. See *Sexti Pompei Festi De verborum significatu quae supersunt cum Pauli epitome* (Stuttgart: Teubner, 1913). Lendinara turns to the fate of Book III of Abbo's poem, as it circulated separately in England and was rendered into a prose paraphrase (in two witnesses, London, BL, Harley 3271 and Oxford, St. John's College 154). Its introduction might be traced to "the court of King Æthelstan (d. 939), alongside other poetical compositions coming from the Continent" (488). Lendinara sees the OE gloss to Book III as "a learned, clever, and well planned project. These glosses, which substitute the entire apparatus of Latin glosses to Bk III, were basically meant as a tool to learn the hard words of the poem by means of equivalents of their Latin *lemmata*" (494). The OE glosses are considered in detail at 495–506, and the analysis is not just lexical but morphological as Abbo made frequent use of the *figura etymologica* (see 502–06). The footnotes throughout Lendinara's valuable study often continue the analysis or discussion, and this is especially the case in her last main section considering the OE gloss to Abbo's Book III.

A broad semantic and cultural study of the *Novissimi* (Lat. *quattuor novissima*), the "Four Last Things" (death, judgement, heaven, and hell) forms the core of

Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, "Anime viventi e anime morte. Lessico, idee, rappresentazioni figurative e letterarie nell'Inghiltrra anglosassone," *Romanobarbarica* 20 (2011), 129-155. Ecclesial writers such as Alcuin and Ælfric are considered, as is OE "religious" verse—the last OE citation in Luiselli Fadda's paper is from *Christ* III, ll. 1027a-1036a, with its diction key to her investigation ("Adames cynn / onfehð flæsce ... lichoman ... gæste ... lic ond sawle"). The broad themes are soul and body, souls living and dead, and the "same antinomian dimension" of soul and body at the core of the human person ("la stessa dimensione antinomica l'interrelazione dell'anima col corpo nell'essere umano," 151). The study divides at p. 146 between consideration of the physical human person and matters of living existence (body, kinship, friendship) and the "soul" section, and is rather more wide-rangingly cultural, from Egyptian *ba* in the *Book of the Dead* (figure 3, 158) to Hebrew *nephesh* to the Clonmacnoise high cross (figure 2, read "Clonmacnoise" for "Clonmacnois", 157), though a central section focuses on Germanic *sib/Sippe* vocabulary (137-140). Here "*sib* implies the idea of a recognizable form of aggregation ... that endures and is transmitted through time ... and therefore goes beyond the life of a single member," and as such there is a concept of body and soul as constituent components "of this ancestral parental or tribal aggregation that no existential event can break" ("la *sib* implica l'idea di una forma riconoscibile di forte aggregazione ... che permane e si trasmette nel tempo ... e va quindi ben oltre la vita di un singolo membro .. .di questa ancestrale aggregazione parentale o tribale che nessuna vicenda existenziale può infrangere," 137–138).

Kenji Matsuse, "Getto/Givu/Teiku, Kudōshi, Vaikingu" ["Get/Give/Take, Phrasal Verbs and Vikings]," *Kumamoto Daigaku Kyōikugakubu kiyō, Jinbun Kagagu* [Kumamoto University, Departmental Bulletin Paper] 3 (2011), 81-90. Matsuse covers briefly a number of significant lexical and morphological topics: "As the [Norse] (loan) words that seem to have been imposed via the source language agentivity, we have *get*, *give*, and *take*, which form very central items in the English vocabulary" (81, and at 82–88). "Agentivity" is used somewhat confusingly here, as the study does also focus on agentive verbs. Also the Vikings' influence is thought to be crucial to the introduction of new types of phrasal verbs into English. Some of these new phrasal verbs, however, co-existed with their older semantically equivalent counterparts: prefixed verbs. It is a rather strange phenomenon, because the latter had not so strongly been

needed at that time owing to the change of word order in English. (81)

See especially 84–85, with examples such as ON *skaltu upp taka* and *hafði tekit upp*, and OE *forþfaran*, *utgan*, and *befeallan*. This section actually collapses a number of changes that have some diachronic distance. And, "One of the possible explanations for it [the new phrasal verbs in place of existing prefixed verbs] might be the metrical exigency when making rhymes for poems, just as we employ *did make* instead of *made* so that it can make a rhyme with *ache*" (81, and 85-86, which is made clearer when one sees the examples from alliterative ME verse).

John D. Niles, "The Fonthill Ghost Word, the Fonthill Thief, and Early West Saxon Scribal Culture," in *The Genesis of Books*, ed. John D. Niles and Matthew T. Hussey (Brepols, 2011), 69-96. However one finds the proposed emendation to the intractable *spor wreclas* in the "Fonthill Letter," the path to excising the mysterious compound formation (the presumable *sporwreclas* from MS *spor wreclas*) in Niles's study is a fascinating one. Niles plays the part of collegial examiner of earlier interpretations and, to an extent, of defense attorney for the "Fonthill thief," Helmstan. The "first letter in English" is written on the front of a parchment sheet ca. 175 x 380 mm (72) and traditionally dated to 899 x 924 (or to the 910s or 920s), the reign of Edward the Elder. It is written in an early West Saxon, with some Kentish forms, and its square minuscule seems rough, perhaps not the work of a fully professional scribe. Ordlaf is named as its author if not writer—that is, in Niles's view, Ordlaf dictated his letter on behalf of Helmstan. Its fairly numerous errors and rough letter forms and seeming "spoken OE" lead Niles to sense that "we seem to be hearing the voice of Ealdorman Ordlaf himself, speaking as a man who was on personal terms with the King and would have been one of his senior advisers. These are not the tones of a scribe or of some other bureaucrat writing on Ordlaf's behalf" (74–75). Held now in Canterbury Cathedral Archives as Chartae Antiquae C.1282, the Fonthill Letter is, in brief—or in as brief a manner so convoluted and contentious a legal dispute can be described—a plea from Wiltshire Ealdorman Ordlaf to King Edward to not overturn the judgement of his father King Alfred that allowed Helmstan to remain on the five hides of land at Fonthill that Helmstan had been dispossessed of facing a second charge of theft (the whole affair seems to span some two decades in time). The original settlement concerned an attempt to seize the five hides of land at Funtial (Fonthill) lodged by Æthelm (Æthelhelm) Higa

against Helmstan for his alleged theft of Æthelred's "belt" ("ðæt he *Æðeredes* belt forstæl")—the alliterative names may indicate that a relative sought redress for the alleged theft and, as Helmstan owned a bigger parcel of land at Tisbury (and some more hides at Chicklade) in Wiltshire, there is the question of what sort of belt was involved. A "sword-belt" may make more sense. These and other questions are probed by Niles as he builds his case (77–80). With the interesting detail of King Alfred being approached as he washed his hands in a bower at Wardour (Wilts), Ordlaf (who had "stood sponsor" for Helmstan at his Confirmation) with other witnesses plead for Helmstan's right ownership of the lands at Fonthill with the result that, *pace* Æthelhelm's obstinacy, Alfred allowed a date to be set for Helmstan to take an oath in defense of his claim to the lands (and presumably having denied the theft). And so it was done. Then in the reign of King Edward a second charge of theft was lodged by the same Æthelhelm against the same Helmstan, and this is where both case and text become murkier. Niles offers an interesting (entertaining even) summary of the particulars with a note of skepticism about Æthelhelm's legal machinations (was it a land grab?). The second "theft" involves some cattle Helmstan allegedly drove away from the Fonthill lands to those of his at Chicklade, and his arrest and flight from there, with the dramatic (and perhaps, for Helmstan, humbling) detail that Helmstan was outed by the scratch on his face from *an breber* [*brember*] ('a bramble') incurred as he ran off through the brush.

After examining in turn disputed or unclear lexical items, Niles suggests that MS *spor wreclas* is to be added to the not inconsiderable list of scribal errors. What is a little surprising, at least to this reviewer, is the suggestion of "correcting" the hapax *spor wreclas* in the manuscript with another hapax of Niles's making (*sporwrencas*) to produce the translation "the man who traced him recovered the wily twists and turns of the track" (89). Palaeographically, and following the dictum *utrum in alterum abiturum erat*, this does not seem the most plausible of emendations, though a general sense that a tracker had followed the tracks of the purloined cattle seems preferable to the notion (in Brooks and Gretsch) that the "goads" were recovered. At any rate, there are many, many points of great interest in the tracks of Niles's investigation, not least his cogent argument for Ordlaf having dictated rather than *written* the text onto the surviving parchment leaf, which, in terms of his "scribal culture" theme, would involve a "threefold chain of transmission from *spoken word* to *wax tablets* to *vellum*" (94). Refreshing is the skeptical note as to claims concerning what the Fonthill Letter

can tell us about "lay literacy" in the period. Niles ends his fascinating study with an allusion to a film western whose title escapes him, but whose quoted dialogue actually seems closer to Jonathan Swift's "He was a fidler, and consequently a rogue, and deserved hanging for something else" (*Journal to Stella*, Letter XXVII) and may actually be William Wellman's *The Ox-Bow Incident* (1943). Niles's appeal to the American western makes sense with these late ninth- to early tenth-century wranglings, a story of men, cattle, and land.

The development of short unstressed vowels in OI > Middle Irish by evidence of rhymes in Middle Irish verse is the subject of Breandán Ó Buachalla, "The phonology of *Rinn* and *Airdrinn*," *Zeitschrift für celtische Philologie* 58 (2011), 129–64. There is very brief discussion of weighing medieval evidence for phonological analysis throughout (see for instance, 157), but no direct mention of OE in the study. The late Ó Buachalla was an expert in what might be called "Early Modern Irish," the *aisling* genre in particular, and he concludes that though it has long been argued that there was a reduction in unstressed vowels in Old to Middle Irish (namely *u* > *a*, *ai* > *a*, *iu* > *i*) and that they could all be used in rhyme, after extensive analysis of medieval to early modern Irish rhyming verse (from the *Saltair na Rann* to the verse of sixteenth-century ollamh Tadhg Dall Ó Huiginn), "[f]rom the emergence of Irish syllabic verse in the seventh century to its demise in the seventeenth, the existence and continuance of distinct and distinguishable short unstressed vowels was an essential feature of Irish poetics" (161).

The first volume of David W. Porter's new critical edition of the Antwerp-London Glossaries appeared in 2011. It contains text, apparatus, indices of lemmata, *interpretamenta*, a very brief preface (ix-x), a note "On the Editions" (xi), but no full introduction. *The Antwerp-London Glossaries: The Latin and Latin-Old English Vocabularies from Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus 16.2—London, British Library Add. 32246* (Toronto: PIMS, 2011). A fuller review will have to await volume II (commentaries). The four texts printed here are: 1) an "architectural glossary" from Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus MS 16.2, fol. 43v, edited with the copy in BL, Harley 3826 fols. 152v–153r; 2) the "End-Page Glossary" from Plantin-Moretus fol. 48rv; an appendix with "The Miscellaneous Glossary" of Harley 3271 fol. 121v; 3) the "Alphabetical Glossary" in a- and ab-order from Antwerp and London Additional 32246 MSS; and 4) the 'Bilingual Class Glossary" in Antwerp-London, comprised of 14 class glossaries from *De instrumentis*

agricolarum to *Nomina nauium et instrumenta earum.* The texts are printed in single columns of long lines, with notations as to position of entries (top margin, bottom margin, etc.) and a very spare apparatus of palaeographical, orthographical, and variant reading notes. The last involve departures from the previous standard edition, the H.D. Meritt-directed Stanford dissertation of Lowell Kindschi, "The Latin-Old English Glossaries in Plantin-Moretus MS 32 and British Museum MS Additional 32,246," (Stanford University, 1955). This gives the reader an immediate visual cue as to the longer entries, but does make for a lot of blank space on most pages and does not look like the usual glossary format to the one used in the Wright-Wülcker "Vocabularies" or J.D. Pheifer's seminal *Old English Glosses in the Épinal-Erfurt Glossary* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1974). Each edited text has its own separate index of words, with the balance of the volume being these indices. Porter mentions in "On the Editions" that "[s]ource study has often allowed me to reconstruct the sequence in which the scribes added the glosses in the margins of the manuscript" (xi), and one eagerly awaits the commentary volume and the results of such source study, a good deal of which has already appeared in print by Porter's hand. In Pheifer's edition of Épinal-Erfurt the text of the glossaries occupied pp. 3–58, the "Notes" 59–135: a ratio one expects to increase with future editions of glossaries as batches and bundles are better identified and forms and meanings tracked down.

The glosses in the Antwerp-London glossaries (Antwerp, Museum Plantin-Moretus 16.2, *olim* 47 + London, BL Additional 32246) are a subject for David W. Porter, "The Antwerp-London Glossaries and the First English School Text," in *Rethinking and Recontextualing Glosses* (see above), 153–77. His study serves in part as an introduction to the Antwerp-London glossaries he edited, of which volume I see above. Porter's introduction in this important collection of glossographical studies, edited by the leading scholar in the field Patrizia Lendinara and Italian colleagues, begins with some general observations on the Anglo-Saxon glossary tradition but then unveils somewhat more speculative thinking on a potential discovery much larger in scope that would confirm and add significantly to our understanding of the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian.

> [A] comparative view will show how a Latin text was transformed through stages into what might be called the first English encyclopedia. However we describe the lost ancestor of this varied corpus, it had great influence, leaving its

imprint everywhere among early Anglo-Saxon school texts. Our quest here is to reconstruct as far as we can this lost but very important ancestral text and to document its contributions to early English writings. (153)

This is important work, and it builds on Porter's earlier edition and translation of the *Excerptiones de Prisciano* (D. S. Brewer, 2002). The implications of this proposal are as significant and wide-ranging as those of Bischoff and Lapidge on the Canterbury "biblical commentaries" and of Gneuss and Gretsch on the role of Winchester and Æthelwold's school there. There is the danger here of supposing that everything begins at the school of Theodore and Hadrian, that Latinity in Britain burst forth from a veritable year-zero in 678 with the establishment by Theodore of the Canterbury school. Porter notes in *Excerptiones* the role of Irish scholars in this era of England's Christianization and intellectual development. But there is no way to explain Anglo-Saxon England's foremost exegetical writer, Bede, by means of the Canterbury school alone. That Aldhelm came to denigrate the Irish teachers who put him in good stead does not invalidate their teaching (see Barbara Yorke, "Aldhelm's Irish and British Connections," in *Aldhelm and Sherbourne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, ed. Katherine Barker and Nicholas Brooks (Oxbow Books, 2010), 164–80; Colin Ireland, "Where was King Aldfrith of Northumbria Educated? An Exploration of Seventh-Century Insular Learning," *Traditio* 70 (2015), 29–73; Mario Esposito, *Latin Learning in Medieval Ireland*, ed. Michael Lapidge, Variorum, 1988; as well as the work of Bernhard Bischoff and Ludwig Bieler, among others). There is pressure to tie major intellectual developments to named figures, thus the many "making-of-England" moments scattered across too many subtitles in studies of Anglo-Saxon England. Was this "lost glossary" really evidence for "the birth of written English at the Canterbury school" (177)? This would crowd out quite a bit of epigraphic evidence: the Liudhard tremissis and Runic *skanomodu* solidus, among a number of other objects, pre-date the founding of the Canterbury school. Linking *all* Anglo-Saxon glossarial activity to a (hypothetical) Canterbury glossary was probably hard to resist. That Theodore and Hadrian employed glossaries seems an eminently reasonable inference. That they compiled a master class glossary from which every single subsequent Anglo-Saxon Latin-Latin and Latin-Old English glossary descends (or at least is indebted to) seems unlikely. For the moment, there is no "Canterbury glossary." It is a construct hypothesized from shared bundles of entries from surviving glossaries. That Theodore and Hadrian produced a 'master' glossary also

seems unlikely as it flies in the face of what we know about glossarial activity.

Porter concludes, "I take it as settled that the lost Canterbury class glossary contributed substantial material to the seventh-century original of Épinal-Erfurt. And with Épinal-Erfurt just as with Leiden, that lost text was the single largest supplier of English, further evidence that the compilation and translation of the bilingual class glossary was a very early, perhaps the earliest, effort of the Canterbury school" (166). A bold claim, and one that, as with the reconstructed proto-forms of historical linguists, argues back from extant reflexes to unrecorded underlying forms. Except that proto-forms exist as statements of best knowledge about the phonological/morphological/etc. situation of the proto-language, not as real forms. The "Canterbury glossary" would need to be reconstructed on firmer grounds: though we have references (in the third person) to Theodore and Hadrian in glossaries that *might* originate in seventh-century Canterbury, we have no references to such a single text. [This review has been edited substantially for length. The longer original can be requested from the editor.]

Three seafaring terms and their various fates as loans are the subject of Katrin Thier, "Language and technology: Some Examples from Seafaring (Germanic and Celtic)," *Transactions of the Philological Society* 109.2 (2011), 186–199. These terms are Lat. *ciula/cyula*, a borrowing into Med. Lat. of OE *cēol* 'longship' or 'war-galley' (191–193), Northumbrian *floege* and *cuople* ('coble', 193–196). An opening case study involves OE *segl*, which with OHG *segal* is "closely related to some Celtic words with the same sense" (189, e.g., OIr. *séol*). Some historical linguists have proposed a shared Germano-Celtic preform **siglo-*. One example of Romano-Celtic-Germanic interaction is the cult of the goddess Nehalennia of the Rhine (or Scheldt) estuary: "Many of the worshippers named on the monuments [to Nehalennia] were travellers bearing Roman, Celtic and Germanic names" (189). A variety of evidence is marshalled to support the notion that early Germanic peoples had knowledge of various types of ships, including "the depiction of a two-masted vessel with Roman characteristics" on a bone also inscribed with Runic (the "Weser-Runen-knochen," 189). One vector of transmission to Gmc was "contact with the Roman and Romano-Celtic worlds" and "Archaeology and history show that such links across the Channel existed before, during and after the Roman period" (190). *Cyula/ciula* appears also in Cornwall and Cornouaille, Brittany in the *Vita Sancti Winwaloei*. In the medieval life of Winwaloe by Abbot

Gurdestin of Landévennec appears a reference to such ships in a metrical section concerning Gradlonus Magnus (Gradlon Mawr/Meur, fifth-century king of Cornouaille): "Jam tunc quinque truncato vetice cyluis / Cum totidem," about which Thier notes "the exact sense of these lines is unclear" (192 n. 19), though the translation supplied seems right enough ("now then, having cut off the heads of five captains, with as many *ciulae*"). OE *cēol* is found in early texts such as the Corpus and Épinal glossaries and (Anglo-)Latin *ciula* in Gildas "referring to the ships of Caesar's incursion into Britain" (192). Though Thier focuses on seafaring vocabulary and loanwords in OE and Latin in particular, she opens up an avenue of investigation in the history of the English language seldom taken. Her discussion of Northumbrian *cuople* naturally connects the term to the thing:

The cobles are a very distinctive group of traditional boats found almost exclusively in northeastern England and southern Scotland. They vary regionally in detail and size, but they all share a markedly asymmetrical hull shape. Unlike the double-ended boats of the Anglo-Saxons and the Vikings ... the cobles have a narrow rising bow and a broad flat-bottomed stern with a transom board rather than a pointed stem. Such a shape is not paralleled elsewhere in the Germanic world, but can be seen in the curraghs, the skinboats of Ireland. (195)

OE, Anglo- and British Latin, Welsh, Cornish, and Breton sources come together at a few junctures here—namely names for ships—to provide a window on the earliest stage of the English language. [This review has been edited substantially for length. The longer original can be requested from the editor.]

JPM

B. SYNTAX, PHONOLOGY, OTHER ASPECTS

Tomasz Mokrowiecki, "Reduplication of Consonant Graphemes In *The Ormulum* in the Light of Late Old English Scribal Evidence." *Studia Anglica Posnaniensia* 47(4): 53–79. Past studies and a fresh analysis of MS Gg. 3.28 (*Homilies of Ælfric*) and MS William H. Scheide (*The Blickling Homilies*) indicate that *The Ormulum's* double consonants mark vowel shortness. Paleographic evidence links this biblical exegesis (MS Junius 1) to Bourne Abbey (Lincolnshire) in the 1170s–1180s, a period of quantitative vowel change from late OE to early ME. The layout of the manuscript and its difficult handwriting impede flawless transcription. The inferences drawn from MS Junius 1 on such change have so

far depended, however, on methodical infelicities and interpretative inadequacies. To focus on double consonants (CC) in MS Junius 1 without looking for possible occurrences in late OE manuscripts lays findings open to insufficiency. This limitation in method had long fostered a misconstrued belief that Orm's practice of doubling consonants is original to him. First in the 1990s did evidence show that non-etymological doubling occurs in manuscripts earlier than MS Junius 1. This correction underlies Mokrowiecki's thesis that the doubling of consonants to indicate short vowels is a late OE practice, too. His thesis addresses three contrastive interpretations of consonant doubling: 1) CC marks vowel shortness; 2) CC and C distinguish in turn long and short consonants; (3) CC mostly marks short vowels but less frequently denotes geminate consonants. Interpretation 1) makes these claims:

(a) graphemic consonant doubling most frequently follows etymologically short vowels;
(b) graphemic single consonants most frequently follow etymologically long vowels;
(c) graphemic clusters also include such sequences as <ld> , <rd>, <rn>, <nd>, <rp>, <ng>, <rl>;
(d) in open syllables, a consonant following a short vowel appears as a single grapheme;
(e) short vowels before a single consonant indicate open syllable lengthening (OSL);
(f) short vowels before homorganic clustering, as in (c) (HCL), also indicate lengthening. (Some reviews of HCL find it generally accurate although partially flawed.)

Interpretation 2) points to an uncertainty in timing of phonological changes. No source of evidence, other than MS Junius 1, provides support for the dating of loss in contrast between long and short consonants or the onset of contrast between short and long vowels. Mokrowiecki expresses his support for interpretation 3). This view assumes that OSL no longer obtained in Orm's dialect yet contrasts between single and geminate consonants did. The absence in MS Junius 1 of CC graphemes in open syllable sequences (VCV) holds true consistently. Further, the absence of CC in this environment suggests some uncertainty about whether the stressed vowel is long or short. In other phonological environments, MS Junius 1 attests through graphemic sequences very likely contrasts between long and short vowels, long and short consonants, <*hh*> and <*ww*> excluded. The practice of doubling consonants is not, however, a fresh innovation, first seen in MS Junius 1. Late OE manuscripts contain instances of this spelling. To

contribute to the findings already recognized Mok-rowiecki reviews two more OE manuscripts: MS Gg. 3.28 and MS William H. Scheide. Each contains sufficient examples that attest to the use of digraphs to mark short vowels. In all, this work is thorough in its review and in the evidence it adduces. EG

Luka Repanšek, "Remarks on the Development of Anglo-Frisian Vowel System," NOWELE 64/65 (2011), 77–90. Repanšek analyzes vowel systems in Anglo-Frisian and Old English by examining the possibilities of independent and conditional development. Supporters of independent development note the difference in chronology for apparently comparable vowels—similar phonological changes occur in disparate chronologies. Even if both languages undergo similar typological change, this criterion does not alone support a finding of phonological influence. Further tests of analogic change include the following:

> Sporadicalness as opposed to regularity—is a phonologic change in feature systematic or limited, pervasive or spatially restricted?
> Are conditioning environments and input comparable or different?
> Do phonologic changes occur in like sets of lexemes?
> Does change occur uniformly in dialects?
> Does comparable change occur in non-contiguous linguistic areas?

The argument developed addresses the sources of similarities in the vowel systems of the two languages, a study in genesis. Relative chronology, however, remains essential regarding three developments in Anglo-Frisian and Old English. They are as follows:

1. The realization of PGmc. *ē¹ as *ǣ (OE scēap < *skæp, OFr. Skēp < PGmc. Skeɪpan 'sheep') develops before the monophthongization /ă/ (e.g. stān). This sequence holds, since /ă/, absent in the inherited long vowel system, could not affect the development of *ǣ. The Frisian sequence *ai > æ occurs after PGmc *ēɪ > *ǣ, since /æ/ does not affect palatalization (e.g *gēr 'spear', kei 'key').

2. Old Frisian evidence supports a conclusion that the fronting of *a did not affect the a-phoneme in back diphthongs. Moreover, palatalization does not occur before Proto-Frisian /æ/ < *ai. These findings hardly address the variety of patterns involving palatalization that occur in OE dialects.

3. After the fronting of short *a chronological developments show divergence even within Old English. Once *a > *æ, all later developments of this vowel are independent of one another. Further this fronting, together with the later developments, sets the time for changes common to Old Frisian and OE, very likely earlier than hitherto supposed, a time soon after PGmc *ēɪ > *ǣ. This revision calls for reconsideration of the following:

> 1) Short *a, *i, *u before nasal+ voiceless dental sibilant, *s or a homorganic voiceless fricative *f, *þ, *X yield /ō/, /ī/. /ū/, followed by the sibilant or one of the fricatives.
> 2) In these sequences *a becomes /ō/ (e.g. PGmc *gans 'goose' > OE, OFr gōs).
> 3) PGmc. *ēɪ appears as /æ/ ~ /ē/
> 4) PGmc. *ēɪ before a nasal consonant > ō (e.g. PGmc. *mēɪnð > OE, OFr mōna)
> 5) PGmc. Short a before a nasal becomes either a rounded [ɒ] or a fronted (/æ/~ /e/) reflex (e.g. OE. OFr. lond~ land vs. OE. OFr dæġ, OFr. dei).

The reconsideration of these five developments enables, however, a narrowing to two incontestable possibilities that are innovations in common:

> 1) Rule-extension for Pan-Germanic V > [+ vowel, + long] [- voice, + fricative, + velar] / _____ N, where any homorganic voiceless fricative or *s followed the nasal.
> 2) Allophonic split of *ēɪ to *[ēɪ] and *[ēɪN], depending on its position before [± nasal].

The likelihood is that PGmc. *χ had occurring on the right side an increase in consonantal segmentation (as seen in the new clusters *mf, *ns, *nþ) following the vowels *a, *i, and *u. Caution, however, is best in assuming this that these clusters have strict geographic boundaries. Still, this consonantal patterning contributed to the phonological character of OE, OFr, OS, and Old Franconian. As for the development of *ēɪ before a nasal, evidence of its impact marks only English and Frisian. The apparent chronological sequence follows this course: first, long, nasalized *ā and *ă < *aNC (C for * χ, *f, *s, *þ) becomes phonemic on loss of conditioning environment; then this long, nasalized vowel merged with the allophone of *ēɪ before a nasal, resulting in a phonological split of *ēɪ.. At the subsequent loss of nasalization, this back allophone of *ēɪ remained a vowel, likely close to /ɒ: /, before a possible raising to / ɔ:/, then /o:/. The front allophone of *ēɪ, occurring before a nasal, became restricted to a low, front position—the resulting vowel system then became symmetrical. But the

front allophone of *ēɪ, if not preceding a nasal, eventually emerged in OE and OFr as /æ/.

The upshot of the developments now noted contributed to a like inventory and system pressure for Proto-Frisian and Primitive English (before or soon after Anglo-Saxon migration):

Ī I u ū
ē e o ō
ǣ æ [ɒ] ɒ:

The emergence of [ēɪN] effected a disequilibrium in the vowel system that led to the making of a restored symmetry. Primitive English regained vowel symmetry between short and long vowels through the monophthongizing of *ai. Diphthongs became counterparts to the front and long vowel series: /iu/< PGmc. *iu, *au; /eu/< PGmc *eu. This symmetrical pattern presents some difficulty, however, in accounting for the connection of the diphthong *au > PrimOE /æu/ > /ǣa/ with the fronting of the inherited short *a. (If *a had first become fronted, then very likely, but unrecorded, the first element in *ai would also have become fronted.) The plausible sequence is that *ai become a monophthong before the fronting of *a. An overview of the Primitive English vowel system (not including umlaut effects), the same as Proto-Frisian, gives this pattern:

ī ȳ < *ūɪ ū
ē ɵ < *ōɪ ō
oe: <*auɪ
ǣ < *ēɪ,, *ai, *aiɪ ā < *au, *ai ɒ:

For both languages, the new, long phonemes resulted in undifferentiation, the open non-front series in English overcrowded. This essay has much more to offer on Old Frisian and other early Germanic languages.
EG

John G. Newman, "The partitive genitive with higher numerals in Old and Middle English," in *Explorations in the English Language: Middle Ages and Beyond: Festschrift for Professor Jerzy Welna on the Occasion of his 70th Birthday,* ed. Joanna Esquibel and Anna Wojtyś (Frankfort am Main: Peter Lang), 111–22. Old and Middle English generally expressed the partitive genitive with a final ending -a, as in OE *an heora* and *twentiჳ sceapa*. From OE onward this form of the genitive increasingly manifested itself as an *of*-phrase: OE *an of þam*, ME *seoue þusand of gode cnihten,* Morphological marking of the genitive becomes obsolete in late ME. As for genitive inflection, the higher numerals in OE and ME (20 and greater) typically appear as nouns, whereas the nouns ordinarily following them taking plural and genitive markers. This typicality, however, has more than a

few exceptions. These exceptions, found in ME texts, imply an uncertain morpho-syntactic patterning, some numerals marked as partitive genitive nouns, others as adjectives. The occurrence of these exceptions, very likely an analogical development, is probably a result of token frequency. The evidence suggests that the loss of the partitive genitive is a feature of late OE, early ME (tenth to twelfth centuries). This evidence centers on prose (complications of rhyme and meter preclude recourse to poetry). Excluded forms are those precluded from manifesting the partitive genitive, owing to the rection of verbs, prepositions, and other parts of speech.

OE texts under review: Lindisfarne Gospels, c. 950 (Northumbrian); Rushworth Gospels, c. 970s (Mercian); West Saxon Gospels, c. 1000; *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, c. 1050. Also, wills included in Whitelock's 1930 collection (eleventh century); Robertson's 1956 charters, also eleventh century.

Lindisfarne Gospels. Irregular forms: *fif ðōusend : fif ðōusendo*, unetymological, analogical; *penningas fif*, based on a weak *n*-stem system; *Hundteantih*, strong genitive plural adapted; *scip* for *scipa*, zero plural marker instead of genitive. In *peningas fif hund* the *-s* plural is leveled, genitive marking lost.

Tenth-century Northumbrian had weakening of final, inflectional vowels, yet an occasional occurrence of weak genitive plural ending *-ena* through analogy. In *peningas fif hund* and *wæras fif ðusendo*, the possibility of a pre-numeral position marking in itself the genitive case, the *-as* ending [is] a sign of the plural. The descendant Northern dialect instanced pre-head, zero genitives for proper names, yet Latin models for translators probably had immediate influence.

Tenth-century Mercian Rushworth Gospels. Two variants from the usual practice include *siofan ðusand weoras* and *ðusand steppan*, nominative plural endings, not the genitive partitive.

Early eleventh-century West Saxon Gospels: one innovative form: *þrittiჳ scillingas*, nominative ending displaces in this phrase the genitive.

Middle eleventh century West Saxon *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*: no innovative forms found.

Eleventh-century Anglian/Mercian, West Saxon, Kentish wills. Examples of innovation are *xx maneses, twa hundred sauters, xx acres*, with plural but no partitive genitive endings (Anglian/Mercian forms). A weak paradigm example is *twa hundred messen*. In *half Hundred marc* the analogical, zero-plural displaces the genitive form. For charters, *twentiჳ cuna*, a partitive genitive here is the analogical *n*-form suffixation. S-plurals but no genitive ending in Kentish? *L mances;* West Saxon? *xxx cytweras, xxx þusend hæringys, hundred penegas*; Mercian/

Anglian *xxiiii cesen* and *xx Hennen*, analogical extension of the weak *n*-form, but no genitive marking.

As for regular Anglian/Mercian *punda* (found with numerals below, not above, 20) and innovative *marca* (through analogical extension), the occurrence of *-a* may be due to semantic association.

Some nouns collocated with lower numerals (not found in the texts listed above) may take *o*-plurals: *land*, *sweord, hors, scep, swyn, merswun*. Other such analogical *o*-plurals include *or, sester, eker* possibly associated semantically with *pund* and *marc*. Since the partitive genitive plural ending was optional (as in lower numeral environments), then o-plural was often enough likely for these listed nouns collocated with higher numerals. In the wills, the proportion is 9:5.

This essay turns in its later sections to early ME examples.
EG

Raquel Vea Escarza, "Syntactic and Semantic Rules in Old English Adjective Formation," *Miscelanea* 45, 75-92. This study examines the formation of OE adjectives, as the processes involving affixes and stems affect meaning. The approach distinguishes the units, categories, and processes that together form affixal, derived adjectives. Further, the findings underlie a proposed systematic account of adjective formation in the light of current linguistic theory. The theory applied is Arista's structural, functional morphology; further, the study relies on Pounder's paradigmatic model of word formation (derived from Mel'čuk's Meaning-Text Theory. Affixal, derived adjectives, as:

> *-ig* e.g 'SWÆ:P' > *swæpig* illustrates 'with respect to'
> *-en* e.g. 'ELETR OW' > *eletrēowen* illustrates 'is the origin'
> *-iht* e.g. 'WUDU' > *wudiht* illustrates 'is characteristic of'
> *sam-* e.g. '(GE) BÆRNAN' > *sambærned* illustrates 'diminished, made smaller'
> *ne-* e.g. 'NYTT' > *unnyt* illustrates 'is negated'
> *mis-* e.g. 'MIS' > *misscrence* illustrates 'is evaluated negatively'
> *fore-* e.g. 'SNOTOR' > *foresnotor* illustrates 'associated with highly expressive-emotional intensity'
> *twi-* e.g. 'HWĒOL' *twiwhēole* illustrates 'stands in a distributive relation to something'
> *-lēas* e.g.'WĪTE' *wītelēas* illustrates 'privation'
> *un-* e.g. 'SCYLDIG' *unacyldig* illustrates 'opposition'
> *un-* e.g. 'DREFEN' *undrefed* illustrates

> 'counterfactuality'
> *-de* e.g. 'HLÆ:DER' *hlædrede* illustrates 'with entity'
> *-sum* e.g. 'WYNN' *wunsum* illustrates 'with property'
> *-sul* e.g. 'HOSPAN' *hospul* illustrates 'stative'
> *-æfter* e.g. 'WRĪTAN' *æfterwrīten* illustrates 'temporal'
> *-weard* e.g. 'INNE 2' *inneweard* illustrate 'locative'
> *in-* e.g. 'MĒDAN' *inmēde* illustrates 'figuratoive'

The second stage of analysis provides a scheme for syntactically attaching affixes to adjectives and for ascertaining lexical rules pertinent to the process. (a) Under the syntactic scheme, 66 nouns in the lexicon change from the category noun to that of adjective, e.g. Æ:CEN 'wood of oaks' > *æcen* 'oaken'. (b) Under the syntactic scheme, 33 adpositions, adverbs, or pronouns change into adjectives, for example:

> ANDLANG 'entire, continuous' > *andlang* 'along'
> ALLEFNE 'quite equal' > *allefne* 'universally'
> Æ:NIG 'any, anyone' > *ænig* 'any, anyone'

Semantic Rules Under the Meaning-Text Theory comprise a finite set of relations that are independent of lexical items. The identity rule, as distinct from a semantic rule, specifies that the lexical meaning of a stem is constant, not in itself subject to modification. Semantic rules, by contrast, concern the changes and conditions that modify a stem's meaning. The effect of semantic rules is a modified meaning of a stem under specified conditions. For example,

> *med-* e.g. WĪS > *medwīs* 'foolish' illustrates a semantic rule applied to an adjective by a marker glossed as a diminisher;
> *twi-* e.g. SLIEHT 'stroke' > *twīsliht* 'forked' illustrates a semantic rule applied to a noun by a marker glossed as a diminisher;
> *sam-* e.g. STEORFAN 'to die' > *samstorfen* 'half-dead' illustrates a semantic rule applied to a verb by a marker glossed as a diminisher.

This semantic rule applies to a group of 41 adjectives, nouns, and verbs. Listed above among affixes that together with adjectives form derivations, the abstract marker for the sense 'distributive relation to something' also helps to effect a change of meaning in stems.

> *twi-* e.g. FĒRE > *twifēre* 'accessible in two ways illustrates a semantic rule applied to an adjective by a marker glossed as a distributive;
> *twi-* e.g. (GE)FŪRIAN > *twifȳrede* 'two-furrowed' illustrates a semantic rule applied to a verb by a marker glossed as a distributive;

þri- e.g. FŌT > *þrifēte* 'three-footed' illustrates a semantic rule applied to a noun by a marker glossed as a distributive.

This semantic rule applies to 78 adjectives, verbs, and nouns. This article provides a survey of rules and processes too extensive to review.
EG

Raquel Vea Escarza, "Structural and Functional Aspects of Morphological Recursivity: Old English Affixal Adjectives," *NOWELE* 64/65, 155–79. Recursivity in word classes concerns the process of applying a rule at least twice to a base in forming a lexeme with at least three morphemes. e.g. *will + sum + lic*. The base *wil* undergoes recursivity from twice applying a rule for attaching a suffix. Of 3,356 OE adjectives, 695 instance recursivity. An outline of recursivity involving bases taking prefixes or suffixes follows:

PREFIX$_2$ and PREFIX$_1$ before BASE
un- for- (ge)cūō > forcūō > unforcūō

This outline underlies a rich list of adjectives formed from recursive combinations. Many, as in *unforcūō*, embody three forms, each an adjective. Some build on a base that is a noun, as in *healfsinewealte*. Some, as in *ungewild*, emerge from a noun as base: *weald*, a verb, *(ge)wealdan* = PREFIX$_1$ *ge*, and PREFIX$_2$ *un-*. Some, as in *āgrafenlic*, emerge from a verb as base: *grafan*, a verb, *āgrafan* = PREFIX$_1$ *ā* and AFFIX *-enlic*. Some, as in *wilsumlic,* emerge from a noun as base: *will*, an adjective, *wilsum* = AFFIX$_1$ *–sum* and AFFIX$_2$ *-lic*. Some affixes have a semantic function that affect the sense of derived forms:

1. The preficx *on-* with semantic function INTENSE as in
   a) adjectives derived from a base that is an adjective, e.g. *onfordōn < fordōn* (PREFIX$_1$ *for-*) + *on-* (PREFIX$_2$ *on-*);
   b) adjectives derived from a base that is a noun, e.g. *ongeflogen < geflog* (PREFIX$_1$ *ge-*) + *on-* (PREFIX$_2$ *on-*) [*-en* affix of the past participle *geflogen*];
   c) adjectives derived from a base that is a verb, e.g. *ontōblāwan < tōblāwan* (PREFIX$_1$ *tō-*) + (PREFIX$_2$ *on-*)
2. The suffix *-ig* with semantic function RELATED TO as in
   a) adjective derived from a base that is an adverb, e.g. *weleðig < wel + -eōig* (posited as SUFFIX$_1$ + SUFFIX$_2$ sequence);
   b) adjective derived from a base that is a noun. e.g. *secgihtig < secg + -ihtig* (posited as SUFFIX$_1$ + SUFFIX$_2$ sequence).

Recursivity, also with the semantic function RELATED TO may include three prefixes as in *dēawigendlic* (with the adjective *dēawig* as base, *-ig* SUFFIX$_1$). Recursivity with the same semantic function may include a sequence of three suffixes as in *mitsigendlic* (with the noun *mitsigend* as base, *-ig* SUFFIX$_1$), as well as in *iersigendlic* (with the verb (ge)iersian as base, *ig* as SUFFIX$_1$). The adjective *ungeonbyrded* is an extension of the pattern in 1c. with the semantic function COUNTERFACTUAL. There follows here a presentation of prefixes and suffixes found in OE, together with their alignments under recursivity, together with the form classes of bases.

Here follows a list of diverse semantic functions integral to the recursivity of adjectives:
   Related to *swǣþig*
   Origin *eletrēowen*
   Similarity *wudiht*
   Diminished *sāmbærned*
   Identity *unnyt*
   Pejorative *misscrence*
   Distributive *twīhwēole*
   Privation *grundlēas*
   Opposition *unclǣne*
   Counterfactuality *unbiddende*
   With Property *gemēdred*
   Stative *giniend*
   Locative *ūteweard*
   Temporal *æfterboren*
   Figurative *foreglēaw*

Despite several prefixes in this list, sorting them as an entire inventory under semantic categories eludes analysis. What does emerge from an analysis of suffixes with adjectival bases is that recursivity may result in changes of semantic category. SUFFIX$_2$, occurring after SUFFIX$_1$, may also affect the meaning of the entire adjective. Here follow examples, "Related to" as SUFFIX$_2$ (*-lic*), SUFFIX$_1$ (directly follow after adjectival base):
   Identity, e.g. *geornfullic*
   Stative, e.g. *dēmedlic*
   With Property, e.g. *smēaðancollic*
   Origin, e.g. *helpendlic*
    Counterfactual, e.g. *unāsecgendlic*
   Privative, *hygelēaslic*
   Distributive, *hundfealdlic*
   Figurative, *nēahfealdlic*
   Opposition, *unfūliendlic*
   Pejorative, *ǣwisclic*
   Intensity, *forslegenlic*
   Diminished, *mennislic*
   Locative, *ongeanwēardlic*
   Temporal, *forwittiendlic*

Stative, *hellfenlic*
In this instance SUFFIX₂ is semantically "Figurative," not "Related to." This article provides data as well on the frequency of adjectives consisting of various recursive patterns.
EG

Olivier Simonin, "The Construction *is/bið to*: A Syntactic Formula to Express Prescription and Earmarking," in *La Formule Au Moyen Age*, ed. Louise Louviot (Turnhout: Brepols), 89–104. The semantic function of *is/bið to* most often indicates in a sentence a necessity or obligation that a speaker endorses but does not initiate. Such endorsement generally has the force of an exhortation. The purpose of this analysis is to provide from an OE prose corpus a detailed, systematic account of grammatical features and their pragmatic functions. Two grammatical patterns characterize the *is/bið to* construction:

> 1) The extraposed nominative subject, as in "Us is to smeagenne *þæt* word *þ*e he cwæð." Here, the extraposed subject is also the object of the inflected infinitive phrase. The initial *us* works pragmatically as a mark of obligation. Its occurrence, however, is optional, as similar constructions from Ælfric's homilies and his preface to *Genesis* show:
> 2) "Is eac to gehyrenne hu ða leoda wunnon ymbe ðæs halgan lic betwynan þearle";
> 3) "Is eac to witenne ðæt sume gedwolmen wæron ðe woldon awurpan ðealdan æ."

Example 2) contains a free, relative clause as subject; example 3) contains a *that* clause as subject. Quotations 2) and 3), unlike 1), have a generic scope not restricted to the surrounding context. The center of this article's inquiry examines how contrasts distinguish constructions aimed at identifying those under obligation and those who do not comprise any group in particular. First, constructions based on a Latin model mainly adhere to the pattern given by 2) and 3), whereas those not translated are somewhat more likely (about 41%) to adhere to the pattern given by 1). As for the infinitival complements of the examples above, they comprise (except these that are existential) the second argument of *beon/wesan*. Distinctions between *beon/wesan* pertain, with uncommon exception, to instances of the preterit, not to the present tense. A sense of obligation does not occur with *beon/wesan to* in the imperative mood.

This construction also includes *Hit* as grammatical subject and an extraposed clause as logical subject: "7 *Hit* is to gelyfenne þæt Drihten mihte on anre tide

dæges geseon ealles þæs middangeard wynsumnessa, ge on godde ge on deorwyrþum hræglum." The demonstrative *þæt* parallels *hit*, as in, "Ac *þæt* us is to geþencenne þæt ure Dryhten æfter þam fulwihte fæste…." And so does the deictic *þis*, as in, "Þi*s* is to smeagenne hwi sy mare blys be gecyrredum synfullum þonne be unscildigum rihtwisum." In most instances the logical subject is clausal in form. An exception, however, occurs in constructions containing such set phrases as "*Þæt is to understandenne*," as in, "Ac God hi het syðþan Sarra þæt is ealdor þæt heo nære synderlice hire hiredes ealdor geciged ac forþrihte ealdor Þæt is to understandenne ealra gelyfedra wifa moder." One explanation for these cataphoric pronouns as grammatical subjects relies on a process of rigidification (here subject first) as a recurring phenomenon in language history. Another possible explanation is that cataphoric pronouns as subjects help to emphasize a state of affairs and to indicate that the logical subject introduces something new to a given discourse. *Hit* as a cataphoric pronoun, but not a demonstrative, occurs in rather unspecified circumstances.

As for the semantics of *beon/wesan to*, some discussion of other patterns constructed with infinitives affords clarity. One such contrast involves *habban to* + (inflected) INFINITIVE. Another is the predicative *to*-infinitive that does not involve prescription. Typically, *habban to* + (inflected) INFINITIVE conveys the idea of ownership or possession, rarely that of the necessary or the obligatory, as in "Anes dæges fareld þu hæfest to siði-genne." The precise force of this construction, however, is elusive, since no other contexts in OE offer support or impede such a reading. The predicative *to*-infinitive indicates, typically, designated uses of a subject referent, as in, "þonne is ðes londes ðe ic higum selle, XVI gioc ærðe & medwe all on æce ærfe to brucanne ge mine dei ge æfter swæ to ationne swæ me mest red & lio-fast sie." Here the predicate infinitive *to*- is adverbial, with a sense of the purposive, together with a nuance of possibility. OE manuscripts exemplify this construction frequently enough. In other examples the predicative *to*-infinitive pertains to necessity rather than possibility, as in, "Geþencean we eac gif oþer nyten wære to haligenne & geteod to þon ecan life þonne onfenge he hire hiwe." The possibility set forth for the deliverance of animals fails before a necessary rejection in the *þonne* clause. Other examples of necessity acknowledged or rejected appear frequently enough in this construction, including one from *Beowulf*.

The designated use of the *is/bið to* + construction may also have a deontic element, if 1) above has the sense "We are to ponder the words he said." For an

overall scheme, however, designated use and deontic prescription work best as separate categories. Very likely, however, designated uses of *is/bið to* + preceded the development of deontic prescription, although no firm division separates them. Schematically, the semantic/pragmatic functions of *is/bið to* + has the following arrangement:

DESIGNATION OR EARMARKING PRESCRIPTION
Dynamic Modality Deontic Modality
/ \ |
Possibility Necessity Obligation

That overlap in semantic/pragmatic function that occurs in OE leads to ambiguity in this example: "Gif feorcund mon oððe fremde butan wege geond wudu gonge & ne hrieme ne horn blawe, for ðeof he bið to profianne; oððe to sleanne oððe to aliessanne." The readings possible for this example is that the man identified is a criminal or that the law prescribes that he is. In the first instance the man is necessarily designated as a criminal; in the second the law prescribes that he be so identified.

Latin promoted prescriptive uses of *is/bith to* +, especially in homilies and in other religious works (a numerical survey is provided). Although these prescriptive uses are intrinsic to OE, Latin influence contributed to their frequency. This construction, however, appears in OE texts, even when the Latin source does not contain it. Later OE evidences uses of the construction to indicate the future idiomatically, especially in contexts concerned with predestination. This discussion recognizes but does not survey other uses of *is/bith to* + besides those it highlights.
EG

Kenneth Robert Painter, "Acoustic and Perceptual Explanations for Rhotacism in Latin and Germanic," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, State U of New York at Buffalo. On OE, this analysis offers several explanations of rhotacism. First, developments following Verner's law result in the changes s > z > r, as in *curon, luron,* The quality of /r/ began as an approximant in Proto-Germanic and then became a trilled consonant in OE. This change, however, is more a speculation than a settled finding. Rhotacism occurs between vowels as in *bet(e)ra*, before voiced consonants as in *hord*, and finally as in *dēor*. The *-a*s inflection of masculine nouns in the plural did not occur, however, under the position of accent described by Verner and so did not undergo rhotacism. That the ending remained, despite loss otherwise of this unstressed syllable awaits convincing explanation. The *-est* ending of second person

singular verb has also generated contested explanations, although its retention is likely due to its falling outside the scope of Verner's law. The alternation of voiceless ð and d in some verbs (e.g. wearð/ wurdon) probably stems from contrastive patterns of accent in Primitive Indo-European. The accent falling on the root syllable (as in Sanskrit va- várt-a) anticipates the voiceless fricative; the accent falling on the final syllable (as in Sanskrit va-vṛt- má) anticipates the voiced dental stop. In some OE verbs, such as *lesan*, analogy displaces the effects of Verner's Law and rhotacism, the sibilant /s/ found in all principal parts. As for the OE [r] in instances of breaking, studies in Modern German and American English lend no support, long held, for a velar rather than a frontal variant. All variants, according to F3 data, may induce a lowering of vowels. But in instances of metathesis, e.g. *frist > first,* Painter supports a view of [r] as a non-trill sound that was not consonantal. Such an articulation could underlie the reversal that came about. This dissertation contains a thorough review and a well-considered examination of rhoticism, at least in OE.
EG

Caitlin Light, "The Syntax and Pragmatics of Fronting in Germanic," Unpublished doctoral dissertation, U of Pennsylvania. Among many observations on OE the most notable is that in clauses with verbs anchored at their close, pronominal objects occur at their onset, as in "& hit Englisce men swyþe amyrgdon." The difficulty inherent in this finding is that too often uncertainty hinders decisions on whether verbs occur as final in clauses.
EG

Penelope Jane Thompson, "Morphologization and Rule Death in Old English: A Stratal Optimality Theoretic Account of High Vowel Deletion." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, U of Edinburgh. The principal aim is to explain the loss of high vowels in unstressed syllables that once followed heavy and light syllables; e.g. verbs, *hīer + ede > hīerde, sing-u > sing*; nouns, *hēafod-um > hēafdum, word-u > word*; adjectives *hālig- um > halgum, blind-u > blind*. The explanation under offer focuses on high vowel syncope (as in the first example of the six, given pairs), not on high vowel apocope. As for non-high vowels, /a /, /æ/, /e/, they were subject to syncope, except if they occurred in closed syllables.

Past accounts of vowel loss in these three grammatical classes admit of numerous exceptions. Further, forms with long roots that once instanced syncope or apocope recur in Prehistoric OE without indication

of high vowels lost, e.g. Northumbrian *scīnu / scīno*. Findings presented and discussed throughout the thesis:

1) Syncope of high vowels affects words in particular grammatical classes. For adjectives and nouns, heavy stemmed disyllables such as *hālig* and *hēafod*, syncope occurs before such vowel initial suffixes as -*um*: *hālgum* and *hēafdum*. Yet alternate forms occur as well, e.g. nom. sg. fem. adj. *hālig* (apocope), *hālgu* (syncope), found in Alfredian OE; nom./acc. pl. neut. adj. *hālge*, *hālig* in Ælfric's OE. These alternations probably developed through not only phonological but also morphological considerations, here the influence of gender in adjectival paradigms.

2) Lindisfarne Gospels: 98.5% of the preterit, Class 1 verbs with heavy stem syllables undergo syncope.

3) Early West Saxon: 55% of Class 1 weak past participles with heavy stem syllables undergo syncope.

4) Early West Saxon, 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. ind. strong verbs: 93% (346 tokens) in Classes 1, 2, 3, 7 (heavy stem syllables) undergo syncope of inflection; 91% (361 tokens) in Classes 4, 5, 6 (light stem syllables) also undergo syncope of inflection.

5) Early West Saxon, 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. ind. weak verbs: light syllable stems ending with dentals undergo infrequent syncopation; 7 (9%), 1 e.g. *cnysð* is an exception.

6) Early West Saxon, 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. ind. weak verbs: heavy syllable stems *not* ending with dental or sonorant; 52 (90%) are syncopated; 116 (81 %) stems ending with sonorant are syncopated; 120 (97 %) stems ending with a dental are syncopated. There is a significant difference in the syncopation of contrasted strong and weak verbs.

7) Lindisfarne Gospels evidence two instances of syncope in 2nd and 3rd sg. pres. ind. weak and strong verbs.

8) Lindisfarne Gospels evidence 6 instances of apocope in strong and weak verbs, 1st person sg. ind.

9) Lindisfarne Gospels evidence few tokens of syncope in weak verbs, class 1,2nd and 3rd present ind.

10) Syncopation of stem formative -e- in preterit conjugation of Class 1 weak verbs, e.g. *hīerde* (as opposed to *hīerede*) 99% or 100% after almost all stem-final consonants and vowels in Early West Saxon.

11) Light stems in this class of verbs—e.g. *nerian*, *fremman*, except those ending with a dental—do not undergo syncope; 675 (96%) inflected heavy stems undergo syncope.

12) Root final -*d*, if not part of a consonant cluster, geminates in weak class 1 preterits.

13) Obstruent + sonorant clusters for this class of verb geminate to some degree, except for stem-final sonorant /r/. With final /l/, 5 (50%); with final /n/, 5 (71%); with final /m/, 2 (71%).

14) A comparison of weak verbs with light or heavy stem syllables in the Lindisfarne Gospels yields a decided contrast in syncope of vowel initial inflections: 5% after light stems, 95.8% after heavy stems.

15) Lindisfarne Gospels, weak verb stems with final consonant-sonorant clusters show 63 tokens (69%) with syncope.

16) Epenthesis occurs (44%) in the stems of the syncopated verbs. In stems with the final cluster C + /j/, 2 tokens; C + /r/, 15 tokens; C + /l/, 3 tokens. Without epenthesis, but with syncope the numbers for C + /j/, 29; C + /l/, 2; C + /m/ and C + /n/, 4 each.

17) Early West Saxon: syncope—505 (98%)—in weak class 1 verbs. Heavy roots with final dental accompanied by 68 geminates; syncope—93 (100 %)—in weak class 1 verbs. Light roots final dental accompanied by 5 reduced geminates; syncope—770 (95%) in weak class 1 verbs with heavy roots—geminates not found.

18) Lindisfarne Gospels, heavy roots ending in C + /t/ have 4 geminates; heavy roots ending in V + /t/ have 25 geminates, both sets -*tt*-. Heavy roots ending V + /d/ have 43 geminates. No geminates for roots ending in C + /d/.

19) Class 2 preterits, occurrence of medial -e-. If -don ending, 30 tokens of -e- among 200 verbs; if -de ending, 40 tokens of -e- among 418 verbs.

Summary of findings 2 through 19: Light stems or roots in Early West Saxon and in the Lindisfarne Gospels show slight syncope, only 5% in Lindisfarne. Heavy stems or roots in Early West Saxon and Lindisfarne show syncope consistently, 96.8% in Lindisfarne, 96% in Early Wet Saxon. Stems ending in dentals may have some bearing on the occurrence of syncope in both sets of data.

These findings and summary attest to the accomplished research and theoretical arguments in this dissertation that a review can but adumbrate. The dissertation is readily available online at *https://www.semanticscholar. org > paper > Morphologization-and-rule-death*.
EG

Benjamin J. Molineaux, "Prosodically conditioned morphological change: preservation vs loss in Early English prefixes," *English Language and Linguistics* 16.3 (2012), 427–458. In this study, the author focuses on the causes

for the loss vs. continued productivity of prefixes across word categories from early Old English (OE) to late Middle English (LME). It is a corpus-based study. The data, spanning a time period of five centuries, come from two translations of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, the Alfredian translation of the late ninth century and Chaucer's translation from the late fourteenth century. Searches were conducted by using the *Dictionary of Old English Corpus* (DOEC) and the *Corpus of Middle English Prose and Verse* (CMEPV).

The author gives a short introduction to the origins of OE prefixes. He then discusses and briefly appraises four different arguments presented for prefix loss in the literature: contact-based, semantic, syntactic, and phonological. The possible role of grammaticalization in prefix loss caps off the introductory part. Molineaux comes to the conclusion that grammaticalization as an "epiphenomenon" of language change cannot have a causal relationship with prefix loss.

The bulk of the article is dedicated to a prosodic analysis of the OE and LME native prefixes, both verbal and nominal. The analysis of the select corpus shows that the heavy, stressable monosyllabic prefixes of OE were lost by the LME period. According to Molineaux, the loss of these prefixes took place as the language began "to avoid stress clash between adjacent syllables within the prosodic word" (440). To give one example of this loss, the ME reflex of OE òn-scúnian 'shun' in the Boethius data is *shónen*.

It is not possible here to discuss the detailed and intricate argumentation of the article in detail. Within the theoretical framework adopted the results of this study are promising. It is obvious that the addition of prosodic analysis to the earlier approaches will shed new light on the increased occurrence of prefix loss in LME.

It is, however, also obvious that the small size of the corpus studied inevitably makes far-reaching generalizations concerning both OE and ME difficult. To take one concrete example, Table 3 has fifteen OE types with the prefix *of-* and none for ME. A quick search through the OED for verbs prefixed with *of-* attested from OE to LME gives thirteen different verbs. Two of them occur in Chaucer's works other than the *Boethius* translation. Among other authors, e.g. Langland's *Piers Plowman* features four further verbs. It is very likely that a broader selection of LME texts would have yielded a more complex picture of the state of things in LME. It would probably turn out that prefix loss does not advance with equal speed in different dialects.

MK

Javier Martín Arista, "The Old English Prefix *ge-*: A Panchronic Reappraisal," *The Australian Journal of Linguistics* 32.4 (2012), 411–433. While studies of prefixes in the history of English typically focus on their loss, in this study Martín Arista traces the development of Old English *ge-* through its spread in the derivational and inflectional system and its grammaticalization preceding its disappearance in Middle English. This prefix has cognates, with some kind of perfective meaning, in other Germanic languages and even in other Indo-European languages, but their histories are very different, as the author describes at the end of the article. In Old English, *ge-* has wide distribution in terms of both categories and word-formation processes. In addition to the function as an inflectional prefix in past participles, there are *ge-* derivatives in all main lexical categories, and unlike most prefixes *ge-* can change the lexical class of the base. Moreover, *ge-* can function as the only affix, but it can also combine with other affixes and zero derivation in the same derived word.

The article starts by presenting the frequencies of the prefix in different lexical categories. The lexical database *Nerthus* (www.nerthusproject.com) lists 2,616 *ge* -derivatives, which makes them the most frequent type in Old English. Most (1,136) of these complex words are verbs, followed by 877 nouns, 468 adjectives, 131 adverbs, and four grammatical words. Of the verbs, almost two thirds are weak. While frequencies can be simple to count, the productivity of a morphological process is more challenging to evaluate. Martín Arista solves this issues by defining productivity in terms of transparency. On the one hand, formal morphological transparency concerns the relationship between the complex form and its base, which can involve complications because of the lexical derivation patterns in the language. Thus, formal transparency applies in pairs like the adjective *gelēaf* derived from the noun *lēaf*, but not in pairs like *flit* and *geflit*. In the latter case the complex form is not derived from the simplex one, but both are derived from the corresponding strong verbs, *flitan* and *geflitan*, respectively. Evaluating 794 items, Martín Arista finds that the degree of formal transparency is low (below 10 per cent), except for verbs, of which 61.7 per cent can be classified as formally transparent. As these verbs are mostly strong (178 of 181), representing a lexical class that is not growing in number, the *ge-* prefix appears to be less productive than its frequency might suggest. On the other hand, semantic transparency refers to the existence of meaning contrast between the simplex and complex forms. Of the 1,471 items assessed only 13.4 percent are semantically transparent, higher degrees in nouns (11.3 per cent) and

adjectives (17.4 per cent) than verbs, where 8.9 per cent of strong and 4.6 percent of weak verbs are semantically transparent. The low degrees point towards a disappearance of semantic contrast between the prefixed and simple forms. Both kinds of transparency analyses strongly support the conclusion that *ge-* was an unproductive prefix in Old English derivational morphology. Comparing *ge-* to other prefixes, Martín Arista refers to earlier research showing that in derived forms, only *ge-* can be combined to a verb that already has a prefix, both strong, such as *geābilgian* and *geonlīcian*, and weak, such as *getōnamian* and *geunfæstnian*, but the inflectional *ge-* prefix cannot be combined to a verb that has the derivational *ge-*. This supports the conclusion that the functionally different prefixes are semantically close, derivational *ge-* expressing telic *Aktionsart* and inflectional *ge-* expressing perfective aspect.

The second empirical part of the article begins with a comparison of the distribution of *ge-* in Old English with that of Proto-Germanic **ga-*, as illustrated by the derivational paradigm of the Old English strong verb *gebrecan* and the corresponding reconstructed Proto-Germanic forms (based on E. Seebold, *Vergleichendes und etymologisches Wörterbuch der germanischen starken Verben*, Mouton, 1970). The comparison points on the one hand to a wider spread of the prefix in Old English and on the other hand to a preference for *ge-* to combine with strong verbs and neuter nouns. Martín Arista finds similar preferences in charting the occurrences of the prefix in entries under B in Seebold's dictionary. However, he also observes noteworthy variation in weak verbs. Of weak verbs derived from nouns and adjectives, two-thirds keep *ge-*, whereas those derived from strong verbs only one-third keep the prefix. In view of the central role of the strong verb, this further supports the conclusion of derivational *ge-* losing its productivity. As a next step Martin Arista investigates the derivational paradigm of the strong verb *geberan* and notes first that the presence of *ge-* in many derived forms tallies with the important role of the strong verb in spreading the prefix and secondly that the existence of two adjective forms, the nonverbal adjective derived from the verb, *gebyrde*, and the verbal adjective, the past participle *geboren*, can be taken as evidence of grammaticalization, the adjectival function extended by analogy from the derivational to the inflectional form. Continuing then with past participles, he argues that the spread of *ge-* in weak verbs shows the progress of the grammaticalization of the prefix. Firstly, weak verbs represent a higher degree of lexicalization because of their derived nature (from nouns/adjectives based on strong verbs) and thus a lower degree

of semantic compositionality. As *ge-* spread through the whole class of verbs it lost its derivational function and became only inflectional. Secondly, weak verbs used the prefix in the inflectional function more consistently than strong verbs and thus it must have been earlier grammaticalized in that class. As strong verbs were an unproductive class, the adoption of *ge-* in the inflectional function in that class must have happened by analogy with the productive weak verbs and as a final stage, *ge-* lost its status as a derivational prefix in all derived items based on strong verbs. Martín Arista supports this interpretation with frequencies of a sample of past participle forms in *The Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. The distributions show variation and a preference for *ge-* prefixed participles in later texts (Ælfric's texts compared to the *Old English Boethius* and *Parker Chronicle)*.

To summarize, Martín Arista argues for the following grammaticalization path for the *ge-* prefix: derivational (strong verb) > derivational (noun/adjective) > derivational (weak verb) > inflectional (weak verb) > inflectional (strong verb). See Figure 10 (p 16). Parallel to the loss of its derivational productivity, the *ge-* prefix adopted the inflectional function as the marker of the past participle. The final disappearance of the prefix is caused by its redundance as an inflectional prefix on the past participle which already had an inflectional ending.
BMW

Olga Fischer, "The status of the postposed '*and*-adjective' construction in Old English: attributive or predicative?" in *Analysing Older English*, ed. David Denison, Ricardo Bermúdez-Otero, Chris McCully and Emma Moore, CUP, 251–84. The topic of this corpus-based study is the meaning and use of pre- and postposed adjectives in Old English (OE). The three construction types Fischer is particularly concerned with are her types (2a), (2b) and (3), the first two of which have a postposed *and*-adjective and type (3) where there is no *and*:

(2a) "siocne monnan and gesargodne" ("sick man and wounded");

(2b) "twa & hundseofontig boca þære ealdan æ & þære niwan he awende" ("two and seventy of-books of-the old law and of-the new he translated");

(3) "mid scire wine ealde" ("with pure wine old").

The data come from the York-Toronto-Helsinki Parsed Prose Corpus. Post-OE developments are briefly discussed towards the end of the study.

In earlier research, postposed adjectives have been interpreted as attributive adjectives. In Fischer's view they function predicatively. According to her, there are in OE two ways of establishing the difference between attributive and predicative function: morphologically by respectively choosing between weak and strong forms of the adjective, and by position. Thus, generally speaking, the preposed adjective is normally weak and provides "given" information while the postposed adjective conveying new information is usually strong and has no determiner.

A major issue discussed in this study is a theoretical one: is the postposed adjective predicative or attributive? As already pointed out above, Fischer opts for the predicative interpretation. An opposite view is held by Haumann (2003) who argues that in instances representing type (2a) we do not have 'ambilateral adjective placement'. Instead, we have an instance of Determiner Phrase (DP) coordination with an empty nominal element, *pro*, in the second conjunct. In Haumann's analysis, then, both the adjectives, the preposed and the postposed one, are both functionally and positionally attributive.

Fischer concedes that Haumann's position is elegant and economic but sees an important drawback in it: if it is accepted, the postposed strong adjective cannot be interpreted as predicative and is thus no longer in line with type (3). She admits that Haumann's proposal may explain why the *and*-adjective construction was later lost and was replaced by the prop-word *one*, but asks why the *and*-adjective, if it was attributive in nature, would have been used in OE in the first place. She concludes that the only explanation for the postponement of the *and*-adjective phrase must have been because it entailed a semantic/pragmatic difference. As a predicative adjective, the postposed adjectival phrase conveys new information, and is primarily triggered by discourse informational factors.

Section 3 contains an analysis of the postposed Adjective Phrase (AP), with an emphasis on the *and*-adjective construction. The discussion covers a large variety of syntactic variants and three types of Determiner Phrases where the identity between the two adjectives can be strict, ambiguous or sloppy. One interesting observation is that type (2a), the construction without determiner is a lot more common than type (2b), the *and*-determiner-adjective construction.

Post-OE developments receive a brief survey. One of them is the development of a proper determiner system in Middle English (ME), which made it possible to indicate whether the adjective conveyed new or old information. Another major issue is the rise of the prop-word *one*. Haumann sees it as a direct consequence of the loss of the empty nominal element *pro*. Fischer shows that this statement must be modified for two reasons: there are complexities in the diachronic spread of the prop-word in its different uses and, moreover, the uses of *one* and *pro* do not completely overlap.

Fischer's study is a carefully crafted piece of research which combines theoretical acumen with the opportunities provided by a corpus.
MK

Ans van Kemenade, "Rethinking the loss of verb second," in *The Oxford Handbook of the History of English*, ed. Terttu Nevalainen and Elizabeth Closs Traugott, (Oxford UP, 2012), 822–834. The present study addresses changes from topic-initial to subject initial syntax from Old English (OE) to the end of the Early Modern English (EModE) period. The bulk of the detailed discussion is dedicated to developments in Middle English and later. Two corpora have been made use of: the *Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Middle English* (version 2) and the *Penn–Helsinki Parsed Corpus of Early Modern English*.

The situation in OE is briefly outlined at the outset. OE had several types of V2 word order where the finite verb follows the first constituent in a main clause. The constituent can be a prepositional phrase, adverb and, syntactically, a subject or an object, etc. There are three contexts in which inversion of subject and finite verb is near-categorical. In the examples given, the first constituent is the interrogative adverb *hwy* 'why', the negator *ne* 'not', or the temporal adverb *þa* 'then'. There is another context where inversion is predominant when the subject is nominal (such as *God*) but rare when the subject is pronominal (such as *we*). All these types of V2 were lost in ME and EModE with the exception of the interrogative type *Whom did you see*? which survives when the verb is an auxiliary. The study continues with an examination of factors influencing V2 variation in ME. Attention is paid both to syntax and the information status of the subject. An examination of inversion with nominal subjects and three verb types—auxiliary, transitive/unergative or unaccusative—reveals that inversion declines during the ME period regardless of verb type but that the decline is most noticeable with transitive/unergative verbs when the first constituent is an adverb. Van Kemenade wraps up the discussion with a case study covering both ME and EModE. The context studied is adverb-initial clauses and focus of interest is on the rate of inversion of nominal subjects when we move from one type of finite verb to another.

The results are compared with those obtained from an examination of inversion with pronominal subjects. Roland Hinterhölzl and Ans van Kemenade, "The Interaction between syntax, information structure, and prosody in word order change," in the same volume, 803–821.

As the title of the study already spells out, the authors approach diachronic changes in word order from three angles: they argue that new insights into issues having to do with word order in Old High German (OHG) and Old English (OE) can be gained if, in addition to syntactic and prosodic features, also information structure is taken into account. The study is not corpus-based with the result that no quantification on the relative frequencies of different word order patterns is given. An observation concerning OHG is that it positionally distinguishes between presentational and contrastive focus. Presentationally focused constituents are placed post-verbally but contrastively focused constituents pre-verbally. In their discussion of mixed word order patterns in Germanic, the authors point out that both OE and OHG have a VO base but, in likeness with Present-Day English, they move arguments and predicates into the middle field. As regards interface conditions and word order change, Hinterhölzl and van Kemenade see both similarities and differences between OHG and OE: in both languages discourse-given elements are predominantly pre-verbal, while discourse-new ones are predominantly post-verbal. In OHG, precedence is given to information structure while, according to Taylor and Pintzuk (2012, reviewed in this section), OE places more weight on prosody. In both grammars, there is an important independent change: the grammaticalization of definite determiners.

In the section on word order variation in the left periphery, information structure is taken into account. The discussion focuses on main clauses introduced by a nonsubject constituent, which can be e.g. an adverb like OE *þa* 'then', a direct object or a form of the verb 'be', such as OE *wæs* or OHG *was*. There is far-reaching similarity here between the two languages. The authors maintain that word order variation in OE and OHG is to a large extent determined by discourse context. To take an example, V1 clauses, such as introduced by 'was' are used to mark the beginning of an episode. The study is wound up with sections dealing with subsequent word order changes in OHG and OE. The authors ask the question why, in spite of the far-reaching parallelism between OE and OHG, their later development was divergent and suggest reasons

that witness the intricate interaction of syntax, information structure and prosody.

Raymond Hickey, "Early English and the Celtic Hypothesis," in the same volume, pp. 497–507. Hickey surveys a number of Early English linguistic features for which Celtic influence has been suggested. The features discussed are (1) the rise of the internal possessor construction; (2) the twofold paradigm of *to be*; (3) the development of the progressive; (4) the origin of the periphrastic *do*; (5) The Northern Subject Rule; and (6) dental fricatives in the history of English. The "external possessor" construction is exemplified by "him *þæt* heafod wand forð on *ða* flore" (lit. "for him the head flew down on the floor"). This type of possessive construction is favoured in a number of mostly Indo-European languages in continental Europe. Why was it abandoned in English? Hickey points out that the replacement of the external type by an "internal possessor" construction ("his head flew down on the floor") is an areal feature. In the British Isles, English, Welsh, and Cornish have NP-internal possessors. (2) The twofold paradigm of *to be* has received a lot of attention. Unlike OE, West Germanic languages like German present a combination of the *b*- and non-*b* paradigms; it is only English where we have a complete double paradigm. Hickey draws a parallel between the two OE paradigms and Brythonic, where a similar double paradigm is found. The twofold system is attested from earliest recorded OE which suggests "that both *be* paradigms were entrenched in Old English from earlier transfer, probably by Celtic speakers shifting to the language of the invaders" (501). (3) The discussion of the development of the progressive in English focuses on possible Celtic influence. The OE type "ic wæs on huntunge" ("I was hunting") is rather easily converted into a fully developed progressive by deleting the preposition and shifting the gerund to nonfinite verb form. As Hickey points out, this fully developed progressive is not attested before the Middle English period. All Celtic languages have the progressive. As a prepositional locative structure it closely parallels the OE construction. (4) There are a number of explanations suggested for the rise of periphrastic *do* in English, ranging from language-internal origin supported by Latin or French models to Celtic influence. There are factors suggesting that Celtic languages do exert an influence on the rise of the English progressive: there are similar structures in Welsh, Cornish, and Irish. The textual evidence from the earliest stages is not, however, sufficient to establish Celtic origin for the English progressive with certainty. (5) There is similar uncertainty concerning the role of

early Celtic influence on the rise of the Northern Subject Rule. Hickey points out that a noncontact development is also possible. (6) The last feature studied is the retention of dental fricatives in English. As part of the Germanic Sound Shift, an earlier strongly aspirated **thin* becomes a voiceless dental fricative in early Germanic under certain clearly defined circumstances. This fricative is lost in Germanic languages with the exception of Gothic, Icelandic, and English. Its survival in English is particularly striking as the language has undergone profound phonological changes during its long history. Hickey offers an at least partial explanation for this survival: the existence of dental fricatives in Brythonic as a contributing factor.
MK

Phillip Wallage, "Negative inversion, negative concord and sentential negation in the history of English," *English Language and Linguistics* 16.1 (2012), 3–33. In this extensive article the author studies changing patterns of pronominal subject-verb inversion in early English. The discussion is based on corpus data ranging from Old English (OE) to Early Modern English. These changes are linked to a number of other changes such as the different stages of Jespersen's Cycle in Middle English (ME), changes in sentential scope negation, and the reinterpretation of the LF-interpretable negative marker *ne*, which is characteristic of OE, as an LF-uninterpretable in ME. The bulk of the study deals with periods of English later than OE, with a clear focus on the profound changes taking place in ME. Here I will only comment on a couple of results concerning OE. An interesting finding is that in OE the negative marker *ne* precedes a subject pronoun throughout the OE period, with percentages ranging from c. 68 percent to 65 percent in the three subperiods. In the first ME subperiod, 1150–1250 the corresponding percentage has dramatically dropped down to c. 26 percent and in the subperiod 1250–1350 to c. 7 percent In instances like Mt(WSCp) 27.12 "nan þing he ne andswarode" ("he did not give any answer"), translating Latin *nihil respondit*, there is no inversion as the clause-initial negative is in negative concord with *ne*. As *ne* is LF-interpretable the clause-initial negative *nan þing* is according to Wallage a concordant item with no negative force. The Latin source for this sentence not given in the article. *Nihil respondit*, where the negative element is clause-initial and has the same syntactic function as *nan þing*, raises the question whether Latin sources in general could be usefully consulted as comparative material in a study like the present one. The article is full of theoretical insights which, joined to the corpus evidence Wallage

has collected, make the discussion of the Middle English and Early Modern developments particularly interesting.
MK

Ilkka Mönkkönen, "Negators in Adverbial Phrases Indicating Time and Place in Old English Prose with Special Reference to Litotes," *NM* 113.4 (2012), 403–32. While studies of Old English negation typically focus on *ne*, Mönkkönen investigates other negators: *na, naht, nalles, næs* (Type I, negative adverb) and the prefix *un-* (Type II, negative affix). He studies diachronic, diatopic and genre-based variation of these negators in temporal and locative adverbial phrases in a corpus of 19 prose texts, comprising over 600,000 words, about one fifth of the whole *Dictionary of Old English Corpus*. Mönkkönen observes that of the 1,247 instances of the four negative adverbs, only 48 are found in adverbial phrases of time and place, and they occur in only eight of the texts, the majority in *Bede* and *GD(C)* (the phrases in these two texts and *GD(H)* are listed in the appendix). Moreover their distributions are very uneven: *na* occurs once and *næs* never in such phrases, and *nalles* is mainly Anglian. The negative prefix *un-* occurs 23 times in temporal and locative adverbial phrases, in text from all dialects. Diachronically the corpus is divided into early, pre-950, and late, 950–1150, texts. Both types of expressions occur already in the earlier texts, type I being more common there than in the later texts, mainly because of its frequency in *Bede* and *G(C)*. In terms of text types, categorized according to the prototypical text categories of the *Helsinki Corpus*, the phrases occur overwhelmingly in narrative texts, more specifically in translations from Latin. As such negated adverbial phrases were an established part of Latin rhetorical figures, as litotes, Mönkkönen concludes that their frequency in the translated texts suggests an awareness of their original stylistic value by the translators, though they cannot be considered as loans, because similar figures of speech were used in Germanic texts, especially poetry.
BMW

Cristina Suárez-Gómez, "Clause Linkage across Time and Genres in Early English: A Preliminary Approach to Relative Clauses," *SN* 84.2 (2012), 138–150. This article contributes to the study of diachronic development of syntactically complex constructions from parataxis via hypotaxis to embedding. Suárez-Gómez investigates the changes in relative clause constructions from late Old English (950–1050) to early Middle English (1150–1250) in a sample of 432 relative clauses from two genres (homilies and religious treatises) in the *Helsinki*

Corpus. The clauses in the sample are evaluated according to three variables. (1) The degree of embedding is determined by the syntactic level of the relative clause and categorized from high to low as extraposed (not embedded, as an apposition after the main clause, resuming the antecedent), as left-dislocated (not embedded, as detached together with the antecedent at the beginning, resuming it with a copy pronoun in the main clause), and as intraposed (embedded, the relative clause following the antecedent within the main clause). (2) The relative markers are divided into two categories according to their explicitness: the explicit relativizers include deictic pronouns agreeing in number and gender with the antecedent and specific conjunctions combining a deictic element and the universal subordinator *þe*, while the non-explicit markers include the universal subordinator *þe* in Old English and later the invariable *þat*. (3) The variable of style is defined according to the text type (genre) as identified in the *Helsinki Corpus* as religious treatise or homily. Suárez-Gómez finds a clear development towards increasing degree of embedding of the relative clause and decreasing explicitness of the relative marker, which tallies with the general evolution of complex constructions. Moreover, her results reveal differences between the texts of different types, most interestingly in the diachronic comparison where only religious treatises show significant differences between the time periods. Thus in addition to providing more evidence for the development of complex structures out of more simple ones, her study emphasizes the importance of considering text types in comparative studies. BMW

Susumu Hiyama, "Element Order in *The Blickling Homilies*: Part III," *Akita Prefectural University RECCS Bulletin* 13 (2012), 99–109. This article continues Hiyama's series describing patterns of element order in Old English texts with homilies VII, VIII and IX of the *Blickling Homilies*. The c. 600 declarative clauses are categorized into types. A = full independent clauses; B = independent clauses introduced by an adverbial; C = independent clauses introduced by co-ordinating conjunctions; and D = dependent clauses. Their elements are classified according to weight into light, medium and heavy. The article reports in great detail the frequencies of the different element order patterns and the weights of the elements in those patterns in the different clause types. BMW

Angelika Lutz, "Why is West-Saxon English Different from Old Saxon?" *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story with the assistance of Gaby Waxenberger (ACMRS, 2011), 113–38. Lutz notes that earlier studies found evidence of three sources for differences between Old Saxon and Old English: prehistoric dialectal differences in Continental Saxon, dialect mixing in West-Saxon, and dialect mixing in Old Saxon. Lutz looks for evidence of a fourth source, Insular Celtic speakers learning Saxon. As the first and most important piece of evidence for the structural influence of Celtic on Old English, Lutz points to the presence of two verbs "to be" in the present tense in Old English and Cymric as opposed to one in Old Saxon, Old High German, Old Norse, and Gothic. Referring to Keller (Wolfgang Keller, "Keltisches im englischen Verbum," *Anglia* 1 [1925], 55–66.) and Tolkien (J.R.R. Tolkien, "English and Welsh," in *Angles and Britons: O'Donnell Lectures*, ed. Nora K. Chadwick, Cardiff, 1963, 1–41), Lutz sees this feature as resulting from imperfect learning by substratum speakers. She notes that such direct language contact is further supported by the formal similarity of the b-forms in Celtic and Old English. As to the status of the feature, Lutz comments,

> Initially, the distinction between the two paradigms of 'to be' may have appeared as a Celticism of the lower classes to the Saxon élites, but by the time of the Old English textual sources, almost three centuries after the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, [it] was clearly no longer a feature of lower-class speech only, since it was used in prose of all kinds and even in poetry. (122)

A second piece of evidence for the structural influence of the Celtic substratum comes from the English progressive. Following Filppula (Markku Filppula, "More on the English progressive," *The Celtic Englishes III*, ed. Hildegard Tristram, Heidelberg, 2003, 150–168), Lutz lists the main arguments for a Celtic origin of the progressive: 1) grammatical features like the progressive are typical results of language shift; 2) the Celtic progressives antedate the English construction; 3) the progressive is more widely used in English varieties more strongly influenced by Celtic; 4) if Latin was the source of the English progressive, similar constructions ought to have developed in other Germanic languages. One complication for the Celtic hypothesis is the difference between the current progressive with the verbal noun and the Old English construction with the present participle. The Celtic construction uses the verbal noun, while the corresponding Latin construction uses the present participle. However, as earlier studies have found, the Old English construction also

appears in original texts independent of Latin models (see Ingerid Dal, "Zur Entstehung des englischen Partizipium Praesentis auf *-ing*," *Norsk Tidskift for Sprogvidenskap* 16 [1952], 5–116; and Gerhard Nickel, *Die Expanded Form im Altenglischen*, Neumünster, 1966). Lutz concludes that the Old English participial construction and the later construction with the verbal noun can be seen "as two alternative, or, rather, consecutive attempts at imitating the same Celtic construction type." (126).

Third, Lutz draws on lexical evidence presented by David Pelteret in his study *Slavery in Medieval England* (Woodbridge, 1995). The etymologies and uses of the words *wealh* 'slave' and *wiln* 'female slave' support the view that in early Anglo-Saxon England slaves tended to be of Celtic origin. Lutz suggests that slaves for the new ruling classes learned their language and brought into it features from their own language. Fourth, Lutz turns to historical and archaeological findings and considers place-name evidence (see Margaret Gelling, "Why aren't we speaking Welsh?" *Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History* 6 [1993], 51–56). According to Gelling, place-names support the view of large numbers of Germanic speakers settling in the Southern Lowlands, leading to co-existence with, and not replacement of the Celtic population. While Gelling sees the scarcity of Celtic loan words as a result of absence of any need for borrowings, Lutz takes it as a reflection of the unequal status of the two linguistic groups. As additional support for her view, Lutz refers to Ine's laws, where their inequality is legally defined. In such an unequal situation, the language chosen in interactions between the groups would be the superstratum language. As the fifth and final piece of evidence, Lutz refers to archeological research by Heinrich Härke, who explains the adoption of the Germanic language by the Celtic population as a case of acculturation (Härke, "Population replacement or acculturation? An archeological perspective on population and migration in Post-Roman Britain," *The Celtic Englisches III*, ed Hildegard Tristram, Heidelberg [2003], 13–28). Lutz ends on a critical note calling for greater attention to findings in comparative and contact linguistics when looking at the Celtic influence on English.
BMW

Kristin Killie, "Old English-Late British Language Contact and the English Progressive," in *Language Contact and Development around the North Sea*, ed. Merja Stenroos, Martti Mäkinen, and Inge Særheim (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), 119–140. As a foundation for

her discussion of Celtic inluence on English, Killie observes that archeological and genetic evidence disagree with earlier Germanist views according to which Celtic languages in Britain had little influence on early English. Though English had higher prestige, the greater number of speakers of Celtic languages and the long contact between the languages provided a favourable context for cross-linguistic influence on English. Another point to consider comes from findings in second language acquisition and language contact research, which strongly suggests that in borrowing, a similarity of function is more important a similarity of form. Thus in the development of the English progressive, the Late British verbal noun construction may have influenced the English participial construction, with which it had shared functions, rather than the construction of *be* + preposition + verbal noun, which is formally close. Such influence fits better in the chronology of contacts between the two linguistic groups. There are, however, complicating issues. As early data of Celtic languages and Old English are very scarce, it is not possible to prove contact influence. Moreover, because aspectual distinctions are highly varying in their developmental paths, it is impossible to say exactly what functions the Celtic constructions had before written records. The problems lead Killie to present a tentative conclusion that it is possible that the Late British verbal noun construction had some influence in the development of the English progressive, but this influence was not on the formally similar *be* + preposition + verbal noun construction, but on the functionally similar participial construction.

Marcelle Cole, "The Old English Origins of the Northern Subject Rule: Evidence from the *Lindisfarne* gloss to the Gospels of John and Mark," in the same volume, 141–68. While variation in present-indicative verb endings, called the Northern subject rule, is traditionally seen as emerging in early Middle English, in this article Cole argues for an earlier date on the basis of evidence from glosses. Cole starts the study of the glosses by comparing the uses of verb forms and subject types in the glosses to the southern patterns of reduced forms with pronoun subjects. She finds that there are some similarities, for example in the occurrences in subjunctives and interrogatives, but there are also clear differences in how the reduced forms are used in the glosses, where they may appear as alternative variants and also occur with third-person plural subjects. As to the origins of the reduced forms, Cole finds patterns in their uses that support the hypotheses of plural subjunctives, preterite-present verbs and preterite-indicative paradigms as the

sources for reduced present-indicative forms with pronoun subjects. Examining finally the cases of present indicative verb forms with *-s* and *-ð* endings with plural subjects in the glosses, Cole finds a preference for *-s* with pronoun subjects and especially with adjacent pronoun subjects and concludes that the distribution of the endings shows the existence in the tenth-century text of a pattern determined by the same factors as the Northern subject rule. Though the alternating endings are different from those affected by the Northern subject rule, Cole argues that the crucial point is in the similarities of the patterns, not the individual forms, and those similarities point to an earlier origin of the Northern subject rule. The earlier origins also lend support to the hypothesis of Celtic substratum influence dating from mid-seventh to late-eighth centuries. BMW

Teresa Fanego, "Motion Events in English: The Emergence and Diachrony of Manner Salience from Old English to Late Modern English," *Folia Linguistica Historica* 33 (2012), 29–85. In this article, Fanego tests Slobin's hypothesis about the emergence of manner salience. This hypothesis is based on Talmy's typology of lexicalization of motion events with two basic types: statellite-framed languages, like English, where the manner of motion is encoded in the main verb and the path in the optional satellite, and verb-framed languages, like French, where the path is encoded in the main verb and the manner in the satellite (see Leonard Talmy, *Toward a cognitive semantics*, MIT Press, 2000). The former type prefers manner-verbs, while the latter prefers path-verbs. Slobin has suggested a model of how one type of encoding may become the dominant one by being more accessible because of its frequency in the lexicon (Dan Slobin, "The many ways to search for a frog: Linguistic typology and the expression of motion events," in *Relating events in narrative*, vol. 2, ed. Sven Strömqvist & Ludo Verhoeven, Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004, 219–257). Fanego's focus in this study is on the sources of new manner-verbs and on factors influencing the formation of this part of English lexicon. Her data consist of intransitive manner verbs with animate agents as grammatical subject that depict a change in location of a figure (e.g. "I ran down the stairs"). She identified relevant items starting from previous studies of PDE and using dictionaries and thesauruses; and Old English verbs are listed in Table 2 and later ones in the appendices. Manner verbs were categorized according to period of entry, source language, and the manner component encoded in the verb, such as mode and velocity of movement. For Old English, Fanego found 71 verbs encoding manner of motion, of which "quite a few remained in use" in later periods and some still survive, either with unchanged meaning or in an extended sense. The largest groups in Old English are Mode verbs, such as *hoppian*, with 32 items, and Velocity verbs, such as *onettan*, with 25 items. 13 verbs include the course of motion in their meaning and two verbs express the vehicle. The Old English lexicon thus appears to have had a large component of this type of verbs in addition to general motion verbs. An interesting observation is that Old English allows for both constructions typical of satellite-framed languages and constructions preferred in verb-framed languages. Questions raised for further research concern the proportion of manner verbs in motion verbs and the frequencies in texts of different kinds of motion verbs as well as the different construction types. BMW

Works not seen:

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Weiskott, Eric. "A Semantic Replacement for Kaluza's Law in *Beowulf*." *ES* 93.8 (2012), 891–6.

4. Literature

Paul Acker, in "Death by Dragons," *Viking and Medieval Scandinavia* 8 (2012): 1–21, notes that Beowulf is "the most famous Geat ever to slay a dragon, and the most famous hero ever to be slain by one." He offers a thorough survey of the sources for depictions of dragons and those who fight them in Germanic languages and Latin, demonstrating the syncretic nature of the tradition and showing that Beowulf's dragon fits together with Fafnir among older serpentine dragons, rather than among the later fire-breathing ones.

Leslie K. Arnovick, in *Written Reliquaries: The Resonance of Orality in Medieval English Texts* (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2006), calls for scholars of literature and language to collaborate more closely and employs "a methodological conjunction of historical pragmatics and oral theory" to identify "traces of spoken performance" in a reconstructive effort to give "detailed accounts of underlying assumptions, traditions, and conventions" (215) on the basis of seven case studies that consider the performative potential of gibberish sections, prayers and the invocation of saints, and explicitly prescribed silences in Old English charms. The volume culminates with a discussion of the interplay between orality and literacy in selected narrative works of Chaucer. In the words of the author, "This book advances a key, an innovative methodology grounded in an interdisciplinary theory, to unlock the textual reliquary. The combining of historical-pragmatic and oral theories enables the modern reader to flesh out written words just as devotion fleshes out the bones of a saint" (1).

László Sándor Chardonnens, "The Old English Alphabet Prognostic as a Prototype for Mantic Alphabets," *ABäG* 69 (2012): 223–37. Chardonnens distinguishes the Old English alphabet in Ælfwine's prayer book from the tradition of mantic alphabets that appear later and have a definite divinatory function. The author concludes that the OE alphabet was likely based on a Latin source text and related to the parenetic acrostic tradition exemplified by the Durham alphabet. Standing between acrostics and the mantic tradition, the OE alphabet likely represents a kind of text that gives rise to the mantic alphabets of the twelfth to sixteenth centuries.

In *Scribit Mater: Mary and the Language Arts in the Literature of Medieval England* (Washington, DC: CUAP, 2012), Georgiana Donavin "focuses on the intellectual powers that, according to scripture and legend, Mary was able to cultivate because of her commitment to virginity, and particularly on her linguistic skills as they are characterized and appropriated in the literature of medieval England" (2). Donavin takes issue with presentist readings and with some "analyses confusing virginity and subordination with vacuity" (3). Ranging from the Advent Lyrics of the Exeter Book to *The Book of Margery Kempe* and taking careful account of changing contexts of time, place, class, and gender over the five centuries of literature she surveys, Donavin demonstrates that the Virgin Mary is depicted throughout the English literature of the Middle Ages as wise, rhetorically sophisticated, and powerful in her ability to guide and instruct. In the post-Conquest literature that commands the book's main interest, Mary becomes "headmistress of the trivium" and displaces the switch-wielding Grammatica as both intellectual and spiritual *alma mater*, nurturing young and old alike through formal literacy as well as through aural textuality. Donavin's argument is best summarized in her own words: "The ubiquitous portrayal of Mary as *Sapientia* in medieval English Literature launched a more specific characterization of the Virgin as learned interpreter of scripture, persuasive advocate before God's court, queen of the liberal arts. Mother of the Word, she contained the creative impulse in divine language and herself inherited copious means for inventing holy discourse" (295).

Michael D. C. Drout, "I am Large, I Contain Multitudes: The Medieval Author in Memetic Terms," in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, ed. Slavica Ranković with Ingvil Brügger Budal, Aidan Conti, Leidulf Melve, and Else Mundal (Toronto: PIMS, 2012), 30–51. Drout proposes a meme-based theory of

authorship that "allows for a unification of the insights of theories of Oral Traditional scholarship with those of post-modern author theory and the Romantic and common-sense notion of the author as a flesh-and-blood human being making specific decisions" (31) by considering a text as an arrangement of memes, on the model provided by Richard Dawkins, and describing tradition as the transferral and replication of memes in the terms of evolutionary biology. In this theory, the intuitively obvious existence of a human author with its own integrity is reconciled to the insights of poststructuralist critiques by identifying an individual author's mind as a unique combination of available memes, the only place in history where the combination that makes a particular poem is possible.

John Miles Foley, in "Why Performance Matters," in Beowulf *at Kalamazoo*, ed. Jana K. Schulman and Paul E. Szarmach (Kalamazoo: MIP, 2012), 235–52, explains his electronic edition of a 1935 recording of *The Wedding of Mustajbey's Son Becirbey* to illustrate how electronic media can be used to create a "re-performance" of a poem that is traditionally an event rather than a document; analysis of this performance leads to examination of "performance cue" formulae in Old English poetry and suggests the possibility of a similar kind of electronic performance-edition of *Beowulf*.

Stephen J. Harris, in "Happiness and the Psalms," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (UTP, 2012), 292–314, works from philosophical and theological tradition to theorize a medieval concept of happiness as beatitude, which is most concisely expressed in the phrase *beatus vir* in the first Psalm. Arguing that this beatitude is an objective fact from a medieval point of view and not a subjective experience like the satisfaction of appetite, Harris is able to explain how Judith is described as *eadig* 'happy' in the darkest moment of the poem. The philosophical approach of this argument adds a fresh turn to the study of historical emotion.

Evelien Hauwaerts, "The Middle English Versions of Saint Anselm of Canterbury's *Prayers and Meditations*," in *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, ed. Giles E. M. Gasper and Ian Logan (Toronto: PIMS, 2012), 258–75. Hauwaerts lays the groundwork for future scholarship on the reception and vernacular translation of St. Anselm's works by identifying significant textual variants and establishing their independence from one another as translations. This necessary work complements the kind of analysis found in Margaret

Healy-Varley's "Anselm's Afterlife and the Middle English *De custodia interioris hominis*" (239–57 in the same collection) in which Margaret Healy-Varley documents the insertion of Anselmian material into a vernacular translation of a pseudo-Anselmian text to re-evaluate his influence, challenging the notion that later medieval Christianity neglected or misrepresented his contributions and arguing instead that "his theology was fluid and adaptable when applied in pastoral contexts.... The pastoral Anselm was no less 'Anselmian' for having been adapted to lay use or translated into vernacular languages, but rather more so" (257).

Brandon W. Hawk, in "'Id est, crux Christi': Tracing the Old English Motif of the Celestial Rood," *ASE* 40 (2011): 43–73, identifies a complex doctrinal and associative matrix for the celestial cross featured in *The Dream of the Rood* and other Old English texts. Beginning with patristic exegesis of Matthew 24:30 and examining eschatological, liturgical, and literary tradition, Hawk argues against identifying any single source for the celestial cross of Judgment day, and instead for examining its participation in a richly allusive environment.

In *On the Aesthetics of Beowulf and Other Old English Poems* (UTP, 2010), John M. Hill gathers a range of essays with the project of observing "a variety of ways" in which the poems we most admire, given our orientations, bring beauty into our ken, qualitatively differing from lesser work." Beginning with the question "What is quality in art?" Hill surveys the philosophy of literary aesthetics, observing the long-standing tension between idealism, mechanism, and contextualism; from this he elaborates a view of the "aesthetic" that includes the range of approaches used by the contributors of the volume, and outlines a philosophical structure that accounts for different accounts of quality, truth, beauty, and pleasure, while aiming to avoid naive reduction. The volume is philosophically ambitious, and the essays range in approach from the mathematical in Robert Stevick's and John M. Hill's contributions to the psychoanalytic in Janet Thormann's, the liturgical in Sarah Laratt Keefer's, the cognitive in Tiffany Beechy's, the Boethian in Thomas E. Hart's, and the reader-responsive in Peggy Knapp's. Howell D. Chickering's interest in the ethical aesthetics of *Judith* shares some conceptual underpinnings with Michael C. Drout's meme-based understanding of authorship; Geoffrey Russom argues against restricting aesthetic standards for *Beowulf* to either oral or literate poetics, Yvette Kisor finds aesthetic value in the structural tensions of *Beowulf*, and

the volume concludes with an Auerbachian reading by Tom Shippey.

Christopher A. Jones, trans., *Old English Shorter Poems, Vol. 1: Religious and Didactic* (Cambridge, MA: HUP, 2012), provides a selection of less commonly anthologized poems with facing-page prose translations and commentary. In keeping with the pattern of Dumbarton Oaks editions, this volume makes its texts accessible to nonspecialist readers: the translations are idiomatic modern English, and the bibliography, notes, and commentary are selective and brief. The commentary orients the reader to the poems and the main questions that have occupied their critics, most notably the function of Old English religious poetry and questions about what traits allow these works to be defined as old, English, and poetic. This anthology takes aim at the distinction between poetry and prose in the introduction and includes an edition of Vercelli Homily XXI with the metrical sections printed as verse and titled, following Stanley, "The Judgment of the Damned." The chronological boundary of Old English verse is challenged by the inclusion of early Middle English poetry including "Godric's Hymn" and "A Lament for the English Church," and an edition of the so-called Old English Benedictine Office provides both grounds for considering Anglo-Saxon poetry a bilingual enterprise and a demonstrative problem in distinguishing among the devotional, liturgical, and didactic functions of Old English poetry. This provocatively selected and arranged anthology is scrupulously supported and restrained in its judgments, revealing rather than resolving worthwhile difficulties for a wide readership.

Kazumoto Karasawa, in "The Prose and the Verse Menologium in the Tradition of Elementary Computistical Education in late Anglo-Saxon England," *ABaG* 69 (2012): 119–43, re-evaluates these texts, which are usually regarded as independent, to argue that their shared computistical peculiarities indicate that "the verse *Menologium* can be seen as an advanced variant developed from the *Menologium* tradition" (143), which is rooted in the tenth-century Benedictine reform.

In *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook* (Exeter: UEP, 2011), Michael Livingston and a team of contributors assemble all the known written references to the Battle of Brunanburh in Latin, Welsh, Irish, Old Norse, and English prior to the mid-seventeenth century, in their original languages with facing-page translations and explanatory notes. The fifty-three medieval and early modern documents are followed by ten essays

on groups of sources, the history of the battle, the famous Old English poem, and the battle in the Victorian imagination. John C. Bollard's contribution, "The Welsh Sources Pertaining to the Battle," surveys Welsh texts of varied dates and genres, and provides contextual information ranging from the historical to the codicological to the political, assessing in each case the relevance of the source to our understanding of the Battle of Brunanburh.

Chris McCully and David Denison, in "Introduction to Part I" of *Analysing Older English*, ed. David Denison, Richardo Bermúdez-Otero, Chris McCully, and Emma Moore (CUP, 2012), outline an anthology of contributions concerned with the theoretical problems of making historical judgments about English on questions as diverse as the survival of old verse forms into Middle English, processes of onymization, and vowel changes in regional dialects.

In *Companion to Medieval English Literature* (Brooklyn: Conal & Gavin, 2009), Michael Murphy and James Clawson provide a useful reference comprising brief entries on over a hundred literary conventions that students of medieval literature, and especially English literature of the period, need to know, ranging from *Alexander* and *Alliteration* through *Dream Visions*, *Feasts and Fasts*, *Humors*, *Pilate*, and *Senex amans* to the *Wheel of Fortune* and *Wyrd*.

Elizabeth Okasha, "From Conception to Birth in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Listen O Isles, unto me*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork UP, 2011), 156–67, examines the notes on pregnancy and fetal development preserved on f.40v–41r of British Library MS Tiberius A III and argues on the basis of modern embryology and textual study that the notes reflect a largely rational approach to medicine influenced by church teaching but founded, within the limits of contemporary practice, on "observation both of pregnant women and of those who had miscarried, as well as on discussion with pregnant women" (167).

Scott T. Smith, in *Land and Book: Literature and Land Tenure in Anglo-Saxon England* (UTP, 2012), observes that "the energy of tenurial discourse in Anglo-Saxon England provided a locus for rhetorical intensification in both practical and imaginative writing" (230) and draws on both English and Latin material as he considers "the ways in which the language, form, and function of Anglo-Saxon diplomas play a vital role in forming and broadcasting cultural ideas about land in writing"

(235). Drawing on diplomatic documents in English and Latin, the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, homilies, and the poems *Deor* and *Guthlac A*, Smith blurs the boundaries that have separated the diplomatic from the literary and shows how the discourse of land possession and transfer contributes to cultural concepts of identity and status, and because it takes place within human, natural, and divine hierarchies, involves the subordination of people to powerful authorities and becomes intertwined with understandings of salvation.

Jun Terasawa, in *Old English Metre: An Introduction* (UTP, 2011), provides a concise introduction to Old English metre that rests mainly on Sievers and offers the insights of recent generations of scholars, observing alliterative and rhythmic theories and identifying their contributions to our understanding. This introductory book provides a concise overview of both Old English meter and the history of scholarship in the field, giving new students and established scholars alike a handy point of entry to this area of study. Each chapter ends with a bibliographic note that identifies seminal works and unresolved controversies; this strategy has the twin virtues of making the book concise and foregrounding bibliography.

Elaine Treharne, in *Living Through Conquest: The Politics of Early English, 1020–1220* (OUP, 2012), contests the traditional notion that the early centuries after the Norman conquest are a lacuna in English literary production while also troubling the traditional erasure of the earlier Scandinavian conquest of England. Treharne sets aside the modern critic's interest in originality as a stamp of literary value and turns her attention to the cultural functions of literary conservatism and even of literary silence. Cnut's use of English, in light of the triumphalist skaldic poetry performed at his court, is no evidence of his benign assimilation to English norms but rather a strategic power play, and the native adherence to West Saxon texts represents a counterclaim to cultural authority. This argument leads to a fresh assessment of the doggedly conservative literary work in the years between and after these conquests. Reasoning from modern understandings of how populations react to shared trauma, Treharne shows how the continuation of vernacular preaching, the maintenance of a Late West Saxon literary register, the copying and dissemination of hagiographic and other texts, and the use of English in ecclesiastical and political discourse demonstrate that "English in the post-Conquest period was employed as a living literary language for the writing of formal materials; it was usable, used, and intelligible to native speakers, excluding those whose languages might have been restricted to French and Latin" (148). Ultimately, Treharne builds a compelling case for rejecting the received wisdom that English became a folk-language until its eventual rehabilitation to literary status by a latter-day elite.
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In his study, "Old Saxon Influence on Old English Verse: Four New Cases," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 83–111, Thomas A. Bredehoft examines Old Saxon influence in four Old English poems: *The Dream of the Rood*, the verse *Solomon and Saturn*, *The Battle of Finnsburg*, and *The Metrical Preface to Wærferth's Translation of Gregory's Dialogues*. He identifies metrical features unusual in Old English poetry yet typical in Old Saxon verse. This is one of three studies in the collection that examine Old Saxon poetic influences in Old English poetry with regard to vocabulary, meter, syntax, and literary impulses.

In his article "The Lore of the Monstrous Races in the Developing Text of the Irish *Sex Aetates Mundi*," *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 63 (Summer 2012), 15–49, Michael Clarke examines information concerning the origin of monsters in portions of this Irish poem. Clarke contributes to the wealth of studies of monsters in Carolingian tradition by investigating Irish sources that are similar to the *Liber monstrorum* and *The Wonders of the East*. The recensions of two Irish sources, the Book of Ballymote and the Book of Lecan, correspond to certain passages in the Irish poem *Sex Aetates Mundi*. Clarke argues that these sources synthesize Irish lore and Latinate cosmosgraphy (17). Clarke further argues references to leprechauns in Irish lore are thematically akin to descriptions of eastern monsters from the international learned tradition. The author considers whether monster lore might be a precursor or later addition to the *Sex Aetates Mundi* text.

In the innovative study "Reading Old English Poems with Anglo-Saxon Eyes," *Studies in Medieval English Language and Literature* 27 (2012), 39–58, Daniel Donoghue considers eye movement during the process of reading with its "complex choreography between the eyes and the brain," as an integral part of manuscript layout and punctuation patterns (39). He states: "Anglo-Saxon scribes wrote out their poems not only with verse conventions in mind, but they intuited how the eyes move across a line of writing and adjusted the visual presentation of writing accordingly" (47). The

author applies theory of eye movement to punctuation and metrical patterns in Type A3 lines in *Guthlac A* to demonstrate correspondences between theory and manuscript presentation. Donoghue asserts that eye movement theory can shed light on scribal practices.

Mark Faulkner calls for a new set of criteria by which to evaluate the literary history of the long twelfth century in his article "Rewriting English Literary History 1042–1215," *Literature Compass* 9.4 (2012): 275–91. His approach counters the conventional standards by which English literary history has been evaluated—those of national identity, monolingual literacy, and production of original works. Instead, assessment standards should align with the norms that characterize literary production in this period, which were "regionalism, multiligualism, and the habitual recycling of older texts" (275). Further, he argues that this period should be imagined as one of continuity and innovation rather than one isolated from pre-Conquest England. This involved the coexistence of multiple languages: "Any future literary history will need to emphasise the ever-dynamic efforts of twelfth-century writers to define the English vernacular with and against other literary languages of a multilingual Britain" (276). Numerous Latin, French, and English glosses to important works attest to this fact. The author surveys the range of prose Christian works that recopied earlier medieval writing, primarily to adapt to the needs of the laity (278). The author then assesses regional works worthy of inclusion in a literary history, which have not yet been included in the twelfth-century canon.

Lori Garner investigates Anglo-Saxon imagination and creative process through analyses of oral poetry and architecture in her book *Structuring Spaces: Oral Poetics and Architecture in Early Medieval England*, Poetics of Orality and Literacy (Notre Dame: NDUP, 2011). Her premise is that "built landscape and contemporary verse were produced alongside and informed by many of the same social, political, and cultural factors" (11). Garner argues that poets and builders were influenced by the same "traditionally encoded motifs and images" (5). The creative process in each discipline merged plan with performance, capitalized upon patterns of repetition, and synthesized material from other cultures (4–5). Garner indicates that the scholarly discipline of vernacular architecture is a widely interdisciplinary field, incorporating such areas as folklore, sociology anthropology, material culture, women's studies, and social history. Citing Camille Wells, Garner further characterizes her approach as one that focuses less upon the

type of the building examined and more upon how one interprets its structure, which parallels the experience of reading poetry (9).

The organization of the chapters progresses from a review of the familiar associations between the hall of Heorot and the bond of kinsmen in *Beowulf* in Chapter 2 to progressively more theoretical examinations. Chapter 3 is a study of ways vernacular poetry incorporates imagery of foreign buildings into poetic phrases in such poems as *Daniel*, *Judith*, *Andreas*, and *Juliana*. Garner analyzes the range of meanings described in poetic phrases that recapture the imagery of building structures. Chapter 4 is a deeper investigation into the Christian meaning associated with metaphorically rich images associated with building, such as the cornerstone of Christ in *Christ I* and the imagery of the nest in *The Phoenix*. Chapter 5 presents examination of historical and personal memory imagined through architectural imagery, such as the architectural layers described in *The Ruin*. The last two chapters present analyses of the continuation and development of aesthetic practices in architecture and Old English poetry through post-Conquest England (19). The book contains several photographs of specific buildings and enlarged images of architectural details to exemplify Garner's perceptions and arguments throughout the book.

Scott Gwara argues that the term *giedd* signifies a native genre determined by its function in two subgenres, Christian literature and secular heroic poetry, in his article "Paradigmatic Wisdom and the Native Genre *giedd* in Old English," *Studi medievali* 3rd ser. 53.2 (2012): 783–851. In both subgenres, the term bears metaphorical meaning to prompt introspection and analysis. Its meaning is primarily analogical, made in reference to one's "future condition or circumstance" by pointing to a historical event, revealing a prophecy, or by concealing a deeper message within a text, such as a parable, riddle, or maxim (787–88). In Christian texts, such as parables, poetry, and the sermons of Ælfric and Wulfstan, forms of the verb *giddian* signify the ability to discern abstract levels of meaning and to prophesy, while its nominal forms signify scriptural truths (793–821). The term also illustrates virtuous behavior through examples that represent either moral perfection or corruption. In secular heroic poetry, such as *Deor*, *Widsith*, and *Beowulf*, the term highlights heroic exempla, historical illustrations of virtuous behavior to guide one in present circumstances.

In his chapter "Happiness and the Psalms," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox

and Manish Sharma (UTP, 2012), 292–314, Stephen Harris explores the pervasiveness of the Psalms in Anglo-Saxon poetry. The Psalms are expressed through image and verbal echo. Such echoes can be found in glosses and in poems of the Exeter Book, such as *The Whale* and the gnomic poetry. The intellectual tradition of Christian commentary on the Psalms influences the integration of the Psalms in Old English poetry, especially in terms of Augustine's writing on happiness (293). Harris focuses upon the Old English formula from the first Psalm, *eadig wer se* and its echo in vernacular poetry, especially the poem *Judith*. His examination yields a distinction between the term *eadig*, which signifies profound Christian joy attained through wisdom, and the synonyms *gefea* and *geblisse*. In contrast to *eadig*, these terms at times signify temporal, sensual joy and at other times convey spiritual meaning (309–11). Especially useful for readers is Harris's overview of the various ways the Psalms were expressed in Anglo-Saxon culture and the range of sources that contained them (293–300).

In her article "Poetic Attitudes and Adaptations in Late Old English Verse," *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 43 (2012): 74–92, Megan Hartman focuses upon conservative and innovative styles of late Old English verse. She notes that poems conservative in style, such as those which appear in *The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, adhere to the metrical standards of earlier Old English poetry. She compares the metrical contours of these poems to those reflecting a more innovative style, such as *The Battle of Maldon* and *Judgement Day II*. The purpose behind the artistry of innovative poetry differs from that of conservative poetry. Since poets are following different aesthetics, scholars should resist judging late Old English poems by the standards that govern the metrics of earlier poems. Instead, readers should consider how and why an individual poet adopts certain stylistic features (74).
In her analysis of style, Hartman focuses on the drop in the poetic line. Linguistic shifts, such as the lowering of stress and syntactic changes, affect the development and organization of the drop. For example, as function words increased to compensate for the loss of inflectional endings, the drop in the line expanded (91). Innovative poetic style, which reflects this shift, makes greater use of anacrusis and is freer with alliteration, relaxing the restrictive rules of earlier poetry (79–80). In contrast to the complexity in variation of earlier poetry, later poetry makes use of longer phrases and clauses (88–89). Hartman concludes that historical poems from the *Chronicle* and *The Battle of Maldon* reflect two different motivations. While the poet of the *Chronicle* is

preserving English memory through a conservative style, the *Maldon* poet may have been more concerned that the present-day audience understand the meaning of the poem (92).

Phillip Heath-Coleman reassesses the roots of Walter Map's late twelfth-century tale of Gado in his *De Nugis Curialium* in his article "A Tale of Wade: The Anglo-Saxon Origin Myth in an East Saxon Setting," *The Heroic Age* 15 (October 2012) [online]. He argues that the tale emerges from a pan-Germanic myth constructed of story elements common to many settlement myths. Of the various tales derived from the myth, Map's version of the tale is most closely associated with the East Saxon version of the English settlement myth popularized in the story of Hengist and Vortigern. In Map's tale, the hero Gado comes to the defense of King Offa when he is treacherously attacked by the Roman emperor after Offa married the emperor's daughter. Heath-Coleman examines several related Germanic narratives recorded in such works as the *Finnsburh Fragment*, the tale of Hengist and Vortigern in the *Historia Brittonum* and its later versions, and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Heath-Coleman isolates the major story elements in these narratives: the feast between two tribes, the treachery of the foreign lord, the kinsmen's defense of the stronghold with two entrances, and the feigned retreat of the besieged who fight victoriously against their attackers. A detailed appendix to the study presents thematic similarities among the network of Germanic tales.

The Old English version of Boethius's *Consolation of Philosophy* has undergone numerous transformations from its earliest presentations in manuscripts to its history in printed editions. The 2012 Dumbarton Oaks edition and translation by Susan Irvine and Malcolm Godden, *The Old English Boethius with Verse Prologues and Epilogues Associated with King Alfred* (Cambridge, MA: HUP), is a single volume that presents Old English text with facing-page translations. The edition reflects the spirit of the texts produced in the Dumbarton Oaks series—to produce a canonical work in an accessible format to reach a global audience. The text is presented in the prosimetrum form of London, British Library, Cotton MS Otho A.vi. Following the main text are related verse prologues and epilogues from the period. Irvine and Godden call attention to the significance of the metrical preface in *The Old English Boethius* by aligning it with similar texts that announce the importance of the books: the verse prologue to the Old English *Dialogues*, the verse prologue and the verse epilogue to the Old English *Pastoral Care*, and the verse

epilogue to the Old English *Bede*. These prologues and epilogues, a distinctive feature of Anglo-Saxon books, speak about the book to elevate its status as a physical object (xviii). This recent edition is based upon Godden and Irvine's landmark 2009 edition, which has revitalized scholarship of the Old English *Boethius* with its comprehensive critical apparatus, translation, glossary, and commentary.

Shigeyuki Kobayashi examines the syntactic characteristics of the poetry in the prosimetrum Old English *Boethius* in "Linguistic Comparison between Prose and Poetry in the Old English Version of Boethius' *De Consolatione Philosphiae*: A Preliminary Survey," *Journal of Seigakuin University* 24.2 (2012): 165–81. In the prose, the dominant pattern in main clauses is verb-second word order, in which the verb is the second element in the sentence. In the poetry, the verb is the first word in the metrical line.

In his chapter "'*Cyningas sigefæste þurh God*': Contributions from Anglo-Saxon England to Early Advocacy for Óláfr Haraldsson" in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (UTP, 2012), 266–91, Russell Poole examines poetry composed for the royal figure of Óláfr Haraldsson. The king was honored as a saint after his success in battle before his death in the early eleventh century. Poole argues that Haraldsson's court poet, Sigvatr Þórðarson, was influenced by Anglo-Saxon vernacular sources in his poem *Nesjavísur* (Verses [on the Battle] of the Headlands), which advocates for the king as a heroic imitator of Christ. Sigvatr's techniques reflect those of Anglo-Saxon writers who popularized militant secular leaders (267). In this investigation of Anglo-Saxon source texts, Poole compares the king to Judith, whom Ælfric recognizes as a holy figure in his *Lives of Saints*. Both royal warriors are featured as true worshippers who symbolize the Church Militant (283). Poole examines Ælfric's treatment of the theme of loyalty and verbal resonances associated with it in various homilies and other scriptural poems by Anglo-Saxon writers.

In "Idle Lustas," *ES* 93.5 (2012): 509–18, Eric G. Stanley examines the spiritual value of appetite in the Christian poetry of *The Wonder of Creation* and Cynewulf's *Christ B*. Prose works he analyzes are the Blickling Homilies and homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan. In a Christian context, appetite has a negative value, often drawing the Christian into the sins of excess. The abandonment of appetite inspires hope for the eternal realm in the Christian. By contrast, in the secular poem *Beowulf*, Hrothgar celebrates the feast as one of the fitting rewards for Beowulf after he slays Grendel. Overall, Stanley finds that appetite is not unholy unless it leads one to indulge in excess.

Margaret Tedford examines the significance of landscape imagery in *The Wife's Lament*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, *The Seafarer*, and *The Wanderer* in her article "*Eorðscræf*, *eglond* and *iscealdne Sæ*: Landscape, Literalism and Metaphor in Some Old English Elegies," *SELIM* 19 (2012): 111–41. In contrast to traditional scholarly approaches to the topic, the author argues for "a more complex interaction between the literal and figural aspects of landscape setting" (111). The author contends that previous scholarship misrepresents the relationship between the inner life of the elegiac speaker and the physical setting, either dismissing the relationship between the speaker and the setting altogether, or minimizing the significance of the landscape by reducing it to a mere projection of the speaker's feeling of loss. The imagery, Tedford argues, operates on both levels of meaning "through a complex melding of the physical and metaphorical where the exterior world and the interior mind are in dialogue" (136). The ways in which the literal representations of landscape imagery interact with its figural significance articulate a "gendered interiority" as female speakers experience entrapment while male speakers transcend their exilic state (115). For example, the female speaker in *The Wife's Lament* describes her physical surroundings in clear details that mark her enclosure to emphasize her profound imprisonment. The details that evoke a burial convey her belief that she is destined to die. While the cave reinforces her feeling of imprisonment, it is not a product of her sorrow (119). Concerning the speaker in *Wulf and Eadwacer*, Tedford finds that the physical setting of the island parallels the cave as a gendered space that reinforces the feelings of isolation and separation from her lover. Unlike the stasis of the female speakers who are bound by setting, male speakers experience transformation when the severity of the exile path inspires them to seek wisdom.

In his study "An Old English Formulaic System and Its Contexts in Cynewulf's Poetry," *ASE* 40 (2011): 151–74, Charles D. Wright examines poetic half-lines in Cynewulf's verse compositions with focus on his use of the formulaic system þuhr + demonstrative pronoun + adjective + *gesceap/gesceaft*. Wright finds that while the formulaic system itself is widely established in the tradition of metrical composition, Cynewulf uses it in seven different ways, which Wright terms as sets, each set indicating the unique context of the formula

(164–67). In his analysis of the consistency and significant features within each set, he states that Set 3 is most consistent in form and meaning, while Set 1 reveals a consistent pattern in which Cynewulf substitutes *gesceap* for *gesceaft*. This substitution is a defining characteristic of Cynewulf's poetic style.

In his study "Wisdom Literature in Early Ireland," *Studia Celtica* 46 (2012): 39–58, Christopher Guy Yocum examines the nature of wisdom literature in early Ireland and its relationship to Irish law. He organizes the study into three major threads in the tapestry of wisdom literature: 1) the universal truths and their adaptation to the unique qualities of Irish culture, 2) biblical/classical wisdom literature that Irish culture integrated into its own body of didactic literature, and 3) Irish wisdom literature in nature lyrics and riddles. Yocum points out that riddles have not yet been classified as wisdom literature because they are easily overlooked, hidden as they are in the margins of manuscripts and in brief passages in prose sagas. Even though they appear as ephemera, passages in wisdom literature interact with Irish law: "Both wisdom and law are primarily concerned with a smooth functioning society. While the law binds and enforces, wisdom provides instruction on the best way to live within the system" (56).

In her chapter "Circumscribing the Text: Views on Circumcision in Old English Literature" in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (UTP, 2012), 89–118, Samantha Zacher focuses upon Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward circumcision to explore the conflicted views Anglo-Saxons held toward Jewish ritual and practice. She exposes a range of attitudes that reveal a "series of representations, misunderstandings, and especially the omission on the subject of circumcision" found in vernacular glosses and poems (91). For example, one motivation suggested for Ælfric's omissions and warnings concerning circumcision is his fear that the laity will not understand its Christian meaning (101–2). Patristic texts transmitted teaching on the spiritual significance of circumcision to the Anglo-Saxons, who celebrated the feast day for the Circumcision of Christ on 1 January. However, Ælfric is the only scholar who writes about the topic in two texts, his *Homily on the Circumcision* and his Old English translation of the *Heptateuch*, which provide Zacher opportunity for further analysis of Ælfric's terms for circumcision.

In their collection *A Handbook of Anglo-Saxon Studies* (Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012), editors Jacqueline

Stodnick and Renée R. Trilling present essays that merge critical theory with a broad range of interdisciplinary fields. Each essay examines one theoretical approach and the history of its application to Anglo-Saxon studies. Each study provides an efficient overview of the application of the theoretical perspective to the Anglo-Saxon subject with assessment of the benefits and drawbacks at each stage of its growth. The following essays exemplify the intent of the collection.

Elaine Treharne's essay "Borders" (9–22) presents her examination of the notion of border from a postcolonial perspective. She examines the range of physical and metaphysical meanings in the term *mearcian* from several Old English poems. Her essay presents a guiding metaphor for the entire book. It complements at least three other studies in the volume: Catherine E. Karkov's study of postcolonialism (149–63), Stephen Harris's examination of race and ethnicity (16–79), and Andrew Scheil's study of spatial theory and the construction of identity (197–213).

In the essay "Writing" (281–94), E. J. Christie applies the postmodern theory of Jacques Derrida to St. Augustine's writing with analysis of Derrida's thoughts concerning theoretical problems of mystical writing. Christie applies the hermeneutics of writing to Anglo-Saxon metaphors of writing that signify the vestigial trace and elegiac loss. This essay complements R. M. Liuzza's "Literacy" (99–132), as both describe the coexistence of orality and literacy in Anglo-Saxon culture.

In her essay "Time" (215–34), Kathleen Davis explores the relationship between the modern periodization of Anglo-Saxon culture and the "critical analyses of temporality in Old English literature" (215). In her focus upon texts associated with King Alfred's educational reform program, she challenges the notion that Alfred's reflection upon lost libraries of the past merely indicates a "backward looking stasis" (216). Rather, the king's desire to rebuild libraries reveals his belief that reading and interpreting texts is a constant process of constructing individual and cultural identity (219).

Stacy Klein's essay "Gender" (39–54) first notes that there is no Anglo-Saxon term that corresponds to the umbrella term "gender." However, there are numerous terms to describe the various categories of gender connected to sociocultural roles and behaviors (39). Her study of *Judith* provides a wealth of terms that reveal Anglo-Saxon views of these categories. This study complements others in the collection: D. M. Hadley's study, "Masculinity" (115–32), on the construction of male identity through the "social resonance of swords" (115); Carol Braun Pasternack's essay "Sex and Sexuality" (181–96); Mary Louis Fellow's essay "Violence" (235–49); and

"Women" by Helene Scheck and Virginia Blanton (265–79).
KL

The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches: Proceedings of a Conference at the British Museum, ed. Michael J. Lewis, Gale R. Owen-Crocker, and Dan Terkla (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011). After a particularly exciting session at Kalamazoo, Shirley Ann Brown, Gale Owen-Crocker, Michael J. Lewis and Dan Terkla hatched the idea of organizing a conference devoted to the Bayeux Tapestry in London at the British Museum (1). The result was a number of new papers offering fresh views on the creation, history, materiality, personalities, and details of that famous object. A beautiful book, well-illustrated, and crammed with a multitude of voices (often dissenting with one another over such vexed issues as patronage and production), was the ultimate result. This reviewer will discuss the contributions that deal directly with the Anglo-Saxon past, reluctantly passing over such fascinating chapters as Shirley Ann Brown's, which discusses the Nazi appropriation of the Bayeux Tapestry's narrative.

Two new theories of the patronage and commission of the Tapestry are presented in this volume. Carola Wicks suggests Queen Edith had the Tapestry made at Wilton as a gift for William—she hedged her bets by commissioning both the *Vita Ædwardi Regis*, which eulogized the previous regime, and the Tapestry, which documents the seemingly inexorable rise of the new (7). George Beech argues instead that the work was commissioned by William as propaganda, and that the project was overseen and executed by Abbot William of St. Florent of Samur in the Loire valley (12). Both papers challenge the received wisdom that Bishop Odo of Bayeux and the Earl of Kent (William's brother) were ultimately responsible for the Tapestry. Elsewhere in the volume, however, contributors offer arguments that hinge on the idea that Odo commissioned the Tapestry. This lends a certain spice to the volume.

Pierre Bouet and François Neveux perform a close reading of scenes 25–31 and offer new insights on the Tapestry's message with regards to the succession question. These scenes depict events taking place in England after Harold visited Normandy and contains a well-known inversion of the narrative's sequence of events. Edward's funeral in scene 26 is presented before his death in scenes 27–28 (58). The Bayeux Tapestry "promotes the view that shortly before his death, Edward designated Harold as his legitimate successor; this was confirmed by the Witan; Harold was consecrated king by Archbishop Stigand in a valid way; his coronation did not please everyone" (61). What follows is a careful comparison of this version of events with other contemporary accounts (61–65). The authors conclude that the Tapestry's recognition of Harold suggests it was "conceived and designed before 1069" (65). Ann Williams explores the presentation of Earl Harold in the first sections of the Tapestry, which emphasizes his position in the social hierarchy as a wealthy man, a man of rank and standing (66). The earl stands close to the king; is surrounded by a mounted retinue; bestows food and drink in an upper chamber (*solor*, 67); and he owns many prestige objects and animals (68–69). Indeed, the Tapestry emphasizes his role as *dux anglorum*, "not just any earl, but the senior earl of the kingdom, the closest to the king and the highest in his counsel" (70). Contrast this with Jill Frederick's study of the symbolism of the animal borders in the "quicksand scene" which serves to characterize Harold Godwinson as a slippery figure, variously eel-like and wolf-like, and not to be trusted (121–126). Patricia Stephenson's short article argues that the mysterious Ælfgyva (figure 135) was Harold's sister, the abbess of Wilton (71). The Tapestry thus illustrates the miracle of her life wherein she was cured of blindness (72). The connections with Wilton abbey strengthen the thesis that the Tapestry was made in Wilton and commissioned by Edith (73).

David Spear argues against the conventional identification of the figure next to Duke William at the Battle of Hastings as Eustace of Boulogne (75). The pointing man who demonstrates William is still alive is rather Robert of Mortain, a view, he argues, more consistent with other written evidence and other scenes in the Tapestry (79). Hirokazu Tsurushima limns out the biographies of three named men in the Tapestry (Turold, Wadard, and Vital) generally thought to be Odo's vassals. The paper reflects and explores "aspects of the nature of a *miles* through the three knights depicted in the Tapestry" (81). Michael R. Davis elucidates the significant presence of the Tapestry's only named casualties of the Battle of Hastings, Leofwine and Gyrth, Harold's brothers (92). Davis argues that since Odo was imprisoned by his brother William for the last part of his reign, he included these loyal brothers from the previous regime to remind his brother of fraternal sacrifice and loyalty, a coded reminder to William that his own brother had been supporting him throughout his career (95).

Michael Lewis explores the influence of Oxford Bodley MS Junius 11 on the designer of the Tapestry. Close parallels between the art of Junius 11 and the

Tapestry include clothing (106), architecture (107-8), objects such as weapons and ships (108-9), and flora and fauna (109-110). Lewis concludes that "it is reasonable to deduce that Junius 11's imagery influenced the designer" (111). This argument could impact the discussion around the date of production for Junius 11. Carol Neuman de Vegvar discusses the "social discourse of difference" embodied by the diverging drinking equipment employed by Anglo-Saxons and Normans in the Tapestry (112). Anglo-Saxons use both drinking horn and hand cups, whereas Normans only use hand cups. Thus Anglo-Saxon's drinking habits were associated with "secularity and sin, while the Normans dine in the metaphoric presence of Christ" (119). Gale Owen-Crocker studies the different styles of faces in the Tapestry, which suggest different hands and artistic visions (96-104). The last paper, by Linda Neagley, brings forth a theory of the performance of the Bayeux Tapestry in its original contexts, detailing how it might have engaged its audience in the eleventh century. The Tapestry and other works from the period used architectural cues that asked the viewer "to reassemble the visual cues into a three-dimensional space that could be occupied" (139). Exit and entry points would have been exploited in "a lengthy performance of the narrative by an interlocutor or jongleur" (141). Like scenes or acts, actors and audience moved in a shared space as they moved "between real and fictive worlds," using the portals in the Tapestry as cues for the imagination. This is a fascinating theory with significance for all scholars of the literature and art of the period. In sum, this volume is a lively one, and shows that debates about the Bayeux Tapestry's purpose, patronage, and production are as lively and productive as ever.

E. J. Christie, "Writing in Water," Postmedieval 3.1 (2012), 27–45. E.J. Christie's thoughtful article explores the expression "writ in water" which has since antiquity expressed a "desire for unmediated knowledge" (27). Christie offers an ecocritical study of the symbolic valences of water for Anglo-Saxons, with an eye towards patristic and classical writers on the one hand, and our own evolving understanding of the ephemerality of writing in our age on the other. At the center of the allusive article, which relies on Foucauldian and Derridean readings of Plato's concepts of *hyle* and *selva*, lies a close reading of the memorable scene of the parting of the Red Sea in the Old English *Exodus*. If "cutting a path in water" provides us a "vision of writing that can be perceived by humans without being manifest in matter" (30), then the extraordinary events of the Exodus must speak to medieval fantasies of unmediated

knowledge of the divine. Anglo-Saxon thinkers and poets, in conversation with such luminaries as Alcuin of York, knew that even though writing was "the custodian of history," that writing was endangered by all the vicissitudes of life, death, and decay (31). Thus burgeon the fantasies abounding in mystical Old English prose that imagine enduring divine signs, such as Christ's and St. Michael's footprints (31). In Christie's words, "The Old English *Exodus* exemplifies the duality of the ocean as Ambrose depicts it: a medium of profound mystery and divine inscription on the one hand, and a chaotic undifferentiated darkness on the other. Such texts represent signs that are both eternal and ephemeral, media that yield both to inscription and erasure, and which might thereby bridge an impossible divide between matter and transcendent sign, or paradoxically suggest that inscription and erasure amount to the same thing" (43). This essay is useful to any scholars interested in *Exodus*, in exploring the ways Anglo-Saxons thought about the technology of writing, and ecocritics, among others. This reviewer especially appreciated Christie's nuanced reading of the slippage between the central metaphors of writing, ploughing, and sailing, which permeate Old English poetry.

Carli Nicole Conklin, *The Origins of the Pursuit of Happiness*, Washington University Jurisprudence Review 7.2 (2015), 195–262. This legal monograph puts the notion of the pursuit of happiness in its historical context. Far from being a "glittering generality" (199), a nebulous concept ill-defined and capable of multiple interpretations, the pursuit of happiness was seen by Jefferson and the other Founders as a concept with an important and substantive meaning upon which they all could agree (228). Jefferson and others were conversant with William Blackstone, author of *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, and Sir Edward Coke who both conceived of the idea of happiness as acting in accordance with God's natural law (195). Conklin identifies four key philosophical strands acting upon the Founders as they conceived of the pursuit of happiness. English law and legal theory, the classics of antiquity, the tenets of Christianity, and Newtonian science all converge in their conception of what it is to live a good and just (a happy) life; as Conklin notes, "The most fascinating thing about these four strands of thought is not where they diverge, but where they converge. If we remove the first mover in each strand of thought (nature for the Newtonian scientists; God for Christianity; God and the King for the English Common Law; and logos for the Stoics), all four strands of thought posit a world governed by laws of nature in which to live rightly or

virtuously is to live in accordance with that law. And, in each line of thought, to live in accordance with the law of nature is to be happy, as understood in the Greek sense of *eudaimonia*, translated to the English as flourishing or well-being" (252).

Blackstone, whose *Commentaries* influenced early American legal thought, was an advocate for teaching the history of English Common Law because it could be perfected over time if legal thinkers acted within the laws of God's nature (217–218). Both Blackstone and Coke saw the early Anglo-Saxon Christian kings—in particular Alfred the Great—as the founders of English Law, and Edward the Confessor as its restorer. Within this framework arose the near deification of Alfred as a Solomonic ruler who formulated the sovereign's (and his judges') duty as the pursuit of a knowledge that would help bring his kingdom closer to God's kingdom, through just identification and application of natural law—the pursuit of happiness. In Anglo-Saxon terms, according to Conklin, wisdom meant being "able to *know* what is true and right, and then to be able to *apply* that knowledge to its best (right or most fit) use," that is, being able to act upon this privileged knowledge to bring about a more perfect state for humans on earth (219). Alfred's insistence on his judges' literacy and his insistence on the leaders of the country working to perfect human law makes him, in Blackstone's eyes, the builder of a beautiful structure or house (English Law) that needed to be restored to its original noble state (220). Such was Blackstone's reverence for Alfred that he wrote a poem lionizing his role as the founder and tutelary genius of English Law: "See countless wheels distinctly tend / By various laws to one great end; / While mighty Alfred's piercing soul / Pervades, and regulates the whole" (cited on 256).

The composers of the Declaration of Independence were influenced by this vision of Alfred; "The Founders believed that ancient law and philosophy were expressed within the English Common Law and would be perfected by the new United States," writes Conklin (245). Moreover,

> The Founders also looked to English history for the story of their own origins. They revered King Alfred and his influence over what they believed to be a "golden age" of Saxon liberty. During the American Revolution, colonists upheld King Alfred as the symbol of the liberty for which they fought, going so far as to rename the leading American warship in Alfred's name. (247)

Jefferson, who was steeped in European and English law, even wanted portraits of the first Anglo-Saxon

kings on the Great Seal of the United States (247). Conklin is to be commended on her intricate weaving together of these four great philosophical threads that informed the foundation of American legal identity—her accounts of the influence of such classical authors as Cicero, of the Christian tradition, and Newtonian Physics are engaging, and this reviewer is grateful to have gained a better understanding of what was meant by "the pursuit of happiness."

Joshua Davies, "Re-Locating Anglo-Saxon England: Places of the Past in Basil Bunting's *Briggflatts* and Geoffrey Hill's *Mercian Hymns*" in *Locating the Middle Ages: The Spaces and Places of Medieval Culture*, ed. Julian Weiss and Sarah Salih (London: King's College London Centre for Late Antique and Medieval Studies, 2012), 199–211. This article, like its companion in this edited volume (see Chris Jones, below) explores the ways in which modern poets engage with landscapes, textual, and material remains that evoke the early medieval past, real or imagined (199). Davies' insightful study of the Northumbrian poet Basil Bunting's *Briggflatts* and Geoffrey Hill's *Mercian Hymns* offers us a close reading of these works that uncovers the poets' creation of community and continuity across time and space. For neither poet does this process involve a collapse of time—rather, both create a sense of dialogue with a present past through a "collapse of temporal boundaries" (200). Bunting's stonemason cuts easily obliterated names and death-dates into soft slate, then drives across the Northumbrian landscape whose past is interlaced with its present (202). Meanwhile the poem creates a "pastiche of the style of Old English Poetry," as in these lines:

> Who cares to remember a name cut in ice
> or be remembered?
> Wind writes in foam on the sea:
> Who sang, sea takes,
> brawn brine, bone grit
> Keener the kittiwake.
> Fells forget him.
> Fathoms dull the dale,
> gulfweed voices. (202–203)

Thus, as in Old English poetry, the human past is enveloped and obliterated by the natural world. In Geoffrey Hill's *Mercian Hymns*, the past (in the diffuse person of the Mercian King Offa) is in dialogue with the present. Offa's name is one "to conjure with" (204) and it echoes throughout the poem and across the landscape evoked by Hill in kitchen gardens, old quarries, primeval heathland, and nailshops. Hill's *Mercian Hymns* take their name from Henry Sweet's *Anglo-Saxon*

Reader, and riff on that selection, itself "a collection of Old English glosses on Latin psalms … not original compositions but interlinear glosses," and translations of a translation (the Vulgate) (206). There is no single authority in this textual tradition as identified by Hill which is appropriate since the poems are concerned with matters of justice, authority, and memory. "Hill is firm in his remembrance, clear that injustice must be contained within his history of England" (207). Thus, Hill's at times absurdist verses explore the links between childhood, labor history, and the notions of a "barbarous" past while refusing to "sanitise or ignore the violence" of England's past and present (205). As Davies concludes, "what all these works suggest is that the sense of place is perhaps best understood as a process, a dialogue between an individual or group and the space of time they occupy, initiated in a specific time, location or text" (208).

Chris Jones, "Recycling Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Richard Wilbur's 'Junk' and a Self Study," in the same volume, 213–25. Chris Jones offers a meditation on the ways in which poets have endeavored to "imagine and recreate" the sounds of Old English poetry in their work (213). He notes that the volumes that we see as housing precious fragments of the past (e.g. the *Exeter Book*) were once perceived as "junk" and repurposed as such. What does it mean, then, to revive and give voice to this flotsam of the past, including "waste materials" of older forms of the language in new poetry? After a brisk and enlightening survey of the many poets who have approached the sounds of Old English poetry in their own work from Scott to Longfellow to Tennyson to Pound (214), he offers a close reading of "Junk," by the midcentury poet Richard Wilbur, which adopts the "catchy" Old English alliterative line and begins a long meditation on the process of repurposing old things and the value of waste. Mimming, the infallible sword forged by Weland, could be expected to fare well in comparison to the modern "junk" Wilbur catalogues (paper plates, broken glass, "junk and gimcrack … jerrybuilt things") but the poem "subverts the expected narrative of corruption and degradation" and the idea that things were better "once upon a time," and instead "asks us to follow a pattern of making, breaking, recycling, and re-making" (217). Ultimately, by recycling this kind of poetry, Wilbur is protecting and conserving "a rather fragile and endangered eco-system of phonetic patterning in verse" (219). Jones then turns to a brief discussion of his own poetic choices in his ode to Anglo-Saxon junk, "A Song of the Ruthwell Cross." His is a return to the story begun in the *Dream of the Rood*; here, it is told from the voice of the cross

post-destruction by Church of Scotland iconoclasts in 1642. The cross tells its own story, "its journey to junk and salvage, its harrowing passage to the underworld and subsequent resurrection" (221). The author provides an exciting new perspective on the "value" of Old English poetry to current aesthetic endeavors, as well as a useful survey of modern repurposing of "wasted" Anglo-Saxon art.

"Kent and 1066 Country," *British Heritage* 33.5 (Nov 2012), 18–21. This short publication suggests a charming six-day itinerary to take in the historical attractions of Kent and Sussex. Medieval sites on the itinerary include Rochester Castle, Canterbury Cathedral, the ruins of Greyfriars Monastery, St. Augustine's Abbey, the cliffs of Dover, and Battle, where the battle of Hastings occurred. The itinerary ends in the resort town of Brighton.

Listen, O Isles, unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork UP, 2011) is a large and compendious volume of essays in honor of Dr. O'Reilly, who has been a unique voice in insular studies for over thirty years (xv–xx). This collection contains 25 papers on a wide variety of subjects (a testament to O'Reilly's influence on the broad field of early insular studies, in particular on religious contexts of manuscript production and early monasticism). Yet it is carefully organized under three broad categories: "Inheritance and Transmission" covers intertextual links between insular art and literature and classical and patristic ideas and literature; "Monasticism in the Age of Bede" explores cultural work done under the auspices of the (rough) contemporaries Adomnán and Bede; and "Exegesis and the Language of Pictures" investigates the interface between visual art of the sixth to the ninth centuries and religious iconography. The editors are to be commended on their successful efforts to corral a great diversity of contributions under these three headings. Anglo-Saxonists will find this affordable and beautiful volume useful in its dizzying array of subjects. This reviewer will not attempt to describe all 25 contributions, but rather mention a few particularly compelling efforts.

Of interest to many of us who wish to understand the insular cultural products of the 6th and 9th Centuries in their broader contexts is the first section, which puts Irish and Anglo-Saxon texts in conversation with continental and classical texts. Catherine Ware, for example, offers a comparative study of the cross-pollination of classical pagan and Christian concepts of

sacrifice, with a careful reading of Claudian's revision of the Proserpina myth, which shows that he is drawing on the Christian genre of martyr literature (16). Malgorzata Krasnodębska-D'Aughton traces some exegetical sources of *gemmarium* in Crakow MS 140, explores its placement and meaning in the structure of the MS, and shows how it was used by thinkers like Bede in complex symbolic configurations (47–59). A particularly interesting critical conversation emerges between Diarmuid Scully, who rethinks the way we approach the geographical understanding of Britain in ancient times, and Damien Bracken. Scully notes that far from being a small island of little consequence, it was in fact believed to be the largest island in the world, and a target of Roman power—Julius Caesar in particular was fixated on achieving victory over Ocean (4). This topos was then used in accounts of the conversion of the Britons. In his revisiting of Ermenrich of Ellwangen's *Life of St. Gall* and Adomnán's *Life of St. Columba*, Damien Bracken discusses the geographical conception of Britain as the westernmost island, far outside the *oikōmenē*. The symbolic power of the image of the sun moving from east to west became a justification of the conversion of "savage" Britons (79–85).

In the second section, new readings of the work of Bede and his contemporaries abound. Arthur Holder discusses Bede's role as a heresiologist (105–114) while Scott DeGregorio offers a reading of the figure of Ezra in Bede's personal mythology and in the *Codex Amiatinus*—as an editor and man of the cloth, Ezra became an ideal role model for the work done at Wearmouth-Jarrow (125). Alan Thacker revisits Bede's martyrology and argues that he was "establishing a new genre" by "adding new entries to contemporary enumerative martyrologies and correcting and improving existing ones" (140). Brian Butler and Máire Herbert both explore aspects of the legacy of Gregory the Great during this period. Butler shows how the Whitby *Vita Gregorii* depicts the saint as a medical doctor (168–180), while Herbert identifies the many facets of Ireland's reception of his writings and legend in the pre-Viking era (181–190). His writings were known in Ireland from the 630s on, but he became an important part of Irish self-identity when homily traditions showed him to be Irish himself, at least in death, since his coffin floated ashore in the Aran Islands (188).

The third section is a rich art-historical smorgasbord. Carole Neuman de Vegvar explores the prestige and significance of eighth- and ninth-century portrait sculptures of secular magnates (219–229); Jane Hawkes looks at images of the road to Hell, and of Hell and damnation, in Anglo-Saxon sculpture of

the eighth and ninth centuries (230–242). Richard N. Bailey discusses the correspondences between Psalm 90 (*Qui habitat*), the Old Latin *Canticle of Habakkuk* ("in medio duorum animalium …") and the Ruthwell Cross' image of a man between two animals (243–252). Heather Pulliam offers a comparison of Christological and Marian images in the Corbie Psalter and the Ruthwell Cross (253–262); Michelle P. Brown offers a survey of the iconography of the beard in insular and Anglo-Saxon art (278–290). In short, this collection is worthy of a place on anyone's bookshelf, thanks to its rich and diverse offerings.

"Publications of G. R. J. Jones," in *Britons, Saxons, and Scandinavians: The Historical Geography of Glanville R. J. Jones*, ed. Paul S. Barnwell and Brian Roberts (Turnhout: Brepols, 2011), 3–8. This is one of those excellent volumes that not only collects and organizes the scattered papers of a senior scholar for republication but also offers a thorough and very helpful analysis of that scholar's entire contribution, contextualizing each major paper within the conversation of its time and also showing how that work might have been misunderstood in its moment, and due for a revisit. Moreover, this work of retrospectively bringing together articles produced over a lifetime of scholarly engagement produces a satisfying narrative arc. This reviewer especially appreciated the thorough (102-page) exploration of Glanville R. J. Jones' influential and controversial theory of the multiple estate. "The Multiple Estate of Glanville Jones: Epitome, Critique and Context" by the editors takes us from the beginning of Jones' thinking on this subject, all the way to the questions he was fielding at conferences before he died (26–128). In short, Jones came to believe that "generalizations about 'early' estate structures were possible" by using the "multiple estates" model (26). Richard Fletcher's succinct definition of this concept is as follows: "A multiple estate may be defined as a unit of agrarian exploitation organized round a central settlement to which the inhabitants of the outlying subsidiary settlements, sometimes a considerable distance away, are required to render goods and service, and at which they must attend to observe legal and administrative routines" (cited on 25 and 38). While Jones' thinking on this subject gained in complexity and scope throughout his career, and expanded from northern Wales to large sections of the British Isles, this basic theory remained foundational to his thinking. The authors of this helpful synopsis of Jones' career do not omit the criticisms that were aimed at Jones' work by other historical geographers; an enlightening section entitled "Maturity and Criticism

1980–2000" both presents these criticisms with an eye to fairness, and attempts clarification of Jones' position on matters under dispute such as the purported circularity of Jones' argument (51–59). The result is a very helpful orientation to some of the central concerns of the field.

The book is in two parts. The first contains a list of Jones' complete publications, a brief biography by J.B. Smith, and then the aforementioned review of Jones' career. The second contains select papers written by Jones that span his career, and which will be of great interest not only to historical geographers, but also to archaeologists, landscape historians, and many others interested in the history of early medieval settlement in the British Isles. Not only are these papers representative of Jones' finest work, they also are in conversation with one another. Though Jones never wrote a book, it seems that he thought of each article as building on the previous ones, and thus left some things unsaid (or unsupported) in newer publications, under the assumption that his audience might be familiar with his previous efforts. This seems to have lead to some misunderstanding in his field, and seeing these articles together in one place (many are now quite difficult to find in their original form) shows that Jones' grand theory is just that. Junior scholars who might have heard Jones' work and ideas dismissed should be able to return to this volume and think for themselves. Anglo-Saxonists will be particularly interested in "The multiple Estate as a Model Framework for Tracing Early Stags in the Evolution of Rural Settlement" (143–154), "Nucleal Settlement and its Tenurial Relationships: Some Morphological Implications (211–228). "Early Territorial Organization in Northern England and its Bearing on the Scandinavian Settlement" (283–304), "Multiple Estates and Early Settlement" (331–372), and "The Portrayal of Land Settlement in Domesday Book" (373–395). These titles speak for themselves; here is a wealth of material, the product of a singular mind over a productive and influential career.

Jordi Sánchez Martí, "Patronazgo literario en la Inglaterra medieval (ss. VII–XIV): Una visión panorámica," *Cuadernos del CEMYR* 20 (2012), 93–112. Jordi Sánchez Martí offers a bracing survey in broad strokes of the development of the processes of literary patronage in medieval England, from the Anglo-Saxon period to the end of the fourteenth century. This article is presumably aimed at non-specialists, perhaps literary scholars working in adjacent fields who would like to grasp some of the complexities of insular literary patronage structures. After a discussion of the roles of *scops* and *gleomen*,

which Sánchez Martí reads (in part due to his reading of *OED* definitions) as two different types of poet (*scop* being a Cædmon-type whose existence is bound in a relatively constant setting, *gleoman* something like the speaker in *Deor* or *Widsið*, subject to constant peregrinations) (99), he turns to a discussion of the development of patronage systems after the Conquest. Though he draws a line in the sand between an older form of literary patronage before 1066 and the kinds of court productions sponsored by famous elites (such as Eleanor of Aquitaine) in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (103), he notes that literary production remains an elite project, supported by elite patrons, even when we see the explosion of vernacular literature in the fourteenth century.

English Historical Linguistics 2008: Selected Papers from the Fifteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, ed. Hans Sauer and Gaby Waxenberger, with the assistance of Veronika Traidl, (Amsterdam: John Benjamins, 2012). Old English is on the mind of many of the contributors who wrote essays for this collection of essays. It grew from the Fifteenth International Conference on English Historical Linguistics, with a focus on "the growth of the vocabulary and on some characteristics of historical text types" ("Editors' Introduction," xi). It is therefore wide-ranging in its scope, though the editors have brought disparate contributions together under the classifications of etymology, semantic fields, and word-formation. This reviewer will discuss in brief the essays that engage substantively with Old English. In the first third of the volume, focusing on etymology, Philip Durkin offers us a window into the world of an editor of a historical dictionary, and shows us the state of that field through a few well-chosen test cases. Advances in big data have helped us advance etymological study, but what we call a "word" in a dictionary such as the OED is actually a very "complex entity, showing considerable variation in both form and meaning" (4). Words can vary diachronically and diatopically, as this enlightening tour of the kinds of insights and problems afforded by work on the new edition teaches us. Paul S. Cohen offers an amusing short etymology of the related words (*wank*, *swanky*, *wonky*), worth checking out for its insights on the semantic fields related to male masturbation (*wang*, *wank*, *yank*, *wong*, *whack*, and *wonk*) (21–27) and their historical usage in Germanic languages.

In the second section on "Semantic Fields," Mieko Ogura and William S-Y. Wang perform a quantitative survey of more than 18,000 Old English nouns and 7,000 verbs found in the *Thesaurus of Old English*. They

argue that the earliest form of the language would have been monosemous, having no metaphors and no "small-world semantic networks" (66). This is looking at the development of the Old English lexicon in terms of evolution (68), building on the idea that the oldest forms of human language had "in their semantics: no metaphors; no polysemy; no abstract nouns; fewer subjective meanings; less lexical differentiation; fewer hyponyms and superordinate terms" (68). Carole Hough offers a study of the linked Old English semantic fields of repayment and revenge. She refers to the Anglo-Saxon law codes, noting that compensation for injury is common to developing legal systems—such injury tariffs "establish direct correspondences between the semantic fields of repayment and revenge" (91). These are metonymic concepts (92), and in terms of the sense development, revenge was a concrete concept, and repayment was an abstract one, not the reverse, which had been assumed previously (92–3).

In the word-formation section of the volume, Anne-Christine Gardner examines Old English words in the *Helsinki Corpus* that became suffixes (such as *-dōm*, *-nes*, *-ræden*, *-scipe*, etc.) and concludes that religious prose tends to be more conservative when using these suffixes than non-fiction and secular prose (119–132). Penelope Thompson analyses adjectives that are formed with the suffix *-ig* (such as *hefig > heavy*) and explores the phonological processes (syncope or the lack thereof) that affect the *-i-* in the inflected forms of these adjectives (133–146). In conclusion, this volume is useful to those interested in new developments in English Etymology and Historical Linguistics. It is theoretically rich and full of lots of fascinating case studies.

Larry Swain, "Past, Present, and Future of Digital Medievalism," *Literature Compass* 9.12 (2012), 923–932. This is a polemical essay aimed at all medievalists, researchers and teachers alike. Swain offers a biographical self-portrait that reviews the past fifty rears of digital medievalism and projects some possible futures for the discipline. Swain was an early adopter of usenet and telnet in the 70's, listserv software in the 80's (ANSAX's listerv was established, Swain notes, around 1987) (924). He was also present for and involved in the beginnings of the great archives and databases on which we all rely every day. He has witnessed the two great sea changes in the field—the democratization of access to things like MSS and archives, and "the explosion of tools to apply in research in teaching" (928). He thus offers (from the perspective of an early adopter, developer, and champion of its unique affordances) his criticism

of what he perceives as a lack of innovation in digital medievalism. Swain argues that little in our pedagogies and publications has changed in the past 50 years. In terms of publishing, new journals that focus on digital concerns are not all open digital access. Most online open access journals fail to offer innovative interfaces (such as embedded video, sound, and images), instead falling back on emulations of the printed page, with all its limitations. The exigencies of promotion and tenure make it difficult for researchers to take chances on newer forms of publication (digital or online publication, podcast, vlogs, etc.) Journals should be more up-to-date with current standards of internet design—humanities scholars (rightly) seem to fear deviation from an online format that emulates print. In terms of pedagogies, while we have embraced new technologies and databases in our teaching, Swain argues that most of these changes are at best superficial. Twitter replaces discussion notes, PowerPoint is a newer form of slide—in other words, we have new media, but we still use the same pedagogical techniques we ourselves were taught. As Swain says, "The pedagogy is more technologically advanced, but it is immaterial whether one is illustrating a lecture with a picture from a book or a power-point slide: it remains an illustration in a static relationship with the intended audience" (928).

Swain offers some suggestions for improvement as we continue to adapt to this brave new world. More collaboration and sharing of ideas between researcher in early stages of projects, using the digital tools that allow us to communicate with one another in a nearly seamless way could open up the field and make us all better, more sharing, and progressive scholars. Swain argues that such a change in our approach would result in less "hackle-raising" over perceived competition, earlier contact on related work, and thus better results (929). In order to facilitate this work, however, more opensource online journals are needed. Finally, peer review needs to take into account more kinds of publishing—podcasts, videos, movies, PowerPoints, etc. In terms of education, "we have wikis and discussion boards that [could facilitate] … simultaneous related discussions that go far beyond the on-ground class. Depending on the topic, the opportunity to expose both a wider audience to our teaching and to expose our students to more perspectives and experiences than we can in a traditional on ground class should not be missed. Education, and the importance of actual education and its value in this present world, trumps our petty territorialism. The electronic environment allows us, invites us to bring the world to our doorstep and our students" (931–2). This is a valuable essay, still

apropos of the current moment though published in 2012. Shall we change already?
SHH

Works Not Seen

Bearden, Logan. "Historicizing Multimodality: Medieval Meaning-Making in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch." Unpublished master's thesis, Florida State Univ., 2012.

Beech, George T., with foreword by Theodore Evergates. Solving Some Enigmas of the Middle Ages: The Historian as a Detective. Lewiston: Edwin Mellen Press, 2011.

Bolintineanu, Ioana Alexandra. "Towards A Poetics of Marvellous Spaces in Old and Middle English Narrative." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 2012.

Bolton, William E. "Early Medieval English Saints' Lives and the Law." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Arizona State Univ., 2012.

Brady, Lindy. "Mutable Boundaries in the Medieval Literatures of the British Isles." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Connecticut, 2012.

Butler, Emily Elisabeth. "Textual Community and Linguistic Distance in Early England." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 2012.

Cavell, Megan. "Representations of Weaving and Binding in Old English Poetry." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Cambridge, 2012.

Coogle, Diana. "As the Anglo-Saxon Sees the World: Meditations on Old English Poetry." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Oregon, 2012.

Iliescu, Maria. "À la recherche des universaux de contact: Anglo-Saxon et normand vs roumain et slave." Present and Future Research in Anglo-Norman: Aberystwyth Colloquium, July 2011 / La recherche actuelle et future sur l'anglo-normand: Colloque d'Aberystwyth, juillet 2011. Ed David Trotter. Aberystwyth: The Anglo-Norman Hub, 2012. Pp. 61–7.

Kelly, Richard J. "Anglo-Saxon Writers and Latin Sources." *Proceedings of the 84th General Meeting of the English Literary Society of Japan: 26–27 May 2012.* Tokyo: English Literary Society of Japan, 2012. Pp. 104–5.

Langeslag, Paul Sander. "Seasonal Setting and the Human Domain in Early English and Early Scandinavian Literature." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 2012.

Riviello, Carla. "'*to gesippe sorge ond longap, wintercearig, ùhtceare*': la concreta sicità del dolore nelle elegie anglosassoni." *AION–Sezione Germanica* 22 (2012): 173–205.

Roberts, Jane, and Leslie Webster, eds. Anglo-Saxon Traces. MRTS 405, Essays in Anglo-Saxon Studies 4. Tempe, AZ: ACMRS, 2011.

Tutt, Thomas Austin. "The Destroyer of Souls: The Rhetoric of Fear in Old English Literature." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Texas at Arlington, 2012.

Weber, Benjamin Daniel. "*On gewritum cythath*: Models of Translation in Anglo-Saxon England." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Cornell Univ., 2012.

Whightsel, Oren Aytch, III. "Hearing the Voice First, Later the Name: Queer(ed) Poetics, The Rhetorics of Failure, and the Reparative Practices of Feminism(s)." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Illinois State Univ., 2012.

White, William Roy. "A Discourse of Exile: Representations of Restored Royal Exiles in Anglo-Saxon England." Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of York, 2012.

b. Individual Poems

[No reviews submitted. —Ed.]

c. Beowulf

Philological and Linguistic Work:

Alfred Bammesberger published three short notes, each presenting an attractive solution to a *Beowulf* crux: "Beowulf's Last Fight" (Beowulf, 2702B–2705), *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen* 113.2 (2012): 165–67; "The Last Line of Beowulf," *Notes and Queries* 59.4 (2012): 463–65; and "The Manuscript Reading at *Beowulf*, line 1278b," *Notes and Queries* 59.1 (2012): 2–5. Similarly, Bengt Lindström's "Beowulfiana Minora," *Notes and Queries* 59:3 (2012): 309–10, offers solutions to the problematic readings of lines 224a, 767b and 769a, and 3074a–3075b. Eric Weiskott's "Making *Beowulf* Scream: Exclamation and the Punction of Old English Poetry," *JEGP* 111.1 (2012): 25–41, gives a detailed history of the use of exclamation marks in editions of *Beowulf* and a history of the use of exclamation marks in English before making a case for preserving scribal punctuation. Similarly, J. R. Hall's "The Sword Hrunting in Beowulf: Unlocking the Word *hord*," *SP* 109.1 (2012): 1–18, offers a history of the editorial treatment of *Beowulf* line 1520b and makes

a detailed literary case for preserving the manuscript reading. Finally, there is Yasuko Suzuki's monumental three-part study of Kuhn's Law, "Towards a Linguistic Interpretation of Kuhn's Laws: With Special Reference to Old English *Beowulf*" in the *Journal of Inquiry and Research*, vols. 95–97. These consider clitics and Kuhn's Law in detail, before turning to violations of the Law in *Beowulf*. The study highlights several issues with the Law but ultimately concludes that the Law is more productively understood in linguistic rather than metrical terms.

Literary Work:

Jeffrey Jerome Cohen's "Postscript: The Promise of Monsters," in *The Ashgate Research Companion to Monsters and the Monstrous* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), 449–64, considers the social creation and function of monsters, first from a personal experience, then within a Derridean framework, which he applies to understanding Grendel through modern monsters like Frankenstein's monster and modern 'adaptations' of Grendel from Zemeckis to Heaney. E. L. Risden's "A Corporate Neo-Beowulf: Ready or Not, Here We Come," in *Corporate Medievalism*, ed. Karl Fugelso (Woodbridge: Boydell & Brewer), 49–56, considers the film "No Such Thing" as an intriguing modern adaptation of *Beowulf*. Gainsford and North and Worthington, on the other hand, both offer readings which take a more folkloristic approach, comparing *Beowulf* to ancient epics with which it has no intertext. Starting from W. P. Ker's famous criticism of *Beowulf* as inferior to the *Odyssey*, Gainsford focuses on the difference between the two epics, especially in terms of their attitudes to the death of the hero and the construction of the future. North and Worthington suggest that their paper will be of more interest to Assyriologists than medievalists and so the paper is quite broad. Perhaps most interestingly, they make a case for the usefulness of 'influence-free' comparative literary research. John Niles's "On the Danish Origins of the *Beowulf* Story" is a discursive and, as he acknowledges, speculative piece revisiting the Danish connections in *Beowulf*, using the discovery of the second great hall at Lejre as a starting point. Thomas D. Hill's "Hæthcyn, Herebeald, and Archery's Laws: *Beowulf* and the *Leges Henrici Primi*" offers a reinterpretation of clause 88,6b and suggests that it may be a previously unrecognised analogue for the Hæthcyn and Herebeald episode in *Beowulf*. The piece also considers the wider significance of fratricide and unavengeable deaths in early medieval England. Finally, we come to Leneghan's "Reshaping Tradition: The Originality of the Scyld Scefing Episode in *Beowulf*." As the articles by Niles and Hill demonstrate, there has always been great interest in the reuse of well-known traditional material, however, Leneghan considers the corresponding phenomenon: the invention of new elements as a central aspect of how the poet reuses traditional material so that it speaks to new ideas. ES

d. Prose

Alfredian Translations

In "Gregory the Great: Reader, Writer and Read," *Studies in Church History* 48 (2012): 12–34, Daniel Anlezark sets out to survey Gregory's writings for his thoughts on literature and society, but only insofar as these influenced "one particular medieval nation, Anglo-Saxon England" (13). Aspects of this delimitation may appear problematic given the current climate in the field, but perhaps it is best to see the dissonance as useful, as productive of reflection. The best part of the essay is its detailed, human account of Gregory's background, career, and writings, including its useful survey of the state of Rome in the sixth century. Ultimately, however, Anlezark invests himself in constructing what seems to this reader a tortured parallel between Gregory the Great and Alfred the Great, whom Anlezark touts as Gregory's "ideal reader" (34). Anlezark sees Gregory as the key to Alfred achieving something like work-life balance; both figures had leadership responsibilities while longing for Christian learning, and Gregory's writings, particularly the *Cura pastoralis*, offered guidance in precisely this area. Both men saw the vanity of earthly glory and accepted the need for good Christian governance grounded in Christian reading. Gregory sent missionaries to Britain, and Alfred converted Vikings. Alfred suffered from chronic illness, as did Gregory. Evidence of Gregory's special importance to Alfred can be found in the fact that Gregory is the only author translated closely rather than loosely by the Alfredian translators. The edifice constructed by these coreflections is perhaps out of step with the times: Gregory is a nobly suffering church bureaucrat who longs to retreat to his study, and Alfred is a reluctantly "Great" secular leader, restorer of glory to England, who similarly longs for peace and freedom from worldly cares. The latter gleans wisdom from the

former. Nowhere are the hagiographic or self-authored accounts of either figure's attitudes regarded as possible topoi. This is a work that takes traditional accounts of the period at their word.
TB

The work of Irvine and Godden, which was published after this essay was completed, has demonstrated that the probability is that Alfred was not personally involved in the production of the OE *Boethius* and that the translation may have been completed as much as a couple of decades after his death. Nevertheless, Tiffany Beechy's essay "Rich or Poor? Alfred's Prose *Boethius* and the Poetic Economy of Anglo-Saxon Exposition," in *Poverty and Prosperity in the Middle Ages and Renaissance*, ed. Cynthia Kosso and Anne Scott (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 259–78, offers a useful alternative way of evaluating the OE *Boethius*, as offering a rich discourse that is "more affective, gestalt-oriented, and ultimately poetic" than our contemporary insistence on precision and uniformity in translation (259–60). Beechy argues that the translation is much more concerned with its reception among a Christian elite audience that would not be particularly well versed in late antique philosophical texts, than with being considered to treat its source material faithfully (260–61). In other words, the translation maintains a poetic mode, rather than a referential one, as can be seen in many of its departures from its source (261–65). Beechy reads the translation in the context of Ong's definition of primary orality, with its preference for poetic function and for non-syllogistic reasoning, ultimately arguing that the OE *Boethius* shows traits of a residually oral culture (265–69). With Old English textuality in general and the OE *Boethius* in particular, Beechy suggests we should be reading for poetics and form, rather than focusing on a binary between verse and prose (269). The OE *Boethius* prefaces seem to treat *leo*ð and *spell* as overlapping acts (271–75), and *spell* itself "is clearly poetic speech" in a broader Old English context (275–77). Beechy ultimately argues that in the Old English discursive economy, "poetic signification . . . serves a much broader purpose than we allow for poetry today" (277).
EB

In "Translating the Five Senses in Alfredian Prose," *SN* 84. 2 (2012): 189–200, Rosa Maria Fera considers the treatment of Boethius's and Augustine's references to the distinction between intellect and physical sensation in the Alfredian corpus, refuting Kurt Otten's work that had suggested a gap in the Old English lexicon

where one might find terms capturing the range "bodily senses." Fera finds that when specifically delimiting the physical senses, the Old English translators often either list all five or use eyes to stand for them all. Perhaps because this study was published at roughly the same time as Leslie Lockett's book, and thus not in time to have read it, Fera does not consider the possibility that Old English intellection is normally rendered *in sensory terms*, and that in order to specify a pejorative, "merely" physical sense, translators were forced to modify or elaborate on (thus, to inflect) common idiomatic usage. She does note but does not really analyze the use of inner/outer sense as a substitute dichotomy for the Augustinian intellective/sensory. She also notes the pervasive Old English rendering of Latinate abstractions in concrete terms, which she understands as evidence of a need to bring the "semantic richness" of Old English terms under some discipline or control for the purposes of using them as precise equivalents for Latin concepts. Perhaps instead, Old English speakers moved in a textured and sensory realm, preferring the concrete to the unusual abstractness of cultivated Latinity. Art historians certainly recognize a love for the textured, sensory surface in Insular cultures.
TB

Malcolm Godden provides a background to the Old English *Orosius* in "The Old English *Orosius* and Its Context: Who Wrote it, for Whom, and Why?" *Quaestio Insularis* 12 (2011): 1–30, beginning with the origins of Orosius's original text, which lie in Augustine's desire for backup in refuting pagans who blamed the Christians for Rome's decline. Regarding the vexed authorship question of the Old English translation, Godden suggests a rather whimsical placeholder, naming the translator "Osric" (used without quotation marks) rather than having to say "the anonymous translator" again and again. Given how little traditionalist scholars favor "speculation" in our field, this choice was a striking departure. As he has cast doubt upon the association of the Old English *Boethius* with Alfred, Godden undermines the association between the *Orosius* and Alfred or his court or circle or "his supposed programme of translation" (9). Rather, he considers "Osric's" work independent of any such association. Godden finds that he was more interested in ancient history than in the more recent, a preference his contemporaries seem to have shared. Godden also identifies a possible source for the Old English translation in a manuscript from St. Gall. Ultimately, he considers but remains aloof from two possible contemporary parallels "Osric" may have seen

in Orosius's account of the Roman situation vis-à-vis the Gothic invaders: 1) the depredations weren't so bad and their request for land from the emperor had been reasonable, perhaps similar to the Danish "requests" for settlement in Britain; 2) Romans glorified war in their poetry while suffering from its effects in the present, as one might see the English heroic tradition doing in the midst of Viking depredations. Godden concludes that the Old English *Orosius* was not a product of the Alfredian court. It was produced 870–930 by an English cleric "of some learning and lively imagination" and his readers had knowledge of classical history and culture and "were expected to read Orosius in a critical manner" (30).
TB

Stefan Jurasinski, "Slavery, Learning and the Law of Marriage in Alfred's Mosaic Prologue." *ABaG* 69 (2012): 45–64. Jurasinski points out that the Prologue to the laws promulgated by King Alfred has received little study, in spite of the fact that its adaptation of the Mosaic laws in Exodus seems to stand independent of well-known exegetical traditions and to be intended to spur discussion of late ninth-century English legal norms (45–46). Of particular interest are the insights it can offer into the slave economy of pre-Conquest England (46–47), and this is where Jurasinski focuses this article, based mainly in chapter 12 of the Prologue. Divergence by the Vulgate translator from the Hebrew text of Exodus 21:7–11 may have contributed to confusion in the Alfredian version (47–51). Alfred "dealt freely" with his biblical source throughout, but Jurasinski suggests that the radical alterations in this particular discussion of slavery imply that the topic was one where Alfred was especially concerned "to bring Exodus in line with the views of his own day," yet there is little scholarly certainty about what those views may have been (51–54). There is evidence that it was already an established norm in the Germanic world that marriage "voided servile status in women," before Alfred's laws were set down (54–57). In the context of the frequent departures from the scriptural text in the Alfredian Prologue, it may be more sensible not to emend the verb *gebyccge*, producing a reading that is consonant with the preceding clause and with the broader context of early medieval laws regarding marriage between a free man and a female slave (57–59). Jurasinski even suggests the possibility that the Prologue was an early draft of Alfred's Laws that became appended to the code in its final form (59). In legal and homiletic texts of pre-Conquest England, there are several other examples of texts that also concern themselves with the question

of a woman being "purchased" for marriage, providing more support for the suggestion that Alfred's clause in the Prologue could be intended to establish that her purchase as a wife has already elevated her from servile status (59–63). The practices of the Alfredian Prologue are in alignment with the pattern among most English translations of canons, showing a willingness to adapt the texts fairly freely when they deal with slavery, likely as a reflection of the practical and often harsh realities of managing an enslaved population (63–64). This seems to indicate a robust conversation in the vernacular that was influenced by and yet not determined by ecclesiastical norms (64).
EB

Despite its title, Paul Russell's article "Revisiting the 'Welsh Dictator' of the Old English *Orosius*," *Quaestio Insularis* 12 (2011): 31–62, is not about Celtic despotism, but rather revisits the work of Janet Bately in the 1960s, which argued that aberrant spellings in the two earliest manuscripts of the Old English *Orosius* indicated dictation by a Celtic speaker. Bately's suggestion implied an English scribe who could cope with the accent he heard well enough for most of the text, but who was led into oddities when it came to (less familiar) proper names. Russell reevaluates Bately's evidence in light of more recent work on slips of the ear, and on Celtic phonology and its relation to paleography, and concludes that the evidence (mostly intervocalic and initial consonant softening and voicing) is insufficient to suggest that the text we have was the product of dictation, much less that the supposed dictator was Welsh (Bately had suggested Asser himself, the most famous Welshman in the English court) or a speaker of any other Celtic tongue. For one thing, the majority of the names are not aberrant. Also, there is no evidence of a particular substitution one would expect of a Welsh speaker dictating the text: [v] (which would be spelled *f* by an English scribe) for Latin [m]. Russell concludes that the rendering of voiced dental stops as *þ* and *ð* more strongly indicates a scribe with knowledge of Greek, working from a written exemplar (among other possibilities, such as simple misreading at various stages of transmission). It should be noted that there are several citations of "recent" work from the 1970s and 1980s.
TB

Nicholas A. Sparks, *Textual Histories of The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: The Alfredian Common Stock. (MSS ABCG, with ref. to DEF), to AD 892*, doctoral thesis, Cambridge University (2011). Sparks presents a comparative study

of all Old English witnesses of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, with supporting evidence from Latin derivations. Sparks's study involves a full collation of all textual variants of the manuscripts, which has resulted in a distinction between two stages in the writing of the original: an earlier stage underlying MS A and a slightly later one which underlies MSS B and C. Sparks dates the activities that gave rise to these two recensions to the reign of Edward the Elder (899–924) and locates them to Winchester. This thesis is currently under embargo, and this summary is based on an abstract, which Sparks kindly supplied to us.
KD

Anglo-Saxon Chronicle

Bernard Merdrignac, "Aux 'extrémités de la Gaule', la Cornouaille," in *Rerum gestarum scriptor: Histoire et historiographie au Moyen Âge: Mélanges Michel Sot*, ed. Magali Coumert, Marie-Céline Isaïa, Klaus Krönert, and Sumi Shimahara (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris–Sorbonne, 2012), 557–73. Merdrignac focuses primarily on the terminology used to refer to Brittany, the region of Cornouaille, and the inhabitants of either area in historical writings of the ninth and tenth centuries, thus it necessarily touches on the development of the cognate names for the regions of Cornwall in England and Cornouaille in Brittany. Merdrignac briefly refers to Aldhelm's use of the label *Cornubia* in his *Carmen rhythmicum* in reference to Cornwall rather than the Breton region (564), and he identifies one of the first instances of *Cornwall* in Old English sources in the annal for 891 in the Parker Chronicle (565–66). Merdrignac highlights a Continental usage from the 850s (567), with the term for the inhabitants (*Cornouaillais*) predating the use as a term for the region (567–70).
EB

In her article "Biblical Parallels in Alfredian Law and the Early Compilation of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173," *Quaestio Insularis* 12 (2012): 149–72, Christine Voth proposes that the early compilation of CCCC 173 (the Parker Chronicle) provides a "unique template" for understanding a time of great change in the kingdom of Wessex (151). The manuscript was supplemented and rearranged over the centuries, especially by the time of Humfrey Wanley's 1705 description (154–55). Nevertheless, it is clear that the first five quires formed a "single entity of purposefully composed documents" (157). Voth asserts that these documents reflect a political climate influenced by "biblical themes of reconstruction"

(157). Alfredian texts link legislation by medieval kings like Alfred directly back to both the Old and New Testaments (158–64). The genealogies and laws appearing within the narrative of the Chronicle are reminiscent of similar structures in the Bible and allow Alfred a way to reinvent concepts of kingship and court culture (166–68). Voth identifies among these documents an "overriding" theme of kingship and its justification through appeals to the past, both biblical and more recent (169–71). Without engaging fully with the issue, Voth closes by suggesting that familial discord may have left Alfred feeling the need to justify himself and his reign (171–72).
EB

Saints' Lives

In "Crowd Control? Depictions of the Many in Anglo-Saxon Literature, with Particular Reference to the Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers," *ES* 93.2 (2012): 119–37, Hugh Magennis revisits the Seven Sleepers legend in Old English to address a point of uniqueness in the text: the crowd. The legend expands its source to domesticate the urban crowd that reacts skeptically to the stranger from another time in its midst, making it a group of specifically English city dwellers who react in ways recognizable from contemporary civic statutes. Not only is this expansion a departure from the original, but this depiction of a crowd is unusual in the Old English corpus, as elsewhere crowds are not very important and not possessed of much agency or character. As Magennis's subsequent survey of crowds across the corpus shows, they are often either minimized by aristocratic leaders or flatly depicted "hagiographically" as bystanders or as a target audience for proselytizing. While Magennis does treat the memorable crowd effect of the St. Brice's Day Massacre, mentioned in the Chronicle and in a charter of Æthelred, he ignores entirely the double crowd effect of William the Conqueror's soldiers that fateful Christmas, panicking at the sound of the English assent to his leadership and commencing to burn the town.
TB

Christine Rauer, "Direct Speech, Intercession, and Prayer in the *Old English Martyrology*," *ES* 93.5 (2012): 563–71. Rauer examines instances of direct speech that appear in the *Old English Martyrology*. Such speech, whether in monologue or dialogue form, does not usually appear in martyrological entries elsewhere, so it is surprising to find that over a third of the entries in the

Old English text contain direct speech. Rauer notes that direct speech can appear in many forms, but the most frequent examples in the *Old English Martyrology* are dramatic proclamations and prayers spoken by the saints themselves, often at the ends of their lives, following cycles of torment by persecutors. These triumphant last words as well as other forms of direct speech are all translations of material in the martyrologist's Latin source texts. Rauer zeroes in on four lengthier examples of narrative prayers spoken by Saints George, Christopher, Marina, and Cyriacus, which, she points out, are prayers to God that He allow devotees of the saints to seek intercession from them after death, and to reward those who call upon the saint, possess his or her relics, or build and dedicate churches in their honor with miracles of healing, forgiveness of sins, a fruitful life, etc. In most instances a divine voice approves these requests from on high. From these examples Rauer extrapolates that the martyrologist was interested in the subject of intercession and that devotional practices spoken of in the petitions of these dying saints offer some insights into popular religion. The article concludes with an appendix presenting Rauer's modern English translations of the relevant speeches from the martyrology spoken by Saints George (69), Christopher (73), Marina (122), Cyriacus and Iulitta (127), and Erasmus (97).
SG

Ælfric

In "The Source of Ælfric's Catholic Homilies II 12, lines 531–539," *N&Q* 59.4 (2012): 476–79, Mary Clayton identifies a section of Alcuin's treatise on the virtues and vices entitled *De superbia* (cap. 23, *PL* 101, 630 C) as the principal source for a passage on pride in Ælfric's second series homily for Mid-Lent Sunday. The passage in Ælfric's homily comes in the midst of a discussion of the story of Joshua leading the Israelites to the promised land, where Ælfric interprets the defeated seven nations and Pharoah as the eight captial vices conquered by the vitrues. This section of the homily had been generally sourced by Förster to Cassian's *Consolationes* V and Alcuin's *De virtutibus et vitiis*, cap. 23–34. Clare Lees and Malcolm Godden, however, questioned the directness of the influence of these sources on Ælfric's discussion of pride here due to a lack of definitive verbal correspondence and differences, such as the Ælfric's statement that pride was the "beginning and end of every evil" (*se leahter is ord and ende yfeles*), or

that it "changed angels into devils" (*se geworhte englas to deoflum*). Clayton points out that Alcuin included a second, separate chapter on the subject of *Superbia* in his treatise on the virtues and vices (*PL* 101, 633 A) and there Clayton finds a passage with striking verbal parallels to Ælfric's comments on pride and all of the relevant details mentioned in that passage. Clayton makes a convincing case for cap. 23 of Alcuin's work as the direct source, and also suggests that Ælfric probably was familiar with the extensive discussion of pride in Cassian's *De institutis coenobiorum*, bk. XII (*CSEL* 17, 206), that also influenced his account of the sin.
SG

Michael Fox, "Ælfric's Interrogationes Sigewulfi," *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (UTP, 2012), 25–63. Fox explains that Augustine was the basis for most early medieval treatments of Genesis, with a major Carolingian flurry of works on it, but Ælfric was the only other author before 1100 to deal with Genesis in a significant way, by translating and adapting Alcuin's *Quaestiones in Genesim* into Old English in his *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* (25–26). Manuscript evidence suggests the *Interrogationes Sigewulfi* was reasonably popular (27–29). Most of the text is fairly stable across the five extant manuscripts, but both CCCC 178 and Hatton 116 contain a conclusion in rhythmical prose; Fox is convinced the longer version of these represents the original text (29–30). It is difficult to determine what manuscript could have been Ælfric's exemplar, but it seems to have been from the α-family of *Quaestiones in Genesim* manuscripts, since only these manuscripts seem to have included Alcuin's letter to Sigewulf, which Ælfric draws on (30–31). Ælfric translates just 69 of Alcuin's 281 questions, but this essay focuses mostly on the creation and fall in Genesis 1–3, which seem to have been major concerns for Ælfric (34). Fox offers more detailed readings of questions concerning the creation of man (35–40), the mechanics of the human fall (41–43), and the aftermath of the fall (44–50). It is fairly easy to explain Ælfric's omissions and changes in the first twenty-five questions in the *Quaestiones* (of which he translates twenty-one), but after that point, he becomes more selective in ways that reveal his agenda more clearly (50–51). Fox suggests that Ælfric may not have felt his audience was prepared for the "somewhat sophisticated exegesis" of Augustine's discussions of various questions around creation (51–52). The complexity of Ælfric's work on the text may suggest it was a later work than Clemoes believed it to be (52).
EB

Alice Jorgensen, "Historicizing Emotion: The Shame-Rage Spiral in Ælfric's Life of St Agatha" *ES* 93.5 (2012): 529–38. Jorgensen applies a concept from modern psychoanalysis known as the "shame-rage spiral" to closely examine the emotions portrayed by Ælfric in his life of the virgin martyr St. Agatha. The shame-rage spiral is defined by Jorgensen as "the cycle of emotions in which shame gives rise to rage which in turn gives rise to more shame" (529). Jorgensen acknowledges the challenges and dangers of anachronism inherent in the application of psychoanalytic theory to early medieval texts, but argues that doing so enables us to observe how the generically conditioned interactions and expressions of emotion within hagiography may have coded to readers within an early medieval English social structure which attached great importance to matters of shame and honor. Moreover, Jorgensen claims, such studies can contribute further to the study of the history of emotions. Jorgensen offers convincing close readings of the persecution scenes wherein the pagan Quintianus interrogates and tortures Agatha, showing how each character attempts to shame the other by comparing them to a servant or slave, and thus implying a shameful loss of status. Agatha is impervious to such criticisms from Quintianus, because from her perspective as a Christian, servitude to Christ exalts rather than diminishes her. Quintianus, however, repeatedly succumbs to feelings of shame and anger at Agatha's unwillingness to acknowledge his authority over her, and her accusations that despite his status as a nobleman, he is in fact the slave of the devil. Such exchanges are classic set-pieces of all virgin martyr stories; however, Jorgensen notes that Ælfric adds specific words such as *bysmor-ful* or *sceandlica* (both meaning "shameful") not found in his Latin source texts, applying them especially to descriptions of pagan gods or practices, or to the actions and words of the persecutors. The addition of such language by Ælfric guides readers to think about the ritualized exchanges between Agatha and Quintianus specifically in terms of shame. The dialogue between Agatha and Quintianus amount, in Jorgensen's words, "to a kind of shaming contest, reminiscent of a flyting" (532). Readers of Old English would have been particularly attuned to the questions of shame and honor at stake when the characters trade insults from their knolwedge of similar depictions of verbal shaming contests in vernacular heroic literature. Quintianus's increasing anger in response to Agatha's shaming of him is also tied directly to the sin of wrath by Ælfric so that the persecutor's spiral into rage affiliates him with the devil, and thus becomes part of the homily's moral teaching

as a negative exemplum. Agatha, however, is not susceptible to rage because she refuses to feel shame in response to any of Quintianus's accusations. Her Christian detachment from worldly honor and materialism inverts the social order, rendering her invulnerable to the shame-rage spiral. Agatha's saintly heroism resides in her stoic ability to endure insults, degredation, and torture for her God, all without shame or wrath. As Jorgensen points out, though, Agatha's invulnerability and lack of emotion also make her rather difficult for the audience to relate to, and may inadvertently have led early medieval people to empathize with the more human Quintianus. This could, potentially, initiate a shame-rage spiral within the minds of Ælfric's audience, who would presumably be ashamed of their own sympathetic response to an evil character associated with the devil. By depicting the working out of a shame-rage spiral on multiple levels throughout the homily, including within the thoughts and feelings of the audience themselves, Ælfric strongly reinforces his didactic message.
SG

Linguistic and stylistic comparisons between two Anglo-Saxon authors is also the subject of Kiriko Sato's article, entitled "Ælfric's Linguistic and Stylistic Alterations in his Adaptations from the Old English *Boethius*," *Neophilologus* 96 (2012): 631–40. The article presents a case study of Ælfric's adaptations from the Old English prose translation of Boethius's *De consolatione philosophiae* in his homilies *Nativitas Domini* and *De Auguriis*. Underpinning each section with several examples, Sato first shows how Ælfric adapted the lexicon, morphology, and syntax of his originals so as to arrive at what might be called an Ælfrician house style, and then asks the question of why Ælfric made these changes. In the following section Sato argues that alliteration and parallelism are two forceful motivating factors for Ælfric to introduce changes, which often involve the insertion of additional words and phrases. Only where the Boethius translator was deemed to be verbose—Sato cites a section on the praise of God—did Ælfric move into the opposite direction and reduce the word count by more than a third, offering at the same time, as Sato shows, an enriched palette of stylistic devices. Reading Sato's examples emphasises once again the magisterial qualities of Ælfric as a prose writer, not only in terms of syntax and style, but also in terms of his unmistakable didactic aim to achieve maximum clarity for his readers.
KD

In "Ælfric's Judith," in *Old English Literature and the Old Testament*, ed. Michael Fox and Manish Sharma (UTP, 2012), 64–88, Paul Szarmach offers an overview of and introduction to Ælfric's prose retelling of the Old Testament story of Judith. Szarmach notes that this prose account of Judith, a late work by Ælfric which was not included in either the *Catholic Homilies* or *Lives of Saints* collections, has received little critical attention to date. Szarmach begins by discussing some of the difficulties presented by the two manuscripts of the text, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 303, pp. 356–62 (C), and London, British Library, Cotton Otho B.x, fols. 29, 30 (O). The Cambridge manuscript is missing its ending, which has been editorially supplied by the very burnt and fragmentary Cotton Otho B.x manuscript. Thus, the text of Ælfric's prose Judith must be viewed cautiously, since it is a composite and also shows signs of post-Ælfrician reworking into the form of a homily, which does not seem to have been Ælfric's intention for the piece. Following an overview of some of the other difficulties, such as the imperfect nature of Jerome's Vulgate translation of the Judith story that forms the basis of Ælfric's account, Szarmach summarizes Ælfric's version and then moves on to examine the distinctive narrative features of Ælfric's prose Judith by comparing it both to the Old Testament text and to the Old English poetic *Judith*. The overarching observation made by Szarmach is that by comparison to these other versions, Ælfric's Judith story is direct, straightforward, and highly abbreviated; as Szarmach puts it, it is "plain vanilla," which seems surprising since the account of Judith's slaying of Holofernes is one of the more salacious and theologically and morally complex stories in the Old Testament. Ælfric appears to accomplish this by toning down the narratorial emphasis on Judith's beauty, sidestepping the question of God's direct role in increasing Judith's sexual attactiveness to enable her seduction of Holofernes, and by sticking mainly to factual details without indulging in the kinds of fanciful heroic elaboration that characterizes the Old English poetic *Judith*. Moreover, Ælfric's insertion of defensive comments about the truthfulness of this story in Latin sources and the Bible suggest that he was concerned about the problematic implications of the Judith story, even though he plays down or omits many of the questionable passages. Ælfric ends his account with multiple possible interpretations: on the moral level, he interprets the story of Judith as offering teaching about the importance of the virtue of humility versus the sin of pride, linking it to Matthew 23:12; on the allegorical level, Ælfric repeats the common interpretation of Judith as a figure for the believing Church, Christ's bride, and Holofernes as the devil. He also refers to nuns at some points in the account, holding up Judith in some ways (and definitely not others!) as a *bysen* or model for female religious behavior. Szarmach concludes with several thought-provoking suggestions for future research on Ælfric's Judith, including gender-critical analyses, studies of how the text represents the male gaze, the question of why Ælfric seems to avoid overall allegorization of the story, and also the need for studies of how this text fits in with Ælfric's other adaptations of Old Testament material.
SG

Wulfstan

In "Maxims in the Making of a Homily: Formulaic Composition in Archbishop Wulfstan's Notes," in *La Formule au Moyen* Âge, ed. Elise Louviot (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 105–13, Paul Cavill explains that Wulfstan's use of formulas—some phatic, some maxims—often with assertion of truth (*soð*), alliterative or rhyming phrases, the adverb *georne*, etc., are "formulaic in that they are repeatedly and instinctively used by him" (106) and "more ornamental and phatic than structural: they give a sense of urgency and earnestness to the discourse" (106). Cavill refers to these as idiosyncratic, not because Wulfstan was necessarily the only one to use such phrases, but because they reflect Wulstan's habitual style (106). By contrast, Wulfstan's use of maxims is mostly to demarcate major thematic or structural ideas, "to articulate what is right and widely understood, and to mark his discourse structurally" (107). While formulaic, these maxims are not idiosyncratic, since they are similar to those used elsewhere in Old English literature (107). Cavill suggests that Wulfstan possibly selected biblical passages (as seen in the collection printed as Bethurum XI) with formulaic elements ("woe" denunciations from Isaiah or Jeremiah, or "Thus says the Lord") as "kernels of thought that might be further developed in extempore delivery" (107) (Bethurum XI: with Old English translations and some added Wulfstanian material in CCCC 201 and Hatton 113; without Old English in Copenhagen; cf. pp. 107–8). Copenhagen has an earlier version. CCCC 201 and Hatton 113 contain Old English translations and expansions, plus a "developed ending" in both Latin and Old English. Wulfstan's annotations and additions in Copenhagen are further support for this theory, especially if Ker is right that there are several layers of Wulfstan's work

to add ideas and biblical references (108–9). The notes on fol. 66v apparently intend to draw the collection of biblical passages to a conclusion. They consist almost entirely of formulas: homiletic formulas, maxims, and Bible verses, all linked together by shared concepts and by Wulfstan's rhetoric (109–13). The Copenhagen notes show Wulfstan shaping his material "to give his message impact and persuasive power" (113). They also suggest that Wulfstan saw maxims as having an authoritative status similar to the Bible verses he quotes, and as being a way to link his own culture with that of the Bible (113). Wulfstan did not only use idiosyncratic formulas, but also "communally-sanctioned maxim formulas," and all formulas were deployed consciously and intentionally to evoke "distinct responses to his ideas" (113).
EB

In "Wulfstan's Commonplace Book Revised: The Structure and Development of 'Block 7,' on Pastoral Privilege and Responsibility," *JML* 22 (2012): 1–48, Michael D. Elliot sets out to offer fresh insights into Wulfstan's Commonplace Book as "a coherent textual entity in its own right" (1). We also learn more about Wulfstan himself from this exercise, including his meticulous attention to editorial detail in manuscripts, in spite of the many demands on his time and apparently because of his understanding of the duties of a bishop to engage in daily "book-work" (5). Rather than assuming a single archetype for the four "core" manuscripts, Elliot starts from the presumption that there were several different versions, each reflecting different stages of the development of Wulfstan's ideas and sensibilities (9), and the article focuses on Block 7 (in Sauer's and Wormald's descriptions of the manuscripts, along with some texts Sauer placed in Block 8), which was an unusually stable collection of material across the Commonplace Book manuscripts (11). Elliot focuses on the four longest and most complex texts in Block 7, in order to demonstrate an ongoing process of revision (16–28). The difficulty is how to determine which revisions may have come from Wulfstan himself, but having argued that Cotton Nero A.i represents the latest version of some texts, Elliot argues as a corollary that the later manuscripts containing earlier versions of these texts (CCCC 265, Barlow 37, and CCCC 190) must reflect revision occurring during Wulfstan's lifetime and thus plausibly to be attributed to Wulfstan himself (29–30). Elliot further argues that this same pattern of revision is borne out in other Block 7 texts for which a reasonable chronology can be determined (31–33) and that Barlow 37 seems to represent a revision of the structure of Block 7 as represented

in an earlier form in CCCC 265 and 190 (33–34). Elliot squares this conclusion with Sauer's contention that CCCC 265 and Barlow 37 descend from a common exemplar or archetype by suggesting that there may have been a system of copying by booklets in place in scriptoria used by Wulfstan (34–37). Editions of three Block 7 texts (*De veneratione sacerdotum*, *De pastore et praedicatore*, and *De blasphemia*) follow in an appendix.
EB

Blickling, Vercelli, and Other Anonymous Homilies

In "Sources and Analogues for Blickling Homily V and Vercelli Homily XI," *N&Q* 59.1 (2012): 8–13, Stephen Pelle makes the case that the opening lines of Blickling Homily V are a reworking of a passage found in the well-attested Latin sermon exemplum known as "The Three Utterances of the Soul." Pelle's comparison of the opening of Blickling V and the version of the "Three Utterances" printed in Grégoire's edition of the text from London, BL Add. 30853 reveals a close but not exact verbal correspondence between the Latin and Old English, suggesting that the homilist may have been working from memory, especially as he does not appear to have used that source elsewhere in Blickling V. Pelle then goes on to show that the homilist's attribution of these lines to *se æpele lareow* makes sense, given that the "Three Utterances" sermons are usually (if erroneously) attributed to Augustine, who, along with Paul and Gregory the Great, is often described with this phrase in later Old English texts. In the second half of this article, Pelle turns to discuss an unrelated passage in Vercelli Homily XI (ll. 63–67) that describes Christians as "spiritual merchants." This passage was previously attributed to Sermon 215 by Caesarius of Arles (which is the overall Latin source for Vercelli XI), but Pelle argues that there is a more exact correspondence to be found for these lines in a rare sermon (Sermon 27) by Maximus, bishop of Turin. Because Maximus's sermon is difficult to place in early medieval England, however, Pelle also suggests that these lines of Vercelli XI could have been influenced by the discussion of "spiritual commerce" in Vercelli X, the homily that precedes it in the manuscript and that circulated widely in early England.
SG

Stephen Pelle's "Continuity and Renewal in English Homiletic Eschatology, ca. 1150–1200" (doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Toronto, 2012) presents a thorough,

meticulous source study and detailed comparison of homiletic texts and eschatological motifs spanning the Old and early Middle English periods. Pelle argues that the often overlooked late twelfth-century English homilies formed a bridge between Old English and later medieval traditions, and that these texts "have at least as much in common with Ælfric as with John Mirk or Richard Rolle" (180). The transitional language of homilies from the period of 1150–1200 has often led to their exclusion from literary histories, but this is being remedied by recent the recent work of Elaine Treharne and Mary Swan, among others. Pelle builds on their scholarship, but focuses more specifically on tracing eschatological themes and motifs in homilies as a kind of case study in how homilies were "read, copied, rearranged, rewritten, and otherwise used during the latter part of the twelfth century," and to determine "if and how they influenced contemporary post-Conquest compositions" (16). In Chapter 1 of his study, Pelle provides several overviews of essential background material. He surveys previous scholarship, noting that McC. Gatch and others tended to privilege what they saw as an "orderly" presentation of "orthodox" eschatological content in homilies by Ælfric and Wulfstan, while overemphasizing the inconsistencies and imaginative content of the anonymous homilies. Pelle critiques this dichotomy but nonetheless concedes that the anonymous homilies did use more heterodox and apocryphal material as sources than Ælfric or Wulfstan. Pelle then surveys the biblical, apocryphal, patristic, and homiletic sources for eschatological material circulating in early medieval England, also pointing out that some of the Old English eschatological poems such as "Judgement Day II" and "Exhortation to Christian Living" were later incorporated into anonymous homilies. He gives details of the manuscript collections he will be working with in this study, paying special attention to those containing eschatological sermons. He also explains that because vernacular Icelandic and Norwegian homiletics in the eleventh to thirteenth centuries were influenced by Old English homilies from Ælfric and from anonymous collections, Icelandic and Norwegian homilies can serve as "indirect but valuable witnesses to twelfth-century English homiletic trends" (47), and he indeed brings Old Norse homiletic texts to bear on his discussions later in the study. Pelle also includes consideration and discussion of early Middle English poetry and prose texts that feature eschatological motifs as evidence of "continuity in the history of medieval English religious literature" (49). Chapter 2 examines representations of what Pelle calls "personal eschatology" by focusing on iterations of the English homiletic theme known as "The

Visit to the Tomb." In this chapter, Pelle proves that two early Middle English texts, Lambeth Homily III and a passage from the "Vices and Virtues," drew on anonymous Old English homilies featuring the "Visit to the Tomb" motif, showing that the anonymous texts belong to a shared vernacular tradition, along with the works of Ælfric and Wulfstan, that continued to be influential after the Conquest. Chapter 3 focuses on what Pelle refers to as "historic/cosmic eschatology" in the form of signs and warnings of Doomsday in Warner Homilies XXVII, XXXIII, and XLIV found in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv. The eschatological prophecies in these homilies are based on texts such as the *Revelationes* of pseudo-Methodius or the "Fifteen Signs of Doomsday" legend, which do not appear to have been known in England before the Conquest. But the Warner Homilies also show signs of frequent and important contacts with Old English compositions, most notably those of Ælfric and various versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, alongside the newly imported works brought in by Norman eccelsiastics. Chapter 4 looks at the development of two Old English Doomsday motifs known as the "Four Trumpeting Angels" and the "Three Hosts of Doomsday" in early and later Middle English homiletic texts as well as in some Old Norse sermons. Pelle finds that these two motifs were used more frequently and more creatively in works by Old English homilists than by Continental writers. The continued appearance of these motifs in twelfth-century and even early thirteenth-century texts, such as *Ancrene Wisse*, shows the lasting if diffuse influence of Old English homilies. As Pelle explains, although specific, direct Old English sources for these motifs cannot be found to correspond to the Middle English texts in which they appear, "the popularity of the 'Three Hosts' in Old English texts had turned the motif into something of a homiletic and devotional commonplace by the early Middle English period. Thus, even if the Old English texts that originally popularized the motif in England were no longer widely copied and read after the early thirteenth century, such memorable images of Doomsday had become characteristic elements of English vernacular eschatology, and as such remained in constant use until the late Middle English period" (172). In such ways, preexisting English homiletic traditions appear side-by-side with material from Anglo-Norman and Continental traditions, including echoes of works by Anselm and Honorius Augustodunensis, among others. Pelle's investigations into these various motifs ultimately leads him to conclude that "the English homiletic literature of the late twelfth century . . . seems to be marked by the simultaneous influence of

two traditions: an older, Anglo-Saxon tradition whose sources and structural inspiration derive from patristic and early medieval homilies and homiliaries, and a newer tradition based on contemporary developments in Continental preaching" (41). According to Pelle, the interplay of these two traditions in the twelfth- and early thirteenth-century Middle English homiletic texts is best understood as a process of "continuity and renewal" rather than "conservative resistance" to Norman influences.
SG

George Ruder Younge's article "'Those were good days': Representations of the Anglo-Saxon Past in the Old English Homily on Saint Neot," *RES* 63, issue 260 (2012): 349–69, reassesses evidence for dating of the Old English homily on St. Neot found in London, British Library, Cotton Vespasian D.xiv, which is a collection of prose works in Old English dated to the mid-twelfth century. This homily adapts an earlier Latin life (*Vita I*), and also alludes to, echoes, or borrows from a wide range of Latin and Old English texts, including the *Lives* of Cuthbert and Guthlac, the works of Ælfric, Wulfstan, and the Blickling Homilist, as well as the *Old English Bede*. It has previously been dated by Elaine Treharne to the late eleventh or early twelfth century, and by Malcolm Godden to a pre-Conquest date between 1014 and 1031. Younge argues, however, that the period between c. 1050–1150 was a more likely time for the composition of the Homily on St. Neot because in that period we see an increase in saints' biographies being written in the vernacular (specifically the *Lives* of Saints Nicholas, Giles, and Margaret) and on the basis of stylistic similarities between the Homily on St. Neot and the *Life of St. Chad* and the lost *Lives* of Wulfstan and Gregory written by Coleman and reported and described by William of Malmesbury. Younge seeks to refute Godden's earlier dating arguing that the lack of Middle English words in the homily may be due either to deliberate archaism, or to a "linguistically conservative milieu." He also makes the case that the homily was written in the southeast of England, somewhere within the reach of Christ Church, Canterbury, and was perhaps a product of the well-documented interest in St. Neot of Anselm, abbot of Bec and archbishop of Canterbury. St. Neot was reputed to have been a counselor to King Alfred, and as this is discussed in the homily, Younge spends the second half of his article examining how the homily represents Alfred, his kingship, and his relationship with the Church. Younge points out that the depiction of Alfred here owes something to the nascent genre of romance in its use of the disguised king motif. Younge

claims that "far from evincing a purely antiquarian interest in the Anglo-Saxon past," the homily's depiction of King Alfred "embodies post-Conquest anxieties about governance, tracing Alfred's development from a coward into a human leader and friend of the Church. The narrative evokes an idealized *gode time* of civic concord, in which English rulers respected the freedom and guidance of clerics" (367). In this way, the monks of Christ Church, Canterbury, could be using the homily on St. Neot and the Anglo-Saxon past to comment on the contemporaneous conflict between Church and state known as the Investiture Controversy.
SG

Apollonius of Tyre

Mercedes Salvador-Bello's article, "The Old English *Apollonius of Tyre* in the Light of Early Romance Tradition: An Assessment of Its Plot and Characterization in Relation to Marie de France's *Eliduc*," *ES* 93.7 (2012): 749–74, compares several motifs present in the Old English account of *Apollonius of Tyre* and in *Eliduc*, a Breton lai attributed to Marie de France. Navigating her way through a range of scholarship on both texts, Mercedes Salvador-Bello manages to find a sequence of motifs in both texts that have not featured in comparative studies: particularly, the "flawed-hero" motif, applicable to both Apollonius and Eliduc, and the "active heroine" motif, which can be found in the actions of Arcestrate and Guilliadun. In the end, the combination of both motifs in these tales, and the ways in which they contribute to creating a sense of admiration of monasticism and chastity, require an explanation which Salvador-Bello provides in her conclusion by suggesting that Marie de France had access to the Apollonius story. Drawing parallels from Aldhelm to Abelard, this article provides a rich background not only to the religious ideas that shaped both tales into moral exempla, but also to the cross-fertilisation of such literary genres as exempla, hagiography, and romance literature. Salvador-Bello's study is therefore not only a detailed analysis of two related works of literature, but it also articulates important conclusions for our views of Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Norman literature, claiming in the end that "*Apollonius* should be fully granted its well-deserved place of honour as the first romance in the history of English literature." Students who wish to familarise themselves with these works of literature, and lecturers including them in modules of medieval literature, would do well to add this study to their reading list.
KD

Miscellaneous

The innovation offered by digital humanities in the analysis of Old English prose is the topic of a substantial article by Phoebe Boyd, Michael D. C. Drout, Namiko Hitotsubachi, Michael J. Kahn, Mark D. LeBlanc, and Leah Smith entitled "Lexomic Analysis of Anglo-Saxon Prose: Establishing Controls with the *Old English Penitential* and the Old English Translation of Orosius," *SELIM* 19 (2012): 7–58. The purpose of this study is to show that integrating new technologies with traditional methods of examining Old English prose texts provides new insights and new questions. This integration of methods requires a certain degree of understanding of such technologies on the part of those of us whose interest in Anglo-Saxon literature is not matched by expertise in matters digital. To provide such understanding, the authors of this study (who are the collaborators on an NEH-funded research project), offer a triptych of information, consisting of an introduction to "lexomic methods," a discussion of the potential of this methodology, and two case studies showing the results of a lexomic analysis of the *Old English Penitential* and the Old English translation of Orosius's *Historiarum adversum paganos libri septem*. "Detecting patterns of vocabulary distribution that are not otherwise visible to the unaided eye," lexomic analysis has been used successfully in the analysis of Old English verse. After dividing poems into segments of text, patterns of vocabulary are analysed with the help of computer technology. The results for each of the segments are then compared and visualised by means of graphs known as dendrograms. By comparing these results with traditional studies, it appeared that lexomic analysis provided an additional diagnostic tool for identifying differences between sections of poems. The potential applicability of lexomic methods for the analysis of Old English prose texts is the purpose of this contribution to *SELIM*. In the first part of the article, the authors explain the complications of analysing longer prose texts, which often exist in more than one manuscript version and differ in spelling and dialect. This is followed by an outline of potential strategies to overcome these difficulties and arrive at meaningful conclusions. The resulting hypothesis that lexomic analysis is relevant for the study of prose texts is tested by trials on the Old English *Penitentials* and Orosius, the outcomes of which show that the results from lexomic analysis confirm what had already been established in the extensive work done on these texts, notably by Allen Frantzen and Janet Bately. Based on these trials, the authors come to the conclusion that lexomic analysis has a contribution to make to the study of Old English prose, and that it is up to future research to put theory into practice.
KD

In "Ant-lore in Anglo-Saxon England," *ASE* 40 (2011): 273–91, Marilina Cesario considers a prophecy about camels stealing gold from ants, found in a prognostic text concerning sunshine during Holy Week, attested in two manuscripts (Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 391 and Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115) from the eleventh and twelfth centuries, respectively. Cesario argues that though prognostic texts have been ignored and dismissed as "folklore," they represent the science of the time. This is a finding in accord with Roy Liuzza's recent volume on prognostics, as well. Surely this genre deserves to be revisited both by literary scholars and by historians of knowledge. Cesario traces the trope of the gold-digging ants and thieving camels to the classical world and to South Asia, ultimately arguing that the rationale and significance of the ant-gold-camel complex in the prognostic context may be enigmatic or simply irretrievably elusive. Yet, she argues, the extensive literary pedigree implies a monastic origin. It should be noted that Cesario assumes an Augustinian semiotic paradigm, which leads her to consider only interpretive possibilities that would fall within the literal/allegorical framework. It seems possible, however, that the prophecy was using the trope to showcase the force or legitimacy of the prognostic genre itself, since it is set in an exotic (unverifiable) locale and brings together two elements that distill what a prognostic *is*: nature, in the form of the ants and camels, and that which is valuable or useful to humans, represented by gold. This little anecdote in the prognostic may be condensing the essence of prognostication, which is that nature, normally indifferent to us, can be made helpful and knowable.
TB

In her article "Weather Prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England," *English Studies* 93 (2012): 391–426, Marilina Cesario offers the first comparative edition of all surviving versions of the *Revelatio Esdrae* prognostics in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. This substantial article offers a full scholarly edition of all versions with a side-by-side presentation of each line of the prognostic. The result is a survey of the differences between the versions of this prognostic. Particularly important is the fact that Cesario prints the Latin and Old English renderings of

each line together, thus avoiding the artificial distinction on linguistic grounds which is so often made in this type of publication. The article first discusses the background of *Revelatio Esdrae* prognostics in the form of the earliest continental versions, suggesting that their origin may well lie in southern Europe. The subsequent edition of the versions from English manuscripts, or manuscripts circulating in England during the Anglo-Saxon period, is exhaustive, and provided with excellent textual notes. This approach provides an effective basis for the categorization of the texts in the two subsequent sections on "general features" and "textual differences," in which Cesario shows that the English versions (with the exception of one) are remarkably similar but not so identical as to allow for definitive conclusions about their transmission. The next section discusses the potential use of the *Revelatio Esdrae* prognostics in the Anglo-Saxon monastic context in which they circulated, with special attention to their occurrence in a number of relevant manuscripts: London, British Library, Cotton Tiberius, A. iii, Titus D. xxvi and xxvii, Vespasian D. xiv, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Hatton 115, Barlow 35, and Oxford, St John's College Library 17. Cesario concludes that the manuscript context of the *Revelatio Esdrae* prognostics provides important indications for their use in an instructional environment, and thereby makes a case for redressing our view of prognostics as scientific texts which derived their importance from a perceived social and economic relevance, rather than being evidence of *Mönchsaberglaube*. By carefully juxtaposing all lines, this edition offers a complete insight into the variety and development of *Revelatio Esdrae* prognostics and thereby adds to our knowledge of prognostics in Anglo-Saxon England.
KD

In "Anglo-Saxon Biblical Lore: An Edition," *ES* 93.6 (2012): 623–51, Heide Estes introduces and presents new editions of several short Old English and Latin texts containing various information about events and people from the Old and New Testaments, which she describes as chronological and non-chronological biblical lore. Several of these texts expand on details in the Bible, offering information and trivia about people, structures, dates, lifespans, and, especially, the Ages of the World. Such texts are found in seventeen extent manuscripts from Anglo-Saxon England; they include unified single texts that are sometimes found in manuscripts alongside homilies or dialogue texts like "Adrian and Ritheus", or historical and biblical texts like the Old English version of Orosius's *History* (the

"Tollemachus Orosius") or the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch. In these cases, the biblical trivia seem to have been added in later. The majority of the manuscripts of biblical lore, however, and those with the longest passages of such texts, are described by Estes as "miscellanies," to indicate that the lore texts were part of the manuscript's plan, rather than later additions to manuscripts containing other texts. Some of these texts have been separately edited by Napier and Förster in late nineteenth and early twentieth century, and studied separately by Hans Sauer, Hildegard L. C. Tristram, and Thomas N. Hall, but Estes's edition is the first to bring all of these texts together in a modern edition with critical attention to their manuscript contexts. This enables Estes to make several insightful observations about the potential audiences, purposes, and generic affliations of collections of biblical lore in Anglo-Saxon literature. For example, she notes that the miscellaneous collections of lore texts all seem to include not only biblical but also liturgical and instructional materials, which suggests that these lore texts were intended for "use either by teachers in monastic schools, or by those fulfilling the varied responsibilities of a parish priest" (626) and that as such, they "were intended to be used as educational material, perhaps independently, perhaps to supplement homiletic material, perhaps as commentary during the reading of Biblical texts throughout the year" (637). She notes that the chronological texts about the "Ages of the World" and the ages of Adam and Mary are the most frequent types of lore presented in these manuscripts, but that while there is a good amount of overlap in information, each manuscript text presents it slightly differently or in a different order, interspersed with other materials, and that while a single "master text" of this "Ages" lore could possibly be contructed based on the extant manuscripts, to do so would obscure the differences between them and risk constructing a text that may never have existed. Furthermore, Estes suggests that the high degree of variation in these texts and the ways that similar information is presented differently from one manuscript to another suggests that biblical lore was transmitted not only by copying of manuscripts by scribes but also by memorial transmission—that is, these texts might reflect information that was read and/or heard but only written down later from memory. Estes describes the various manuscripts of the text she is editing here, and includes much detail about the other texts copied with or alongside the biblical lore to enable consideration of context. While it is beyond the scope of this review to summarize the contents of each manuscript and each

text that Estes edits in this article, I will list the manu-scripts and items so that interested readers may deter-mine whether this edition contains material of interest to them. Estes explains that her edition only prints the longest texts and those with the most unique material, and includes cross-references in the footnotes to pas-sages which overlap with material in other manuscripts that is not printed here. Lore texts from the following manuscripts are edited and printed in Estes's article: London, BL MS Stowe 944 (*Liber vitae*, New Minster; longest version of the *Ages of the World* text), BL Har-ley 3271, BL Cotton Tiberius A.iii, BL Cotton Vespa-sian D.xiv, and Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201. Lore texts from the following manuscripts are discussed and cross-referenced, but *not* edited and printed in Estes's article: London, BL MS Cotton Caligula A.xv, BL Cotton Claudius B.iv (the Old English Hexateuch), BL Cotton Julius A.ii, BL Cotton Vespasian D.vi, BL Additional 47967 (the "Tollemache Orosius"), Oxford, Bodleian Library Bodley 343, Bodleian Library Hatton 113, Bodleian Library Hatton 115, Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 178, CCCC 183, CCCC 320, and Rouen, Bibliotèque Municipale I, 49 (524).
SG

In "Metaphors for the Five Senses in Old English Prose," *RES* 63, issue 262 (2012): 709–31, Rosa Maria Fera sur-veys metaphors for the five senses and their influences, in particular, Augustine, Cicero, and Gregory the Great, finding in Old English prose a liminality or ambiva-lence characterizing the senses. Fera concludes that the senses can be "talents" (deriving from biblical exegesis) but also gateways for sin. Fera links this ambivalence to patristic dichotomies and hierarchies of perception.
TB

Currently still beyond the reach of digital analysis is a comparison between the Old English text glosses of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels, the former written—though perhaps not authored—by Aldred of Chester-le-Street, and the latter by two glossa-tors named Farman and Owun. In an article entitled "Lindisfarne and Rushworth One Reconsidered," *N&Q* 59 (2012): 14–19, Tadashi Kotake revisits the gener-ally accepted assumption that Farman in his glosses on Matthew, Mark 1.1–2.15, and John 18.1–3 was influ-enced by Aldred's work on the Lindisfarne Gospels, and not the other way round, a point of view argued by A. S. C. Ross in an article in *Notes and Queries* in 1979. Based on his 2009 Ph.D. thesis (Keio Univer-sity), Kotake challenges this assumption by looking in

detail at the glosses for Matthew 26–27 and arguing that these glosses provide no reason for the assumption that Farman used Aldred's glosses. Rather, the evidence points in the opposite direction: in these chapters it was Aldred who, on second thoughts, changed the wording of his glosses. The reason for Aldred's course of action remains an open question. As Kotake contends, there is not enough evidence to support the assumption that the manuscripts were once physically together. Rather, the reason for Aldred's peculiar glossing practice may well be the literary and historical context in which the glosses for Matthew 26–27 or 28 came about. Dealing with Christ's Passion and Resurrection, these chap-ters were the subject of frequent translation, as homi-letic evidence suggests. This increases substantially the chances that a much wider tradition of glossed ver-sions existed in tenth-century England, to which both Aldred and Farman had access, a point of view which is corroborated by Marcelle Cole's article in *The Old Eng-lish Gloss to the Lindisfarne Gospels*, ed. J. F. Cuesta and S. M. Pons-Sanz (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2016), a volume in which Tadashi Kotake also has a contribution.
KD

In "*De Laude Psalmorum* and Ælfwine's Prayerbook: A Quotation from a Carolingian Psalm Devotional in a Late Anglo-Saxon Programme for Morning Prayer," *N&Q* 59.4 (2012): 479–83, Kate Thomas discusses a short Old English guide to prayer in Ælfwine's Prayer-book that contains "a short, carefully translated excerpt" from *De laude psalmorum*, a Carolingian treatise on using the psalms to pray for one's own needs (479). The Old English text in Ælfwine's Prayerbook draws on the second section (of eight) in *De laude psalmorum*, although it switches to the third person instead of stay-ing in second person (482). This text, as well as excerpts and a summary from the Tiberius Psalter, suggest that there is likely to have been at least one copy of *De laude psalmorum* in eleventh-century England and that the text may have been better known than was previously believed (482–83).
EB

As Emily Thornbury's article "Building with the Rub-ble of the Past: The Translator of the Old English *Gospel of Nicodemus* and His Flawed Source," in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 297–318, reminds us, the English were quite familiar with fragmentary and paltry sources; a poverty of books was the norm. Her article "provides a close analysis of the methods of one individual—the

translator of the Old English *Gospel of Nicodemus*—when faced with flaws in his immediate source," occasioned by the discovery, by J. E. Cross, of the immediate exemplar, Saint-Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale 202. Thornbury lucidly reads the Old English translator's encounter with the flawed Latin source, concluding, with Orchard, that the translator was a competent and discerning Latinist and that he was familiar with the overall sense of the narrative (Thornbury justifies the masculine pronoun by citing Exeter's all-male foundation [301, n. 23]). He was aware of the text's flaws and unafraid to emend, omit, and outright alter where he thought it would render a more coherent and idiomatic vernacular text. Thornbury's analysis is shrewd, careful, and detailed, with several charts and graphs. She ends with a suggestion that this translator's methods may be characteristic of the period, and therefore that we may actually possess more sources for extant Old English texts than we know.
TB

5. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

If 2011 was the year of Anselm, 2012 is the year of Aldhelm and Adomnán. Three important collections of essays suggest as much: *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of his Bishopric*, ed. Katherine Barker with Nicholas Brooks (Oxford: Oxbow: 2010); *Adomnán of Iona*: *Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding, Rodney Aist, Thomas Owen Clancy, and Thomas O'Loughlin (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010); and *Listen*, *O Isles, Unto Me*: *Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork UP, 2011). The first of these volumes commemorates the 1300th anniversary (in 2005) of the founding of the Sherborne bishopric by Aldhelm of Malmesbury and contains much new insight on his life and work. Notable is the attention paid to Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, including numerous translations and essays (treated below) and a special performance of the poem by the Danish group *Vonkale* at the close of the conference. That performance left a strong impression on many attendees, which is evidenced by revisions of papers and references to the performance throughout the volume. The collection dedicated to Adomnán of Iona contains an eclectic series of essays, but noteworthy is the breadth of insight brought to bear on Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and *De locis sanctis*, both of which are treated in numerous essays. More eclectic still is the voluminous *Listen, O Isles*, whose range of interest is explained by the dedication to Jennifer O'Reilly, whose own work has been wide-ranging and influential.

General

Andrew Breeze ponders: "Did a Woman Write the Whitby Life of St. Gregory?" *Northern History* 49.2 (2012): 345–50. Prior to the 1970s, scholars systematically assumed a male author for the text, but work undertaken since has suggested in passing that, because Whitby was a double house, the author could have been a woman. Advocating an essentialist approach, Breeze builds on this foundation by, e.g., finding in the text evidence of "women's traditional concerns (such as children or food preparation)" (348); pointing out that, in the text, "[w]omen are treated with respect, never contempt"

(349); and arguing that, in the event of female authorship, "[t]he grammatical and literary failings of the text would be unremarkable" (350) because literate women in eighth-century Northumbria would still have been less educated than literate men.

In "Asser's Bible and the Prologue to the Laws of Alfred," *Anglia* 130.2 (2012): 195–206, Bryan Carella (now publishing as Kristen Carella) compares the biblical citations in Asser's *De rebus gestis* Ælfredi to the relevant Vetus Latina and Vulgate readings and demonstrates that in the course of composing that work, Asser referred to an Insular Bible with Old Latin variants closely related to the text in the Book of Armagh (siglum D). Carella then turns to the Prologue to Alfred's law code. Because the Prologue has been translated from Latin to Old English, similarly precise collation of its biblical citations is impossible. Carella cautiously suggests that the OE biblical citations derive primarily, but not only, from Vulgate readings—with the crucial exception of the citation of Acts 15:29, which almost certainly derived, however (in)directly, from an Old Latin variant that can also be found in D. To conclude, Carella tentatively ventures that Asser might have been involved in the composition of the Old English Prologue to Alfred's law code before more forcefully making the case for Celtic influence on the Prologue and arguing that the citation of Acts 15:29 in particular owes to Insular, rather than Continental, influence.

Kees Dekker, "Aldred's Appetite for Encyclopaedic Knowledge: The Secret of Warm and Cold Breath," *ES* 93.5 (2012): 583–92. Dekker argues that Stoic philosophy links the first two of Aldred of Chester-le-Street's tenth-century additions to the Durham Collectar (Durham, Cathedral Library, A.iv.19). Like Aldred's other additions, these texts—on the constitutive elements of the octopartite Adam and on the origin of warm and cold breath, respectively—exemplify "encyclopedic" knowledge. Dekker finds that some witnesses of the E group of the Adam text mention both warm and cold breath, and he posits such a witness as the ultimate source of the text of Aldred's second addition. The Adam text in the Durham Collectar, however, mentions

only cold breath, and for Dekker, this raises the question of whether the Anglo-Saxons (and Aldred) would have made the connections that he proceeds to: by joining the combination of warm and cold breath to the notion of the two-component soul found in the *Secrets of Henoch* (another branch of the Adam text), Dekker understands warm and cold breath as comprising Adam's soul. Dekker concludes that the common denominator shared by Aldred's second addition, the E-group Adam texts, and the *Henoch* version is the Stoic concept of πνεῦμα 'wind, breath of life', often rendered as Latin *spiritus* or *anima*.

James Roberts, "Saint Oswald and Anglo-Saxon Identity in the *Chronicon Æthelweardi*: The Correspondence of Æthelweard and Abbess Matilda," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 163–78. The seventh-century Northumbrian ruler is the fulcrum of a discussion about the portability of identity across time and space. Seen as the epitome of a Christian, English king, Oswald was popular on the Continent, and in the tenth-century *Gesta Ottonis*, chronicler Hrotsvit of Gandersheim cites Oswald as a distant relation of Edith, wife of King Otto I and relative of both Æthelweard and Matilda of Essen. As such, one presumes Oswald would feature in a similar vein in the tenth-century *Chronicon Æthelweardi*, a text ostensibly written to document Matilda and Æthelweard's shared family history (and Matilda's Anglo-Saxon descent), but he does not. Roberts presents a variety of potential reasons for the omission: *inter alia*, Æthelweard might have decided Oswald was irrelevant, or the prologue, which sets out the text's motivating interest in family history, might have been appended to an already written work. Whatever the reason, Oswald's reputation in England as compared to Germany demonstrates that "Anglo-Saxon identity did not operate uniformly across Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent" (178).

Gert Partoens, "The Sources and Manuscript Transmission of the Venerable Bede's Commentary on the *Corpus Paulinum*: Starting Points for Further Research," *La trasmissione dei testi patristici latini: problemi e prospettive*, ed. Emanuela Colombi (Turnhout: Brepols), 201–51. Partoens offers a "first step" (202) toward the forthcoming CCSL *editio princeps* of the *Collectio ex opusculis sancti Augustini in epistulas Pauli apostoli*, Bede's commentary on Paul that is composed entirely of 457 Augustinian fragments. Partoens sets out the commentary tradition in which Bede worked and in

which he would be influential; tallies the Augustinian works quoted in the *Collectio* and weighs whether they would have been at Wearmouth-Jarrow as whole texts or themselves quoted in florilegia; describes the twelve known manuscript witnesses of the *Collectio*; offers a preliminary *stemma codicum*; determines that the copy of the *Collectio* used by Hrabanus Maurus for his own Pauline commentaries does not belong to any of the three branches reconstructed on the stemma; and argues that part of the *Collectio*'s commentary on 2 Thes is a later interpolation. In concluding, he suggests that St. Omer, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 91 is not as textually important within the tradition as once thought and poses several questions for further inquiry.

In "Monastic Preaching and Pastoral Care as Ascetic Sanctity in William of Malmesbury's *Vita Wulfstani*," *ABR* 63.2 (2012): 122–40, Sarah Joy Adams shows how the text "figures ascetic practice not as something one does instead of public life or in addition to public life, but as a practice carried out by completing one's public duties in a properly ascetic manner, guided by the Benedictine Rule" (122). Through close examination of two scenes in which Wulfstan is wrongly accused of neglecting his monastic duties—including by a youth who, as a mark of his sinfulness, eventually casts himself into sewage—Adams demonstrates that William "reverses the hagiographic model of monastic saint as unwilling public figure" (126). In depicting the public sphere as "no less a place of spiritual warfare than the desert" (136) typically associated with asceticism, William's *Vita* thus took an emphatically "pro" stance in the twelfth-century debate on the validity of monastic preaching and pastoral care.

Kirsten A. Fenton, "Gendering the First Crusade in William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*," in *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten A. Fenton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 125–39. Fenton examines the overlapping presentations of gender and ethnicity in William's account of the First Crusade, concluding that he ultimately saw the Crusades as "a Christian, masculine space" (134). After establishing that William understood Christianity as a distinct ethnic community, Fenton explores the masculine discourse that he constructed: with his world-building (his Pope Urban II is seen to address a men-only audience in his 1095 sermon), his appeals (his citation of male exempla), and his style (his use of the term *virtus*). William also uses gender to delineate ethnic community,

as when he comments that the Turks lack what were seen as "ideal masculine characteristics" (130). As for his representation of women: William, unusually, suggests that soldiers' wives were able to join them, and he also trades in stereotypes about the dangers of female sexuality. Because both Christian and Turkish women are depicted as sexually dangerous, gender could, for William, supersede ethnicity as an organizing social logic. He was anxious that women would distract men from the job that was theirs, the work of war.

To honor the retirement of Michel Sot, Michel Jean-Louis Perrin, "Autour de la datation des poèmes d'Alcuin, Joseph Scot et Théodulf d'Orléans réunis dans le manuscrit *Bernensis* 212," in *Rerum gestarum scriptor: Histoire et historiographie au Moyen Âge*, ed. Magali Coumert, Marie-Céline Isaïa, Klaus Krönert, and Sumi Shimahara (Paris: Presses de l'Université Paris–Sorbonne, 2012), 575–87, wonders when the poems by the Carolingian court figures of his title were gathered into a sequence in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, MS 212. Focusing on the sequence's last poem, by Théodulf of Orléans, he observes that Théodulf probably sourced the hemistich *iussu compulsus (h)erili* from Wigbod's verse preface to his commentary on the Octateuch. On this basis, and taking into account the poets' respective biographies, Perrin advances that the poems were most likely assembled between 796–798. He concludes with a brief appraisal of Alcuin's influence; two appendices offer 1) a short manuscript description and references for the collection's seven poems, and 2) an edition and partial translation into French of Wigbod's preface.

Thomas O'Loughlin's *Gildas and the Scriptures: Observing the World through a Biblical Lens* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012) develops a context for Gildas as "certainly the first British theologian" (1) and indeed "the first medieval theologian" (25). Part I of the monograph is interpretive, comprising five chapters that organize and analyze the information that is presented (admirably exhaustively) in Part II, a database of all of Gildas's 548 scriptural references in his *De excidio Britanniae*. O'Loughlin's study is rich in its detail; here I can only point to some of its key findings. Chapter 1 constructs Gildas as "deacon appointed prophet to his people: the British," an identity that entails a worldview in which the British, specifically, are "one of the *gentes* within the divine plan"—a singling-out of a particular people that stands as "an important break in the history of Latin theology" (25). Chapter 2 draws on the Beuron reconstruction of the Vetus Latina to assess whether Gildas used the VL,

the Vulgate, or a mixture of the two. O'Loughlin builds on previous scholarship that also concluded "all three" by pointing out that Gildas's liturgical work as a deacon would have "moulded and remoulded both [his] thinking and his memory of his texts as he composed the *DEB*" (50); what a collation might present as a "blunder," a "slip," or a "mixed text" should instead be viewed as evidence that, for Gildas, these texts were "living within his mind" (49). Chapter 3 establishes that "while Gildas did read a variety of authors, he went, for the most part, directly to the Scriptures in his search for evidence against those before whom he had to act as prophet. *In nuce*, Gildas cut his argument from whole cloth!" (81). Chapter 4, which treats "Gildas as Exegete," describes Gildas's search for parallels between "what he believes is happening in Britain . . . and what he understands to be happening in the history of the earlier *gens electa*" not as "typological/allegorical/sacramental" but instead as "radically historical" (95, 99). Chapter 5 offers a defense of Gildas-as-theologian by elucidating the "mythic" (113) aspects of his theology: Gildas sees Britain as having a covenant with God, just as Israel did; accordingly, he "pursue[s] unfaithfulness [among the British] with the doggedness of the detective in a crime story who 'knows' with certainty, from his instinct, that someone is guilty" (119); however, he also understands that God offers sinners the possibility of redemption. O'Loughin concludes by observing a parallel understanding of reconciliation in Gildas's penitential; two appendices, three bibliographies, and three indices follow Part II's database.

In *Bede and the End of Time* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012), Peter Darby meticulously excavates and synthesizes Bede's eschatological thought over the course of his career. The introduction announces that the book continues and braids together the work begun by the "weak thesis" and "New Bede" interventions in eschatological and Bedan studies, respectively. Three chapters constitute Part I, "The World Ages Framework." Chapter 1 outlines the different subdivisions of world history (e.g., Augustine's six ages) that appear in Bede's works and provides a short history of the framework. The rest of the chapter focuses on Bede's *De temporibus*, in which Bede calculates the age of the world using the Vulgate, not the Septuagint, and thus shows the end of days to be much further off than feared. "The chronological revisions of *De temporibus* should therefore be regarded as a manifestation of two of Bede's most prominent scholarly concerns: a steadfast belief that Jerome's Vulgate was the most accurate scriptural

translation available, combined with an interest in reckoning time in an orthodox manner" (34). Bede went on to be accused of heresy in 708 for the revised chronology in *De temporibus*. As Chapter 2 details, he wrote the *Epistola ad Pleguinam* to defend himself: to show his work, so to speak, and to discredit the eschatological ideas and anxieties that were evidently circulating in eighth-century England—as glimpsed in a discussion of the possible influence of the *Laterculus Malalianus* on Bede's letter and on Aldhelm of Malmesbury. Chapter 3 explores Bede's later addition of a seventh and eighth age to the six ages in *De temporibus* and the *Epistola*: proof that Bede was "a commanding and innovative scholar who was able to adapt an established theoretical tradition to suit the intellectual concerns of his age" (65). Darby gives both a pre- and post-history of the extra ages' first appearance in his commentary on Luke, surveying their Augustinian antecedents and their many appearances in Bede's later writings, including his verse (extant and lost). Part II, "Bede's Eschatological Vision," outlines the fixed series of events that Bede, informed by Scripture and the Church Fathers, believed to be coming: it comprises Chapter 4, "Signs, Portents, and the End-Time Sequence," and Chapter 5, "The Day of Judgment and the Eternal Afterlife." Bede sprinkles discussion of these events across his works, particularly the *De natura rerum*, *Expositio Apocalypseos*, *Expositio Actuum Apostolorum*, *De temporum ratione*, *De eo quod ait Isaias*, and (of course) *De die iudicii*. Darby notes the increasing coherence of Bede's understanding as he grew older, with the crowning achievement in this regard perhaps being Chapter 69 of the *De temporum ratione*: "Bede was the first writer to integrate an account of the last days into a computus manual, and the chapter therefore represents an important milestone in the history of medieval eschatological thought" (96). Part III is on "Bede's Eschatological Perspective," "the issue of where Bede perceived his own era to be in relation to the end of time" (147); Bede's sense of this changed throughout his life. Chapter 6 documents Gregory the Great's views and Bede's departures from them, concluding that "Bede's eschatological thought was verbally and theoretically inspired by Gregory the Great, but on reflection Bede's sense of the approaching end of the world must be considered less acute" (163). The two men appear more similar, however, by the light of Chapter 7, which analyzes the *In primam partem Samuhelis*, written during a period of personal and political turbulence for Bede in 716; it shows that "Bede's awareness of the approaching end of the world was sharpened" (185) by the events of that year. Chapter

8 charts the evolution of Bede's eschatological perspective over the course of his career. In his earlier works, he displays "a policy of neutralising or suppressing the most urgent statements of imminency in Revelation" (189). As a mid-career scholar, he shows an "acute awareness of the approaching end of the world" (191), and Darby links this development to Bede's concurrent adoption of a more allegorical approach in his writing. In his later work, such as *De tabernaculo*, Bede reveals his belief that large-scale conversions of the Gentiles and Jews are markers of the age of the world. Finally, Darby takes stock of eschatological thought in the *HE*, another of Bede's late works and, "in effect, an account of the sixth *aetas saeculi* in Britain" (207). The portrait was not intended to flatter but to warn.

Christine Williamson, "Bede's Hymn to St. Agnes of Rome: The Virgin Martyr as a Male Monastic *Exemplum*," *Viator* 43.1 (2012): 39–66. Williamson discovers that eschatology is also, more obliquely, a preoccupation of Bede's hymn to St. Agnes, *Illuxit alma saeculis*. Williamson establishes that Bede's primary hagiographic source was the *Passio Sanctae Agnetis* and analyzes the scriptural citations in the *PSA* as well as the changes Bede makes to them: "[w]hile Bede maintains Agnes's characterization as a *sponsa Christi*, and indeed also associates her strongly with the motif of *imitatio Christi*, his choice of scriptural imagery passes over not only Psalm 44, but all Old Testament passages associated with the concept of spiritual marriage to focus on one very specific New Testament work": Apocalypse (55). Williamson then explores the consequences of this shift: by casting (or, more precisely, dressing) Agnes as a "priest-like figure of Christ," Bede was "able to reshape his *passio* to address a contemporary audience at Monkwearmouth-Jarrow" (64). More than that, "it is also possible that Bede intended his portrayal of the virgin to reflect simultaneously both the trials of the soul and of the church. Thus *IAS* can be read as a microcosm of Apocalypse's historical narrative of the church's ordeals" (65).

Mercedes Salvador-Bello, "Clean and Unclean Animals: Isidore's Book XII from the *Etymologiae* and the Structure of Eusebius's Zoological Riddles," *ES* 93.5 (2012): 572–82, demonstrates that Book XII of Isidore's *Etymologiae* informs not only the content but also the structure of Eusebius's zoological riddles. Eusebius is thus seen to mimic Isidore in combining Pliny's zoological taxonomy from the *Historia naturalis*—which differentiates between animals of the land, water, and

air, according to size and priority; and between states of (non-)domestication—with the hierarchy of food laws in Leviticus and Deuteronomy. Salvador-Bello maps these two taxonomies onto Eusebius's zoological riddles, which are listed in an appendix, and justifies the presence of riddles that seem not to adhere to the zoological theme.

In "Tracing the Tracks of Alcuin's *Vita sancti Martini*," in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 165–79, Juliet Mullins offers a source study, comparative analysis, and miniature reception history of Alcuin's life of the Turonese ascetic. In addition to Alcuin's obvious debts to Sulpicius Severus's original *Vita Martini*, Mullins discerns the influence of Gregory of Tours's *Historia Francorum* and, possibly, the versified *Vitae* by Paulinus of Périgueux and Venantius Fortunatus. Interesting textual correspondences exist between the two versions of Alcuin's *VSM* and the French, Italian, and Irish families of Sulpicius's *VM*; Mullins concludes that "Alcuin's *VSM* was based upon an exemplar similar to those behind the Turonese versions of Sulpicius's corpus, but that in the expanded St. Père de Chartres version of the *VSM* readings from other recensions of the *Vita Martini* were utilized" (171). She then surveys Alcuin's thematic departures from Sulpicius, most of which either emphasize Martin's links to the church or downplay his military career. To finish, she observes that Ælfric used Alcuin for his *Catholic Homilies* account of Martin but Sulpicius for the *Lives of Saints*, with the former emphasizing the moral dimension of Martin's work and the latter emphasizing the literate nature of the sources.

Ilya Afanasyev, "'In gente Britanniarum, sicut quaedam nostratum testatur historia . . .': National Identity and Perceptions of the Past in John of Salisbury's *Policraticus*," *JMH* 38.3 (2012): 278–94, surveys the ethnic vocabulary of the *Policraticus* and finds it to be noteworthy in its twelfth-century context. While still recording contemporary hostility between the Britons and the English, John also has the two groups mingling, as when, for example, he incorporates the pre-Saxon British past into English history; elsewhere he even suggests that the terms *Angli* and *Britones* are interchangeable. John is also credited with inventing the designation *incolae Britanniarum*. He thus "constructs identity within territorial categories but conceptualizes it ethnically, that is, he presents the community as a people of common descent" (283). Afanasyev stresses that this apparently inclusive gesture was in fact designed to erase and appropriate Welsh and "British" history. He concludes by comparing John's model of identity to that of other twelfth-century writers and articulating possible ideological reasons for its development, such as the promotion of English royal and ecclesiastical supremacy and the diminishment of Wales's claims to the British past.

In "Alcuin and the Legatine Capitulary of 786: The Evidence of Scriptural Citations," *JML* 22 (2012): 221–56, Bryan Carella (now publishing as Kristen Carella) tackles the chicken-and-egg question of whether the similarities between that Northumbrian document and Alcuin's later writings owe to his involvement in the Capitulary's composition or to the influence of the Capitulary (and the legation that wrote it) on Alcuin's style and thought. Controlling for the nonstandardization of the eighth-century Vulgate through the use of several databases, Carella compares the Capitulary's scriptural citations to Alcuin's citations of the same verses in the *Admonitio Generalis* and elsewhere. The data gleaned from this analysis points toward the conclusion that Alcuin had a "formative and substantial" (253) role alongside George, bishop of Ostia, in drafting the Capitulary, and Carella proposes that Alcuin may have even "composed a text decrying [ecclesiastical] abuses prior to the legation's arrival" that "served as the basis" for the work (253).

Martin Brett offers an edition of "The *De corpore et sanguine Domini* of Ernulf of Canterbury" in the *Liber amicorum* for Robert Somerville, *Canon Law, Religion, and Politics*, ed. Uta-Renate Blumenthal, Anders Winroth, and Peter Landau (Washington, DC: CUAP, 2012), 163–82. The text "responds to five questions, four on the Eucharist and one on biblical exegesis, put to him by a certain Lambert"; "much of the argument is distinctive" (164). Brett's edition is based on the text in Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley 569 and provides variant readings from the three other extant witnesses. In the way of prefatory material, Brett gives a brief biography of Ernulf (prior of Canterbury from 1096, later abbot of Peterborough, then bishop of Rochester) and dates the text to between 1080 and 1107, "and perhaps to the 1090s, given the similarity in the form of argument between it and the *De incestis coniugibus*," Ernulf's other known work (165). Ernulf's defense of intinction is also highlighted.

Christiane Veyrard-Cosme, "Procédés et enjeux des énigmes latines du Haut Moyen Âge: Les *Aenigmata Aldhelmi* (VIIe–VIIIᵉ s.)," *Revue des études latines* 89

(2011): 250–63, champions the literary nature of Aldhelm's riddles with a particular focus on their artful *breuitas* and *obscuritas*. She begins by surveying early medieval riddle collections and introducing Aldhelm as a writer. She reviews generic conceptualizations of the riddle that invoke obscurity from Cicero on and locates metapoetic elements bearing on obscurity in Aldhelm's Preface to his riddles and Riddle 50 (Milfoil). She then examines brevity and obscurity in a selection of riddles on the basis that, in Christian ethics, those qualities are bound up with admiration of the *mirabilia dei*; this admiration can be heightened further with rhetorical devices. She concludes that, far from being "paralittérature" (paraliterature), "l'énigme aldhelmienne . . . est un outil d'exploration, conciliant connaissance sensible et données abstraites d'ordre axiologique" ("the Aldhelmian riddle . . . is an instrument of exploration that brings together sensory knowledge and abstract axiological elements," 250, 263).

Sigbjørn Olsen Sønnesyn, "Obedient Creativity and Idiosyncratic Copying: Tradition and Individuality in the Works of William of Malmesbury and John of Salisbury," in *Modes of Authorship in the Middle Ages*, ed. Slavica Ranković with Ingvil Brügger Budal, Aidan Conti, Leidulf Melve, and Else Mundal (Toronto: PIMS, 2012), 113–32, probes the great pride that William of Malmesbury repeatedly took in presenting works that he excerpted. Sønnesyn turns to the works of John of Salisbury, William's twelfth-century contemporary, to delineate an intellectual tradition founded on *philosophia*, the "love of wisdom," the goal of which "was not primarily to add to a body of knowledge, let alone a corpus of texts; it was rather to develop and perfect a specific way of life" (130) based on the search for truth. Texts were nevertheless fundamental to this tradition because they "could serve as models not only for literary imitation but also for the imitation of virtue necessary for the perception of truth and goodness" (129). Accordingly, "[m]ost, if not all, of the material chosen for copying bears the mark of the instruction of the apprentice—it is meant to encourage practice rather than merely convey units of knowledge" (131). Such a framework not only accounts for William's pleasure in making the work of the Church Fathers accessible; it also justifies William's rhetorical stylings because "[i]t is precisely through the active moral judgment of the historian that the past is made available to the readers of history in an applicable form" (131–32).

In "The Anglo-Latin Elegy of Herbert and Wulfgar," *ASE* 40 (2011): 225–47, David W. Porter draws attention to a remarkable verse epistle that survives in a single eleventh-century manuscript (now split into two), Antwerp, Plantin-Moretus Museum, MS 16.2 and London, British Library, MS Additional 32246. He provides an edition, translation, and stylistic analysis of the work, which is "part begging poem, part mock heroic" (225). It relates, in forty-nine heroic couplets in the hermeneutic style, a certain Herbert's request for warm winter clothing and a Wulfgar's negatory reply. As Porter documents, both figures were real people, and there is every reason to think their exchange a real one. Herbert was a French monk in England; Wulfgar was abbot of Abingdon from 990 to 1016. Scholars excited by the prospect of a buddy comedy will not be disappointed: "The two parts of the elegy offer the sharpest contrast between continental exuberance and Insular restraint. Herbert's humour is broad and parodic, Wulfgar's spare and dry. . . . The eminent abbot as willing straight man delivers a satisfying punchline to upset the schemes of his importunate interlocutor. The taciturn Anglo-Saxon's deft countermove turns the tables on the garrulous Frenchman and is, in its way, hilarious" (235–36). Porter likewise positions the poem as portent, calling it "a precocious step in the direction of Anglo-French hybridization" (225) and "an early ancestor of the comic literature of Middle English" (237). Porter also provides an edition and translation of another text of Herbert's, a prosimetric letter to one "Ælf." requesting fish(!).

In "The Problem of Originality in Early Medieval Canon Law: Legislating by Means of Contradictions in the *Collectio Hibernensis*," *Viator* 43.2 (2012): 29–48, Roy Flechner considers the theoretical maneuvers by which new material could be introduced into early medieval collections of canon law, the authority of which rested, circularly, on their subscription to the authoritative canon tradition. He looks to the first text to include sources other than synodal acta and decretals, such as the Bible and the writings of the Church Fathers: the Irish *Hibernensis* (c. 690–748) and especially its last book, *De contrariis causis*. With its *sic et non* structure, *De contrariis* "deals systematically with contradictions that occur as a direct consequence of the introduction of material previously untapped by canon law. Hence, it can potentially shed light on the compilers' understanding of both the practical and conceptual difficulties arising from the use of new sources" (32). In both the A- and B-recensions of the *Hibernensis*, most of the chapters of the *De contrariis* contain paired

contradictions that each comprise a biblical passage and an exegesis of that passage; the contradictions are summarized in the chapter titles, and the contradictions themselves take the form of a rule and its exception. In his analysis of these elements, Flechner takes concepts that have been developed in modern legal theory (Herbert Hart's "rule of recognition" and Ronald Dworkin's distinction between "rule" and "principle") and shows them to have also been silently operative in early medieval Ireland: "the titles of *De contrariis* can be regarded as newly formulated laws (analogous to Dworkin's principles) adduced empirically from existing stipulations (analogous to Dworkin's rules) that were drawn from authoritative sources. The authority of each individual stipulation was—like in Hart's Rule of Recognition—derived from its pedigree: either a Church Father or the Bible" (42). Flechner concludes that "*De contrariis* could have provided judges with an example of how laws can be formulated" (43) and, more generally, that the use of exegetical techniques in the *Hibernensis* opened a crucial epistemological loophole: it allowed those involved in its composition and compiling "to cast their work as essentially interpretative rather than innovative" (46).

In "Aelred of Rievaulx' Sermons on St. Benedict: The Literature of Displaced Fatherhood," *American Benedictine Review* 63.4 (2012): 356–77, Ellen E. Martin contends that "we have more options for interpreting monastic texts than we are used to using," such as "the literary language of indirect reference" (358) and psychoanalytic theory. She deploys these interpretive lenses on Aelred's sermons on Saint Benedict, noting their recurrent interest in the Old Testament and Church Fathers. This approach yields a series of nesting insights: "To reach one's spiritual Father, and keep intermediate fathers from usurping pride of place, one nominates multiple fathers: to have enough, and lest any one of them have too much power" (360); "To represent Benedict, Aelred uses an unusual variety of images, a variety arising in part from Aelred's experience of more than the usual number of fathers" (362); "To invent the holy father for his monks, Aelred relies on the traditional typology of Benedict as new Moses, liberator, leader, and legislator. Yet his sermons display a figure of Moses chosen primarily for his interest and complexity, not convention" (366); "The idea that monks need a Moses as well as Benedict may be Aelred's signal contribution to the monastic psychology of this typological tradition" (374).

Bruno Dumézil and Sylvie Joye, "Les *Dialogues* de Grégoire le Grand et leur postérité: Une certaine idée de

la réforme?" *Médiévales* 62 (Spring 2012): 13–31, gauges whether a set of hagiographical works written in the wake of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* share Gregory's desire for a reform that would bring the laity in line with "[l]e miracle de la vie monastique"("the miracle of monastic life," 14). They weigh the relative presence of Gregory's attitudes and ideals, such as the belief that "le vrai miracle, c'est l'apparation d'un bon pasteur" ("a good preacher is the real miracle," 27), in three works: the Whitby *Vita Gregorii*, the earliest exposition of Gregory's life, as well the *Vitae sanctorum patrum Emeritensium* and the *Vita Praeiecti*, both inspired by the *Dialogues*. They ultimately rank the three works by their adherence to Gregorian ideals in that order and conclude that the first two works are perhaps an exception in their relative fidelity. The runaway success of the *Dialogues* "ne signifie pas pour autant que les *Dialogues* aient été compris ou même lus attentivement" ("does not mean, however, that the *Dialogues* were understood or even carefully read," 29).

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe's *Stealing Obedience: Narratives of Agency and Identity in Later Anglo-Saxon England* (UTP, 2012) shows "obedience" and "agency" to be thoroughly historically and culturally contingent through close study of six monastic narratives that issue from or take place during the Benedictine Reform: "texts that locate freedom in obedience, plot choice as a function of knowledge (rather than potency), and remake identity in terms of texts rather than blood" (14). It would be difficult in any review-capacity to capture the sensitivity and philosophical nuance of O'Brien O'Keeffe's readings; especially here, I can only summarize some of the contours of some of her arguments. As the Introduction lays out, the book fundamentally asks what is understood by the puzzling accusation that Æthelwold puts to Ælfstan for following orders too enthusiastically in Wulfstan of Winchester's *Vita Sancti Æthelwoldi*: "Hanc oboedientiam mihi furatus es" [you have stolen this obedience from me]. The problem, as O'Brien O'Keeffe teases out, is that Ælfstan's enthusiasm seems to owe to self-will rather than a desire to obey; or, to deploy two of the monograph's key terms, Ælfstan seems to manifest what we moderns would recognize as true "agency" ("individual improvisation within cultural structures" [14]) instead of "agent action" (O'Brien O'Keeffe's term for decisions made at the "nexus of (free) will and obedience in the Christian master narrative of choice and responsibility inherited by the early Middle Ages" [12]). Ælfstan, however, is able to prove his obedience by plunging his hand into a boiling cauldron to no detriment—or has he proved

instead that he simply had divine favor in his agency? O'Brien O'Keeffe finds uncertainty lurking below the surface of more than one narrative in this book, each chapter of which examines a different textual construction of "agent action" or "agency," as the case may be. Chapter 1 takes up the implications of Dunstan's initial refusal to become a monk and Bishop Ælfheah's reply, as presented in Osbern's *Vita Sancti Dunstani*. (The other *Lives* of Dunstan treat this moment differently.) Dunstan voices concerns about the theological implications of the monastic abnegation of self-will; Ælfheah responds with a general defense of obedience that does not, in and of itself, persuade Dunstan to change his mind. O'Brien O'Keeffe finds Osbern displaying "a particular anxiety in trying to portray that Dunstan's decision to become a monk is free at the same time it is directed by God"; "If the heroism of Dunstan's conversion in Osbern's narrative is magnified by the gravity of his objections, nonetheless the scandal of his objection to an obedience without agency hovers over the text" (93). Chapter 2 teases out the identity implied for the student-oblates in the opening call to obedience in Ælfric's *Colloquy*, "Esto quod es" [be what you are]. A true product of the Benedictine Reform, Ælfric envisions a monastic identity that was primarily textual in kind, "defined . . . by an orientation toward fundamental Christian texts and an ability to read and interpret them that differentiated the members of that community from all outside it" (98). At the same time, however, the *Colloquy* contains other worlds, other vocations, that might spark the children's interest even as it puts them on another path:

> And the desire which fantasy structures in performing hunter or fowler or merchant is the desire to constitute one's self outside the monastic community. The desire to be other brings with it the illusion (from Ælfric's perspective) that such self-authoring is possible. The paradox, of course, is that the children of the dialogue (and the *pueri* who were set to memorize and perform it) are engaging exactly in self-authoring by their acquisition of the rudiments of the hieratic language of power, the *cæg* to the textual identity they are to assume (113).

Chapter 3 discusses Goscelin of Saint-Bertin's *Vita S. Edithae*, in particular its depiction of a two-year-old Edith choosing between a veil and other symbols of religious life offered by her mother, Wulfthryth, and jewelry and other trappings of worldly wealth offered by her father, King Edgar. Edith chooses the veil, and the scene "thus fantasizes an untroubled mapping of the two roads to religious life by representing choice

simultaneously as identical individual, parental, communal, and divine acts" (164). Goscelin, writing in the late eleventh century about a tenth-century saint, is also seen to respond to "the flight to convents in the wake of the Norman Conquest and the increasing tension in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries between the irrevocability of oblation and the insistence on affirming religious life as an act of will" (183). Chapter 4 examines how Anselm of Canterbury constructed for Gunhild—King Harold II's daughter; abductee from the convent at Wilton—"a 'phantom agency,' an agency that has only a rhetorical existence and functions solely to indict her for collusion in her own rape" (186). In his two letters to her, Anselm cites Gunhild's spiritual marriage to Christ as reason for her to return, despite her never having formally become a nun; he goes so far as to cite various instances of her passivity as evidence not only that she was a nun but also that she desired her abduction and rape. In so doing, Anselm subscribes to the logic implied in a consecration: "the woman is both the passive gift of her family conveyed to the church and the willing agent of her own dedication.... the object that is conveyed wills the conveyance" (203). Chapter 5 focuses on Goscelin's *Liber confortatorius*, which he wrote for Eve of Wilton, his erstwhile student, upon her departure to be a recluse in Angers. He describes the work as "archanum duorum" [the secret of two], and O'Brien O'Keeffe picks up on as "secret" as descriptive of the work's "rhetorical strategy, which uses citation of communal texts (scripture, patristics, hagiography) to describe a *private* love" (211). Whether Eve exhibited "agency" in entering reclusion is the chapter's ultimate question, which considers Goscelin's instruction (as glimpsed in the *Liber*) and the ritualism of identity at Wilton as two formative influences for Eve—and both of which she left. Eve's silence precludes our having a certain answer. But: "If we assess Eve's removal from the props and signs of cenobitic life, we may imagine in her reclusion a terrifying silence of pure possibility . . . the jouissance of a revolt . . . a sacrificial life she would regard as her own choice" (245). An Afterword recapitulates some of the monograph's key concerns and argues for the particular value of narratives about women and children for discussions of agency.

In "Images of Jerusalem: The Religious Imagination of Willibald of Eichstätt," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 179–98, Rodney Aist guides the reader through the Jerusalem seen and then remembered by Willibald, Anglo-Saxon

bishop of Eichstätt, in the course of dictating what would become the *Vita Willibaldi*. After a brief exposition of Willibald's life and travels that could double as the plot of a Hollywood film, Aist surveys Willibald's descriptions of the Holy Sites, particularly those affiliated with the Holy Cross. Aist discerns in Willibald's narration "a conscious attempt to reinforce the biblical imagination of his audience"; this may be linked to the fact that, "despite the Islamic presence in the city, Willibald portrays eighth-century Jerusalem as a Christian city" (191). Aist also reconstructs Willibald's perception of Jerusalem as physically and culturally distant rather than central. Willibald's "mental map" featured "a ring of Saracen authority" (192) around the Christian Holy Land, and it was further informed by the difficulties he encountered on his pilgrimage. But such experiences also highlighted for Willibald the importance of perseverance, for it is through perseverance that one ultimately reaches Jerusalem—in heaven or on earth.

In "Abbatial Responsibility as Spiritual Labour: Suckling from the Male Breast," in *Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (Woodbridge: Boydell), 61–75, Cassandra Rhodes draws attention to Aldhelm's depiction of Wilfrid (of all people!) as a breastfeeding wet nurse, thus engaging in mothering behavior that is in line with Mary Dockray-Miller's articulation of "maternal work." Rhodes compares the maternal presentation of Aldhelm's Wilfrid to that of Ælfric's Æthelthryth and Rudolf's Leoba: "[w]hen we then turn to these female abbess mothers, and perhaps might expect imagery of breast-feeding, we do not find it" (73). Ælfric's Æthelthryth is particularly non-maternal, which Rhodes reads as gender anxiety born of the Benedictine Reform; Rudolf, for his part, was writing two centuries earlier, and his Leoba is more maternal, though not as viscerally as Wilfrid is. Rhodes posits in concluding that "describing the influence of church leaders through a lexis of motherhood that fused visible and potent cultural production with bodily nourishment and physical love was a far more threatening presence in writings about women than in writings about men" (74).

In "Comparing Conquests: The *Life of St. Birinus* and the Norman Invasion of England," *SP* 109.3: 153–72, Harold C. Zimmerman notes that the author of the work, who was probably responsible for most of the material not also found in Bede's *HE* 3.7, went to particular trouble to depict Birinus's conversion of the West Saxons as a conquest. The text emphasizes that accommodation and humility are more effective methods of conquest than oppression and humiliation; moreover, "the passages describing Birinus as a successful leader and the strategies of proper conquest are deliberately rendered in such a way as to make the characteristics of a fine ruler, and successful subjugation, secular as well as religious" (165). Rosalind C. Love and Michael Lapidge both date the text to the end of the eleventh century, a date which Zimmerman finds to be illuminating: "Read in this context, it is difficult not to see the *vita* as constructed as a pointed criticism against Norman antagonism" (166). Zimmerman compares Alfred's attitude toward the Mercians and Cnut's own acculturation to William's "exploitation by repressive means" (171) and concludes that the Norman Conquest was an ideological departure from the history of Anglo-Saxon conquest, as the author of the *Vita Sancti Birini* would have known all too well.
AVR

Michael Lapidge has opened countless paths for scholars in the field of medieval studies. In "Columbanus Luxoviensis et Bobbiensis Abb.," in *La trasmissione dei testi latini del Medioevo*, vol. 4, ed. Paolo Chiesa and Lucia Castaldi (Florence: SISMEL, 2012), 208–22, and with customary perspicuity, Lapidge laments that "in spite of his unique importance to the history of the church in early medieval Europe," the writings of Columbanus are "accessible for the most part in inadequate editions." Hoping that someone will take up a new edition of his work, he offers a burst of critical insight into Columbanus's work—his *Epistolae, Sermones vel Instructiones, Regula monachorum, Regula coenobialis, Poenitentiale*, and *Carmina*—"which will need to be considered by a future editor" of Columbanus. So, the stage is set.

In "*Preliorum Maximum*: The Latin Tradition," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Exeter: UEP, 2011), 269–83, Scott Thompson Smith considers a variety of medieval Latin texts up to the fifteenth century, to suggest how that literature may contribute to our understanding of the creation and reception of *The Battle of Brunanburh*. In the end, he finds that stories of the battle remained popular in the tenth century, solidified in the twelfth century, and became distant legend in the fifteenth. "This survey of Latin texts dealing with the story of Brunanburh testifies in many ways to the success of the Old English poem as panegyric verse."
PM

John J. Contreni, "'Old Orthodoxies Die Hard': Herwagen's *Bridferti Ramesiensis Glossae*," *Peritia* 22–23 (2011–2012): 15–52. The article addresses a set of glosses to two works by Bede, the *De natura rerum* and *De temporum ratione*. When Johannes Herwagen the younger published the glosses (Basel, 1563) he assigned them to Byrhtferth of Ramsey—exactly the orthodoxy which Contreni wishes to contest. Byrhtferth's authorship was challenged first by K. Classen in the nineteenth century and again by Charles W. Jones in the twentieth, but reinstated more recently by Michael Gorman, an idea seconded by Michael Lapidge. Contreni examines the literature on the authorship in great detail, expending much energy in attacking the arguments of Gorman and Lapidge, particularly the latter (it is clearly a grudge match), and in proving the general unreliability of Herwagen's notions about who wrote the works he published. But the strongest part of his thesis (that the glosses owe nothing to Byrhtferth) is the stylistic disconnect between the spare language of the glosses and the more elaborate expression of Byrhtferth. As I say, it is a combative essay—the din of battle is a constant background—yet an extremely thorough review of the modern literature on this controversy.

Michael Winterbottom and Michael Lapidge, ed. and trans., *The Early Lives of St Dunstan* (Oxford: Clarendon, 2012). This book is the culmination of a thirty-year collaboration between the coauthors, who tell us in the introduction that their work is now so intertwined that no division between their individual roles as editors and translators is possible. The early *Lives* are just two. The more extensive is that of the anonymous B., a personal friend of Dunstan's who had firsthand knowledge of his life and career. The minor *Lectiones in depositione S. Dunstani* (*Lections for the Deposition of St. Dunstan*) by Adelard of Ghent follows B. but supplements his narrative with fresh information, some of it perhaps from Canterbury archives. B. is interesting as a Latin stylist, but the prime attraction here is the privileged position from which he views Dunstan's founding role in the Benedictine Reform movement. As Dunstan moves from Abbot of Glastonbury, to exile on the Continent, and to eventual promotion to Archbishop of Canterbury, his career is related in some detail: a deeply religious youth of the aristocracy, he eventually becomes an intellectual force, an inspirational teacher, and finally a religious reformer whose influence endures to the Conquest and beyond. In addition to the two early *Lives*, the book assembles a wealth of texts related to Dunstan: a variant text of B. which uses rhymed prose,

letters written by and about B., a collection of Dunstan's Latin poetry, and an index of rare Latin words which supplements the introduction's close analysis of B's hermeneutic style. Missing here are the later *Lives*, those by the Canterbury writers Eadmer and Osbern, and by William of Malmesbury, though these are treated thoroughly in the introduction. The heart of the book is in fact the long introduction. The authors have thoroughly sifted through the *Lives* and other texts, culling the important facts and weaving them into a lucid narrative. A second component deserves comment. A facing English translation speeds one's way through these formulaic texts, which have so few of the enticements that attract a modern audience.

David Pelteret's title "Diplomatic Elements in Willibrord's Autobiography," *Peritia* 22–23 (2011–2012): 1–15, is self-explanatory. The subject is the autobiographical note in the text known as *The Calendar of St Willibrord* (ed. H. A. Wilson, London 1918, repr. 1998). A Northumbrian contemporary of Bede, Willibrord was missionary to the Frisians and Bishop of Utrecht. After a brief and clear exposition of the text's Latin, Pelteret compares its vocabulary, style, and form to Anglo-Saxon and Continental charters, finding numerous points of overlap. A second and unexpected influence is Irish annalistic writing, which is seen to inspire the sequential organization of autobiographical events identified by dates marked *anno domini*.
DWP

In "*Mira Romanorum artifitia*: William of Malmesbury and the Romano-British Remains at Carlisle," *Essays in Medieval Studies* 28 (2012): 35–49, William Kynan-Wilson re-examines William of Malmesbury's description of a Roman structure at Carlisle in his *Gesta pontificum Anglorum*. The article centers on an inscription recorded by William (which bears some similarity to an inscription on an altar discovered in Carlisle in 1987), ultimately arguing for the "pervasive influence of textual sources that mediated William's description of Roman ruins" and, further, that the Carlisle passage was "not simply an exhibition of William's antiquarian interests, but also a carefully crafted projection of his own *romanitas,* or Romanness" (35). Presuming the probability that William traveled Carlisle in person, Kynan-Wilson believes this monument left an indelible impression on the chronicler, wondering at the ruin and connecting the golden age of Roman occupation to the later flourishing of monastic learning in Northumbria (indeed, Bede was an important source for William,

as Kynan-Wilson discusses). This impression led William to draw on sources and rhetorical tropes associated with Rome in his description of Carlisle, especially as he marveled at the presence of the Roman Empire in Britain. This, generally, is Kynan-Wilson's intervention: William felt a "personal affinity with the culture represented by the ruins" and used the passage as opportunity both for writing history and exploring his "inherent *romanitas*" (44–45).

Éamonn Ó Carragáin discusses the connection between the liturgy and two of the earliest (and most well-known) Northumbrian monuments in "Conversion, Justice, and Mercy at the Parousia: Liturgical Apocalypses from Eighth-century Northumbria, on the Ruthwell and Bewcastle Crosses," *Literature and Theology* 26.4 (Dec. 2012): 367–83. In particular, Ó Carragáin explores the anomalous approach to the Last Judgment that both of these monuments share: a unique (for the eighth-century Insular world) desire for—rather than fear of—Christ's return. Much of the article is given to a close description and analysis of a sequence of panels appearing on each of the two crosses: the human Christ acclaimed by two animals and John the Baptist acclaiming Christ as the Agnus Dei. Ó Carragáin argues that these images have apocalyptic resonances and can "[refer], among other things, to the Second Coming of Christ in glory at the Parousia and to the adoration of Christ as Lamb of God in the liturgy of heaven" (368). Importantly, in Ó Carragáin's reading of the images, the Second Coming is here presented in an optimistic way: judgment but also mercy (as paralleled by the well-known Agnus Dei chant). Ó Carragáin further argues that this is effort is entirely deliberate and informed by early Christian liturgies. Indeed, as some of the closest parallels can be found in early Christian apses in Rome and Ravenna, it is probable that the designer worked "under the guidance of a person in the circle, or under the influence, of Bede: a bishop or abbot who had perhaps been to Rome and who had meditated deeply on what he had seen and learned there" (368).

In "From York to Paris: Reinterpreting Alcuin's Virtual Tour of the Continent," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 275–92, Lucia Sinisi re-evaluates Alcuin's late eighth-century *Cartula perge cito trans pelagi aequora cursu*, a *carmen* written in the guise of a poetic epistle. In brief, this text describes the *itinerarium* of the *cartula* itself (from England to Saint-Denis), paying homage to the centers of Anglo-Saxon missionary activity on the Continent.

Sinisi spends much of the essay carefully describing the "frames" (places, or "Stationen," the letter travels to): the mouth of Rhine, Utrecht, Dorestad, Cologne, the confluence of the Moselle, Echternach, the court of Charlemagne, Mainz, Speyer, Saint-Denis. The letter then ends with an invocation for the *cartula* to return home to its writer. It is this point that Sinisi uses to challenge the way the letter has been typically read. Responding mainly to Dieter Schaller, who argues that the letter fits into established methods of communication within Charlemagne's network, as something to be delivered to each of the places mentioned and possibly read aloud there. Despite the structural division focusing on the various interconnected places, Sinisi argues that the *carmen* does not fit into the traditional or contemporary models outlined by Schaller, particularly because of the poet's apostrophe to the *carmen* itself. Instead, the "*carmen* is meant to be a small document, halfway between an *hodoeporicon* and an ironic *vademecum*" (290), drafted to be used by someone (possibly a student) about to undertake a particular *itinerarium*—not a letter meant to be read aloud to Alcuin's eminent friends at each location.

Michael Swanton offers an important new edition and translation of *The Lives of Two Offas: Vitae Offarum duorum* (Devon: Medieval Press, 2010), which includes a significant introduction. Given that there has not been an edition of this text since the seventeenth century, Swanton's contribution is welcome and very useful. He offers the edition with a facing-page translation, with some, but not an overwhelming amount of, marginal commentary. The translation is fluid and readable; the source text carefully presented. In brief, the disorganized narrative relates the actions of two English kings with the same name who lived four hundred years apart. Offa I is imagined to have ruled in a Christian Mercia (rather than fourth- or fifth-century Schleswig-Holstein); Offa II is rightly placed in Mercia (reigned 757–796). The text sets out a number of parallels and interrelationships, while also speaking to concerns of its twelfth-century, St. Albans milieu. The edition (and translation) then make accessible a number of avenues for further research (which, at the time of writing some nine years later, have already begun to come to pass). The introduction is separated into two parts: the text and the narrative. Swanton offers background to St. Albans, a synopsis, an explanation of the manuscript tradition, and a discussion of authorship (Swanton dismisses Matthew Paris as author of the text). The second part offers informative instruction in a number of different contexts for the text: its (lack of) genre, historical

backgrounds for the kings, their kingdoms, and their queens, the presence of Offa's dyke, and the connection to St. Albans, among others. Swanton also offers eight appendices with other information on the Offas (given again in facing page), attesting to the wide ambit of these kings. These include the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Widsith, Beowulf*, Layamon's *Brut*, the Welsh *Brut y Tywysogyon*, the Danish *Annales Ryenses*, Sweyn Aagenson's *Brevis Historia Regum Dacie*, and Saxo Grammaticus's *Gesta Danorum*.

Barbara Yorke's "Rudolf of Fulda's *Vita S. Leobae*: Hagiography and Historical Reality," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 199–216, offers an in-depth study of Leoba (died ca. 782), a female, English monastic who lived as an adult in Germania, as mediated by Rudolf of Fulda in his 837/838 *Vita S. Leobae*. Yorke explains that there has been uncertainty whether this *Vita* belongs to the Frankish world of Rudolf or the Anglo-Saxon one of its subject. Instead of resolving the question, the article embraces this uncertainty, interrogating it as a historical source and teasing out why it might have been important for ninth-century Fulda while also reflecting English traditions. Yorke proceeds to contextualize the *Vita* in a handful of ways. She first examines Leoba's connection to Fulda, where she was buried. Leoba would have been a useful political figure in death: her burial at Fulda suggests a right to her inheritance (the nunnery at Tauberbischofsheim and maybe others) and further connects the monastery to Boniface. To this end, Yorke suggests that Rudolf assigns her certain attributes commonly found in earlier male *Lives* in order to construct her as an "ideal monastic leader who could take her place alongside those male religious leaders who had established Fulda as one of the leading monastic centers of Francia" (207). Yet, the literary construction is also tempered by Rudolf's use of oral tradition (especially since Leoba had died only fifty years before he wrote the *Life*). Yorke considers many of these accounts for her reader before discussing Leoba's letter to Boniface and several other sources. Yorke concludes by noting that though the "real" Leoba may always be elusive to scholars, important glimpses can be found in Rudolf's *Vita*. JM

Latin Language

In "*Kontrastimitation* and Typology in Alcuin's York Poem," *Viator* 43.1 (2012): 67–78, Paul Stapleton considers Alcuin's debt to his classical and biblical sources, the discussion of which settles on Oswald's victory over Cadwallon at Havenfield in 634 CE (ll. 241–54), where, "with the phrase *clamor fertur super astra*," for example, "Alcuin arranges a *Kontrastimitation* that sets up a complex series of relationships between Oswald's victory at Havenfield and the fall of Troy in Book 2 of the *Aeneid*" ("clamores simul horrendos ad sidera tollit," 2.122). Further language in a "typological vein" also suggests that Alcuin "recirculates" the story of Daniel 3 in the context of devotion. Noteworthy throughout Stapleton's discussion is the extent to which he moves from the level of verbatim echoing to synonymic emulation of words and phrases as tokens of Alcuin's influences. That wider focus has important consequences for ongoing research into the sources of Anglo-Latin writing.

In "*Sub Uxore Propria / Under is Wif*: The Alleged Adultery of Eadwig," *N&Q* 59.1 (March 2012): 19–25, Rob Getz asks, Did King Eadwig (955–959) commit adultery, "ignoring the sacred decrees of Christian law"? That is what Byrhtferth writes in his *Vita sancti Oswaldi*, but is it true? The phrase is obscure, but Getz argues that "it is almost certainly a calque, devised on the model of a corresponding English expression with an idiomatic use of the word *under*." As evidence, he cites Aelfric's version of Alcuin's *Interrogationes in Genesin* 171 in the context of Abraham's marriage to Hagar while simultaneously "*under his rihtwife*," Sarah, his "lawful wife." Later adaptations of this idiom in Middle English seem to confirm the idea that Eadwig did indeed commit adultery, and yet the identity of both this woman and his wife is uncertain, and subsequent sources seem to confuse and conflate stories of Eadwig's love life, so that it is unclear whether he was faithful or not, because the identities of the women in question is uncertain.

In "Words, Wit, and Wordplay in the Latin Works of the Venerable Bede," *JML* 22 (2012): 185–219, Tristan Major aims to fill a lacuna in the study of Bede's style, by examining the use of paronomasia, homonymic wordplay, asteismus, multilingual wordplay, and onomastic wordplay in the *Historia Ecclesiastica*, *Historia Abbatum*, and Bede's commentaries on the Tabernacle, Temple, Ezra, and Nehemia. Major does this judiciously, providing numerous examples, but the most intriguing suggestion here comes at the end: "Bede's use of wordplay in also intricately intertwined with his providential

view of history. Like history, words or names or places that appear in the biblical text find their complete ful-fillment of hidden meaning sometime in the future, when an interpreter is able to unlock it." In other words, "Old Testament words, names, and places reveal their true meaning only in light of the New Testament mys-teries." That suggestion may provide one of many kesy to unlocking Bede's sometimes playful use of language.

Adomnán of Iona

The following reviews concern essays in *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding, Rodney Aist, Thomas Owen Clancy, and Thomas O'Loughlin (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010). Though usually attributed to Columba, Gilbert Márkus wonders: "*Adiutor Laborantium*—a Poem by Adomnán?" (145–61). For Márkus, the clue is in the language, which does not coincide with that of Columba's more famous *Altus Prosator*, especially in the particular, unusual use of *homunculus* in *Adiutor laborantium*, which may actually be a pun on Adomnán's name. Based on that and other apparent word-games which appeal to Adomnán's pre-dilection for wordplay, "I would suggest," says Márkus, "that Adomnán may be the author of this poem. *Homun-culus* is his signature."

Although it is now beyond question that Adom-nán wrote *De locis sanctis*, "it is not clear when, where, why or how Adomnán composed it." In "On the Cir-cumstances of Adomnán's Composition of the *De locis sanctis*" (193–204), David Woods aims to re-examine evidence for the date and location of this important text. In the end and based on internal evidence, the chronol-ogy of Adomnán's travels, and his motivation to write *De locis sanctis* at that particular moment, Woods offers compelling evidence to suggest that the text was writ-ten around 702 in the area of Northumbria.

In "The *De locis sanctis* as a Liturgical Text" (181–92), Thomas O'Loughlin views this genre of writing, these *itineraria* with their "lists of biblical names, let-ters, maps and more formal treatises . . . as topographi-cal resources for the exegesis of Scripture, in the Latin west, between the time of Jerome and the Crusades." This is more than a collection of notes but a "a guide to those places where Christians can enter the world of the holy and whose *uirtus* can be extended to those who cannot physically visit them." So, the *loci sancti* and liturgy are intertwined, and just as the book is about holy places, so the liturgy is "the encounter with the holy events of those places—one cannot be under-stood without the other."

In "Adomnán, Arculf and the Source Material of *De locis sanctis*" (162–80), Rodney Aist argues that the use of *DLS* in Jerusalem Studies "has often lacked a critical understanding of its source material, par-ticularly regarding Adomnán's integration of earlier written sources with Arculf's oral testimony. Conse-quently, the text has sometimes been incorrectly used as source material for the study of Early Islamic Jer-susalem." Ultimately, what Aist calls for is that both Insular and Jerusalem studies pay closer attention to "the respective sources used by Adomnán while ana-lyzing the relationship between the Arculf material and the abbot's written sources," because it cannot be assumed that all of the material in the *DLS* reflects the topography of seventh-century Jerusalem.

In "The Structure and Purpose of Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*" (205–18), T. M. Charles-Edwards aims to unravel some of what is "mystifying" about this unusual contribution to the genre. The life is written in three books preceded by two prefaces, and events are presented not chronologically, which is typical, but "praepostero ordine" ("out of their proper order"), which Charles-Edwards argues is quite deliberate. That is to say, Adomnán organizes his material in cat-egories according to his estimation of what is notewor-thy about the saint. Charles-Edwards also suggests that Gregory's *Dialogues* devoted to Benedict's time at Monte Cassino may be a possible model for Adomnán, which, though appearing in a single book, nevertheless present the same sequence of events: prophecy, mira-cle, and visions of souls ascending to heaven. "Between Cumméne's work [his other source] and Adomnán's, therefore, lies a major reordering of material under the influence of Gregory the Great's account of St. Benedict." The consequence is a life that consciously departs from generic convention perhaps to highlight Adomnán's special affection for Columba.

As Tomás O'Sullivan points out in "The Anti-Pela-gian Motif of the 'Naturally Good' pagan in Adom-nán's *Vita Columbae*" (253–73): "The question of the value of the works of the non-Christian world and their relationship to the unique, transcendent grace revealed in Christ was often vigorously discussed, var-iously defined and, on some occasions, violently dis-agreed over" (253). He offers two examples of the motif of the problematic "naturally good" pagan in the per-sons of a Pictish pagan, Artbranan (*VC* I.33), and an old man named Emchath, whom Columba encounters at the fields of Glen Urquhart (*VC* III.14). "To put it sim-ply," as O'Sullivan says, "Artbranan . . . when viewed from the perspective of the fifth-century debates on grace and nature . . . seems to embody weakness and

dependence" (271), and both he and Emchath embody "a deliberate and unmistakable rebuttal of the doctrines of Pelagianism" (270), in particular in the operation of God's divine grace in the lives of the unbaptized. In other words, "the 'naturally good' pagans of the *Vita Columbae* glorify the power of God, not the power of man" (272).

In "Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and the Early Churches of Tiree" (219–36), Aidan MacDonald, working from a reference in Adomnán's life to *fratrum monasteria*, "monasteries of brothers" (*VC* III.8) and *cetera eiusdem insulae monasteria*, "other monasteries of the same island" (*VC* 1.36), is struck by the number of potential churches on so small an island. He therefore sets out to see what other evidence he can find for the existence of early sites. One is mentioned in *VC*, already: Artcháin, but its location is uncertain. Otherwise and based on evidence from other sources, MacDonald is able to suggest a number of potential sites for other early churches in Tiree.

The following reviews concern essays in *Listen, O Isles, Unto Me*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork UP, 2011). In "'Proud Ocean Has Become a Servant': A Classical Topos in the Literature of Britain's Conquest and Conversion" (3–15), Diarmuid Scully writes that Bede adapts Gregory's words on Britain's conversion in his *Moralia* to the English. "The ends of the earth have a last been conquered, not by an earthly emperor but by Christ and his followers centered in papal and not imperial Rome. For Bede, following Gregory, the spiritual conquest of Ocean and Britain's wild barbarians, surpassing the achievements of the Caesars, brings Britain and the wider archipelago into the universal Christian community as foretold by scripture."

In "'Wide-Reaching Connections': The List of Abbots from Iona in the *Liber confraternitatum ecclesiae* S. Petri in Salzburg" (60–72), Dagmar Ó Riain-Raedel argues that "the Salzburg codex established a *communion sanctorum* that bound together the whole of Vergilius' [abbot of St. Peter's and bishop of Salzburg] community. In this way, the living and the dead of his *familia* kept company with patriarchs, prophets, apostles, martyrs and confessors, whose names were invoked in prayers and whose feast-days were remembered during liturgical ceremonies."

In reptilian lore, no creature is more closely tied to Satan than the serpent, and serpents are often tied to heretics. In "Hunting Snakes in the Grass: Bede as Heresiologist" (105–14), Arthur Holder asks: Why was Bede so interested in heretics and heresiology when so many of those schismatics were of little threat to Bede's time? The answer for Holder is that "hunting heretics—those 'snakes in the grass'—really mattered for Bede because he connected the heresiological enterprise directly to two of the great projects that constituted his life's work: the education of the clergy, and the calculation of the right time for celebration Easter."

In "The Figure of Ezra in the Writings of Bede and the Codex Amiatinus" (115–25), Scott DeGregorio reminds us that the medieval legacy of Ezra owes much to the legacy of Wearmouth-Jarrow, to the Codex Amiatinus and Bede's copious exegetical commentary on the priest and scribe. In particular, DeGregorio pays homage to Jennifer O'Reilly's work on the person of Ezra in Bede's commentary and his portrait in the Codex Amiatinus. Ultimately, he says, "the portrait with its priestly and scribal ornaments is a pictorial allegory" relevant to Bede's eighth-century Northumbria, "with its pressing need for preaching and teaching through a revitalized priesthood and reformed episcopacy," and Ezra's characterization is "traceable to the intellectual and spiritual values of Wearmouth-Jarrow itself, whose artists, scribes and house author joined together in forging and promoting an image of Ezra as a culturally relevant figure."

In "Bede and His Martyrology" (126–41), Alan Thacker aims to "stress the essential unity of Bede's approach across a variety of genres, driven ultimately by his concern for *aedificatio ecclesiae*, the building up of the Church." As a historical martyrology with some 115 entries, Bede's work is the first of its kind in the genre, as far as we know. Bede was aware of this and clear about the "historical and informative nature of his work." As Thacker says, in its contemporary milieu, the Martyrology "could be treated as a historical tract on the nature and physical expression of martyrdom, intended perhaps to be read aloud at monastic mealtimes at Wearmouth-Jarrow. At another level, however, it provided a demonstration of the kind of research needed to put the current confused and confusing records of the saints on a proper footing."

Máirín MacCarron's paper, "The Adornment of Virgins: Æthelthryth's and Her Necklaces" (142–55), may not be what you think. It involves, as MacCarron writes, "Æthelthryth's final illness, when she suffered from a tumour on her neck (*HE* 4.19)." As it turns out, Æthelthryth used to wear many necklaces when she was young and felt that the pain of the tumour in later life was a fitting atonement for that childhood vanity. What follows is an intriguing discussion by MacCarron of adornment in Anglo-Saxon England and the difference—from a secular and Christian point of

view—between earthly and heavenly beautification. It also turns out that white and red together may signify the presence of the human and divine in an individual; such was the colour of Æthelthryth's tumour, and that tumour, lanced three days before her death, was found to be healed upon her translation. In fact, she was found to be incorrupt. That tumour, then, was her greatest adornment; a token of her penance and a testament to her sanctity.

In "Doctor of Souls, Doctor of Body" (168–80), Brian Butler examines the nature of miracles in the life of Gregory, *Vita Gregorii* 23, which derives from eighth-century Whitby. He views the Whitby life as "a testament to English devotion to Gregory" and Gregory's acumen in converting the English. In one story, the pope seems to heal a "certain king, I think of the Lombards" (*rex quidam, quem puto Langobardorum fuisse*), by recommending the monarch return to his childhood diet of milky food. That heals the king, and it seems to be miraculous, but the point of the episode and Butler's discussion is to highlight Gregory's astute way of "wooing a pagan people to Christianity" with the milk of God's word and the often spiritual dimensions of Gregory's life story.

"The man with the golden mouth" (*os aureum*—that is how Cummian describes the famous pope. In a brief but intriguing discussion of "The Representation of Gregory the Great in Irish Sources of the Pre-Viking Era" (181–90), Máire Herbert highlights the Irish vision of Gregory "as a writer and spiritual authority." As she says, "we may conclude that pre-Viking sources indicate that Gregory was among external figures of sanctity accorded high status in Ireland, without having been the subject of a popular cult. Gregory's early role seems to have been a learned authority, and validator of Roman orthodoxy in ecclesiastical custom and liturgy."

In "Seeking the Desert in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*" (191–203), Aidan MacDonald examines the motif of the "quest for solitude," in the wilderness and "the desert in the ocean." Approaching such references as literary and potentially literal spaces, MacDonald aims to isolate the precise meaning of these phrases.

In "Singing in the Rain on Hinba? Archaeology and Liturgical Fictions, Ancient and Modern (Adomnán, *Vita Columbae* 3.17)" (204–18), Éamonn and Tomás Ó Carragáin ask: "[H]ow true is it the Irish built churches so small that they were intended to serve as sanctuaries, into which only the celebrants entered? How likely is it that at Sunday Mass the liturgical litany, readings and chants, down to and including the Gospel, were intoned in the open air, before the clergy entered the church for the Offertory and Eucharistic action?" The conclusion they reach is: *not very likely*. On the contrary, the Ó Carragáins argue against the apparent scholarly consensus that Columba entered the church at Hinba for mass after the Gospel had been read outside ("post evangelii lectionem eclesiam ingreditur"). In point of fact, there is little evidence to suggest that, and it is just as likely, in fact more likely based on the Gallican and Byzantine traditions, that Columba entered from a separate *secretarium* (a reception hall or sacristy) and that church at Hinba could have supported a large congregation of celebrants. Thus, it is unlikely that anyone was "singing, and reading, in the rain. Such readings of *Vita Columbae* 3.17 should be abandoned."
PM

Thomas O'Loughlin seeks to reassess the four ground plans in Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* in "Adomnán's Plans in the Context of his Imagining 'the Most Famous City,'" *PBA* 175 (2012): 15–40. O'Loughlin explains how the plans have been important for cartographers and historians, but typically are examined in isolation from *De locis sanctis*, often as "Arculf's drawings" and removed from Adomnán (and the Iona context of the work). O'Loughlin begins by complicating some of these assumptions, noting that *De locis sanctis* was composed to fill a need in scriptural exegesis and questioning Arculf (who is himself a shadowy figure) as sole authority for the plans. The majority of the essay offers a close analysis of two of the plans (the Holy Sepulchre complex and the basilica on Mount Sion) in the context of *De locis sanctis* itself (and in connection to Adomnán's sources). In doing this, O'Loughlin challenges the plans as "primitive architectural drawings" (37) that can be used unequivocally as evidence for the shape and extent of these sacred sites. Instead, they are best read as visual evidence to supplement the picture Adomnán offers textually in *De locis sanctis* (in the instance of the basilica on Mount Sion, for example, the plan contains some contradictory information to the text that O'Loughlin believes Adomnán "does not seem willing to let perish, but which he is unable or unwilling to resolve into a coherent account" [37]). This then calls "Arculf" into question as the indisputable source for the plans, since the drawings are so interconnected with *De locis sanctis* itself. Ultimately, O'Loughlin believes Adomnán deserves more credit for the way the drawings are integrated into text and that they "were intended to make sense of problematic and contradictory texts rather

than being an attempt to record complexities on the ground" (38).
JM

Aldhelm and Sherborne

The volume *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, ed. Katherine Barker with Nicholas Brooks (Oxford: Oxbow, 2010), offers an impressive collection of essays on Aldhelm's work and life, in particular his *Carmen rhythmicum*. In "*Usque Domnoniam*: The Setting of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*: Literature, Language and the Liminal" (15–54), Barker provides a very good introduction to the text, its setting, the dedication, the church in the poem, the sky, and the *carmen* within the context of the Roman rite. "This is a poetic work for 'publication' embracing an account of how members of a leading West Saxon delegation came to perform the Roman rite in a British church on the very edges of things, between oral and *scriptura*, 'between two political spaces;' that setting of limits, that defining of borders legal, liturgical and linguistic, *usque limina*."

Barker offers an impressive, wide-ranging discussion in "The *Carmen Rhythmicum*: Aldhelm, poet and composer" (233–70). In the wake of that 2005 conference on Aldhelm, Barker is struck by how the musical performance of Aldhelm's poem by Vonkale invites "a re-reading of some of the references made by Aldhelm to music and musical instruments" (233). In fact, Barker does much more than this, striking out to consider the *Carmen rhythmicum* in the context of "Aldhelm and *musica*," "The *Carmen de Virginitate*," "Instrument Accompaniment for the *Carmen de Virginitate*," "The *carmen* as a class of poem," "The *carmen* and Finno-Ugrian epic poetic tradition," and "*Ars memoriae* and Finno-Ugrian epic poetic tradition." In short, there is much here to prompt re-contextualization of Aldhelm's work in the context of traditional, oral composition and the literary tradition of poem-writing Aldhelm helped to shape and promote in Anglo-Saxon England.

Chapter 9 of *Aldhelm and Sherborne* contains four translations of Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, including reprints of both Lapidge (1985) and Howlett (1995), as well as an adaptation of Lapidge by Nicholas Brooks, to place the text alongside the Latin for those following the performance of the poem at the conference by Finnish duo Vonkale. Katherine Barker also provides a translation of the text with productive notes not to be missed by anyone working on the poem.

In "Faricii Abbatis Meldvnensis vita sancti Aldhelmi, *Faricius' 'Life of St. Aldhelm'*" (181–94), David Howlett states: "The present essay considers some aspects of composition not addressed in this most recent of Winterbottom's signal contributions to the study of early Insular Latin." He is here referring to the edition of Faricius's *Life of St. Aldhelm,* which Michael Winterbottom published anew (2005) after the emergence of a manuscript not considered by earlier modern editors. Howlett's printing and discussion of the text provide a number of invaluable insights into the language and literature of Faricius's text.
PM

Thomas O'Loughlin, "Varia I: The Presence of the *Breuiarius de Hierosolyma* in Iona's Library," *Ériu* 62 (2012): 185–88, proposes that the late antique *Breuiarius* was available to Adomnán when he was writing his *De locis sanctis*. Though Adomnán never directly quotes from the *Breuiarius*, O'Loughlin nevertheless identifies several points of contact between that text and the text and diagrams of the *De locis*. O'Loughlin concludes that, because the *De locis* dwells on and rectifies several of the textual *cruces* in the *Breuiarius*, it is "cumulatively certain" (188) that it was one of Adomnán's sources.

In "Adomnán, Plague, and the Easter Controversy," *ASE* 40 (2011): 1–13, David Woods recovers the underlying religio-political valence of Adomnán's description of the plagues across Europe in his *Vita Columbae* (II.46). Instead of referring to the Easter controversy explicitly, which would distract from the hagiographical purpose of his work, Adomnán alludes to the waves of plague that hit Britain in 664—the same year as the synod of Whitby, where the decision to adopt the Dionysian Easter table in Northumbria was taken. Coincidence? The *VC* further relates that Columba interceded (successfully) to protect the Picts and the Irish in Britain from the plague's ravages at a time when both groups still adhered to the 84-year Easter table. Coincidence (again)? In the eyes of a churchman familiar with, *inter alia*, the plagues of Egypt, surely not. Woods concludes by postulating that it took the plague epidemic of 700–c. 702, which *did* fall upon the Picts and the Irish in Britain, to convince Adomnán finally to adopt the Dionysian table, in which case Bede was correct (*HE* V.15) to say that Adomnán did not do so until the early eighth century.
AVR

Works Not Seen

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6. Manuscripts, Illuminations, Charters

Among the manuscript-related publications for 2012 is a substantial collection of essays edited by Richard Gameson, *The Book in Britain*, *Volume I: c. 400–1100* (CUP), the first in a series on this topic. This 720+ page volume is a comprehensive study of the book from its material production (fabrication, layout, binding, pigments) to its scripts, decorations, range of genres, and the libraries that held these volumes. These subjects and the "evolving trends and innovations" (8) in this period are covered in topical chapters contributed by a range of codicologists, art historians, historians, linguists, archaeologists, and literary specialists. In many ways, *The Book in Britain, Vol. I* indexes what we know about the book from the Roman period through the Norman Conquest. Following Gameson's introductory chapter, this volume is divided into five sections: Part I: The Making of Books; Part II: The Circulation of Books; Part III: Types of Books and Their Uses; Part IV: Collections of Books; and Part V: Coda. (Part IV falls outside the scope of this section for *YWOES*, but offers an engaging series of studies of the libraries and collections documented or derived from known works from Britain, including Iona in the time of Adomnán, Bede, Cynewulf, Byrhtferth, and Rhygyfarch ap Sulien and Ieuan ap Sulien, and others.) It also includes an extensive bibliography and index, and dozens of black-and-white plates. Its range of topics makes *The Book in Britain* an important codicological resource; each (often brief) chapter is a deep dive into its topic, but each is also accessibly written and offers an introduction to the subject matter for students of medieval culture.

The first 120 pages are contributed by Gameson himself, starting with an introduction, "From Vindolanda to Domesday: The Book in Britain from the Romans to the Normans" (1–9), which provides a historical overview of the four main periods the volume covers: Roman, pre-Viking, post-Viking, and Norman. Foregrounding the volume's coverage of the material history of the book, Gameson discusses the shift from papyrus to parchment and *rotulus* to codex, the issue of literacy and literary language, and the "the circulation of books between Britain and her neighbours," which, he notes, "was to remain a major phenomenon throughout our period" (5). This introduction also addresses the issue of books' material survival, highlighting the paucity of evidence from Celtic regions compared to England (6) and the survival rates of fine manuscripts, which "doubtless owed their survival to their high grade and treasured status," versus the service and school books that were "used to death" (7).

Part I: The Making of Books opens with Gameson's 80-page overview of their physical production, "The Material Fabric of Early British Books" (13–93). Subdividing the chapter into sections, Gameson works from the material foundation of the book's pages to the methods and implements for writing, including a series of helpful line-drawings and diagrams to show concepts such as foliation, quire formation, and ruling. In the section on "Parchment," Gameson covers the harvesting of pelts and factors contributing to the varying quality of the prepared skins. In "Dimensions," "Shape," and "Written Area," he offers both general trends for certain book types and specific examples and outliers (such as the Paris Psalter's unusual shape). Moving from the pages to their interleaving, in "Arrangement of the Parchment," "Quire Structure," and "Quire Signatures," he discusses the typical arrangement of hair vs. flesh sides in Italian, Continental, and Insular book making, as well as differences in quire structure and signatures (51). In "Pricking and Ruling," "Ruling Procedures," and "Ruling Patterns," Gameson highlights differences in Insular and Continental practices, also giving a sense of the range of designs a scribe might choose from (68). The chapter closes with an extensive discussion of "Inks, Pigments, Gold and Silver." In light of there being "no extant Irish or Anglo-Saxon recipes describing [the] manufacture" of inks and pigments, Gameson's remarks "reflect current knowledge about early medieval pigments in general" based on primary texts and modern experiments (73). He describes the typical ingredients for ink and the typical uses of color in early English illumination; he then goes through the colors and how they were made, from ink blacks and browns to white, red, orange, yellow, green, blue, purple, and finally gold and silver. While Gameson notes that our lack of knowledge is due in part to the fact that "few of our pre-Conquest manuscripts have undergone the scientific investigation that is necessary for a sound identification of their components" (73), one hopes that more

recent collaborations between codicologists and the sciences will begin to fill this gap.

Features of the physical aspects of bookmaking are also part of Gameson's next chapter, "Anglo-Saxon Scribes and Scriptoria" (94–120), which examines who the scribes were, their training, the nature of their labor, and how others viewed their work. Using as a mini-case study the account of an Irish-born scribe, Ultán, Gameson notes how we know what scribal life was like, citing as evidence illustrations (especially "representations of saintly writing figures" [95]), Ælfric Bata's incidental references to writing implements, and scribal colophons. Regarding who the scribes were, Gameson notes ecclesiastics and secular figures, paid professional scribes (only two were known from pre-Conquest England, 99), and women scribes in this period. Regarding the scriptorium, Gameson considers the various definitions of this space and the factors of its organization, economics, and labor, from smaller churches (and even noble households) to major centers. He remarks on the evidence we have for manuscript production, from the secure contexts of Canterbury, Lindisfarne, Minster-in-Thanet, Wearmouth-Jarrow, and Worcester, to the dozens of others known from documentary and archaeological evidence (105). Highlighting scribes' mobility and the varied contexts in which they might work, Gameson's chapter challenges the typical view of an early medieval scribe being only an ecclesiastic working at a wealthy ecclesiastical center.

The next four chapters deal in large part with the writing itself and the development of particular scripts, focusing on pre-Norman Conquest Britain. The first is the widest ranging in coverage. Michelle Brown's "Writing in the Insular World" (121–66) offers an overview of all "Insular" writing; that is, "the history and culture of the Celtic, post Romano-British and Anglo-Saxon Peoples of Britain and Ireland" between the fifth and ninth centuries (121). Following a historical overview, Brown examines the importation of Roman display scripts, sometimes resulting in visual mixtures, such as the Roman and runic in Insular gospel books and Northumbrian name-stones (134–35). She then moves through particular scripts, including the *romanitas* at work in Insular Uncial (exhibited in books from the foundations of "the romanophile" Benedict Biscop, 141–42), followed by Half Uncial, and Insular Minuscule. For each, Brown offers historical context, example manuscripts, and major touchstones in scholarship. Her chapter also addresses both Northumbrian and Southumbrian developments, tracing regional differences and ending with Alfred and the scripts of the ninth century.

The script-oriented chapters that follow focus narrowly on particular scripts and issues of manuscript survival introduced in Gameson's and Brown's chapters. In "Script in Wales, Scotland and Cornwall" (167–73), Helen McKee covers the sparse evidence for early book production in these regions, from which fewer than 24 manuscripts and fragments before the twelfth century survive (167). Given that the earliest securely dated manuscript is from the early ninth century, McKee turns to epigraphic evidence from Wales and Cornwall (though noting the rounded letterforms in the sixth or seventh centuries result from the masons' use of wax tablets rather than manuscripts, 168). McKee then works through the evidence for manuscript production in each region: the possibly Welsh Litchfield Gospels (ninth century) and more certainly Welsh *Liber Commonei* (early ninth century), Cornwall's connections with Irish culture, and finally Scotland. McKee's chapter offers important hypotheses for how we understand the evidence in these regions and what it suggests for the number of their scriptoria and their productivity.

Turning to England, Julia Crick's "English Vernacular Script" (174–86) highlights the visual separation of languages, concentrating on the use of Caroline minuscule and its "universalising aspirations" for Latin and the homegrown Insular Minuscule for the vernacular (174). Noting the "vernacular boom" in later Anglo-Saxon England, Crick focuses on its less-well-understood "vehicle, Vernacular (or Insular) Minuscule," and the continued "cultural partition" of Latin and the vernacular (174). Her chapter examines the particular circumstances that gave rise to Vernacular Minuscule, from the earlier adoption of Latin letter forms to the cultural dominance of Wessex. Of particular interest is the interface with spoken language, as Crick covers the role of "aural reception" in the writing of texts for oral performance, especially the use of Latin punctuation systems in the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan (181). Crick also addresses the issue of readership and literacy, considering how learning to write in two languages and two scripts might be understood in terms of a two-stage process.

The Latin scripts in this same period (ca. 900–1100) are the subject of the next chapter, split into parts (a), (b), and (c): first, David Ganz's "Square Minuscule" (188–96) examines how "English Square Minuscule is a formalised development of the compressed angular

minuscule scripts" of the eighth and ninth century. (188). Emerging with the Alfredian translations, the Square Minuscule of the Parker manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle permits the dating and localization of the script (189). Building on David Dumville's work and inviting questions about the script's chronological "phases," Ganz's chapter includes both a history of the script and a survey of notable examples. He shows the script's wide-ranging utility "for all grades of book, and for texts in both Latin and Old English" in tenth-century Wessex before passing out of use in the eleventh century (195). Part (b) of "Latin Script in England" is Rebecca Rushforth's "English Caroline Minuscule" (197–210). Rushforth notes that although Caroline script was available to English scribes far earlier (with Continental scholars invited to Alfred's court), it was not adopted then; "instead, Insular script was revived in a simplified form, leading to the creation of Square Minuscule, the predominant script of the tenth century" (197). Under the Benedictine Reform a century later, however, "the reformers were as receptive to the Continental Minuscule as to the Continental ideals," and Carolingian Minuscule took off. Rushforth's chapter introduces both "Style I" and "Style II" of Anglo-Caroline, building on T. A. M. Bishop's work, and their merging in the Canterbury scriptoria and in the standard form of Late English Caroline Minuscule, focused on the script of Eadwig Basan. Finally, in part (c), Teresa Webber's "The Norman Conquest and Handwriting in England to 1100" (211–24) addresses the impact of the Conquest, drawing on a substantial body of evidence. As she notes, "English manuscripts survive from the last third of the eleventh century in larger numbers than in any equivalent period dealt with in this volume" (224). She emphasizes the diversity of outcomes that came with the Conquest, such as the loss of native hands and adoption of new ones occurring at various places and rates. To highlight these differences in greater detail, the chapter is organized as a case study of three centers—Christ Church (Canterbury), Durham, and Salisbury. Webber also raises important questions about how we interpret distinctions in contemporary scribal hands and how we treat notions of generational differences in scribal communities.

The next three chapters of *The Book in Britain* cover manuscript decoration roughly chronologically: Nancy Netzer's "The Design and Decoration of Insular Gospel-Books and Other Liturgical Manuscripts, c. 600–c. 900" (225–43) examines the decoration of liturgical books, which "served as a tangible embodiment of the faith" (225). More than 65 manuscripts, leaves, and fragments of liturgical books survive, the "vast majority" of which are gospel-books (226). Netzer notes the features that indicate "the earliest phase of the Insular desire to embellish the text itself": the *Cathach* of St. Columba shows what would become three "hallmarks of Insular books"—that is, distinctive Half-Uncial script, large initials with La Tène designs, and the *diminuendo* of script at the start of a section (226). Netzer also covers the development of designs "to aid the reader in navigating the text," including decorated initials and flourishes (233). Covering both well-known Northumbrian and Southumbrian examples (such as the Vespasian Psalter and Codex Aureus), Netzer's chapter also encourages further study of the use and "meaning embedded . . . within the less lavishly embellished examples" (242). Working with a far smaller body of evidence, Nancy Edwards, in "The Decoration of the Earliest Welsh Manuscripts" (244–48), covers the manuscripts associated with Wales. She starts with the eighth-century Lichfield Gospels, including its Chi-rho page and the evangelist pages of Mark and Luke. She also examines the evangelist pages in a non-luxury gospel-book, the slightly later Hereford Gospels, as well as the *Liber Commonei* and the Psalter and Martyrology of Rhygyfarch. Edwards highlights how even this small group of books shows the contact with other decorative styles—including Insular, Viking, and, later on, Anglo-Norman—and how what survives gives us only a "very fragmentary picture" of what once existed (248). It was, of course, a far different story in later Anglo-Saxon England, as shown in Richard Gameson's extensive chapter on "Book Decoration in England, c. 871–c. 1100" (249–93). Gameson traces the shift in decoration from the reigns of Alfred to William Rufus, from the more simply decorated initials in ninth-century Wessex to the decorative styles under the Benedictine Reform. Gameson focuses in particular on the styles of the more "cosmopolitan" Winchester (notably the New Minster Charter and Benedictional of St. Æthelwold) and the more "conservative" styles of Canterbury (including the Bosworth Psalter and books influenced by the Utrecht Psalter). Gameson notes that at Canterbury, "rather than rejecting English traditions of the earlier tenth century, they grafted Continental ideas onto them" (260). Artists at Winchester favored lavish frames and foliate ornament and fully painted illustrations, whereas at Canterbury they favored simpler (but "more vivacious") colored line-drawings and eschewed framework and gold (262). Gameson also addresses the issue of the patronage of decorated books, including

the role of lay patronage—especially in the eleventh century—and the more "visible" patronage of ecclesiastics (279). Approaching the decoration from further angles, Gameson explores who the illuminators were (whether individuals or teams) and why the illustrations of certain books (such as the Paris Psalter and Junius 11) were left incomplete. Finally, Gameson asks about the types of books that received decoration, both before and after 1066, and the function of decoration in "the various roles that books performed," ending with the spiritual role of book decoration (290).

Part I concludes with Michael Gullick's "Bookbindings" (294–309), which examines the very small body of evidence for the work of pre-Conquest binders, as "only seven of the principal manuscripts containing Old English are in medieval binding, or have any part of a medieval binding, of *any* date" (294). Gullick's examination of the three main types of wooden-board bindings ("Carolingian," "Romanesque," and "Gothic") includes the seventh-century Stonyhurst Gospel (St. Cuthbert Gospel), the c. 1020 Grimbald Gospels, and a survey of treasure bindings, blindstamped bindings, and so-called "limp" bindings. Drawing from not only the material evidence of bindings, but also the representation of books in manuscript illustrations, Gullick's chapter introduces the evidence of binders' work from a number of angles. He closes by noting that "writing, decorating and binding manuscripts . . . was an integral process, capable of being carried out by one hand," reminding us of the skill involved in every stage of the book-making process.

Part II: The Circulation of Books is a comparatively brief look at how these objects moved between Britain and both the Continent and Celtic regions. It opens with Rosamond McKitterick's "Exchanges between the British Isles and the Continent, c. 450–c. 900" (313–37), which traces the east-west import of texts to Britain as well as from England to the Continent. McKitterick covers the topic from several directions, considering the evidence for popular literacy in Roman Britain and the need for texts from elsewhere with the conversion of the Angles and Saxons in the sixth and seventh centuries, as well as the evidence for *re*-importing English material that had gone to the Continent and come back again. Of particular note is McKitterick's case study of the dissemination of Bede's works, how they got to the Continent, and their return in copies to England as his "are almost the only works of an English author re-imported" (330). Particularly given current concerns in the field with migration, travel, and representing the cultural diversity of

the early Middle Ages, McKitterick's point that "we need to think in terms of the continuous passage, on however small a scale, of individuals across Western Europe" is especially important to consider on an even broader, global scale (337).

Helen McKee turns to the exchange with neighboring regions in "The Circulation of Books between England and the Celtic Realms" (338–43). While evidence for both directions of exchange is thin, examples such as the Lichfield Gospels gesture toward this circulation of texts: as McKee explains, the Lichfield Gospels was in Wales in the early ninth century and made its way to Lichfield by the second half of the tenth century, though "it is not known how or why" (338). She covers not only Wales, but also Ireland, Cornwall, and the more robust body of evidence for exchange with Brittany. Notably, McKee examines the Celtic presence in Glastonbury and Winchester to emphasize that not only books but *people* from Celtic regions traveled to and lived in England. The chapter closes by turning to what we know of books imported from England to the Celtic realms; although there is little evidence of library holdings, the survival of English letter forms (and clearer evidence from Brittany) again points to contact and exchange that the few extant manuscripts and booklists hint at.

The final chapter in Part II is Gameson's "The Circulation of Books between England and the Continent, c. 871–c. 1100" (344–72), which picks up chronologically on the later period that McKitterick's earlier chapter introduced. This period offers more substantial evidence for the movement of books, especially in the eleventh century. The numbers are perhaps even greater than we can clearly see now, since a book could have been loaned as an exemplar and returned without incident or alteration that would signal that loan after the fact: "it would only be possible to perceive that they had ever left their homeland if they received substantial additions in the other country . . . or if they had singular textual features that would enable direct descendants . . . to be identified" (345). In his survey of the ninth century to the end of the eleventh, Gameson also highlights how historical circumstances resulted in the ebb and flow of this exchange (e.g., in a low point of English book production during the Viking raids of the ninth century, he notes that the next century was marked by the importing of books from the Continent). Gameson's chapter also indicates the critical methods by which we determine the paths of circulation, such as noting the addition of glosses or marginal notes in Anglo-Saxon hands (351),

the evidence in letters referring to the movement of books—including via theft (353–54)—and the use of "Continental ink" to write glosses alongside the "rich black typically English ink" of a composite Boethius manuscript (357). Gameson also considers the physical and social factors of circulation, including the weight of the books and transporting bound vs. unbound manuscripts (369), and the way a book's provenance points to "personal connections" between (especially) ecclesiastics traveling and bringing books along (370–71). Drawing on the material evidence and provenance of a number of objects, Gameson's chapter is an important survey of not only what we currently know about this exchange, but how we have come to know it.

Part III: Types of Books and Their Uses works its way through both chronological phases of book use in Britain, Wales, and England before turning to specific genres of books. In "The Book in Roman Britain" (375–88), R. S. O. Tomlin explores the earliest evidence of the Roman *codex*, "a block of wood formed by binding together a series of *stilus* writing-tablets" (376). Tomlin notes that "four or five hundred *stilus* writing-tablets have now been found, but few of them are legible" and none yet found "contain[s] a 'literary' text" (377). With evidence from Vergil at Vindolanda to a series of mosaics, Tomlin's chapter highlights the extent to which written records formed the basis of everyday legal culture in Roman Britain, and how we approach issues of bilingualism, literacy, and "literate" culture in this period.

T. M. Charles-Edwards's "The Use of the Book in Wales, c. 400–1100" (389–405) complements Helen McKee's earlier chapters through its discussion of the inference required to study early books from Wales and Cornwall owing to the lack of surviving books written there before the ninth century (389). But Charles-Edwards urges caution regarding these survival rates, noting that "the distribution of surviving manuscripts cannot be taken as an indication of the usage of books" (390). Other factors, including the preservation of monastic and cathedral libraries in later- and post-medieval periods, must be considered, as should the existence of other categories of evidence, including inscriptions. Focusing on two main periods of Welsh book use—post-Roman to the seventh century and "a subsequent, more purely Welsh" period—Charles-Edwards's chapter picks up on major threads covered across this volume, including literacy, bilingualism, and script development (392).

Turning to evidence from England, Richard Marsden's "The Biblical Manuscripts of Anglo-Saxon

England" (406–35) opens with a vignette about the Codex Amiatinus, "the earliest surviving complete Vulgate Bible anywhere," and Boniface's requests for books (406). Marsden's overview usefully covers the issue of access to exemplars in England (in both the north and the south), the transmission of the bible in parts, its use as a gift and potent symbol to onlookers, and the evidence (via mentions in letters, chronicles, and so forth) for bibles that did not survive to the present. Although gospel books "were indeed the most copied and distributed section of the bible," Marsden notes the disproportionate survival rate owing to their status as luxury volumes and so devotes space in his chapter to other "part-bibles" and the few examples of complete bibles (408). To lay out the evidence by numbers, Marsden includes a table of complete and part-bibles (Table 17.1) and discusses the evidence chronologically (597–c. 850 and c. 850–c. 1070). Marsden also discusses not only the issue of the production of bibles, but their use and patronage, and the issue of language (Latin and the vernacular) and the practice of producing biblical texts in English, which "was already established by the end of the tenth century" (428). Marsden's chapter helpfully lays out both data and detailed examples, as well as the stakes for assessing how many biblical manuscripts once existed and what we know about the use of such essential texts at ecclesiastical foundations.

Patrick McGurk's "Anglo-Saxon Gospel Books, c. 900–1066" (436–48) dovetails with Marsden's chapter in its focus on gospel books from early medieval England, which "are easily the most numerous of all surviving Latin biblical codices" (436). McGurk's chapter surveys the various "accessory texts" and canon tables that might accompany a gospel book, as well as the issue of their frequently opulent illuminations and evangelist portraits (437). Giving a complete picture of gospel-book production in this period, McGurk's chapter also ends with two manuscript lists, including the date and provenance of the 20 volumes and one fragment that survive, and the numbers and types of preliminary texts that accompany them.

Richard Pfaff's "Liturgical Books" (449–59) opens with the issues of terminology: the performance of the liturgy would not necessitate the presence of books (since some liturgies could "have been committed entirely to memory" or were "improvisatory in nature"), and the production of a so-called "liturgical" book "does not guarantee that it was used liturgically" (449). Pfaff also carefully navigates the issue of what is a "typical" example of such a book, as these texts share "affinities" but such a small body of

evidence—especially for the early part of the period—cannot support sweeping generalizations (450). Pfaff introduces the range of texts involved in the mass, the daily office, and occasional services, and the diverse formats of volumes given their specific contents. He discusses specific examples to show this range, including the Durham Collectar, the Leofric Missal, and the Benedictional of St. Æthelwold. Some of these works are discussed elsewhere in *The Book in Britain*, and Pfaff offers a critical introduction to their place among the body of liturgical manuscripts.

In "Anglo-Saxon Prayerbooks" (460–67), Barbara Raw discusses the six prayerbooks that have survived from the period, in addition to numerous prayer collections that have survived in other manuscript contexts (appended to missals, psalters, and homily collections, and translated in verse in poetic codices). Her survey of these six separate prayerbooks' provenance, features, and sources offers a useful introduction to students unfamiliar with the genre. The discussion of the intertextuality of early medieval prayers and how the language of surviving prayers reflects the transmission from other sources and genres (such as the use of Irish and Roman sources in the four earliest prayerbooks, 463), as well as how prayers reflect the theological stakes of their time and place, opens up new avenues for the study of these texts.

M. Jane Toswell's chapter on "Psalters" (468–81) offers an overview of the production of psalters and their cultural importance: "A psalm verse, the action of singing a psalm, and a psalter were potent weapons against evil in early medieval Britain and Ireland" (468). Toswell writes that the psalms' "cadences and vocabulary underlie much Anglo-Saxon poetry," and individual verses appear in medical charms as well as monumental sculpture; put simply, the psalms were part of the fabric of ordinary Anglo-Saxon life (469). Turning to the manuscript versions, Toswell notes that "some fifty psalters of Insular origin (broadly conceived) survive," though "every parish church should have had at least one, while monastic establishments will have had multiple copies" (472). This chapter offers a rich introduction to these manuscripts, including the ubiquity of the Gallican psalter in English production, their wide-ranging dimensions (compare, for example, the palm-sized Athelstan Psalter to the half-meter-high Paris Psalter), the texts that would often be appended to the psalms, their varied decoration and ornamentation, the use of vernacular glossing (which Anglo-Saxon scribes had a particular penchant for doing), and the use and study of the psalms at Irish

centers. Toswell's chapter situates surviving psalters in a broader cultural context that includes the evidence for their use and importance in the narratives found in histories and hagiographies.

Susan Rankin's "Music Books" (482–506) starts with the earliest reference to music books in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, acknowledging that the history of music and its transmission over time is not always materially evident since it "depended on a combination of oral and written transmission" (483). Rankin notes that "the paucity of surviving music books copied in Britain before the late tenth century is striking," in spite of the evidence for the early Anglo-Saxon church's investment in chant (485). She offers a range of examples from this later period to discuss musical literacy, the development of notation, and the visual components of their layout. She also introduces the range of subgenres among music books and their roles in the liturgy, working through the later period of evidence from both booklists and surviving books for the types of texts priests would have had access to for services, as well as the various factors in these books' survival (including, in particular, that "the ways of writing and reading musical notation adopted in late Anglo-Saxon books were virtually obsolete by the second quarter of the twelfth century" (497). Rankin closes the chapter with a consideration of other types of music books, including song-books and books of music theory designed to guide and instruct.

Books related to instruction and learning are the subject of the next chapter, "Anglo-Saxon Schoolbooks" (507–24), in which Scott Gwara surveys the books classified as "schoolbooks," what the evidence suggests about Anglo-Saxon approaches to education, the use of Roman models, and the development of monastic pedagogy. In this regard, Gwara's chapter is an introduction to Anglo-Saxon educational practices, from the elementary curriculum of an Anglo-Saxon monastic school (learning spoken Latin, rhetoric, the grammar of written Latin, etymology, elementary readings as evidenced in the colloquy of Ælfric Bata, science, and the issue of instruction in Old English) to the advanced curriculum (Latin poetry and meter, history and geography, glossography and glossaries). Gwara offers a series of examples in each section, including an introduction to the vocabulary used in these major categories of schoolbooks.

Like Gwara's discussion of what we mean by "schoolbooks," Patrick Wormald's "Law Books" (525–36) notes that "there is, properly speaking, no such thing as an Anglo-Saxon law book"—that is, a *book* of laws made

as such during the period (525). Individual law codes were eventually copied into collections, sometimes well after the content itself would have been in use, leaving us to ask how the laws circulated earlier, and in what form. Wormald examines post-Conquest law collections for "clues to the way that law-codes were disseminated in the Old English kingdom," based on how they were preserved in these later compilations (527). Wormald's chapter includes a case study of the role of Wulfstan, who is associated with several surviving law books (528–31), and ends with a detailed Appendix, which is a "Summary Inventory of Anglo-Saxon Law Books" (533–36).

Simon Keynes's "Manuscripts of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*" (537–52) discusses the similar challenges in treating *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* manuscripts—seven manuscripts and one fragment, labeled A through H—starting with the history of their study and compilation during the reign of Elizabeth I. Keynes focuses on the pitfalls of considering these manuscripts as though "they constitute a single continuous narrative" and discusses the way the Alfredian "common stock" of the *Chronicle* must "be distinguished from the work of a multiplicity of later chroniclers, writing at different times and places, for purposes of their own" (537). Each manuscript has "its own story to tell," exhibiting particular features of its place, time, and transmission history over the course of the more than 250-year history of the *Chronicle*'s development (538). Keynes's chapter highlights the complexity of the continuations, supplemented by a diagram (Fig. 25.1) illustrating the stages of development for each of the manuscripts from the "common stock" forward. Keynes's discussion lays out the relations between the manuscripts to introduce readers to the history of these copies and their dating. The chapter ends with an Appendix listing the "Manuscripts, Facsimiles and Editions," which offers a brief introduction to the historiography of the *Chronicle* and further reading.

The final chapter in Part III is Donald Scragg's "Old English Homiliaries and Poetic Manuscripts" (553–61). Scragg opens with an introduction to the four main manuscripts containing the bulk of Old English poetry, offering a sense of their date, content, and provenance. While Scragg starts with the poetic manuscripts and notes their importance to the study of the period, he also reminds us that recording poetry in writing "was of less significance to contemporaries than was the copying of prose, to judge from the number of surviving manuscripts, for verse only accounts for around 6

per cent of extant Old English" (557). His overview of Old English homilies gives an accessible introduction to the work of Ælfric and Wulfstan, supplying a sense of their historical milieu and the nature of the survival of their writing.

Following Part IV on "Collections of Books," Gameson's Part V: Coda comprises a final chapter he authored, "The Study of Early British Books" (709–22). Gameson offers what he calls a "rapid sketch of the history of our subject" (717), starting with the work of Matthew Parker and Humfrey Wanley. Gameson's discussion of the contributions of the nineteenth century includes the foundational efforts to produce facsimiles of manuscripts, making use of the technology of photography, and the efforts to produce editions of texts, including the Rolls Series (initiated in 1857) and the Early English Text Society (founded in 1864). Turning to the efforts of literary scholars in manuscript studies in the early twentieth century, Gameson highlights the work of Kenneth and Celia Sisam, F. C. Robinson, Neil Ker, Helmut Gneuss, and others. Further resources on the manuscripts owned, used, or copied in early medieval England were produced through the undertakings of two major source-study projects, "The Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture" and "Fontes Anglo-Saxonici." In reflecting on the achievements of these many decades of work on books in Britain, Gameson closes with a look to the future, cautioning that scholars not "litter the field with improbable theories and misleading speculations" (719) while encouraging the gains to be made from "steadily improving technology" (721). In this, Gameson suggests the importance of continued digitization but also hopes that using technology to examine pigments and the material composition of manuscripts means that "scrutinising the originals" will never be obsolete (721). The coda ends with an expression of hope for future discoveries, noting that archaeological finds and previously overlooked fragments and leaves will contribute to the growth of the corpus.

Four of the pieces among this year's publications appear in the festschrift for Professor Jennifer O'Reilly, *Listen, O Isles, Unto Me: Studies in Medieval Word and Image in Honour of Jennifer O'Reilly*, ed. Elizabeth Mullins and Diarmuid Scully (Cork: Cork UP, 2011) and highlight O'Reilly's contributions to the study of Insular illuminated manuscripts. In "Bearded Sages and Beautiful Boys: Insular and Anglo-Saxon Attitudes to the Iconography of the Beard" (278–90), Michelle P. Brown addresses the iconography of facial hair in early

medieval manuscript illustrations. She includes a brief history of shaving (including Macedonian, northern European, and Jewish traditions) before zeroing in on the "deeper theological thought" at work in portraits of gospel writers in particular (281). Brown's piece shows a variety of modes that the use of beards might take; for example, in some gospel books, Matthew and Luke are "depicted as ageing and mortal, a state signaled primarily by their beards," in contrast with the beardless, eternal youthfulness of John and Mark (281). In other examples, such as the Barberini Gospels, "all four gospellers are treated as sages," and so were bearded (284). Beards could also be associated with manhood and virility. Citing a number of manuscripts, including the Lichfield Gospels, St. Gall Gospels, Book of Cerne, and York Gospels, as well as other objects, Brown demonstrates the iconographic weight of the beard in early English art throughout the period.

Heather Pulliam shows the dynamic iconographic relationship between manuscripts and other art in "'The Eyes of the Handmaid': The Corbie Psalter and the Ruthwell Cross" (253–62). While some parallels between the Psalter and the Ruthwell Cross have been previously noted, Pulliam specifically examines the Ruthwell Visitation and the illumination of the Visitation for Psalm 122, which "no comparable psalter illustrates . . . with a visitation scene" (261). Noting that the two objects have several women in common in the program of illustrations, she suggests that the Visitations share the specific themes of "recognition and vision," and have a significant parallel in the visual depiction of the Virgin Mary and Elizabeth (253). Pulliam explores the role that emotion and identification play in both objects, drawing a connection between the image and the viewer's own experience.

In an essay that also focuses on a viewer's ability to unpack complex manuscript images, Carol Farr, in "Cosmological and Eschatological Images in the Book of Kells: Folios 32v and 114r" (291–301), examines the images of Christ Enthroned (32v) and Christ and two male figures linked to Matthew 26 (114r). Farr states that "both pictures present elements of apocalyptic iconography" and explores the artist's use of ambiguity, "a powerful feature of visual images to stimulate the viewer's contemplation and desire for understanding" (292). The eschatological elements tying the two images together include the use of peacocks as a multivalent motif with "continuing funerary, celestial and paradisiacal significance during the Insular period" (294). With folio 114r's focus on the breaking of Christ's body, "show[ing him] as the sacrifice

and Eucharist, but with eschatological associations," the images reflect past, present, and future (298). Farr suggests that folios 32v and 114r's weaving together the cosmological and eschatological with Eucharistic iconography "express[es] the synchronicity or timelessness inherent in liturgical replication of the Last Supper," which connects these illuminations with the viewers' own performance of the liturgy (301).

In "The Canon Tables in Boulogne, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 10" (302–12), Elizabeth Mullins explores the unique elements of the Eusebian canon tables in Boulogne 10 and how the influence of Insular tradition is manifested in their decoration and layout. Mullins examines the unique layout of Boulogne 10, where the second canon is spread across four pages rather than the more common three (304). She also analyzes how its pairs of tables "are decorated not only to distinguish them broadly from others in the series, but also to vary subtly from each other," including the ornamented frames and bases, the position and orientation of the beast-headed capitals, and the foliation (307). These choices reflect the Boulogne artist's recognition of the canon tables' inherent harmony in both content and decoration. Finally, Mullins examines the unique omission of numerical references in Boulogne 10, hypothesizing how these inclusions and omissions reflect back on the references' transmission history (311). This essay sheds light on the importance of this little-studied manuscript, which is "the only surviving Anglo-Saxon gospel book from the first half of the tenth century," and Mullins's preliminary conclusions encourage others to examine its contents and influences (302).

JHC

In *Sustaining Belief: The Church of Worcester from c. 870 to c. 1100* (Farnham, UK: Ashgate, 2010), Francesca Tinti gives us a comprehensive guide to this very important religious foundation, which gave rise to both Sts. Oswald and Wulfstan, two supremely important figures of their respective eras. The level of detail Tinti is able to bring to bear in her work is due, as she notes, to the "wealth of documentary material . . . preserved through the Worcester archive" (1). By examining both the two eleventh-century cartularies and various other fragments produced at Worcester, Tinti builds up, over the course of four detailed chapters, an analysis of Worcester's presentation of its own history, its economic/land management negotiations, and its approach to pastoral care for the souls within its borders. Chapter 2, "Personnel: Bishop and Cathedral Community" traces the

history of the monastic foundation, concentrating on the late tenth-century reform period and the eleventh-century leadership of St. Wulfstan; Wulfstan's predecessor, Ealdred, also receives a close analysis. Chapter 3, "Archival Memory and Record Keeping" looks more closely at the Worcester archive itself, and notes how the cartulary compilers subtly reworked their source material to reflect the context of its production. Chapter 4, "Land, Lordship and Justice," looks at the interaction of the religious and secular communities, especially as it related to land management and regulation, while Chapter 5, "Ecclesiastical Organization and Pastoral Care" examines the ways the archival evidence showed how Worcester monks participated in the social and religious life of the community. This analysis shows how intricately the last two roles, especially, are intricately linked ideologically; Tinti contests that ecclesiastical attention to issues of land management and economic security are secular interests only; instead, she shows how, in the documentary evidence, the care of the land under the monastery's care is a part of their mission of "sustaining belief" and is part of their understanding of their pastoral mission. By looking at Worcester's development during a period that included both the Benedictine Reform movement and the disruption of the Norman Conquest, Tinti also provides scholars with an intimate view of how these national events percolated at a local level. She concludes that an examination of the documentary evidence shows "the monks of Worcester progressively developed a fuller awareness of their new identity, their relationship with the bishop and their need to protect their landed estate." (313)

The following reviews refer to articles in *English Manuscripts before 1400*, ed. A. S. G. Edwards and Orietta Da Rold (London: British Library, 2012). In D. A. Woodman's "The Forging of the Anglo-Saxon Past in Fourteenth-Century Beverley" (26–42), the author looks at several iterations of S 451, a fourteenth-century creation that purports to be a tenth-century re-foundation charter (from Æthelstan) of the privileges of Beverly. It is an obvious fourteenth-century creation—it is in rhyming Middle English, after all—but the way it (and its copies) reconstitute the pre-Conquest English past is what Woodman concentrates on in this article. The article focuses on two moments in the fourteenth century that prompted copies of this charter: the first is in the 1330s and involves the reinforcement of Beverly's right to grain thrave taxes, which were being questioned locally. The second was in 1381 and involved the Archbishop of York, Alexander Neville, conducting an "aggressive

visitation" (26) of the Minster and excommunicating a significant number of Beverly clergy in the process. In both instances, Woodman shows how S 451 was rewritten to support Beverly's side of the issue within the context of fourteenth-century legal pleadings. One of the more interesting aspects of the latter incident in 1381 is how the supposed refoundation of Beverly by Æthelstan was emphasized in order to draw strength away from Neville's case of Beverly being under the control of York since St. John of Beverly was also Archbishop of York. The charter uses Beverly's own lack of historical materials to its advantage, claiming that the Minster's records and very existence were wiped out by Vikings and Æthelstan (the first king of a unified England) had to step in and refound it from the ground up, thus making it a royal, rather than Yorkish, institution. This is a brilliant rhetorical turn, especially since S 451 is such an obvious fourteenth-century creation.

Kathryn Lowe's article "Bury St Edmunds and Its Liberty: A Charter-text and Its Afterlife" (154–72) also examines a charter's afterlife and usefulness for an institution's later legal pleadings. This article examines charter S 980, a bilingual Bury St. Edmunds charter purportedly issued by King Cnut to support Bury's independence from episcopal control out of Ely. Lowe looks first at the source of the Old English "translation," which is markedly similar to S 1046, a foundation charter naming Edward the Confessor as the benefactor of Bury. Lowe does not speculate on why the scribes used the S 1046 language in S 980, only noting that this dual-language form for diplomas was not necessarily common during this period. She then turns her attention to a facsimile copy of the charter made in the fifteenth century, noting the copy's relative fidelity to the original, despite understandable errors made by a scribe most likely uneducated in Old English. Lowe concludes her examination of this charter's fifteenth-century life by investigating multiple probable prompts for its existence, focusing on the option of a drawn-out local dispute between Bury St. Edmunds and the episcopal seat at Ely over the parish at Lakenheath. This charter, she argues, was recreated to give weight to Bury's claim to jurisdiction over this parish and its taxes—a claim that was thrown into doubt when Ely's lawyers turned up a supposed tenth-century charter in King Edgar's name giving those rights to Ely. Lowe's ultimate point is that even well past the Old English period, documents in that language (in part) were key witnesses in legal disputes.

Michal Gullick's "The Canterbury Annals and the Writing of Old English at Christ Church in the Early

Twelfth Century" (43–59) is an examination of BL Cotton Claudius Axv fols. 133–39 (Canterbury Annals) that shows the switchover from Old English to Latin, post Norman Conquest. The annal entries are in Old English until 1109, and then in Latin save one entry in 1130. Gullick's examination of this manuscript concentrates on the scribes' use of letter forms, and their fluctuating awareness of distinct letter forms for Old English and Latin entries. He concludes that this was "one of the most unstable and variable periods in the history of handwriting in England" (54) and deserves more focused examination to determine "whether this process was the result of developments in handwriting, a change in attitude toward the vernacular, or a mixture of both." (55)

The final article from *English Manuscripts before 1400* that deals with manuscripts from the Old English period is George Younge's very well-researched and well-argued "An Old English Compiler and his Audience: London, British Library MS Cotton Vespasian D. xiv, fols 4–169" (1–25). In this analysis of a late eleventh-century Old English manuscript Younge builds on work of prior scholars, especially Elaine Treharne (whom he explicitly thanks at the end of the article) to argue that this manuscript was an in-house manual for adult *conversi* at Christ Church Canterbury. Cotton Vespasian D. xiv is a compilation of homiletic material, including a significant amount of Ælfric's *Catholic Homilies*, carefully selected and edited for this specific audience. Younge draws attention to the way the compiler specifically avoided Latin; chose and edited the included homilies to focus on internal monastic, rather than external preaching, needs; and betrayed an anxiety about the temptations of secular life luring these newer monastic converts back to the world outside the cloister.

In "A Fragment of Colossians with Hiberno-Latin Glosses in St. Gall, Stiftsbibliothek, Cod. Sang. 1395," *Sacris Erudiri* 51 (2012): 233–56, Brandon W. Hawk provides a detailed description and edition of the title fragment —a commentary on Colossians by, it seems, Irish scribes working in a Continental location during the ninth century. Hawk notes the scant attention paid in scholarship to Hiberno-Latin manuscripts, and presents this edition as a corrective. In his careful, detailed article that adds this folio to the scholarly conversation, Hawk presents a convincing case for it being the work of an Irish scribe working on the Continent, possibly in St. Gall itself, where the manuscript resides now. He also posits some possible sources for a few of

the unidentified glosses; however, he pulls back from asserting his sources as certain, instead noting that these are "tantalizing avenues" (247) and calling for further exploration by future scholars. This is now even more possible due to Hawk's work in providing this excellent edition.

Similarly, Peter K. Klein invites scholars to appreciate and incorporate a newly-found Carolingian folio to their analysis of biblical (and biblical commentary) manuscripts in his "Un fragment illustré de l'époque carolingienne du commentaire de Bède sur l'apocalypse," *Bulletin monumental* 170.1 (2012): 43–45. As Klein notes in this short article (with lovely full-color illustrations), a Carolingian fragment depicting the apocalypse was recently discovered in the binding of a sixteenth-century book. This fragment is a faithful copy of a Tours-influenced manuscript (l'Apocalypse de Trèves - Stadtbibliothek, cod. 31) datable to the ninth century. Klein notes that the Trèves version is more late antique, while the newly discovered Mayence (Mainz) fragment shows more medieval artistic tendencies, including simplified clothing and "des contours de visages durcis" (contours of faces hardened, 43), indicating a solid identification of Carolingian provenance. Kelin suggests, and then rejects, a hypothesis that this fragment comes from the mutilated manuscript of Cambrai on the basis of significant differences in style and detail. Furthermore, he notes that the reverse side of the fragment is not simply the biblical text of the Apocalypse, but includes Bede's commentary, which is highly unusual. Klein is unable to provide much information about the later provenance of the fragment, and how it ended up in the binding of a 1547 Frankfurt book; however, he is comfortable claiming French origin during the late ninth or early tenth century for it and calls for more scholarly attention to this rare find.

Eric Gerald Stanley's "A Late Old English Scribe Likes the Older Spellings: King Alfred's *Soliloquies*: OE æacsa or æ acsa?" *ANQ* 25.2 (2012): 78–81, is a short note on the word æacsa ('ask') in King Alfred's *Soliloquies*. Here, the author critiques Endter's emendation to æ acsa, translating the first dipthong as *a*, 'ever, always'. Stanley suggests retaining Hargrove's earlier presentation as the simple æacsa, and argues that this is a deliberately antique spelling by the scribe to lend an air of aesthetic venerability to the text.

In "Image Making: Portraits of Anglo-Saxon Church Leaders," Gale Owen-Crocker's contribution to

Leaders of the Anglo-Saxon Church: From Bede to Stigand, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 109–27, the author presents the reader with a comprehensive survey and descriptions of the surviving ways early English church leaders have been visually memorialized in various media during the pre-Conquest period. Owen-Crocker includes sculpture (not a prime choice for portraitists) and textile work along with the more common manuscript evidence to show a variety of ways these important figures were depicted.

In "England Joins the Medical Mainstream: New Texts in Eleventh-century Manuscripts," in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story, with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 341–52, Debby Banham notes that prior to eleventh century, medical texts in England were primarily in the vernacular Old English; however, from the mid-eleventh century Latin appears and Old English disappears until "well into the twelfth century" (342). New Latin texts ("Salernitian," or influenced by the Italian medical center of Salerno) are more rooted in the four humours and theoretical; the prior Old English texts were more focused on practical techniques and recipes. The newer Latin texts recognized themselves as part of a larger medical discourse going back to Hippocratic Greece, and included recipes with Mediterranean ingredients and precise measurements. Banham notes that these texts are too late to be part of Benedictine Reform, and too early for Norman Conquest; she suggests the "little conquest" and Baldwin (royal physician and abbot of Bury St. Edmunds) as a "likely candidate" (347) for bringing continental medical books to England. She finishes her article by noting that the manuscript Sloane 1621 is a "good example of the 'new medicine'" (350) of the mid-eleventh century and concludes that prior to this, Old English medical texts developed in isolation from continental influence.

The use of vernacular in scientific manuscripts is also the topic of Maria Careri's "Plurilinguismo (latino, francese, inglese) in manoscritti di medici inglesi del XII secolo," *Filologia Mediolatina* 19 (2011): 98–105, which looks at twelfth-century manuscripts, like Marbod's *De lapidibus*, that contained bilingual (French/Occidental and Latin) texts. Careri concludes that "E chiaro che la miscellanea bilingue ci documenta una fase in cui l'uso del volgare per testi scientifici, didattici, legali sta acquisendo . . . autorita testuale/manoscritta nei confronti del latino" ("It is clear that the bilingual miscellanea documents a phase in which the use of the vernacular for scientific, didactic, and legal texts is progressively . . . acquiring textual/manuscript authority with respect to Latin," 105) She notes that these manuscripts formed, as she put it (in her English-language abstract), a "documentary substructure underpinning the plurilinguistic culture" (105) of post-Conquest England and showcased a complex understanding and use of Latin and Romance vernaculars in an English context.

RSA

Francesca Tinti, "The Reuse of Charters at Worcester between the Eighth and the Eleventh Century: A Case-Study," *Midland History* 37.2 (2012): 127–41, focuses on three different versions of a charter (Sawyer nos. 58, 59, and 60) dealing with Aston Fields, near Stoke Prior, Worcestershire. The original land grant is dated to 767 and all three versions are found in the archive of the church of Worcester. Tinti provides a thoughtful analysis of the three versions and what changes between the different documents reveal about the Worcester community's use of the past, effectively arguing that the archive was adapted to fit contemporary needs rather than remaining a static repository (127). The article contains two color photos of the second version (S 59), the only one to survive in single sheet form, and offers an alternative and convincing explanation for why S 59 needed to be crafted in the first place. Tinti ends with a brief discussion of S 60 and how it demonstrates a new stage in Worcester's history in which monks were trying to protect land owned by the community as opposed to those owned by the bishop.

Richard Sharpe, "Addressing Different Language Groups: Charters from the Eleventh and Twelfth Centuries," in *Multilingualism in Medieval Britain (c. 1066–1520): Sources and Analysis*, ed. Judith A. Jefferson and Ad Putter with Amanda Hopkins (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 1–40, convincingly argues that the post-Conquest Latin charters provide evidence for the necessity of dealing with secular issues in more than one language, in other words, that under William the Conqueror provisions had to be made for multilingualism. Sharpe mainly focuses on address clauses in eleventh- and twelfth-century charters, particularly on the different communities acknowledged in these sections. After providing a brief overview of charter address clauses in general, Sharpe focuses on the formula *frensisce & englisce* (Latin: *francis & anglis*) which was in continual use through 1170s and occasionally after that. He also makes the point that there was precedence in the

charters of Edward the Confessor to address the English and Danish and uses it to argue against George Garnett's theory that the formula merely indicated legal status. This formula also appears in noble charters, and to a lesser extent episcopal ones, across England and is enlarged in charters issued in Wales, Cornwall, and Ireland to include the Welsh, Cornish, and Irish communities in their respective regions. Sharpe also explores the introduction and usage of the formula in Scotland under King David. The chapter ends with Sharpe's very thoughtful analysis that the formula fell out of favor as French became the language of public activity. Latin charters no longer had to be translated into French and English for attendees at the shire court by the end of the twelfth century; no matter one's ethnicity, the governing class at least, understood French and only one oral translation was needed.

Sarah Foot, "Internal and External Audiences: Reflections on the Anglo-Saxon Archive of Bury St Edmunds Abbey in Suffolk," *The Haskins Society Journal* 24 (2012): 163–93, argues that the creating and preserving of institutional memory for a religious community drove the development of monastic archives. She also explores Bury St Edmunds's system of record keeping and examines why these monks continued to not only preserve but to make new copies of charters dating to pre-Conquest England. The preservation of such documents, and the rights contained therein, created, protected, and shaped a medieval community's memory and identity. This article examines the different internal and external audiences this act of record-keeping may have influenced. The written word not only recorded a transaction to protect it from the failure of human memory but it also ensured the proper narrative of the estate or rights were safeguarded for potential future court cases. The protection extended not just to the monastic house receiving the gift but to the benefactor donating it, thus enshrining the reciprocal relationship. Foot provides an overview and brief analysis for the most frequently copied pre-Conquest documents, pointing out how they were likely used in post-Conquest situations to maintain the abbey's freedom. She also suggests other documents, particularly ones in Old English, were of inherent value only for internal audiences. Finally, she surveys documents like memoranda, which provide insights into the economic running of a complex community such as Bury. The article ends with photos of Oxford, Corpus Christi College, MS 197, fol. 106v–108v and an appendix on the memoranda of food rents and charitable gifts made to Bury St Edmunds.
MEB

Michael Lewis, "The Bayeux Tapestry and Oxford, Bodleain Library, Junius 11," in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, ed. Michael J. Lewis, Gale R. Owen-Crocker, and Dan Terkla (Oxford: Oxbow, 2011), 105–11, argues that there are enough common elements between the Bayeux Tapestry and Junius 11 to suggest a connection between the texts. In his examination of shared features of humans, animals, buildings, ships, and vegetation, he finds evidence to suggest uniquely shared features, although he finds an even stronger comparison to exist between the tapestry and the *Old English Hexateuch*, suggesting a common Canterbury location for all three texts. He notes the lack of parallel for many of the illustrations, but finds enough commonality to claim that the designer of the Bayeux Tapestry may have known, and been inspired by, Junius 11. In terms of clothing, both the manuscript and tapestry make use of gowns with diagonal folds and round necklines, as well as featuring a similar pose and dress for female figures, despite the rarity of female figures in the Tapestry. Both also feature similarly shaped towers, columns, arches, doorways, and battlements, although these features are common in many Canterbury manuscripts. He argues, further, for the Tapestry's architectural base in art rather than life. Both the manuscript and the Tapestry share common spear shapes, but even more notable are the connections among ships. Both feature zoomorphic figureheads, as well as showing both Noah and Harold in similar poses. Similar animals and vegetation appear, although the parallel seems most prominent in the Tapestry's borders. The death scenes of Noah and Edward also share common features, so too with some ploughing imagery and the image of the hand of God. These shared elements help place Junius 11 in a Canterbury context, and as a result of such features only found in Junius 11, the *Old English Hexateuch*, and the Bayeux Tapestry, Lewis calls for further exploration of the relationship between Junius and the *Hexateuch*, a text which the manuscript precedes by at least 35 years.

Carol Braun Pasternack, "Ruling Masculinities: From Adam to Apollonius of Tyre in Corpus 201b," in *Intersections of Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in the Middle Ages*, ed. Cordelia Beattie and Kirsten A. Fenton (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 34–61, argues for cohesive reading of the Corpus Christi College Cambridge (CCCC) 201b as a manuscript promoting a particular kind of clerical masculinity. Through a thorough examination of the manuscript contents, Pasternack builds a trajectory for the development of this masculinity, focusing first on male religious bodies, but then

expanding outward to bodies as framed by law, and ultimately kingly bodies and literary bodies. This eleventh-century codex addresses the specific concerns of its moment, particularly in regard to the marital and reproductive practices of kings, which were at odds with the teachings of the Church and its model of spiritual and chaste fatherhood. Beginning with the figure of Adam in Wulfstan's sermon, the first parent serves as a procreative model of circumspect masculinity and kingship. The following text speaks to the functions of priesthood, focusing on purity at a time before clerical marriage was prohibited. Further, it demonstrates that a priest who is married to a woman acts as an adulterer to his primary relationship: the Church. Pasternack argues that the "Northumbrian Priests' Laws" extends its scope slightly in regard to clerical marriage, offering a potential sense of tolerance for "regional and ethnic difference" (47). Moving from codes governing the behavior of priests, Pasternack recounts the multiple marriage practices of King Edgar and Cnut, a system of marriage at odds with the Benedictine Reform as a context for discussion of the regnal law codes that appear next in the manuscript. These codes promote the idea that the king must be submissive to Christendom. Despite the actual practices of kings, the laws set forth regulations for marriage and sex that promote the kind of controlled and circumspect masculinity necessary for a reformed and "national salvation" (50). The final text in the manuscript, *Apollonius of Tyre*, whose focus on marriage and reproduction functions as a culmination of the ideas of the manuscript as a whole, offering an alternative to the unruly practices of kingly multiple marriage and extensive reproduction. *Apollonius*, Pasternack argues, sets up a model of sexual and reproductive moderation, one that is more in line with the practices and preferences of the Church. Yet, while the earlier texts in the manuscript promote chastity and monogamy in contradiction to the practices of elite males, the genre of this final text might speak to such men in a more pragmatic way than sermons, allowing a story about a pagan king who must still be concerned with the production of an heir. The manuscript as a whole works together to unite the differing visions of cultural masculinity, calling for a reform of excessive sexual practices in the governing of the kingdom and the getting of heirs.

Julia Crick, "Script and the Sense of the Past in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 1–29, suggests an early start for what she terms "graphic self consciousness." She begins with the resilience of Insular script, which survives until the fifteenth century in Latin and Old English texts, but even longer in Irish and Gaelic texts that extend to the seventeenth century, suggesting the scribes made conscious choices to deploy this script as a rhetorical call to legacy. Her focus here is with pre-Conquest traditions and imitations that inform later practices. She invokes the principles of fidelity and ideology (a purposeful choice to enact a kind of disrupt to the contemporary moment by juxtaposing it with features of the past). By acknowledging the complexity of scribal choices, Crick argues for an untapped corpus of materials: charters written in a purposefully archaic script. After examining examples of script-modification, hyperarchaism, and chronological differentiation, she notes that these methods of mimicry reveal an "awareness of visual difference," and a thoughtful manipulation of a variety of modes and models on the part of a scribe. However, the relationship between forgery and litigation leads to a different approach to the mode: inspection and imitation. In other words, these imitations were meant to work as pseudo-originals, not copies. The desire in this instance of mimicry is to replace charters and gesture toward their original identity, particularly in cases where original documents might have been lost, destroyed, or stolen. Crick does not claim a single function for imitative scripts, and while proposing utilitarian functions for imitation, also leaves open aesthetic motives. She gestures to the possible connection between imitative script and monastic reform before turning to a final discussion regarding the use of late antique models in the art associated with the Gregorian reform. Ultimately, she demonstrates the imitation might have been required for legal purposes, but that script imitation also served to reify authority based on a specific notion of the past and the authority attached to that moment.

Christine Schott, in "Intimate Reading: Marginalia in Medieval Manuscripts" (doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Virginia, 2012) gives her attention not to the producers of material objects, but rather to the consumers of books, thinking particularly about the ways in which they interact with such texts. While much of this dissertation focuses on later material, including Icelandic manuscripts, *Piers Plowman*, and the *Pearl*-manuscript, the first chapters discuss Anglo-Norman interactions with the E manuscript of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, also known as the Peterborough Chronicle. Her focus here is on the late thirteenth-century Brut history added to the final pages of the Chronicle. She argues that the juxtaposition of these texts offers a kind of

parallel history that both competes with and reinforces the ideas original to each text, ultimately revealing a perspective on the ideas of genre, history, and language of the thirteenth century. Rather than seeing the imposition of the Brut into the Chronicle as a colonizing move, Schott argues that it works in a mode of historiography and literary tradition, specific to Peterborough Abbey. She begins by discussing the relatively grim and practical nature of margins in most early medieval English manuscripts compared to later ones. She suggests that this difference is based in a shifting understanding and relationship to the material object of a book, wherein books were treated as potent objects in the earlier medieval period, not to be interrupted with mundane reactions to the contents of the book. However, by examining Ker's catalogue, she notes the continuing responses to these early manuscripts far beyond the period's limits. Before turning to the Brut, Schott discusses the extensive marginal contents in CCCC 41, around the Old English translation of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, noting his likely practical rationale for building other texts into the margins. Next, she turns to a discussion of the position of *Cædmon's Hymn*, particularly in its complex manuscript history and the relation between the Latin and Old English texts of the hymn, wherein the Old English version was marginal. She uses these discussions—the margin as archive, and the margin as a place of authority—to consider the relation between the Chronicle and the Brut. Beginning with a discussion of the complexity of a range of narratorial voices and moments in the Chronicle, she identifies the Chronicle as a fundamentally interactive medium. Acknowledging that the scribe might not have been aware of the implications of his choice to place the Brut in the margins of the Chronicle, she argues that any later readers could not have read the Chronicle in the same with the presence of the Brut impinging upon it, functioning as a part of the now-doubled work as a whole. The payoff, she suggests, is that the Brut works as a kind of history that is at once narrower and broader than the Chronicle, beginning as it does with Troy as an origin for European cultural identity. Further, where the Chronicle is strictly historical, the Brut is moralizing and literary. The texts work in tandem, with the Chronicle offering a local set of events and the Brut reaching out to incorporate classical roots in a complementary way. We can tell that the combination of these texts was in some way valued because of the act of another later actor who cut away parts of pages that indeed incorporated other Latin marginalia, but seemed to hesitate and retain the marginal Brut.
DMO

This year's scholarship on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts documents several items discovered in previously catalogued manuscripts and collections. In "Columbanus and Jonas of Bobbio: New Textual Witnesses," *Peritia* 22–23 (2011): 188–90, Alexander O'Hara reports uncovering "two new witnesses to Columbanus' Rules: *Regula coenobialis* (short recension) and *Regula monachorum* (ten chapter version)" in Mss Klosterneuburg, Augustiner-Chorherrenstift, 570 (s. XIV²) and 587 (s. XII²) as well as a reproduction of *Vita Iohannis* belonging to Jonas of Bobbio in Ms Berlin, Staatsbibliothek Preußischer Kulturbesitz, theol. lat. qu. 141 (s. XV). In "Second Addenda and Corrigenda to the Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *ASE* 40 (2011): 293–306, Helmut Gneuss provides an update and correction to the *Handlist of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts*, originally published circa 2000/1 and updated for the first time in 2003, that covers "books and fragments written or owned in England up to 1100" (293). Gneuss's supplement is organized numerically by serial numbers corresponding to the *Handlist*, and asterisks indicate "new items or items with newly found *membra disiecta*" (293). Also included are three appendices that list Anglo-Saxon manuscripts held at libraries in Dusseldorf, Oslo, and Stockholm.

Adjacent to manuscript discoveries, two essays concentrate on binding and construction practices to distinguish more fully the items contained. In "BL MS Lansdowne 436 Contains Two Separate Items," *N&Q* 59.1 (2012): 25–28, Michael J. Wright's examination of the manuscript reveals that the "collection of English saints' Lives" and prefatory chronicle of "English kings and kingdoms and bishops and bishoprics" (25) are two distinct pieces written separately but "at some time in the fifteenth century . . . thought to be sufficiently similar to be bound together" (27). Wright notes the chronicle "is evidence of an interest in English political and religious history, with a particular concern for women, at some place in the fourteenth century," the point at which it was composed (27).

Nicole Gilroy and Andrew Honey recount the project to preserve MS. Auct. D. 2. 6 and Ms. Bodl. 271, both containing Anselmian content and other theological items including music fragments, in "The Conservation of Two Composite Anselm Manuscripts from the Twelfth Century: Two Contrasting Approaches?" in *Care and Conservation of Manuscripts* 13, ed. M. J. Driscoll (Copenhagen: Museum Tusculanum, 2013), 385–404. The objective of this project was to "halt

further damage to both manuscripts whilst enabling them to be safely consulted by readers" (385), with the aim of allowing access to the originals per the Bodleian Library's function as a "leading centre of manuscript research" (389). Gilroy and Honey extensively document the material history of each manuscript as revealed in the preservation process, especially regarding stitching practices, use of endleaves, and placement/disturbance of endbands in early modern and modern rebinding efforts. They conclude that the treatments for these manuscripts, though different yet, "derive from a common approach" (402).

A number of works focus exclusively on illuminated manuscripts. With *Western Illuminated Manuscripts: A Catalogue of the Collection in Cambridge University Library* (CUP, 2012), Paul Binski, Patrick Zutshi, and Stella Panayotova have produced a thorough "illustrated catalogue of the illuminated and decorated manuscripts in Cambridge University Library" (vii), not including manuscripts on loan to the university. Provenance is not exhaustively recorded in this volume, though manuscripts are grouped according to region of origin and organized into five sections in the following order: "British Isles," "France," "Flanders and Northern Netherlands," "Germany and Austria," and "Italy and Spain." Book art is the focus of the volume and it is "intended to be a full record of the Western European manuscripts in the University Library which possess not only illumination in gold and colour but also significant decoration, including pen flourishing" (xvii). Entries on individual manuscripts include black-and-white reproductions of illuminations. Five inserts contain quarter- to full-page color plates for large decorations from manuscripts from all five regional groupings. Entries for individual manuscripts contain such details as script, decoration, text decoration, binding, and mentions in other reference books.

Reconsidering how art historians think about representation, Jessica Lucy Berenbeim directs attention to the wealth of art historical material found in hitherto overlooked art-documentation practices of the Middle Ages. In "Art of Documentation: The Sherborne Missal and the Role of Documents in English Medieval Art" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2012) Berenbeim explains that "Documents are an important model for representation; and, consequently, an understanding of the paradigmatic role of the document suggests an alternative dimension to the interpretation of late-medieval art" (4). Berenbeim reorients the field of art

history to the significant function "art-historical methods render . . . to diplomatics" as well as the understanding "works of art" provide to the study of "the cultural reception of documentary practices" (4) in her investigation of art documentation surrounding the *Sherborne Missal*, the seal of Evesham Abbey, and the *inspeximus* of Croyland Abbey.

Several works investigate the symbolic potential of illuminated manuscripts. Using the Lindisfarne Gospels as a case study, Heather Pulliam describes the wide-ranging medieval concept of color, in "Color," *Studies in Iconography* 33 (2012): 3–14. Rather than hue, light and intensity were more important qualifiers of color, Pulliam notes, often referencing gemstones and metals, "in terms of brightness, hardness, purity, dappled effects, and intensity" (4). Pulliam demonstrates the symbolic use of colors as they are paired with the four Apostles in the Lindisfarne Gospels: first, to distinguish certain virtues belonging to the Apostles and code the theological character of their respective Gospels and, second, to harmonize the Apostles visually and signal the consonance of the Gospels' contents. In "Cross and Book: Late-Carolingian Breton Gospel Illumination and the Instrumental Cross" (doctoral dissertation, Harvard University, 2012) Beatrice Kitzinger examines the "instrumental identity of the cross" (iv) in four late Carolingian Breton Gospel manuscripts (Angers, BM, MS 24 and Bodleian Library, MS Laud Lat. 26; Cambridge, Fitzwilliam Museum, MS 45-1980; Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, MS 960), in order to extend understanding of the "materiality and instrumentality" of the book (6). The Breton Gospels demonstrate that the "cross plays a pivotal role in a pictorial program crafted to define the nature of a specific gospel manuscript as a mediator between past, present and future—a role equivalent to that played by many cross-objects, and ultimately by the Church itself" (11).

Catherine E. Karkov examines the iconography of the crucified Christ in the frontispiece of Wurzburg, Universitatsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.69, in "Tracing the Anglo-Saxons in the Epistles of Paul: The Case of Wurzburg, Universitatsbibliothek, M.p.th.f.69," in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, edited by Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 133–45 with color plates at 144–52. Likely produced in a Franconian convent, the manuscript and illuminations "provide invaluable evidence of female learning, literacy, and cultural production at the end of the eighth century" (134). Identifying *Dream of the Rood* as a literary corollary of the frontispiece's visual

representation due to similarity in representations of prestige metalwork as practiced in the region (135–36), Karkov proposes that the frontispiece indexes a variety of audiences and texts: "For the nuns who produced and used this manuscript, its frontispiece may have functioned simultaneously as a sign of their church and its mission, of its foundations not only in the distant biblical past, but in the recent Anglo-Saxon past as well, an image in which they could both trace and chart their path" (144). Included in the same volume, Carol Farr, "Irish Pocket Gospels in Anglo-Saxon England" (*Anglo-Saxon Traces*, 87–100), examines Add. 40618 and the Macdurnan Gospels and argues they were "made as prestige books," produced in the "royal context of gift-giving" (92). According to Farr, the "metrical inscription in Macdurnan" demonstrates that the manuscript was a gift to Canterbury, referencing the place of the church in the "universal context of the Church's salvation history" (92), added to which, "evangelist portraits" in Add. 40618, revised in early tenth-century southern England during a reform of visual arts, suggest the book was intended as a gift (96–97). Farr contends that the "Irish pocket gospels provided forms which harmonized with general Anglo-Saxon practices of high-level bibliographic giving and readily inspired elaboration connecting them with new contexts. The Anglo-Saxons . . . transformed them deftly with additional layers of signs connecting them with their history and Christianity" (100).

Focused on the E text of the *Passio* of St. Alban, Ian Wood claims it may have been less a manuscript and more part of a visual display (174) in "Levison and St. Alban," in *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil*, ed. Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen with Alheydis Plassmann (Siegburg: Schmitt, 2010), 171–85. As Wood observes, "many of its sentences almost read like captions to images" (175). Much of the essay is devoted to reviewing Wilhelm Levison's flawed but important work dating various manuscripts from the sixth century and onward, describing methods followed by Levison and his peers and their relationships in the community of manuscript studies at the time.

In the category of transmission studies, two essays in the collection *Saint Anselm of Canterbury and His Legacy*, ed. Giles E.M. Gasper and Ian Logan (Durham and Toronto: IMRS/PIMS) trace transformations of Anselmian matter. Samu Niskanen, "The Evolution of Anselm's Letter Collections until ca. 1130," (40–60),

aims to establish how Anselm's letters came to be collected and then copied for distribution. Niskanen concludes that the Bec collection is "authorial and finalised soon after Anselm's translation to Canterbury" (60), while other collections and manuscripts were likely gathered after Anselm's death. In "The Development of Anselm's Trinitarian Theology: The Origins of a Late Medieval Debate," (203–21), John T. Slotemaker analyzes Anselm's trinitarian theories of procession and relation and argues that "Anselm's trinitarian theology shifts from a predominately processional view of the Trinity in the *Monologion* to a predominately relational view in *De incarnatione*" (204). As Slotemaker notes, "these two models, the processional and the relational model, came to have a significant impact on how subsequent Dominican and Franciscan theologians understood the distinction of persons in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries" (204).

In "The Authorship and Transmission of *De tribus habitaculis animae*," *JML* 22 (2012): 49–65, Elizabeth Boyle challenges the transmission history of *De tribus habitaculis animae* proposed Aubrey Gwynn. Linguistic, stylistic, and thematic analyses and historical attribution practices do not support Gwynn's thesis that Patrick, Bishop of Dublin, authored *De tribus habitaculis animae*. Boyle offers an alternative attribution, an unknown pseudo-Patrick, based on transmission of the text and similar manuscripts. As Boyle observes, we can depend only on the claim that ascriptions based on content "reflect transmission of the text from Ireland, or simply a twelfth-century English belief that the text had Irish associations" (65). Using orthographic methods, Thomas Gobbitt, "Orthographic Preferences in the Production of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College MS 383 at the Turn of the Twelfth Century," *Scriptorium* 66.1 (2012): 3–23, aims to determine if Corpus Christi College MS 383 was compiled from several different manuscripts or derived from a mini-collection. Gobbit concentrates on the main scribe in comparison to exemplars proposed by P. Wormald and using C. Hough's method for orthographic analysis. Gobbit observes that the sources of CCC MS 383 cannot be determined conclusively due in large part to the main scribe's project of updating the script in the manuscript (18–19). In "The Scripts of the Prague Sacramentary, Prague Archivo O 83," *EME* 20.4 (2012): 407–27, Rosamond McKitterick re-examines place of production for the Prague Sacramentary, Prague Archivo O 83, responding to Bernhard Bischoff's assertion that the manuscript is "south-east German" in origin (422). McKitterick provides insight

into the challenges of using orthography to determine origins of manuscripts, noting that scribes were trained in certain locations but may have migrated to the place at which a manuscript was produced. McKitterick claims that the "organization of texts" in the Sacramentary in fact "builds to a climax" (425), which suggests the manuscript is "an individual compilation" not associated with an exemplar (426). Nonetheless, McKitterick cannot state place of origin, other than to say that the scribe was "trained to write in south-east Bavaria" (427).

Marginalia and annotations, especially as they might provide insight into reception and use, are treated in a number scholarly works. A. N. Doane and William P. Stoneman provide the "first full account" (vii) of annotations found in British Library, Cotton Claudius B iv Ms, in *Purloined Letters: The Twelfth Century Reception of the Anglo-Saxon Illustrated Hexateuch* (British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv) (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011). As Doane and Stoneman note, the scriptural contents and illustrations of this manuscript have been studied since the seventeenth century but the annotations were overlooked and ignored until their study (1). The body of annotations "reveals that they represent the most massive and interesting evidence of reception of Anglo-Saxon language and culture during the Middle Ages and, moreover, contain the 'last Old English,' hitherto unrecognized as such" (3). According to analysis, the annotations date from the twelfth century, at St. Augustine's Canterbury (4) and respond not only to the content proper but to one another (5), translating into Old English portions from other texts (6). Doane and Stoneman locate source materials for the notes and find through "linguistic analysis that the language . . . is the product of an effort on the part of the writer to conform to a standard West-Saxon grapholect of a kind still being read, though not commonly written, in a few monasteries" (11). Doane and Stoneman argue for one hand and speculate what culture the scribe was representing in engagement with text (12). The book includes two appendices: Appendix I: "Analysis of English Language in the Notations"; and Appendix II: "Glossarial Index of English".

In "Monastic Learning in Twelfth-Century England: Marginalia, Provenance and Use in London, British Library, Cotton MS. Faustina A. X, Part B," *Electronic British Library Journal*, Article 11 (2012): 1–8, Francisco José Álvarez López argues that Cotton MS. Faustina A. X, Part B was transformed from a grammatical reference into a "teaching tool" with "the addition of the

vernacular *Rule of St Benedict* and *Edgar's Establishment of the Monasteries*" in the twelfth century, which prompted annotations referencing "numerous secondary texts" and amplified the manuscript's instructional function (1). Álvarez López focuses on marginalia produced by one twelfth-century hand, noting that annotations suggest the individual "could have used Cotton MS. Faustina A. X as a textbook in his lessons on" the wide range of topics contained therein. The manuscript, Álvarez López finds, provides "insight into how a major cathedral school . . . approached the instruction of its younger members at a time when secular schools were gaining in popularity from the continent and intruding into the English monastic background" (8). A similar interest motivates Kees Dekker, who charts how the move from Latin to Old English notes/lists extended and invented conventions of marginal listing in "The Vernacularization of Encyclopaedic Notes in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts," *ABaG* 69 (2012): 65–95. Looking at the "types of variation that appear in the transition from Latin to Old English," Dekker notes, "it will become apparent that the vernacularization of the notes was part of a creative process symptomatic of the vividness of notes as didactic instruments in later Anglo-Saxon England" (66). Dekker demonstrates that later lists in Old English suggest scribes memorized lists in Latin as students and then composed lists in Old English in the margins according to oral-cultural transmission practices. Consequently, reformatting of information occurs, though content does not change unless misremembered.

Moving beyond marginalia, several essays remain concentrated on understanding reception and use of manuscripts. Peter A. Stokes, "The Vision of Leofric: Manuscript, Text and Context," *RES* 63.261 (2012): 529–50, considers the "purpose and the historical context of . . . composition during the second half of the eleventh century" (530) of the lesser studied Corpus Christi College MS. 367, which contains *Visio Leofrici*. The *Vision of Leofric* contains four visions of Earl Leofric of Mercia, who, though not a saint, is presented in "quasi-hagiographical" manner (529). The manuscript was produced and used in Worcester monastic community (530), and its transmission and place amid other texts in the relevant "codicological unit" (530) appear to suggest a political purpose during a time of upheaval caused by Norman invasion: "By portraying Leofric as an exceptionally pious man having close connexions with King Edward, the Mercian earls may have hoped to appease the king's wrath" (547). Stokes concludes the essay with an "Edition and Translation" of the *Vision of Leofric*.

Two essays in *Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent*, ed. Hans Sauer and Joanna Story with Gaby Waxenberger (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), also consider how composition and transmission practices inform purpose and reception. Richard Marsden, "Amiatinus in Italy: The Afterlife of an Anglo-Saxon Book" (217–43), studies Amiatino 1: Codex Amiatinus at Blbioteca Medicea Laurentiana, the "oldest complete Latin bible extant" (217) used in sixteenth century to update/correct Vulgate. From the corrections, alterations, emendations, and additions made to the manuscript, Marsden attempts to begin to answer more definitively "how, why, and exactly when Amiatinus reached San Salvatore" monastery between the end of the seventh century and eleventh century (218). Surveying the "textual afterlife" of the codex (218), Marsden considers the orthography of "interventions" in the manuscript, which are diverse, as well as source texts, when they can be identified or speculated. However, Marsden admits that key sources appear to have belonged to "textual traditions" that are no longer extant (228). Catherine A. M. Clarke, "Panegyric and Reflection in a Poem by Abbo of Fleury to Ramsey Abbey" (293–302), provides a poetic analysis of a panegyric to Ramsey Abbey authored by Abbo of Fleury. Clarke argues that the poem helps determine in greater detail the "developing and strengthening intellectual relationships between England and the Continent in the late tenth century, attesting to the reciprocity of cultural influence and exchange" (294). Astrological allusions and imagery are used to elevate the "status of the abbey" as a site of classical learning and indicate Abbo's legacy in helping build that culture of erudition. Clarke declares that "The poem is as much as [*sic*] celebration of Abbo's own literary skill, and a reflection upon panegyric form, as it is an address to Ramsey Abbey" (302).

A similar approach guides Sue Ward's attempt to date Alcuin's "York poem," in "Church and State in Eighth-century Northumbria: Alcuin's York Poem," *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5.41 (2012), 217–36. The poem, from *Versus de Patribus Regibus et Sanctis Euboricensis Ecclesiae*, is located in Reims 426 Ms. Ward argues it was composed for "the legatine visit of 786" (217) and was intended to influence the audience of papal legates toward the York clergy (230) by showing a vision of unity if reform were to be made (231). In her analysis, Ward identifies portions of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History of the English People*, allusions to Alcuin's own clerical history beginning in York, and references indicating political strife and perhaps clerical infighting prior to the legatine visit. The

purpose of the poem, Ward ventures, is to highlight York as a center of moral integrity in opposition to Canterbury and bolster the clerical community (230–1).

Other essays are devoted to considering how traditions of representation function to refine, deepen, or posit theological and historical schemas. Two essays in *Adomnán of Iona: Theologian, Lawmaker, Peacemaker*, ed. Jonathan M. Wooding, Rodney Aist, Thomas Owen Clancy, and Thomas O'Loughlin (Dublin: Four Courts, 2010), consider representational traditions in hagiography. "Visions of Divine Light in the Writings of Adomnán and Bede" (289–303), by Stephen Sharman, compares "accounts of visions of divine light" in representations of saints in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* and Bede's hagiographical texts (289). Sharman finds that "Adomnán and Bede share a common understanding of the role of visions of light in identifying saints at the times of their deaths" (302). In "Heavenly Apparitions and Heavenly Life in Adomnán's *Vita Columbae*" (274–88), Katja Ritari analyzes Adomnán's *Vita Columbae* to understand the way in which sanctity is represented, referencing contemporaneous hagiography including that composed by Gregory the Great. In the various privileges afforded to Columba, particularly his ability to perceive visions of "heavenly light," Adomnán conveys not only Columba's "moral purity" but his capacity for "deeper understanding" (281). Ritari notes that in *Vita Columbae* the "perfect state as enjoyed by Adam in Paradise is being recovered by Columba as far as is possible in this life. It is his purity that enables him to see heavenly apparitions directly with no danger and allows him to be accompanied by angels. . . . and know many hidden things" (288).

In "Caesar's Sword, Proud Britons, and Galfridian Myths of Discontinuity," in *Writing Down the Myths*, ed. Joseph Falaky Nagy (Turnhout: Brepols, 2013), 181–200, Katherine McLoone analyzes British nationalism in Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia regum Brittaniae*. McLoone argues that Monmouth resists a genealogical notion of nationalism, inherited from Rome, and formulates instead a "spatial conception of nationhood" (181). Situating the *Historia* within the project of *translatio*, McLoone explains the disruptions and discontinuities that helped Monmouth craft spatial justifications for nationhood and fashion a "new British myth" of nationhood (198). Hilda Kleiman offers a theological analysis of writing in "Nimble as the Pen of a Scribe: Toward a Theology of Writing. Part II: Scribes: Three Moments in Time," *American Benedictine Review* 63.2 (2011): 173–209. Kleiman explores the "sacramental

nature of writing" (173), through comparative meditations on the process of creating Torah scripture, the production of the Lindisfarne Gospels and their original visual function for pilgrims to Cuthbert's relics, and the recent creation of The St. John's Bible in Minnesota. Uncovering a "theology of writing" (173), Kleiman describes the "communion" of writers that unites the living and the dead, writers and readers, and the "vocation" that belongs to each writer (207–8), concluding: "When she honors each aspect of a theology of writing: calling and sanctity, community and communion, service and stewardship, she honors the presence of Christ in her listeners, her readers, and in each subject of her work" (208–9).
SDN

Works Not Seen:

D'Imperio, Francesca Sara. "Testi Alcuiniani e miscellanee carolinge: L'esempio del 'corpus' di Isanberto (MSS. München, CLM 14614, 14143, 13581, 14391, E Wien, ÖNB, LAT. 966)." *Filologia Mediolatina* 19 (2012): 75–95.

Kooper, Erik. "Van nieuwkomer tot letter-lijk: De droeve geschiedenis van de Oud-engelse letter genaamd wynn, 'vreugde.'" *Madoc* 26.4 (2012): 237–40.

Plassmann, Alheydis. "Beda Venerabilis—Verax historicus: Bedas Vera lex historiae." In *Wilhelm Levison (1876–1947): Ein jüdisches Forscherleben zwischen wissenschaftlicher Anerkennung und politischem Exil*, ed. Matthias Becher and Yitzhak Hen with Alheydis Plassmann. Siegburg: Schmitt, 2010. Pp. 123–43.

Tinaburri, Rosella. "Gli elementi paratestuali nel testimone Cottoniano del Heliand." *Segno e testo* 10 (2012): 229–48 + Plates 2–4 (after p. 411).

Vezin, Jean. "Influences orientales sur les plus anciennes reliures du monde Latin." *Scriptorium* 66.2 (2012): 205–20.

Wheaten, Alexander. "The Records of Thornden Wood in the Blean since the Eighth Century." *Archaeologia Cantiana* 132 (2012): 344–50.

Woodman, D. A., ed. *Charters of Northern Houses*. OUP for the British Academy, 2012.

7. History and Culture

Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts introduce their volume *A Social History of England, 900–1200* (CUP, 2011), 1–14, with the acknowledgement that social history is difficult without good evidence (which is scant in the period in question) and with a defense of considering the political dimension of "the social" (i.e., the actions of king), at least insofar as these relate to the power structures linking ruler to laborer. They bridge the pre- and post-Conquest period through a vision of England as a land battered and riven by multiple external attacks, and shaped by multiple waves of newcomers. An interest in the reciprocity between those within England, and English relationships to those without, are the ingredients for this social history. The volume as a whole has pedagogy as its stated aim. The volume's six main chapters (I.1 Land Use and People, II.1 Authority and Community, III.1 Towns and their Hinterlands, IV.1 Invasion and Migration, V.1 Religion and Belief, VI.1 Learning and Training) are each followed by a number of sub-chapters exploring aspects of the main topics thus introduced. The editors intend that the book's chapters should not merely synthesize recent research, but offer new thinking and prepare the ground for further exploration. Individual chapters are introduced below.

Jason Glenn edits *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources* (UTP, 2011), a tribute to Robert Brentano that gathers 26 short chapters, each mining individual texts or textual genres for the information these can offer about the real people and societies that are known to have produced them, or that they are taken to represent. A kind of historian's source manual, the intended audience of the volume is undergraduate. Three chapters relating to the Anglo-Saxon period are examined in the relevant sections below.
AA

Carl Watkins provides an overview of religious belief pre- and post-Conquest to introduce section V, "Religion and Belief," of *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts. (CUP, 2011), 265–89. In it, he looks to trace some beliefs of the ordinary laity. Parish Christianity offers exposure to faith through priests, sermons, the theatre of liturgy, and visual impression of churches and their decoration; remedies for earthly perils are offered by almsgiving and holy water, as well as by less sanctioned methods like prognostication; the soul can be saved by (among other things) entry into the religious life and penance. A complex and busy world of lay faith reveals itself in this account—a world influenced by pragmatic as well as spiritual concerns, and moved by doubt as well as belief. Sarah Hamilton reminds us of the importance of "Rites of Passage and Pastoral Care" (290–308) to the experience of the Church, reviewing the structures of pastoral care in the ideal and in the messier real world of changing parish structures and practical pastoral work. Her account focuses on the rites of entry into and exit from life and the earthly Christian community, with detailed examinations of baptism and dying. Archaeological and historical evidence is, where possible, connected to extant textual sources to develop a useful picture of pastoral theology and practice, as well as of the scholarly challenges faced by those who seek to reconstruct it. In the sub-chapter on "Saints and Cults," 309–20, Paul Antony Hayward examines the patterns of growth and recession in saints' cults in England, 900–1200. He reconsiders explanations of the cults as commercial enterprises, as political tools, and as the result of the intellectual climate; it is as local political tools that Hayward considers their rise and fall to be best explained. As commercial enterprises, saints' cults may be considered in terms of the income they generate; on this view, hagiography is recast as advertising material for the shrines. But Hayward points out the scant support in the hagiographical record or the physical details of shrine construction for this reading, and prefers the explanatory potential of understanding saints' cults as tools of essentially political power struggles, offering divine support and legitimation to

(for example) reformist agendas. Tom Licence examines "Public Spectacle" (321–29). He proposes a fourfold frame to map this exploration, looking to the function of spectacle in 1) affirming mutual responsibilities, 2) affirming life's meaning, 3) recreation, and 4) affirming social mores. Reciprocal power relations and mutual obligations are accordingly associated with crowning a new king and other regal events; the importance of getting the ceremonies right is illustrated with examples. The translation of saints produces similar contractual affirmations. The spectacle of liturgical drama offers an example of the meaning of the Christian life. The scant surviving evidence of spectacles for recreation is summarized, and public rituals with a focus on good behavior (such as public punishments and penances) are shown to reinforce social mores.

In "Textual communities (Latin)" (330–40), Teresa Webber applies Brian Stock's concept of textual community to Latin texts used in religious institutions. She shows some of the ways these texts foster group identity through the contexts of the liturgy (with its repeated rhythms of communal worship) and the scholarly environment (with its shared repertoire of allusion and quotation). Liturgically, membership in the community of the Church and local identity are affirmed through the celebration of saints; commemorations of benefactors and deceased members of the community serve a similar function. In terms of scholarship, standards of Latin learning and academic study are shown to create and reinforce newly perceived community groupings among clergy and male religious. Elaine M. Treharne presents "Textual Communities (Vernacular)" (341–51). Her account is framed by Alfred's famous dictum on the need to translate "certain books, which are most necessary for all men to know," which is here taken to reveal an educational plan in English that encompasses the works produced by the Alfredian circle, as well as inaugurating the English tradition of vernacular writing. This vernacular writing bears testimony to the use of English as a legitimizing phenomenon before and after Conquest, but the evidence needs to be carefully negotiated: textual communities spiritual and secular may be imagined around the Exeter Book; saint's lives may suggest lay household as well as monastic reading; and post-Conquest trilingualism implies a complex network of communities in interdependent relationships.
AA

Charles Insley's chapter "Remembering Communities Past: Exeter Cathedral in the Eleventh Century" in *Cathedrals, Communities and Conflict in the Anglo-Norman World* ed. Paul Dalton, Charles Insley, and Louise J. Wilkinson (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2011), 41–60, on the eleventh-century Exeter Cathedral examines how institutional "identity" might be created and how links between past and present create this identity. More specifically he argues that while no single memorial text exists for Exeter from this period, the programme of work carried under Bishop Leofric (1046–1072) nevertheless attempts to reshape the community's past (43). Insley provides two narratives: the first is what actually happened to the diocese before Leofric's episcopate, the second is the "memory" created by Leofric's scriptorium. Through a re-examination of several charters, a relic list, and a brief history of the diocese recorded in the Leofric missal, Insley puts forward the idea that these documents together were linking King Æthelstan with the seventh-century foundation Exeter and establishing the king up as the founder on the Exeter diocese (which originally was two separate dioceses at Crediton and St. Germains). Leofric is then linked with this particular king as the restorer of the bishopric which he had just moved from Crediton to Exeter. In general, Insley provides a thought-provoking interpretation of these documents, particularly the charters (S386, S387, S389, and S433), and a convincing argument that the Exeter cathedral as the new episcopal seat was attempting to write themselves into the history of the diocese.

John Reuben Davies, "Cathedrals and the Cult of Saints in Eleventh- and Twelfth-Century Wales" (in the same volume, 99–115), examines the reform or emergence of the four Welsh cathedrals of Bangor, St Davids, Llandaf, and Llanelwy during late eleventh and twelfth centuries, arguing that each had at their heart "the cult of local founding bishops" (99). Arguing for the careful management of a saintly cult is nothing new but Davies's incorporation of the changing treatment of corporal remains, cathedral dedications to either non-Welsh or recent saints, and treatment of gospel-books connected to these specific saints creates an interesting argument well worth considering. While he does acknowledge the changing political sphere of Anglo-Welsh, the added layers of St Davids's and Llandaf's competing relationship with Rome and the latter's twelfth-century connection with the Scottish royal family offers a useful historical context to his argument. Furthermore, his discussion of the issues St Davids appears to have experienced after the apparent theft of the bodily relics c. 1090 with the cathedral's

extra emphasis on secondary relics after this point makes a nice juxtaposition with the other three cathedrals' stress on the corporal remains of their main saints. His ending point about gospel-books which were used in several different ways, including as a second-class relic, is an excellent point and likely needs to be considered in other saints' cults as well.

Carl I. Hammer, "'Holy Entrepreneur': Agilbert, a Merovingian Bishop between Ireland, England and Francia," *Peritia* 22–23 (2011–2012): 53–82, analyzes the reported activities of Bishop Agilbert and argues that they were all possible "within the pluralistic christianity of the seventh century" found in Ireland, England, and Francia (53). Hammer stresses the different ecclesiastical and political structures that Agilbert navigated, calling him a "holy entrepreneur" for adroitly working within the different kingdoms he found himself in to always promote his religious mission. Hammer also makes clear that this kind of entrepreneurship was only possible in an early medieval Europe where "micro-chrisitianities" still existed—something that would disappear during the eighth century. Overall the article is persuasive, although the placement of the family trees at the end of the article made for difficulty in following the argument in the first section and any reader needs to be aware of this useful aid.

In her article "Who Wrote the Nun's Life of Edward?" *Reading Medieval Studies* 38 (2012): 77–98, Jane Bliss asks three questions about the Nun of Barking who wrote the Anglo-Norman *Life* of St. Edward the Confessor: who was the intended audience, what are other identifiable sources beyond Aelred's *Vita*, and is this nun and Clemence of Barking the same person? Based on clues in the text, Bliss argues that the Nun's audience was not only a mixed company but very likely absent and future. Further clues within the text point to the fact that unlike her main source, Aelred's Latin *Life*, the Nun's French verse version was intended for a listening audience. Bliss argues that the Nun's authorial voice is distinct from both Aelred's and Clemence's, indicating that she is neither slavish copying her main source nor the same female who wrote the Barking *Life* of St. Catherine.
MEB

Katherine Christensen presents a warm summary of "Walter Daniel's Life of Aelred of Rievaulx: The Heroism of Intelligence and the Miracle of Love," in *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (UTP, 2011), 217–29, in which she sketches with much praise both the subject and the author of the *Life*. Aelred, born in 1110 to "an Anglo-Saxon priestly family" (218), was a member of the early Cistercian order (characterized by its more literal adherence to the precepts of the Benedictine rule), who came to be third abbot of Rievaulx (near Helmsley in North Yorkshire) in 1147. Walter Daniel was born in 1125 to a knightly family, joined his father in Rievaulx around 1150, served as secretary and caregiver to Aelred, and wrote his *Life* soon after the abbot's death. Through his writings about Aelred, Christensen believes that Daniel, too, "shows enough of himself that one can take the measure of the man" (219). Christensen characterizes Daniel's account as neither hagiography nor biography in the modern sense, but as a portrait intended to present the abbot as one of the sort prescribed by Benedict. Her account of Aelred and Daniel focuses on the (generally good) character both men are seen to demonstrate through their actions and words. With only the caveat of its spiritual and therefore narrow focus, Daniel's account is throughout accepted as good evidence for the life and worth of both men, and while more skeptical scholarly views are briefly acknowledged, they are given little weight or space.

The collection *The English and Their Legacy, 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams*, ed. David Roffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012) contains numerous examples of prosopography. In this volume, a brief consideration of the woman Geatfleda (whose freeing of numerous slaves is recorded in a manumission in the Durham *Liber Vitae*) introduces William Aird's "Life-Writing and the Anglo-Saxons," 5–16, in which he provides an overview of the problems facing a modern life-writer who takes an Anglo-Saxon for a subject. These problems are many, but Aird offers hope in the twofold conclusion that the task may in fact be easier for an early historian than for a modern biographer seeking to present a more thoroughly documented life; and that even an incomplete life is necessary and useful in making sense of the past. Longer considerations of Queen Ælfthryth (mother of Æthelred the Unready) and Eadric *streona* (ealdorman of Mercia during Æthelred's reign) illustrate both the challenges of life-writing, and

the ways in which it can enrich our understanding of political realities, power dynamics, and the impact of external events on medieval individuals.

David Bates's account of "Robert of Torigni and the *Historia Anglorum*" (175–84) admits that scholarly neglect of this author of additions to the *Gesta Normannorum Ducum* "and of a chronicle that he pronounced to be a continuation of the universal chronicle of Sigebert of Gembloux" (175) may be explicable, if not entirely justified, by his lack of originality, pedestrian prose, and limited range of interests. Robert's Chronicle is at the center of Bates's study. A brief life of Robert leads to a consideration of his engagement with Henry of Huntingdon and the *Historia Anglorum* (characterized here as amounting to a collaboration) and a reevaluation of the dating of its composition. Robert's "extensive use of the fourth version of Henry of Huntingdon's *Historia Anglorum*" in his Chronicle comprehends verbatim reproduction, selective omission, and (sometimes inaccurate) additions. This use, Bates judges, is "mediocre"; the real worth of what Robert produces is "what we learn of mid-twelfth-century knowledge and attitudes in Normandy" (179), including the nature of cross-channel links, the depth of interest in the English past evinced in Normandy, and a sense of the Norman view of English identity. Although Robert's work tells us "absolutely nothing new about England's Anglo-Saxon past" (178), both it and its author are argued to be worthy of greater consideration than they have yet received.

In their article "Master Wace: A Cross-Channel Prosopographer for the Twelfth Century?" 61–77, Valentine Fallan and Judith Everard re-assess Wace's *Roman de Rou* as the source of an English prosopography for the twenty-year period between the accession of Stephen (1135) and the early years of Henry II (1154–1189). Among the conclusions of this rather dense account are that "the complex agenda of the civil war governed the choice of participants for heroic scenes in the *Rou*" (64) and that Wace's accuracy in details of personnel has been unfairly underestimated. Drawing on charters and other sources, the authors attempt a prosopography of a list of figures named by Wace, and for Wace himself, which will be of interest to scholars of the twelfth century.

Simon Keynes gives us Æthelred the Londoner in "The Burial of King Æthelred the Unready at St Paul's," 129–48. His account provides a tour of the sites and circumstances of royal inaugurations and burials through the 900s, revealing their surprising variety. The political and symbolic importance of London

during Æthelred's reign is presented—especially its importance as a site of resistance to the Danes—and thus the location of his burial at St Paul's (in 1016) is noted to be a fitting one. Keynes turns finally to the tombs of Æthelred and his cathedral bedfellow, King Sebbi of the East Saxons, neither of which survived the Great Fire of London in 1666. Towards the middle of the twelfth century, Æthelred was given the honour of reburial in a marble sarcophagus; some centuries later, an unflattering inscription was placed above it: events that symbolize the vagaries and injustices of posterity.

The prosopography of posterity is seen also in Emma Mason's account of the afterlife of Earl Waltheof of Northumbria, "Invoking Earl Waltheof," 185–203, which examines the ways in which the Earl's name has been invoked to promote a range of interests, both in the generations after his death and down to the seventeenth century. Waltheof's afterlife ranges from rival tomb-cults celebrated by the nuns of Romsey and Crowland, to Anglo-Norman romance, and finally to Robert Cotton's inventive placement of Waltheof's supposed arms on a cenotaph of King David of Scotland for a church on Cotton's manor of Conington, which (Cotton was apparently keen to emphasize) had once been owned by Waltheof.

AA

In his article "Deerhurst's Earliest Patrons: Æthelmund and Æthelric," *Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archaeological Society* 130 (2012): 151–82, Michael Hare presents the available information for the figures of Æthelmund and his son, Æthelric, Deerhurst's most significant early patrons. Hare first identifies and explains the prosopographical difficulties with identifying Æthelmund and then lays out his argument that all the appearances of Æthelmund in Mercian documents between 767 and 824 are likely one person through a close analysis of documents from the archive of Worcester Cathedral. Hare does bring in later medieval documentation from Glastonbury and Gloucester as well and provides a brief discussion of the Elmstone Hardwicke cross shaft. The article ends with three appendices on Æthelric and his inheritance, the Battle of Kempsford (802), and the landscape setting of the Elmstone Hardwicke cross. Hare's argument is detailed and clear for tracing prosopographical problems and his further thoughts on Kempsford are well worth reading.

MEB

Numerous overview accounts of social and familial structures are provided by *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (CUP, 2011). Bruce O'Brien's account of "Authority and Community" introduces section II of the volume (76–97). O'Brien looks to law for a picture of the exercise of authority in England. The law-giving assemblies at Woodstock and Wantage are used to establish social norms, particularly those of mutual obligation central to the practice of justice. The development of courts across the period is sketched, with a focus on their potential for manipulation by kings and lords; the relatively small impact of Norman Conquest for the law as practiced is noted. How normative ideals of authority were modified according to the concerns of individual lords is set out. This overview survey of power structures continues with an account of growing pressures on family structures, the obligations associated with war and feud, and extant mechanisms for enforcing justice, and the regulation of labor. Stephen Baxter recounts the change in relations between lords and peasants between 900 and 1200 in "Lordship and Labour" (98–114). He sub-divides his three centuries into four periods of short-term development, of which the first (900–1066) will perhaps be of most interest, particularly in its diagnosis of Anglo-Saxon origins for many of the social changes often assumed to have arrived with the Normans. Baxter approaches his topic by considering how continental historians have dealt with this social change in the context of Francia, establishing first the standard narrative: after the collapse of the apparatus of Carolingian government, an aggressive form of seigneurial lordship filled the resulting vacuum. Local magnates took over taxation, fines, monopoly control of markets, and judicial functions—and sustained their power by violence. Castles proliferated; nucleated settlements of dependent peasants formed (*encellulement*). A sharp decline in the prosperity of peasants was the total result. Baxter engages with, and to some extent counters, this narrative in relation to the English social situation. He first presents the manorial system consisting of *inland* and *utland* or *warland* as a structure with deep Anglo-Saxon roots, which after Conquest became *maneria* and grew in number, creating greater peasant dependence. Unlike the situation on the continent, however, royal authority in England remained powerfully intrusive throughout the period 900—1200, and royal demand for peasant resources grew. Against a background of these two long-term developments (the evolution of the manor and changes in the balance of

labor supply and demand), shorter-term developments had their impact, too: Baxter notes the heavy burden of dues and taxes imposed under Æthelred II, and the possibility that in places influenced by the Danelaw, a freer social structure persisted. Baxter concludes that in England, the growth of *seignurie* was slow and the effects of *encellulement* were relatively limited; population growth and seigneurial pressure that tended to reduce peasant prosperity were to some extent counterbalanced by migration, local custom, and the comparative absence of a system of private justice. A change in relations certainly took place, and not in the peasants' favor, but for Baxter its pace in England was (for the most part) slow: suggesting perhaps another reason to re-evaluate the speed of change claimed for Francia in the same period. John Hudson's examination of "Order and Justice" (115–23) is framed by the vivid and grisly tribulations of the peasant Ailward before the law. Such contemporary accounts of disorder illustrate the limits of self-help and vengeance in achieving justice; the fuller listing of common crimes and public concerns Hudson provides is largely adduced uncritically from the evidence of surviving law codes. Major methods of preventing disorder, both communal and hierarchical, are set out along with the general process of criminal justice. Lengthy quotations illustrate periods of especial disorder (claimed for the reigns of Æthelred and Stephen) and attempts at royal crackdowns (under Æthelred and Henry I). Hudson's brief account will be a useful introduction for the uninitiated—and Ailward's story has a happy ending. Hudson also offers "War and Violence" (124–141), briefly covering chivalry, armies, battle tactics, siege, and feud. Elizabeth van Houts sets out "Family, Marriage, Kinship" (133–41) with particular attention to the obligations and expectations placed upon kin. Normative texts like law-codes suggest the centrality of the nuclear family—in the period, mother, father and (on average) three to five children. This account also traces something of the falling-off of the legal and social power of the wider kin-group, the rise of primogeniture, the movement of women, and the role of fostering; the elusive place of emotion and affection within the family closes the account. Slavery in pre-Conquest England is at the heart of the first part of David A. E. Pelteret's account of the "Poor and Powerless" (142–51). Arguing for a greater attention to the class of poor, powerless, and enslaved, he offers an overview of their relation to slave-owners and landlords, their vulnerability to misfortune of war or weather, their place in growing towns,

the punishment that their criminal acts carried, and the charity they might seek to relieve their destitution.

Elizabeth van Houts introduces section IV of *A Social History of England, 900–1200* with "Invasion and Migration" (208–34). Immigrants to England 900–1200 are enumerated, both in general terms (tracing a shift in origins from the north of Europe to further south) and in more specific detail. A picture emerges from the standard sources: legislation reflects ethnic tensions resulting from immigration and invasion; immigrants tended to settle in groups together; rune-stones, foundations, and estate divisions witness the extent to which families divided by the channel sought to keep old contacts. Migration within England is restricted and this kind of movement may be the result of outlawry. Emigration, too, often means exile, but can also be the result of political exigency, economic attraction, and marriage. D. M. Hadley looks at "Ethnicity and Acculturation" (235–46), setting out some critical discussions on the nature of ethnic identity, and the recent migration studies that now influence our understanding of the medieval period. Labels used in sources across the period are shown to be uncertain guides to identity, and evidence from the laws shows attempts by foreign kings to mediate ethnic difference via appeal to an English past. English identity, however, could exist beside other forms of identity, and did not itself develop in a linear fashion. Elizabeth van Houts questions whether arguments for widespread and systematic "Intermarriage" (247–55) between French men and English women after Conquest should be wholly accepted. Unions of French newcomers with native Englishwomen are considered in the contexts of intermarriage and sexual violence against women across the period; a picture emerges of resistances to and critiques of the practice, as well as of the general acquiescence to it. To conclude this section of the collection, Anna Sapir Abulafia provides a brief history of "The Jews" (256–64) in England from their arrival in 1066 to their expulsion in 1290. The economic activity of this group from trade in plate and coin in London in the late eleventh century to the moneylending that had become a central activity by 1180 is traced; a rich picture emerges also of other Jewish trades and occupations, education, synagogues, and matrimonial affairs in England. Beside this economic and legal picture are Christian concerns with Judaism: Abulafia summarizes William of Newburgh's account of the anti-Jewish riots of 1189/90; her analysis of the account points to William's position that (because of their perceived

guilt for the crucifixion) Jews must serve Christians, and so highlights a fundamental tension: in order to be useful to their royal masters, Jews had to be successful; but on a theological level, this success could be interpreted as an inversion of the "correct" relationship between Jews and Christians. Abulafia's summary closes with an account of the libels of Jews crucifying Christian children.

Largely untroubled by these complexities of identity and social change, Jay Rubenstein's "Conversion, Miracles, and the Creation of a People in Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*," in *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (UTP, 2011), 93–104, is an affectionate account of Bede and his work that finds in the miracle stories of the *History*—especially that of the conversion of the English—evidence that Bede saw the tribal world in which he lived as "a single people, a single nation" (103) in which king and community together heard the message of Christianity. AA

In "Social Theory and Agrarian Practice in Early Medieval England: The Land without Polyptyques," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'histoire* 90.2 (2012): 299–314, Rosamond Faith examines post-Roman England, particularly in terms of the social relations among its large free peasant population. She argues that England experienced a "de-Romanization" and its path after the fall of the Roman Empire was markedly different from other areas of Europe. Faith's points concerning the free peasantry, slavery, and land tenure are well worth considering for anyone studying agrarian practice on either side of the Conquest and her acknowledgement of regional variation shows a well-researched and nuanced theory. Particularly, her argument that the Normans introduced change to all levels of society instead of just the upper echelons is thought-provoking with regard to evolving terms of land ownership. She ends the article with a very interesting comparison between eleventh-century England and Catalonia, two areas that experienced the end of Roman quite differently but both ended up feudalized by 1100.

Conrad Leyser and Lesley Smith, eds., *Motherhood, Religion, and Society in Medieval Europe, 400–1400: Essays Presented to Henrietta Leyser* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011) consists of fourteen chapters and is not an attempt to give a complete coverage or overall synthesis (xv) but seeks to start a more in-depth conversation on medieval

motherhood. Like many books in medieval studies there are more chapters devoted to the West than other regions but the breath of areas and centuries examined do provide a good basis from which push the study of motherhood forward. For those interested in women's history, family studies, or motherhood this volume is a good addition to their library. Michael Clanchy's chapter, "Did Mothers Teach their Children to Read?" (130–53), poses an interesting question in its title, whether mothers were involved in their children's initial learning process during the Middle Ages. He starts with the famous examples of the descriptions of St. Louis's and Alfred the Great's childhoods and also briefly mentions the famous traumatic learning experience self-described by Abbot Guibert of Nogent. Beyond these examples, however, evidence is very thin for the pre-1200 period although Clanchy does make a convincing argument that we need to consider that these are completely exceptional examples. Clanchy also delves into how St. Anne and the Virgin Mary are depicted in the latter Middle Ages as teachers, and in Mary's case, a learner as well. These ideals of motherly involvement appear in manuscript illuminations and stained-glass windows and may have been promoted by the Dominican order. The chapter also touches on the likely survival of ABC primers (very low) and the association with mothers and the mother tongue of children. Overall, Clanchy makes a convincing case that mothers were involved in the initial learning process in the late Middle Ages and likely were part of a child's education during the earlier centuries as well. In general, the variety of evidence, when placed together, is persuasive although the order that Clanchy presents the various examples within the essay occasionally leaves the reader jumping back and forth between centuries. While not perfect this essay is a good place to start for those looking for examples of mothers educating their children beyond the standard scenes from St. Louis and Alfred the Great. Monica Green's chapter, "Making Motherhood in Medieval England: The Evidence from Medicine" (173–203), provides a "rapid survey of texts on women's medicine beyond *Trotula*" available in England between the late eleventh and late fourteenth centuries (175). She also includes an eight-page appendix with Latin passages which were the sources for the thirteen-century Anglo-Norman *Les scrés dé femmes*. Her persuasive argument is that these texts focus on how to make women's bodies work correctly in a reproductive manner and this can reveal ideas of motherhood in these centuries. Green's

analysis and comparison of *Les scrés dé femmes* to other works on female medicine does fit with the historical context. Particularly, the Anglo-Norman text is unique in both its retention of contraceptive sections and its recognition that men and women could both be contributors to infertility. Overall the chapter highlights the breadth of medical texts available in later medieval England and that the copyists of these treatises could add or abbreviate the information, reflecting the contemporary debates among the intellectual clerical elite.

Carl Hammer, "Christmas Day 800: Charles the Younger, Alcuin and the Frankish Royal Succession," *EHR* 127, issue 524 (2012): 1–23 provides a thought-provoking analysis about Charlemagne's relationship with Charles (the younger), the oldest son of his second or third wife Hildegard. Hammer argues that several things may have contributed to Charlemagne's delay in granting Charles a royal title and kingdom of his own, even when some of his brothers had been granted such honors. They include Charles's relationship with Pippin the Hunchback, his failed marriage negotiations with Offa of Mercia, his unimpressive military activities, and his possible homosexuality. Hammer suggests that in 800, despite hesitancy in promoting his son, Charlemagne's affection either for his son or his son's mother helped to overcome the king's concerns.

Although often passed over there are a few records which indicate the day of the imperial coronation in Rome also saw Charles the Younger crowned as king of the Franks.
MEB

d. Gender and Identity

[No submissions]

e. The Economy

Taxation, coinage, and financial policy are influenced both by large institutional pressures and by intensely personal and local concerns. Andrew Wareham, in "Fiscal Policies and the Institution of a Tax State in Anglo-Saxon England within a Comparative Context," *Economic History Review* 65.3 (2012): 910–31, challenges the views of new fiscal historians, who argue that a collapse of the medieval domain state is the precondition for the emergence of a tax state. Anglo-Saxon

England is the case-study on which he mounts this challenge: evidence of coinage, wills, letters, and poetry is presented to trace the chronological development of a medieval tax state in which new policies arose as a result of local political pressures, including the requirements of ecclesiastical authorities and the imperative for revenue-raising brought about by Viking incursions.

Hirokazu Tsurushima constructs a prosopography of "The Moneyers of Kent in the Long Eleventh Century," in *The English and Their Legacy, 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams*, ed. David Roffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), 33–59. Moneyers' names are set out in a series of tables. These men (recipients of a set of dies issued under the king's authority, with responsibility over the craftsmen associated with the mint) were often king's thegns, and had considerable influence in their own shires and beyond. They appear as witnesses to charters and as church benefactors; their wealth was often considerable. Tsurushima offers a detailed picture of individual moneyers drawn from the ranks of the local gentry in this era before the reforms of Henry II shifted control over coinage more firmly to the king.

   In the same volume, Stephen Church tells the story of "The Exchequer Cloth, c. 1176–1832: The Calculator, the Game of Chess, and the Process of Photozincography" (245–55). The exchequer, as Richard fitzNigel explained between 1177 and 1189, is a 10 x 5 foot board with raised sides (to stop the counters falling off) covered with a specially marked cloth. The cloth metonymically came to stand for the institution that used it: the Exchequer was so named from early in the reign of Henry I (1100–1135). Church makes Richard fitzNigel's description of the cloth as "marked with lines a foot or a spread hand's with apart" tally with our modern understanding of a chessboard by explaining that it appeared "as chessboards were constructed in the last quarter of the twelfth century" (247), and describes the chess metaphor as extending also to the financial contest that played out on the cloth. Photozincography enters the chapter with a description of the process of making a facsimile of the Domesday book by the Ordnance Survey in 1861; the Red Book of the Exchequer in Ireland (early fourteenth century) was later selected for copying using this expensive and time-consuming process. This Red Book facsimile uniquely illustrates a green-and-white checkered pattern on the exchequer cloth. By the fifteenth century the cloth was no longer black and looked recognizably like a modern chessboard; Church argues that this change took place early.

An account of the purchasing of this institutional cloth follows, taking us all the way to 1834 when the Exchequer ceased to function as a department of receipt. AA

F. SETTLEMENT AND LANDSCAPE

In *A Social History of England, 900–1200*, ed. Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts (CUP, 2011), Robin Fleming discusses the living conditions in England, its geography, and its resources in "Land Use and People" (15–37). The chapter, the first in the volume and introducing its section I on land, resources, and labor, is thoroughly Anglo-Saxon in its focus. It provides a lively and lucid picture of the agricultural and manorial systems from c. 800 to the years following the Conquest. Fleming traces in this period the transformation from small and scattered hamlets to communities organized around the sites of secular and ecclesiastical power to whom they owed their labor and tributes; and recounts the parallel move from large territories controlled by few elites to a larger number of smaller estates. The archaeological evidence of farming and consumption gathered here, and the agricultural perspective of the narrative of change this evidence supports, provide an account that is usefully complementary to the more politically focused chronicle of seigneurial reorganization in Stephen Baxter's "Lordship and Labour" (98–114). Also in this section, Stephen Rippon's "Water and Land" (38–45) examines the exploitation, modification, and perception of wetlands, as well as the exploitation of water as a resource for watermills and other engineering projects. In "Forest and Upland" (46–55), Oliver Rackham surveys through a wide lens the woodlands of England and their uses as coppice or wood-pasture. The post-Conquest concepts of the Forest (a place for deer) and the Park (private property enclosed by a deer-proof *pale*) are explained with some attention to hunting in the period. The lowland areas of England are contrasted to the Highland Zone (Pennines, North Yorkshire Moors, Welsh Border, Devon and Cornwall), a less well-documented "upland" of moors, woodland, and scattered hamlets. Peter Claughton gives an overview of the "Mineral Resources" (56–65) for which Britain has long been famed, and his straightforward account shows that the mining and exploitation of these minerals increased drastically in England 900–1200. Stone was recovered from Roman structures, quarried in England, and imported from northern France. Lead (for uses including roofing) was mined from at least the ninth century.

Tin (bell metal, pewter, solders) was produced, perhaps continuously since Roman occupation; copper may have been mined in small quantities, but archaeological evidence is lacking. Ironworking was widespread. Silver shows increased demand across the period, and by the mid-twelfth century would have come from sources in England and Wales, refined from lead mined either for construction or directly for its silver content. Demand for salt was constant, with continuity in production from the Roman period: all coastal counties had seasonal salt-works; in Cheshire and Worcestershire salt was obtained from brine springs. The accelerating pace of ecclesiastical building increased demand on mineral resources; endowment was both supported by the wealth created by silver (needed in quantity for coinage) and made easier by the availability of lead. In "Health and Disease" (66–75), Carole Rawcliffe augments textual sources with the more solid realities of skeletal remains to build her account of the health of the inhabitants of the land. The burden of disease carried by the population of the period is noted to resemble that of today's developing world. At the center of the account is evidence for malnutrition, considered in overview, which is related to parasites and their effects, skin and eye complaints, and leprosy. Accidents and childbirth pose further risks; alms and the charitable tending of the sick offered limited relief.

David Griffiths introduces the section III of the collection with "Towns and Their Hinterlands" (152–78). His account begins with a brief reconsideration of the traditional definitions of towns, the complex relationship between the town and its rural hinterland, and the factors that complicate any neat definition of either entity. The spread of the earliest English towns (riverside trading hubs known as *wics*) is considered; the church is noted to have played a greater role in wealth circulation than has been generally thought. Tenth-century urbanization is examined through a consideration of the "Burghal Hidage" and the role of legislation and coinage in the increasing concentration of trade in shire centers. Archaeological evidence is surveyed to paint a picture of life in these bustling urban spaces (often "short, harsh and squalid", 162), and to demonstrate some of the effects of urban growth on town planning, market specialization, and culture. Developments physical and political are traced through the eleventh century and the Conquest. A final section considers agricultural reorganization around the needs of urban populations, and rural reorganization towards nucleated villages. Towns, their hinterlands, rural settlements, estates, and the transport routes that linked

them emerge from this account as a closely linked and complex network. Richard Britnell surveys the state of "Commerce and Markets" (179–187) in England at around the year 900, and traces their growth and development into the Anglo-Norman period. Britnell is skeptical of how much is known about the institutional context of trade, but demonstrates nevertheless a picture of institutional innovation and adaptation to changing conditions. Julia Barrow, "Urban Planning" (188–97), gives a rapid overview of English urbanization and town layout. She notes that defenses (walls, gates, and wall-houses), major churches, and (to a lesser degree) sites of secular authority were important factors in the planning of urban places in the period 900–1200. Of these planning forces, religion was inevitably central: minster churches and monasteries often gave rise to towns. Geographically, towns were generally low-lying, often exploiting river crossings. After the Conquest, William I insisted on the building of castles within many towns, but the original Anglo-Saxon layout of urban spaces (spreading from central crossroads to outer wall) often remained unchanged. Central crossroads could function as a marketplace, but wider triangular shapes better adapted to livestock emerged, especially with towns associated with Benedictine abbeys of the tenth century. Different groups of individuals also influenced the physical layout of the town: the emergence of professional butchery brought shambles (in Oxford found to the south of High St., near Carfax); tenth-century Benedictine reform created separate enclosed spaces for monks; in the tenth and eleventh centuries, major towns created spaces for prominent people; after the Conquest, Jewish communities tended to live in closely defined areas in towns having a royal castle. Individual properties grew increasingly crowded along street frontages: gaps were narrow between houses in the tenth century; these disappeared over the eleventh and twelfth centuries. Parish churches were common: many towns had over ten, and London had over 100. These were placed where they were visible: on corners, near gates, and even in the middle of streets. To complete this rather breathless urban tour, travelers through major towns would find, by 1200, that most had more than one hospital. Charles West, "Urban Populations and Associations" (198–207), sets out a summary of the legal privileges of towns, as well as the significant critical turn that looks beyond legal definitions (derived largely from conditions around 1200) to understand towns. Urban divisions are shown to result from class and ethnicity, and urban solidarity from, inter alia, political engagement

and social networks. West is doubtful on the question of whether there is something to set the specifically Urban Community apart from other forms of collective identity, and cautions against too much 'othering' of towns and their inhabitants.

In her contribution to *The English and Their Legacy, 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams*, ed. David Roffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012), "*Eadulfingtun*, Edmonton, and Their Contexts" (95–114), Pamela Taylor seeks the history of these locations in local sets of boundaries at the intersection of Middlesex, Essex, and Hertfordshire. Her identification of *Eadulfingtun* introduces an examination of the origin and development of hundreds and shires in the late Anglo-Saxon period. The inadequacy of received accounts, and the limitations of simple administrative history, are both argued. The *Eadulfingtun*/Edmonton area reveals continuity and change, competing local interests, and dynamic interactions between different sources of power—all working on the formation of the hundred.
AA

g. Law, Politics, and Warfare

Christopher Jessel's account of *A Legal History of the English Landscape* (London: Wildy, Simmonds and Hill, 2011) traces law and the land in England from the prehistoric era to the modern period. Chapters 4 ("Early Saxon—450 to 867"), 5 ("The Making of Open Fields—867 to 1066"), and 6 ("Norman—1066 to 1154") will be of greatest interest. The accounts in these chapters (about 10 pages each) offer an overview of some aspects of law and politics related to land ownership and use, necessarily in very general terms. Brief accounts, descriptive rather than argumentative, are to be found of bookland (40ff.), lordship, and the Fonthill letter (51ff.); readers seeking an introductory overview of how the administrative developments of the period affected urban and rural land use will be better served by the accounts offered by the chapters in Parts I and III of Crick and van Houts, eds., *A Social History of England*.

Stuart Brookes and Andrew Reynolds, in "The Origins of Political Order and the Anglo-Saxon State," *Archaeology International* 13/14 (2009–2011): 84–93, open and close their study with a broad frame provided by Francis Fukuyama's model of state formation. Their article serves also as an introduction to a three-year Leverhulme project "Landscapes of Governance" (directed by Andrew Reynolds; co-investigators Barbara Yorke and Jayne Carroll) that "seeks to examine the origins of political order in England AD 400–1066." It makes the overall claim that the origins of English governance can be uncovered by exploring the impact of legal structures on landscape. In its detail, however, the argument is more modest, setting out the locations of assembly-sites and *witangemot*. Place-names suggest varied origins for local assembly-sites; their positioning on boundaries suggests the need for neutrality in local mediation. Where these boundaries are between royal and ecclesiastical vills, placement suggests to the authors the tension between religious and political authority. Of *witangemot*, they note that gatherings move increasingly to urban sites over the course of the ninth to eleventh centuries. A shift from tribal- to state-level institution is traced through this fact and the systematic grouping of hundreds, which imply "episodes of the top-down imposition of state-level administration." The data of the article will be of interest to the study of Anglo-Saxon legal and political organization, even if its conclusions do not quite live up to the avowed aim of the project to "revolutionise our view of social complexity during this formative period."

Lisi Oliver, *The Body Legal in Barbarian Law* (UTP, 2011) undertakes a comparative examination of personal injury tariffs in continental and Anglo-Saxon law codes from the seventh to the tenth centuries. Taking into account anthropological, literary, visual, and legal sources, she offers an account of how early medieval society understood wounds, their healing, and the legal process of obtaining compensation for them. Useful summaries of the "Germanic" laws and their manuscript context will be found in Chapter 1; Chapter 2 reminds us why reconstructing actual legal process is so difficult for the period, and offers a lucid and helpfully footnoted reconstruction of this process; Chapters 3 to 5 set out the significance and treatment of wounds to "The Head," "Torso, Arms, and Legs," and "Hands and Feet"—an account supplemented by informative illustrations and tables. Chapter 6 probes the intersection of physical injury and mental insult. Specific classes of victims focus the discussions of Chapter 7 ("Assaults against Women") and Chapter 8 ("Assaults According to Rank"). Chapters 9 and 10 summarise what the laws reveal about dispute resolution, medicine, and perceptions of the body. The appendix (247ff.) will be useful to those in need of a complete table of named injuries and their compensation for the Germanic kingdoms under examination.

Kathleen Casey deals in seven pages with "Crime and Punishment: Anglo-Saxon Law Codes," *The Middle Ages in Text and Texture: Reflections on Medieval Sources*, ed. Jason Glenn (UTP, 2011), 85–92. She celebrates the exceptionalism of the laws as "the only vernacular expression of customary law in all of Europe" (86), and her account of additions by later kings centralizes the accretive quality of Anglo-Saxon law-writing. Casey's interest in the laws is for their evidence of early medieval English life, and so their purity from corrupting Latin influence, and their accuracy as records of real lived experience, are taken for granted. Perhaps surprisingly, Casey focuses on the eruption of a Javanese volcanic chain in 535, which (via a kind of butterfly effect that is more implied than argued) is presented as the cause of an apparent epidemic of Anglo-Saxon cattle theft. Feuding and its legal alternatives are considered, as are the detailed list of fines for inflicting different injuries: through these lists, Casey sees the aggrieved Anglo-Saxon villager plotting which injury he can afford to inflict. Alfred is taken to have attempted to reduce haphazard laws to order, and the kings after Alfred to have moved to a more modern style of lawmaking. The ecclesiastical focus of these later laws is attributed to personal eagerness to "propel society into a more Christian atmosphere" (89) on the part of the governing king; the laws as a whole paint a grim picture of a world in chaos. The idea of flexible local customary laws standing in positive contrast to rigid written legislation is rehearsed, and we are reminded of the scant evidence for actual local practice. Casey acknowledges alternative political reasons for creating a law code, but does not appear to take these as any challenge to the accuracy of the codes as records of social reality. Tensions between potential Roman models and actual Anglo-Saxon codes, and especially between Christian ideals and available secular justice, lead to the conclusion that ordinary people "were unlikely to grasp the idea of redemptive justice" and that "Kings asked too much of their subjects by calling on them to inhabit, at one time, two discrete dimensions" (91). The rise of the common law after the sharp break of the Conquest is presented as the remedy to the Anglo-Saxon "crisis" (92) caused by incompatible concepts of justice. We end with a grim pronouncement on the shortcomings of our own legal age.

T. B. Lambert, "Theft, Homicide and Crime in Late Anglo-Saxon Law," *Past and Present* 214 (2012): 3–43, interrogates the surprising disparity in pre-Conquest royal punishments for theft (stern penalties including death) and homicide (a relatively minor fine). Lambert accepts that outright royal prohibition of homicide came only in the twelfth century rather than in the 940s (as Patrick Wormald and others argue). Arguments are based on the substance and rhetoric of the law codes, and such evidence as can be adduced of real-life cases, from which an ideology emerges that divides homicide (largely a personal and ecclesiastical concern) from theft (a crime affecting *frið* and the inviolability of the oath). Only the latter is prohibited outright and carries the threat of royal punishment. All this suggests two distinct types of jurisdiction in Anglo-Saxon England: prohibitive jurisdiction (covering theft and a range of other crimes, e.g., arson) and protective jurisdiction (covering homicide and certain other crimes, perhaps, e.g., rape). The pervasive idea that serious offences formed a single or unified conceptual category in Anglo-Saxon law is the article's main victim.
AA

The following reviews concern essays in *The English and Their Legacy, 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams*, ed. David Roffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012). Charles Insley introduces "The Family of Wulfric Spott: An Anglo-Saxon Marcher Dynasty?" (115–28). Spott (died c. 1004), founder of Burton Abbey, is shown to have been a politically connected and powerful figure in the late 900s and early 1000s. The fortuitous survival of his detailed will allows for the reconstruction of his extensive estates, the North Midlands portions of which Insley sees as possibly a discrete lordship. Having demonstrated both the theoretical and geographical difficulties of establishing a "march" region (here, the march between Mercia and Northumbria) Insley makes the argument that Spott acquired estates as the result of a deliberate royal policy of creating a strong lordship in the northeast Midlands, part of a broader strategy of royal frontier management.

Local issues are the focus of Vanessa King's "From Minster to Manor: The Early History of Bredon" (79–93). King narrates the early history of Bredon in Worcestershire as it developed from monastery to episcopal manor between the eighth and early twelfth centuries. A number of early documentary sources are investigated for evidence (and judged for probity) to build an account that offers a detailed history of Bredon in particular. More generally, it demonstrates the methods by which churches worked to build their local influence in the tenth century, and illustrates the worth of such detailed archival study.
AA

Stuart Airlie's *Power and Its Problems in Carolingian Europe* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2012) is a collection of thirteen of his previous essays published between 1990 and 2007. The aim of gathering these articles in one place is to "bring the collective nature of this era's political culture into sharp relief" (vii). Airlie's introduction provides a nice framework for not only the essays themselves but the changing focus of the early medieval field and the place of his research within it. He also acknowledges the social and cultural topics more recently explored by others which have expanded our understanding of Carolingian era politics. The volume also contains a clear and useful "Comments and Bibliographical Updates Section" which allows Airlie to not only correct previous citation errors but also point the reader to more recent scholarship in several cases and occasionally nuance his arguments. For the most part, however, he lets his previous scholarship speak for itself by grouping the essays into thematic rather than chronological order. This arrangement works well and provide a useful collection of Airlie's shorter works on supporters and rivals of the Carolingian aristocracy.
MEB

Kathrin Prietzel, "Appetite for Power: The Anglo-Saxon *Regina Gratia Dei*," *ES* 93.5 (2012): 549–58, is a brief look at Early English queens from Bede to *Ælfthryth*, Edgar's final wife. Prietzel examines the changing role of queenship as it comes closer to an office rather than just a wife. The briefness of the essay does not allow for in-depth examination of any one example which would have been appreciated. However, Prietzel's overall point that kings inherited their power but queens' *potestas* was always tied to herself and her body is well considered. Although queenship evolved between the eighth and tenth centuries, Prietzel sums up that "queens could not draw on the authority and power of their female predecessors" (58).
MEB

Shannon Ambrose, "The Social Context and Political Complexities of Goscelin's Sermon for the Feast of Saint Augustine of Canterbury, the 'Apostle of the English,'" *SP* 109.4 (2012): 364–80, argues that Goscelin's sermon was equally an act of veneration for the community's patron saint and a form of religious propaganda. Providing and analyzing an overview of the audience, the development of the cult of St. Augustine, and the content of the sermon itself—including vocabulary—Ambrose contends that the *Sermo* was crafted to

bring about the "restoration of an abbey that was recovering from the divisiveness of coenobitic anarchy, political intrigues, and ecclesiastical power struggles" (380) Her overview and philological analysis are very helpful in understanding Goscelin's work within its contemporary context.
MEB

Nicholas Karn, "Centralism and Local Government in Medieval England: Constitutional History and Assembly Politics, 950–1300," *History Compass* 10.10 (2012): 742–51, puts forth several thought-provoking points for anyone who works on the government of England in the Central Middle Ages. While many scholars have acknowledged the foundation of the field in nineteenth-century nationalism, Karn points out the historiography still focuses almost exclusively on the questions or themes deemed important by the subject's founders. Essentially, Karn argues that the interests of the nineteenth century and the survival and number of certain types of documentation have continually steered historians of this topic towards studying the institutions and offices of "central" government even though it is the local government officials and assemblies which would have affected the population to a greater degree. Even when local government is discussed "hierarchy, order and institutionality were central to the understanding of how local government worked" (744). Karn argues persuasively this is not the case and such thinking provides an inaccurate picture of medieval English government.
MEB

The following reviews refer to essays in Michael Livingston, ed., *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook* (Exeter: UEP, 2011). Michael Livingston's "The Roads to Brunanburh" (1–26), complements and enhances the Preface to the volume. Livingston provides an overview of the different sources for the Battle of Brunanburh and, perhaps more importantly, the English and non-English sides of the battle. He correctly attempts to treat the battle as a clash of multiple groups seeking dominance on the island and provides the reasons and sources for them. Helpfully, Livingston subdivides the chapter into sections on each region, simply named North, South, and West. The southern and western sections are brief but useful, the northern part, however, seems to discuss the southern king Æthelstan more than necessary considering it is supposed to be about the northern side. Overall, however, this is a good and brief account of the various groups involved at

Brunanburh and even provides a short but thoughtful discussion of the absence of the Welsh at this battle. It helps to set up the rest of the volume.

Keith A. Kelly's chapter, "Truth and a Good Story: Egil's Saga and Brunanburh" (305–14), fits well with the overall theme of the book, which brings together most of the primary sources that discuss the Battle of Brunanburh. Kelly focuses on *Egil's Saga* and the ongoing debate over the historicity of Icelandic sagas. This article is a good introduction both to the debate and one of its central conflicts, the story of Egil. Kelly traces some of the main theories particularly involving social memory and oral tradition regarding the sagas and historical fact. He focuses on the description of Egil, the place-name of the battle, and the description of the battle tactics and topography. Kelly points out both sides of the argument for and against historicity of each. He concludes that there are "too many red flags" (313) for *Egil's Saga* to be taken as authentic historical record but suggests that there are too many things that also indicate basis in social memory for the saga to be purely creative fiction.

King Æthelstan and his victory at the Battle of Brunanburh is a very interesting example of contemporary social concerns being placed onto the stories past events. Robert Rouse, "Romancing the Past: The Middle English Tradition" (315–23), focuses on the various Middle English and late romances which include a version of the battle, an event that maintained an importance in the history of England until the thirteenth century. Rouse provides a brief but extremely helpful overview and convincing argument for the competing stories of warrior-king Æthelstan's victory and the medieval romance version which turns the battle into a judicial single-combat between Guy of Warwick and the giant Collbrond. While Guy first appears as an addition, by the late medieval period the romance version had won, as is evidenced both by the romance *Athelston* and the notes on Winchester found in John Leland's *Itinerary*. While the evolution of Guy in these stories is interesting, even more fascinating and useful to historians of memory is the devolution of Æthelstan from heroic warrior-king who saved the English kingdom to a tyrannical king who must be taught the limitation of royal power in the late romance *Athelston*. A king whose largest and most important victory has been taken away and given to the noble romantic figure of Guy of Warwick. Rouse's chapter fits well with the surrounding ones in tracing the various versions of the Battle of Brunanburh which appeared in England throughout the medieval period.

Stephen Harding's chapter, "Wirral: Folklore and Locations" (351–64), is based on the premise that the Battle of Brunanburh can be placed in or near modern Bromborough in the Wirral. He is forthright in the beginning that not all agree with this placement. Although he starts with the folklore of the area, he does point out that most of it can be traced to antiquarian interests and must not be taken as historical memory. However, Harding does counter that there is a lasting belief in the locality that the major battle took place here and this must be taken into consideration. With the assumption of Bromoborough as the place of the *burh*, the bulk of the chapter is devoted to a brief discussion of various potential battle sites, a proposed division of the Wirral between Scandinavian and English settlements, and a much lengthier examination of possible escape routes for those fleeing the battle itself. Harding offers two potential sites for the *Dingsmere* mentioned in the original poem: either in the west of the peninsula near Heswall Point or in the north near Meols. He makes use of several maps including the Bryant map of the area from 1831. Like many place-name studies, the chapter can get quite dense in certain spots and while the use of the maps is helpful, a larger-scale view of the area earlier in the chapter would help those less intimately familiar with the region to follow his argument better. Overall, the discussion is clear and does provide some thought-provoking suggestions even if one is not convinced that Bromborough is the location of the burh in *Brunaburh*.

Of all the chapters in this collection, Richard Coates's "The Sociolinguistic Context of Brunanburh" (365–83) seems to have the least to do with the actual Battle of Brunanburh. He focuses on the sociolinguistics of the Wirral area and, if one is convinced by other chapters in the book that Bromoborough can be identified as Brunaburh, this works. If one is not convinced, then the link between this particular discussion and the historic battle becomes less clear. However, Coates does provide a very thoughtprovoking overview of place-names in the Wirral peninsula and argues persuasively that several of them were not in fact Welsh but rather Irish and likely represent ethic indicators. Within his overall argument he also focuses on Scandinavian and English place-names and what this might indicate about population composition and interactions. Besides the suggesting the influence of Irish language on certain place-names, Coates's most intriguing arguments come when he discusses that relationship and the shifts between Old English and Old Norse. Overall, this chapter creates a picture of

a multilingual settlement in the northwest Wirral, which highlights the growing discussion of a multi-ethic culture throughout England but particularly in the north during ninth and early tenth centuries. MEB

Howard B. Clarke, "'Those Five Knights which you Owe me in Respect of your Abbacy': Organizing Military Service after the Norman Conquest: Evesham and Beyond," *The Haskins Society Journal* 24 (2012): 1–39, asks how post-Conquest tenants-in-chief organized their military service obligations and uses Evesham Abbey as a case study. Clark provides a brief contextualizing history of the abbey and its abbots and provides a series of maps interspersed throughout the article which show the location of the estates under discussion. He also does an impressive analysis of the sub-tenurial holders. Furthermore, he grapples with the issues surrounding many of the surviving Evesham documents and concludes they do reveal some historical truisms including the land-grabbing which occurred after the Conquest at all levels and tensions between abbots and their monks (31). The article reveals the complex system of sub-tenurial holdings even for a monastic house of middling rank like Evesham Abbey. MEB

H. Vikings

Lesley Abrams, "Diaspora and Identity in the Viking Age," *Early Medieval Europe* 20.1 (2012): 17–38, provides an examination of the use of the term "diaspora" in studies of the Viking Age and asks whether it is a useful word to employ in such circumstances. Within this survey Abrams also briefly discusses older terms that were used and the "baggage" which accompanies them. She also addresses what she calls the "diaspora craze" of the late twentieth and early twenty-first centuries and how this might put modern perceptions of the word onto a medieval society. Abrams does however discuss Robin Cohen's nine attributes for *Global Diaspora* of modern-termed phenomena and uses it as a starting point for at least a theoretical view of the Viking Age. She discusses both regional variation and supra-regional traditions within what she calls Scandinavian culture. Abrams concludes that "diaspora" is not just a trendy term but a useful concept for looking at the Viking Age, the adoption of which provides the oversea settlements with a better cultural profile and a more significant role of agency. MEB

I. The Norman Conquest and Settlement

The following reviews concern essays in *The English and Their Legacy, 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann Williams*, ed. David Roffe (Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012). Mark Hagger, "Lordship and Lunching: Interpretations of Eating and Food in the Anglo-Norman World, 1050–1200, with Reference to the Bayeux Tapestry" (229–44), looks to the depiction of Normans dining in the Bayeux Tapestry for insight into how food and drink were taken in the eleventh century; he seeks to shed further light on the scene itself by considering the symbols and motifs that influence the design of the tapestry. The particular focus is on the use of food to construct communities, and to symbolise state of mind. A consideration of some contemporary sources depicting food and feasting in secular and monastic settings follows, to show its importance in identity-formation and community-building. In the Bayeux Tapestry, the fish in front of the bishop may suggest a pious fast, but the feasting as a whole suggests the ease of the Normans, implying both their courage and the lack of opposition they faced on landing. The possibility that the scene is modelled on depictions of the Last Supper are considered, but in the end lordly identity (expressed through his ability to provide food for his men) and Norman community appear to be at the centre of the symbolism of the Bayeux Tapestry lunch.

K. S. B. Keats-Rohan, in "Through the Eye of the Needle: Stigand, the Bayeux Tapestry and the Beginnings of the Historia Anglorum" (159–74), argues that seeing the Bayeux Tapestry as an English product, created by Archbishop Stigand for and in collaboration with Odo of Bayeux, allows for a more coherent story to emerge from its fabric. This story is an attempt by English historians to come to terms with defeat, and to place the defeat within a broader history of the English. It is in this sense that the Tapestry emerges as the beginnings of a *Historia Anglorum*. Keats-Rohan provides a consideration of the date, possible commissioners and possible patrons of the Tapestry, as well as a reading of its imagery that concludes it presents Stigand's version of events—a perspective that involves both his homage to Harold, and his flattery of Odo and, by extension, William. AA

J. Education and Learning

The following reviews refer to chapters in Julia Crick and Elisabeth van Houts, eds., *A Social History of*

England, 900–1200 (CUP, 2011). The power of education is at the center of Julia Crick's account of "Learning and Training" (352–72). This chapter introduces the final part of the volume, section IV. Its early focus is on the twelfth century, and an emerging system of education whose story is well documented. Some attention is given to education outside the universities and grammar schools: wealthy women might receive monastic education without permanent admission to a nunnery; churchmen taught their congregations; men and women of all ranks were trained in practical accomplishments; Asser records the (presumably exceptional) learning opportunity afforded to Alfred and other children in the court school. Crick explicitly connects craft, skill, and cultural work, and equates learning to a skill, even a trade; among the luxuries afforded to nobility is that of learning more than one craft. Examples demonstrate the felt connection between education and intellectual and spiritual growth across the period, and accounts of the pre-Conquest period show the frequency of children being sent out to learn and grow away from the family. A consideration of writing in the vernacular, illustrated with pre-Conquest examples, concludes that vernacular literacy reached far down the social scale: a problem for French-speaking conquerors imposing a new system, and for modern scholars who remain to some degree confounded by the tangle of educational structures from which written English emerges in the later twelfth century. What is at least clear is that the education among family that was common in the tenth century had been replaced in the twelfth by education among networks of strangers: an opportunity for social ascent that demonstrates the growing power of education.

Nicholas Karn discusses "Information and its Retrieval" (373–80). His account is framed by and problematises some aspects of M. T. Clanchy's *From Memory to Written Record: England, 1066–1307*. He is critical of Clanchy's presumed gulf between the oral and the written, reading a lawsuit from 1150 to demonstrate the reality of their close relationship. And he questions Clanchy's acceptance of a consistent relationship between the amount written and the amount that has survived (from the period of Karn's focus, relatively little has survived). Karn surveys some archiving practices in large and small churches to demonstrate that what survives to us is an uncertain measure of what was: the information we seek to retrieve has been archived (or not) in accordance with the priorities of later ages.

Andy Orchard's account of "Esoteric Knowledge" (381–90) argues for a consistent and continuing interest in hidden and obscure learning. Examples ranging from Aldhelm's use of a treatise on animal noises to Bede's use of the *Ars amatoria* contextualise apparent oddities of contents in the surviving manuscripts. Evidence of the varied interests of the early English are found in the legacy of Bede and Aldhelm, in the book collection of Æthelstan, and in the broad engagement of England with the outside world.

Carole Rawcliffe offers an account of "Medical Practice and Theory" (391–401), tracing the shift in critical attitudes to Anglo-Saxon medicine, which has given us a revised and more positive view of medieval healers as proficient and learned. Rawcliffe's overview of the state of early medieval medicine in England charts a course between overemphasis on the apparently superstitious and selective focus on the apparently scientific. (Some apparent superstitions reveal themselves to be practical instructions based on physical and botanical realities; at the same time, surviving records show an interest in harnessing the miraculous.) Rawcliffe describes the role of the church in medical matters and the ancient Greek sources that appear to have come into England. What emerges is an English medicine with a robust empirical tradition in which medical theory (as it then stood) was afforded a secondary place.

Martha Bayless concludes both this section and the volume with her discussion of many facets of frivolity in "Subversion" (402–11). Against the somber backdrop of the Church's official strictures, Bayless enumerates instances and causes of levity among both the laity and the clerical orders. Clerical levity is heard when Anglo-Saxon voices (often Ælfric's) denounce it; and Bayless uses the Cambridge Songs of the mid-eleventh century to demonstrate what every student encountering the riddles of the Exeter Book has had to consider: that monastic taste "might be more bawdy than ascetic." "Subversive" perhaps only in the sense that the Church officially frowned upon them, the merry activities set out here include the leisure-time of Christmas (the establishment of which is dated to before 877, as the laws of Alfred granted servants holiday for the twelve days following Christmas Day—though critical consensus tends to date this code much later in Alfred's reign, perhaps after 893). More directly at odds with the teaching of the Church is the divination performed on New Year's Day and denounced by Wulfstan, but the account quickly returns to the general merriment that is fodder for so many homiletic admonitions. Jesters are a part of Bayless's account: from "Roulandus

le Fartere," whose name advertises his party-trick, and the *truð* whose death by gluttony Ælfric triumphantly recounts, Bayless's list of vignettes includes many minstrels and jesters who share the quality of being, finally, "worryingly unknowable." General information remains the focus for the enumeration of invectives against drinking (Ælfric again) and nakedness of the lower body—though the witch of the Fens who exposes her backside to her pursuers is placed as belonging to the twelfth-century *Gesta Herewardi*. Twelfth-century literary examples of comedy and satire close this entertaining but rather disorganized tour of the profane. Few dates and locations are provided to help the reader place the figures and events described: the focus is upon depicting broad attitudes across the three chosen centuries—and in this choice, an intended undergraduate audience is clear. An examination of medieval attitudes before the tenth century, and after the twelfth, would be likely to produce similar conclusions to those drawn here.

Libraries, literacy, and writers are the focus of Part IV, "Collections of Books," in *The Cambridge History of the Book in Britain, I: c. 400–1100*, ed. Richard Gameson (CUP, 2012). In this section, David Howlett recounts a brief life of "Patrick, Apostle of the Irish" (565–69), based on the apostle's *Epistola ad milites Corotici* and his *Confessio*. The nature of Patrick's education and social milieu are adduced from quotations in the texts, and the quality of his prose is defended. Thomas O'Loughlin offers a list of books certainly or probably present at Iona in "The Library of Iona at the time of Adomnán" (570–79), based largely on the evidence of texts apparently consulted to produce Adomnán's *De locis sanctis* and *Vita sancti Columbae*. Andy Orchard describes "Aldhelm's Library" (591–605) and his intellectual life in some detail: both emerge as being of hybrid nature and exuberant breadth. Aldhelm's (d. 709/10) intellectual training and life is adduced from his library (which is itself adduced from citations found in his textual productions); some limitations of this kind of source-hunting are set out with examples. Rosalind Love, in "The Library of the Venerable Bede" (606–32), is like her fellow contributors cautious about whether Bede's citations of other authors implies in every case that his library held a copy of their works. They might instead suggest the works were known to him by reputation, copied from books only borrowed, or helpfully provided as fragments from correspondents afar. Her conclusions produce an extensive library, but with notable gaps. The path by which some books may have found their way to

Bede at Wearmouth-Jarrow is considered. Mary Garrison tackles "The Library of Alcuin's York" (633–64). The library flourished in the eighth century, was largely dispersed or destroyed by the end of the ninth, and is associated here with its most famous user, Alcuin of York (d. 804). Alcuin's travel to the Continent is among the challenges of reconstructing the library he would have known while still at York. But scattered contemporary references to the library exist, and from them Garrison reconstructs something of the cultural world of the library, estimated here at 100 volumes. Garrison discusses the private ownership of the books (first by Ælberht, then by his student Alcuin, who left the bulk of the collection behind when he left for the Continent), the transmission of the books, and the final dissolution of the library, which was, during its period of flourishing, famed as a center for learning. Alcuin's poem about York is mined in detail for its bibliographical reminiscences, which produces tables of named authors, and is taken to constitute a statement of ownership by Alcuin, as well as a picture of the breadth of the collection. This picture necessarily remains obscure, but Garrison sheds considerable light in this account. Fiona Gameson summarizes what we know about "The Library of Cynewulf" (665–69). This library is reconstructed via source-study of the four poems bearing Cynewulf's runic signature—scholarship on these possible sources is impartially presented and helpfully footnoted, and leads to the conclusion that Cynewulf was a competent translator and editor as well as a poet, and that he had access to sufficiently varied materials to suggest he was based at a major ecclesiastical center: Worcester may be a likely candidate. In "King Alfred and his Circle" (670–78), Rohini Jayatilaka reminds us that a significant number of available volumes survived the ransacking and burning lamented in the preface to the OE translation of the *Regula pastoralis*. Jayatilaka is cautious to avoid claims of Alfredian authorship, but constructs from books associated with his court a significant library. Malcolm Godden deals with "Ælfric's Library" (679–84); his account of the books apparently available to Ælfric of Eynsham after he left Winchester (c. 987) and moved to the new foundation at Cerne Abbas in Dorset is careful to distinguish probable from merely possible sources, and its footnotes offer useful hints for further reading. Michael Lapidge sets out "The Library of Byrhtferth" (685–93) at the abbey of Ramsey, which contained (on the evidence of Bryhtferth's quotations) in excess of 100 volumes. Lapidge is interested in how the Ramsey library was assembled, and sets out some possibilities via the thoughtful reconstruction of possible contributions

from other individuals associated with the foundation. Andy Orchard's brief but heavily footnoted reconstruction of "The Library of Wulfstan of York" (694–700) is hampered by Wulfstan's own avoidance of direct quotations ("Where Ælfric adopts, Wulfstan adapts," 694). Orchard's account includes a list of 18 manuscripts associated with Wulfstan, and highlights the stylistic strategy of reorganization and recycling that both exploits and obscures the texts at the author's disposal. Finally, David Howlett's "Rhygyfarch ap Sulien and Ieuan ap Sulien" (701–5) introduces the two sons of Sulien the Wise (1011–1091), providing a summary of the books read and used by the brothers in producing their own writings, and concluding that their clear influence on later hagiographers attests to the importance of their writings, the extent of their learning, and the intelligence of Rhygyfarch and Ieuan themselves. Although Malcolm Godden's warnings on the difficulty of defining the extent of "Literacy in Anglo-Saxon England," (580–90) might usefully stand as a conclusion to the accounts in this section (and as something of a counterpoint to the argument for widespread scholarship they collectively suggest), it in fact appears as the third of the subchapters enumerated above. He reminds us that explicit evidence is virtually nonexistent, and contemporary commentary on the subject rare. The frequency of complaints and calls for reform suggest that Latin was always primarily a written language in England, and that the competence achieved by major figures (such as those listed above) did not spread far down the ranks of the clergy. The solution from Bede to Alfred was the vernacular, and texts across the period using both English and Latin suggest that uneven Latin literacy was a persistent reality. A spectrum of English and Latin literacy emerges, in which the access to and use of the written texts that proliferated may render the distinction between reading something and having something read an unimportant one.
AA

The following reviews concern articles in *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 69 (2012), a special issue on "Secular Learning in Anglo-Saxon England: Exploring the Vernacular," ed. László Sandor Chardonnens and Bryan Carella (now publishing as Kristen Carella). In "Introducing Old English Secular Learning" (xiii–xxvi), Chardonnens and Carella provide a thoughtful explanation of what secular learning was in the Early English period as well as an overview of the scholarship from the proceeding twenty years. This introduction puts forth a call to the field to expand research beyond the traditional Old English canon and

to advance the study of secular learning in Early Medieval England through needed new editions or first-time translations of previously ignored texts. Chardonnens and Carella acknowledge and praise the advancements made in the subfields of Old English legal and medicine studies by various scholars in the previous two decades and point to other fields such as prognostication which have made smaller progress and need more attention. Overall, this introduction lays a good framework for the edited volume they have curated.

Stephanie Hollis provides an in-depth examination of several different texts from across the pre-Conquest Period in her "Anglo-Saxon Secular Learning and the Vernacular: An Overview" (1–43). These texts, which range from the Age of Bede to Alfred's reign and to the Benedictine Reform, have often been used to demonstrate the popular perception, even among medievalists, that England that a low Latin literacy and poor language skills. Hollis's large survey and analysis offer a different interpretation. For example, Old English medical texts are often cited as evidence for supposedly poor Latin skills but, as Hollis argues, these texts were meant for practical application and it would make sense to have easy access to the ingredients and directions in the vernacular. She further argues that there is evidence for earlier Latin versions of the sources in England and it should not be unquestionably accepted that the Latin medical texts were introduced post-1066. The article is well worth the read for anyone who works on literacy, medieval medicine, or even the Benedictine Reform.
MEB

Works Not Seen

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David Roffe, "Hidden Lives: English Lords in Post-Conquest Lincolnshire and Beyond." In *The English and Their Legacy, 900–1200: Essays in Honour of Ann William*, ed. David Roffe. Woodbridge: Boydell, 2012. Pp. 205–28.

Schröder, Els. "Friendship and Favour in Late Anglo-Saxon Élite Culture: A Study of Documentary and Narrative Sources, c. 900–1016." 2 vols. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, Univ. of York, 2012.

Watt, Diane. "Lost Books: Abbess Hildelith and the Literary Culture of Barking Abbey." *PQ* 91.1 (2012): 1–21.

Yorke, Barbara. "Aldhelm's Irish and British Connections." *Aldhelm and Sherborne: Essays to Celebrate the Founding of the Bishopric*, ed. Katherine Barker with Nicholas Brooks. Oxford: Oxbow, 2010. Pp. 164–80.

8. Names

Although not listed in the bibliography for 2012, *The Place-Names of Shropshire, Part Seven: The Hundreds of Brimstree and Bradford South* (Nottingham: EPNS) was published in that year by Margaret Gelling in collaboration with the late H. D. G. Foxall (before Gelling's own death) and then completed by Paul Cavill and Richard Coates. The authors identify and discuss place-names from two of the hundreds on the left bank of the Severn. They identify the commonly used place-name elements and a few that are less common like *wæsse* 'land by a meandering river which floats and drains quickly', which occurs in *Bulas* and *Builduns*. The place-names of Brimstree Hundred and Bradford South Hundred are listed separately, and the parishes of each hundred are shown on separate maps. The usual information is given for each entry, such as earlier spellings, dates, and historical information, but the field-names are separated for each entry under the *headings* (a) and (b), with the former listing names known to have been in use in the nineteenth century or later.

One of the other major books published in 2012 dealing with place-names is *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England*, ed. Richard Jones and Sarah Semple (Donington: Shaun Tyas). Many of the specific essays in the volume are reviewed directly below, and elsewhere throughout this section where topically relevant.

The introduction by Jones and Semple, "Making Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England" (1–25), provides an overview of the various aspects of the topics that are discussed in specific essays in the volume.

Two essays in *Sense of Place* deal with the place-name elements of *tūn* and *lēah*. Richard Coates, "'Agricultural' Compound Terms in *tūn* like Acton and Barton" (211–37), focuses his study only on place-names in *tūn* where the first element is a common noun and excluding those names where the first element relates to a building or is topograpic. Coates organizes his data into nine thematic categories such as "crop plants," "crop trees," "wild living creatures," etc., and concludes that the data supports Gelling's suggestion that *lēah* as a second element is not restricted to subsistance agriculture and *tūn* is not restricted to more advanced farming practices. The article ends with a six-page appendix of the place-names discussed in his analysis.

Rosamond Faith, "*Tūn* and *Lēah* in the Rural Economy" (238–42), shows that the distinction between a *lēah* and a *tūn* is primarily that a *lēah* refers to an area rather than a specific place, while *tūn* refers to a specific space, regardless of its size. The *lēah* should be viewed as meaning "wood pasture" and thus less arable than a *tūn* and also more economically diverse than a *tūn*, which is surrounded by more arable land.

Other essays in *Sense of Place* focus on specific place-names. In "Digging for Names: Archaeology and Place-Names in the Avebury Region" (31–46), Andrew Reynolds and Sarah Semple provide case studies of the names *Cherhill*, *Compton Bassett*, and *Yatesbury* by triangulating information from place-name scholars, archaeologists, and landscape historians. For example, the name *Cherhill* is a British survival which predates significant habitation during the Roman-British period; while there is still some discussion about etymology here, the author prefers the etymon *caer* 'fort', 'camp' because of the hillfort above the village. Archaeological evidence includes a sixth-century broach from an "ancient pit dwelling," and landscape historians identify both a church and a manor house enclosed within an elliptical space. In "Hunting for the Meaning of the Place-Name Upton" (301–15), Richard Jones suggests that the twenty-eight *Uptons* that appear in the Domesday Book may refer not to the expected topographical feature meaning "higher" or even the directional feature east, but instead to parts of royal or ecclesiastical estates that were left wild or uncultivated for the purpose of hunting. They were usually one to three miles from the principal focus of such estates, an easy distance for riding. In "Kingston: The Place-Name and Its Context" (260–81), Jill Bourne argues that since the majority of the *Kingstons* are close to long-distance Roman roads and appear in "strings" about ten miles apart, they were probably used to administer the kingdoms by serving as places where fresh horses for riders carrying important messages or accompanying important people would be provided as well as food for both horses and riders and maybe even a place to lock up criminals before they were transferred to prisons on the estates. They do not appear to have been large centers of authority or of royal residence.

Three articles in the *Journal of the English Place-Name Society* also discuss specific place-names. In "Worthy of Great Respect," *JEPNS* 44 (2012): 35–43, Richard Coates proposes that the West Saxon *worðig* was used in a special sense of having a relationship to "politically or ecclesiastically significant places" as the *Winchester Worthy* was a rural retreat for the royal court and that this special sense of the word was introduced into Mercia because of dynastic contacts such as Burgred of Wessex marrying Eadburg, the daughter of Offa of Mercia, which led to place-names such as *Tamworth* which was close to Lichfield, one of the two foci of early royal Mercia. In "The Riddle of Salthrop," *JEPNS* 44 (2012): 33–35, Ann Cole points out that the Wiltshire hamlet of *Salthrop* from *sealt-hearpe* 'salt harp' used as a sieve or riddle to crush lump salt into small crystals, as well as *salthorpe* mentioned in the Brokenborough charter nearby, occur in an area known for cheese-making. Since salt is necessary for cheese-making, she suggests that both place-names make sense as indicating places where salt was prepared for use in the cheese-making process. In "The Two Ebbsfleets in Kent," *JEPNS* 44 (2012): 5–9, Keith Briggs discusses proposed etymologies for *Ebbsfleet* without coming to a clear conclusion. His focus is on the newer *Ebbsfleet* in western Kent rather than the older one in eastern Kent, which is the assumed landing-place of the first Anglo-Saxons in 449 AD. Briggs suspects that the newer *Ebbsfleet* was named for the seventeenth-century antiquary Thomas Philipott who believed that the landing-place of the first Anglo-Saxons was in western Kent and because the name *Northfleet* already existed in the area.

Two essays in this year's bibliography deal with Norwegian place-names. In "Det urnordiska namnelementet -*gastiz*: Nägra sprak- och religions-historiska sonderingar," *Studia Anthroponymica Scandinavica* 30: 5–18, Peter Jackson discusses the name *Nauðigastiz* found in the runic inscription and stone in Hogganvik, Norway with the focus on the second element -*gastiz* 'guest', 'stranger'. He uses data from *Widsith* and *Beowulf* to suggest that *nēodlaðu* in *Beowulf* as well as the name *Nauðigastiz* should be interpreted to referring to "a guest who responded to an urgent invitation." So rather than referring to a guest who was in need, the name referred to a guest like Beowulf who was needed by the host. In "Namnet Torqhatten: Till Försvar för en tolkning," *Namn och Bygd* 99: 41–49, Lennart Elmevik reiterates his earlier derivation of the first element of the mountain name *Torghatten* on the west coast of Norway from a Proto-Scandinavian *taruza-*, cognate

with OE *tarn* 'crack, tear, notch', because the mountain has a deep cleft 125 meters above the fjord which cuts right through the mountain. He suggests that the name of the mountain was transferred to the island at its foot and was then transferred to the farm on the island. He also throws in a note at the end of the essay about the Finnish city-name *Turku* which comes from the word *torg* 'marketplace', which is common in Scandinavian languages, and reflects the influence of the Scandinavian languages, particularly Swedish, on Finnish, a non-Indo-European language.

Andrew Breeze assigns Celtic origins to two place-names in two articles in this year's bibliography. In "Sarrott and the Celts," *Hertfordshire Archaeology and History* 17 (2009–2015): 97–98, he derives the Hertfordshire village place-name *Sarrott* from a British form meaning 'steep, sloping, precipitous', which was the source of Middle Welsh *serth*, Middle Cornish *serth*, and Middle Breton *serz*. He suggests that the name indicates that the Britons in that area retained some independence as late as the 570s from the Anglo-Saxon invaders. In "Pen Ren Wleth (BT 34.1) and Gourock, Scotland," *Studia Celtica* 46 (2012): 191–94, Breeze shows that the place-name in the line *o pen ren wleth hyt luch reon* in the Book of Taliesin refers to *Gourock* in the old British territory of Strathclyde, rather than to Penwith in Cornwall, by suggesting that a Norman scribe copying a text with a Celtic toponym *Gwrah* "old woman" miscopied the name which is referred to now as Granny Kempock's Stone and which became the name for the whole town.

Other essays in the bibliography also focus on individual place-names. In "*Rutupiae* and Red Hills," *Archaeologica Cantiana* 132 (2012): 327–33, Anthony Durham and Michael Goormachtigh suggest the name of Roman Britain's main Channel port on the Kent coast *Rutupiae* derives from the fact that the seaside salt-making by evaporation of the water used clay pottery, which was made from the clay there that contained enough iron to make the clay red, thus leaving mounds of red soil just as the Red Hills ancient salterns do.

Paul Cavill, "The Place-Name Debate," in *The Battle of Brunanburh: A Casebook*, ed. Michael Livingston (Exeter: UEP, 2011), 327–49, concludes that *Bromborough* on the Wirral meets the philological, topographical, and sociological criteria to identifiy *Brunanburh* as *Bromborough*.

In "What Was Left at Marlow? New Considerations for the Place-Name," in *Anglo-Saxon Traces*, ed. Jane Roberts and Leslie Webster (Tempe: ACMRS, 2011), 229–41, Phyllis Portnoy argues that the second element OE *laf* does not necessarily mean 'remnant', 'heirloom', or anything that is 'left behind'. She proposes instead a now lost OE **laf* 'blade', which could refer to either a sword or a blade of grass or straw, as the second element of *Marlow*. Thus, there are two other possibilities for the meaning of the second element of the place-name.

Richard Coates, "*To þære fulan flóde, óf þære fulan flode*: On Becoming a Name in Easton and Winchester, Hampshire," in *Analysing Older English*, ed. David Denison et al. (CUP, 2012), 28–34, uses the Old English phrases in the title from boundaries in a charter giving land at Easton to Byrthelm by King Edgar to illustrate what Coates calls the "Onymic Reference Default Principle." The principle explains how a common noun becomes a proper noun, in this case *Fulflood*, by losing the definite article, grammatical features such as case and number, and the original semantic "sense" of the common noun.

Three entries in this year's bibliography look at Old English personal names rather broadly. In *Women's Names in Old English* (Farnham: Ashgate, 2011), Elizabeth Okasha examines the nearly 300 Anglo-Saxon female names in Old English sources. Traditionally, the sex of an individual was assumed to be shown by the grammatical gender of his or her name in the case of monothematic names or the grammatical gender of the second element in dithematic names. Of course, adjectives like *swiþ* 'strong' have no gender specified as in the woman's name *Æþelswiþ*, the sister of King Alfred. Okasha begins by listing all of the sources and various spellings for each specific woman's name and listing all of the second elements in dithematic names, some of which are grammatically masculine or feminine nouns but others are just adjectives, and does the same with the first elements of dithematic names. Her analysis shows that there are exceptions to commonly accepted grammatical gender correspondences such as women's names like *Eadwulf*, whose second element is the masculine word *wulf*, and *Godwif*, whose second element is the neuter word *wif*. She also discusses the eight women's names in *Beowulf*, *Widsith,* and *Deor*, noting that only *Hildeburg* is attested elsewhere, but the other names, whether real or artistic creations, reflect the common conventions of Old English female names.

In "Old Testament Personal Names Among the Britons: Their Occurrence and Significance before the Twelfth Century," *Viator* 43.1: 175–92, John Reuben Davies argues that speakers of the Brittonic language—the early forms of Welsh, Cornish, and Breton—adopted Old Testament names as a sign of their cultural identity in contrast to the other Insular Celtic peoples—the Irish and the Scots—as well as the English. There was a large increase in the use of such Old Testament names by the Irish and the Scots in the middle of the twelfth century though. Gildas may have contributed to the Brittonic name-borrowing by calling the Britons "latter-day Israel" since he was often read by literate Britons, but Davies concludes that the Brittonic-speaking world had "a strong and self-conscious cultural identity" through naming from the Old Testament. His appendix of Old Testament Names from the Book of Llandaf lists the Old Testament names as they appear chronologically. It is interesting to note, however, that all of the names except for *Anna*, the mother of St. Samson, are male names. In "Listes de noms Champenois et Anglia provenant de Saint-Remi de Reims (IXe–début XIIe siècle)," *Francia* 39: 393–438, François Dolbeau and Martin Heinzelmann examine the 331 personal names in thirteen lists over three centuries compiled at Saint-Remi de Reims to show the heterogeneity of the population there at the monastery before the Norman Conquest and then after it by the presence of English names as well as French ones.

Other entries this year focus on individual personal names. In "*Wulfnoð, Olaf* and the Domesday Scribes," *Nomina* 35 (2012): 1–19, Duncan Probert examines the *descriptio,* or gathering of data beginning in 1085, which led to the final form of the Great Domesday Book in 1086, with Probert's focus on the Old English name *Wulfnoð* and the Old Danish name *Olaf.* The question is whether the Domesday form *Vnlof* should be interpreted as representing *Wulfnoð* or as an archaic form of *Olaf.* The primary scribe for the GDB consistently substituted *Vlnod* or *Vlnod'* for the various forms of *Wulfnoð*. However, there are a few *Vnlofs* used by the scribe which Probat identifies as *Onlaf*, an Anglo-Scandinavian name, distinct from *Olaf* which also occurs in the GDB. In "An Eighth-Century Reference to the Monastery at Hoddom," *Journal of Scottish Name Studies* 6: 51–80, Michael S. Parker cites a reference in the letter of Alcuin to the abbot Wulfhard referring to him as *abbatem Hodda Helmi.* Parker argues that the second syllable of *Hoddom* is not OE *elm* but the first element is an OE *Hodda*, a masculine weak declesion personal name with double *dd.* In "Personal Names in the

Composition and Transmission of Bede's Prose Vita S Cuthberti," *ASE* 40 (2011): 15–42, Francesca Tinti compares and contrasts the personal names in the earlier anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* by a monk at Lindisfarne with Bede's prose *Vita S Cuthberti* from around 720. She points out that Bede purposefully included the names of people he had personally interviewed in order to lend authority to his *Life of Saint Cuthbert*. She also notes that proper names included in the marginalia of three different folios of Bede's work identify by name some of his unnamed sources that others had added to clarify specifically whom Bede was referring to. Those added names were *Baella*, *Eadswith*, *Betwald*, *Fridumund*, and *Coelberct*. Hirokazu Tsurushima, "*Hic Est Miles*: Some Images of Three Knights: Turold, Wadard, and Vitale," in *The Bayeux Tapestry: New Approaches*, ed. Michael J. Lewis et al. (Oxford: Oxbow Books, 2011), 81–91, argues that the three knights generally identified as vassals of Odo, Bishop of Bayeux and half-brother of William the Conqueror and who was named Earl of Kent in 1067 and ruled England when William was in Normandy, were themselves part of a Norman aristocracy in England. She shows, however, how they improved their own fortunes by gaining more and more land under the patronage of Bishop Odo when they served in various functions. In "The Ravenna Cosmography, *Argistillum* and Wales," *The Antiquaries Journal* 92 (Sept. 2012): 109–14, Andrew Breeze identifies *Argistillum* mentioned in the Ravenna Cosmography as the village of *Caersws* in Montgomery County, North Wales where the Romans mined lead. He derives *Argistillum* from *Argistillos* or **Aregeistlos* who he suggests was an ancient local ruler whose name meant 'pledge, surety, bond' and that *Caersws* 'fort of Swys' was named after an otherwise unknown person named *Swys*.

Three essays in this year's bibliography focus on place-names associated with ecclesiastical sites. In "Place-Names and Landscape: An Archaeological Perspective," (*Sense of Place*, 61–75), Paul Everson and David Stocker focus on the "ritual landscape" of the monastery of *Barlings Abbey* which was not founded until 1154 but which they speculate from the place-name evidence and from Bede may occupy the same area occupied by Blæcca, the reeve, who along with his household was converted to Christianity in Lincoln by Paulinus in the early seventh century. They see a possible continuity of shared spiritual and temporal power in this particular geographic area from that time on, leading up to the founding of the monastery of Barlings Abbey in the early Middle English period. They also see from place-name

evidence a certain pattern of "centres and dependencies" during the Anglo-Saxon period. In "Administrative Areas: Ecclesiastical Administration," in *An Historical Atlas of Staffordshire*, ed. A. D. M. Phillips and C. B. Phillips (Manchester: Manchester UP, 2011), 18–19, N. J. Tringham examines the ecclesiastical history of the ancient country of Staffordshire which lay within the diocese of Lichfield where the Mercian rulers introduced Christian bishops in the mid-seventh century. Lichfield was an archbishopric from 787 to 802, and Staffordshire properties recorded in Domesday Book in 1066 include *Cheswardine, Quatt*, and *Warfield*. The parishes were established within the county by Anglo-Saxons in the tenth and eleventh centuries. In "Place-Names and Archaeology on a Border: Churches in Ergyng" (*Sense of Place*, 130–46), David Petts concludes that "there is no evidence that particular ecclesiastical place-name forms can be consistently linked to particular physical layouts" after looking at the ecclesiastical place-names of *Ergyng* incorporating the elements: *Ilan, merthyr, eglwys,* and *capel*. Ergyng was an early Welsh "regional kingdom" in what is now western Herefordshire. He does point out that the Welsh *betws* (from OE *bed-chus* 'prayer house') was used primarily for dependent chapels rather than parish churches, however.

There are also three essays that show how place-names reflect the relationships between cultures as they encountered each other due to invasions. In "Grimston and Grimsby: the Danes as Re-namers" (*Sense of Place*, 352–63), Gillian Fellows-Jensen reviews the research on these types of place-names over the last century and concludes that Grimston-hybrids could result from either replacing the name of an Englishman with the name of a Dane for an existing settlement when the Danes took over that settlement, or the Danish names were attached to smaller units of property given to Danes when the great estates were being broken up under Cnut or his successors. Similarly, Fellows-Jensen says place-names in -*bȳ* with Danish names usually represent English settlements taken over by Danes in the Danelaw, but such names in Cumberland, Dumfrieshire, and Scotland may represent an analogical formation from the Danelaw names brought with them by the men brought to Scotland by the Scottish kings. In "British and Germanic Cultural Interaction in Early Anglo-Saxon East Anglia," *Quaestio Insularis* 12 (2011): 63–84, Michael Rush shows by archaeological evidence that East Anglia, roughly the historical counties of Norfolk and Suffolk, during the Anglo-Saxon period had a substantial population that were descendants of the Romanized Celts from the earlier era. Although

the place-names with pre-English elements are few, the names from OE *Walas* 'foreigners' like *Walcott, Walpole, and Walsham* show the presence of such Britons after the Anglo-Saxon occupation of the territory and the introduction of Old English to the region. Jürgen Udolph, "The Colonisation of England by Germanic tribes on the Basis of Place-Names," in *Language Contact and Development around the North Sea,* ed. Merja Stenroos et al. (Amsterdam: Benjamins, 2012), 23–51, shows with strong place-name evidence that the traditional acceptance from Bede that the Germanic tribes who took control of Brittania were Angles, Saxons, and Jutes from the Jutland peninsula, i.e., Denmark and Schleswig-Holstein, is not accurate because it is too restrictive. Udolph shows that many of the place-names elements transported to England originated in Lower Saxony, Westphalia, Belgium, Flanders, other parts of Northern France, and the Netherlands. These place-name elements include Germanic **mar* 'moor' and **lauha* 'wood', OHG *horo* 'mud, dirt, sod', and Ger. *Riede* 'mud, dirt, sod'.

Two entries in this year's bibliography examine Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole's principle of relating place-names to specific topographical phenomena. Terhi Johanna Nurminen's "Hill-terms in the Place-names of Northumberland and County Durham" (doctoral dissertation, Univ. of Newcastle Upon Tyne, 2012) basically follows the methodological framework developed by Gelling and Cole to show how topographical place-name elements refer to particular landscape features in Northumberland and County Durham in particular. While she generally confirms the so-called Gelling Hypothesis, she adds some details as necessary to explain specific data. For example, OE *dūn* referring to a flat-topped hill occurs in at least 114 hill-names in the study, 109 of which are in dithematic names; it is compounded with personal names in 25 cases, with descriptive terms referring to shape or size in 17 cases, and with wild plant names in 15 cases. Nurminon presents charts with all of the occurrences and the semantic categories they occur with. Her work is very comprehensive in terms of the Old English data; unfortunately, she does blur the focus a bit by looking at Middle English and Early Modern English occurrences of the development of the Old English examples and suggests the Gelling's and Cole's conclusions might not be as precise as hypothesized. Her Appendix C lists all of the hill-terms occurring in the copies of place-names, broken down into their languages of origin such as Celtic, English, Scandinavian, French, and Latin and including

otherwise unattested forms that may be reflected in specific hill-names. Peter Kitson, "Notes on Some Interfaces between Place-Name Material and Linguistic Theory," *Analysing Older English,* ed. David Denison et al. (CUP, 2012), 35–55, states that "the uniformitarian principle," which asserts "that though the frequency of linguistic phenomena was not always the same in the past as it is now, the causes which operated in human language were" (35), has often been overlooked when discussing proper names and, in particular, pre-English river names such as *Thames* and *Humber*. Kitson suggests that such names were borrowed into Celtic from Old European, just as they were later borrowed into Old English from Celtic. While praising Margaret Gelling and Ann Cole for their work showing that topographical elements were used more precisely in place-names for settlement than other scholars had thought, he questions (based on his own work on boundaries in Anglo-Saxon charters) whether they are as precise as Gelling and Cole concluded and gives an example of *Crookberraw* in Worcestershire where he thinks they got it wrong by looking at the short side of a long barrow. Also, from his focus on Old English charter boundaries, Kitson identifies a phonological phenomenon not discussed by other scholars: he shows that syncope of the medial vowel in OE *herepaþ* 'army path' causes the tonic vowel to break into a diphthong before the consonant cluster that results from syncope.

Other studies focus primarily on particular place-name elements. William Thomson, "Orkney Skaill-Names," *Northern Scotland* n.s. 3: 1–15, concludes that the skaills in Orkney were probably more than just sheds or huts for temporary use as they were in other areas under Norse influence. His suggestion is that they were most often storehouses for large quantities of grain or other produce in Orkney and usually appeared only one to a parish or district. However, the saga term *skáli*, which denotes a large hall for ceremonial feasting, accounts for only 4 of the 43 *skaill*-names in his appendix but may have led people to think of these place-names as more prestigious than they actually were. Three of the essays in *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* fall into the category of focusing on particular place-name elements. In "*W(e)alh tūn*: Balancing the Probabilities" (284–98), Matthew Blake hypothesizes that *W(e)alh-* names, rather than being associated with marginal lands on slaves or Britons, are associated with religious sites such as ecclesiastical communities, but a short distance from them. In "Directional Names in Early Medieval Landscape," (196–210), Richard Jones observes that

place-names that reflect the main directions on a compass can be considered "dull" and obviously transparent etymologically and so common that Domesday Book includes fifty *Nortons*, sixty-four *Suttons,* sixty-three *Astons*, or *Eastons*, and fifty-three *Westons*. However, Jones also notes that such names indicate another place from which the directional name has been perceived and that this place always holds a higher position in the settlement hierarchy. Interestingly, he documents a time period from the end of the ninth century and through the first half of the tenth century where directional place-names did not align with the cardinal points on a compass but shifted as much as forty-five degrees clockwise from true north. However, Jones is not satisfied with any of the proposed explanations for this phenomenon. In "What Makes a Stronghold? Reference to Construction Materials in Place-Names in OE *fæsten, burh,* and *(ge) weorc*" (316–33), John Baker starts out to examine whether place-names in OE *fæsten*, *burh*, and *(ge) weorc* were constructed from certain specific types of materials which might also indicate the functions of and differences among different kinds of strongholds. He concludes that strongholds with *fæsten* as an element were most likely hideouts rather than strongholds because of four instances of the compound *bolegn-faesten* 'holly stronghold', as in *Holifast*, in contrast to *weallfæsten* which probably was a stronghold. *Burh*-names do not indicate a particular type of use but may indicate composition such as *stan-burh*, *eorð-burh*, or even *burh* combined with various words for timber like *Brydbyrig* from OE *bred* 'board, plank'. Baker concludes that "specific descripti[ons] of the material of construction seem to be entirely absent from the compass of place-names with *(ge)weorc* as the generic."

Two essays this year concern place-names elements reflecting the presence of specific animals and birds. In "The History of Eagles in Britain and Ireland: An Ecological Review of Placename and Documentary Evidence from the last 1500 Years," *Bird Study* 59, 335–49, Richard J. Evans, Lorcán O'Toole, and D. Philip Whitfield are more concerned with the number and estimated range of Golden Eagles and White-tailed (sea) Eagles in the British Isles from approximately the year 500 CE to the present than they are of providing examples of place-names suggesting the eagles' presence. While they identify the place-name elements meaning 'eagle' used in the study such as OE *erne*, Cornish *er*, Manx *urley*, etc., they do not discuss specific place-names except for those rejected for the study such as *Eaglesfield*, which they say probably derives from OE *eccles* 'church', or modern constructions like *Mounteagle*,

which have no connections to the distant past. In "Ælfric of Eynsham, Pucklechurch, and Evidence for Fallow Deer in Anglo-Saxon England," *Nomina* 35 (2012): 103–30, Carole Hough presents a strong case using place-name data for the continued existence of fallow deer, which had been introduced by the Romans during their occupation of Anglo-Saxon England before the Norman Conquest. Besides citing Ekwall's proposed but unattested OE **fealu* 'fallow deer' as the first element in placenames like *Fawley* in Berkshire and *Fawsley* in Northamplanshire, Hough suggests that OE *pohha*, *pocca* 'pock, pustule' referring to the spots on fallow deer but used to mean 'fallow deer' by itself may be the first element in *Pucklechurch* in Gloucestershire. She also cites Ælfric's glossary definition of *damma* and *dammula* with the OE *da*, which is the source of Modern English *doe* 'the female of the fallow deer', as further evidence for her hypothesis.

Three essays in *Sense of Place in Anglo-Saxon England* call for changes in the way place-name studies are conducted. In "Oral Tradition, Landscape and the Social Life of Place-Names" (16–30), Mark Gardiner says that place-name scholars must now move beyond a taxonomic approach to place-names to socio-toponomastica "the social life of place-names," including oral tradition within a community where people call a place by a name that is not necessarily ever written down. He also notes that villages with Old English names are not always located at the same sites now as they were in the Old English period. In "Old English Place-Names—New Approaches" (47–60), Brynmor Morris calls for the application of anthropological approaches to the study of Old English place-names. Morris specifically shows how proxemics, inscribed spaces such as burials, and gendered spaces can be reflected in place-names. He uses OE *trēow* 'tree' as well as 'truth' as an example of a specific meaning in an inscribed space where it also has the meaning of 'cross' in a religious setting. In "Old English Landscapes: Reflections, Bridges, and Realities" (31–46), Brian K. Roberts argues that maps showing place-names must be seen as part of the ethnology of a culture at a particular time and not just of a particular place. The place-names do not reflect only a place and its terrain but also the "social, economic and sacred circumstances of the period."

Two essays in this year's bibliography discussed the functionality of place-names. In "Place-Name Hierarchies and Interpretations in Parts of Mercia" (*Sense of Place*, 180–95), Della Hooke divides place-names into

two broad categories: those which reflect topography or vegetation cover, and those that refer to the nature or function of a settlement. She says British names in the west Midlands primarily identify a major landscape feature such as *Arden* referring to high ground from PrW *brez* 'hill'. The Old English names in the West Midlands often reflected topography, such as *Ismere* 'a mere', or vegetation-cover like names in *leah* (e.g., *Andredesleah*), which she interprets as an open woodland being used as wood pasture. Other names reflected the function of the settlement, such as *tun* names (e.g., *Tredington* in Warwickshire), which often developed into sizeable villages with a specialist function, such as *Wootton* meaning a center for managing or trading resources from nearby wooded areas.

In "Celts in Scandinavian Scotland and Anglo-Saxon England: Place-Names and Language Contact Reconsidered," *Language Contact and Development around the North Sea*, ed. Merja Stenroos *et al.*, Carole Hough rejects as anachronistic the idea that place-names were just labels when explaining the small number of Pictish names in Scotland and British names in England despite archaeological evidence of continued large populations of Pictish and British speakers after the conquest of both areas by speakers of Germanic languages. She concludes that the names that survived after the Germanic conquests of the areas were those that showed functionality and had meaning to the occupiers; otherwise, the Germanic- language speakers would rename the places rather than keep the previous place-names which, to them, were semantically empty labels.

Two articles this year discussed island names in particular. In "A Toponomastic Contribution to the Linguistic Prehistory of the British Isles" *Nomina* 35 (2012), 49–102, Richard Coates focuses on sixteen island names, including *Eire* and *Britain* themselves, which may be of Proto-Northwest-Semitic origin as Theo Vennemann has previously shown with his discussion of *Thanet* in 2006. Coates shows with Scandinavian place-names far up the Severn like *Gruggy* (< *Grugg-ey* 'mud island', cf. ON *grugg* 'mud') that it is possible for economic visitors, as opposed to settlers, to give topographical names to people speaking a different language without the economic visitors' language having any other influence. K. A. Kilpatrick's doctoral dissertation "The Historical Interpretation of Early Medieval Insular Place-Names" (Oxford University, 2012) examines the place-names of islands to show how they represent a particular culture or place. Specifically, Kilpatrick focuses on island-names

in the *Vita Sancti Columbae*, the medieval dossier of St. Brigit's travels throughout Ireland, and the place-names in the *Vita Sancti Guthlaci.*

Three articles in issue 100 of *Namn och Bygd* commemorate the hundredth year of that publication in 2012. In "Namn och Bygd og Europa uden for Norden," *NB* 100 (2012): 271–86, Vibeke Dalberg surveys the publication of the journal from its beginning in terms of the languages used in the journal and the focus of the articles in these different languages. Not surprisingly, the majority of the contributions are in Swedish, the articles in English tend to focus on English, and the reviews in German focus on German topics. In "Hundra år med *Namn och Bygd*: Tendenser och utvecklingslinjer," *NB* 100 (2012), 11-26, Svante Strandberg provides a history of the journal since its inception by focusing on the changes brought about by different editors, various authors, and shifts of focus within the field of onomastics. In "Recensioner och Anmälningar i *Namn och Bygd*—hur, av vad, av vem?" *NB* 100 (2101), 287–99, Staffan Nyström provides a history of the signed reviews and reports published in the journal from 1913 on. While most of these reviews and reports focus on works dealing with names, some deal with language history, landscape, archaeology, as well as other subjects. He also lists the languages used for these reviews, with Swedish, not surprisingly, being the most common. Nyström also quotes from the reviews by three of the most prolific reviewers, who also happened to be the editors of *Namn och Bygd.*

Michael Costen, "Early Settlement around the Mendips: Place-Names and Local History," in *The Archaeology of Mendip: 500,000 Years of Continuity and Change*, ed. Jodie Lewis (Oxford: Heritage, 2011), 257–74, examines the settlement history of the Mendips in Somersetshire from the end of Old Welsh control to the Domesday Book. He suggests that the very large Old English estates of the seventh century probably reflected the patterns from the Old Welsh period, such as *Banwell* surviving as a church estate within a *monasterium* at its center since many of the estates were owned by religious orders or by the king or his designees. By the tenth century, some estates were often broken up and parceled out to warrior retainers by bishops or kings to insure physical control and perhaps military control by these "new warrior proprietors." However, most of the great estates were still controlled by the king, bishop,

or monastery who needed to maintain their sources of income.

Alaric Hall, "The Instability of Place-Names in Anglo-Saxon England and Early Medieval Wales, and the Loss of Roman Toponymy" (*Sense of Place*, 101–29), concludes that in England, the names of major places were more stable than minor ones with 91 percent of the names in Domesday Book still in use; in Wales, however, 63 percent of the names in the Book of Llandaf are no longer in use.

Siân Echard, "Whose History? Naming Practices in the Transmission of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie*," *Arthuriana* 22.4 (Winter 2012), 8–24, deals with the various early Middle English practices to Early Modern English practices of the author's name and other names cited as authorities or benefactors as illustrated in the various manuscripts of Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britannie.* However, since the sections cited in the various manuscripts are in Latin (but translated) and the author did not write during the Old English period, the article is not focused on material relevant to Old English scholars.

Abbreviations

Presses and Journals

AB	*Analecta Bollandiana*
ABaG	*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik*
ACMRS	*Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies*
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*
BL	*British Library*
BN	*Beiträge zur Namenforschung*
CCCC	*Corpus Christi College Cambridge*
CCM	*Cahiers de civilisation médiévale*
CCSL	*Corpus Christianorum series Latina*
CSASE	*Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England*
CUAP	*Catholic University of America Press*
CUP	*Cambridge University Press*
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*
HUP	*Harvard University Press*
IMRS	*Institute of Medieval and Renaissance Studies (Durham)*
JEGP	*Journal of English and Germanic Philology*
JEH	*Journal of Ecclesiastical History*
JEPNS	*Journal of the English Place-Name Society*
JMH	*Journal of Medieval History*
JML	*Journal of Medieval Latin*
JTS	*Journal of Theological Studies*
MA	*Medieval Archaeology*
MAI	*Medieval Abstracts International*
MÆ	*Medium Ævum*
MIP	*Medieval Institute Publications*
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MP	*Modern Philology*

MRTS	*Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies*
MS	*Mediaeval Studies*
N&Q	*Notes and Queries*
NB	*Namn och Bygd*
NDUP	*Notre Dame University Press*
NM	*Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*
NOWELE	*North-Western European Language Evolution*
OEN	*Old English Newsletter*
OUP	*Oxford University Press*
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PIMS	*Pontifical Institute of Medieval Studies*
PL	*Patrologia Latina*
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*
UEP	*University of Exeter Press*
UP	*University Press*
UTP	*University of Toronto Press*

Languages

PDE	Present-Day English
PGmc	Proto-Germanic
Fr	French
Ger	German
Gk.	Greek
Gmc	Germanic
Lat.	Latin
Med. Lat.	Medieval Latin
OFr	Old Frisian
OHG	Old High German
OIr	Old Irish
ON	Old Norse
OS	Old Saxon
PrW	Proto-Welsh
Sk	Sanskrit
Gk	Greek
WS	West Saxon

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Stephen Harris

Editor, *Old English Newsletter*

Department of English

University of Massachusetts

Amherst, MA 01003-9269

phone: 413-545-6598 | fax: 413-545-3880 | *editor@oenewsletter.org*

Regarding the *Year's Work in Old English Studies*, contact:

Stefan Jurasinski

Department of English

The College at Brockport, SUNY

350 New Campus Drive

Brockport, NY 14420

phone: 585-395-5714 | *sjurasin@brockport.edu*

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Nicole Guenther Discenza

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University of South Florida

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Tampa, FL 33602

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Jay Paul Gates

Department of English

John Jay College of Criminal Justice

524 W. 59th St., 7th Floor

New York, NY 10019

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