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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES

1994

by

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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES, 1994

This is the twenty-eighth issue of *The Year's Work in Old English Studies*. It is the last for two of our valued contributors. Jonathan Wilcox of the University of Iowa leaves our enterprise for the larger task of editing the *Old English Newsletter*. Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe of the University of Notre Dame has a major research project on the horizon to which she needs to devote full time. Both are fine reviewers and will be missed.

The History section of YWOES '93 appears in this number as an appendix, edited by David A.E. Pelteret of the University of Toronto and Timothy Graham of Cambridge and the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan. History for '94 and '95 will appear in next year's volume, edited by Graham and others.

With very few exceptions, the editorial practices developed over the years for YWOES by founding editor Rowland Collins have been retained. Contributors continue to be independent in their judgments and opinions. They work from the *Old English Newsletter* bibliography, marking items not included in that bibliography with an asterisk and occasionally adding items from the previous year's list of "Works not seen." Some variations in citation style, based on practices in different disciplines, may occur. Dissertations, redactions, and summaries are sometimes silently omitted at the discretion of individual contributors; their absence in no way constitutes negative judgment. Contributors are named on the title page, and the authorship of individual sections or parts of sections is indicated by initials at the end of each section or part. Scholarship written by a contributor which falls within that contributor's area is sometimes reviewed by the editor or another contributor identified by initials.

Professor Peter Baker of the University of Virginia has once again provided the layout and enhanced typography for the volume. This major contribution to our effort is greatly appreciated. Norma Meredith of the University of Tennessee has assisted with the typing. Comments and suggestions, as well as review copies of articles and books, may be sent to the editor at the Department of English, University of Tennessee, Knoxville, TN 37996-0430.

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1. General and Miscellaneous Subjects

a. History of Anglo-Saxon Studies

The first settlement of Britain was not by Brutus but by Samothès, a grandson of Noah. So asserted William Fleetwood (1525?–1594), who made a substantial effort to verify the claim. The historical research undertaken by Fleetwood, by profession a lawyer and the recorder of the City of London, ranged in topic from originary tales to medieval legal documents, and his place as a British historian is the subject of investigation by J.D. Alsop in "William Fleetwood and Elizabethan Historical Scholarship" (*Sixteenth Century Jnl* 25: 155–76). Fleetwood has, so far, been largely ignored as an antiquary despite his association with a better known circle of Elizabethan scholars, including Matthew Parker, and despite the fact that he collected medieval manuscripts and gave parliamentary speeches in which he displayed his antiquarian interests. Alsop reports, for instance, that in a "1571 parliamentary debate [Fleetwood] confidently cited the laws of Edgar, Athelred, and Edward the Confessor" (160). A new piece of information regarding Fleetwood is Alsop's claim that he authored not just a history of the Duchy of Lancaster, but its dedicatory epistle, which is the only known contemporary text to link Matthew Parker's circle with the establishment of the Society of Antiquaries. Alsop argues that Fleetwood merits placement among the most important early antiquarians; certainly it appears that Fleetwood and his work enjoyed more prominence and respect among his contemporaries than recent scholarship has allowed him.

In "The Comet in the Eadwine Psalter: a Recently Discovered Seventeenth-Century Transcription" (*Manuscripta* 37 (1993): 322–24), Stuart Lee describes a drawing hidden in plain sight. Preceding William Lisle's transcription of the Eadwine Psalter in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Laud, Misc. 201, are two pages pasted together. Lee, using cold-light, has discovered that on one of the obscured sides, Lisle copied a drawing of a comet and transcribed and translated the accompanying Old English text. Lisle, a seventeenth-century Anglo-Saxonist, was working from a twelfth-century Cambridge manuscript (Trinity MS R.17.1) of the Eadwine Psalter, in which the comet material appears as a note to Psalm 5. With his transcription of that Psalm later in the Laud manuscript, Lisle includes only a smaller version of the comet drawing and leaves out the Old English text. The presence of the comet note at all, let alone twice, is plausibly accounted for by Lee's suggestions that "perhaps [Lisle] was simply struck with the illustration itself," or perhaps he simply followed his source in offering an extra bit of information (323).

Donald Matthew's essay, "The Making of Anglo-Saxon England" (111–34), concludes a collection of published lectures from a November 1993 colloquium at Reading in honor of the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Sir Frank Stenton's *Anglo-Saxon England* (Donald Matthew, with Anne Curry and Ewen Green, ed., *Stenton's 'Anglo-Saxon England' Fifty Years On*, Reading Hist. Stud., 1 (Reading: Univ. of

Reading); the five essays that precede Matthew's are reviewed under the appropriate headings below. Matthew traces Stenton's book from its conception just after World War I, through its development as part of the Oxford University Press English history series and its increasing girth in the 1930s, when Stenton did most of his writing. World War II seems to have interfered somewhat with production, and when *Anglo-Saxon England* finally appeared, it had been more than twenty years in the making. Much of this history Matthew derives from letters between Stenton and Kenneth Sisam at the press, and another large collection of letters in the Stenton archive indicates that the book was immediately well-received. Indeed "the demand for the book was so overwhelming that Sisam introduced an informal rationing system, issuing about 100 copies a month to booksellers in the interest of persistent customers" (121). Matthew offers not only an account of how *Anglo-Saxon England* came into print, but also begins an exploration of the way in which it came to be a standard history.

b. Present and Future of Anglo-Saxon Studies

Although all twenty-four of the essays in *The Past and Future of Medieval Studies*, edited by John Van Engen (Notre Dame and London: Univ. of Notre Dame Press), might be of interest to Anglo-Saxonists concerned about the field, two essays in particular touch on Old English: Kathleen Biddick, "Bede's Blush: Postcards from Bali, Bombay, and Palo Alto" (16–44), and Roberta Frank, "On the Field" (204–16). All of the essays in the volume are derived from a 1992 conference at the Medieval Institute of the University of Notre Dame.

Biddick underscores the disparate views of the Middle Ages in popular culture and in the academy. The period is perceived both as one of profound alterity (by "pastists") and as one of reflective similarity (by "presentists"), views which yield a "double bind of the construct of medieval studies" (34): "As both non-origin and origin, the Middle Ages can be everywhere, both medieval and post-modern, and nowhere, sublime and redemptive. What better material for a dream-frame for popular culture, a truly relative past which can be read as either the present or the future?" (17). Biddick seeks to stimulate a revision of the ways in which medievalists perceive and present the Middle Ages. The first of three "vignettes"—the "postcard" from Bali—takes up Clifford Geertz's anthropological essay, "Deep Play: Notes on the Balinese Cockfight," as a means of discussing what is left out of medieval studies. Biddick reads Geertz's essay not as a model, but as a lesson. She argues that he creates a "hyper-masculine" narrative that "disappears" important details. Her reading raises questions about the use of Geertz's essay by other medievalists in the 1990s, theorists who fail, in her estimation, to investigate fully Geertz's ethnography. In vignette two, the "disappeared bodies" of the cockfight description become evidence of an "orientalist" perspective, one that "reduc[es] complex, permeable, relational identities to simple, bounded, unitary iden-

tities" (24) and that needs to be defined in relation to contemporary medieval studies. Biddick uses an historical anecdote about Early English Text Society volumes in the Bombay Asiatic Society's library to demonstrate the need for linking studies of imperialism and gender to the investigations of nationalism and class already begun. Vignette three is the most engaging and direct. Biddick envisions "the transformation of the cultural construct of the Middle Ages in a specific setting" (29): in a reading room are meeting Stanford University's dean—representative of the recent removal of required Old English—Bede, a professor of Old English, and "the chair of the Humanities curriculum committee, a self-identified Chicana feminist theorist" (30). While the dean and the professor recite old debates about the presence of Old English in the curriculum, Bede and the Chicana theorist engage in a synthesizing discussion about multilingualism and being a "go-between" for different parts of language and culture, about identifying and negotiating various borders. Bede is thus "reconceptualized"—and blushes when confronted with it—as an example of Biddick's proposal to "open up the study of Old English" (33). By focusing more on the present, Anglo-Saxonists can, implies Biddick, expand for themselves and for a wider audience the understanding of both present and past.

Roberta Frank, in "On the Field" (204–16), issues another call for action by Anglo-Saxonists, but hers is a more personal and concise recommendation for the future of medieval studies. Frank praises the continuum of Anglo-Saxon studies, threatened by contemporary culture's emphasis on the present. She notes the rigorous and diverse scholarship in the field's history—and the changeable nature of academic stances—and urges promotion of the discipline, in part by explaining why medievalists are medievalists. Frank's own rationale comes under four headings: history, courtesy, love of the word, and wisdom. History works for the present and the future in Frank's assessment; medievalists can encourage students and other scholars to develop appreciation of history and can produce enduring scholarship. In an adroit analogy, Frank couches the study required to read Old English in terms of the attentive courtesy one pays an unusual guest. Love of the word means giving students a familiarity with grammar, with the historical transformation of words, with details of structure and style; it means acquainting them with Old English and Old Norse poetry and hoping that the mental flexibility required to read such verse will be of broader use. Under the final heading of "Wisdom," Frank quotes a letter to the editor of the *Guardian*, written in response to an article on the Oxford debate over the place of Old English. The letter writer validates Frank's claim of the wisdom that Old English poetry can still offer, and of the ongoing value of medieval studies.

Peter Richardson's "The Consolation of Philology" (*MP* 92: 1–13) is both a re-examination of the history of philology and a contribution to the ongoing discussion of the future of medieval studies. Richardson argues that Old and New Philology are fundamentally connected modes of investigation.

Further definition of philology comes in his review of recent criticisms of philology by R. Howard Bloch and Allen Frantzen. To Bloch's account of the rise of positivist philology in the first half of this century, Richardson responds with a refinement of categories. Instead of unifying early philology and medieval studies, he points to a divide beginning in the mid-nineteenth century between the positivist and Romanticist veins of philology: positivism was the forerunner of modern linguistics; Romanticism informed the study of literature. Bloch's criticisms, Richardson argues, are largely directed toward the Romantic, nationalist development of philology and are not accurately applied to the more rigorous and sophisticated positivist philology that initiated research in such areas as comparative grammar and phonology. Richardson then addresses the perception of philology in the modern academy. He refutes Frantzen's claim that Anglo-Saxon studies are faltering because of self-inflicted isolation from political concerns, arguing instead that lack of separation between Anglo-Saxon studies and the politics of two world wars initiated its disfavor. Yet linguistically oriented philology has been culturally influential, as Michel Foucault, notes Richardson, has pointed out. This significance leads Richardson to conclude that it is a mutation of philology so decried by Bloch and Frantzen and not Old Philology itself, which involved close linguistic analysis of texts. New Philology can take up this type of linguistic investigation in investigating and describing narrative strategies, and in bringing discourse analysis to bear on textual editing, on traditional and theoretical literary criticism, including narrative theory, reception theory, reader-response criticism, and speech act theory.

The fractured state of modern Anglo-Saxon studies prompts Allen J. Frantzen to ask, "Who Do These Anglo-Saxon(ist)s Think They Are, Anyway?" (*Æstel* 2: 1–43). Frantzen takes issue with the idea that traditional and modern theoretical approaches to medieval studies cannot be integrated, citing his own work as an example to the contrary, and calls for better integration of the field into the contemporary academy. His focus, in a four part discussion, is the resistance to change he perceives within the discipline. Joyce Hill's review (in *Anglia* 111 (1993): 161–64) of his 1990 book, *Desire for Origins*, prompts and guides the first part of Frantzen's discussion. Frantzen contests Hill's reading of his book and in particular her claim that he misrepresents the field of Anglo-Saxon studies. He argues that his vision of the scholarly community is much more inclusive than is hers, and uses her response as example of an exclusive faction of Anglo-Saxonists, one that seeks to exclude new methodological approaches to the study of Old English. Hill's is one of several reviewers' voices to which Frantzen responds, but she takes the brunt of his extensive criticism. The second half of the article sounds a more positive note as Frantzen turns toward the future of the field. Picking up Thomas Shippey's use (see *Æstel* 1 (1993): 111–34) of the example of Radbod, an early eighth century Frisian resistor to Christian conversion, to

describe interactions of old and new ideas in the discipline, Frantzen notes that, in the end, the new mode won. Radbod turns up again in the tale of Lohengrin, Parsifal's son, transmuted into Richard Wagner's opera. Frantzen summarizes the events of the opera and reads them as a more complicated vision of the interaction of old and new than Shippey's Radbod example allows. The story offers "no resolution or clear way forward" (29), yet it shows a past that does not die easily and a present without a clear path to the future. For Frantzen, exchange and connection in the present, such as in Werner Herzog's different ending production of *Lohengrin* and Gillian Overing's response to Shippey, "supply persuasive models for the future" (32). The interaction of old and new in the *Year's Work in Old English Studies* leads Frantzen to encourage and offer new category headings, particularly one for electronic media. In pleading for a separate "Theory" heading, however, Frantzen runs the risk of marginalizing such studies; categories by topic rather than methodology may have a better chance of bringing about the conversation between old and new that Frantzen seeks. The article concludes with Frantzen making peace with past and present Anglo-Saxon studies as he looks forward to better connections of ideas and approaches in it.

Selections from *Æstel* are available online at <http://weber.u.washington.edu/~mcnelis/AEstelindex.html>; Frantzen's article, complete with notes, can be reached directly at <http://weber.u.washington.edu/~mcnelis/AEstel2/Frantzen2.html>.

c. Editing

The edited text is the predominant means of access to medieval literature, and medievalists are paying increasing attention to the methods and implications of editing. *The Editing of Old English: Papers from the 1990 Manchester Conference* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Brewer), edited by D.G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach, is a collection of twenty essays on the practices of and directions in editing. In the introduction, Szarmach reviews current debates in editing practice, and divides stances into old and new, or those who tend to attempt to fix the text and those who argue it cannot be fixed ("Introduction," 1-6). Despite complications from such issues as orality, Szarmach perceives an inclination toward conservative editing of Old English. Overlaps of interest among the different approaches to editing are neatly conveyed in a list of the collection's essays according to the topics they address, such as "Reconstruction of a supposed original," "Editing within a manuscript context," "Canon," and "Hypertext."

The collection begins with what Szarmach refers to as a "classic statement on editing" (1), Helmut Gneuss's "Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts for the *Dictionary of Old English*." (7-26). It is a slightly revised reprint of the 1973 article from *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English* in which Gneuss explains how to create an edition that will ease preparation of the DOE (7). For editors and for anyone even thinking about editing an Old English text, as well as for users of edited texts, Gneuss's guide is valuable. The topics covered

range from identification of weaknesses in existing editions to proposed standardization of certain editorial marks. Gneuss states his goal as not so much to provide a step by step guide as to forewarn of possible problems and to offer suggestions based on the history of editing. In doing so, however, he lays out instructions both for planning and for assessing the presentation of an edited text. Gneuss's methods point to a conservative, clean, and consistent edition.

Whether or not such editions will ever be read by students and new scholars, and not just by current Anglo-Saxonists, concerns Hugh Magennis in "Old English Texts for Student Use" (115-23). Magennis explores the kinds of editions that might revitalize student interest in Anglo-Saxon studies. Since increasing numbers of students are introduced to Old English in literature survey classes, Magennis begins with the reminder that translations are a kind of edition and that facing-page translations in particular can provide introductory access to Old English. They may also be of use in thematic courses that do or do not focus exclusively on Anglo-Saxon literature. Electronic student editions and "computer workstation packages" may, Magennis believes, encourage students in closer study of the language and literature. Good printed editions for classroom use include Bernard Muir's *Leoð: Six Old English Poems* and Peter S. Baker's "Wulf and Eadwacer: A Classroom Edition," and Magennis also encourages the undertaking of teaching editions of prose hagiography. He concludes with recommendations regarding editorial procedure. He is, finally, optimistic about the role that new editions can play in attracting students, and his ideas may encourage editors as well as new or experienced teachers of Old English.

Studies such as Kathryn Sutherland's, in which she explores ways that an earlier age constructed the Saxon past, may aid in the reconstruction of Old English studies advocated by Magennis. In "Editing for a New Century: Elizabeth Elstob's Anglo-Saxon Manifesto and Ælfric's St. Gregory Homily" (213-37), Sutherland gives an admiring account of Elstob and her work, which offers possibilities for re-reading both Anglo-Saxon history and the study of it. The article includes substantial biographical information, in part in the service of explaining Elstob's approach to editing. George Hickey's support of Elstob's scholarship was crucial; with it, "the foundation of all Elstob's researches" is the belief that "the preservation and continuance of an uncorrupted *English Christianity* is bound up with the educational opportunities of women and the public exercise of female authority" (219). The article is centered on explaining the personal and political dimensions of the homily edition. Elstob's *English-Saxon Homily on the Birthday of St. Gregory* includes a running translation, a lengthy preface, variant readings, annotations, notes, and glosses, often on eighteenth century survivals of Old English words; a concise Latin translation by Elstob's brother and an appendix of annotated Gregorian epistles are also part of the edition, the final piece of which is a list of subscribers, nearly half of whom are female. Sutherland examines physical

text as well as social context, discussing the title-page and other textual decoration and the interaction of text, translation, and commentary. In arguing that Elstob saw herself and the homily edition as carrying on Ælfrician interests, Sutherland describes the relationship of Ælfric's use of the vernacular to Elstob's desire for women to acquire learning. The ultimate goal of the edition, suggests Sutherland, was "that the recognition of Saxon's full status within the academic mainstream will create a change of cultural consciousness and a resignification of Britain's history, in women's favour" (223). The article includes a postscript on nineteenth century attention to Elstob.

In the final essay of the collection, "Postscript: Quo Vadis, Editio?" (299-309), D.G. Scragg takes up the recurring concern about the future of Old English studies. Scragg calls for a re-evaluation of editing practices, advocating more experimentation and more discussion of editing theory instead of routinely continuing to follow what are largely nineteenth century editing procedures. A primary area of concern for Scragg is the prevalence of editorial conservatism. In part, he attributes this conservatism to the lexicographic interests and influence of the Early English Text Society and of the Dictionary of Old English (see Gneuss's "Guide to the Editing and Preparation of Texts for the *Dictionary of Old English*" above). The editor's role, Scragg argues, needs to be re-examined in terms of other audiences and as substantially distinct from the role of a facsimile. He strongly supports editorial intervention, yet acknowledges the need to resolve some of the current inconsistencies of practice. He questions, however, Gneuss's preference for avoiding emendation and offers his own advice for "[e]mendation on the grounds of sense . . . perhaps the most difficult of all problems facing an editor" (302). That advice comes in the form of four questions for editors to ask themselves, all of which rely on palaeography. Dealt with at greatest length is the second question, which concerns "corrupt[ion] by mechanical error during transmission" (304); Scragg provides a previously unpublished example from an anonymous homily and explores a complication of the question.

The sixteen other essays in *The Editing of Old English* are reviewed below under appropriate headings.

To observe editing practices in process, look for published and forthcoming volumes from the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle: A Collaborative Edition*, a twenty-three volume project; the first volume was published by Boydell and Brewer in 1983. The general editors of the project are David N. Dumville and Simon Keynes, and Dumville, in "Edition and Re-edition of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle" (*OEN* 27.3: 21-22; reprint from *Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 28 (1993): 4-6), summarizes the edition plan and the status of its production. Semi-diplomatic editions of the surviving versions of the Chronicle will occupy seven volumes; another seven volumes will be allotted to "reconstructed texts of the most important hypothesized stages in the history of the Chronicle's development"; eight volumes will be devoted to Latin, Old English, and Old French

supplementary material; and one volume, the last, will contain "a general introduction, notes, and comprehensive indices" (21). In the years since the first volume appeared, parts of the project have changed hands and companion projects have developed. Overflow material from the project may, notes Dumville, appear in Boydell and Brewer's *Studies in Anglo-Saxon History* series.

d. Saints and Saints' Lives

Two new editions of saints' lives have been produced by David Townsend: "Henry of Avranches: *Vita sancti Oswaldi*" (*MS* 56: 1-66) and "The *Vita Sancti Fredemundi* of Henry of Avranches" (*Jnl of Med. Latin* 4: 1-24). Each edition includes an introduction with full bibliographic notes, apparatus and textual notes. Metrical saints' lives such as these two are the predominant surviving evidence of Henry of Avranches' writing career, which extended from roughly 1220 into the 1250's. From 1243 to 1262, he was linked to the English court, but he enjoyed other high-ranking patronage both in England and on the continent. Townsend argues that despite the range of Henry's work, he is primarily a hagiographer, one whose works fit into a Latin tradition of rendering existing prose legends into poetry. Although only one of Henry's saints' lives, the *Vita sancti Francisci*, carries a contemporary assertion of his authorship, Townsend provides full justification for the attribution of the lives of St. Oswald and St. Fremund.

The *Vita sancti Oswaldi* is "unique among Henry's verse *vitae*" in its apparent use of diffuse traditions rather than a single prose model (7). It is roughly twice as long as the *Vita Sancti Fredemundi*, and the fuller introduction Townsend provides to it could also be useful to readers of the shorter life. The section on "Henry's Hagiographical Craft" is particularly useful. Townsend refers to Henry's sources and to his other reworkings of Anglo-Saxon saints' legends—the lives of Birinus, Guthlac, Edmund, and Fremund—as well as to his lives of Hugh and Francis. The discussion of Henry's style is extensive, covering areas such as phrasing, descriptive devices, use of epic style and classical allusion, poetic meter and verse structure. Henry, it appears, was fond of "scholastic terminology," "apostrophe and exclamation" (15) and "elaborate *distributio* to spin out a series of parallel statements" (16). The introduction also includes a substantial section on "Manuscripts and Textual Transmission," in which Townsend posits a basic stemma for the two versions of the *Vita sancti Oswaldi* upon which his edition is based; variations are marked in the text itself.

The brief (547 lines) *Vita Sancti Fredemundi* survives in only one copy, although Townsend cites the evidence of at least three other manuscripts extant in the sixteenth century. Like the life of St. Oswald, the general style of the *Vita Sancti Fredemundi* helps identify its author as Henry of Avranches, but Townsend notes that the "most striking affinity of the text with our author's other work is the inclusion of a distinctive topos of mutually witnessed cures" (1). The life of St. Fremund is typical of Henry's work as well in its reliance on

a prose model, but St. Fremund is one of Henry's more obscure subjects. The saint's cult was "of extremely limited distribution" and he himself is "a subject of questionable historicity" (2); his legend links dates to his life that range from before 630 to 865 or even later. Townsend plausibly suggests that the prose source of Henry's text might have been part of an early thirteenth century attempt to revive or promote the saint's "popular and non-literate cult," perhaps for the Augustinian priory at Dunstable (4). An inventory of the inaccuracies in Francis Herve's 1907 edition of the text is included.

The life of St. Fremund captured John Lydgate's attention as well, and his *Life of Saints Edmund and Fremund* together with the *Life of Saints Alban and Amphibalus* are Karen A. Winstead's subjects in "Lydgate's Lives of Saints Edmund and Alban: Martyrdom and Prudent Pollicie" (*Mediaevalia* 17 (1994 for 1991): 221–41). Edmund and Alban in Lydgate's versions of their lives are men in and of the world rather than reclusive, heaven-focused, conventional saints. Winstead supports her claims of Lydgate's difference with comparisons throughout the article of Lydgate's and the *South English Legendary's* versions of the lives. She places Lydgate in a lineage of hagiographies composed in Latin and French in English monasteries starting in the twelfth century. But, argues Winstead, Lydgate exceeds even these more extensive narratives. He "develops the political dimensions of his legends to such a degree that he problematizes some of the longstanding assumptions of hagiography" (226). In Lydgate's rendering, "Edmund and Alban are enthusiastic participants in political affairs and exemplify such secular ideals as leadership, courtliness, military prowess, hospitality, and diplomacy" (221). They are also, by extension, not the sole focus of the narrative. In the case of Edmund and Fremund, the story raises questions about pacifism and social responsibility that had, asserts Winstead, never before been raised in saints' lives. Secular political affairs play such a prominent role in the *Life of Saints Alban and Amphibalus* that Alban is martyred early in the narrative, Amphibalus fades away, and the remainder is concerned with "the confused sequence of events whereby a Christian community evolves from the ranks of anti-Christian extremists" (333). Winstead concludes that the tensions Lydgate creates between secular and spiritual pursuits and the vision of grounded sainthood that results are likely to have appealed to his fifteenth century audience.

Issues of audience are also taken up by Anne B. Thompson in her study of two versions of the life of St. Frideswide ("Shaping a Saint's Life: Frideswide of Oxford," *MÆ* 63: 34–52). A seventh century Anglo-Saxon abbess of an Oxford double monastery—with no surviving Old English legend—St. Frideswide is the subject of a twelfth century *Vita* attributed to Robert Cricklade, head of St. Frideswide's Priory, and a thirteenth century version of it in the *South English Legendary*. Thompson frames her analysis with an opposition of the two works' audiences: Robert's narrative is written in Latin for educated, clerical men; the legendary is written in

the vernacular, in rhyming couplets, presumably for a general audience. The *Vita*, Thompson argues, largely diminishes Frideswide's power; the *South English Legendary* humanizes her and shows her as having agency and emotion. The distinction extends to Robert's conventional hagiographic concentration on heavenly rewards and the legendary narrator's more temporal awareness. Thompson proposes that the poet of the legendary life is less well-educated than Robert and attuned to his prospective broad audience; his narrative brings together the saintly and mundane, so that "even torture is domesticated through images comparing it to the process of wool-carding, or the sowing of corn" (46). She provides parallels to suggest that the *Legendary* version may be in part associated with a thirteenth century burst of scientific enquiry. Modern readers, notes Thompson, are more likely to enjoy the *South English Legendary* life of St. Frideswide.

Antonia Gransden chronicles the physical side of the rise of the cult of St. Edmund, and offers secular explanations of the reported condition of Edmund's body on several distinctly post-mortem occasions. In "The Alleged Incorruption of the Body of St. Edmund, King and Martyr" (*AntJ* 74: 135–68), Gransden summarizes and examines the accounts of the openings of St. Edmund's coffin, both identifying conventional elements and attempting to read the descriptions as largely factual with plausible explanations. The late tenth century *Passio Sancti Eadmundi* by Abbo of Fleury, roughly one hundred years after Edmund's death, contains the earliest claim of St. Edmund's undiminished corpse, although Gransden argues that the belief was established earlier. The *De Miraculis Sancti Eadmundi*, attributed to "Hermann the archdeacon" (c. 1100), relates two viewings, one between 1045–65, and one in 1095. Jocelin of Brakelond describes the last viewing of the body, in 1198. The stories surrounding Edmund's remains are the stuff of gothic film: the coffin is carted off to London for safekeeping, a London bishop tries to buy an ornament off the body, the connection of head and body is tested during translation to a new church, the corpse complains about the ruined state of his shrine, reports circulate of the head being given as a gift, an abbot leads a secret midnight viewing of the body. For each account, Gransden provides historical context; the article includes information about medieval knowledge of embalming technique, evaluation of possible sources and influences for the narratives concerned, and assessment of the religious politics involved in generating and sustaining the cult of St. Edmund. Whether speculating on the possibility that the "aromatics" reported on opening the coffin are evidence of embalming or on the chance that Abbot Baldwin replaced the decayed remains with a fresher corpse in order to sustain the cult, Gransden offers clear, rationally laid out readings. The text is accompanied by extensive and interesting notes.

The first part of Deborah K.E. Crawford's "St. Joseph in Britain: Reconsidering the Legends," in *Folklore* 104 (1993): 86–98, is a review both of the textual evidence for legends associating Joseph of Arimathea with Britain and of the criti-

cism over the last century regarding that material. Crawford is concerned with the stories and details—such as the Holy Grail—associated with St. Joseph and with what and how earlier critics have judged. The texts she cites, ranging in date from the middle of the thirteenth to the sixteenth century, cumulatively link St. Joseph to Glastonbury and genealogically to King Arthur; she draws also on William of Malmesbury's reference to "written versions of a legend recounting first-century Christian contact with Britain, specifically naming Glastonbury" (87). Crawford questions critical assumptions that these legends originated at a single time, derived primarily from imitation of Geoffrey of Monmouth and elaborated on by legends arising among Glastonbury monks. She argues that the Joseph material needs to be re-examined with a revised understanding of the possible relationships between oral and written texts.

The second part of Crawford's article, in *Folklore* 105 (1994): 51–59, begins with assertions derived from part one: some of the material associated with the St. Joseph in Britain stories is older than the late twelfth century and much of it is dependent on extended oral tradition. Crawford attempts to contextualize the development of the legends, exploring oral tradition and possible Celtic influences. She speculatively explains the absence of the grail from the Glastonbury legends and looks to insular and continental texts for support of elements in the St. Joseph stories. Evidence of a first-century British conversion to Christianity that might have originated a body of St. Joseph legends is Crawford's key interest. Her conclusions are that the stories "evolved over time, incorporating traditional materials. Nor does it appear that Glastonbury was the source of the original association of St. Joseph and British conversion legend" (58).

Andrew Phillips's introduction to his *The Hallowing of England: a Guide to the Saints of Old England and Their Places of Pilgrimage* (Pinner, Mddx: Anglo-Saxon Books), indicates that the Glastonbury legends have perhaps not yet died; he refers to the "ancient but unverifiable tradition" that holds that Glastonbury "was visited by Our Lord and His Holy Mother themselves, and then St. Joseph of Arimathea" (16). The compact book (90 pp.) is broken down into an alphabetical list of English saints and the locations with which they are associated; an alphabetical list by location, with a brief description of the saint's action at each place and the feast date; a biographical list of twenty-two archbishops of Canterbury "who were venerated either locally or nationally as saints" (71); a Julian calendar of saints, including missionaries abroad; and an alphabetical index of saints' sites by shire and kingdom name.

e. Cultural History

"Anglo-Saxon England: a Three-Script Community?" (*Proceedings of the Third International Symposium on Runic and Runic Inscriptions*, Ed. James E. Knirk (Uppsala) 119–37) is Christine Fell's examination of the ways in which Anglo-Saxons made use of runic, roman, and "the deliberate and

systematic mixture of runic, roman and other that they evolved for writing English" (119). She concentrates on Christian Northumbria, beginning with the Latin dedication stone, written in roman script with English names given Latin endings, from St. Paul's Church Jarrow, A.D. 685. Lindisfarne yields an example of different scripts on a single stone, the name Osgyð written once in runic and once in roman. One of Fell's most interesting cases is from Falstone, Northumberland. On one side, the stone shows an English memorial written in roman script; next to it, the memorial is essentially though not exactly repeated in runic. Fell posits a number of reasons for the dual text, including interest in a wide audience and imitation of St. Luke's description of the multilingual text above the crucified Christ. Whatever the reason, throughout the Northumbrian stones Fell found that runic and roman scripts in secular or monastic contexts appeared to have the same status; "Roman is normally but not invariably used for Latin, roman and runic both for English. The only concession to coping with writing English in the roman alphabet was the use of capital '@' on the Osgyð stone at Lindisfarne. Yet we have only to look at English personal or place-names . . . to realise how maddening the inadequacies of the roman alphabet must have been" (130). Fell carefully tracks the representation of English "th" in her examples, and argues that such adaptations of alphabet to phonology and orthography slowly produced the third script, a "modified roman" used by later Anglo-Saxons. Her discussion of this synthesized third script centers on numismatic evidence. She ultimately poses a sequence of development in which the separation of runic and roman, English and Latin, is interrupted by Viking invasions, and by the tenth and eleventh centuries, blended epigraphy appears. Late Anglo-Saxon Yorkshire becomes largely a one-script community that uses modified roman, now "English," orthography.

John Hines begins his exploration of "The Becoming of the English: Identity, Material Culture and Language in Early Anglo-Saxon England" (*ASSAH* 7: 49–59) with a working definition of the term ethnic identity as "a certain form of attributed membership of a group of people . . . distinctly a product of ideology" (49); it may be influenced by economic or social situation and either applied to or reflexively by members of a group, yet it shows some familial kinds of connection. For information about the early ethnic identities in Anglo-Saxon England, Hines turns to multiple references in Bede's *History*. Bede, material culture, and language are discussed in support of the idea that ethnic identity was, for early Anglo-Saxons, a construct rather than a natural condition. Although the Saxons "first emerged with so distinctive a material culture that one can reasonably suggest it was being deliberately deployed as a symbol of the group's identity" (52), the central example Hines cites is of a distinctive Anglian dress-fastener used as a means of reinforcing Anglian identity. As an alternative to the Germanic language tree's inadequacy in representing sub-group identities and developments, he proposes that early Anglo-Saxon linguistic variations be

mapped in relation to “a new and distinctive set of norms for an ‘English’ language” (56). Hines concludes his essay with the hypothesis “that linguistic f[lexibility] (and thus relative homogeneity) varies with the level of political organization” (57).

In “Anglo-Saxon Attitudes: in Search of the Origins of English Racism” (*European Review of History* 1: 143–57), Debby Banham reads the Germanic invasion of England and the Anglo-Saxons’ subsequent relationships with the Britons in terms of twentieth century racism. She focuses on references to Britons in Bede’s *Ecclesiastical History* and the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. The collective view of the Welsh that Banham finds is one of a people oppressed and enslaved by a racist Anglo-Saxon populace. Her core questions concern authorial intention and effect; she argues, for instance, that “[f]or Bede, a believer in a loving and forgiving God, the British needed to be very evil, perpetrators of terrible sins and devoid of moral scruple, for the English treatment of them to be unproblematic, let alone a suitable subject for his glorifying narrative” (147). Issues of Christianity, archaeology, vocabulary, and place name history are part of Banham’s discussion; she also utilizes analogies to twentieth century racism and political history. Potential critics of her investigation are addressed in the conclusion, in which Banham suggests that Anglo-Saxonists are reluctant to acknowledge the early English-Welsh relationship in terms of racism because of an unwillingness to make connections between Anglo-Saxon and contemporary England and because, nevertheless, of an ongoing identification with the Anglo-Saxons. If the Anglo-Saxons are revealed to have originated English racism, then, argues Banham, racism has been and is an essential part of being English to this day.

O.J. Padel’s “The Nature of Arthur” (*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies* 27: 1–31) advances Arthur as historical fiction rather than historical fact. Padel looks at the dispersal and variety of Arthurian tales prior to Geoffrey of Monmouth and finds not so much a lack of support as an overabundance of divergent support for Arthur’s historical existence. Starting with the *Historia Brittonum*, Padel articulates a dichotomy in the references to Arthur: he is associated both with sixth century battles against the English and with marvelous tales that explain some feature of the natural landscape. Padel posits an inversion of the assumed process of an historical event generating a body of legends. He suggests instead that even the references in the *Historia Brittonum* show the accretion of “pseudo-historical material” in existing legends. Arthur is first and foremost a mythical hero, about whom a variously localized but content-consistent set of tales arose, a counterpart to the folkloric figure of Fionn mac Cumhaill: “These legends of Fionn occur localized wherever a Goidelic language was spoken, from the south of Ireland to northern Scotland, just as those of Arthur are found localized wherever a Brittonic language was spoken, from Cornwall (and perhaps Brittany) to southern Scotland” (20). Arthur fits into a category of mythical figures around whom spring up tales regarding dis-

tinctive aspects of the physical landscape. Place names associated with Arthur, then, proposes Padel, are older than Geoffrey of Monmouth’s references to the hero. Padel goes out with a nod to a possible historical Arthur, divested of the legendary garb; he endorses Lucius Artorius Castus, who matches a single detail from the Arthurian corpus, a description by Geoffrey of Monmouth. The connection by no means undermines Padel’s persuasively made argument that it is the folk/literary hero’s existence that makes possible the historical construction.

The historical practice of constructing identity using myth is the subject of Herwig Wolfram’s “*Origo et religio*. Ethnic Traditions and Literature in Early Medieval Texts” in *Early Med. Europe* 3: 19–38. Wolfram argues that the formation of Germanic ancestral tradition, an *origo gentis*, “is not a matter of common descent but one of political decision” (21). Wolfram cites as an example the Lombard origin story, in which the people “sacrifice their entire past and cultic existence for the salvation and survival of the tribe and thus legitimize the new ethnogenesis” (22). Other examples of this kind of mythic separation and victory come from the *Getica* and among the Amal Goths, and Wolfram compares variations in genealogical myth-making with English and Scandinavian traditions. The more recent myth-making of Nazi Germany leads him to frame the remainder of his discussion in terms of questions about the identity, literary history, and function of origin stories, which he stresses as dependent and successive. Their generic form and oral transmission further muddle the idea of a single, historical beginning. The question of how to “reconcile a tribal tradition, *memoria*, with historical circumstances” (32) leads Wolfram to Scandinavian, Anglo-Saxon, and Irish tradition, and the esteem given to extensive genealogies: “Since high prestige depended on a long list of ancestors, old traditions were always attractive and thus became politically relevant” (33). Ancestry in the form of stories and traditions could be shifted with movements and changes among even relatively small groups of peoples. Origin myth works pragmatically, in Wolfram’s final assessment, even as it retains traces of the “sacred realities” once associated with the gods.

A glimpse of Germanic paganism is pieced together by Kathleen Herbert in *Looking for the Lost Gods of England* (Pinner, Mddx: Anglo-Saxon Books). Herbert’s book is a transcript of an oral presentation given to the Anglo-Saxon interest group called Tha Engliscan Gesithas (The English Companions). With material from Germanic, Old English, Middle English, and continental sources, Herbert presents a conversational and anecdotal, if rather loose and wide-ranging, introduction to Germanic religious traditions and in particular to what she describes as the goddess-centered English traditions. The starting points in her search for Old English traces of paganism are royal genealogies, medical and educational texts, and poetry. She touches on Germanic tribes, Tacitus, Old English chronicles, calendars, charms, poems, place-names, and Norse mythology.

Course lectures at Cambridge inspired the collection of essays in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press), edited by Rosamond McKitterick. The introductory essay by Giles Brown ("Introduction: the Carolingian Renaissance," 1-51) is divided into subsections on the origins of the Carolingian Renaissance, on Frankish Church reform, and on erudition during the period. With the detailed outline of history and extensive bibliographic notes (as in all the essays), Brown's introduction provides a valuable starting place and reference point for study of the period. The volume includes ten other essays—many of which touch on Anglo-Saxon England—dealing with kings and kingdoms, grammar, Latin and vernacular literature, philosophy, history, manuscripts, art, music, and "The Legacy of the Carolingians" (the title of the final essay, by McKitterick). Select bibliography for each essay, illustrations, and a cumulative manuscript index—as well as a full subject index—are included in this substantial volume.

f. Teaching the Language

Teaching Old English to students whose eyes glaze over at the barest mention of grammar may be made easier by *Beginning Old English: an Elementary Grammar for Use with Computerized Exercises* (OEN Subsidia, 21 (Binghamton: CEMERS) ix. 57 pp. + 3.5 disk), the work of Constance B. Heatt, Brian Shaw, and Duncan Macrae-Gibson. The text is thirteen chapters with two appendices and is accompanied by graded exercises on disk; it is designed as a supplement to a fuller grammar and/or reader. For students unfamiliar with grammar or grammatical terms, the first chapter of *Beginning Old English* reviews basic Modern English grammar (my undergraduate class of honors English majors found this very useful, and they referred back to it as we went over new parts of OE). The second chapter covers pronunciation and spelling; the third introduces paradigms. The remainder of the printed text primarily consists of paradigms with concise, clear explanations. The accompanying computer exercises ask students to apply that information to sentences, often in Old English with on-command glossing; this encourages students to become familiar with forms and sentence structures even before or while they acquire vocabulary. The exercises may ask students to identify parts of speech, or case, number, gender. The program only accepts the Early West Saxon forms given in the text. The computerized exercises have the advantage of flexible pacing and immediate feedback for students. The simple point system gives students some sense of progress, but the real emphasis is on learning the basic material. At the end of an exercise, students may choose to "rerun the faulty bit(s)" or go on. If in the course of an exercise, students are having substantial difficulty, the program refers them to the relevant section of the printed text or to another screen summarizing the grammatical issue involved. One weakness of the program is that it does not allow skipping around within or across exercises. Students cannot easily refer back either to a previous exercise or to an earlier answer within an exercise. When students do not find sufficient explanation in

the text, a printout of the exercises for teachers who do not have computers in classroom would be helpful in responding to questions about specific exercises.

The visual presentation of both book and disk are a bit bland but perfectly serviceable, and a bargain at \$10 for the package. The disk is available in MS-DOS only, for use with a CGA, EGA, or VGA screen, although it will run in MS Windows. A version for Macintosh has been rumored for some time to be in progress, but new takers for the project might contact OEN.

Stephen Pollington's *An Introduction to the Old English Language and Its Literature* (Pinner, Mddx: Anglo-Saxon Books) is a gentle overview that offers concise answers to the questions it poses, "what is Old English?" and "why learn Old English?" The text is aimed at a general audience and might work as a preface to a more detailed introduction for serious students. Pollington provides a sketch of the development of Old English and of its grammar before turning to a brief discussion of place and personal names and a sampling of texts such as laws, charms, and the bookworm riddle. The limited, historical-interest answer Pollington provides to "why learn Old English?" may not lure in anyone not already interested in doing so, but the text as a whole may help confirm and begin refining a general attraction.

g. Computing

Sarah Larratt Keefer's overview of the applications of computers in Anglo-Saxon studies ("Computing in Anglo-Saxon Studies: a Representative Retrospective," OEN 27.3: 31-34) indicates the pervasive and promising role Anglo-Saxonists continue to give to computer technology. Keefer provides concise summary of the status of the Dictionary of Old English, ANSAXNET, ANSAXDAT, assorted other large and small databases in development, applications in archaeology, digital image processing, statistical analysis of OE metrics, editing, and teaching.

Computer technology has also yielded Peter Baker's Old English fonts (see OEN 27.1), for which Christian Liebl offers a summary help sheet in "Jottings on 'Junius': an Aid to Users of Old English Letter Fonts," OEN 27.3: 30. Liebl provides tables of the keyboard assignments and key codes of characters for Times Old English, Junius, and Anglo-Saxon Capitals. The single page presentation allows quick reference. While Liebl's only mention of Windows is parenthetical, his tables are only for DOS or Windows users of the fonts and may not work for all word processing programs. Similar tables that will work for anyone using the fonts, either in Mac or DOS/Windows, come with the latest version of Baker's "OE Font Pack."

The Beowulf Project continued to be well publicized. Carl Berkhout ("Beowulf Goes Digital," *Computing and Communications News* (Univ. of Arizona) 4.4: 8) provides a summary description of the project, starting with a concise report of the manuscript's physical history and condition, then briefly explaining how the project got started and the technologies involved in its progress. He includes directions on how to

view, via the internet, samples of the work. Elizabeth Heichler offers another review and promotion of the project, reaching a wider audience ("Beowulf Prowls the Internet through Library Project," *Computerworld* 23 May: 77). Heichler stresses the project's links to the British Library's Initiatives for Access program; all of the images to which she refers, *Beowulf* included, are now available on-line. Also available on-line is Heichler's article, in full or in summary in the *Computerworld* archives, at <http://www.computerworld.com/search/AT-html/9405/940523SL20beowulf.html>.

h. Anglo-Norman Studies

The ecclesiast Baudri of Bourgeuil (1046–1130) refers more than once, in a panegyric poem known as the "Adelae Comitissae," to a wall-hanging that depicts the Norman Conquest. Since the early history of the Bayeux Tapestry—its first four hundred years actually—is obscure, the object and veracity of Baudri's reference have remained open to debate. In "The Adelae Comitissae of Baudri of Bourgeuil and the Bayeux Tapestry" (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 16: 55–73), Shirley Ann Brown and Michael W. Herren set out to answer two questions: "(1) Did Baudri himself have direct experience of the Bayeux Tapestry? (2) If so, did he see it in the chamber of Adèle, Countess of Blois," William the Conqueror's daughter (58)? The answers come in a lucid and careful argument that compares descriptions in Baudri's poem with particular scenes in the Tapestry and with other possible source accounts of the Norman Conquest. Although Baudri elaborates on the Tapestry's visual delineation of the story, Brown and Herren identify details in his poem that appear to be drawn directly and only from the Tapestry. In describing Harold's death, for instance, Baudri is the first to name an arrow as the killing weapon. His source, Brown and Herren suggest, is a misreading of the Tapestry scene, an attribution of the caption announcing Harold's death to the arrow-wounded figure rather than to the wounded figure just to the right surrounded by four knights. The writers summarize their evidence and address the opposition point by point, with the persuasive conclusions that Baudri did indeed see and study the Bayeux Tapestry, but did not do so in Adèle's bed chamber. Baudri's mention of the Countess's bed-hangings is, instead, part of his hyperbolic praise of Adèle and of a series of references to literary invention (including one in a caption to a crossing scene, newly re-translated by Brown and Herren). His goal, argue Brown and Herren, was to win patronage from the countess.

Drawing on two details in a single Bayeux Tapestry panel, Derek F. Renn, explores the functions of particular towers and flags at the time of the Norman Conquest. His starting point in "Burhgeat and gonfanon: Two Sidelights from the Bayeux Tapestry" (*Anglo-Norman Studies* 16: 177–98) is a panel that shows an armed man who seems to be William the Conqueror ready to set off for battle. The figure stands near an open-doored tower and holds aloft a split-tailed flag. Renn examines other towers depicted in the Tapestry as well as

surviving examples of similar buildings—those with "with large upper openings"—in England at the time of the Conquest. In his careful descriptions of the towers, Renn attempts to distinguish between those with religious and with secular function. He proposes that the building from which William appears to have emerged had a secular function linked to a display of social standing and power. In making this argument, Renn has "appropriated the term 'burhgeat' . . . to mean a free-standing building of at least two storeys, the upper with large openings, the architectural detail of which suggests a date no later than the twelfth century. Its purpose might be either secular or religious, or a joint corporate venture with compatible objectives. An open gallery or a large upper doorway can only have been for display (of people or of relics) and not for defense" (183).

The functions and types of the thirty-seven flags shown in the Bayeux Tapestry are the subject of the second section of the article. The identification of all the flags, not just the gonfanon held aloft on William's lance, is attempted. Renn argues moreover that a close succession of variously poised flags depicts movement. While more illustrations could have provided summary support for both sections of the article, Renn provides detailed descriptions and some line drawings of the buildings with which he is concerned. The article includes two appendices: an archaeological account of "The West Tower of St. Michael at the Northgate, Oxford," and a table of "The Gonfanons of the Bayeux Tapestry."

The history of Anglo-Norman studies is addressed in Amos Lee Laine's "John Rastell and the Norman Conquest: Tudor Theories about the Feudal Age" (*The Rusted Hauberk: Feudal Ideas of Order and Their Decline*, Ed. Liam O. Purdon and Cindy L. Vitto (Gainesville, FL) 299–308). Laine gathers criteria for judging whether or not early Renaissance thinkers perceived the Norman conquest as a significant and deleterious break from Anglo-Saxon England and for assessing Tudor perceptions of Anglo-Norman feudalism. John Rastell (1475–1536), a lawyer and printer, and the brother-in-law of Thomas More, is Laine's test case. Rastell vigorously supported the English Church and was zealously anti-Roman. He promoted medieval law written in English rather than in French, defending both the idea of inherently English law and the language itself. In these patriotisms, Rastell reveals the sense of history Laine is seeking. Rastell, Laine argues, understood the Norman Conquest as a major breaking point in English history and culture and had a developed enough perception of the past to question the accuracy of contemporary views of Arthur. Because Rastell never reveals any awareness of the post-Conquest changes in fief and tenure, however, Laine resists "the temptation to fit Rastell into the formula that could prove that he, an early Tudor humanist, understood what later men would term feudalism" (306).

i. Varia

The "*Anonymus ad Cuimnanum*": *Expositio Latinitatis*, Corpus Christianorum, Series Latina, 133D (Turnhout:

Brepols, 1992), edited by Bernhard Bischoff and Bengt Löfstedt, is a Donatus commentary in a northern English manuscript from the first half of the eighth century. By roughly 800, the manuscript, part of the "Codex Lauantinus" and the only complete version of the "Anonymus" text, was in the possession of the monastery at Murbach; four fragmentary versions are continental. While Bischoff believes that "Anonymus" was an Irish grammarian, the original text itself may have been either insular or continental; the title of the work is Bischoff's (given in 1958, indicating the length of time Bischoff worked on the text). The dedication says about Cuimnan only that he is blind, and though the name can be found in various forms in early Ireland, Bischoff proposes a continental identification, "Bishop" Cumian of Bobbio. The inscription on the burial marker of this Cuimian, erected by the Lombard King Liudprand in the first half of the eighth century, notes "his noble descent from the Irish race" as well as his ecclesiastical position—"[t]he title *episcopus* can mean here more than the functions of an Irish monastic bishop" (xxii). The writer of the grammatical commentary itself "tries to grant a particular intensity to the presentation of his subject matter," evident, for instance, in the "innumerable times" the reader is encouraged in study (xx). Bischoff reviews the somewhat unusual grammatical sources drawn upon in the text and its Christian character—the text opens with a prayer and "Anonymus" draws in particular on Jerome. Bischoff's discussion of the tradition and author of the text forms the first of two introductory sections. Löfstedt's valuable work on the text, completed after Bischoff's death, can be seen in part in the second section. He addresses the language of the text under the headings of orthography, morphology, syntax, vocabulary, and style. The edited text has twenty-five parts, some quite brief, plus the concluding dedication to Cuimnan.

Daniel F. Pigg endeavors to raise the estimation of the fourteenth century poetic romance, *Athelston*. In "The Implications of Realist Poetics in the Middle English *Athelston*" (*ELN* 32.2: 1–8), Pigg argues that traditional source and analogue approaches to the poem have failed to explain its assorted contents. He proposes instead that the poem be read in terms of its contemporary political (royal) and ecclesiastical systems of signification. In particular, he reads the act of treason—a major issue in the poem—as an attack on signification. Pigg briefly examines church and state signs at the time *Athelston* was composed (1355–1380) before moving to a discussion of the romance itself. The narrative reaches closure and social order is restored by the correct reading of signs by Archbishop Alynke. The Church's prominence in governing meaning does not, asserts Pigg, overshadow the multiple approaches to defining truth (or realism) in the poem. The interplay of political and ecclesiastical signs, and some of the overlapping numerical signs, in the romance leads Pigg to conclude that *Athelston* centers on issues of truth and falseness articulated in terms of testing pledges and defining treason, both within the romance and against the historical, po-

litical context of the reign of Edward II.

The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway (London: Leicester Univ. Press; Rutherford, NJ: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press) contains twelve essays, amply illustrated, on political, literary, legal, religious, and numismatic topics, several of which are revisions of papers given at a 1990 conference at the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies. All but one of the essays are covered under subsequent headings. John Crook's "A Worthy Antiquity': the Movement of King Cnut's Bones in Winchester Cathedral" (165–92) begins in Winchester Cathedral with the mortuary boxes said to contain the bones of an array of Anglo-Saxon greats, including Egbert, Cynwulf, Emma, and Cnut. Crook argues that Cnut (d. 1035) "was either reburied or even buried from the first near to Winchester's principle saint, the ninth-century Bishop Swithun" (172). By tracing the construction history of the cathedral from before the rebuilding of the Old Minster begun in 971, Crook tracks the changing locations and containers of the relics as well as their occasional rough treatment (bones were scattered by raging Parliamentarians). The contents of the boxes have been examined at least three times since the late eighteenth century; Crook calls for a new study. Despite the jumble of history and of bones in the chests, Crook concludes that the evidence supports Cnut's remains being among those that line the presbytery of Winchester Cathedral.

The physical traces of ancient Essex are catalogued by Stephen Pewsey and Andrew Brooks in a scholarly travelogue entitled *East Saxon Heritage: an Essex Gazetteer* (Stroud, Gloucs., and Dover, NH: Alan Sutton, 1993). The introduction offers an overview of East Saxon history from Roman Britain to the Norman Conquest. The place name entries that follow, in alphabetical order, include in each heading the earliest known form of the place name and its derivation. A description of what remains visible at the sight, historical, archaeological, and literary information, and detailed directions for finding the location form the body of each entry. The entry on Barking, for instance, is three pages long and covers not just details of the abbey's history, but discussion of the problems exactly locating its original site, of evidence concerning whether or not it was burnt by Vikings, and of its various reconstructions; the entry also refers travellers to the nearby museum that houses finds from the abbey. The book is fun reading for the actual or the armchair traveller.

Klaus R. Grinda and Claus-Dieter Wetzel have edited a collection of twenty-eight essays in honor of Hans Schabram, entitled *Anglo-Saxonica: Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der englischen Sprache und zur altenglischen Literatur. Festschrift für Hans Schabram zum 65. Geburtstag* (Munich: Fink, 1993). The international group of contributors presents mostly essays in German, although ten are in English. All but four of the essays are reviewed in subsequent categories; the four are Rudolf Schützeichel's study of the place of morphology in dictionary making, specifically concerned with the Dictio-

nary of Old High German; Wolfgang P. Schmid's discussion of the relationship between the Lithuanian and Germanic words for amber and Günter Neumann's companion piece on classical reference to amber, especially in a description in Pliny's *Natural History*; and Ulrich Mölk's discussion of the fox and wolf episode in Marie de France's *Ysengrimus* and its connection to an English fable collection attributed to King Alfred.

Commemorations published this year included those of Jess B. Bessinger, Jr., T.A.M. Bishop, Daniel G. Calder, C.R. Dodwell, Rupert Bruce-Mitford, and Laurence Kennedy Shook. See also David Ganz's bibliography of the publications of T.A.M. Bishop (*OEN* 27.3: 16).

J.S.E.

Works Not Seen:

- Kahlas-Tarkka, Leena, and Matti Rissanen. "Medieval English Studies in Finland." *Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 30: 2-6.
- Kubouchi, Tadao; Haruo Iwasaki, John Scabill, and Yasuhiro Yano. *A Bibliography of Publications on Medieval English Language and Literature in Japan*. Tokyo: Center for Medieval English Studies, Univ. of Tokyo. xi, 119 pp.
- Mirarchi, Giovanni, et al. *Gemma Manganella*. Alessandria: Edizioni dell'Orso. 17 pp.
- Young-Bae, Park. "Medieval English Studies in Korea." *Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 31: 4-7.

2. Language

a. Lexicon, Glosses

A.diP. Healey and the other editors bring us the *Dictionary of Old English: A* (26 pp. + 8 fiches). This reviewer has now seen *A*, which is added to *Æ*, *B*, *Beon*, *C*, and *D* of the *DOE* as of our bibliographic compilation. Those sections along with the preface and list of texts already have proven invaluable to many OE scholars—bravo. A.diP. Healey's "The Search for Meaning" (*The Editing of Old English*, pp. 85-96) discusses in some detail the use of editions to compile the *DOE* files rather than manuscripts, and the author entertains some of the problems that decision presented. All of the examples are from the *B* fascicle. T. Hoad's "Word Geography: Previous Approaches and Achievements" (*Speaking in Our Tongues*, pp. 197-203) reviews various works based on the 1937 work of Kaiser and those who follow the work of McIntosh. The article is interesting by way of review, but only mentions OE in passing. L. Kornexl's "Progress in Historical Lexicography: the *Dictionary of Old English*" (*Anglia* 112, 421-53) reviews the development of the *DOE* and points out the standard problems with any sort of work which is to be considered comprehensive. The author praises the entire *DOE* project and notes that the editors expressly welcome constructive criticism.

A. Liberman, in "An Analytic Dictionary of English Etymology" (*Dictionaries* 15, 1-29), outlines plans for an analytic dictionary of English etymology. The project has arrived at a list of 8,000 words, made progress in collecting resource/reference material, and discussed editorial problems. The project still lacks funding.

J. Roberts' "Report on A Thesaurus of Old English" (*OEN* 27.3, 23-24) tells us that the *TOE* was meant to be a research tool and its compilers hope it will be reworked as needed. She lists the eighteen categories of vocabulary used in the project, briefly reviews the history of the project, and discusses some of the problems in categorization. L. Grundy's

"The Structure of A Thesaurus of Old English" (*OEN* 27.3, 25-27) informs us about the database for the *TOE*, gives examples from the database, and explains that it is searchable with standard tools. C. Kay's "From HT to *TOE* (or vice versa)" (*OEN* 27.3, 28-29) explains the necessity of having different classifications in *TOE* from those in *HT*. The author illustrates that the differences in semantic fields in the various periods create the necessity using the example of «music».

A. Fischer's "Bedbur, an Old English Ghost Word?" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 327-33) suggests that OE *bedbur* is a ghost word rather than a hapax legomenon. While OE *bedbur* is not impossible morphologically, it is likely that the *O*-scribe's correction of *B*'s *bedbur* to *brydbur* is correct. P. Pulsiano, in "Additional Evidence for an Old English 'Canterbury Vocabulary'" (*NM* 95, 257-65), notes fourteen more words confined to the Canterbury texts: *acofrian*, *fordimmian*, *forgyting*, *fyndel*, *halbære*, *oferpyrt*, *reafol*, *stæfwis*, *unstæfwis*, *twiseht*, *twisehtan*, *twisehtnes*, *ungecopic/ungecopicce*, and *ðrinen*. The Canterbury group doesn't contain anything extraordinary, and this is what makes it interesting. Its ordinariness may help with questions of regional origin or manuscripts.

L. Kahlas-Tarkka's "What Does the Jungle of Middle English Manuscripts Tell Us? On ME Words for 'every' and 'each' with Special Reference to Their Many Variants" (*English Historical Linguistics* 1992, pp. 305-15) is another article primarily about ME. However, this work does mention OE *alc*, *æfre*, *gehwilc*, *æghwilt*, *æghwa*, and *gehwa*. The author uses the four periods of ME found in the Helsinki Corpus for her database, listing the ME forms of 'every' and 'each' found there in an appendix. These forms appear to be dialectally as well as historically distributed. X. Dekeyser's "The Multal Quantifiers much/many and Their Analogues: a Historical Lexico-Semantic Analysis" (*Leuense Bijdragen* 83, 289-99) examines OE *micel/much* and notes they can express extent, multity, and number. *Much* is historically countable and non-

countable while *many* always expresses number. The author concludes that the semantic domains of *much* and *many* seem to be shrinking. The work also covers *a lot of*, *lots of*, *a great deal of*, and *plenty of*.

J. Bately's "An Alfredian Legacy? On the Fortunes and Fate of Some Items of Boethian Vocabulary in Old English" (*From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, pp. 8-32) presents a reassessment of Fischer's judgment (1979) that Alfred's resourcefulness in translating Boethian philosophical terms was more original and greater than Chaucer's. By examining the now more accessible earlier texts and Lat redactions, it can be shown that many of the "loan translations," "loan transfers," and "loan conservations" were already in circulation; his translation contribution to the OE vocabulary is "surprisingly slight." U. Fries' "Towards a Description of Text Deixis in Old English" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 527-40) notes that text deixis is worth investigating but has attracted little attention, especially in historical application. The author examines the terms *here* and *now* in their historical manifestations and uses phrases from the Helsinki Corpus. OE *her* and *nu* and their co-occurrences as *her+secgan* and *her+onginð*; *nu+secgan*, *nu+cweðan*, *sprecan*, *hyran*, *cyðan*. More occurrences of text deictic examples of *nu* exist in Helsinki than those for *her*, but a limited corpus may under-represent certain occurrences.

A. Moerdijk's "(Mis)use of Semantic Parallelism: Robinson's Etymology of English *girl*" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution* 24, 49-65) questions Robinson's (1967) etymological extension of OE *gyrela* 'dress, apparel' to fill the lexical gap through an argument for functional polysemy. There is an extensive deeper examination of Robinson's parallels which leads to the general rejection of the semantic extension. Five so-called conditions for doing parallels are proposed, but they are all essentially prescriptions for careful etymological argumentation. Y. Terasawa's "Some Etymological and Semasiological Notes on *girl*" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 335-45) concerns itself mostly with ME, when the earliest instances of *girl* appear and the semantic change from 'a young person of either sex' to 'a young female' begins. The author attempts to connect ME *girle* to an OE word and agrees with Robinson's proposal of OE *gyrela* as the likely etymon for ME *girle*. The semantic shift seems due to other words for 'child', 'boy', 'youth', and 'female' becoming obsolete or taking on other, unambiguous meanings.

G. Kellermann, in "Aspects of Etymological Inference: a Case Study of OE *haegsteald* / ModE *bachelor* and OE *haegtesse* / ModE *witch*" (*Diachrony within Synchrony: Language History and Cognition*, pp. 509-28) provides an etymological/semantic history for OE *haegsteald* and *haegtesse*. Occam's razor won't always work for semantic reconstruction. In the case of *haegsteald/haegtesse* the pragmatic force of the features prevents the words from completely ridding themselves of their etymological meanings. This force of features must be inferred by those trying to reconstruct semantic histories.

A.R. Riedinger's "Lexical Inequities in Marriage: Old English *wif*, *wer*, and *husbonda*" (*SN* 66, 3-14) argues that up

until *husband* replaced *wer* as meaning 'married man', men and women were nearly equal in OE society. The change to *husband* occurred around 1200, about the same time women began to lose their heretofore present equality in literature and language. The author traces the semantic changes in *wer* and *husbonda*. I.M. Bajema's "The Mother's Brother: an Investigation into the Meaning of Old English *eam*" (*Neophilologus* 78, 633-43) studies the possible meanings of *eam*. The author concludes that most of the time *eam* does refer to the 'mother's brother'. Out of twenty-seven instances, the meaning of *eam* was unclear in four, meant something other than 'mother's brother' in seven (usually 'grandfather or father's brother' or 'husband of aunt'), and 'mother's brother' in sixteen instances. The other meanings and the unclear meanings are generally translations from Lat or late occurrences; perhaps the extension to ModE *uncle* begins here.

L. Moessner studies the lexical/semantic development of the terms for dogs in "Dog—Man's Best Friend: a Study in Historical Lexicology" (*English Historical Linguistics* 1992, pp. 207-18). The author begins with the five OE terms denoting types of dogs: **docga*, *hund*, *hwelp*, *bicca*, and *grighund*. The positive and negative connotations of these terms are considered. Using data from the *HT*, the author studies the history and development of these terms as well as those in ME and eModE, particularly Shakespeare. The author concludes that the more general terms possess negative connotations when applied to humans but neutral ones when applied to dogs. Breed terms are generally positive for both people and dogs, except *spaniel* which is negative when applied to people. P. Pulsiano, in "Old English Nomina ventorum" (*SN* 66, 15-26), discusses two unedited manuscripts containing names of winds: Cambridge University Library Kk. 3.21 and British Library, Harley 3667 which was originally part of Cotton Tiberius C.i. Kk. 3.21. The confusion about OE wind names arises from copying errors in texts and the three possible arrangements of four-point, eight-point, or twelve-point compasses. Of all the manuscripts containing wind names, the author deems Kk. 3.21 the most accurate. G. Mirarchi's "Proposte per un'interpretazione dell'aggettivo *hasu* nella poesia anglosassone" (*Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale*, sezione germanica, n.s. 4.1-2, 289-305) examines the use of poetic OE *hasu* in six instances, usually glossed as 'grey, dusky, tawny, ashen'. He proposes that the contexts suggest greater brightness and variation than the traditional dark colorlessness.

H. Gneuss' "Language Contact in Early Medieval England: Latin and Old English" (*Speaking in Our Tongues*, pp. 149-57) outlines what he feels are important areas for the study of Lat/OE contact and contact between OE and other languages. These areas are history and archaeology, progress in historical linguistics, and manuscript evidence. He includes some OE examples in the third section, but the article focusses on general concepts. V. Kniezsa's "The Scandinavian Element in the Vocabulary of the Peterborough Chronicle" (*English Historical Linguistics*, pp. 235-45) concludes that although

Scan words appear they are too infrequent and unvaried to establish the extent of Scan borrowing into OE during the time of the *Peterborough Chronicle*. The author offers two appendices: the first contains Scan influences in *Peterborough*; the second lists verbs containing Scan *a* rather than OE *æ*. E. Kolb's "Anglo-nordische Komposita in der Dichtersprache" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 469–82) states that the occurrences of the compounds are too many to ignore but not enough to draw any strong conclusions. The article stands mainly as examinations of compounds that have the potential to have common membership in both languages—the greatest concentration in OE comes from *Beowulf*. K.R. Grinda's "Zu einigen Komposita aus Substantiv vor Adjektiv in der altenglischen Poesie" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 347–400) offers mostly description of the compounding of noun plus adjective or adjective based second elements in OE poetry, with an indexed list of over 150 examples. Rather than breaking theoretical ground, the article tends to revisit those examples about which the author has something to say. It would be informative if some rules of compounding actually shed light on compound meanings, but studies of any period inevitably prove that there is still much art and context sensitivity to deducing combinatorial meaning.

D.Q. Adams' "A Tocharo-Germanic Correspondence: TochB *tuk-* 'be hidden' and OE *dēog* 'she concealed himself'" (*Historische Sprachforschung* 107, 310–12) adds TochB *tuk-* to Ringe's (1990) TochB *reki* 'word' and AB *tak-* 'touch' as evidence of common innovation. Shared metathesis and unusual morphology mediate against simple independent development. A. Bammesberger's "On the Prehistory of Old English *sam-/som-* 'half'" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution* 24, 3–14) rehearses the many appropriate materials, arguing that Gmc **sēmi-X-* > pre-OE **sāmi-X-* was replaced by **sāma-X-* under the influence of compounds like **halba-X-*. A. Breeze's "Old English *lorb* 'pole'; Middle Welsh *llory* 'cudgel'" (*N&Q* 41, 439–40) first notes the relative rarity of the word and the lack of an accepted etymology for it. Most likely, OE *lorb* was derived from late British or Primitive Welsh **lor* and related to words for 'staff', 'club', 'spearshaft'. E.P. Hamp's "English elk" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution* 24, 47–48) argues that OE *eolh* loses the *h* but restores it by levelling to **eolhes*, eventually *elk*, by [xɛs] > [xs] > [ks] > [k]. K.T. Witczak's "Germanic **raih-* 'roedeer, *Capreolus capreolus*': a Proposal for a New Etymology" (*Historische Sprachforschung* 107, 141–42) argues that Gmc **raih-* < IE **rōyk-* should be added to Adams' (1985) Greek and Welsh origins for the word for 'roedeer' because metathesis makes their common ancestor IE **york-*.

J.D. Pfeifer, in "How Not to Edit Glossaries" (*The Editing of Old English*, 263–97), presents a historical account of glossaries and their editing, focusing on Vatican 1469, Monte Cassino 90, and the Epinal/Erfurt. The author notes that collations should occur at the foot of the page and translations, if they are included at all, on the facing page. Glossary editors, if they are not to repeat mistakes of previous editors,

need a wide variety of knowledge, classical, patristic, and cultural. P. Pulsiano's "London, British Library, Cotton Otho E.i: a Neglected Latin-Old English Glossary" (*ANQ* n.s. 7, 195–200) notes that there has been an undeserved lack of attention to Cotton Otho E.i. There are thirteen leaves of this work which are usable even though the manuscript was burned. He argues that it should be included in any new edition of Cotton Cleopatra since Otho appears to be copied from it. P. Pulsiano's "New Old English Glosses in the *Vitellius Psalter*" (*ANQ* n.s. 7, 3–6) informs us about newly recorded glosses to the *Vitellius Psalter* in Psalms 31–60. These thirty-two new glosses can be used to complete previously partial glosses and to correct misreadings in Rosier.

S. Ono's "Word Preference in the Old English Verbs of Possessing" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 279–88) looks at verbs of possession equivalent to Lat *possidere* in *Lindisfarne*, *Rushworth*, and *Corpus Gospels*. Although the distribution of *agnian* (Li), *gesittan* (Ru), and *agan* (WScp) appears to be dialectal, it probably isn't especially so in non-biblical texts. The article presents long lists of examples from various OE texts of occurrences of OE words for Lat *possidere*. M.J. Toswell's "A Further Old English Gloss in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, MS lat. 8846" (*N&Q* 41, 10–11) provides a small set of glosses at the end of Psalm 38 which were missed by Hargreaves and Clark in the titular manuscript. He argues that these glosses support the idea that the Paris manuscript was probably copied from the Eadwine Psalter. Lines in MS lat. 8846 show that an interlinear gloss was probably planned.

P. Lendinara's "The Old English Renderings of Latin *tabernaculum* and *tentorium*" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 289–325) discusses the various interpretations of *tabernaculum* and *tentorium* found in OE texts. These various interpretations, according to the author, help modern scholars discern scholarly, dialectal, and chronological preferences among the OE texts and scribes. The work provides long lists of citations for OE equivalents of words under study. The chosen terms vary in poetry and prose and between translations and glosses. OE (ge)teld is the only rendering of *tentorium*, but terms for *tabernaculum* are more varied. G. Neumann's "Sualiternicum 'Bernstein'" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 431–39) adds the WGmc **swali-terw-in-an* or **swali-terw-ij-an* to the reflexes of IE **ghles-* as non-Lat terms for 'amber' in Plinius.

b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Aspects

R. Quirk and C.L. Wrenn's *An Old English Grammar* (xii, 175 p) marks the availability of the steadfast introductory grammar again. S.E. Deskis has not fiddled with its "clarity, ease of reference, and flexibility"; she has reworked the 1957 bibliographic supplement into a suggestive seven pages. C. Barber's *The English Language: a Historical Introduction* (xii, 299 pp.) is a revision of *The Story of English* (1968) that now seems to be calculated to capture an audience of undergraduates. Although there are changes that make the work a little more technical and a bit more focused on English, it is still a selective, broadly expository introduction to the history of

the language. It may not be "essential reading also for students of linguistics" as its blurb states, but the final chapters have an interesting representation of post seventeenth century standardization, English as a world language, and a modicum of linguistic prognostication. A. Crépin's *Deux mille ans de langue anglaise* (191 pp.) is like the *Cours*; it seems to be keyed to the particulars of a series of lectures; on the other hand, it does utilize the coherence of one author's view of how to move expeditiously from one end of the history of the English language to the other. The brevity of the work precludes external history; and the internal history is a series of most salient linguistic features—particularly those that change in the most observable ways. Each of the twenty-five short chapters seems to represent a very robust lecture on a pertinent matter. Standard topics of an introductory course in linguistics are handled with English language exemplification: for example, starting with Chapter Sixteen, the book closes with two sufficient lectures on the great vowel shift, two short lectures on pronouns, three lectures on auxiliaries, and three exemplifying lectures on semantic change.

R. Lass' *Old English: a Historical Linguistic Companion* (xx, 300 pp.) utilizes a leit motif of language structures appropriately recapitulating an English phylogeny, but that is not to imply that he simply perceives older periods as inchoate versions of later ones. The author focuses on systems and systematic changes in the context of theories. The work is introductory but intellectual; it is full of phonological data but not afraid of explanatory metaphors along side theoretical explanations. Occasionally description parades as explanation, and the book is more topical than chronological: 1) language family relationships; 2) IE to WGmc phonology; 3) WGmc to OE; 4) suprasegmental and syllabic structure; 5) the phonological shaping of word structures; 6) noun phrase morphology and structures; 7) verb inflections; 8) OE vocabulary; 9) some standard scattered issues of OE syntax; 10) the complex "dissolution" of OE. The work is important as a model of the marriage of a respect for the details of philology and the intelligent use of contemporary theory to examine issues in such a way that they are interesting and accessible to readers willing to go somewhat beyond the beginning stages of the subject.

D. Denison's *English Historical Syntax* (xv, 530 pp.) stands halfway between a general history of the language textbook and a scholarly exploration of the very large historical area of verbal constructions; while it is narrower in subject than the historical English syntax of Traugott (1972), it more than compensates with its respect for many methodologies. In general it exhibits the virtues of both ends of the spectrum, as well as a few of the vices. The lack of syntactic sensitivity in Visser's (1963-73) fundamental work has been addressed with reasonable success, and Visser's intentional insensitivity to theory and method has been strongly rejoined in a sensible pan-linguistic contextualization for some classic issues that surround the history of the predicate in English. Two side effects are a very good introduction to linguistic methodolo-

gies and theories, focussed on a particular topic, and an unfortunate rudderlessness for the serious reader; the first far outweighs the second. The historical period descriptions are just sketches, and the description of the rise of word order pays too little attention to the issue of sentence typology; however, both are sensible if a bit terse. On the other hand, the characterizations of impersonals, the rise of formal passives, complementation, and verb expansion are all effective. The OE scholar and the verb construction specialists will not be much edified, but good sample data and descriptions will inform the intelligent student.

N. Blake's "Premises and Periods in a History of English" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 37-46) argues that scholars interested in the history of English should pay more attention to standards of language; the history of English is a history of standards. The author claims that it is difficult to talk about a standard before Alfred and that we have "English" only when we have a standard. The concept would revise the dates for the traditional periods of English. OE would then be from the time of Alfred to the late twelfth or early thirteenth century; ME would be a time of no standard; ModE would have three periods: 1400-1660, 1660-1798, and 1798-present. One might still note that there have always been methodological venues for the study of that which was not written down and testified to by the educated, so we are perhaps left with the requirement to say what we are studying—perhaps even more to the point, any study is an abstraction of rules and categories that have a different kind of reality than the language itself. M. Gretsch, in "The Language of the 'Fonthill Letter'" (*ASE 23*, 57-102), reprints the text of the letter and presents its history. The author attempts to match the language of the letter to its purported date in the late ninth or early tenth century and notes that there seems to have been an attempt on the part of the author to minimize spelling variations. The letter is important to OE scholars because it seems to represent colloquial speech more than other letters or texts. J. Fisiak contends, in "Linguistic Reality of Middle English" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 47-61), that ME is a linguistic construct. What we have in ME grammars today is not a description of what speakers during that time actually did. Such a construct is justified depending on what use we make of it and provided we understand it isn't the language. The same, one can note in passing, can be said for any scientific representation.

E.C. Polomé's "Proto-Germanic and the Reconstruction of Proto-Indo-European" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution 23*, 3-40) raises the problem of the rough evidence for PGmc before Ulfala that consists mainly of inconsistently spelled, scattered terms and proper names in classical authors. The article is clear in its tracing of the problem and theories that surround the proto-phonology of Gmc. Major theories are examined and a proposed system of phonemes and diachrony is postulated. While this accurately acknowledges the many areas open for discussion, such postulations in general act as if there were in fact a coherent unified entity rather

than a range of variations—such is the fiction in most protospeculation. P.E. Davenport's "The De-Indo-Europeanising of English (II)" (*Hitotsubashi Jnl of Arts and Sciences* 34, 25-39) discusses the obvious fact that the loss of case, gender, inflection, and synthetic tendencies in English represent a movement away from Gmc and other IE languages. He naturally attributes these movements to the usual variety of influences.

In H.F. Nielsen's "Ante-Old Frisian: a Review" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution* 24, 91-136), the coined designation of the title suggests that the origins may not even have been in an early Gmc dialect which is typical of this judicious and thorough review of historical/linguistic Fris issues. The article gives the greatest credit to H. Kuhn on the origins of the name and "North-West Block" theory of provenance, but the door is left open for sensible criticism. The richest area of discussion remains its dialectal position within Gmc: North Sea grouping, Anglo-Frisian hypothesis, Ingeonic theory, and links between OFris and ON. The runic evidence is too sparse to lead to strong conclusions, but the field is becoming more circumspect. Finally, the author tends to discount *Lex Frisionum* and *Traditiones Fuldenses* as direct evidence of the linguistic issues at hand.

R. Hogg's "Linguistics, Philology, Chickens and Eggs" (*English Historical Linguistics* 1992, pp. 3-16) is a general interest article which rehashes the battle between theory oriented linguists and data oriented philologists. Using Campbell's work on palatalization as an example, Hogg demonstrates that even some philologists implicitly resort to theory to accomplish their explanations. E. Bernardez's "Can Catastrophe Theory Provide Adequate Explanations for Linguistic Change? An Application to Syntactic Change in English" (*English Historical Linguistics* 1992, pp. 17-27) attempts a more formal rather than metaphorical application of catastrophe theory to linguistic change. He notes that catastrophe theory is useful if one begins with existing possible constructions in OE and compares them to ModE rather than assuming a change from SOV to SVO, but the general problem of just how much catastrophe mathematics does manage to explain also obtains in linguistics. This reviewer is a long-time admirer of the sensible details and scholarly common sense of B. Mitchell's insights for OE; however, "The Englishness of Old English" (*From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, pp. 163-81) is an assemblage of attitudes and self-evident bits of text. The contemporary use of the term creolization in Gmc studies seems to have made for a red herring for both its originators and those who respond to its use, but Bailey (1973) et sequenta and Mitchell find the word or issue important enough. Of course at some abstract level any language not spoken by an artificially unified linguistic community (perhaps in a single register?) is subject to minimal creolization; one is left simply with an attitude toward what constitutes the threshold for designation. The continuity/discontinuity issue can be easily associated with the similarity/dissimilarity question; threshold delineations and certainly differentiation

in a cline are always problematic as for instance in evolutionary theory. The issues need not be illegitimate to remain irresolvable.

M. Laing and K. Williamson's editorial introduction to *Speaking in Our Tongues: Proceedings of a Colloquium on Medieval Dialectology and Related Disciplines* (xii, 231 pp.) notes the participants in the various fields, comments on the need for interdisciplinary approaches to language, and briefly reviews the papers presented. M. Benskin's "Description of Dialect and Areal Distributions" (*Speaking in Our Tongues*, pp. 169-87) focuses on the variety of terms used to describe dialects and dialect areas in OE and ME. He argues that linguists might use the methods of medical geography not just for their mathematical and theoretical uses, but also because they may be more informative as regards distributions of forms and terms. If an investigation begins with a presupposed area, the investigator tends to find evidence to fit. A more revealing approach would be to begin with the entire island, then map forms, then divide into regions. Of course even a little knowledge of something as old as Moore, Meech, and Whitehall boundaries for ME sheds light on why the desideratum and the practice don't coincide.

A. Bammesberger's "Phonology, Analogy, and How Languages Change: Notes on the Development of Some Grammatical Categories in English" (*Diachrony within Synchrony: Language History and Cognition*, pp. 359-75) surveys five areas: the rise and function of *-ing* forms, grammatical gender and declension, weak verbs replacing strong verbs, nouns as adjectives (and vice versa), and the function of stress in different word classes. He affirms that traces of a language's history can be found in its synchronic system. The author notes the need to pay more attention to morphological and syntactic change which may be triggered by phonological change. D. Kastovsky, in "Typological Reorientation as a Result of Level Interaction: the Case of English Morphology" (*Diachrony within Synchrony: Language History and Cognition*, pp. 411-28), claims that the movement from OE to ModE saw a shift from stem-based to word based inflection due to the accumulation of morphophonemic alternations and their increasing opacification. This caused the loss of ablaut nouns and ablaut adjectives.

D. Megginson's "He (pl) and Other New Old English Pronouns" (*ANQ* n.s. 7, 6-13) contends that OE *be* may sometimes be used as a plural for *hi*. He notes that the two possible objections to this contention, frequency and scribal correction, can be explained away. Other forms are infrequent, and it is hard to tell which variations were acceptable and which were not to particular scribes. If *be* were an acceptable variant for the plural, more "room" would be left for the rise and spread of *she* and *they*. The author provides examples of *be* as plural and feminine singular from ten manuscripts. T. Hoad's "Old English Weak Genitive Plural *-an*: Towards Establishing the Evidence" (*From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, pp. 108-29) represents the beginning of a careful examination of weak genitive plural endings in *-an*, both nominal

and adjectival. Questions are raised about older assumed forms, new forms are supported, and a future complete investigation is left open to the utilization of the now accessible data. A. Bammesberger's "Das Pluralparadigma von urg. **uhsen*-" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 415-23) establishes the plural forms for 'oxen' from IE to a later PGmc: Nom **uhsniz*, Gen **uhsno*, Dat **uhsnumiz*, Acc **uhsnumz*. A. Bammesberger's "Two Archaic Forms in the *Ruthwell Cross* Inscription" (*ES* 75, 97-103) further supports the argument that both *rodi* and *blode* are grammatically correct forms. The *-i* of *rodi* is clearly locative and can be traced back to Gmc **-i*. The association of *blode* with the Gmc instrumental is less clear, but this is not a reason for rejecting the correctness of the form.

F. Kortlandt's "The Germanic Sixth Class of Strong Verbs" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution* 23, 69-73) argues for the distribution of verbs in and around the Gmc sixth strong verbs, particularly formed from the merger of reduplicated preterits with root aorists in IE. He notes the conditions that both attract and repel membership by analogical extension. T. Vennemann's "Zur Entwicklung der reduplizierenden Verben im Germanischen" (*BGDSL* 116, 167-221) indicates that the strong application of phonological rules can account for the reduplicating past tenses of Gmc. In the end he demonstrates the order of nine rules (sometimes combinations) on three proto-forms: *HAIT-A-* 'be named', *SLAP-A-* 'sleep', and *SKRAUD-A-* 'cut'. The new morphological rules and analogy are based on the fundamental phonological rules. K.-H. Mottasuch's "Idg. **h₂ei-* 'gehen' im Germanischen" (*Historische Sprachforschung* 107, 123-40) investigates the relationship of Got *iddja* and OE *eode*, why the present tense form of IE **h₂ei-* is lost, which historical forms spawned which later forms, and which phonological processes obtained. Many processes are involved, but reduplication seems to be the center of the argument.

K. Carey, in "The Grammaticalization of the Perfect in Old English: an Account Based on Pragmatics and Metaphor" (*Perspectives on Grammaticalization*, Current Issues in Ling. Theory 109, 103-17), concludes that the shift from adjectival to perfect meaning of *have* was influenced by metaphor and pragmatics. She rejects Kuryłowicz's account because the data show that the shift to internal objects occurred before the semantic shift to meaning 'present action'. O. Fischer's "The Development of Quasi-Auxiliaries in English and Changes in Word Order" (*Neophilologus* 78, 137-64) is primarily a critique of Brinton's work on the same subject. Fischer concludes that the change from *have* as a full verb to a quasi-modal occurred after the change in the word order of infinitival constructions. Thus it is a word order change rather than a semantic change which triggers the change in the use of *have*. F. Kortlandt's "The Proto-Germanic Pluperfect" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 40, 1-5) attempts to reconstruct an earlier form which was replaced by weak preterits. The Gmc class of preterit presents is an excellent beginning point. There is little on OE except a few examples.

B. Forssman's "Zu altenglisch *wyrcean* 'wirken' und seinen

Entsprechungen" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 401-13) examines the excessively varied forms of the verb in the context of newer sound changes, dialectal variations, and a complex history. He finds that the examination of the Gmc cognates sheds a great deal of light on the variety of forms. K.G. Daugherty's "Connectionist Inflectional Morphology: a Network-Based Account of the Past Tense" (*DAI* 55B, 1512) focuses on the past tense of English and argues that a connectionist theory better explains the learning of natural language than the more traditional symbolic rule based theory. A substantial portion of the work focuses on OE past tense. L. Goossens's "*Cunnan*, *conne(n)*, *can*: the Development of a Radial Category" (*Diachrony within Synchrony: Language History and Cognition*, pp. 377-94) shows how the centers of radial categories can change. The history of *cunnan* and its descendants provides an excellent example of this. The primary center of OE *cunnan* is 'know', which shifts to the secondary center in ME and disappears altogether in ModE. According to the author this shift demonstrates that synchrony can be dynamic.

B. Need and E. Schiller provide, in "A Unified Diachronic Explanation of Modern English Modals" (*CLS* 29.1, 297-310), an autolexicalist and minimalist approach to the history of the English modals. Change in complement types is independent of changes in morphology, although change in morphology can affect syntactic and semantic changes. Since both approaches have some elegance, the sum might be said to be a unified approach which works better for diachronic study than previous approaches. J. De la Cruz, in "The Modals Again in the Light of Historical and Cross-Linguistic Evidence" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 145-56), argues that government binding theory is not much help when looking at the categorization of the modals and *do*. He investigates two sorts of occurrences: *shall may* and *have mought*, which occur in ME but are absent in OE and ModE standard. The author doubts Lightfoot's recategorization of the modals and proposes that perhaps the rest of the verbs separated from the modals. In any case, it is argued that semantic change is not important to the issue. L.K. Arnovick's "The Expanding Discourse of Promises in Present-Day English: a Case Study in Historical Pragmatics" (*Folia Linguistica Historica* 17, 175-91) concerns itself primarily with ModE promising acts and their lack of being taken seriously as obligations. She notes that in OE the act of promising serves as a contract. *Shall* and *will* are the focus of the investigation.

B. Need, in "Negation in English, an Autolexical Account of the Historical Changes" (*CLS* 27.2, 207-17), attempts to characterize the mechanics of the change in negation patterns and describe negation in four stages of English in an autolexical system. She argues that negators need to be treated as verbs in all stages. This avoids problems of raising and lowering and accounts for the changes in the use of *do*, eliminating the verb/adverb mismatch problem encountered by other analyses. Change can occur in one module without affecting another. G. Mazzon's "OE and ME Multiple Negation: Some Syntactic and Stylistic Remarks" (*English Histori-*

cal Linguistics 1992, pp. 157–69) discusses the multiple negations of ME, mainly in Chaucer. These appear to be aberrations. Multiple negation existed in OE, and early works show a higher percentage of such forms. Other works show that the reduction of multiple negation and prevalence of simple negation began in ME.

L.V. Breik and T. Swan's "Initial Adverbials and Word Order in English with special Reference to the Early Modern English Period" (*Studies in Early Modern English*, pp. 11–43) is a response to a tradition of loose descriptions of English as a verb second language (or not) at different stages. The authors offer the insight that eModE initial sentence adverbials are far from reaching the point where they absolutely do not trigger subject-verb inversion. They generally find that the case for inversion in OE had been overstated by researchers, but the problem of what belongs in the triggering categories is obvious and the mere passing references to the underlying order keeps most reasoned contemporary argument about process out of the discussions. S. Pintzuk's "The Distribution and Syntax of Old English Adverbs" (*Groninger Arbeiten zur germanistischen Linguistik* 36, 152–67) examines VP adverbs, sentential adverbs and temporal adverbs. The article attempts to present these distributions in a formal structural analysis of OE. The account is also applicable to other Gmc languages. The author concludes that VP adverbs are generated in the VP and remain there; temporal adverbs, especially clause initial ones, occupy a position left of Comp, maybe even one outside of CP; sentential adverbs have two structures: clause initial to the left periphery of IP and those occurring between topic and infinite verbs adjoining are lexical head ADV adjoining INFL. W.P. Lehmann, in "Old English Postpositions as Residues of OV Order" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 541–49), argues that postpositions in OE are clearly indicators of an OV order in Gmc. He notes that the change from OV to VO needs to be investigated on a closer level than sentence patterns. Constructions common to older texts may indicate where the language has been while constructions in newer texts may predict where a language is going.

M. Ogura's "Grammatical Choices in Old and Early Middle English: a Choice between a Simple Verb, the Prefix/Particle-Verb or Verb-Particle Combination, and the 'Auxiliary + Infinitive' Construction in Old and Early Middle English" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 119–29) provides copious examples and percentage of occurrence tables to support the argument that loss of morphological identity and Latin influences along with the ambiguity of the prefix/particle-verb combination lead to choosing periphrases. The author draws examples from Gregory's *Dialogues*, *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, *Lazmon's Brut*, *Ancrene Wisse*, *Ancrene Rule*, *Cursor Mundi*, and various versions of the four gospels. S. Louhivaara's "Multiple Authorship of the OE Orosius" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 343–52) analyzes post verbal constituents and supports Liggins' (1970, 1986) contention that Orosius must have had multiple translators or authors. Book VI is definitely different in style and vocabulary

from Book II. While it is impossible to totally deny that the differences may be due to the developing style of the author, the differences examined do prove to be statistically significant.

E. Guilfoyle contends, in "Nonfinite Clauses in Modern Irish and Old English" (*CLS* 29.1, 199–214), that some OE infinitivals were verbal nouns such as those found in Irish. Most of the article is spent demonstrating that nonfinite clauses in Southern Irish are best treated as VNP. Only one section is devoted to OE. G. Bergh and A. Seppänen, in "Subject Extraction in English: the Use of the *that*-Complementizer" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 131–43), use a historical corpus extracted from the Helsinki texts to study *that*-complementizers in all periods of English. *That*+gap or \emptyset +gap occurrences are examined. The *that*+gap constructions are more frequent in OE and have disappeared by later eModE. The \emptyset +gap constructions are more common in IModE. C. Castillo's " \emptyset -Relatives with Antecedent *þæt* and Free Relatives in OE and ME" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 171–77) notes that ModE relatives originated not only in OE indefinite free relatives with *hwæt* but also in *þæt* structures or \emptyset -relatives. The OE examples could be either \emptyset -relative or free relatives. The \emptyset -relative is most common in ModE. The analysis of OE and ME shows that a \emptyset -relative with an antecedent *þæt* is also the most desirable analysis. X. Dekeyser's "Aspects of Clausal Postmodification in Old English Prose: a Psycholinguistic Approach" (*Perspectives on English: Studies in Honour of Professor Emma Vorlat*, pp. 98–110) is a statistical validation of clausal adjunction as in O'Neil (1976) that focuses on the native *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* and the Latin translation of *Historia Ecclesiastica*. The representation of parataxis versus hypotaxis, case marking versus case neutral, and positioning by embedding or adjunction lead to the idea that there are three steps in the development of relative clauses: parataxis, adjunction and antecedent final positioning, and central embedding.

N. Ritt's *Quantity Adjustment: Vowel Lengthening and Shortening in Early Middle English* (x, 206 pp) is an interesting attempt to unify the explanations of a wide variety of stressed vowel lengthenings and shortenings in eME. The use of probabilistic representations frees the work from some annoying details, but the author does attempt to examine even idiosyncrasies within the large tendential pattern. The observance of Luick's details (1914–21) through what the author calls probabilistic laws leads to a unification of homorganic lengthening, open syllable lengthening, trisyllabic shortening, and preconsonantal cluster shortening—no mean feat. The methods of natural phonology do a good job of framing the observations, but the author seems to substitute the idea of law or rule on occasions for what might better be termed a probabalistic description. W.J. Idsardi's "Open and Closed Feet in Old English" (*Ling. Inquiry* 25, 522–23) proposes and demonstrates that a simplified bracketing grid analysis of open and closed feet in OE poetry is a more viable approach to the problems of metrics than high vowel deletion. The method

abandons the assumption that metrical boundaries always occur in pairs; an open foot is one with one boundary and a closed foot has a pair of boundaries.

H.F. Nielsen's "On the Origin and Spread of Initial Voiced Fricatives and the Phonemic Split of Fricatives in English and Dutch" (*Speaking in Our Tongues*, pp. 19-30) compares the titular problem in ME to that of Middle Dutch. Nielsen argues that the split of /f/, /s/, and /p/ into voiced and voiceless phonemes may have been due to contact between ME and Dutch and French. The failure of the initial voiced fricative to spread probably was connected to the phonemic split which occurred first in the north. The prestige of the London dialect with the voiceless initial fricative may have inhibited the spread north. A. Lutz, in "Vocalisation of 'Post-vocalic r': an Early Modern English Sound Change?" (*Studies in Early Modern English*, pp. 167-85) places the well known short vowel+/r/ and long vowel+/r/ developments in a larger historical and phonological context. Pre-OE breaking and retracting were caused by the weak consonants /l, r, h, w/ in weak positions that later vocalized. F. Kortlandt's "On Breaking" (*Northwestern European Lang. Evolution* 24, 15-19) very plausibly argues that OE, OFris, and Scan breaking, while similar, are different in time and conditions. Suggestions about analogical pressures, oppositions, and other phonological conditions lead the short article through a wide variety of data from scattered languages.

F. Colman, in "Old English Stress: Amorphous?" (*English Historical Linguistics 1992*, pp. 65-79), questions whether stress in OE was assigned on the basis of phonology or morphology. The author states that stress is morphologically based and provides an alternative analysis using dependency theory. While OE stress is morphologically sensitive, it is subject to post-lexical conditions. The proposed rule does not involve changing structures.

D.G. Miller's "The Runic Alphabet" (*Ancient Scripts and Phonological Knowledge*, Current Issues in Ling. Theory 116,

61-83) presents a discussion on PGmc phonology and the history of runic writing. The author critiques both the Lat and Mediterranean origin theories for runes. They don't have to have a single source. The gaps in the runes allow for ongoing phonetic changes in earlier Gmc languages. The mysteriousness associated with the runes and runic writing was probably also associated with an awe of literacy. J. Scathill's "Early Middle English Orthographies: Archaism and Particularism" (*Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 31, 16-22) observes a variety of attempts at localized spellings between the postulated history of IWS standard orthography that continued into the early thirteenth century standard AB language of the *Katherine* Group and the late fourteenth century professional *liberatim* copying that used the Caligula A.ix manuscript (*The Devil and the Nightingale*) compared to Oxford, Jesus College 29 and their common ancestor. The author finds one scribe basically used the spellings of his exemplar while the second was an innovator. The early innovations appear to be based on an attempt to render local phonology in a surviving tradition, here specifically the AB practices.

M.M.
K.D.T.

Works not seen:

- Biggam, Carole P. "Hæwenhnydele: an Anglo-Saxon Medicinal Plant." *Botanical Jnl of Scotland* 46 (1994), 617-22.
 Griffiths, Bill. *A User-Friendly Dictionary of Old English*. 3rd ed. Loughborough: Heart of Albion, 1993. 61 pp.
 Holland, Joan. "Dictionary of Old English: 1994 Progress Report." *Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 31 (1994), 28-30.
 Morini, Carla. "Lat. sulphur, i.a. sweff(e)l, ingl. dial. brimstone." *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientale, sezione germanica*, n.s. 4.1-2 (1994), 33-51.
 Sgarbi, Romano. "Su alcune funzioni del genere grammaticale indoeuropeo." *Aevum* 68 (1994), 3-7. [god]

3. Literature

a. General and Miscellaneous

Editions, Translations, and Introductions

A wit once defined an editor as someone whose business it is to separate the wheat from the chaff, and to keep the wheat out of print. Everyone can identify some chaff in the standard scholarly edition of the Exeter Book by Krapp and Dobbie (*ASPR* 3), though very possibly no one's litany of irritations is quite the same as yours or mine. Because the text is free of editorial brackets and italics, I hate learning only from the apparatus that what I've taken for a manuscript reading is actually an emendation. It would be compassionate to call the commentary dated, but maybe what most makes it seem like a sixty-year-old book is the way the Introduction pronounces on the dating of individual poems. What responsible editor today would assert that the language and meter of *The Gifts*

of *Men* and *Vainglory* point to a date in the late eighth century or early ninth? And I do not understand why even in 1936 the language of the codex was not thought worthy of serious consideration in the Introduction. If the justification is that it's so hard to draw reliable conclusions about the language of texts written in the poetic koine, or that the tenth-century linguistic features ought to interest us more than the apparently archaic ones, aren't these reasons to set out the facts in detail rather than omit them altogether? And why are vowel quantities not indicated in the text, given that the facts about acutes in the manuscript are recorded in a separate table, so that macrons in the text would not interfere with the presentation of that information? Unmarked quantities in a poetic text tell students that meter isn't worth bothering with, since the quantities are inconsequential. The editors' disregard of meter gets them into trouble, actually, since the text

is sometimes edited in defiance of meter—as in *Ic þe, ead mæg* (*Juliana* 352a)—though admittedly the problem is more acute in other *ASPR* volumes. But editing is hard and thankless work, and those who know no better than to engage in it deserve gratitude for the wheat they mill—which is considerable in the case of *ASPR* 3—rather than peevishness over the chaff. And so when I say that a great many of the general editorial features of Krapp and Dobbie's edition are shared by Bernard J. Muir's *Exeter Anthology of Old English Poetry: An Edition of Exeter Dean and Chapter MS 3501* (University of Exeter Press), in two volumes, it is neither praise nor criticism, but a kind of intertextual zen. In the Introduction to the first volume Muir provides a detailed description of the manuscript and its construction (as he has done in publications elsewhere), countering the argument of Patrick Conner that the codex comprises three now-disordered booklets. Also discussed are the literary structure of the anthology, the script, and corrections in the manuscript. On the authority (oddly) of N.F. Blake, in a brief section Muir dates all the poems to the reign of Alfred or later, with the possible exception of portions of *Widsith*. On the same authority, by reference to Blake's arguments in his 1964 edition of *The Phoenix*, there is a small amount of analysis of the language of the manuscript, but only for the purpose of justifying non-normalization of spelling as preserving evidence of tenth-century sound changes. The texts are edited very conservatively (that is, more conservatively than in *ASPR* 3), so that what other editors have considered scribal errors Muir regards as evidence of language change—for example *wic* for *wicg*. Several of the poems are given new titles: *Azarias*, for instance, becomes *The Canticles of the Three Youths*, and *The Gifts of Men* and *The Fortunes of Men* are given ungendered titles. The second volume is devoted to up-to-date critical and textual commentary on the poems. Most of this is not in fact newer than the information in *ASPR* 3, but that is understandable, since the sort of textual criticism involved has not been a fashionable enterprise in the second half of the twentieth century. Particularly useful, though, is the addition of syntactic analysis derived from Bruce Mitchell's substantial work on the syntax of poetry and a separate section for each poem on its sources and analogues. Rounding out the volume is a bibliography that is a corrected and expanded version of Muir's 1992 *Exeter Book: A Bibliography* (*YWOES* 1992, pp. 24–25). Welcome as the bibliography is, its division into four sections, by type and date of work cited, makes it something of a wandering wood, since references in the commentary do not indicate which section of the bibliography contains the work cited; nor do the running heads in the bibliography itself indicate which section one happens to be in at the moment. Aside from the updated commentary, then, the major innovation of this edition is its intense focus on the physical properties of the manuscript. This is apparent in everything from the handsome full-color facsimile of a folio that prefaces each volume (the leaves are 84v and 9r) to the critical apparatus, which is designed around Muir's findings about alterations and erasures

in the manuscript, along with a record of manuscript accents. It is convenient to have the information about alterations in the apparatus of an edition rather than as a list in an article.

Louis J. Rodrigues' *Anglo-Saxon Elegiac Verse* (Felinfach: Llanerch) is another in his lengthy series of editions with facing-page translations. There is a general introduction briefly and individually describing the texts, which are *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *The Riming Poem*, *Deor*, *Wulf and Eadwacer*, *The Wife's Lament*, *Resignation A and B*, *The Husband's Message*, *The Ruin*, and elegiac passages from longer works (*Beowulf* 2247–66 and 2444–62a, *Guthlac B* 1348–79, *Elene* 1236–86a, and *The Dream of the Rood* 122–48a). Several of the texts and translations are revisions of those in his earlier editions. The book closes with a 1993 conference paper, "Some Modern English Verse Renderings of *The Ruin*," in which he summarizes some earlier scholarship on the poem (particularly the views of Roy Leslie and Daniel Calder), outlines the structure and nature of Old English verse, and evaluates three translations.

Something's in the air. Suddenly Anglo-Saxonists are all writing tyros' guides to Old English literature. Will Generation X cave to the concerted pressure? André Crépin and Hélène Taurinya Dauby's discussion of Old English literature in their *Histoire de la littérature anglaise du moyen âge* (Paris: Nathan), pp. 9–50, is a very general specimen. Five short chapters cover the "Birth of England" (Gildas, Bede, Caedmon, and Aldhelm), the Alfredian period, the Benedictine Reform, the four poetic codices, and the diversity of Old English texts (covering mainly translations of scripture, Apollonius, and medical tracts). A more ambitious enterprise is *Old and Middle English Literature*, ed. Jeffrey Helterman and Jerome Mitchell, *Dictionary of Literary Biography*, 146 (Detroit: Gale), about one fifth of which is devoted to Old English. It is a collection of essays by various hands offering general introductions to the study of a number of authors (Ælfric, Alfred, Bede, Caedmon, Cynewulf) and some well-studied works (the Chronicle, *Maldon*, *Beowulf*, the Blickling Homilies, *Widsith*, *Waldere*, *Finnsburh*, *Judith*, the Riddles, *The Wanderer*, and *The Seafarer*). The intended audience, according to the Foreword, is advanced undergraduates and beginning graduate students. Each contribution begins with a handy list of works, manuscripts, and editions and ends with a list of "references"—which, however, are not always references, but apparently lists of recommended reading. Some of the essays strive merely to summarize critical trends, while others are argumentative. For example, Allen Frantzen argues the importance of reading Alfred with an eye on both his historical context and ours, and Jeffrey Helterman devotes nearly a fifth of his essay to an explanation of his reasons for thinking *Beowulf* a tenth-century composition. One of the attractive features of the book is a set of black-and-white illustrations of manuscript leaves from the works discussed. The volume also includes a short general introduction to Old English literature and a brief history of the language to 1500. In a similar vein, *Companion to Old English Poetry*

(Amsterdam: VU University Press), ed. Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr., is intended primarily for the use of undergraduates, and is designed not as a manual of Old English verse but as an introduction to recent critical trends, according to the Preface. Two of the essays fall under the rubric "general and miscellaneous." In "The Shorter Heroic Verse," pp. 79-94, Graham D. Caie examines *Deor*, *Widsith*, *Waldere*, *Brunanburh*, and *Maldon*, emphasizing the danger of reading these works from a Romantic standpoint as the few survivors of a vast body of lost heroic literature. He favors the view that they represent the product of a nascent tenth-century nationalism abetted by the Viking incursions. Each poem is summarized, and the major critical issues surrounding it mentioned very briefly. Allen J. Frantzen, in "The Diverse Nature of Old English Poetry," stresses the importance of looking at poems in their manuscript contexts in order to perceive their "eventfulness"—that is, their participation in and contribution to Anglo-Saxon culture as a whole. He faults the practice of editing poems in isolation from the prose contexts in which some of them occur, since this lends them a quality of literariness that is more proper to twentieth-century conceptions of the function of poetry than to Anglo-Saxon ones. Because our own singular preoccupation with heroic verse was not shared by the makers of Old English manuscripts, greater attention is needed, he concludes, to devotional verse, "lusterless" as it is.

Roberta Frank begins her contribution "Old English Poetry" to *The Columbia History of British Poetry*, ed. Carl Woodring (New York: Columbia Univ. Press), pp. 1-22, with an assessment of how Old English verse has always occupied the margins in histories of English verse, and then she offers an account of the manuscript remains and of the language of verse, stressing the relationship between form and meaning, and the ability of a formula in context to conjure familiar associations from other contexts in which it has been used. There follows a survey of the surviving verse, grouped into three categories, mythological (i.e. biblical), heroic, and wisdom poetry (including lyrics).

"The repressed" in the title of Roy Michael Liuzza's "Return of the Repressed: Old and New Theories in Old English Literary Criticism," in *Old English Shorter Poems: Basic Readings* (New York: Garland, 1994), pp. 103-47, refers to the contextual and critical modes that must be bracketed for any new hermeneutic approach to make its case. Liuzza interprets the history of Old English literary studies as a process of reconjuring such elements repressed by earlier generations of scholars. He offers a historical survey, starting with the advent of New Criticism, which he sees as having incorporated, in the course of its development in Old English studies, the philology of its critical predecessors. The challenges to this new status quo posed by oral-formulaic theory and exegetical criticism are examined, and the more recent developments of these two schools of thought identified: in the former case, the critical preoccupation with the interface of orality and literacy, along with the nature of orality as a mode of dis-

course; in the latter case, the *SASLC* and *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* projects. Liuzza ends with a defense of postmodern critical trends (as both a pursuit of traditional interests and a new way of looking at texts as radically contingent) and of textual conservatism, since he sees manuscript studies as the best way to bridge the gap between "scholarship" and "criticism."

Language and Meter

In "Experienced Time in Old English Texts and Illuminations," *SN* 66 (1994), 27-34, Peter Richardson argues that verbal aspect can serve the function of a discourse marker in Old English verse. For example, in Grendel's final approach to Heorot the sequence of three *cōm* + infinitive periphrases (a construction Richardson considers imperfective) serves to heighten the suspense. Shifts between ingressive and imperfective aspect contribute to the acceleration of drama in the sacrifice of Isaac in *Genesis A* and in Byrhtnoth's granting of safe passage to the Vikings in *Maldon*. Parallels may be discerned in pictorial narrative: for example, clustering of temporally distinct actions in a single scene and duplication of figures are features comparable to such manipulations of aspect, as seen in the Bayeux tapestry and in manuscript illuminations of the translation of Enoch and the sacrifice of Isaac. Richardson concludes that these observations cast doubt on the contention that aspect as a grammatical category is not relevant to Old English (Bruce Mitchell's view) and that it was not used for discourse purposes (Paul Hopper's view).

Roberta Frank's "Poetic Words in Late Old English Prose," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad, 87-107 (Oxford: Clarendon), is an important contribution to the study of Old English style, pragmatics, and dialectology. Frank examines fifteen poetic words (*brytta*, *guma*, *wiga*, *blst*, *folde*, *folm* [-e, -a], *hyge*, *swegl*, *ferhð*, *þrð*, *wrtlic*, *blæcan*, [ge]drēosan, *sefa*, and *heolstor*) that appear occasionally in late prose, and finds that the incidence of such words outside of verse is unrelated to date or dialect. The words, rather, tend to serve the purpose of producing local effects, as when Bede's Old English translator heroicizes and distances the Saxon invaders of 499 by referring to them as *wigan*. A significant implication (though not one pursued in regard to any particular piece of prose) is that the identification of a text's provenance on the basis of "poetic," "archaic," or "dialectal" vocabulary is not as straightforward as some have thought.

Jun Terasawa's *Nominal Compounds in Old English: A Metrical Approach*, *Anglistica* 27 (Copenhagen: Rosenkilde & Bagger) is a revision of his 1989 Brown University dissertation. Terasawa's aim is "to show that the formation of Old English compounds is governed by a high degree of metrical constraint and that the absence of some compounds can be systematically explained on metrical grounds." As pointed out by Hans Weyhe in 1905, compounds like **hilde-fruma* are generally avoided in Old English verse, while those like *hild-fruma* and *hilde-bord* are common. Terasawa finds that for-

mations like **beado-fruma* are also avoided, and he explains apparent exceptions to both regularities in *Beowulf*: *hild-gicelum* and *fæder-æpelum* have a merely orthographic *e* in the second element that ought to have been syncopated in the course of the Old English period; *aldor-ceare* and *wæter-egesan* have an epenthetic vowel before *r* in the first element; *inwit-searo* has secondary stress on *-wit-*; and *Hrefna-wudu* is not a genuine compound, since the first element is inflected. A true exception, however, is *mere-faran*. The prohibition on **hilde-fruma* dictates that verses like *tō aldorceare* (*Beowulf* 906b) must be scanned not as belonging to type B (as Sievers and Pope would have it) but to type C. Terasawa extends epenthetic status to some vowels that are etymological, as in *gomen-wudu* and *ofer-mægene*, and calls this "pseudo-epenthesis," a phenomenon he believes is much commoner in religious verse than in heroic and elegiac poems. Yet there are regular exceptions: for example, he argues that in *Andreas* pseudo-epenthetic vowels count as drops after long syllables (as in *æfter ceasterhofum* 1237a, with resolved *-hofum*) but not after short ones (as in *æþelcnynges ār* 1679a, in which the first *e* should be ignored). The constraint on compounds of the pattern **hilde-fruma* and **here-fruma* does not apply to prose, in which structures of this sort are common enough, and so the motivation for the constraint must be poetic or metrical. This constraint, Terasawa argues, should be of help in distinguishing compounds from non-compounds, as with many *belle-* compounds that he believes should be regarded as pairs of simplices. He locates the motivation for the metrical rule in an avoidance of resolved secondary lifts and of self-alliterating compounds. Finally he notes that the rule does not apply to Old Saxon verse, while in Old Icelandic verse the exceptions are very few. The book is rounded out by appendices listing compounds of the type with *hilde-* and *beadu-* as the first element (for which the greater part of the Old English poetic corpus is surveyed), along with exceptions to the rule. There are also indices of words and Old English texts cited.

Timo Lauttamus, in "Metrical Structures in Finnish and Old English Prosody," *NM* 95 (1994), 273–306, supports the hypothesis that Finnish grade alternation and gemination are products of the same trend seen in the Germanic avoidance of monomoraic syllables under primary stress (Prokosch's law). The bulk of the article is devoted to summarizing the relevant facts of standard and dialectal Finnish and of Old English, as analyzed in the tradition of metrical phonology. It includes an analysis of West Germanic gemination that leads Lauttamus to a now generally disfavored conclusion, that a form like Gmc. **satjan* had an open initial syllable. Ultimately he concludes that the prosodic similarities between Finnish and Old English are not due to direct influence, since the Finnish phenomena are much younger, and are not restricted to initial (stressed) position.

In "Metrical and Alliterative Relationships in Old English and Old Saxon Verse," *SP* 91 (1994), 1–12, Edwin Duncan looks for ways that alliteration and the relative heaviness of verses can be linked. He finds that single alliteration is com-

mon in "basic" verse types (i.e. those with roughly the minimum required stress and syllable count), and thus may appear in either half of the verse line, while "increased" subtypes (verses of types A and D with more, or more highly stressed, syllables) virtually require double alliteration, and so are generally restricted to the on-verse. (Calvin Kendall made a similar observation about stress in regard to verses of type D in *ASE* 10 [1982], 39–52, and though Duncan seems unaware of this, his refinements of the point and his close attention to type A are welcome contributions to the discussion.) He finds a comparable distribution of alliterative types in the *Heliand*, though the distinctions there are not quite as sharp. One difference between the two traditions is that the stress pattern of *fēasceaft finden* is nearly always restricted to the on-verse in *Beowulf*, while it is actually commoner in the off-verse in the *Heliand*; and yet not all Old English poems are like *Beowulf* in this regard. This may constitute a stylistic preference on the part of the *Beowulf* poet. With some qualifications it can also be said that heavier drops in type A favor double alliteration in both languages. Anacrusis is less severely restricted in Old Saxon, and Duncan sees this and the other differences discussed in this article as evidence that the *Heliand* illustrates a disintegrating metrical tradition.

In the article immediately after Duncan's in this issue of *SP*, titled "The Realizations of Tertiary Stress in Old English Poetry," pp. 13–34, B.R. Hutcheson suggests a method for distinguishing the conditions under which syllables bearing tertiary stress are treated metrically like those bearing secondary stress and those under which they behave like unstressed syllables. After examining compound proper names in a corpus of approximately ten thousand lines of verse he concludes that the second elements are non-ictic in trisyllabic names (a conclusion for which he must accept A.J. Bliss's analysis of verses like *Bēowulf gebāh* 1024b as metrically equivalent to *lissa gelong* 2150a), but not generally in longer names (e.g. in *Eormenrices* 1201a). Hence he constructs a rule, "Words with tertiary stress acquire a secondary stress on the tertiary stress syllable if and only if they contain a string of at least three syllables, each of which bears a lower degree of stress than true secondary stress." He then demonstrates the accuracy of the rule in regard to a variety of suffixes bearing tertiary stress (*-ing*, *-lic*, *-lēas*, etc.). Apparent exceptions like *flugon forhtigende* (*Exodus* 453a) are probably to be explained as requiring syncopation of *i*. Short syllables, on the other hand (as in *-scipe* and preterite *-ode*), seem never to bear the equivalent of secondary stress, and so metrical ictus at the tertiary level would seem to depend on syllable length rather than stress. Finally he adds a qualification to his rule: "If there is another stressed word in the verse, the secondary stress from raised tertiary stress should be marked metrically as an unstress, with the understanding that this is merely a device to enhance the descriptive power of the metrical system." The proviso is intended to make explicit the difference between verses like *kynn Æðelrædes* (*Death of Edward* 18b) and *bēan hygegeōmor* (*Genesis A* 879a), which must be metrically differ-

ent because they are distributed differently, the type with true secondary stress being restricted to the on-verse. (As Duncan's article shows, the distributional restriction is due to constraints on alliteration in the off-verse; yet the requirement of double alliteration in the latter type must be related to the greater degree of stress.)

Textual Criticism

The Editing of Old English (Oxford: Blackwell) is a collection of Fred C. Robinson's articles, the earliest dating to 1962, that "discuss or exemplify a variety of issues which must be engaged in conceiving and preparing an edition of an Old English text." The volume is divided into four sections, "Text and Manuscript," "Textual Criticism," "Linguistic Studies of Old English," and "Three Editions of Old English Texts." A few of the articles have brief afterwords dated 1993 appended to them, and one article, "'The Rewards of Piety': 'Two' Old English Poems in Their Manuscript Context," has been revised to include an edition and translation of what in the *ASPR* edition are called *An Exhortation to Christian Living* and *A Summons to Prayer*. Just one essay, a brief note, is entirely new: in "Eve's 'Weaker' Mind in *Genesis B*, Line 590" Robinson supports Jane Chance's argument that the poet's remark about Eve, *hefde hire wācran hige / metod gemearcod*, does not mean that she was less intelligent than Adam, but that she was less courageous, since the tempter succeeds in persuading her only by means of threats. It makes no sense to suppose Eve was regarded as less intelligent, since "Germanic people regarded women as having minds which men held in especial esteem because women enjoyed a superior understanding of things." The word *wāc* does not actually mean 'weak', he argues, but 'pliant', and is commonly used both in Old English and Old Saxon to refer to the fainthearted.

The publication of the proceedings of the 1990 conference "The Editing of Old English Texts," held at the University of Manchester, marks 1994 as an important year for Old English textual studies. Unfortunately bearing the same title as Robinson's collection, *The Editing of Old English*, ed. D.G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach (Cambridge: D.S. Brewer), offers a bracing variety of viewpoints on both the theory and the practice of editing. Six of the essays belong to the category "general and miscellaneous":

Graham D. Caie joins the ranks of the many who have argued in recent years for the importance of examining poetry in its manuscript context. In "Text and Context in Editing Old English: The Case of the Poetry in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 201," pp. 155-62, he argues for close interrelations among the poems *Judgment Day II*, *An Exhortation to Christian Living*, *A Summons to Prayer*, *The Lord's Prayer II*, and *Gloria I*. The second begins with a reference to *þæt blōwende rice* mentioned in the colophon to the first poem, and Fred Robinson has shown that the second and third poems must really be regarded as one (see above). Thus, these three form an unmistakable group. The last two are in a later hand, and show some verbal similarities to each other.

The two groups, Caie argues, should be viewed as together constituting the equivalent of a penitential sermon, setting the proper mood at the start with the eschatological imagery of Doomsday, and then leading the penitent through the stages of repentance and absolution.

In "The Electronic Edition," pp. 27-37, Marilyn Deegan and Peter Robinson outline the process of constructing a scholarly edition and suggest which aspects of the work might best be automated by the use of computers. There is a discussion of the Text Encoding Initiative (TEI), proposed as a standard for electronic editing. An example is provided of how it encodes textual features in Standard Generalized Markup Language so that they may be transmitted over the Internet, translated to typesetting codes, and so forth. Some other uses for computer technology are digital image processing of damaged manuscript texts, collation of variants (for which Robinson's program *Collate* is designed), construction of glossaries, linguistic analyses, and the location of sources and parallels. Finally, Deegan and Robinson advocate the publication of electronic hypertext editions as a supplement to paper editions, "allowing the editor to present not only the edited text but also all the materials which were used in the preparation of the edition and upon which editorial decisions were based," such as transcripts and, possibly, digitized images of all the manuscripts collated.

Malcolm Godden discusses the editorial history of King Alfred's translation of Boethius' *Consolatio philosophiae*, and the problems the text poses, in "Editing Old English and the Problem of Alfred's *Boethius*," pp. 163-76. Neither Walter Sedgefield's nor Kenneth Sisam's account of the relation between the Cotton and Bodley manuscripts is plausible: it seems that neither version is simply a draft, but that both the prose and the poetic versions were intended for circulation, perhaps to different audiences. A new edition is badly needed, and particularly one that gives a full text of the Cotton version, since the differences between the two recensions are not all due to copyists' alterations, but may reflect Alfred's own editorial changes. Such a task will be a difficult one, since the charred manuscript and the vagaries of Franciscus Junius' transcriptions and collations of it present formidable obstacles. The task will "involve a fair degree of editorial intervention," and if done properly it should produce a "clean and readable text" for those interested in Alfred's style and thought rather than his orthography and morphology. Godden himself hopes to undertake the task at a future date. The article ends with a reconstruction of the opening section of the Cotton manuscript, extending from the prose and verse prefaces to what Krapp designates as the third meter.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe's argument rests upon three preliminary assumptions that she states at the outset of "Editing and the Material Text," pp. 147-54: (1) Old English written texts evince transitional literacy, displaying residual oral features; (2) literacy such as our own is historically contingent, not a transcendent mode of perception; (3) medieval texts, therefore, ought not to be read the disembodied way

we read modern texts. Taking modern editions of *Solomon and Saturn I* as her example, she characterizes the usual editorial practice of separating texts from their manuscript contexts as a denial of history that “presumes that the relationship of medieval and modern reader can be unmediated.” Old English texts are not abstractions to be emended back to their “original” state, but are inseparable from the medium in which they are preserved. Despite these conclusions O’Keeffe says she does not wish to do away with contemporary methods of editing poems, but to supplement usual modes of display with (1) presentation of the material that forms the manuscript context of the text to be edited, and (2) facing-page diplomatic texts of each manuscript version of the main text, reproducing features like manuscript spacing, accents, capitals, and so forth. Careful diplomatic editions, she believes, offer more particular information than facsimiles, which “may often be visually ambiguous.”

After her characterization of textual emendation as a “flight from history” one might have supposed O’Keeffe would advocate a less moderate sort of edition. Similarly (but conversely), Michael Lapidge, in “On the Emendation of Old English Texts,” pp. 53–67, starts from the position that it is absurd to edit Latin texts liberally (establishing “what the author wrote”) if Old English ones are to be edited conservatively (retaining “disturbed” manuscript readings), especially when they have been copied into the same manuscript by the same scribe; yet ultimately he also advocates a textual practice that is quite moderate. After a brief characterization of Classical editing and its rationale, Lapidge traces a concise history of the editing of *Beowulf*, starting with Thorkelin’s edition and the influence of Classical scholarship on it and its immediate successors. By the 1890s, he says, conservative textual practices were gaining ground, but it was Trautmann’s edition of 1904 that incurred universal indignation and provoked a conservative reaction that dominates Old English editorial methods to this day, when conservatives “have now silenced the opposition of those critics who would in principle think that corruptly transmitted texts require to be emended.” The history of Old English textual criticism has been one of extremes, veering between sometimes reckless emendation and unreasonable refusal to emend, he concludes, and he advocates a more balanced attitude than is now generally held.

From the example of O’Keeffe and Lapidge’s arguments it might seem as if, for all the heat that current debate over textual editing generates, the practical consequences of assuming one or another position are small. Yet A.N. Doane demonstrates that this is not the case in “The Ethnography of Scribal Writing and Anglo-Saxon Poetry: Scribe as Performer,” *Oral Tradition* 9 (1994), 420–39, where he argues that spacing, word division, and diacritics in poetic manuscripts are indicators of performance features. He compares the two versions of *Soul and Body*, asserting that the spacing of the Vercelli version is lexical, and thus the “presentation is relatively flat and ‘prosy’ in its presentation,” as appropriate to a volume of homilies. The spacing in the Exeter version, on

the other hand, is phrasal, and thus “encourages a rhetorical, ‘histrionic’ oralization.” The use of such manuscript features as spacing and accents to indicate performative features may have been learned from neumed Latin texts, some of which appear in the very manuscripts in which some Old English poems are preserved. As for the editorial consequences of this argument, because the scribe is more responsible to the demands of present performance than to the preservation of an authorized text, it is fruitless to seek an “original” poem, as editors, Doane supposes, customarily do. He illustrates the implications of this analysis for editorial practice in his contribution to *The Editing of Old English*, titled “Editing Old English Oral/Written Texts: Problems of Method (with an Illustrative Edition of Charm 4, *Wīð Færstice*,” pp. 125–45. He expresses his dissatisfaction with scholarly editions of verse because they edit out the oral features of texts. He does not count as “oral features” the editorial consequences of metrical analysis (verse division, marking of long vowels, various emendations) because they are based on “a theory of meter usually comprehensible and practicable mainly to its progenitor,” and thus meter is a visual rather than an auditory feature. Historical phonology, too, is irrelevant, since it is concerned with “the problems of grapholectics” rather than “actual speech.” An editor’s own “aural intuition” is a better guide to oral features than either of these, especially when guided by spacing, pointing, and accents, which, he believes, indicate phrasing, pause, and pitch. He illustrates with an edition of a metrical charm, using spacing, points, and line division to indicate pacing, according no influence to meter or alliteration. As a result, the physical display of the text is quite unlike any Old English text as it is usually edited. The article includes a facsimile of the poem in manuscript and a commentary on individual lines.

Orality, Literacy, and Formulaic Theory

David Wayne Morse offers “A Natural Progression: Cognitive Metaphor as a Structuring Principle in Old English Literature,” 1994 diss. Univ. of Southern California, *DAI* 55A (1994), 1555, as a critique of oral-formulaic theory. He uses a theory of cognitive metaphor to explain the conceptual framework of oral-formulaic compositions and the ability of poets to adapt traditional heroic material to Christian purposes. The theory claims that “human cognition is shaped through the projection of image schemata from our physical experience onto abstract concepts.” *The Wanderer*, *The Seafarer*, *The Dream of the Rood*, and *Beowulf* are studied, and particularly their themes and type-scenes, to show how the theory explains their conceptual structures and their religious use of pre-Christian conventions.

Intertextuality

Guy Bourquin, in “The Lexis and Deixis of the Hero in Old English Poetry,” *Heroes and Heroines in Medieval Literature: A Festschrift presented to André Crépin on the Occasion of His Sixty-Fifth Birthday* (Cambridge: Brewer), pp. 1–18, defines

the "lexis" of the hero as the amalgam of the hero's features discernible in the sum total of the Old English heroic intertext, while the "deixis" of the hero is the link between the hero's disparate roles as fame-seeking agent (cynosure) and as helper of others, a subservient position. He surveys nearly all the longer poetic narratives, examining their vocabulary of lexis (courage, perseverance, sagacity, etc.) and deixis (manifestation, signaling, teaching, etc.), before examining each text individually, finding that *The Dream of the Rood* is the most paradigmatic. His larger argument is that the deictic conflict is "not a static paradox but a dialectic process" in which heroism is achieved by a balance of the two roles.

Roberta Frank's formidable scholarship is never more engaging than when she writes about skaldic verse, and her "King Cnut in the Verse of His Skalds," in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander R. Rumble (London: Leicester Univ. Press; Rutherford: Fairleigh Dickinson Univ. Press), is no exception. Tracing an amalgam of English and Scandinavian features in skaldic tributes to Cnut, she shows that his court poets portray him as a descendant of Ívarr Ragnarsson, and thus they intimate his legitimacy as King of England, sprung as he is from the founding family among Danish settlers. They also stress his military might by alluding continually to the length of his warships. His good relations with heaven are an especial preoccupation, as illustrated most strikingly in Hallvarðr háreksblesi's praise poem (of which she provides an edition and an unprecedented translation), which Christian and pagan kennings cohabit peaceably.

In "Sign and Psyche in Old English Poetry," *Amer. Jnl. of Semiotics* 9.4 (1992), 11-26, John D. Niles attempts a "conceptual overview" of Old English verse, beginning with an analysis of Beowulf's coat of mail (lines 404-405). This he finds serves a variety of functions: it is deictic, punctuating the hero's speech to Hrothgar; it is iconic, marking Beowulf as worthy; it is metaphoric, its texture corresponding to the web of human society; and it is symbolic, its brightness analogizing that of Heorot itself. Various iconographic signs (the light in the cave, the melting sword, images of defense, particularly the land itself) signal a myth of salvation that is one of the vestigial texts contributing to the extant poem. Walls also function in this way in a variety of lyrics, sealing happiness within them in the human community, and keeping out indifferent nature. Such icons suggest a "fortress mentality" that demanded self-defense even beyond the grave, at least till the arrival of Christianity.

In "Like a Duck to Water: Representations of Aquatic Animals in Early Anglo-Saxon Literature and Art," *Leeds Studies in English* n.s. 25 (1994), 29-68, Paul Sorrell examines fish and other aquatic creatures as represented in literary and material artifacts, with an eye to showing that animals were conceptualized and categorized on the basis of habitat, means and mode of locomotion, and physical attributes, and that an animal becomes especially worthy of remark, to the Anglo-Saxon mind, when its form seems to conflict with its conven-

tional environment. Water is remarkable because it is conceived as an environment in which an animal is a *gæst*, regardless of whether water is its normal habitat. Graphic representations of water creatures share with literary ones the feature of showing them in motion, reinforcing the importance of locomotion for taxonomy. The principle of appropriateness of environment suggests that the animal in the center of the Witham bowl that is usually identified as a dog might more properly be regarded as an otter. Finally, comparisons are drawn between Isidore's modes of classification and the English ones highlighted by Sorrell. The literary texts studied include *Beowulf*, the Riddles (including Aldhelm's), *The Phoenix*, and some shorter lyrics; material objects analyzed include the Franks casket, various manuscript illuminations, and four early hanging-bowls.

Nida-Louise Surber-Meyer's *Gift and Exchange in the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Corpus: A Contribution towards the Representation of Wealth* (Genève: Editions Slatkine) is her 1993 University of Geneva thesis, which examines the representation of gift-giving and exchange in verse in the light of anthropological field work and genuine Anglo-Saxon practice. As discussed in the first chapter, wills, writs, charters, and laws show that "payments in the form we now know were the actual practice in Anglo-Saxon England," in contrast to the more archaic social organization portrayed in verse. The evidence of legal documents in regard to gifts in perpetuity and the treatment of theft are offered as particularly strong evidence for a more modern system of transactions than is usually perceived in Old English verse. The second chapter surveys anthropological approaches to gift-giving, starting with the work of Marcel Mauss, and examining the supposed semantic association of gifts and poison (a myth, she concludes), the gift's ability both to represent and constitute social relations, its articulation in time, the "labor required to conceal the [economic] function of exchanges," and the different uses of symbolic and economic capital. This chapter also examines scholarship specifically on gift and exchange in Old English verse, randomly covering such topics as the distinction between royal and tribal income, the etymological connection between getting and begetting, and the high degree of synonymy in terms for treasures. In the third chapter Surber-Meyer takes up four discrete topics in turn: she samples Anglo-Saxon and Continental attitudes toward hoarding; locates evidence that early Germanic peoples recognized the symbolic significance of gift-giving (with particular attention to marriage customs); demonstrates how treasure is personified; and highlights inconsistencies in the valuation of signs, including treasure. In the closing section of the chapter she catalogues instances in the poetry in which wealth fulfills particular semiotic functions: for example, Wulfgar's assessment of the arriving Geats in *Beowulf* is predicated on the splendor of their armor. The aim of the final chapter is to demonstrate that the economy of the world described in verse is not simply one of gift-giving, but of exchange, characterizing it as far more commercial than has generally been supposed. This is true

especially of devotional verse, but it is also true of heroic poetry. *Beowulf* in particular offers a critique of the archaic gift-giving system at the same time that it succeeds in achieving the difficult balance between generosity and avarice that such a system demands. The volume is rounded out by eight appendices listing (not exhaustively) the vocabulary of gift and exchange in the poetic corpus and providing frequency tables for the major lexical items in verse and in historical documents. The book is generally worth the considerable effort it demands of the reader. The direction of the argument is frequently difficult to grasp, a problem aggravated by often mysterious prose. An example: "If Mauss's list of benefits one receives by giving away, (also through potlach which for him is but a subkind of circulation of wealth), contains in it 'talisman' and 'mana', that we no longer attach to it, 'honour', 'prestige', 'authority' and 'source for [ulterior] wealth', do not date at all and consequently have not changed Mauss (1969: 6)." Any questions?

Old English humor is worth taking seriously, argues Jonathan Wilcox, "Anglo-Saxon Literary Humor: Towards a Taxonomy," *Tbalia: Studies in Literary Humor* 14 (1994), 9–20. Old English laughter is sobering stuff, since it does not often express amusement (cf. *YWOES* 1992, p. 27), but ignorance of fate (as with Byrhtnoth's laughter in *Maldon*), or overflow of emotion (as when Constantine learns that the true cross has been found in *Elene*), or ignorance of the folly of this world (as in some homiletic literature). In the face of such a discouraging set of prospects Wilcox sets out to find and taxonomize traces of humor. The major categories are puns and other types of verbal ingenuity (e.g. in Byrhtnoth's ironic response to the Viking messenger and in the sexually suggestive riddles), parody (e.g. in the mock approach-to-battle type-scene of Grendel's final night at Heorot), and comic plots (e.g. in the confusion over who is *se forliden man* in *Apollonius of Tyre*).

Eleanor Marion Sumpter, in "The Fantastic versus the Merely Extraordinary in Medieval English Literature," 1993 diss. Univ. of Washington, *DAI* 55a (1994), 274, argues that the truly fantastic is indeed to be found in medieval literature, though it is not common. Most of what is commonly termed "fantastic" is merely marvelous, since it is not actually "a literary expression of the pre-social and pre-linguistic stage in human development," and since it reinforces social values rather than attacking them. Grendel and some religious and secular heroes are examples of fantasy. Sumpter finds that fantasy is a "rare but powerful element in Anglo-Saxon literature," becoming "prolific but somewhat attenuated" in Middle English. In "Riddles of Subjectivity in Old English Poetry," 1993 diss. Cornell Univ., *DAI* 54a (1994), 3742, John William Tanke combines rhetorical and ideological analysis to examine the Exeter Riddles, *The Dream of the Rood*, and Cynewulf's runic signatures. These, he argues, present riddles that are unsolvable because in their subjectivity they present texts necessarily cryptic to themselves. The material dealing with Old English in Robin Jack Waugh's "The Word Made Death:

Competition in Old English and Old Norse Heroic Literature," 1993 diss. Queen's Univ. at Kingston, *DAI* 55A (1994), 85, seems to pertain primarily to *Beowulf*. Waugh argues that competition is at the heart of this body of literature. The chapters examine competition in regard to a hero's renown and to oral communication, arguing in reference to the latter that Hrothgar's "sermon" and *Beowulf*'s long speech to Hygelac both represent competition with the poet-narrator himself. In "The Riddle of Creation: Some Metaphor Structures in Old English Poetry," 1993 diss. Univ. of Toronto, *DAI* 55a (1994), 561, Ruth Cecile Wehlau contends that a particular set of metaphors of binding and enclosure characterize descriptions of "chaos and order in both the human body and the cosmos." The metaphors studied allude particularly to architecture and the body. Texts examined include *Andreas*, *Beowulf*, and the Exeter Riddles.

Gender Studies

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, in "Old English Women, Old English Men: A Reconsideration of 'Minor' Characters," in *Old English Shorter Poems* (as above), pp. 65–83, cites the *Norton Anthology of English Literature* in evidence of the claim that most of us think of Anglo-Saxon society as a heroic culture from beginning to end, and thus productive of a literature that marginalizes the deeds of women and suppresses their point of view. Defining a feminist approach as one that offers the possibility of a female point of view, Olsen criticizes the work of Gillian Overing for accepting patriarchal assumptions about women's passivity and victimization. She sets out to find counterevidence in two Old English lyrics. *Deor*, she says, is not about heroic tradition but about human misfortune, and this is what makes Beadohild's story as relevant as *Welund's* to the theme. In *Wulf and Eadwacer*, if *widlastum* is taken to be an adjective it is possible to translate line 9 "I waited for my Wulf with wide-ranging expectations," giving us the speaker's "point of view rather than merely her desire." A number of other readings are proposed for the poem that favor an analysis of the speaker as dealing with public rather than personal issues, characterizing her as "a woman of power and autonomy, concerned with the fate of her people, rather than a woman suffering loss."

I was set to make a smart remark here about this increasingly fashionable practice of turning E. Talbot Donaldson's remarks in the fifth edition of the *Norton Anthology* into scholarly consensus (given that Allen J. Frantzen uses them in a similar way in his book *The Desire for Origins*, where he calls the *Norton* a "register of received opinions"). But I felt somewhat chastened by Helen T. Bennett's "Exile and Semiosis of Gender in Old English Elegies," in *Class and Gender in Early English Literature*, ed. Britton J. Harwood and Gillian R. Overing (Bloomington: Indiana Univ. Press), pp. 43–58, which does indeed demonstrate Olsen's point about popular belief by arguing that the world of Old English poetry is a heroic one that leaves women only non-roles to play. In *The Wanderer* and *The Seafarer* even exiles play a kind of anti-role

within the class structure, a role that is eventually transmuted into one of community with God, replicating the patriarchal structure of this life in the next. Thus gender is class, since women are excluded, being the real exiles. These poems reflect metaphoric uses of language, which are associated with male language and characterized by a Hegelian sort of synthesis of dialectics, as evident in the speakers' faith that trust in God will produce unity and closure. *The Wife's Lament* and *Wulf and Eadwacer*, on the other hand, employ metonymic features typical of women's language, features that resist conclusion and decisive interpretation: both speakers in the end see no possible resolution to the forms of separation that afflict them, and do not invoke God as the solution. In the end, though, Bennett does in part concede Olsen's objection to this line of reasoning, remarking that "the exclusively male structure of Anglo-Saxon heroic society . . . is partially a product of the modern academic tradition of literary interpretation," making sign interpretation a gendered process. But by a concerted effort at self-consciousness on the part of sign interpreters, she concludes, the markedness structure of the male-female dyad may eventually evolve into something more beneficent.

Susan E. Deskis, in "The Gnostic Woman in Old English Poetry," *PQ* 73 (1994), 133-49, examines the representation of women in gnomic verse, arguing that by limiting such a survey to a single genre, and one that can readily be compared to a related body of Latin material, we can get a clearer sense of actual Anglo-Saxon attitudes toward women. With the exception only of the misogynist strictures of *Precepts* 34-42, the Old English gnomic corpus does not partake of the vicious antifeminism of the Latin tradition. Deskis cites parallels in Old Icelandic, in Old English, and in Gildas to support the view that the tree image at *Maxims I* 25b-26 metaphorically indicates that mourning for lost children was perceived as an important aspect of the parental role. In the context of other gnomes that signal the appropriateness of a woman's bearing rings and jewels, the reference at *Maxims I* 81 to a king's "buying" his queen may be no more than a description of a *morgengifu*; and in any case the remainder of the passage advocates a respect for women's advice that is unparalleled in European gnomic literature of the time (in agreement with Fred Robinson's view, above). Comparison to other Old English gnomes suggests that the advice on avoiding marriage at *Maxims II* 43b-45a is ironic, and thus of a piece with the condemnation of infidelity implicit in *Maxims I* 100-102 and 63b-65. Despite the venom that studies of Anglo-Saxon gender issues have produced in recent years, articles like Olsen's, Bennett's, and Deskis' demonstrate that there are issues here that are really worth doing battle over.

Eric G. Stanley's interests are of a different sort: he believes that virgin martyrs are not to the taste of late twentieth-century Anglo-Saxonists. (The dissertations mentioned below seem to be in disagreement.) In "Heroic Women in Old English Literature," *Heroes and Heroines* (as above), pp. 59-69, his response is that it was the religious lesson of these

women's stories that appealed to their medieval audience but fails to pique the interest of moderns. After touching briefly on Ælfric's life of St. Eugenia, Stanley devotes the remainder of the article to a summary of Cynewulf's *Juliana* and modern critical views of it, concluding that it is the virgins' patience and fortitude that makes them heroic. In his characteristic eclectic style, he ends by remarking the antifeminism inherent in the Church Fathers' praise of virgin martyrs (who prove that women can rise above their inherent moral weakness) and in Leopold von Ranke's apparent disapproval of Queen Christina of Sweden's conversion to Catholicism, to which Stanley counterposes women's adaptations of Æsop's lion fable in *The Spectator* and *The Wife of Bath's Prologue*.

In "Body and Soul: Sexuality and Sanctity in the English Lives of Women Saints, 800-1500," 1993 diss. Brown Univ., *DAI* 54A (1994), 3741, Nancy Lynne Conner reevaluates female saints' lives, arguing that they portray four types: "the virgin martyr, the transvestite saint, the penitent whore, and the holy mother." She sees the sanctity of saints like Agatha and Juliana as tied to their sexuality, and she reads such hagiographies as offering women models for the expression of spirituality. She also correlates developments in the genre to social change over the course of the period, arguing that emphasis on virginity and suffering eventually replaces emphasis on the saints' wisdom. Dorothy Patricia Wallace, in "Religious Women and Their Men: Images of the Feminine in Anglo-Saxon Literature," 1994 diss. Cornell Univ., *DAI* 55a (1994), 1259, examines the treatment of women in Old English literature in comparison to its source materials and finds that treatment unique. Women in these works are conduits of wisdom and of "social, rhetorical, and linguistic transformations." Figures discussed include the women of the eighth-century "Boniface Correspondence," of Bede's commentary on Proverbs, of religious verse, and of hagiography.

R.D.F.

b. Individual Poems

Andreas

Andreas, like most saints' lives, includes depictions of torture. Christopher Fee relates that violence to the depiction of writing in "Productive Destruction: Torture, Text, and the Body in the Old English *Andreas*" (*Essays in Medieval Studies* 11, 51-62). Drawing on the methodologies of Frantzen, Lerer, Dinshaw, and Scarry, Fee aims to demonstrate that "writing, broadly defined, is a central and unifying activity throughout *Andreas*" (59). He pays particular attention to three aspects of the poem: the Mermedonians record of the death-day of their victims (lines 134-7), which he sees as an inversion of the normally productive activity of writing; the devil's advice that the Mermedonians torture *Andreas* (1179-83), where he sees *sceoran* as a significant pun, meaning both "to cut, destroy" and "to shear (a sheep)" and hence (with something of a leap) "to prepare parchment;" and the adaptation of the source (here called "emendation," 56), which, as Biggs has previously dem-

onstrated, highlights the typological relationship between the passion of Andreas and that of Christ. Fee aligns the act of writing and of torture but, whereas the Mermedonians' writing is paradoxically destructive, their torture is paradoxically productive, turning Andreas into a type of Christ. Fee provides an inventive reading of the poem, if itself somewhat tortured.

Yasuharu Eto reads "stræte stanfage" (*Andreas* 1236) as "streets paved with gleaming stones" and sees Andreas as shining with blood (*sigeltorht*, 1246) in "Andreas lines 1229–52" (*The Explicator* 52, 195–7). He suggests that *stanfah* or *fag* also indicate a gleaming stage for a radiant hero in two instances in *Beowulf* at lines 320 and 725.

Elene

In a careful reading ("Text as Revelation: Constantine's Dream in Elene," *Neophilologus* 78, 645–53), Antonina Harbus demonstrates the broad significance of a slight change Cynewulf made to his source. In the *Acta Cyriaci*, victory is anticipated by a vision of the cross delivered by an angelic messenger to an awoken Constantine, whereas, in Cynewulf's version, Constantine first sees the messenger in a revelatory dream before waking to the vision (*Elene* 69–71). Harbus suggests potential sources for the presence of the dream in this story; more impressively, she also demonstrates how it reflects upon Cynewulf's poetic practice as distinct from the tradition in which he was writing: "The dream provides a channel through which remarkable events can legitimately occur, so although we are told that Constantine wakes up before the vision, the chain of events has started within sleep and is therefore grounded in the imagination" (648). Cynewulf emphasizes the emperor's conversion since the vision of the cross is consciously embraced and remembered by a wakeful Constantine. This relates thematically to the emphasis on salvation through memory seen in Cynewulf's epilogue to the poem. The dream, like Cynewulf's poem itself, acts "as the vehicle for, rather than the instigator of, enlightenment" (651). Constantine's dream becomes a contemplative focus parallel to Cynewulf's poem. As Harbus shows, Cynewulf "decreases the mystical aspect to the experience and makes Constantine's revelation available to all readers of the poem who are similarly interpreting the symbol of the Cross through the imaginative stimulus of poetry" (652).

Guthlac A and B

Giovanni Iamartino provides an extensive and well-documented account of the *Guthlac* poems in "San Guthlac: 'militia Christi' e letteratura agiografica nell'Inghilterra anglosassone" (*Militia Christi' e Crociata nei secoli XI–XIII. Miscellanea del Centro di studi medioevali*, 13. Milan, 1992. 785–822). He begins by placing Anglo-Saxon hagiography in the context of the psychomachia tradition and considering the use of heroic language for the purpose. He then provides details about the biography of Guthlac and the spread of his cult before turning to Felix's *Vita Sancti Guthlaci*, in which

he pays particular attention to the martial vocabulary. He then describes *Guthlac A*, summarizes criticism of the poem, and analyzes the heroic and martial vocabulary in it before doing the same for *Guthlac B*. In conclusion, he points to the lack of military metaphors in the prose version in BL Cotton Vespasian D. xxi, while the extract in the Vercelli Book condenses those in *Guthlac A*. Iamartino concludes his article with two martial illustrations from the roundels in the twelfth-century BL Harleian Roll Y. 6, one of Guthlac leaving the army, another of his fending off the devils which attack him.

Juliana

Two essays on *Juliana* both use a focus on the poem to provide a broad ranging analysis of Anglo-Saxon literature or society. Rolf H. Bremmer contemplates both *Juliana* and the genre of saints' lives in an essay that offers both more and less than its title suggests: "Changing Perspectives on a Saint's Life: *Juliana*" (*Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Aertsen and Bremmer, 201–16). He begins with an extensive survey of the nature of hagiographical writing in Anglo-Saxon England, covering the same ground as Lapidge's 1991 essay in *The Cambridge Companion to OE Literature*. Bremmer pays particular attention to the *Old English Metrical Calendar* (previously called the *Menologium*), which he considers undervalued by modern criticism. After summarizing the contents of *Elene*, *Andreas*, and *Fates of the Apostles*, he focuses on *Juliana*. In observing the predictable nature of the contents of *Juliana*, Bremmer makes his most original point, relating the structure and purpose of saints' lives to that of folktales: "Just as hero tales relate the adventures of an outstanding warrior of a tribe in a crucial state of its existence, so too saints' lives celebrate the speeches and deeds, and especially the perseverance of the 'warriors of Christ', as members of the young 'tribe' of the faithful" (207). He relates the structure of *Juliana* to Propp's analysis of the structure of fairytale narrative and relates some specific elements to those common in folktales. Finally, Bremmer looks rather briefly at the upturn in *Juliana's* fortunes in criticism of the last twenty years in contrast with earlier criticism, focussing particularly on Wittig's 1975 figurative reading of the poem.

Shari Horner offers a nuanced feminist reading of Cynewulf's poem ("Spiritual Truth and Sexual Violence: the Old English *Juliana*, Anglo-Saxon Nuns, and the Discourse of Female Monastic Enclosure," *Signs* 19, 658–75). Horner layers a reading of the poem in terms of the (perilous) lived reality of women in Anglo-Saxon religious foundations onto a reading of the hermeneutics of the poem in relation to the interpretive activities of Jerome, Augustine, and Macrobius. Drawing on the work of Jane Schulenburg, Horner relates *Juliana's* reaction to male violence to the circumstances of nuns threatened by Viking attackers. Within the poem, she demonstrates how discerning reading proves "a spiritually empowering act for an otherwise threatened group of readers" (662). Eleusius and Affricanus misread by seeing only *Juliana's* body, not the truth of her spirit; in Jerome's terms,

they are ironically reading like women, indifferent to the spiritual truth beneath the literal surface. Juliana herself, on the contrary, immediately penetrates the attractive disguise of the tempting devil; in Jerome's terms, she is ironically reading like a man, and Cynewulf has adapted his source to emphasize her discernment. The portrayal of the sexual body is also complexly ironic: despite the extensive gaze upon Juliana's naked body in the poem, that body is desexualized: "as it forces its readers' attention on the threat of sexual violence, foregrounding the image of the sexualized female heroine, it sublimates her sexuality by insisting on her virginity, by reinforcing the monastic ideology that requires a closed, intact female body" (661). Horner never downplays the violent confrontations within the poem but also demonstrates that it is "a poem concerned especially with textuality and interpretation," in which "the battle between the saint and the devil also redefines the roles of masculinized reader and feminized text" (670). This whole essay provides an important example of a powerful feminist reading of an Old English poem.

Riddles

Five studies of the Exeter Book riddles saw publication in 1994: a general introduction, two broadly thematic studies, and two studies describing specialized fields which throw light on specific riddles. Wim Tigges provides the introduction to the riddles and also to the maxims in "Snakes and Ladders: Ambiguity and Coherence in the Exeter Book Riddles and Maxims" (*Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Aertsen and Bremmer, 95–118). His controlling thesis is that "the riddles and maxims are not only arguably heroic, Germanic, didactic, and Christian, they are, if anything, the environment of images par excellence" (95)—an argument which is rather easily won. In the first half of the essay, he describes many of the Exeter Book riddles, pausing to adjudicate among competing solutions to Krapp-Dobbie 5 (Williamson 3), where he inclines to "chopping board;" K-D 22 (Williamson 20), where he favors the constellation, Ursa Major, with some astronomical refinements; and K-D 39 (Williamson 37), which he finds "truly puzzling," preferring "Creature Death" of the solutions offered in print. In general, he praises the riddles for their insight into the ordering of Anglo-Saxon society: "It need not be doubted that the E[xeter] B[ook] R[iddles] confirm the social relationships of their day, as well as their moral implications, by metaphorically applying these to randomly presented phenomena or objects" (109). In the second half of his essay, Tigges reviews criticism of the Exeter Book Maxims, then works through specific maxims looking for connections. From *Maxims B* he constructs a complete and coherent (?) narrative concerning the travails and travels of an unnamed king, a story which he attempts to relate to eighth-century Anglo-Saxon politics. Fortunately, he grants that such a hypothesis is speculative and offered in a spirit of play. In any event, his ample quotations and summaries allow the spirit of fun of these enigmatic Anglo-Saxon poems to shine through.

In one of the thematic essays, John W. Tanke investigates the nature of the sexual riddles through a theoretically-informed analysis of K-D 12 (Williamson 14) in "*Wonfeax wale: Ideology and Figuration in the Sexual Riddles of the Exeter Book*" (*Class and Gender in Early English Literature*, ed. Harwood and Overing, 21–42). He summarizes and generally berates existing criticism of the sexual riddles, particularly the naive view that these poems uncomplicatedly reveal what is otherwise marginal in Anglo-Saxon life; on the contrary, he demonstrates that, "far from accurately representing the margins of Anglo-Saxon society, Riddle 12 makes their very marginality a prime feature of its rhetoric" (39). He examines this marginality by focusing on the *wonfeax wale* ("dark haired slave-woman," who may be Welsh) of riddle 12, which builds up a description of an ox and ox-leather. Lower class characters are relatively rare in the sexual riddles: the *wonfeax wale* who is treated with contempt in riddle 12 contrasts with the "good servant" (*tillic esne*) of K-D 63 or K-D 54, which are briefly analyzed here. Tanke suggests that the sexual activity of the "dark-haired wale" contributes to the oppositions within which she is berated: the ox's leather binds dark male slaves, "By contrast, the drunken dark-haired slave woman, masturbating by the fire, represents all that is culturally transgressive, supplementary, 'unbound'" (34). The rhetoric of the poem is gratuitously contemptuous of the *wale*: "There are at least four possible reasons for the *wale's* condemnation, all of which intersect, and none of which can be confidently excluded: her gender, her status as a servant, her ethnicity (if she is understood to be Welsh), and her sexual activity" (35).

Edward B. Irving, Jr., uses the Exeter Book riddles to construct something of the dark soft underbelly of heroic life in "Heroic Experience in the Old English Riddles" (*Old English Shorter Poems*, ed. O'Keefe, 199–212). He analyzes the battered life of Shield (K-D 5, Williamson 3) as something rare in heroic poetry: "the experience of the enlisted man, nameless and forgotten in ditch or foxhole" (200). In a similar way, the Badger or Fox of K-D 15 (Williamson 13) portrays the defensive fighting of a mother attacked in her home. Storm (K-D 1–3, Williamson 1) conveys the experience of being raided, with suggestions of an attack by a monstrous dragon. Sword (K-D 20, Williamson 18), on the other hand, presents an unsavory attacker, unduly endowed with testosterone: "we seem to hear the voice of a vain and swaggering murderer, shielded by the protection of an indulgent patron" (205). Many of the riddles, by contrast, present the viewpoint of an unwilling killer—"a 'draftee' point of view" (206)—such as Spear (K-D 73, Williamson 71) and Ram (K-D 53, Williamson 51). Irving also points to riddles which describe the experience of slaves in Anglo-Saxon society: the Flail (K-D 52, Williamson 50), Well Sweep (K-D 58, Williamson 56), Ox (K-D 72, Williamson 70), and Gold (K-D 83, Williamson 79). Throughout his analyses, for the sake of elucidating the world of heroic literature, Irving takes the riddles literally and seriously. He contemplates the resulting distortion of tone in

his reading of Inkhorn (K-D 88, Williamson 84): "Two noble kinsmen, once intimate and now separated by war and enslavement in different countries, can express themselves movingly, yet the single stag-horn that realizes it needs another one to be a completely fulfilled individual is also funny" (209).

Irving observes in passing that the unity of Krapp and Dobbie's first three riddles (Williamson 1) seems persuasive, but "the problem for modern readers is what we should call this great natural force that lies behind both earthquakes and tempests" (211). Michael Lapidge provides an answer in "Stoic Cosmology and the Source of the First Old English Riddle" (*Anglia* 112, 1–25). The Old English riddle's account of wind, submarine earthquake, subterranean earthquake, and lightning are unified in that all reflect the Stoic cosmological concept *pneuma*, "cosmic breath" (Latin *spiritus*), the unifying and animating force of the Stoic universe. Lapidge frames his learned account of Stoic cosmology with a contribution to the debate between oral formulaic and literary composition of Old English poetry: in contrast with the "Cædmon paradigm," he sees this riddler as a literate author who draws an account of natural phenomena from Seneca's *Naturales quaestiones*, the most important Latin work to reflect ancient Greek Stoic traditions.

In an ornithologically-informative account, Peter Kitson solves two riddles and comments upon a third ("Swans and Geese in Old English Riddles," *ASSAH* 7, 79–84). He shows convincingly that K-D 7 (Williamson 5) describes a mute swan ("cygnus olor"), which, alone among English swans, has wingbeats characterized by a loud musical throbbing sound. More controversially, Kitson solves K-D 74 (Williamson 72) as *ylfetu*, the whooper swan ("cygnus cygnus"). Here Kitson explains the theory of submarine hibernation/estivation by which early commentators accounted for the absence of certain migrating birds. Such a conception of natural history lies behind the clue "dead mid fiscum" (4b) and also explains a feature of K-D 10 (Williamson 8), universally solved as barnacle goose. Kitson's reading of riddle 74 has to pass rather quickly over one clue (*ænlic rinc*, "peerless warrior," 2b), but offers a solution more convincing than those which have gone before and one which exploits fully a riddler's love of paradox.

Solomon and Saturn I and II

Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe considers broad-ranging questions of theory in relation to the study of Old English sources in "Source, Method, Theory, Practice: On Reading Two Old English Verse Texts" (*Bull. of the John Rylands Univ. Lib. of Manchester* 76.1, 51–73). She addresses criticisms of source studies raised by Waterhouse, Irving, and, above all, Frantzen, and through her analysis demonstrates how source study is in dialectic with the interpretation of Old English texts. She provides a definition of a source as a textual relationship rather than a static text and designates the work being sourced as the "target" text, "denominating it in this way because of our focus on it in research" (58), while also avoiding the overtones

of the term *derivative*. Source and target text, she suggests, constitute each other. Returning to theoretical issues at the end of her essay, O'Keefe suggests the potential productivity of the space between the interpretive discourses of source studies and post-modern theory, "the one seeking objectivity, the other grounding itself in the frank admission of subjective desire" (72).

O'Keefe grounds her discussion through the example of the poetic *Solomon and Saturn* dialogues. She considers the introductions of Kemble and Menner in order to refine a distinction between "source" and "origin." Kemble, publishing in 1848, was deeply concerned with discovering the Eastern origins and northern character of the dialogues; Menner, publishing in 1941, investigated both far-ranging origins and more proximate Germanic and patristic sources. O'Keefe demonstrates the productivity of investigating a different source horizon by focussing on Menner's emendation to *Solomon and Saturn* 330b and offering a new solution to the enigma posed there of what is and is not. She moves the frame from Menner's Germanic riddling context to the learned literature of the school of Alcuin and Scotus Eriugena: "If 'tenebrae' may answer the question of what is and is not, it is by way of philosophical dispute not intellectual banter" (68).

J.W.

The Battle of Brunanburh

Peter Orton's goal in his essay, "On the Transmission and Phonology of *The Battle of Brunanburh*" (*Leeds Stud. in Eng.* 25 [1994], 1–27) is to modify a few of Alistair Campbell's assertions about the poem. Orton disputes two of Campbell's stemmatic claims: that the versions in B/C and D descend from a text later than the archetype, a text of which A was independent; and that the archetype was corrupt at several points. In so doing, Orton reviews Campbell's cases for line 12 *dænnede* (*dennade*, *dennode*), line 32 *flotan*, and line 41, *gefyllled*. In each case, Orton believes that the difficulties of interpretation do not necessitate emendation and so cannot properly support Campbell's first stemmatic claim. Observing that Campbell did not use metrical-phonological tests to assess *Brunanburh's* original language, Orton proposes to use parasiting as a test (examples at 3b, 14b, 15b, 49b, 51a, and 55a), though he prudently declines to draw general conclusions about the metrical implications of this parasiting. The later part of his essay is given to reviewing Campbell's reconstruction of the phonology of the archetype. After careful analysis, Orton offers the following hypothesis "very tentatively": that the experienced scribe who first copied *Brunanburh* did not have fixed spelling, but shows the mixture of genuine EWS with non-WS forms characteristic of the texts associated with Alfred's program of translation. He concludes that there was probably a stage in the manuscript transmission of *Brunanburh* corresponding to Campbell's *Y, though the archetype (Campbell's *X) was not corrupt to the degree Campbell claims. Paul Beekman Taylor offers an ingenious (if at times impressionistic) argument about word play on names in

Brunanburh ("Onomastics and Propaganda in *Brunanburh*," *ANQ* n.s. 7 [1994], 67–68). He connects the *æpel* in *Æpelstan's* name with *geæpele* (*Brunanburh* 7) and suggests that "the semantic implication of the adjective is that it is natural to be noble and it is noble to be natural" (67). Taylor argues that 'Eadward' and 'Eadmund' also connect inherited characteristics to the victorious. On the other side, 'Anlaf' ('sole-survivor') fulfills his name in fleeing, and Constantinus ('the constant/stable') leaves his son behind. His most ironic identification, however, is for Owen of Cumbria, one of the five slain kings. Owen was known as Eugenius ('well-born'), and Taylor argues that the sense of this name duplicates *geæpele*. This connection may be a bit too ingenious, since as Taylor admits Owen is never named in the poem. In "The Battle of *Brunanburh* and the Matter of History" (*Mediaevalia* 17 [1994 for 1991], 5–13), Janet Thormann traces the "peculiar force" of *Brunanburh* to its ideological work. Drawing on insights from Slavoj Žižek (*The Sublime Object of Ideology*), Thormann investigates the ideology of *Brunanburh* in terms of surplus value. (In a note she indicates that "the argument here is based on linguistic evidence only; it makes no claim regarding political fact," p. 13, n. 4.) It is useful to reproduce Žižek's argument on the sublime object that motivates her analysis: it is "the material presence of a fragment of reality—it is a leftover, remnants which cannot be reduced to a network of formal relations proper to the symbolic structure. . . . The symbolic structure must include an element which embodies its "stain," its own point of impossibility around which it is articulated" (10). Working from this insight, Thormann examines the poem's carnage, especially the blood of *Brunanburh* 12–13 (the vexed *feld dænnede* again). The poem's blood, marking its essential violence, allows her to read *Brunanburh's* symbolic register. In her view, *Brunanburh's* reversal of the migration myth (where descendants of invaders of the past drive out present invaders) makes the present (i.e. of the poem) historical. In terms of ideology, this reversal "recovers an origin and enacts it as a reversal. It thereby legitimitizes [sic] the violence of the invasions as origin" (11). Through such reversal, the present continues the past. Her analysis concludes with the suggestion that the Symbolic register may be an effect of violence.

The Battle of Maldon

The question of suicidal loyalty appears in a number of essays in Part One of *Mediaevalia* 17, guest edited by John D. Niles. In advancing the argument that the *Battle of Maldon* is not a historical document, Earl R. Anderson offers detailed reviews of the ideal of suicidal loyalty and the political role of the Germanic comitatus ("The Roman Idea of a *Comitatus* and Its Application to *The Battle of Maldon*," *Mediaevalia* 17 [1994 for 1991], 15–26). Anderson reminds us that Tacitus's account of suicidal loyalty was a Roman trope, and, in contrast to it, ancient histories contain numerous accounts of Germanic retinues either surrendering or fleeing. The disloyal behavior of Eadric Streon (*Encomium Emmae*) is ambiguously portrayed

as a balance of cowardice and treachery, and Anderson furthers this line of argument by reference to Procopius (*Basilicus*) and *Maldon*. Here he examines the behavior of the sons of Odda, reading line 185 as merely a literal account of men who preferred to be elsewhere than the battle. Similarly, he reads line 188 (Byrhtnoth's gifts of horses to Godric) as a simple statement of Godric's distinguished career ("This suggests a distinguished retainer who was often rewarded for military services; it does not suggest a coward" [19]). I suspect many readers would find this reading somewhat jarring. In the other portion of his argument, Anderson reviews the political function of Germanic retinues. He points out that while fraternal organizations were not the basis for Germanic military organization, it was in the Roman interest to advance this system in order to manage the tribes. In this way, he sees comitatus as an instrument of Roman foreign policy. Anderson's basic conclusion is that "comitatus idealism" is "bit of academic folklore" (21).

Edward I. Condren takes the majority of commentators on *Maldon* to task for treating the poem as a historical record. In his essay, "From Politics to Poetry: Ambivalent Ethics in *The Battle of Maldon*" (*Mediaevalia* 17 [1994 for 1991], 53–66), he assumes the posture of doubt about the poem's "historical accuracy" and sets out to discover the artistic necessity behind the poem's main features. Along this line of argument, he suggests that the physical circumstances of the island and ford along the Blackwater River, may have "represent[ed] symbolically some point [the poet] wished his poem to convey" (56). Condren reads the opening fragment and its description of the young man with his hawk as a suggestion about the lack of preparedness of the English forces. This presentation contrasts with Byrhtnoth's epic performance in replying to the Viking. Condren also finds the description of the cowards' flight significant, though he finds that its emphasis lies in the "visual incongruity of the scene" (60), rather than on the act of cowardice. Reading this emphasis leads Condren to see in *Maldon* a criticism of Æthelred: "that Æthelred was a king in his trappings, not in his deeds, has been emblematically suggested in *The Battle of Maldon* in the image of a warrior fleeing the battle on a noble seat to which he was ill-suited" (61). Condren's support for this reading is his observation that the C, D, and E texts of the *Chronicle* are critical of Æthelred; he suggests that a late date for the poem would make this identification more probable. His essay offers three poetic meanings for *ofermod*: signifying Byrhtnoth's magnanimity, the rashness of his gesture, and a "policy, an over mode, originating from this and every battlefield, but more responsible for Anglo-Saxon bloodshed than the blows of Danes" (63). John M. Hill ("Transcendental Loyalty in *The Battle of Maldon*," *Mediaevalia* 17 [1994 for 1991], 67–88) sees the poem reflect a late development in the Anglo-Saxon heroic code: a Christian "transvaluation" of loyalty to a transcendental plane. To illustrate his contention, Hill reviews the treatment of vengeance in the *Chronicle* entry on Cynewulf and Cyneheard. There he finds loyalty to one's

lord as a competitive theme and suicidal revenge does not appear. In *Beowulf*, as well as the Icelandic sagas he considers, the narratives all allow for a timely revenge. In such narratives, the point is to gain revenge rather than seek death. *Maldon* differs markedly from these in its connection of vengeance and death. In Hill's argument, the poem forecloses the possibility that Odda's sons left in order to fight another day. Their flight is portrayed as negative. By contrast to Godric and his brothers, the heroic retainers choose death in the spirit of Byrhtnoth's dying prayer for spiritual safety, and in this tenor, Hill reads each of the speeches of the loyal few. He notes that with the exception of marital ties, these speeches invoke all other social ties or obligations possible in Anglo-Saxon society. Hill observes that this suicidal loyalty can "only look deranged or else spiritual" (78), suggesting that the behavior of the loyal retainers produce in Byrhtnoth "something of a Christ figure" (78) although he is never directly identified as such. In explaining this connection, Hill draws on *The Dream of the Rood*, where he compares the cross's identification with the dying Christ with the "same kind of inversion and redirection of behavior" among the loyal retainers in *Maldon*. Hill concludes that this late OE poem transformed traditional lord-retainer loyalty into a "code of glorious death" (82). Regarding *Maldon* as historical fiction, John D. Niles asks "How are we to read *The Battle of Maldon*?" in his essay "Maldon and Mythopoesis" (*Mediaevalia* 17 [1994 for 1991], 89–121). His argument that the poem favors something resembling Æthelred's policy of accommodation challenges critical consensus, as he recognizes. Niles argues that the poem presents Æthelred as a respected figure and Byrhtnoth as a man proud to serve him; both these details contribute to the national significance of the poem. Crucial to Niles's reading is that *Maldon* is an example of mythopoesis, in which the text poses the critical problem of how the English should respond to the Vikings and answers the problem in the form of myth. (His use of myth is important, "By a myth, I mean a story, well known among a people or a group, that tells about larger-than-life figures from the recent or distant past in such a way as to confirm one or more essential ideas pertaining to the culture of the people or group in question" [92].) *Maldon* marks an early stage in this myth, using Byrhtnoth's fall to stage England's reversal of fortunes in 991. In Byrhtnoth's confrontation of the Viking's demand for tribute, Niles sees figured England's question of whether to buy peace or fight. But, he continues, the Chronicle entries for 991 make it clear that Byrhtnoth's death lead to the less resolute of the two paths. Niles surveys a number of accounts of the battle, including the Latin *Life of St. Oswald* and the twelfth-century accounts. Against this background, Niles notes that *Maldon* preserves an independent tradition of the story. Niles argues that the poem develops its themes around Byrhtnoth's death in a five-part structure: 1. the debate about tribute; 2. the fight at the ford; 3. Byrhtnoth's last fight and death; 4. the flight of the cowards; 5. the heroic last stand. In its treatment of the Byrhtnoth's valor and death, the poem

"turns a key incident drawn from the Viking troubles of the 990s into a showpiece of contemporary ethics and politics" (105). In Niles's view, the point is not just that Byrhtnoth died, but that his refusal to pay tribute (along with his lack of discretion) lead to his death. The story thus illustrates two issues, the need to negotiate peace and the "drift" to separate strategies of the English and the Anglo-Danes. Niles is at pains to show that the poem does not celebrate a death wish (whose modern reflex he calls the "Balaclava syndrome"). He sees no evidence that all loyal retainers were killed and suggests that the retainers did not know that they had lost. More important, he argues that Byrhtnoth did not want to die. It is not a desire for death but a desire for vengeance that drives the retainers at the end.

Deor

In a continuation of his study of the poem, Richard North wishes to advance the case that *Deor* is a satire on King Æthelwulf of Wessex written c. 856 ("King Æthelwulf and the Goths in *Deor*," *Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 40 [1994], 7–20). In his review of the figures treated in the poem (with the exception of *Deor*, all related to Goths), North maintains that *Deor*'s treatment of his subjects is variously "oblique, irreverent, suggestive and defamatory" (9). Of all these figures, it is Geat who is least heroic—in North's reading, Geat is duped into waiting all night for sexual favors he never receives. To build his argument, North reviews the evidence for the identity of West Saxon 'Geat', concluding that Geat's role as god and founder of the Goths was known in ninth century Wessex. Other than in *Deor*, 'Geat' only appears as ancestor of the West-Saxon royal line. North then connects the appearance of 'Geat' in the West Saxon royal genealogy with the Æthelwulf's journey to Rome in 855. Asser's account of Alfred's anointing in Rome relates the future king to the Goths through both his father and mother Osburh, though North observes that by the time Asser wrote his biography, he seemed not to have understand the reasons behind making the identification. North interprets Æthelwulf's dynastic reasoning as follows: "who better to meet the heir of St Peter, therefore, than a kinsman on both sides of Italy's past temporal rulers, the Goths and Lombards, whose mantle the Carolingians had not adopted?" (12–13). Æthelwulf married Judith, great-granddaughter of Charlemagne on his return trip, but despite his continental dynastic politics, when he returned to England he found himself in charge of only the eastern portion of his former kingdom, pushed aside by his son Æthelbald. North then suggests that *Deor* was written around 855 to 856 as a mocking reflection of Æthelbald's attitude toward his father. North devotes the following section of his essay to a detailed historical and political reading of *Deor* to support his contention about satire. The breadth of his work on the analogues and the detail of the reading defies summary. North does offer an epitome of the particulars of his argument by way of conclusion: "Þeodric's thirty years, Geat's comedy with Mæðhild and Eormanric's 'wulfish

intention' can be read as satiric references to Æthelwulf's alliance with Judith and the length of his reign in the year he returned from Italy and France. . . . Though *Gaut-* was worshiped as a heathen god for many centuries in eastern Germania, I suggest that he had no better role in early ninth-century England than to be modeled out of *Geot* as the ancestor of West Saxon kings" (20).

The Fight at Finnsburh

Jan-Ola Östman and Brita Wærvik attempt a double result in their paper "*The Fight at Finnsburh: Pragmatic Aspects of a Narrative Fragment*" (*NM* 95 [1994], 207–27)—they wish at the same time to offer a reinterpretation of the narrative in the poem and to establish the validity analyzing a fragmentary text with discourse-pragmatic methodology. Within that methodology they are broadly eclectic, claiming that a necessary strategy while conceding "methodologically, this might sound chaotic and non-rigid" (208), which, indeed, it does. As part of their analysis, they offer a reproduction of Hickes's text, and an edited text, principally following that of Fry (*Finnsburh: Fragment and Episode*, 1974) but inflected at three points by Klaeber's edition (*Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburh*, 3rd ed. 1941). They also provide a summary of the standard interpretation of the text preparatory to the application of pragmatics to the poem. They restrict themselves to two large issues: the function of pragmatic particles in two roles, grounding and other narrative structuring, and the deictic aspect and function of proper names.

In the first instance they produce a hierarchy of pragmatic particles: in order *oð, þa, ac / and, nu*, no marking, *þonne*. With this information they diagram the narrative action of fragment, finding their analysis of high points in the narrative to be at odds with the standard interpretation. In their analysis of deixis, they assign a number of the usual suspects to different sides: in their analysis there are now only two named Frisians, Sigeferð and Eaha (hitherto identified as Danes); the rest of the named characters are now Danes (this interpretation involves reidentifying Garulf, Guðere, and the second Guðlaf as Danes not Frisians). It is useful to quote the summary of their interpretation: "Outside the walls Sigeferð and Eaha are leading the Frisians in a surprise attack towards the door to the hall where their guests, the Danes, are sleeping. The Danish guard notices them and rushes inside to inform Hnæf. The Danish warriors are awakened and told to prepare for battle. The doors are closed and Ordlaaf, Guþlaf, and Hengest place themselves to guard the door from the inside. Still inside the hall, Garulf tries to restrain Guðere from risking his life in the first rush of the battle; but Guðere does not pay much attention. Instead, he boldly asks who holds the door on the outside. Sigeferð answers, identifying himself as a well-known warrior of the Secgan. A fight breaks out and continues violently for five days, until Garulf, Guþlaf's son, falls as the first of the Danes. At the end of the fragment a wounded Danish warrior retreats to Hnæf" (223).

The Seafarer

Anna Smol, in "Things Speaking and Speech 'Thinging': Riddlic Voices and *The Seafarer*" (*English Studies in Canada* 20 [1994], 249–65), reads the *Seafarer* as an allegory, the clue to which are its 'riddlic' voices. The set-up of her argument involves an extended analysis of both riddles and allegory. In her analysis, riddles share with typological allegory different aspects of a whole identity that must be named. As illustration she considers several OE riddles whose prosopopoeia and speakers' "disguises" suggest to her an entrée into understanding the function of allegory: "they [the riddles] share with typological allegory an impulse to explore different aspects of a whole identity that must be named" (252). In addition she considers the function of metonymic address in *Blickling Homily X*, where, she argues, the words of the speaking bones "acquire the status of a self-conscious artifact that challenges the listener" (253). The thesis of her specific treatment of the *Seafarer* is that there are two speakers (255), a past general speaker and a present speaker. Their connection may be a relationship of parts. She regards the speech of the 'present' seafarer to be in metonymic and typological relation to the 'past' seafarer.

However, she disclaims the ready accusation that she is merely duplicating Pope's subsequently retracted 1965 argument that there are two speakers in the poem. She explains: "Because typological connections imply an inherent identity between the poles of the typological analogy, viewing the past seafarer as a figure that is fulfilled in the present seafarer means that we can take both speeches as belonging to one person. . . . On the other hand, we may very well imagine the two speakers as representing two people—even so, typologically they partake of one complete identity" (261). This is having your figurative cake and eating it, or maybe it isn't.

Wanderer

For his contribution to the *Companion to Old English Poetry* (ed. Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. [Amsterdam: Vu University Press, 1994] pp. 145–58) T. A. Shippey offers "*The Wanderer and The Seafarer as Wisdom Poetry*." Drawing on his own earlier work on wisdom poetry, Shippey discusses the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer* as core poems in that rather imprecisely defined (perhaps because impossible to define) class, wisdom poetry. Noting that these two poems conform only partially to the "autobiographical" model offered for the OE elegies, Shippey argues that these poems "are set in the imaginative space between individual 'elegy' and traditional saying or cliché" (152). In his comparative, close readings of the poems, Shippey examines the appearance (and non-appearance) of "I," focusing on the relationship of third person figures and first-person speakers. Viewed from the perspective of wisdom poetry—these poems' relation to other wisdom poetry and their reliance on gnomic expressions—one could reverse the priority of the autobiographical "I" and claim that the "first-person speakers are evidently there largely as vivid illustrations of conclusions already reached" (149). After

reviewing the ways in which proverbial expression is articulated in wisdom poetry, Shippey notes that both the *Wanderer* and *Seafarer* create ambiguous or ironic effects by locating proverbial sentiments in a personal frame. In the second part of his essay, Shippey moves from manner to matter. Comparing and contrasting the two poems, Shippey finds the *Wanderer* “a demonstration of the very difficulties involved in reaching wisdom” (154) and the *Seafarer* an extension of this theme. But while *Wanderer* functions as a “secular prudential poem” the *Seafarer* “contains ‘the Lord’ (*Dryhten*) as a continuous presence” (156). A brief bibliography follows the essay.

Wife's Lament

In “Of Graves, Caves, and Subterranean Dwellings: *Eorðscraf* and *Eorðsele* in the *Wife's Lament* (PQ 73 [1994], 267–86), Paul Battles offers a strong argument to identify the speaker's dwelling as a *souterrain* in contradistinction to the sunken-featured building proposed by Earl Anderson (*ASE* 20) and to the cave proposed by Karl Wentersdorf (*Speculum* 56). Evidence for *souterrains*, i.e., artificial underground dwellings, is abundant both from archaeology and literature. His essay offers an impressive array of analogues: Saxo describes how King Regnald sends his daughter Drott into hiding in a well-appointed *souterrain*. In the *Brut*, Locrin, advised to cast off Astrild, conceals her in a comfortably outfitted *eorð-huse*. His numerous other examples include *Sir Tristrem*, *Flóamanna saga*, the *Annals of Ulster*, *Völsunga saga*, *Hrólfs saga kraka*, *Göngu-Hrólfs saga*, *Landnámabók*, *Grænlandinga þáttur*, and *Reykdale saga*, and he points out that these *souterrains* are “associated specifically (though not always exclusively) with women” (278). Additionally, he suggests that the dragon's lair in *Beowulf* might well be a *souterrain*. Against this background, Battles interprets the speaker's situation in the *Wife's Lament*, and finds that “associating the narrator's dwelling with the motifs of longing and fear of hostility makes eminent sense” (279). In “En/closed Subjects: The *Wife's Lament* and the Culture of Early Medieval Female Monasticism” (*Æstel* 2 [1994], 45–61), Shari Horner asks some important questions about the gendering of the female subject in the *Wife's Lament*. The focus of her analysis is what she terms a “discourse of enclosure, a system of signifying which inscribes the increasingly strict conditions of monasticism imposed on Anglo-Saxon female religious” (46–47). In this analysis, Horner looks beyond grammatical gender to “cultural gender” and she uses Judith Butler's formulation of gender performance to examine how the poem produces the gender of its subject. Horner seeks the specifics of the acts which produce gender in the discourse of female monastic enclosure, and she argues that the *Wife's Lament* (as well as *Wulf and Eadwacer*) show the enclosure that typifies contemporary attitudes toward the female body. In her view, their “inability to escape enclosure genders their voices, and thus constitutes their primary identity” (53). Horner argues against the necessity of taking the speaker in the *Wife's Lament* as a *wife* since the poem does

not specifically define a marital role. Rather, she would take the female subject of the poem as a female religious and suggests that the beloved male in the poem is just as easily understood as a spiritual guardian (e.g. Boniface and Leoba). In so doing, she connects *folgað* in line 9 to BT Supplement's added definition for *folgian*—“to follow the monastic profession.” In a similar vein, she connects *ubiceare* (line 35) with matins, and the speaker's earthen dwelling with “grave” imagery. Horner covers a lot of ground in this brief study and the subject of performed gender in OE texts will repay further, detailed study.

Wulf and Eadwacer

Henk Aertsen, in “*Wulf and Eadwacer*: A Woman's *Cri de Coeur*—For Whom, For What?” (*Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. [Amsterdam: Vu University Press, 1994] pp. 119–44), seeks to situate the student (both novice and advanced) in the history of interpreting *Wulf and Eadwacer*. Aertsen reprints the text from ASPR 3 and offers a literal translation as a first step to working through the interpretative problems of the poem. Aertsen reviews and evaluates the criticism of the poem, starting substantially with Bradley's 1888 “highly romantic reading.” Using the individual elements of Bradley's interpretation (the speaker is a woman and a captive; *Wulf* is her outlawed lover and *Eadwacer* her husband), he plots the subsequent scholarly suggestions on the identifies of the players in the poem in three sections: criticism from “internal interpretations” (internal evidence) and criticism from “external interpretations” (essentially source criticism). Between these two sections he reviews readings of the poem as a riddle. The last section of his essay is dedicated to reviewing arguments on textual matters, and here he offers modifications of the initial translation of the poem leading to his own neo-romantic reading: the poem is a monologue in which the speaker, married to *Eadwacer*, reveals to him that he is not the father of her child, and that *Wulf* will return to take her and the child away: “even in the anguish of disclosing to *Eadwacer* the secrets of her heart she is still trying to protect her lover who is held captive by her husband. The poem is a most passionate cry of the heart, a *cri de coeur*, a woman lamenting not only the separation from her lover, but also the uncertainty of what the future will have in store for her child. . . .” (142). A bibliography accompanies the essay.

K.O'B.O'K.

The Battle of Maldon (supplement)

In a lively essay which covers considerable ground, Dolores Warwick Frese speculates about the influence of the lost tapestry which ‘lflæd’ donated to the monks of Ely depicting the deeds of the hero of the battle of Maldon (“‘Worda ond Worca’: *The Battle of Maldon* and the Lost Text of ‘lflæd’s Tapestry,” *Mediaevalia* 17, 27–51). Frese speculates that this tapestry may underly the victorious presentation of defeat in two distinct late Anglo-Saxon masterpieces: the poem *The*

Battle of Maldon and the Bayeux tapestry. Frese establishes critical leverage through suggestive interpretations of two intermediary texts—the gnome about words and deeds in *Beowulf* 287b–89 and a four-line poem about Cnut passing by Ely recorded in the *Liber Eliensis* and called here (following Baugh) the earliest surviving Middle English lyric verses. The argument is lively and productive, even if, as Frese concedes, it remains speculative: “Whether we are dealing here with traceably related texts and textiles, or simply are finding ourselves in the presence of visual devices as imaginatively provocative in their repetition of formulaic detail as any to be found in the thematic and formulaic art of an Anglo-Saxon verbal performer, I am not prepared to assert in any absolute way” (45).

J.W.

Paris Psalter

“The psalter poet was not, on the face of it, an adventurous soul,” says M. J. Toswell in “The Translation Techniques of the Old English Metrical Psalter, with Special Reference to Psalm 136” (*ES* 75, 393–407 [394]) and illustrates the point by comparing in meticulous detail the Latin text (Roman version) of Psalm 136 with the rendering in the *Paris Psalter*. The comparison reveals the poet omitting various elements of the source, highlighting proper nouns, introducing filler words for the sake of alliteration or meter (usually in the off-verse), and composing, in general, with practical intelligence. On the vexed question of how much, if at all, the poet depended on glossed psalters, Toswell answers with, on the face of it, adventurous caution: “Certainly no direct connection with any one or more of the extant glossed psalters can be argued successfully. However, the surviving manuscripts represent what must be a very small proportion of the glossed psalters in Anglo-Saxon England. It is certainly possible, and even likely, that the psalter poet had one or more glossed psalters available to be consulted when the translation was not obvious” (405). As for other aids, Toswell holds that the poet occasionally drew on the so-called Hebrew psalter (i.e., Jerome’s Latin rendering of the Hebrew) or the Gallican psalter and demonstrates that at *PP* 52.6.3 the manuscript reading, *gebyrnede*, emended by editors to *gebyrwede*, makes good sense when seen as a translation of the Hebrew psalter’s *proiecit*. Toswell concludes her informative study by defending the “stilted approach” of the *Paris Psalter* poet against critics who have whittled away at the stilts. “Competence in the creation of verse and of sense, not brilliance or creativity, is the standard by which the psalter poet must be judged” (407). I do not know that this is the sole standard by which the poet must be judged; I do suspect that it is the only one he is likely to have liked.

Judith

In “Gender, Sexual Violence, and the Politics of War in the Old English *Judith*” (*Class and Gender in Early English Literature: Intersections*, ed. Britton J. Harwood and Gillian R. Overing [Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University

Press], 1–20), Karma Lochrie impugns “traditional methods of inquiry that would reduce [the poem] to the univocity of their methods” (2), methods “preemptive in their totalizing visions of textual meaning and in their unself-reflecting critical positions” (4). Presumably Lochrie believes that her own approach, encoded in Contemporary Critical Creole, floats fresh and free above the fray: un-reductive, un-totalizing, un-unself-reflective. For her the crux is “an intersection of categories in the poem—of gender and social rank—which produces a crisis” (5). At his pre-war party Holofernes gets drunk, then sends for Judith to violate her, both very male things. But she writes him off him instead:

The sexual violence of Judith’s beheading takes the form of Holofernes’s bodily inscription, which the text then proceeds to read. This inscription, in effect, renders Holofernes’s body into a text, thereby feminizing it. When Holofernes collapses on his bed, he is reduced from signifying an “arrogant bestower of treasure” to a man “dazed with sins” (*ða niða geblonden*) after the drunken feast, to a body devoid of intelligence lying draped across its bed “in a swoon,” and finally, to a “a foul trunk” [sic] (*se fila leap*). This headless trunk will prove to be the text of the Assyrians’ defeat, while Judith will bear the grisly head home as a “token” of Bethulian victory. In both cases, bodily inscription serves as the text of war as well as of sexual violence; the one form of violence proves to be the subtext of the other. (12)

Obviously sexual violence and the violence of war are linked by violence. But the twining of the twain here is a thin thread from which to dangle the conclusion that the beheading scene “exposes the interchangeability of war and sexual violence in Anglo-Saxon cultural codes. The one is not a displacement of the other, but its manifestation” (14). Sexual violence and war were not interchangeable in Anglo-Saxon culture, as witness the copious battle scenes in OE literature absent any reference to sex. Rather than “mocking the system represented by Holofernes and the Bethulians,” (14), Judith’s derring-do mocks Holofernes as the practitioner of a system two of whose prudential axioms he wantonly disregards: Admitest thou not thy doom by the front door. Getest thou not dead drunk.

Marie Nelson ruminates on “*Judith, Juliana, and Elene: Three Fighting Saints, or How I Learned That Translators Need Courage Too*” (*Medieval Perspectives* 9, 85–98). Declaring that she was “tried of being a scholarly drudge,” gingerly devoted to the tried and true, Nelson explains that when she decided to translate “the lives of the female heroes of Old English poetry,” she decided as well to “move from the careful translation strategy I had been using to a more self-assertive mode. Role-playing on paper—that would be my translation strategy” (85–86). She found that the “old warhorse” aspect of her character enabled her to identify with the “we can win” attitude of Judith and that “the adolescent rebel behind [her] apparently mature facade responded to the opportunity to translate the speeches with which Juliana defied her father and her diabolical suitor” (86–87). Nelson had some difficulty, however, in putting herself in Elene’s imperial shoes because of “Cynwulf’s anti-Semitism” and because “Elene plays a torturer’s role” (95). But Nelson did what she could, although she “left some words and phrases out” (96). “[I]t is, I expect, obvious to everyone who knows me that I am no

more likely to become a saint than I am to become a poet," Nelson affirms. "Nevertheless, by translating the three poems to which I have just given brief attention, I learned more about the fighting women of Old English poetry and more about the value of thinking of myself as Fighting Woman (the words are forever capitalized in my mind) than I could ever have gained from my former, unaided, less personal approach" (96–97).

Genesis A

In "Conspicuous Heroism: Abraham, Prudentius, and the Old English Verse *Genesis*" (*Heroes and Heroines in Medieval English Literature: A Festschrift Presented to André Crépin on the Occasion of His Sixty-fifth Birthday*, ed. Leo Carruthers [Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Brewer], 45–58), Andy Orchard explains that at lines 1960–2095 the *Genesis A* poet departs from the biblical account of the battle of the kings (Gen. 14:1–16) by omitting many foreign names, by recomposing the narrative into three principal scenes, and by expanding on the story in the tradition of OE martial art. Orchard then considers patristic influence on the poem, which he finds reflected in the poet's "unbiblical insistence" (50) that the battle was between the forces of north and south (the north being associated—as everyone at my university will tell you in a different context—with evil), in the poet's stress on Abraham's defeating an immense army with few men (so the power of faith, so the virtue of grace), and in the poet's elevation of the king of Elam to a position of prime importance (Elam representing, in the thought of Jerome, the worldly world). The *Genesis A* poet's knowledge of patristic tradition may have come through Latin verse as well as through prose commentaries. In particular, Prudentius's version of the episode in *Psychomachia* has five features for which "it is possible to point to parallel techniques employed by the poet of *Genesis*" (55): Prudentius uses secular heroic diction, stresses the role of booty, incorporates verbal and structural parallels, employs wordplay and other rhetorical devices, and "hints at the exegetical penumbra of tradition" (56). "Whether or not one regards the *Psychomachia* of Prudentius as source or literary impetus for this heroic set piece in the Old English *Genesis*, the poem provides, I suggest, a useful analogue for the way in which a poet steeped in heroic tradition can interpret and elaborate a promising piece of scripture. In both cases, though the rendering is far from faithful, the sense is always full of faith" (57). Orchard's entire essay is as fruitful as the last sentence quoted.

Colette Stévanovitch explores "L'Exil des justes dans la *Genèse A* vicil-anglaise" (*Lez Valenciennes* 15 [1993], 13–25). After pointing out that exile was so unbearable to the Anglo-Saxon heroic world because it meant deprivation of one's corporate identity, Stévanovitch notes that in *Genesis A* God uses exile to punish Lucifer, Adam and Eve, and Cain. If exile is a punishment, however, how is one to explain Abraham's exile, the exile of a good and godly man—especially when the poet goes beyond Scripture to stress the hardships Abraham had to face? Stévanovitch maintains that Abraham's exile should

be seen from a Christian perspective, as the experience of one who recognizes that he is a pilgrim on earth in search of a better country, a heavenly homeland (Heb. 11:8–16). For Abraham and, to a lesser extent, for Lot, exile becomes a way of achieving union with God, who replaces the clan as the ground of value. Like the *Seafarer* poet, the author of *Genesis A* spiritualizes the theme of exile, inviting the audience to see a negative experience in a positive light. Stévanovitch's essay must be one of the most sensible to come out of France, mired in the miasma of sciolistic theory—which it has been ungracious enough to export—in the last decade.

Exodus

Turn now from Abraham and the Old English *Genesis A* to "Abraham and the Old English *Exodus*" (*Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Henk Aertsen and Rolf H. Bremmer, Jr. [Amsterdam: VU University Press], 189–200), in which William Helder begins with a brief, selective survey of figural readings of the poem. Helder holds that "instead of arbitrarily limiting the use of typological criticism to the attempt to explain only the obviously unrealistic collocations in *Exodus*, we should feel free to discover and appreciate the way the poem with unusual effectiveness exploits the typology of baptism" (193). Whereupon Helder launches a typological reading devoted to Abraham's role in *Exodus*. Whenever the poet mentions Abraham or the Israelites as journeying from exile to the land promised to Abraham, Helder supposes that the reference has a typological aspect. He emphasizes the "patriarchal digression," which, "symbolically speaking is not a digression at all" (196): Noah's flood is a type of baptism, the sacrifice of Isaac a type of the crucifixion, and Solomon's temple a type of the church. After Moses addresses the Israelites on the shore of the Red Sea, "Their thoroughly Germanic celebration typologically represents the feasting of the church triumphant" (199). Despite his claim to the contrary, Helder's discussion is not so much an original analysis as a florilegium of earlier figurally oriented arguments. Since he does not attempt to justify his symbolic reading on the basis of "unrealistic collocations"—elements that cannot readily be explained on the literal level—his discussion is likely to appeal only to readers (like me) who are already members of the choir.

Steven F. Kruger approaches the poem much differently. In "Oppositions and Their Opposition in the Old English *Exodus*" (*Neophilologus* 78, 165–70), he concedes that the *Exodus* poet employs fundamental oppositions, for example, the Egyptians as opposed to the Israelites. "If we consider only such clear-cut oppositions, the moral universe of *Exodus* seems simple. But, even as the poem establishes its oppositions, it sets up a forceful movement to distort, and even destroy, some of the barriers that separate Egyptian and Israelite, the destructive and the protective, the good and the bad" (166). To illustrate how "oppositions are consistently undermined" (167), Kruger adduces, for example, the protecting pillar of fire and the menacing heat of day, the Red Sea as both a threat and haven for the Israelites, the destructive/creative power of Noah's flood, the "terrible evening-song" of both the wolves

and Israelites, the terror of the Israelites when pursued by the Egyptians and the terror of the Egyptians when engulfed by the sea, the similar mustering of the Egyptian or Israelite warriors, and the simultaneous description of the tenth plague on Egypt and release of the Israelites from Egyptian bondage. Most of these examples do not suggest to me the undermining of oppositions but the probing of distinctions, the very soul of paradox, the very heart of Christianity. In any case Kruger contends that as "the oppositions of *Exodus* direct us toward allegory," the "blurring of distinctions forces us into irresolution and pushes us toward the historical and literal" (168). Not always. The present writer has argued that the contradictory descriptions of the Red Sea invite a symbolic interpretation of this aspect of the poem ("Old English *Exodus* and the Sea of Contradiction," *Mediaevalia* 9 [1986 for 1983], 25–44). In pursuing his argument, however, Kruger makes a point on the poem's final half-verse that could not be bettered. After noting that the poet calls the dead Egyptians *drihtfolca mæst* (590b), a term also used to characterize the tribe of Juda (322a), Kruger remarks, "The poet suggests, for the last time, the common humanity of Israelites and Egyptians, and, in so doing, calls to mind the Egyptians' human potential for good. Even while he emphasizes the disastrous failure of their way of life, the *Exodus* poet shows us the Egyptians as human beings who *could have* chosen a path other than the one they did; who, had they made a different set of moral choices, could have, like the Israelites, become a true 'drihtfolca mæst'" (169).

In "Habakkuk 1:8 as a Source for *Exodus* 161–69" (*Neophilologus* 77 [1993], 161–62), reviewed in the *OEN* 28.2 (1995), 35, Andrew Breeze argues that the *Exodus* poet drew on the Book of Habakkuk. In "The Book of Habakkuk and Old English *Exodus*" (*ES* 75, 210–13), Breeze continues the argument, focusing on two passages. First, he calls attention to the poet's statement that the Israelites were forced to take a northern route in fleeing Egypt because they knew that Ethiopia lay to the south, a sun-scorched land (68–71a). Breeze observes that Hab. 3:7, "I saw the tents of Ethiopia for their iniquity: the curtains of the land of Madian shall be troubled" (Douay), was related to Israel's exodus by Theodore of Mopsuestia (ca. 350–ca. 428) in his commentary on the minor prophets. "If *Exodus* did borrow from Theodore of Mopsuestia, it would be a striking instance of Greek patristic influence on Old English poetry. But a case can be made for it, as we know that Theodore was studied in early England, thanks to his fellow-countryman, Theodore of Tarsus, Archbishop of Canterbury 669–90" (211). The difficulty, as Breeze concedes, is that there is no evidence for an early Latin translation of the elder Theodore's commentary on the minor prophets. The second place to which Breeze calls attention is line 202a, where the *Exodus* poet says, in reference to the Israelites' fear at the Egyptians' approach, *weredon wælnet*, which Breeze construes as "deadly nets enclosed them" as opposed to alternate renderings proposed by Peter J. Lucas, "they [the Israelites] donned their corslets" or "corslets hindered [the Israelites in

their desire to run away]." Breeze comments, "But a meaning 'nets of death' can be supported from Habakkuk 1:14–17, on vengeance taken on the wicked Jews by the Chaldeans" (213). The passage Breeze cites from Habakkuk thrice refers to fishing nets used by an unnamed wicked ruler to catch men. Breeze's conclusion sounds equally piscine: "If the *Exodus* poet had this in mind when describing the Egyptian attack on the Israelites, an allusion to 'nets of death' would not be forced" (213).

Although Peter J. Lucas's *Exodus* (Exeter: Exeter Univ. Press) is billed as a "revised edition," Lucas himself in his new preface more accurately calls it a "slightly revised reissue of a book first published in 1977." In the preface Lucas lists six instances in which he has altered his earlier text: these turn out to be two places in which he has exchanged *eth* for *thorn* or *thorn* for *eth* to bring the text into agreement with the manuscript (7b, 200a), two places in which he has altered punctuation (149–50a, 419a), and two places in which he has played with emendations (487a, 567a). Lucas also notes in the preface that he has now credited "several" mis-attributed emendations "to their rightful originators," introduced a few changes into the commentary and glossary, and augmented the bibliography "to provide references to works published since 1977, so that everyone can readily discover where others think I went wrong." Lucas's comprehensive (if not exhaustive) extension of the bibliography is the most valuable element of his slightly revised reissue and a true service to students of the poem. The most pleasing aspect of the slightly revised reissue, however, comes in the middle paragraph of the new preface:

Re-reading one's own work after a gap of some years can be a source of embarrassment, and there are many more improvements I might have wished to make *nu us boceras heteran segað*. I wish I had had the benefit of the constructive comments made by reviewers. I wish I had had the benefit of reading the wealth of bibliographical items that have appeared since the book first came out. I wish I had expressed clearly the pleasure and stimulus provided by the work of Ted Irving, who edited this fascinating poem before I did. But more substantive modifications will have to await another occasion.

Another occasion? Near the end of the preface Lucas thanks the University of Exeter Press "for encouraging me to set aside other distractions and proceed with this one."

Daniel

Perhaps I have mistitled this section: "The Old English poem *Daniel*, which paraphrases the first part of the Old Testament Book of Daniel, has an emphasis so divergent from its source that its modern title is hardly appropriate. *Nebuchadnezzar* would have been a more suitable title, because the focus of the poet's attention is the king and his moody spiritual fluctuations, not the prophetic abilities of Daniel on which the biblical writer concentrates": so Antonina Harbus, "Nebuchadnezzar's Dreams in the Old English *Daniel*" (*ES* 75, 489–508 [489]). (Cf. Francis Costello Brennan, ed., "The Old English *Daniel*," Diss., Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 1967, xvi–xvii: "[T]he role of Daniel himself is clearly secondary to that of Nebuchadnezzar through-

out most of the poem. . . . The minor importance of Daniel is striking, particularly in a narrative to which modern scholarship has given his name.") To support the argument, Harbus compares Nebuchadnezzar's two dreams in the biblical account with the dreams as narrated in *Daniel*, pointing out that the OE poet downplayed the content of the dreams and Daniel's dream-reading powers while stressing the king's arrogance. As part of her analysis of the first dream, Harbus argues in favor of retaining MS *metod* as against emending to *mēted* at line 119b, *No he gemunde | þæt him metod wæs*, which she would translate as "He did not remember at all that he had a lord," as opposed to "He did not remember what he had dreamed" (496–97). A difficulty with retaining the manuscript reading is that one would expect a long syllable for the first lift of a B-verse (*mēted*), not a short one (*metod*). As Harbus perhaps implies, however, the poet may have been willing to purchase a pun at the price of metrical precision: "The reader expects a comment [as in the biblical story] on Nebuchadnezzar's unremembered dream; with considerable rhetorical effect, the poet substitutes a remark on Nebuchadnezzar's pride, of which the neglect of God is the most serious manifestation" (498). Harbus finds the poet wielding similar verbal dexterity in his account of the second dream and of the king's beastly exile and later conversion. Further, she contends that even where the focus is not directly on Nebuchadnezzar, as at the poem's beginning (the fall of Jerusalem) and at the poem's ending (Belthazzar's feast), the king's sins are anticipated or reprised. "The result is a didactically effective behavioural model for the contemporary Anglo-Saxon audience, for whom pride and active atonement were more pertinent than Old Testament prophecy" (508). A solid, sensitive, thoughtful essay.

Daniel and Christ and Satan

Some years ago I argued that the compiler of the poems in MS Junius 11 selected the works to compose a version of salvation history ("The Old English Epic of Redemption: The Theological Unity of MS Junius 11," *Traditio* 32 [1976], 185–208). In pursuing the argument, I considered whether the principle informing the collection might be the Holy Saturday readings in the Paschal liturgy but rejected the idea for various reasons, among them the fact that only five of the twelve readings in the closest tradition correspond to material in the Junius Manuscript. While acknowledging that the principle of compilation of the manuscript is related to the Paschal liturgy, I maintained that a better explanation lies in the tradition of sacred history in Augustine's *De catechizandis rudibus*, a tradition reflected in Wulfstan's Sermon 6. In "Remnant' and Ritual: The Place of *Daniel* and *Christ and Satan* in the Junius Epic" (*ES* 75, 408–22), Phyllis Portnoy argues that "the liturgy offers a precedent and perhaps even a source for the problem of narrative sequence in the Junius poems" (408). That the set of twelve Holy Saturday readings "offers a precedent" I do not dispute; any treatment of salvation history before the early eleventh century would offer a prece-

dent. That the twelve readings are a likely source guiding the compilation I still find doubtful. In challenging my rejection of the liturgy as the compiler's specific informing principle, Portnoy observes, "Hall's criticism of all liturgical approaches is misleading, in that his assessment of their failure is based upon the imperfect correspondence between the number and ordering of the poems and the number and ordering of the lections. This criterion disregards the symbolic relationship between the historical events. In the sacred history rehearsed in both the poems and the lections, each event features a central figure, a 'holy remnant' delivered from destruction through faith and grace" (409). The difficulty with suggesting a "holy remnant" as the compiler's guiding light is that the theme is much too broad, occurring in the great majority of books in the Old Testament, and lacks a principle of exclusion. The difficulty can be seen in a glance at Portnoy's chart (422), in which she tries to forge a correspondence between seven Holy Saturday readings and the material in Junius 11. The seven readings (readings 5 through 11) and Portnoy's thematic characterization of each are as follows: "prophetic readings: 5. Isa. 54.10 & 55: Israel forgiven (Deliverance), 6. Bar. 3: Israel pleading for forgiveness (Judgement), 7. Ezek. 37: the Valley of the Dry Bones (Deliverance), 8. Isa. 4: Israel cleansed (Judgement & Deliverance), historical/prophetic readings: 9. Exod. 12: Institution of the Passover, 10. Jonah 3: Conversion of Nineveh (Faith), 11. Deut. 31–2: the Covenant forsaken (Apostasy)" (my colons after the italicized words and my commas throughout). To which material in Junius 11 do these readings correspond? Readings 5, 6, 7, 8, 10, 11 all correspond, according to Portnoy, to *Daniel* 1–56, on the sinfulness of Israel and the fall of Jerusalem. Perhaps the Junius compiler had the Valley of Dry Bones and the Conversion of Nineveh in mind when he read these lines in *Daniel*, but I doubt it. Readings 9 and 11, according to Portnoy, correspond to *Exodus*. The *Exodus* poet, however, does not narrate the Institution of the Passover, and the material in Deut. 31–32, the farewell of Moses and the Song of Moses, is set many years after the crossing of the Red Sea. Perhaps I am simply disregarding the "symbolic relationship" between events. The term seems so elastic in Portnoy's hands, however, it can be made to stretch any point. Be that as it may, her essay is learned and lucid. Among other things, she makes illuminating remarks on the theme of remembering in *Daniel* (see also Harbus above) and on the imagery of hands in *Christ and Satan*.

Christ and Satan

In "Christ as Narrator in the Old English *Christ and Satan*" (*ES* 75, 2–16), Robert Emmett Finnegan maintains, "When read against the literary and theological traditions that shape it, the poem suggests a narrator of curious capacities and wide personal experience and knowledge: to know what the poem suggests he knows, to do what the poem suggests he does, the narrator in all probability has to be Christ" (2). As an example of the special knowledge the narrator possesses, Finnegan cites the words Satan speaks after he first lands in

hell, words quoted by the narrator without any authenticating source of information, e.g., "a *gefrigan* formula" (2). Further, says Finnegan, the poet has the narrator give details at variance with Scripture. For example, according to Matthew 28 and Mark 16, angels announce news of the Resurrection to women, who in turn tell the Apostles; according to *Christ and Satan*, Christ himself orders angels to convey the news directly to his followers. The only narrator who could "validate such assertions" contrary to Scripture "must perforce be divine himself" (10). But what of the hortatory passages in which the narrator includes himself as among those in need of salvation, as among those who should pay honor to Christ (e.g., lines 189–223)? Can such a narrator be identified as divine? Finnegan's answer is that Augustine taught that Christ is the narrator of the *Psalms*, even those spoken in the voice of a sinner. "Augustine's narrator of the *Psalms* and my narrator of *XST* share sufficient qualities to suggest that they are identical. That is, the narrator of *XST* speaks like Augustine's Psalmist, sometimes as God, sometimes as man, but always, I think, as Christ" (16). So Finnegan. Hereafter let no one doubt *Christ and Satan's* bizarre power over critics. Augustine taught that Christ is the narrator of the *Psalms*, but no Anglo-Saxon would have thought that *Christ and Satan*, like the *Psalms*, is inspired Scripture. It is easier to believe that the poet, like all other OE scriptural poets, simply invented various details than that he uniquely envisioned Christ as his narrator. Further, the same arguments Finnegan advances for identifying Christ as the narrator of *Christ and Satan* could be advanced for identifying Christ as the narrator of *Genesis B*, who, "we may be sure is not presented to us as divine" (3).

Christ and Satan and *The Dream of the Rood*

David F. Johnson ponders "Old English Religious Poetry: *Christ and Satan* and *The Dream of the Rood*" (*Companion to Old English Poetry*, as above, 159–87). After a nod to *Cædmon* as the originator of OE Christian verse, Johnson turns to *Christ and Satan* to explore its comitatus imagery, which he sees as a Christian-secular blend. Riveting his attention is the fact that the poet describes Satan as both chained in hell and as compelled to wander paths of exile. To resolve the apparent discrepancy, Johnson cites the Tyconian Rules for interpreting Scripture, as given by Augustine in *De Doctrina Christiana*, III. As Christ is the head of the Church and the Church is his body, says Tyconius, so the evil are Satan's body and he is their head. "Thus, one way of reading the passages discussed here is to understand that when Satan speaks of 'flying out' (ll. 111ff.), of himself carrying back down to hell the souls of men (ll. 114ff.), or of snatching them down with his own 'hands' (ll. 267–8), such actions are to be understood 'not with reference to himself, but rather to his body'. . . [T]he pair of images discussed here helps the poet, within his didactic framework, to illustrate an important Christian paradox: the simultaneous power and impotence of the sin and evil embodied in Satan" (175). The point is learnedly pur-

sued and the paradox memorably put, but I wonder if it does justice to lines 111–13—"But I, and more of you who authored the beginning of this pride, must from time to time take wing in flight to seek out homes" (Johnson's translation, 170)—which seem to say that Satan himself as well as his henchdevils will occasionally depart hell. I wonder, again, if Satan's hell bondage might be construed as primarily metaphorical. "[F]or where we are is hell," Marlowe's Mephistophilis confides to Faustus, "And where hell is, there must we ever be," a notion also implied in *Christ and Satan* 263b–64. Taking up the *Dream of the Rood*, Johnson focuses on the eschatological imagery of lines 1–26 and asks, "what exactly is the significance of the shifting appearance of the Cross as portrayed in 21b–3?" (182). In answer, Johnson cites the tradition that at the Last Judgment the damned will see Christ in his wounded human state but the saved will see him in deific splendor. "The Cross is recognized by the Dreamer as a symbol for Christ; and yet it is both significant and logical that it is not Christ Himself who appears before him; after all, this is not a vision of the true last Judgment, but one that prefigures that event. The ambivalence of the Cross's aspect serves to heighten the Dreamer's anxiety, for he does not at that moment know which he will see on the real Last Day—Christ's shining face or His wounds" (184).

The Dream of the Rood and *the Ruthwell Cross*

In "Rood and Ruthwell: The Power of Paradox" (*ELN* 31, 6–12), Margaret Jennings maintains that the pervasive paradoxes in the *Dream of the Rood* and on the Ruthwell Cross are to be explained by "the religious context out of which both emanate," a context "consistently characterized by liturgical celebration" (6). After an erudite survey devoted to the role of the cross in early Christian thought, Jennings considers various panels on the Ruthwell Cross, finding unity in the hypostatic union: "Cumulatively, the significance of the sculptures on the north face (Evangelists, John the Baptist, Christ in Majesty, the Hermits, the Flight into Egypt, and the Nativity) attests to the divinity of Christ; those on the south face (Archer, Visitation, Mary Magdalene, Blind Man, Annunciation, Crucifixion) point to his humanity" (10). The Ruthwell Cross and the *Dream of the Rood* are linked by more than the fact that the Ruthwell Cross carries lines also found in the Vercelli poem. "[T]he connection between cross and poem transcends textuality and results from a realization on the part of both artists of the ultimate paradox in the Christian life, a realization taught and reinforced by liturgical action, that like Christ the Christian must suffer the cross and thus enter into glory" (10–11).

The Dream of the Rood and *The Wanderer*

In "Dream-Theory in *The Dream of the Rood* and *The Wanderer*" (*RES* 45, 475–85), Andrew Galloway discusses Gregory's comments on dreams in *Moralia* and elsewhere as background for analyzing the dreams in the two title poems. Gregory teaches that worldly cares and voices must be stilled so that

the "ear of the heart" can hear God's voice. Similarly, in the *Dream of the Rood* the dream comes to the narrator *syðþan reordberend | reste wunedon* (3). His dream over, the narrator stresses its effect on him: "In lingering on the aftermath of the dream—on the 'awakening' that occurs in many senses—the narrator of *The Dream of the Rood* develops dream-theory through a narrative mode that is distinctly different from Gregory's comments but fully consonant with Old English poetic idioms. For scenes of awakening are dramatized moments of realization, reassessment, and sometimes action in several other Old English poems" (479). Galloway also points out similarities and differences between Gregory's analysis of dreams and the dream in the *Wanderer*. Here the narrator's dream about his erstwhile lord may be identified as a *vana illusio*, a snare from which Gregory warns the righteous to keep free "the foot of the heart." (Although he may lack Augustine's rhetorical gorgeousness, Gregory, the brain of his heart pumping cardiac thought, does have his metaphorical moments.) *Vana* though his *illusio* may be, the *Wanderer* narrator's dream helps lead him to the conclusion that the temporal world is temporal. If the poets of the *Dream of the Rood* and the *Wanderer* were influenced by Gregory's comments on dreams, they nonetheless added new emphasis on the awakened state. "In both poems, interactions between the mind's visions and the waking world are explored by dwelling on the moments of awakening, a focus that is prepared for but not made inevitable by the topoi of Old English poetry. It is not an emphasis pursued by later dream-visions. Such a narrative attention in these contexts to awakening serves to point up the ethical question implicit in any dream-theory: after such a dream, what should we do in our waking lives?" (485).

The Dream of the Rood

The late Peter Clemoes gives us "King and Creation at the Crucifixion: the Contribution of Native Tradition to *The Dream of the Rood* 50–6a" (*Heroes and Heroines in Medieval English Literature*, as above, 31–43). In lines 50–56a the cross says, "Many cruel events have I endured on that hill. I saw the God of hosts stretched severely. Darkness had covered with clouds the ruler's corpse, the bright radiance, shadow advanced, dusky beneath the clouds. [All creation wept, lamented the king's fall]" (33–34). Clemoes contrasts the hill of crucifixion with that on which Beowulf was buried: Beowulf's *beorg* is a human memorial, but Christ's *beorg* is "the epicentre of the spiritual realm," drawing towards it non-human as well as human creation (33). Clemoes next considers the play of dark and light in the passage against the background of Latin religious thought and the vernacular poetic tradition and finds, first, that the poet was "thinking of the darkness at the crucifixion as a night overcoming a day" (36) and, second, that the reference to Christ's corpse as "bright radiance" both reflects the association of light with divine power and uses to good effect the appositional technique of OE verse. Clemoes goes on to observe that, although the idea of creation's lamenting

the crucifixion can be paralleled elsewhere, there appears to be no parallel in the Latin Christian tradition for creation's actually weeping. It is true that some scholars have added the myth of nature's weeping at the death Orpheus to explain the image; the Orpheus legend, however, seems "altogether too remote" as a source for the poet (40). Also to be discounted as a source for the image is the Old Norse myth that all creatures wept upon Baldr's death because, among other reasons, "There is nothing at all Norse about the language of *The Dream* 55b–6a" (41). Finally, Clemoes compares nature's weeping in the poem with the happy tears the queen in *Elene* shed when she discovered the crucifixion nails (1131b–38a). "Nothing further, I submit, is needed to account for the tears of grief in *The Dream* than the reverence they share with the tears of joy in *Elene*" (43).

Christ II

Thomas D. Hill addresses a well known passage that had long confounded me until I read his article, "The Anchor of Hope and the Sea of This World: *Christ II*, 850–66" (*ES* 75, 289–92). Hill puts the problem succinctly: "Lines 850–856A speak of 'our' situation as if we were at sea; but lines 856B–863 read as if 'we' had already been rescued.—'Wæs se drohtað strong / ærþon we to londe geliden hæfde' ('our situation was harsh before we reached land') and yet in the concluding lines of the passage we are back at sea fixing our hope on the harbor which the ascended Lord of the heavens has cleared for us" (290). No such chronological legerdemain occurs in Cynewulf's source, homily xxix in Gregory's *Homilia xl in euangelia*; in fact, the corresponding sentence in Gregory includes only one certain nautical image, the anchor of hope. Cynewulf creates a complex context around the image. "The point," says Hill, "is that the Christian in this life is from one perspective blessed and protected, and yet from another threatened and vulnerable" (290). Hill illustrates the point by citing Augustine, *In Iohannis epistulam ad Parthos Tractatus*, II, ii, 10: "As yet we bear the mortality of the flesh, and take future immortality upon trust; and on the sea we are tossed about by the waves, but we have the anchor of hope already fixed upon the land" (291). Toward the end of the essay, Hill wonders if the sea/land paradox may be reflected in the compounds linking nautical and terrestrial elements Cynewulf's uses in the passage for "ship": *sundhengest* 'ocean-horse,' *flodwudu* 'ocean-wood,' and *yðmeare* 'wave-mare.' Hill acknowledges that this argument is speculative but believes, rightly, that he has solved the chronological problem. "[I]nsofar as we recognize the richness of Cynewulf's artistry we are in one sense securely anchored, even though the voyage of interpretation may still continue" (292).

Christ III

In "Some Reflections on the Metre of *Christ III*" (*From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English: Studies Presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad [Oxford: Clarendon Press], 33–59), Jane Roberts says that

"the meat" of her article is to be found "in the presentation of the A₃ half-lines of *Christ III* (Table 1)" (3). The essay is more than a one-course meal served on a single table, however; two other tables, devoted to anacrusis and hypermetric lines, offer further food for thought even for those of us with limited relish for Bliss's metrical system, on which the present analysis is predicated. Table 1 is divided into two categories: A, half-lines in which "the stress falls on a noun, adjective, adverb, numeral, or 'heavy' pronoun"; and B, half-lines in which "the stress falls on a verb." Categories A and B, in turn, are further divided. One important finding the list highlights is that such half-verses as *æfter þære synne* (*Genesis A* 1042a)—which do not occur in clause-initial position and which "through lack of a sentence particle in the initial dip" (40) violate Kuhn's (so-called) second law—are found in *Christ III* with prepositions other than *æfter*. For this and other reasons Roberts observes that, metrically, the poem is "very different, both from *Beowulf*, and from the Cynewulfian poems with which it is generally grouped" (43). Underlining the conclusion are the data on normal half-verses containing anacrusis in Table 2, which shows the occurrence of anacrusis in seven off-verses (two of which, however, might be classified as hypermetric). The hypermetric verses in Table 3 fall into two groups, those with two stresses and those with three. A notable characteristic displayed in this table, Roberts notes, is the number of unmated hypermetric verses. "Overall the most striking feature of the half-line in *Christ III* is the frequency with which its patterns repeat themselves" (57), a trait nicely exemplified in the homiletic passage of lines 1061–68, which suggests that the poet was influenced by the vernacular homiletic tradition.

J.R.H.

c. *Beowulf*

Text, Language, Meter

A surprising proportion of our sense of the meaning of *Beowulf* depends upon lines we don't thoroughly understand. Perhaps the most vexed example of this is found in a passage explaining the hero's death, where it is mentioned that some sort of curse was laid on the horde. Of course we would very much like to know why the hero has died—was it God's will? was it his own fault?—and these are the very lines that might clear things up for us, if only we could read them. It is stated pretty clearly that those who placed the horde in the ground solemnly pronounced a spell on it, so that whoever disturbed it would be guilty of sins, fast in the bonds of hell, and so on—and then the sense breaks down utterly: lines 3074–5 read "næs he goldhwæte gearwor hæfde / agendes est ær gesceawod." These lines have been a puzzle since the days of Thorkelin and Kemble; they are so clearly in need of editorial intervention, but no one can agree where or how to intervene. Many bold scholars have entered the fray against this mysterious passage, twisting and tweaking nearly every word with a proposed emendation, wringing weird echoes of sense from the

text like a Templar's confession. The lines and the scholars alike have emerged bloody but unbowed, and in its obstinate senselessness the passage has earned the sobriquet *locus desperatus*. Even Klaeber gave up, finally shrugging off the numerous proposed solutions with an uncharacteristically gallic note, "*embarras de richesse*." I suspect that a typical reader simply turns up his collar and hurries by the passage, whistling past this graveyard of scholarly conjecture.

Claus-Dieter Wetzel's "*Beowulf* 3074f.—ein *locus desperatus*?" (in Grinda and Wetzel, eds., *Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 113–66) is another valiant attempt to shine some light into this dark cranny of the poem. The sheer vast bulk of this article reflects the long and energetic tradition of critical ignorance of the passage's meaning rather than the size of the two short lines discussed. Wetzel manages to marshal his great armies of evidence and argument in a coherent and convincing way, first offering 30 pages of learned commentary and discussion of previous attempts at solving this textual crisis, then—the reader by now breathless with anticipation, if not just plain breathless—proposing his own solution. He understands the general sense of the passage as a repetition of the idea expressed in 3054f: 'næfne god sylfa, / sigora soðcyning, sealde þam ðe he wolde / —he is manna gehyld—hord openian, / cfne swa hwylcum manna swa him gemet ðuhte." Wetzel proposes that the MS *næs he* be emended to *næfne*, an emendation proposed commonly enough; he further argues that *hæfde* be taken as an unusual but not unprecedented instance of an early OE preterite subjunctive plural form, for which he provides evidence from both prose and poetry. A scribal misunderstanding of this form, he suggests, caused the error that turned 'næfne' into 'næs he'. In this reading *goldhwæte* is a plural adjectival noun, referring to the two heroes, *Beowulf* and *Wiglaf*. He translates "wenn die nach dem Gold Strebenden [Beowulf und Wiglaf] nicht vorher [d.h. bevor sie sich anschickten, den Schatz zu bergen] schneller [, als der Höllenfluch wirksam werden konnte.] die Gnade des Herrn geschaut hätten [d.h. das Einverständnis Gottes erlangt hätten]." (163). Wetzel concludes that a combination of scribal revision and editorial/critical misunderstanding, not the inherent difficulty of the words in the passage, has led to the designation of these lines as a *locus desperatus*. The solution he offers is plausible, thoroughly argued and meticulously presented; whether it will prevail, or simply add to the gleaming *embarras de richesse*, remains to be seen.

Certain readings in *Beowulf* become fixed by habit and *consensus gentium*; after a while we may find ourselves reading not the poem but our invisible and inevitable translation of the poem. Against this tendency Fred C. Robinson offers an open mind, a little careful attention, and a copy of the Healey-Venezky *Microfiche Concordance*. His essay "Did Grendel's Mother Sit on *Beowulf*?" (in Godden et al, eds., *From Anglo-Saxon to Middle English*, pp. 1–7) succeeds in dispelling a bizarre image in one of the most dramatic moments in the whole poem: during the fight with Grendel's mother, the hero stumbles and, the poet insists, his monstrous opponent "ofsæt

þa þone selegyst" (line 1545). This image—Grendel's mother plopping down on top of the unfortunate Beowulf—evokes titters from students, awkward circumlocutions from translators eager to preserve the poem's dignity, and knowing leers from post-Freudian critics; it's a zany moment in an otherwise stark passage. Now, alas, Robinson argues convincingly that the word *ofset* does not mean "sat on" at all. In its 36 other appearances in the OE corpus it means things like "beset, besiege, oppress, possess, press upon"—never quite anything as physical as "sit on"—and so in this passage in *Beowulf*, its only appearance in the poetic corpus, it is likely to mean the same thing (Robinson suggests "she set upon the hall-guest"). He notes that "to point this out is a modest textual gain, perhaps, but it is a useful reminder that many of the textual judgements which have become established in the past might well be due for reassessment in light of the evidence which has been placed at our disposal by the Healey-Venezky *Concordance*, a scholarly tool the importance of which can hardly be overemphasized" (7). It is equally a useful reminder that every one of our literary opinions is always based upon a text whose meaning we must still struggle to discover, and may never quite master.

Fred Robinson offers four "Textual Notes on *Beowulf*" (in Grinda and Wetzel, *Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 107–12). The first proposes to emend 386b, 'hat in gan', to 'hat [hi] in gan'; the second emends 389a 'Deniga leodum' to 'Deniga weorode' and dispenses with the writing of further lines; the third proposes that we leave line 1106, 'þonne hit sweordes ecg syððan scolde', alone: "I read 1106 has having a darkly cryptic sense such as 'it will be up to the sword' or 'it will be left to the sword'. One can almost imagine the line being punctuated with the modern story-writer's device of dramatic ellipses" (11). The fourth note argues for the preservation of the MS reading 'drihten wereda' in 2186a as a common formula in OE verse even without its Christian connotations. As usual Robinson's suggestions are offered with support from the text, the language, and his own subtle sense of OE poetic style; they help us to a better understanding of the meaning of the poem, one line at a time.

Alfred Bammesberger's "Zu *Beowulf* 386–394" (*Anglia* 112, 107–14) examines the same lines as Robinson's "Textual Notes" and proposes slight alternatives: he suggests 'Deniga weorum' for 'Deniga leodum' as preferable on palaeographical grounds to Robinson's proposed 'Deniga weorode'; he suggests that 'sibbedegriht' 387a is the object of 'hat', and 'seon' a parallel verb with its object (Hrothgar) unexpressed: 'hat in gan seon sibbedegriht' he translates as "command that troop of men to come in and see." A further possibility is that 'seon' is to be read as passive "that they may be seen"; Bammesberger admits that "In Anbetracht der Vielfalt der hier bestehenden Möglichkeiten ist eine endgültige Entscheidung wohl nicht möglich" (112).

Eric G. Stanley deploys his famous cautious skepticism against the appealing concept of *apo koinou* constructions in "Ἀπο Κοινου, Chiefly in *Beowulf*" (in Grinda and Wetzel,

eds., *Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 181–207). He begins by admitting, "I have little faith that the term *apo koinou* as applied to Old English, is more than, in the first place, Greek for an uncertainty in a reader's understanding, and, only in the second place, if at all, Greek for an ambiguity, or amphiboly as is has been called as if to suggest that it were a figure in Rhetoric, in an Anglo-Saxon writer" (181). A language with fluid syntactical structures and variable standards of punctuation, and which allows the non-expression of subject pronouns, may give rise to many cases in which the modern reader cannot tell whether a clause belongs with what precedes it or what follows it, and is therefore tempted to label the situation 'apo koinou'. Stanley closely reviews the work of H. D. Merritt on the subject, and finds that in most cases the uncertainty arises in the modern reader, not the Old English text, and for a genuine 'apo koinou' construction, he notes, "what is needed is syntactical control in the writing, not just syntactical uncertainty in the reading" (188). In instance after instance Stanley shows that what seems like a genuine 'apo koinou' is more probably a modern hesitation over where to assign syntactic boundaries. "The means of connecting clauses are often loose in *Beowulf*," he concludes; "[a]t the same time, the poet's additive and annexive method of composition, in Robinson's terminology, his 'appositive' style, leads the grammatically trained modern reader to wish for a more rigorous syntax than the Anglo-Saxon poet and the transmitting scribes (with their undependable punctuation) provide for what are often complex ideas" (207). The expression 'apo koinou' is our term for a perceived lack of grammatical rigor; its use depends as much on our perception of things as it does on the structures of Old English itself.

Aspect is a somewhat controversial category of analysis in Old English; Peter Richardson's "Imperfective Aspect and Episode Structure in *Beowulf*" (*JEGP* 93, 313–25) takes a matter-of-fact approach to the question: "aspect is . . . a sentence-level phenomenon which indicates whether a situation is seen as complete or incomplete, or as beginning, ending, continuing, or repeating" (314). He then goes on to analyse the use of shifts in aspect, from 'perfective' to 'imperfective', as narrative markers; his particular interest is in "motion and perception verbs followed by infinitives" (315) where the infinitive does the duty of a modern present participle and the construction indicates ongoing action. The most famous example is the repeated 'com . . . scriðan', 'com . . . gongan', 'com . . . siðian' in Grendel's approach to Heorot. Richardson notes that "imperfective constructions seem to signal the beginning of new and significant episodes, while the individual events within these episodes tend to be narrated perfectly" (319). By stressing perception and location—he saw him suffering, they heard the horn sounding; he came gliding, he went to seek out—these imperfective constructions also establish point of view in the narrative, the place in which the action occurs and from which we follow it. Richardson's carefully limited claims are intriguing; they are a useful step "towards a more general theory of narrative pragmatics in Old

and Middle English poetry" (325).

Mark Griffith's "*Beowulf* 1495: *hwil dages = momentum temporis?*" (*N&Q* 41, 144–46) puzzles over the length of time it takes *Beowulf* to dive to the bottom of Grendel's mere. The expression used, *hwil dages*, is usually rendered "the space of a day" or "most of a day," giving the hero a superhuman lung capacity in addition to his other endowments. Fred Robinson has argued that the phrase means "daytime" or "broad daylight," a reading supported by other occurrences of the expression in OE poetry. Griffith proposes that *hwil* means more specifically "a moment" or "a brief time" and *dag* means more generally "time," so the expression can mean "a very brief space of time."

Koichi Jin's "Emending *Beowulf* 1333" (*Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 31, 12–16) proposes that the difficult expression 'fille gefrægnod' be emended to 'fille gefrægnode', arguing that Klaeber's 'gefrægnod' is not idiomatic.

Shigero Ono's "Grendel's Not Greeting the *gífstol* Reconsidered—with Special Reference to **motan* with the Negative" (*Poetica* (Toyko) 41, 11–17) takes issue with Fred Robinson's solution to the crux at 168–9 proposed last year in *Words, Texts, and Manuscripts* (ed. Korhammer, pp. 257–62; Robinson's article was reviewed here last year). There Robinson suggested that *no he þone gífstol gretan moste* could mean "by no means did he have to show respect for the throne," taking the modal *moste* to mean 'have to' rather than 'be allowed to' or 'be able to'. Ono disagrees, pointing out that while *motan* can mean 'must' in Old English, it apparently never means this when accompanied by the negative. In all examples in *Beowulf*, *ne motan* seems to mean 'not be permitted to'; elsewhere in OE it seems to mean the same thing. "If we take *moste* with the negative in *Beowulf* 168 to mean 'was not compelled to, did not have to', as Robinson proposes to do, it will be a single instance of a quite exceptional use of this verb" (15). Ono cites evidence from Modern English and German to admit that "theoretically we cannot exclude the possibility" (17) of Robinson's reading, but the reading is not supported by surviving evidence. Ono does not propose an alternative reading of this troubling line.

Christopher Manes, in "The Substance of Earth in *Beowulf*'s Song of Creation" (*ELN* 31.4, 1–5), proposes a new reading for the damaged line 92, which reads in part 'se Ælmihtiga eorðan worh..' and is universally and almost irresistibly completed as "eorðan worhte" and translated, "the Almighty made the earth." Manes suggests that 'eorðanworh' is a possible variant of 'eorðandwoorc', an otherwise unattested compound meaning "the substance of earth." He argues this in order to suggest that the passage is even more strongly anthropocentric than it is usually thought to be: he would translate "the Almighty triumphantly established for land-dwellers the substance of the earth, a splendidly bright plain, which water surrounds, the shinings of the sun and moon as light" (4). There seems, frankly, little need to accept Manes' special textual pleading in this instance, but his insistence on the human-centered account of God's creation—

rather than the cosmic perspective of Genesis—is an important and useful observation.

Seiichi Suzuki's "On the Combination of Type A Verses into Lines in *Beowulf*: a Further Consideration" (*N&Q* 41, 437–39) is just that. Suzuki develops the notes made by Patricia Bethel in *N&Q* 1984:292–3 about lines which combine two half-lines of Type A. Less common sub-types of the metrical pattern appear more frequently in such verse; this "may be ascribed to the avoidance of the otherwise resulting monotonous trochaic rhythm" (438).

Ewald Standop's "Alliteration und Akzent: 'schwere' und 'leichte' Verse im *Beowulf*" (in Grinda and Wetzell, eds., *Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 167–79) discusses and explains a number of instances of "peculiar and possibly faulty alliteration" (167) in the poem. When the principles of grammatical stress are strictly applied, there are many 'light' verses—those with only one discernible stress, such as *com þa to recede* 720a or *eode þa to sette* 1232a; likewise there are many 'heavy' verses with more than two probable stresses, such as *aris, rices weard* 1390a or *swutol sang scopes* 90a. Standop examines the problem in light of alliterative patterns and favors a rather more complex rule than that offered by simpler dicta such as "alliteration equals stress"; he hopes to admit the possibility of occasional excessive alliteration and purely ornamental stress. Standop suggests that the probable rhythm of spoken language, which raises grammatically unstressed syllables to a stressed position depending on their role in the sentence, would regularize a great many apparent metrical irregularities. A looser interpretation of metrical rules, coupled with a greater sense of the relation between spoken language and meter, would help modern critics explain why such exceptions to the metrical norms were not rigorously avoided by OE poets.

Sources and Analogues

Beowulf, whatever else it may be, is a complex web of allusions and references—it longs to be located in a literary context as surely as we long to discover its date and origin. But it is hard to tell just what sort of context *Beowulf* requires: modern scholars, distinctly uneasy with earlier assumptions about 'germanic' or 'traditional' material, have sought literate and Latin, Christian and classical, analogues for the poem (perhaps our postmodern age is more comfortable with this 'multicultural' model of Anglo-Saxon literary history). Joseph Harris' "A Nativist Approach to *Beowulf*: the Case of Germanic Elegy" (in Aertsen and Bremmer, eds., *Companion to Old English Poetry*, pp. 45–62) reminds us that much remains to be said about the 'native' or germanic threads in the poem's intertextual weave. Harris is the most articulate contemporary advocate for the germanic-comparatist approach to the poem; as in his 1992 essay, "Beowulf's Last Words" (*Speculum* 67: 1–32), he sternly avoids the nebulous romanticizing that sometimes went into earlier conceptions of 'the germanic tradition'. In this essay Harris offers as an example the lament of *Beowulf* near his death, specifically the memory of the grief of Hrethel over the accidental death of Herebeald

and the digressive description—"something like a Homeric simile," he aptly calls it (48)—of an old father's grief over the death of his hanged son. Harris traces the parallels to this elegaic lament in Old Norse saga and poetry, particularly a poem in *Egil's Saga* on the death of Boðvarr; ultimately, he reminds us, the lament must be related to the mythic death of Baldr in Icelandic edda. Harris suggests that "the Old English poem, whatever its date, seems, in short, to maintain a subterranean contact with the world of ideas, the poetic language, and the oral-literary forms of the tribes and nations that spoke Germanic tongues" (57). The "religious and ritual overtones" (57) of the elegaic tradition reflected in *Beowulf* contain a hint of the profound cultural survival of the 'germanic tradition', however refracted through the literate and Christian context of the poem's structure and composition.

In a companion article to Harris' called "The Christian Language and Theme of *Beowulf*" (in Aertsen and Bremmer, eds., *Companion to Old English Poetry*, pp. 63–77), Thomas Hill examines the Christianity of the poem, the warp to Harris' germanic woof. "Among a people to whom antiquity was precious and innovation suspect" (64), he notes, conversion was a problem; the Anglo-Saxons' efforts to reconcile their Christian faith with their reverence for the pagan past can be compared, as Hill notes, to the central concerns of Renaissance humanism: "roughly speaking, we may say that Christian thinkers who felt relatively secure about their own culture and faith have tended to be receptive to the merits of pagan past whether it be classical Latin and Greek or Celtic or Germanic, . . . and those who felt themselves threatened by it have harshly rejected 'paganism' and pagan culture" (66). But beyond a simple positive view of the pagan past, Hill argues, the poem "is a remarkably consistent text in that the religious language of the poem reflects the religious knowledge of those patriarchs who lived before the covenants and the creation of Israel" (67–8); Hill calls their spiritual state 'Noachite' (the one passage which contradicts this assertion—the condemnation of the paganism of the Danes in lines 179–83—Hill views as an interpolation or corruption; he thinks it should be ignored). Hill argues that relatively unorthodox views of the relationship between paganism and Christianity may have been more widespread than the surviving evidence leads us to think; following Charles Donahue's "*Beowulf*, Ireland, and the Natural Good" (*Traditio* 7:263–77), he looks for parallels in Old Irish and Old Norse-Icelandic literature. "The peculiar spiritual atmosphere of *Beowulf*," he notes, "looks a good deal less peculiar and unique if one compares the poem to the other heroic literatures of Northern Europe whose poets and learned men faced the kind of ideological problem which the *Beowulf*-poet faced" (74). A problem with this sort of evidence, however, is that most of the parallels deal explicitly, at some point or other, with the problem of the salvation of the heathen, and *Beowulf*, subtle thing that it is, does not; its silence leaves the matter open to debate and argument. Hill generously cites the work of scholars who offer different interpretations of the poem's spirituality, notably

Fred Robinson's '*Beowulf*' and the *Appositive Style* and Edward Irving's "The Nature of Christianity in *Beowulf*" (*ASE* 13:7–21); he ends by expressing the hopeful thought that "this tradition of tolerance and respect for the past is as much part of the heritage of early medieval Europe as the rigid and bigoted contempt for the pagan past which we commemorate in school handbooks" (76). Taken as a diptych, the essays by Harris and Hill suggest the richness and complexity of the cultural context that gave rise to our poem; each is an excellent summary of the current state of the question and a skillful presentation of original research.

Yet another perspective on the bewildering question of the sources and the cultural context of *Beowulf* is given by Susan Deskis in "An Addendum to *Beowulf*'s Last Words" (*MÆ* 63, 301–05). Deskis responds to Joseph Harris' 1992 *Speculum* article which located the hero's last words in the Germanic genre of the death-song; she points out that some of the unusual features of *Beowulf*'s statement—his assertions that he did not aggressively seek foreign quarrels, swore no false oaths, and did not kill his kinsmen—may derive from the Bible, Proverbs 6:16–19. Biblical verses circulated as oral *sententiae*, Deskis notes, and the verses from Proverbs are found in several Insular florilegia; the poet may have artfully woven this Biblical material into a typically germanic secular scene, "creat[ing] an archaic, pre-Christian hero who nevertheless deserves the admiration of a Christian audience" (304). Deskis' brief essay suggests the valuable insights still to be mined from the familiar topic of gnomic wisdom in *Beowulf*.

Terence McCarthy's "Beowulf's Bairns: Malory's Sterner Knights" (in Carruthers, ed., *Heroes and Heroines in Medieval English Literature*, pp. 161–70) is not really about *Beowulf*, but it makes interesting points of comparison between Malory's treatment of knighthood and earlier depictions of warrior conduct. By subtle but significant changes in focus in his retelling of French material, Malory presents a vision of knighthood that is less romantic and more heroic, less personal and more social, sterner and less sentimental; his portraits are older, darker, more somber, and seem drawn from the tradition of the *chanson de geste* and the English alliterative *Morte Arthure* which echo, obliquely, the values of the older heroic poetry. Malory is not borrowing from Old English, of course, but writing out of a similar ideology and a similar high seriousness: McCarthy notes that "although the bulk of Malory's source material came from overseas, he approached that material with the outlook and scale of values of one who, for all his apparent cultural broadmindedness, was more insular than we might have thought" (159).

Criticism

The early history of Anglo-Saxon studies is an endlessly fascinating spectacle, with a diverse and colorful cast of characters—the pioneers of our discipline—engaged in their great labors and tossing off their acerbic epigrams, enjoying a few moments of brilliant insight amid a whole long carnival of shocking blunders, and through it all we can indulge in the

deeply satisfying feeling that we, who are the beneficiaries of this whole business, are better than they are. Nothing is easier, of course, than blaming the past for being the past, pointing out from the smug and lofty height of our own infallibility the shortcomings of people who didn't know any better. Nowadays, it seems, we lack both eyes to wonder *and* tongues to praise. We cannot forget, however—as J. R. Hall reminds us at the end of “The First Two Editions of *Beowulf*: Thorkelin's (1815) and Kemble's (1833)” (in Scragg and Szarmach, eds., *The Editing of Old English*, pp. 239–50)—that “what Thorkelin and Kemble are to us, we will be to our successors in a century and a half: objects of curiosity” (250). This sobering fact might encourage us to be a bit less blinded by our prejudices, peevish, agendas and career-jockeying, and perhaps a bit kinder to the dead ends and blind alleys of the past. Hall's essay is a generous-minded comparison between the work of Thorkelin, who brought *Beowulf* into the hands of modern readers, and Kemble, who with his brilliant arrogance and venomous intelligence began the serious and ‘scientific’ study of Old English. Thorkelin's edition, Hall notes, is generally neglected today in favor of the two transcripts he used to prepare it; in fact, he notes, “for 175 years Thorkelin's edition has been ridiculed—with, admittedly, good reason” (243). But, he adds, the edition, however poorly executed, is well-conceived. Kemble, on the other hand, with a perfect contempt for the manuscript text (Kemble had a bottomless capacity for contempt), was a more meticulous and a far more competent scholar, and produced an edition whose intelligence still influences our sense of the text of *Beowulf*. Interestingly, Hall notes that “the great majority of Kemble's restored readings—for example, well over a hundred letters in his text of the first 500 long lines of *Beowulf*—agree with readings in Thorkelin's edition” (49)—in other words, Kemble used Thorkelin, without acknowledgment of course, to make his text. Hall's essay suggests that even a work as fundamentally flawed as Thorkelin's might have something to teach us about how we should conduct our business as scholars; even the worst failures, most of us will be relieved to hear, are not without some merit.

One of the unfortunate things about being a dwarf standing on the shoulders of a giant is that you get a bird's-eye view of the giant's bald spot. Josephine Bloomfield begins “Diminished by Kindness: Frederick Klaeber's Rewriting of *Wealhtheow*” (*JEGP* 93, 183–203) by pointing out an obvious but uncomfortable truth about the great editor of the standard edition of *Beowulf*: “Klaeber, who was reared within the educated middle class of the very nationalist and racist culture of late nineteenth-century Germany, seems to have imposed concepts and relationships on the text—particularly in the areas of kingship, family, and gender roles—that cannot be found in the source text or the source culture” (183). Being part of a culture which viewed women as ‘naturally’ maternal and domestic, where law followed the dictates of biology and excluded women from participation in public life, Klaeber inevitably reduces *Wealhtheow*'s role in the poem by trans-

lating a number of words—*milde, glæd, freodlāpu, liðe, gedefe*—as ‘kind’ or ‘kindness’ in his Glossary. The words mean various things, of course, and ‘kind’ or ‘kindness’ is not outrageously beyond the semantic range of any of them, but Bloomfield argues that Klaeber's repeated use of the word ‘kindness’ encourages the reader to overlook *Wealhtheow*'s important role in the public life of Hrothgar's court. Poor Klaeber is the victim of his upbringing: Bloomfield suggests that “*Wealhtheow*'s power and political maneuvering in Heorot might have set up such a cultural dissonance for him that she became ‘untranslatable’” (202). She further suggests that Klaeber was a lifelong sexist—she even speculates that he remained in his homeland after his retirement there in 1931 because “the Western, more egalitarian world was indeed more alien to him than even a life of poverty, want, and illness in war-torn and post-war Berlin” (202). It is just as interesting to speculate on why Bloomfield feels that ‘kind’—rather than, say, ‘tender’ or ‘gracious’ or ‘friendly’, words she occasionally accepts as adequate translations for some of these words—is a particularly derogatory or diminutive word, or why it is worthwhile to argue over the connotations of a nearly century-old translation rather than over the text itself. Certainly the present generation of readers of *Beowulf*, whatever their respect for Klaeber's work, have not been misled by the limitations of his interpretive vision. But her essay, in any case and for what it is worth, dutifully acts upon the call of scholars such as Allen Frantzen to interrogate the interests and biases inherent in the work of our predecessors.

Getting the tone right in the reading of the poem's female characters is also the concern of Robert Albano's “The Role of Women in Anglo-Saxon Culture: Hildeburh in *Beowulf* and a Curious Counterpart in the *Volsunga Saga*” (*ELN* 32, 1–10). Albano wants to compare Hildeburh, the sad and passive central figure of the Finn Episode, to the creepy infanticidal Signy in the Norse saga, to argue that “as appealing as the view of Hildeburh as a symbol of peace may be, the interpretation is sentimental and lacks validity” (8). He suggests that we should ignore the enormous cultural differences between the two works and see instead the “harsh reality and the grim truth” (1) that unites them—the primal duty of brutal vengeance for man and woman alike. He insists several times that most critics are inappropriately ‘sentimental and psychological’; he insinuates without evidence that Hildeburh is in on Hengest's plot to get revenge against Finn; he misrepresents and mistranslates a line to make one of his point stronger (on p. 4, he reads *þær* in line 1079, which almost certainly means ‘where’ and refers to the ‘skies’ mentioned in the previous line, as ‘which’ referring to ‘her brother’ five lines earlier). Albano is surely right to be suspicious of imputing modern notions of decorum or motivation to the characters in *Beowulf*, and it is surely right to seek literary parallels in nearby cultures, but he wants to read the Finnsburh episode the way the Danes at Hrothgar's court seem to have read it—a rollicking good story about killing Frisians, straightforward and unshadowed; he wants to ignore the resonance

of the story for the readers outside that court and outside the poem. To repress the enormous complexity of *Beowulf's* view of heroic life—in which revenge is inevitable yet tragic, as courage is necessary yet futile, as treasure is beautiful yet useless—is to miss most of the point of the poem. Yet another effort to read the tone of the poem properly is Keith Taylor's "Beowulf 1259a: The Inherent Nobility of Grendel's Mother" (*ELN* 31.3, 13–25); Taylor pauses over the curious expression *ides aglæcwif* and urges the reader to remember that *ides* carries with it, in all its various and not always clear contexts, the idea of nobility. So Grendel's mother, however much an 'aglæca' she may be, is also a noble character, bent on the sacred duty of revenge: "the *Beowulf*-poet uses the term *ides* to pay Grendel's mother the highest compliment at his disposal" (22). Before he kills her off.

The widow Grendel and her boisterous boy got their usual share of attention in this year's scholarship. Brian Meehan's "Son of Cain or Son of Sam? The Monster as Serial Killer in *Beowulf*" (*Connecticut Review* 16.2, 1–7) examines the very contemporary echoes we feel in Grendel's terrorizing attacks on Heorot. Grendel's "raging hatred and repulsive crimes" (1) are unfortunately not mythic or even fictional; Meehan points out the similarities in behavior and psychology between Grendel and a modern serial killer. "He is angry, depressed, and paranoid; he lives on the fringes of normal society," Meehan points out (2); his alienation, frustration, and exclusion give rise to his monstrous actions. Even from the folkloric and mythic perspectives, Grendel has much in common with a modern Ted Bundy or David Berkowitz, for these killers tend to assimilate their behavior to absolute patterns of evil and good—while Grendel comes from myth into history, a modern killer tends in the other direction. In their attraction to symbol and metaphor, Meehan suggests, killers are related to poets: "each is unusually sensitive to the metaphors that convey unspeakable violence, and each believes passionately that literal truth must lie at the heart of figures of speech. In terms of imagination, murderer and poet may be more closely allied than is the poet with his merely ordinary audience" (4). (This would certainly explain a lot of MFA programs.) Both the morbid underworld of the murderer and the imagination of the poet who describes it cross the border between life and death (the one assaulting, the other defending, Meehan points out), and thus both partake of ritual and myth. The clinical language of psychology, and the heroic language of Anglo-Saxon poetry, both try in their way to explain, and thus control, the terror of dysfunction, the rupture of the ordinary into the florid bloom of vision and violence, that lie horribly within the realm of human possibility.

To the question of his title, "Was Grendel a Bigfoot?" (*McNeese Review* 1994, 91–99), Edwin Duncan gives a confident 'probably': *Beowulf's* monstrous adversary shares numerous features with the yeti/sasquatch/bigfoot of popular legend. Both are big hairy loners with smoldering eyes—rather like Lorenzo Lamas, come to think of it—with piercing cries and a violent temperament when cornered. From the scattered

and dubious modern evidence for such a creature we have created a category of 'missing link' between ape and man, or some long-lost survivor of an earlier species: *pithecanthropus*, maybe, or something like him. Of course the Anglo-Saxons, not being blessed with our modern scientific categories, classed the Grendel family as 'demons' and ascribed to them almost supernatural powers; they followed their own cultural imperatives and made what sense they could, as we do. Duncan points out that these creatures, whatever they 'really' were or are, are united at least by their position in the imagination.

Frank Battaglia's "The Germanic Earth Goddess in *Beowulf*?" (*Mankind Quarterly* 35, 39–69) is an inexplicable recurrence of an essay which appeared in the same journal in 1991. At that time it was reviewed in these pages (*OEN* 26.2, p. 47), where it was said to be "built upon a simple, ingenious, and utterly wrong-headed idea." It has not improved with age.

It has long been a commonplace of women's studies that women's history is invisible—the general narrative of history has been the story of great men and their great deeds; it may be equally true that men's history is also invisible. Men *as men* are seldom explicit, for the generic pronoun *man*, and the general tendency to elide the concept of 'man' into that of 'human being', does not exactly privilege men—it obliterates them, just as surely as it obliterates women. One of the more interesting recent developments of feminism has been the growth of men's studies, or perhaps one should call it (to avoid the embarrassing drum-pounding Robert Bly-ish connotations of that phrase) studies of men—efforts to examine how men act and are acted upon as gendered beings. The recent collection *Medieval Masculinities: Regarding Men in the Middle Ages* (ed. Clare Lees; Minneapolis and London, 1994) contains a fascinating array of articles directed towards this goal; Clare Lees' essay on "Men and *Beowulf*" (pp. 129–48) is relevant to the present review. Lees begins: "*Beowulf* is an Anglo-Saxon poem about men—male heroes, warriors, kings—and yet the vision and limits of this world as a masculine one have rarely been examined" (129). She proceeds to question just this self-evidence; noting with graceful generosity but unflinching accuracy the elisions and assumptions underlying Tolkien's fundamental essay on the poem—not just his notorious omission of Grendel's mother from the poem's structure, but his general tendency to assume that masculinity and humanity are one and the same thing—Lees goes on to contrast two modern readings of the poem, James Earl's "*Beowulf* and the Origins of Civilization" and Gillian Oving's *Language, Sign, and Gender in 'Beowulf'*. The former deploys a crafty psychoanalytic framework of identification and transference to discuss the poem's ability to inculcate masculine values in the reader—in effect, negating the possibility of a female reader as strongly as it negates the possibility of a female hero; the latter insistently reads the poem from the position of exclusion, otherness (with a big or little 'o'), and deliberate marginality to recast the spring of the whole heroic mechanism from Doing to Desiring. Lees goes on, in

a more original vein, to talk about the poem's own exclusions. She notes that *Beowulf* is, after all, not a poem about men but about aristocratic, heroic men: rank constrains action as much if not more than gender does. Lees catalogues the 'sites' of greatest tension in the poem's presentation of this aristocratic patriarchy: the precarious genealogies of patriliney, the relative instability of family ties versus the stronger bond of loyalty to one's lord, the ritualization of aggression by which men dominate other men, and the pervasive necessity of death as the cost of heroic immortality. "The construction of this masculine world," Lees notes, "is bought at a huge price: women, men, and monsters are all sacrificed to an artistic vision that focuses on the desires of a very narrowly defined warrior class" (146). Lees' essay is an important summary of current work on *Beowulf* and a provocative suggestion for further developments.

Beowulf is an intensely political poem, as many readers have recognized, but its political elements have stark and strange, almost religious, tones to them—the bonds of society are sacred oaths, marriage vows, debts of honor, or the dark burdens of blood vengeance. The health of the *polis* is built on some mysterious disposition of the gods. In "The Language of Sacral Kingship in *Beowulf*" (*SN* 66, 129–45), Paul Beekman Taylor examines certain words in the poem which bring together the twin courses of divine favor and political success. In the tradition of sacral kingship, the ruler of a nation is thought of as being more or less in contact with the supernatural. Following anthropologists such as Georges Dumézil, Taylor notes that the king's personal good luck is the health of the nation; he is responsible not only for justice and military might but for fertility and prosperity itself. Taylor argues that "*Beowulf*, at the beginning of the English literary tradition and bridging northern Germanic pagan and southern European Christian worlds of thought, contains dim but perceptible reflections of the traditional sacral king" (129). He discusses several words—*hæl*, *ead*, *est*, and *ar*—which might connote this state of divine favor which he calls 'luck'; in *Beowulf* these words are part of the description of divine favor as well as the vocabulary of social courtesy. Divine 'luck' can be undone by greed, just as courage can be undone by cowardice; Heremod's misfortune is not just his avarice or other bad behavior but his concomitant loss of connection to the divine—his luck ran out and his land was blighted. The mysterious arrival of Scyld cleanses the royal line and allows the Danes to regain their good fortune—at least until Hrothgar's luck runs out in the form of Grendel. Taylor's reading of the poem in the context of Norse myth and anthropology pushes a number of deeply hidden ideas to the surface; woven into the very fabric of the poem's language is a model of kingship that is ancient, primitive, and highly personal.

The relationship between the King and the Hero is the subject of Leo Carruthers' "Kingship and Heroism in *Beowulf*" (in Carruthers, ed., *Heroes and Heroines in Medieval English Literature*, pp. 19–29); Carruthers begins by sorting out the slippery vocabulary of kingship, trying to define the central

characteristics of each role. He notes that the *cyning* (literally 'member of the tribe') is "at the centre of a circle rather than, as in the later medieval idea of monarchy, at the pinnacle of a pyramid" (19). Various epithets are used of all the kings in the story—they are beloved, famous protectors, shepherds of the people, givers of rings. No such coherent vocabulary applies to the hero, however—Carruthers notes that there is no single word for what *Beowulf* is; he shares his epithets, even that of *hæled*, with all warriors. Carruthers then turns to the relationship between the hero and king: "to be a hero, it is clearly not necessary to be a king; but is it important for a king to be a hero?" (25). The general skill in battle needed to maintain a kingdom might suggest that the answer is yes, but the inevitability of weakness in old age suggests that leadership cannot depend entirely upon heroism. Until the very last lines of the poem, *Beowulf* is praised as a hero, not a king. Carruthers makes interesting use of vocabulary studies to make his point convincingly, but it is somewhat surprising that in a study of the Hero and the King no reference is made to W. T. H. Jackson's brief but important monograph of the same name.

Like most historical poems, *Beowulf* is frustratingly ambivalent—it is not quite poetical enough to be read apart from the history it purports to contain, nor historical enough to furnish clear evidence for the past it poetically recreates. And so it is something of a scandal; there are those who would like to relieve the poet of his historical baggage, just as there are those who would like to believe that *Beowulf* might tell us something truthful about the Heroic Age, ignoring its poetic form as much as possible. A poem *from* the past *about* the past is inherently complicated, perhaps, and more than usually prone to misreading; we must negotiate our own complex sense of history as well as the poet's, and the effort is frankly too great for many critics (so much depends, of course, on the date we assign to the composition of the poem—a matter that is deeply disputed, though sometimes, I think, not deeply enough). Those who have succeeded in discerning the poet's vision of the past—Roberta Frank's "The *Beowulf* Poet's Sense of History" and Robert Hanning's "*Beowulf* as Heroic History" come to mind—have done so by resisting the urge to simplify, or to rewrite the events of the poem in chronological order. A magnificent essay by Paul Dean, "*Beowulf* and the Passing of Time" (*ES* 75, 193–209 and 293–302), is a worthy companion to these fundamental studies: Dean achieves the difficult and delicate feat of reading the poem simultaneously as history and as poem. Complex and subtle beyond the scope of summary, the essay proceeds by reading *Beowulf* against Virgil (though only in general terms, not searching for specific verbal parallels or the marks of influence) and, more substantially, Boethius and Augustine, and finds in the poem a coherent and sophisticated sense of the meaning of history against the inscrutable but certain structures of eternity. The building of Heorot, doomed to destruction, is juxtaposed to God's creation of the plenitude of earth; the power of God to control Grendel is set against the harsh and hidden fate which has sent him; the hero's human

longing for fame and treasure beats a hollow echo against the rusted heaps of metal consigned to the ground at the end of the poem. Dean proceeds by reading through the poem, focusing on those moments which contrast the past within the poem to the present of its characters; he concludes by noting that *Beowulf* “represents an effort to imagine a history whose meaning is unknown to those called upon to make it” (302), one whose meaning—the hope of transcendent order and imperishable glory—lies in the hearts of the audience.

Dean’s essay is a satisfying example of a controlling idea brought to bear on the whole sweep of the poem’s narrative. In contrast, Judith Garde’s “*Sapientia, ubi sunt*, and the Heroic Ideal in *Beowulf*” (*SN* 66, 159–73), is a long summary of the poem broken loose from the confines of interpretation. Garde begins with a grand and intriguing claim: “Demonstrable liturgical and traditional Christian influences suggest that this is practical, exemplary poetry; that these didactic texts were intended to be understood more or less as recited or read. . . . While its characters may recall traditional Scandinavian folk and historical themes, *Beowulf* is also firmly founded in the liturgy, ensuring the same inherently didactic orientation as other OE verse” (159). One reads the whole of Garde’s article with heightened interest, mental antennae aquiver, waiting for this claim to be justified. We are only told, however, that “Prominent themes of wisdom and/or prudence in conjunction with transience and the fragility of fame, including the passing into obscurity of heathen rulers who accumulated fabulous treasure, and the destruction of a giant who was an enemy of God, suggest the sixth Easter Saturday (and Pentecostal) prophecy, *Baruch* 3:9–38, a notable source of the wisdom/*ubi sunt* tradition that is central also to *Wanderer*” (160). Garde is apparently using the word ‘source’ in its broadest possible sense, so that it signifies a relationship which most people would call an ‘analogue’ or ‘parallel’. Garde works to separate the “*Beowulf* persona” (172), a superhuman folk hero, from the critical framework of the author’s purpose “within which the so-called heroic age was being considered” (159); what follows is a long and rather detailed summary of the plot of *Beowulf* with its many intricate digressions, but no real effort to demonstrate that the poem has a basis in the liturgy or that ideas of wisdom and the *ubi sunt* motif are derived from Biblical sources. One has the feeling of flying over a large and lovely country at a great height and without a map—you can see fields and farms, rivers and roads, mountains and cities, but you can’t see how the various parts are related to one another. It is certainly clear from Garde’s summary of the story is that the ideals of wise kingship, the vanity of earthly glory, and the mournful passage of time are all central themes in *Beowulf*—but this is not news, I hope, to anyone who has read the poem with even the most casual attention.

Robert Bjork’s graceful and well-documented “Speech as Gift in *Beowulf*” (*Speculum* 69, 993–1022) is in effect a large-scale study of the rhetorical patterns of address and expression in this poem. Bjork begins by linking speech to the ‘gift

economy’ discussed by anthropologists such as Marcel Mauss and literary theorists such as Lewis Hyde; in both cases the factual—the economic value of a ring, the truth value of a word—is subsumed into the social exchange, something of an agonistic encounter of incurred obligations. In *Beowulf*, Bjork notes, words are deeds; the elaborate formality of the scenes of speechmaking in *Beowulf* is parallel to, indeed the same as, the elaborate formality of the scenes of giftgiving, and both in turn are as crucial to the meaning of the story as the monster-fights that punctuate them. Thus as the poem darkens into its twilight, language is devalued along with gift-giving and all the other bonds that fail to connect society. Bjork notes three major changes in the qualities of speech as the poem progresses: “speech loses a crucial aspect of its social function, its stabilizing power; it becomes more and more dislocated from the reality of the world surrounding the particular speaker; and it displays a gradual disintegration and unpredictability of rhetorical structure” (998). Like cups, rings, swords, and helmets—positive elements of the gift-exchange and the social bond in the first part of the poem, but by the end moldering, mysterious, cursed, and useless—speech too suffers and is finally lost: dialogue gives way to soliloquy, speaker’s identities are hazier or undefined, the boundaries of speech are blurred, boasts falter, knowledge fails. “Whereas the epic begins with the sparkling, clearly designed and articulated words of a warrior with a clearly defined role, the Coastguard, it ends with the lusterless, unrecorded, unspecified chant of nameless men. . . . If no dialectical relation exists in which speech can be ‘given away’ and ‘circulated’, then, like treasure, it is doomed to a steady obliteration, reification. The loss of an adroit and supple dialogic language foreshadows the destruction of the culture with which it is identified” (1016). Bjork might have taken his argument one more step to talk about the poem itself as a manifestation of that obliterated, reified lament that ends the poem (as it is proper, the narrator tells us). But his points are strongly made and thoroughly supported by evidence—he notes (and in an appendix lists) a number of stylistic devices characteristic of formal speech in *Beowulf*, and charts their steady deterioration towards the end of the poem. His argument that speech is as powerful as gift-giving in securing the social ties is a compelling one.

Anne Savage’s “The Story’s Voyage through the Text: Transformations of the Narrative in *Beowulf*” (in Karen Pratt, ed., *Shifts and Transpositions in Medieval Narrative: a Festschrift for Dr Elspeth Kennedy*, Woodbridge and Rochester, NY, pp. 121–38) goes beyond discussions of the coherence or origins of the various narrative elements that make up *Beowulf* to examine the multifaceted relationships between stories, plots, and audiences in the poem, from events unfolding in the narrative ‘present’ such as the hero’s fight with Grendel to events turned into poetry—such as the hero’s fight with Grendel after it happens. Stories change their nature during the course of the poem, becoming part of the narrated past and the matrix of poetic memory, presented to different audiences and for dif-

ferent purposes. Savage notes the importance of "the awareness of opening and closure, and . . . the awareness, as a narrative line progresses, that the 'present' of that narrative is in the process of becoming a past for the people in it" (123); the dramatic irony of this situation creates much of the tension by which we (and the characters in the story) understand the narratives presented in the poem. Savage pays particular attention to the stories within the "single linear narrative which encompasses the time from Scyld's life to the end of Beowulf's" (126), situating them in terms of audience, either within the poem (such as the feasters in Hrothgar's hall who hear the story of Finn and Hildeburh, or Hygelac as the audience for Beowulf's telling of his own exploits) or outside the poem (such as the stories of the Last Survivor or of Cain's curse, which are told to no one but us) and examining moments in which the audience or the frame of reference shifts—from Finnsburh to Freawaru, from Beowulf's exploits, emerging from the differently-aimed story of the Danish royal house, to the song of Beowulf's exploits. The celebration of Beowulf's recent deeds by Hrothgar's scop implies a sense of completeness and meaningfulness, as if the story were ended and its meaning grasped; we know, of course, that it is not, and that assimilating the tale of Beowulf to that of Sigemund is, from the Danish perspective, premature. "The stories in *Beowulf*," Savage notes, "constantly draw attention to the fact that an audience's perceptions of openings and closure are naive" (133). The careful distinction between the two levels of audience in *Beowulf* reinforces the realization that whole classes of story—most notably the story of Christ's redemptive sacrifice—are unavailable to the characters of the poem. This calls into question the status of the story as exemplary: "where the verbal *exemplum* is not a static picture, but a narrative or series of them, it captures the most difficult moral lesson: that moral judgements are provisional until a story is truly complete. When we ourselves are part of the story—part of the construction placed on a narrative composed of many narratives—our sense of closure is always going to be transient" (136–7). As the present becomes the past, it becomes *part* of the present again as pastness itself, one might say, and as the life-story of Beowulf was, so is the poem *Beowulf* today: standing in need of understanding, ambivalent, significant, profound, puzzling, an enigmatic monument.

The hero Beowulf is, among other things, a fine storyteller—his recounting of his exploits to Hygelac and the court make a spellbinding yarn, even though it is, for the reader, a twice-told tale. Its complex revelation of the hero's character reminds us that the poem's much-celebrated transparency and anonymity of narrative voice is just a device—Beowulf's own narrative voice is strong, and strikingly different from the voice of the narrator. The hero's recasting of his own horrific combats into courtly entertainments—turning raw events into cooked narrative (as Eugene Vance once put it)—is part of Seth Lerer's interest in "Grendel's Glove" (*ELH* 61, 721–51). Lerer dwells on one of the most peculiar aspects of this retelling, the mention of the monstrous glove hanging from

Grendel's waist, into which he intended to thrust his victims. Noting that the "*Beowulf* is in many ways a poem of the body" (723), full of the hand-to-hand combat and dismemberment, hunting and killing, sacrifice and self-display that distinguish heroic literature, Lerer sees echoes of the originary myths of primitive cultures, the micro-, meso-, and macrocosmic analogies that link the body, society, and the universe in a web of similarities and sympathies. Furthermore, he reminds us, in some cultures the dismembered body is placed at the beginning of poetry. Lerer wants to link references to the glove—not exactly a body part, of course; more like an accessory—in *Beowulf* to Norse tales of giants, gloves, and grotesque appetites, from the narratives of Thor's zany adventures in Snorri's *Gylfaginning* to stories in the *Lokasenna*; he says the former are "direct allusions" to the latter (736). He sees Beowulf as a performer who "presents himself as something of a comic Thor" (736), playfully reworking an older myth about heroic escape from inside the great glove-like belly of a beast into his own tale of heroic escape and triumph. His tale shows "his command of the poetic resources of his culture" (742); as he uses these "traditional accounts of bodily dismemberment and human ingestion to define the rituals of literary making" (725), he constructs a darkly comic vision of society and its narratives, founded on the bloody dismembered body of the Other and threatened from without by the specter of its own rending.

Joyce Lionarons' "Bodies, Buildings, and Boundaries: Metaphors of Liminality in Old English and Old Norse Literature" (*Essays in Medieval Studies* 11, 43–50) looks at the hall-body analogy in *Beowulf* and *Grettir's Saga*. Noting that "the human body may be figured as a building" and "a building may itself be figured as if it were the body of an animal or a human being" (43), Lionarons notes that entering a building—literally a liminal experience—may, if it is unwelcome, be seen metaphorically as an ingestion or violent penetration. The hall is the human world, separate from the world outside; its integrity is the integrity of the social order, which is also the integrity of the sexual hierarchy. Grendel, a representative of the disordered outer world, forces himself into the 'mouth' of Heorot, and "though [he] may be 'ingested', he cannot be 'digested'" (44); he is a kind of poison. "Like a poison, or food gone bad, Grendel must be purged from the afflicted body of the hall [i.e. Heorot] if it is to survive; he must be pushed over the *limen* or threshold of Heorot, back into the darkness of the world outside the hall" (45). Lionarons does not discuss Beowulf's later lament that he could not keep Grendel inside the hall, though he wanted to. To be honest, Lionarons is much more interested in the racier developments of the body-hall metaphor in the Norse *Grettissaga*, where the *draugr* Glámr climbs atop the hall and 'rides' it till the timbers crack, a peculiar deed which implies all sorts of sexual insult.

It's hard to know what to say about the discussion of *Beowulf* in Gillian Overing's and Marijane Osborn's *Landscape of Desire: Partial Stories of the Medieval Scandinavian*

World (Minneapolis and London: U of Minnesota Press; pp. xxii, 141); the authors' approach to the matter shifts uncannily between research and reverie, travelogue and scholarly essay. The book is insistently and engagingly personal, at times confessional; "we are writing a professional text in which the line between permissible and impermissible forms of discourse is broken down" (xvii), they boldly say, and shortly thereafter add "we are not attempting to prove anything about the texts themselves" (xviii). And so *Landscapes of Desire* is best approached as a species of travel writing; its imaginative interest far outweighs its scholarly purpose. Its first chapter recounts a journey the authors took in 1985 to "reinvent" Beowulf's voyage to Heorot (the second part of the book, dealing with various travels to Iceland in search of saga landscapes, is fascinating and haunting, but is not reviewed here); the authors, who shift the job of writing back and forth in a sort of tag-team way, chronicle their voyages around the North Sea on the routes they imagine were taken by Beowulf and his men from Geatland to Denmark.

The kernel of scholarship in the middle of this confection is, basically, a test of the hypothesis that the *Beowulf*-poet knew where things were Over There, that the poem is grounded in some sort of real reality. Of course Osborn and Overing know that *Beowulf* is a work of fiction, however much we may wish it were otherwise, and trying to find its historical roots is an exercise little different from mailing letters to Sherlock Holmes or searching the slopes of Mount Ararat for Noah's Ark. Indeed, part of the beauty of this book comes from the authors' highly self-conscious examination of their own incongruous impulse to pretend that this is otherwise. There is much talk of 'negotiating the past', appropriating and expanding on Lee Patterson's famous phrase, and the authors accept as given the idea that the past is a creation of our present desires. Osborn, as is well known, has tried before to bring the Old Northern World to life in translation, imaginary (in both senses of the word) recreation, and more traditional scholarly argument; Overing's interests are more theoretical, one might say, and has never been shy about reading the past in terms of the present. Osborn is a dreamer, a reenactor; Overing is a conceptualizer "interested in both theorizing the experience and experiencing the theory" (xvi). But at the heart of the whole enterprise for both critics is the idea that you can stand in the place that Beowulf stood, that a little salt spray in the face will make you a better reader of the poem. Speculation on the timing of sea voyages, the historical identity of the Geats, the situation of the Swedes, and the location of Beowulf's final resting place are laced into the authors' account of their travels—and it seems difficult for them, for all their statements of intention to the contrary, to put aside entirely the idea that they have 'recreated' rather than 'reinvented' the voyage of Beowulf, that their journey has not proven something about the poem's authenticity or verisimilitude.

Beyond the scholarly interludes, and beyond the travelogue, the book is about how these two readers *feel* about the

poem, and about the relationship between books and readers, stories and geography, pasts and presents. The book is a fascinating examination of the love that we develop for old stories, and the desire to enter into a book, rub elbows with its character, peer into the closets and under the furniture, and so find some common ground between its world and our own. There is much that is beautiful, touching, and thoughtful in *Landscapes of Desire*, and all lovers of the poem ought to be rooting for these two intrepid scholars who have done what others have only dreamed about—closed their books, gotten out of their comfy armchairs, and actually lit out for the territory.

As Overing and Osborne demonstrate, scholarship is, finally, an act of love: our desire for truth comes from some other desire, not always entirely clear. Other scholars in other fields have battered away at the ideal of objectivity, and nowadays it is a commonplace to admit that we cannot help but speak as advocates and partisans, prisoners of our often unconscious partiality. Objectivity may be one of those necessary illusions, like free will or true love or the natural goodness of man, that allow us to function, to create a place to stand and speak; integrity and honest self-knowledge, and the jostle of competition, keep the system from collapsing into utter and irretrievable solipsism. It was ever thus: T. A. Shippey's "Local Patriotism and the Early Interpretation of *Beowulf*" (in Flemming G. Andersen and Lars Ole Sauerberg, eds., *Traditions and Innovations: Papers Presented to Andreas Haarder*; Odense; pp. 303–18) looks at early theories of the origin and meaning of the poem *Beowulf* and finds that scholars were probably motivated by political issues and personal biases. Nicolaus Outzen, an early reviewer of Thorkelin's first edition of the poem, made great efforts to localize the poem in his own neighborhood of Schleswig and to deny the poem's obvious 'Danishness'. Study of the poem thus became part of the complex and bitterly-contested "Schleswig-Holstein Question" of 19th-century German-Danish politics. Another native of Schleswig-Holstein, Karl Müllenhoff, proposed mythic readings of the story of Beowulf—Grendel and his mother representing the North Sea floods—that have not yet lost their influence on *Beowulf* criticism, just as Müllenhoff's butchering of the poem into layers of early and later work, sagas and *lieder*, still justifies some occasional scholarly misbehavior; Shippey suggests that "these views are rooted just as much as Outzen's . . . in a desire to annex the *Beowulf*sage (if still not the *Beowulf*sied) for Müllenhoff's narrow homeland" (311). Such bias is not merely parochial; the English critic John Mitchell Kemble also wrote from a strongly pro-German and anti-Danish position, idolizing Grimm and denigrating Rasmus Rask, borrowing ideas and place-name identifications from Outzen (typically, without attribution), discarding the poem's historical information in favor of its putative mythic resonances in order to ignore the Danishness of the poem's setting and characters. Shippey notes that "between 1834 and 1849 a joint Anglo-German thesis was evolved, in which *Beowulf* was seen as essentially *not* a Danish work,

its references to the Danes and non-references to the English satisfactorily explained away; according to this thesis *Beowulf* was also fundamentally mythical, its Scandinavian historical references all later accretions; while the myth it conveyed was to be localized not in Scandinavia but in the flatlands round the Elbe" (314). The desire of scholars to connect the poems to themselves, what Shippey calls "the root of philological argument in politics" (315) is not a quaint relic of a bygone era; we can learn much by examining the assumptions and desires of early scholars, but we would do equally well to remember that scholars in years to come will examine ours.

Beowulf depicts the death of its hero as an event of epochal significance, a hinge in history that sweeps the Geats—and in effect the whole Heroic Age—into oblivion and tragic past-ness: every one of the poem's last 500 lines echoes with the sad truth that those days of this life will not come again. There is something almost apocalyptic about the finality of *Beowulf*'s death, as there is, perhaps, in the downfall of any hero—we are forced to regard not only the certainty of our own end, but the possibility of the end of the social order itself. Such thoughts are necessarily eschatological, forcing our focus beyond this world and into the Other, or the Next. Edward Ridsen's *Beasts of Time: Apocalyptic 'Beowulf'* (Studies in the Humanities 8. New York: Peter Lang; pp. vi, 165) examines the formal and suggestive apocalyptic elements in the poem in considerable detail; he argues that medieval images of the ultimate end—whether Christian or germanic, Revelation or Ragnarök—are the appropriate controlling constructs for understanding *Beowulf*. Ridsen describes Anglo-Saxon literary culture as 'janusian', that is, both pagan and Christian, assimilatory and blending, and he suggests that the poem employs images and ideas from both native and biblical depictions of the end of the world.

Ridsen's work divides firmly into sections; the first chapter is on background and reviews of previous criticism. He discusses the meaning of apocalypticism and its prevalence in the early Middle Ages: the many apocryphal accounts of doomsday that delighted medieval thinkers, the millennial urgency of early Christianity, the learned commentaries on the many obscurities of John's Revelation. Ridsen distinguishes, as one must, between prophecy and apocalypse: for the term really to mean anything, an 'apocalypse' must contain some revelation not only about what must come, but also about what lies beyond the end of the world. The spectacular cataclysms, the grotesque visions of hell, the grisly punishments of the damned, are only the external markers of the genre—what matters in apocalypse is a particular relationship to history. Ridsen is less careful to distinguish between true apocalypse and a mere personal revelation of Hell such as the *Visio Pauli*—the latter, however closely related to a more global apocalypse, does not contain that defining historical relationship. If you can come back from your vision to warn your fellows, and thereby change the course of their fates, you have had no true apocalypse. Nor does Ridsen draw a sharp distinction between the Christian apocalypse, a destruction that

is also a universal judgment and rebirth, and the Norse visions that, practically, ignore human life and history as insignificant in the mythic scheme of cosmic defeat and disintegration. But Ridsen is willing to find "apocalypticism outside of Apocalypses, the thought pattern outside the genre" (22), so a bit of fuzziness in the terminology or conflation of categories is not such a bad thing. He regards various elements of the apocalyptic mode—visions of the otherworld, the uncovering of cosmological secrets, an urge towards preparation for the end, and so on—as significant even when they do not all appear in the same document. And so a work such as *Beowulf* can strike an apocalyptic pose without conforming fully to the generic requirements.

Ridsen is exceedingly generous in detecting the signs of doomsday in *Beowulf*. He conflates the list in the pseudo-Bede's *De quindecim signis* (seas rising, mountains descending, sea monsters burning themselves, stars falling from the heavens, all that sort of thing) with the Signs mentioned in the Gospels (Matt 24: false prophets, nations rising against nations, etc.) and the even more surreal signs that precede Ragnarök (wolves swallowing the sun and moon, the spattering poison of the World-Serpent, etc.) to make a long list (60 items, including some overlap) of apocalyptic indicators. He then finds these all over *Beowulf*. Here an objection inevitably presents itself: since the End of the World can hardly be described as anything but the collapse of all order—moral, social, political, physical, meteorological, cosmic—then wouldn't any work that deals with conflict and strife include such elements? And *Beowulf*, of course, is rich in conflict and strife—halls burning, monsters stalking, nations rising against nations, fratricide, treachery, the smoke and fire of both a dragon and a pyre. The coincidence may be in the register of the action described, not the controlling metaphor imposed by the author, as Ridsen himself notes: "since Revelation makes such extensive use of battle imagery and Ragnarök is itself a tale of battle (though cosmological), a heroic poem such as *Beowulf* would necessarily employ similar imagery simply because of similar subject matter" (67). But, in the grip of his thesis, Ridsen pushes on, at times stretching the reach of common sense for some of his parallels—he haltingly suggests, following Damico, that *Wealhtheow* is a Valkyrie, and thus another sign of Ragnarök; the night that falls before Grendel's visit is a rough echo of the wolf devouring the sun. This is a shame, because his idea seems, overall, to be quite true—the poem is profoundly concerned with the meaning of history, and calls upon the imagery of apocalypse to suggest the import both of the hero's life and of his death.

In a third chapter Ridsen returns to a more flexible interpretation of the apocalyptic mode and discusses three levels on which it functions in *Beowulf*: the societal (*Beowulf*'s death is the death of his nation), the personal (in *Beowulf*'s fall we may find a mirror and a model of our own inevitable demise), and the cosmological (the death of the hero prefigures the End of the World, "and seeks partly to direct the reader's attention to imminence of the end" (83). These first two are

well-known and have been discussed by many critics; they are ably dealt with by Ridsen as well. Only the last category, it must be said, truly deserves to be called 'apocalyptic', and it is this last which is the least firmly supported by Ridsen's arguments: that Scyld is a sort of Christ-figure, that Grendel and his Mother are the Beasts of Revelation, that (again) Wealhtheow is a Valkyrie who "in offering her cup to Beowulf . . . invites [him] to join Oðin's Einherjar" (113), that Beowulf's fight with the dragon is Michael's fight with the Dragon of Revelation 12, that the Seven Seals of Revelation 7–10 may be found in the poem ("Perhaps the first 'seal' is the door to Heorot, which Grendel burst to attack the sleeping household. . . . The second 'seal' may be the surface of the mere," p. 120). Such tenuous parallels might better have been omitted. Ridsen has done a great enough service to the poem by pointing out the parallels between personal and social 'apocalypses' in the broader sense of the word; spreading his argument thinner does not really strengthen it.

There is a bit of a grab-bag tendency in Ridsen's book to include anything and everything the author feels about the poem—Glosecki's speculations on shamanism, numerological musings, the *ubi sunt* motif. It is marred by stilted translation of OE into modern English and an excess of critical summary (most of the concluding chapter, for example, recounts the arguments of the various contributors to Colin Chase's 1981 *Dating of Beowulf*). And Ridsen never quite gets the 'Beasts' of his title (the monsters of the poem, the Beasts of Revelation, and the wolves and serpents of Ragnarök) to do the work one expects from their top billing. These may be the characteristic faults of a published dissertation and should certainly be forgiven and forgotten. At the heart of Ridsen's work is a close attention to the parallels between the story of Beowulf and the reader's concern with the fate of his own soul and society; throughout his study Ridsen is careful to situate the poem in a syncretic mental world that finds and fashions rich analogies between pagan and Christian conceptions of time and the world. These are important points to make, and Ridsen makes them fluently. If readers will overlook its faults, Ridsen's work will more than repay their generosity and reward their attention.

James W. Earl has become one of the most subtle and provocative readers of *Beowulf*, using the insights of psychoanalytical criticism to understand the poem's historical and cultural function. He has discovered fresh ways of thinking about the relation of literature to culture, and the relation of literary theories to historical study; his work is a rebuke to those who think Anglo-Saxonists are theory-phobic, and yet it is refreshingly free from the glum and arrogant defensive posturing that mars the work of some overtly theoretical scholars of Old English. It is thus a real pleasure to see Earl's articles collected into one volume, called *Thinking about 'Beowulf'* (Stanford University Press; pp. xi, 204); it is a revelation to read these pieces, dating from 1982 to 1989, reworked into a series and a sustained though diverse argument. Earl's *metier* is a kind of Freudian anthropology in-

debted to the works of Victor Turner and M. I. Finley, the exploration of how cultural changes must be accompanied by psychological shifts. This allows him to address a wide range of issues: the historical context of the poem, its effect on an audience or reader, the continuing fascination it holds for us, its place in literary history. "The ego meets the text," he suggests, "along a fractal coastline, part of the larger fractal coastline between the individual and culture, a coastline with symmetries and complementarities of far-reaching—in fact unlimited—complexity" (11–12). The work of a poem on the imagination, he argues, is an epitome of its work in its cultural context.

At one point Earl admits that "like *Hamlet*, *Beowulf* supports with its silence whatever reading we most wish, and modern readers seem to wish many things of it" (168). Obscure in its origins, inarticulate in its purposes, enigmatic in its history, the poem is ripe for misreading and for the projection of our own desires upon it; the quality of a critic's reading can be judged, finally, only by its power to move us. Earl's engagement with the poem has produced this serious, elegant, clever, and important work, which manages many things at once—a critique of contemporary literary theory, a study of catharsis and heroic poetry, an exploration of migration and conversion, a cultural anthropology of the Anglo-Saxons, and, of course, a reading of *Beowulf*. Moreover, it manages them with considerable skill and style. I do not wish to oversimplify the variety of argument in a book like this, but I feel it necessary to sketch out Earl's main contribution to *Beowulf* studies in this area of psychoanalytical anthropology. Earl commits himself, in an entertaining introduction, to a belief in the reality and primacy of things and, at the same time, the value and infinite complexity of language. He presents his 'axioms' for the reading of *Beowulf*: the poem is essentially undateable, and so our criticism of it cannot depend on any particular period; the poem imitates oral style but is not necessarily oral or traditional; the hero is a fictitious character invented by the poet. All these assertions are supported by argument, but Earl is right to label them axioms—they require a preliminary acceptance before their truth can be felt, and it can only be felt, not really demonstrated. Earl's method, however, does not depend on placing *Beowulf* in a particular historical moment; he is able to situate the poem—a story "about the origin and the end of civilization" (29)—in the broadest possible context of migration and conversion, and read it as a kind of 'mourning' for a past that is irrecoverable, a social order that is utterly lost. Earl's early chapters supply background and context for his last three chapters, which reprint his most developed work on the cultural psychology of the poem. Chapter Four, "*Beowulf* and the Men's Hall," reprints his 1983 essay in *Psychiatry*, Chapter Five combines essays from 1986, and Chapter Six reprints "*Beowulf* and the Origins of Civilization" from Allen Frantzen's anthology *Speaking Two Languages*. Read together, these essays present a coherent and thoroughly argued reading of the poem using insights from anthropology, cultural studies, and Freudian

psychology.

Poems about the heroic age, he suggests, are imaginative "narrative representation[s] of contemporary social concerns, energies, and ideals, projected onto the past" (34). Germanic culture on the continent originally balanced two kinds of overlapping but distinct social structures—the tribe, organized around agriculture and family groups, and the *comitatus* organized around war and the men's hall; migration to Britain, favoring a military, male-dominant, 'frontier' social order, shifted the balance in favor of the latter. The warrior class came to dominate the kindred as the ruling unit of society; the struggle and social chaos attendant on this shift in balance from the hut to the hall is reflected in a heroic poem like *Beowulf*. Earl also suggests that the shift from kinship to kingship was also fertile ground for Christianity, a male-oriented, sexuality-repressing, world-denying way of imagining and organizing society. "The Church became a partner to the state and grounded kingship in an international religion instead of in the indigenous warrior cult" (110). The conformity of Christian ideas to the vocabulary and style of heroic poetry is not surprising, he suggests; "the Church . . . was established in England by the same mechanism through which the individual superego is formed—the turning back of aggression upon the self, in the internalization of the warrior life" (127). Earl's second chapter discusses conversion and the metaphors for metaphysical reality—storm, ocean, hall—in Bede and OE elegies; "existence is governed," he notes, "by a terrible tension, not so much between good and evil, but between order and chaos; to achieve the one, man heroically defends himself against the other" (61). This defense against chaos—however defined—is as much a part of *Beowulf* as it is of an overtly Christian poem such as *Guthlac*. Both depend on the repression of passions and instincts though the internalization of a moral code.

The transition from kinship to kingship, from tribe to state, as well as from pagan to Christian, is exactly equivalent, Earl argues, to the development of the superego in an individual psyche; the 'trauma' of this transition is reflected in heroic literature. "Epic is a response to the social and cultural transformations of the Dark Age, a new civilization's analysis of its own origins. It recalls a past whose loss is still poignantly felt and establishes its memory as a permanent fixture in the culture. Epic themes can be seen best against the background of the cultural evolution that provoked and preserved them" (38). The repression of internal violence among the members of the warrior-cult is accompanied by a denigration of the claims of kinship and the role of women generally—hence the conflict between blood ties and oaths, and the horror of kin-violence, that seem to motivate most heroic poetry; the ritual recitation of such poetry is, Earl argues, one of the ways the warrior-elite constructed itself against the claims of the kindred. He notes that "in reinforcing bonds among men that will be stronger than kinship, heroic poetry advances the aims of civilization" (124); he uses the latter word in its Freudian sense of the repression of violence and sexuality, the priority

of non-familial social structures, the construction of a kind of cultural superego.

Earl, like many readers, notes the almost unbearable bleakness, the resolute secularity, of the ending of *Beowulf*. "The profoundest theme of the poem is that we are ultimately powerless to control history, and history itself is as mortal as we are" (77). In the end the whole heroic world is dismantled, devalued, destroyed, and part of the poem's work is to mourn—while ensuring—its passing. The ambivalent attitude of *Beowulf* to the heroic world it depicts, a famous point of contention among critics—is the hero guilty of some sin at the end?—is, Earl notes, "typical of mourning" (48). The catharsis involved in our relationship to the hero—we identify first with him, then with the moral or cosmic order that brings him down—is also part of the process of mourning, the complex internalization of the lost object that is, Earl notes, a step in the formation of a superego. His last chapter, "*Beowulf* and the Origins of Civilization," discusses the complex process of projection and identification that goes along with a reader's response to a text; by postulating the soldiers at the Battle of Maldon as an audience for *Beowulf* he is able to explore possible meanings and functions of the poem. This chapter will already be familiar to many readers; its interest and coherence is only heightened here by being placed in the company of Earl's other work on the subject. Earl's book is insightful; it ought to become required reading for anyone interested in the complex psychology of heroic poetry, or the equally complex world of contemporary criticism and early literature.

The dragon in *Beowulf* has numerous analogues, though few peers; Michael Lapidge's 1982 essay "Beowulf", Aldhelm, the 'Liber Monstrorum', and Wessex" (*Studi Medievali* 23:151–92) examined connections between dragons in *Beowulf* and in Aldhelm's prose and verse works on virginity. Paul Sorrell's "The Approach to the Dragon-Fight in *Beowulf*, Aldhelm, and the 'Traditions Folkloriques' of Jacques le Goff" (*Parergon* 12, 57–87) notes "some significant differences between the conception of dragon-combats in Aldhelm and the *Beowulf*-poet" (57) which reflect the different literary and cultural traditions of the two authors. Sorrell draws on Le Goff's 1967 essay "Clerical Culture and Folklore Traditions in Merovingian Civilization" to suggest the difference between (and complex intersection of) learned and popular cultural models. The vernacular dragons are linked by repeated epithets to their particular habits and habitats; the Latin hagiographical dragons are not. The vernacular dragons are associated with treasure, and are slain; the Latin dragons are banished, and their banishing is a sort of "taming of the *genius loci*" (67). Aldhelm's dragons are carefully situated geographically; the poet of *Beowulf* is more concerned with characters and their relationships. The Christian dragon is associated with Satan; the germanic dragon is harder to pin down. The germanic hoard-dragons of Norse legends are clearly the literary ancestors of the *Beowulf*-dragon, but the differences in tone and meaning between the Norse and OE stories "bring us close to the

hagiographical tradition represented by Fortunatus and Aldhelm" (77). The dragon in *Beowulf*, like so much else in the poem, inhabits both worlds and speaks two languages.

We do not know—perhaps we cannot know—where *Beowulf* comes from; we can only draw inferences from the text to sketch the poem's context. As John Niles points out in "Editing *Beowulf*: What Can Study of the Ballads Tell Us?" (*Oral Tradition* 9, 440–67), however, the way we read this text, even the text itself, depends upon our assumptions about the poem's origins. We treat the text one way or another depending on how we imagine it to have been written and read. Niles examines the assumptions that go into textual reconstruction—emendating non-alliterative lines, adding syllables for metrical reasons, supplying half-lines to fill a perceived gap in the text, and so on—and points out that all such practices depend on the assumption that the author of *Beowulf* had a strict sense of meter and would not willingly deviate from it; in short, all assume a literate, textual author whose aesthetic values are not unlike those of a modern editor. It is widely thought, however, that "important features of some Old English poems derive ultimately from the praxis of generations of poets pursuing their craft in relative independence from the Latinate educational tradition" (442)—the very structure of OE verse, and many of its stylistic effects, derive from an oral, germanic, traditional body of poetry. A modern parallel to this may be found in the English and American ballad tradition; Niles proposes that this oral/aural world may be a model for the milieu of *Beowulf*. He notes that genuine ballads are seldom metrically 'correct'; "instead what one finds is the steady advance of a basic rhythmic pulse in accord with a governing melodic idea" (449). Such poetry seems ragged and 'corrupt' to a modern textual sensibility, and as such is usually emended in a modern edition. Niles argues that this is wrong: if OE poetry comes from the vocal world, then "editors of Old English texts should respect the metrical freedoms and disjunctions that they discover, honoring them as possible signs of a human voice" (451). He articulates several reasons for abandoning emendations *metri causa*: there is no compelling theory of OE meter, and no evidence that OE poets composed strictly according to any such theory—"the question remains open as to whether the literary concept of meter, as opposed to the oral/aural principle of rhythm, had much meaning for poets working in the medium of vernacular verse" (452); metrical emendations ignore poetic license, and do not account for the apparent uses of 'orphaned' or hypermetric lines; metrical anomalies are, finally, the hallmark of oral performance. Unfortunately, they are also the hallmark of bad copies, and given the absence of a way to distinguish between a relatively free 'rhythmical' poetic performance and a relatively bad copying job, the avoidance of metrical emendation would preserve a lot of error alongside its echoes of the singer's voice. It may be argued, however, that preserving scribal error has its own usefulness—texts exist only in a world of discourse, a historical world of transmission and alteration, and the copyist's traces are part

of the meaning of a work. But Niles is concerned with the orality of sung poetry and its contribution to the shape of OE verse, and so does not pursue these admittedly disturbing thoughts. He notes a number of cases in *Beowulf* where metrical emendations might not be necessary; some of these cases are compelling, others only suggestive. Finally, he admits "I am reluctant to work up a grandiloquent plea that my proposed non-emendations be adopted. I can enjoy an improved text as much as anyone else. . . . What I am proposing is a different way of reading Old English verse, or of reading some Old English verse, at least: namely, as the textual record of a kind of literature that did not need texts for its existence" (460–61, emphasis original). Niles' other recent essays develop a whole model for the composition and meaning of the poem which relates the oral-traditional and the textual worlds in which the poems exist. His arguments here for this 'different way' of reading are fascinating and forceful; they may help us understand *Beowulf* in something like its original context, and to project the modern reader from the thicket of footnotes and glosses into the garden of heroic song.

When it comes to using the oral-formulaic theory to understand Old English literature and culture, Niles' work stands in the avant-garde. Karl Reichl's "The Literate Fallacy: Interpreting Medieval Popular Narrative Poetry" (in Piero Boitani and Anna Torti, eds., *Interpretation: Medieval and Modern*; Cambridge, 1993; pp. 67–90) is a curious reminiscence of a bygone age of innocence, when the oral or literate origins of Old English poetry might be debated as an either-or question, a sort of refreshing recreation of a vanished era when such problems were thought to be simple and solvable. Reichl notes that we moderns are biased towards scribes and books, and neglect the fact that most medieval poetry is 'popular' and 'oral', two very slippery words which he uses to emphasize a work's "existence as spoken and sung poetry, as heard rather than read poetry, as poetry performed to an audience by a professional entertainer, as poetry flourishing and (generally) originating in an oral setting" (70). Reichl has a running debate with himself in the footnotes, first refusing to define orality or defend the argument that any particular poem was composed orally, then (p. 85, n. 46) admitting that he regards a number of works under consideration as having been composed orally; I cannot help feeling that it is not entirely fair to relegate these fundamental preliminary questions to the fine print, where he can refuse to grapple with the questions. In the body of the essay Reichl proceeds on faith—he will not waste time trying to "prove the unprovable" or convince "those who do not want to be convinced" (71). Orality as a topic for scholarly debate, in other words, has something of the status of the existence of God or the efficacy of astrological forecasting. This is not to say, however, that Reichl's essay is not filled with useful and interesting observations. He reconstructs the circumstances of oral performance from descriptions within other poems—the Finnsburh episode in *Beowulf* is the relevant instance; the *sang ond sweg* of Hrothgar's scop shows us what it was like to hear an oral performance.

Reichl points out that the substance of the work performed is less important than the circumstances; genre is less a textual category than a 'speech-event'. The word *gidd*, for instance, covers all sorts of different types of story or song which a modern reader would not group together. Late in the essay Reichl admits the fundamental fallacy of his methodology: "of course, by the time the *Lay of Finnsburh* was written down the pristine state of illiteracy had long been left behind, and the way the Finnsburh episode is incorporated into *Beowulf* almost reads like a nostalgic reflection on orality by the 'Beowulf-poet' (or redactor)" (88). This seems to me exactly right, and utterly destructive to the whole argument—our evidence for reconstructing the scene of orality, when it is not the sort of pointless *mutatis mutandis* sleight-of-hand that goes on in cross-cultural comparisons, is all contained in written documents, where orality is an imaginative re-creation, a nostalgic effect of the text. From Bede's story of *Cædmon* on, the Anglo-Saxons were obviously aware of the differences—and the complex relationship—between orality and literacy, and apparently perfectly able to manipulate the terms of the relationship; it is a hopeless and misguided task to untangle the woven fabric of their literary culture into "the pristine state of illiteracy" and its bookish aftermath. There is no reason to imagine that the narratives presented in *Beowulf* are simple mirrors of the circumstances of the poem's own composition or performance. Reichl is, however, utterly right to insist upon the performative aspects of 'popular' or 'oral' poetry, "the ceremonial framework of performance, the musical and gestural aspects of recitation, the singer-audience interaction" (89); these are in some respects integral to the meaning of *Beowulf*, whether they are part of its extra-textual milieu or merely part of the text's nostalgia for an imaginary heroic age, and, of course, they are precisely the things that become invisible, or rather inaudible, to the modern reader. Thus Reichl's essay, 'sanctified by reason, blest by faith,' may not move mountains, but it at least reminds us that the mountains are there, and must somehow be moved.

One thing the robustness of the oral-formulaic hypothesis teaches us is that we have to justify, not just assume, the fundamental principles which comprised the Anglo-Saxon sense of poetry; the aesthetics of *Beowulf* are not nearly as self-evident as they used to be. Rhythm and alliteration, the repeated tags and appositions, the envelopes and type-scenes, are still clear enough, perhaps, but the modern reader is still a long way from hearing the poem as an Anglo-Saxon audience—whoever *that was*—might have heard it. What were their aesthetic expectations? what gave them delight? what did an author try to achieve? what poetic models did he hold in his head? These are deep questions, and they depend, as do most questions about OE poetics, on the unknown context of the surviving poem. Should we try to reconstruct the intellectual and aesthetic milieu of the meadhall or the monastery? the camp or the library? the church or the king's chamber? Where *does* this poem come from? We do not know. Perhaps (I will repeat) we cannot know. But it is our fundamental duty to try to know, to propose hypotheses about

Anglo-Saxon culture that create a world in which the poem make sense—just as we use the poem to make sense of Anglo-Saxon history and culture. It is our impossible duty, both the departure and the destination of our reading, to explain the aesthetics of the OE poet.

One of the most radical theories is that of David Howlett, who proposes that much OE poetry is composed according to elaborate numerical patterns of word-, syllable-, and even letter-counting, and divides into symmetries and ratios, parallel and chiasmic structures, divisible by golden sections in multi-form patterns. This compositional method, which he calls 'Biblical Style', was learned by the Anglo-Saxon poet from Latin prose and poetry, fundamentally the Bible; Howlett's theory, then, places vernacular literature firmly on the side of the learned literate world, not in the singing world of the oral-traditional meadhall bard. This in itself separates Howlett from a great many modern scholars of Old English, who—even if they reject the grander claims of 'oral-formulaic' theory—imagine a sort of oral prehistory for OE poetry that shaped most of its compositional techniques. Furthermore, it is a mathematical theory, practically Pythagorean, one which depends on the aesthetic appreciation of abstract numerical patterns for its conviction; it is far, far removed from the average taste of a modern 'innumerate' reader of English literature. Members of the Internet discussion list ANSAXNET have long been familiar with Howlett's work; he has explained, argued, described, defended, hectored, tutored, joked, raged, and reiterated every detail of his theory, time and time again, and feistily maintained its integrity against all comers. He has suffered the slings and arrows of recondite experts and ragamuffin tyros alike, not always with good grace but with unflagging enthusiasm. Surely no theory of OE poetry has ever been subjected to so much scrutiny, debate, and defense as Howlett's, and all this *before* its full presentation in book form. In "New Criteria for Editing *Beowulf*" (in Scragg and Szarmach, eds., *The Editing of Old English*, pp. 69–84) we are given a sample of Howlett's ideas at work.

He begins, by way of introducing his method, with an analysis of John 1:1–5, in Greek and Latin, explaining the elaborate structure: "the author grabs and holds our attention with chiasmic and parallel statement and incremental restatement, and whether we consider ideas or meanings of words or numbers of words or numbers of syllables or numbers of letters the centre is always in the same place" (71). His exposition of John's prologue is interesting and persuasive, even if his methods are unfamiliar, but the real bombshell comes a page later: "The author of *Beowulf* understood these compositional rules, which he applied throughout his poem" (72). The rest of his article is a demonstration of the plausibility of this extraordinary claim, applied mostly to lines 1–52 of the poem. It would be impossible, not to mention unfair, to try to summarize Howlett's argument. You must read it yourself, and not only read it—you must work it out with a pencil, preferably a whole set of colored pencils. At times a calculator will be necessary. The world of *Beowulf*, in Howlett's theory, is like the world one sees when a leaf or a bit of dust is placed

under a microscope—dazzling, strange, nearly infinitely complex, with patterns spiralling inside patterns, crossing and re-crossing in elegant symmetry. It is a world of astounding and austere beauty, but—and sooner or later one has to come crashing upon this rock—how in the world could it be true?

The occasional creaks in the system lead one to doubt some of Howlett's larger claims, as when, in the interest of symmetry (as parallel to "in geardagum") he reads 'ða' in l. 3, usually and naturally translated as the plural article modifying 'æþelingas', as an unusual adverb 'then'. What is the point of this peculiar reading, except to preserve the sense of symmetry? Or when his parallels are outrageous, e.g. 'frætwa' 36 and its putative parallel 'hildewæpnum and heaðowædum billum and byrnum' 39–40; admittedly these two expressions refer to the same things, but what person who cares about the sound of poetry would identify them as "parallel" in any meaningful way? One notices, after a while, that Howlett's divisions into chiasmus and parallel often cross the expected grammatical and line divisions, cutting units of common sense into unusual shapes and combinations; at other times words or lines which intrude into the pattern are omitted from Howlett's charts and diagrams, and the patterns he makes so clearly visible in his diagrams are nearly impossible to pick out in the flow of the poem. And given the wide variety of ways in which things can be structured—as equivalent, as the greater or lesser part of a golden section, as the crux or 'end of the crux' of a chiasmus, and so on—one begins to suspect that nearly any arrangement of OE lines, drawn as they are from a relatively narrow range of ideas and themes and words, given as they are to so much formal repetition, ring-structure and apposition, might be made to yield such cryptogrammatical numerical patterns.

Further, one must ask, what is a word, to an Anglo-Saxon, and how did they count them? How did a listening audience perceive, much less appreciate, such highly abstract letter-counting devices? And if such patterns are found in Latin, how did such a highly literate technique graft itself onto an ancient and already-entrenched poetic practice? Counting lines, words, syllables and letters runs deeply contrary to the expectations of most readers of literature and all scholars of Old English; the argument that an OE poet composed this way is a radically new idea which does away, in one sweep, with most of what has been said about OE poetic style and literary history. Howlett's theory is counter-intuitive, and fundamentally contradicts nearly every scholar's understanding of the nature and background of OE poetry. This is not to say, however that it is untrue. Howlett's eye for detail is keen, his sense of structure is superb, his thoroughness is worthy of admiration; even a deeply skeptical reader will learn a great deal about the poem's beauty from this essay. Moreover, Howlett's fervor is everywhere evident, and his claims, though astonishing enough for *Beowulf* studies, are larger still: "It matters not at all whether the *Beowulf* poet knew a word of Greek or Hebrew. He knew the Vulgate, which reproduces this mode of composition from both Hebrew Old Testament and Greek New Testament in minute particulars. He shared

this mode of composition with scores of Celtic Latin and Anglo-Latin authors from the fifth century to the thirteenth, and with a large number of Old English and Middle English writers from the seventh century to the twelfth" (81). If Howlett is even partly right, then most scholars will have to go back and start over, re-reading everything they have ever read, and try to see both the style and history of all medieval literature with new eyes. But if Howlett is even a little bit right, this daunting challenge will have its rewards; there is a whole world of beauty to discover, hidden in even the most familiar works of OE literature.

Thomas Gardner's "Compositional Techniques of the *Beowulf* Poet" (in Grinda and Wetzel, eds., *Anglo-Saxonica*, pp. 209–23) seems very much like a small piece of a much larger project, and as such is difficult to evaluate. Gardner's goal is to "dispel the widely held theory that the *Beowulf* poem was orally composed before it was written down in its transmitted form" (209); his method is to analyze different passages of the poem where he finds that similar morphemes occur the same number of lines after other similar morphemes—within the 'domain' of a given keyword, related clusters of words and morphemes very often recur at regular intervals from the keyword. This complex line-counting tends to contradict the principle of 'thrift' in oral composition. Gardner's criteria are generously flexible—any member of the related cluster may precede or follow the keyword, and may in turn serve as the keyword for another cluster of related morphemes, and need not be in an alliterating or even stressed position, and "all the components of a given cluster must not always occur together" (222). One awaits with great interest Gardner's fuller findings; there we will see evidence, perhaps, that the state of affairs he describes is not just a reflection of the poem's limited vocabulary and circumscribed thematic range.

Richard North's "'Wyrð' and 'wearð ealuscerwen' in *Beowulf*" (*Leeds Studies in English* 25, 69–82) proposes a new approach to the famously problematic word 'ealuscerwen' in *Beo* 769. He suggests that the first part may be related to the relatively rare 'alu' or 'good fortune', and the second part may be related to 'scean' or 'cut'; "thus *ealuscerwen* would denote an incision of the symbols for *alu*, those marking good fortune, on a surface of some kind" (74). The expression then means 'good fortune was cut (for the Danes)', a compact reference to a Germanic tradition (preserved in Icelandic but not OE) which imagines the personified Fates carving human destiny on pieces of wood. North further proposes that "'wearð' is linked with the agent the poet imagined for the activity of carving good fortune and that this agent is a personified *wyrð*" (75). In support of this he examines the word 'endestæf' found elsewhere in OE poetry and the expression 'wyrð gescræf' or 'fate assigned.' North proposes that the related word 'meoduscerwen' in *Andreas*, which occurs in a different context and is clearly supposed to mean 'a dispensing of mead', is a misunderstanding, deliberate or otherwise, of the pagan metaphorical resonances of the word in *Beowulf*.

I'm told that it's a reviewer's trick to read books back-

wards, starting with the index and conclusions, so you'll know in advance where an author's going and what route he or she is taking to get there. E. G. Stanley's *In the Foreground: 'Beowulf'* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Brewer; pp. xiv, 273) has four indexes: Scholars and Critics named in the footnotes (which includes such figures as St Augustine, Goethe, Alexander Pope and Sir Walter Scott); Authors and Writings (from Aristotle on Colour to Faroese balladry); a lexical index of words and phrases; and finally a 'General Index' of topics. This suggests something of the book's multi-faceted nature. It is many things at once: a survey of the history of critical ideas about Old English in general and *Beowulf* in particular, a discussion, of deep subtlety, about the ways we read literature in general and Old English in particular, a philological miscellany of observations on many literary and linguistics cruxes, and an introduction—though by no means a 'prolegomenon'—to the reading of *Beowulf*. Stanley brings to this wide-ranging book an obvious and profound love for his subject, combined with a knowledge of the history of our discipline that is probably unparalleled among living Anglo-Saxonists. What makes his work especially valuable is that his love is always animated by an awareness of our limitations—he never promotes a wish to a hypothesis—and his surveys of earlier work, however arch or acid, are always tempered by his attachment to the primary evidence of literary works, texts, and manuscripts. Stanley's postscript (to continue reading backwards) urges that "accuracy and doubt should attend academic literary study" (244). These might be regarded as his hallmarks: a notable precision, not just about texts but about scholars and their opinions, and a strong sense of what we do not know. He quotes on several occasions a couplet from Goethe's *Xenion* which he translates: "As exegetes, you in each text display, / not what it says, but what you'd have it say," and Stanley is as scrupulously cautious to avoid this pitfall in his own writing as he is remorselessly attuned to discern it in that of others. This places him, at times, against most modern critics of *Beowulf*, whom he sees as too eager to assert unprovable hypotheses. Stanley encourages critical doubt: "doubt that we have the communion of informed taste necessary for literary criticism, and doubt that we have the factual knowledge of chronology of composition necessary for its history" (69). He is quite at home in this Cloud of Unknowing, a sort of scholarly *via negativa*. And let it be said that Stanley's ascetic and honest doubts are often more revealing, and more useful, than most scholar's conclusions.

He divides the book, tellingly, into two sections: "What is said of *Beowulf*" and "What is known of *Beowulf*." The first offers a history of *Beowulf* criticism from Sharon Turner's *History of the Anglo-Saxons* to the present. Stanley gathers and weighs a vast amount of material here, and finds much old and new nonsense; it is not surprising that he ends by praising "Silence, a great gift in a critic" (68). The second section is divided into a number of smaller sections: under "Uncertainties of the Date and Transmission of *Beowulf*" Stanley includes comments on the chronology of Old English verse (we have none reliable); recognizing quality in Old

English Verse ("Anglo-Saxonists . . . may not always acknowledge frankly enough that, of the Old English verse now extant, a small proportion only is truly good . . . and that, if they were more honest, they would have to admit that a somewhat larger proportion is rather indifferent literary art, if not downright bad," p. 73); the complexity of the manuscript transmission of the poem; the oral-formulaic hypothesis; and what can be known about Old English poetic syntax and sentence structure. A chapter on "Some Metrical Considerations, Poetic Diction, and Ornamentation"—the next hundred pages—presents Stanley's opinions and insights on most topics related to our sense of OE poetic style. This is a fascinating assessment of how we know what we can know about OE poetry, why we can't know what we don't know, what sorts of poetic devices might have mattered to the Anglo-Saxons, and where we can find the facts on which we must ground our own reading. Some topics are vast, e.g., differences between prose and verse, OE meter (a list of "basic facts known securely, and some reasonable inferences"—a very short list, in fact, only nine items, but a rigorous one, and Stanley concludes "the rest is more speculative inference or pure theory," p. 121), the continental analogues to OE verse, systems of scansion, poetic compounds, figurative devices, variation; others are more specialized, e.g., "late verse and the alliteration of <c> and <g>," possible onomatopoeic effects, or "Old English colour words and the limits of our understanding." A final chapter before the "Postscript" offers a discussion of the pervasive Christianity of Old English poetry, with numerous examples of moments of "Prayers, Praise, and Thanksgiving."

Stanley takes stock of nearly two centuries worth of research and speculation on *Beowulf*, subjecting all comers to the bracing light of a healthy skepticism, and manages while doing so to provide a virtual handbook of Old English poetic style. He almost always manages to keep a baby or two while tossing out whole oceans of bathwater. As a survey of the history of *Beowulf* criticism the book is invaluable; as a summary of the current state of knowledge on matters of date and origin it is equally useful; as a guide, utterly free from nonsense, to the nature and quality of OE poetry, the work is a testimony not only to Stanley's devotion to truth but to his abiding love and deep sensitivity to the power and beauty of Old English poetry.

The promising title of Robert Weimann's "Memory, Fictionality, and the Issue of Authority: Author-Function and Narrative Performance in *Beowulf*, Chrétien and Malory" (in Roy Eriksen, ed., *Context of Pre-Novel Narrative: the European Tradition*. Approaches to Semiotics 114, Berlin and New York; pp. 83-100) suggests that the reader is in for a vigorous and thoroughly modern continuation of a long and fruitful discussion in *Beowulf* criticism, the debate over the relation of narrative voice to composition and audience, carried forward into later medieval works. What one gets instead is fifteen pages of almost parodically turgid prose with that brutal insensitivity to the rhythm of language—which is, after all, nothing more than contempt for the reader—that is the hallmark of contemporary academic writing. A repre-

sentative sample may be given, from near the beginning of the essay: "Since to recapture the communal context of a purely oral narrative in western Europe is at this late date for all practical purposes impossible, we need to turn to the work of anthropologists in order to reconstruct any consistently preliterate norms of authority in symbolic communications. Pierre Clastres' study of the uses of chants and narratives among the Guarini Indians, *Le Grand Parler*, may serve [here Weimann cites Lyotard's *Postmodern Condition* rather than any of a hundred books more relevant to his subject]: it depicts a discursive practice which appears to be authorized by an extraordinarily comprehensive *pensée sauvage* according to which 'knowledge' is served by a discursive practice whose authority is only minimally differentiated in the sense that it is legitimated through both naturalism and symbolism, science and magic" (83-4). Reading prose like this is like eating sand. Weimann's indifference to the history of this question in Old English studies is similar to his inattention to language—he cites none of the articles which have contributed to our understanding of the role and status of the narrator in the poem, not even Stanley Greenfield's "The Authenticating Voice in *Beowulf*." He assumes without discussion that the poem is "Anglian" and "aristocratic," and though composed in writing "the recurring gestures of authorization remain in many ways characteristically oral. . . . [T]he anonymous writer inscribes the desire of the *scop* to legitimate his recital by displaying far-ranging oral knowledge" (85). Weimann's point, such as it is, is that in oral cultures there is no separation of author and narrator, and authority is achieved through performance and ritual in which the audience is part of the work of authorization—"the *discours* that is representing is semantically related to the verbal configurations, the *histoire*, of what is represented" (86). In *les livres*, of course, it's all different; Weimann contrasts the practice of Ælfric, who cites textual authority for his statements, and later Chrétien de Troyes, who draws attention to his status as an author separate from the person who may be reciting his text. Weimann ignores many rich opportunities for insight into the nature of *Beowulf*'s author and audience; he seems really only to want to erect a primitive straw-man notion of *Beowulf* as a convenient 'other' to exclude, an inconsequential point from which to launch his bombast. I believe quite strongly that Old English studies has much to gain from the insights of modern theory, and *vice versa* even moreso; I think we ought to encourage more non-medievalists to read early literature as a challenge and an opportunity to stretch the conceptual limits of their theories. It's just a pity that there are so few scholars qualified to build those bridges between old and new work, and that awful articles like this one are the price we pay for it.

Tribal membership is not the same as national citizenship; it is not always easy or even possible to distinguish who belongs where in the poem, and some insolubles—the alliances of the Jutes, for example—are, possibly, confused. Ruth P. M. Lehmann's "Ecgbæow the Wægmunding: Geat or Swede?" (*ELN* 31.3, 1-5) asserts forthrightly that "Beowulf's

mother was a Geat married to Ecgbæow, who was probably a Swede and the marriage arranged to try to keep peace between these neighboring peoples" (4). The argument is plausible, though not provable by any evidence in the poem, but if it is true, one wonders why the poet, who seems never to miss a chance to point out the inadequacy of marriage as an instrument of diplomacy, didn't make more of it.

The religious quality of the poem remains one of its richest puzzles, one of the hardest aspects to pin down. Ruth P. M. Lehmann rushes in with "Dawnlight in the Dark Ages" (*SN* 66, 175-79) to "define just how early ages understood the new Christianity" (175). She concludes: "The story of Beowulf stands in the half-light before dawn—*ubi* of the middle ages. Christianity opened up a new God, a new worship, but the people saw no conflict with the old heroic ideals: war against evil, noble derring-do, truth to oaths, kindness toward one's fellows, patience with both drunkards and fools" (178).

In "A Decade's Worth of *Beowulf* Scholarship: Observations on Compiling a Bibliography" (in *OEN* 27.3, 35-50), Robert Hasenfratz tosses around some facts and figures about trends in the discipline, based on the work that went into his excellent *Beowulf Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography, 1979-1990*. Most interesting of all, at least to this reviewer, was a chart that proved—as only charts can—that the amount of scholarship on the poem is not, in fact, doubling and redoubling each year, threatening to bury us all under a mountain of articles and books. Actually the total amount of *Beowulf*-product is down from its peak in 1982 (note to scholars: get to work!). Hasenfratz notes trends in the recent study of the poem and reflects wistfully on the "constant renewal of interpretive innocence" (38) imposed by the burden of objectively summarizing every book and article (he envies the "more untrammelled latitude of the *OEN* reviewers"). He includes a brief list of errata to his bibliography—impressively brief, given the nature and scope of that project.

Anna Smol's "Heroic Ideology and the Children's *Beowulf*" (*Children's Literature* 22, 90-100) surveys a number of retellings of the story of Beowulf, made specifically for children, in the early part of this century. The essay is a fascinating window on an earlier age, and I wish there were more of it. Using a hero like Beowulf as a role model involved, as one might expect, a great deal of simplification, and not just of the complex allusive narrative; what was deemed suitable for children was a kind of parody of 19th century romantic and nationalistic scholarship: a strong, brave, true, upright, blond, blue-eyed hero, surrounded by lots of sparkle and glitter and gothic smoke. The women are decorative, when they are present at all. Reading about Beowulf's heroic exploits was supposed to inspire emulation among these children of the Empire, to "help make heroes in the present," as one writer put it (quoted on p. 90). I wonder whether it worked—and whether the events of 1914-18 might have been different if it had worked differently. Nowadays I think many children are turning out to be more Grendel than Beowulf, sullen and violent and inarticulate, all mouths and hands. We've stopped believing in the virtue of these old stories, or perhaps we've

lost the ability to suspend our disbelief in virtue itself. The stories that are left, property of the Walt Disney Company, are systematically bowdlerized to suit our modern sensibilities just as *Beowulf* was squeezed into the turn-of-the-century Imperial mold; amid all the dancing crockery, merchandizing tie-ins, and historical and narrative crapulization of recent efforts, I can't believe we're any better off. Ultimately Smol's intriguing work leads one to think about responsibility—scholarly responsibility for the popular pidginization of our findings, social responsibility for our collective historical dreams, parental responsibility for furnishing children's imaginations with a usable set of ideals and archetypes.

Editions and translations

I have two copies of Klaeber's edition of *Beowulf*. One is fresh and new and beautiful because I have never used it; the other has been with me since 1979 and is virtually unreadable now. The cover is worn smooth; the spine is broken and torn; the sides reveal a kind of sedimentary pattern of light and dark layers, indicating where the text and supplements begin and end. The text is tangled in a briar patch of pencilled glosses; on most pages I can detect at least three layers of activity. The first set is largely semantic, and consists of interlinear words written in pencil; occasionally there are syntactical glosses as well, consisting of a system of underlining and bracketing apparently adapted from grade-school sentence diagramming. These may be confidently dated to 1979, the year I first learned to read *Beowulf*. A second layer of glossing consists mainly of interpretive markers; these are sometimes cryptic, e.g., a set of stars beside certain lines, or breathless exclamations like 'cf. 50ff: the BIG question!' These are apparently from 1983, when I had to re-learn how to read the poem after some years of neglect, and my enthusiasm had a freer rein. Yet another layer is textual, and more often than not involves circles and arrows directing the reader from the text to the textual apparatus that runs along the bottom of Klaeber's pages like the stock-market tickertape on CNN. There are also highly abbreviated references to scholarly journals; occasionally such glosses appear even in Klaeber's Glossary, and at times they seem to reflect some impatience, even anger, with Klaeber's editorial choices. This last set is harder to date and seem to derive from a period from 1988 to the present.

My edition of Klaeber, in other words, is a mirror of my development as a student and scholar, a talisman, almost, that represents my progress, such as it has been, in this field. I am sure that the books of most readers of these pages have a similar tale to tell—learning to use Klaeber's clumsy tome is a traditional part of one's training as an Anglo-Saxonist, a kind of initiatory ritual that unveils the mysteries of the Second Supplement. For all my professional life, my Klaeber has accumulated my thoughts and impressions like a diary; I have an utterly unreasonable fondness for it. But I would quickly agree that it's hardly suited to the needs of a beginning student of OE. Nobody ever accused Klaeber of being, in that awful condescending phrase of the computer world, 'user-friendly'. Klaeber's edition comes to us from a distant age

when scholarship was stern and more serious, when both students and teachers were tougher, and work was supposed to build character—and the harder and more pointless the work, the bigger the resulting character. Klaeber's *Beowulf* takes no prisoners and is no respecter of persons. Furthermore, the growth of Klaeber's edition into its present form is a kind of historical accident not unlike the compilation of Cotton Vitellius A.xv. It started out hard and clumsy, and got moreso; nor have the years always been kind to the ideas espoused in Klaeber's introduction or tucked away in his notes. But the teacher of Old English must always ask, at the beginning of the seminar: if not Klaeber, who?

Here comes George Jack's *'Beowulf': a Student Edition* (Oxford: Clarendon Press; pp. x, 244), whose title is precise: it is a likely choice for the beginner, under the guidance of a teacher, but no substitute for a full scholarly edition of the poem. The page design, one will notice right away, is a radical departure from Klaeber. A page of Jack's edition, like Gaul, is divided into three parts: a few lines more or less of the text, widely spaced, on the left-hand side; a whole lot of glosses (about every other word is translated), with grammatical information, on the right-hand side; and notes, textual, semantic, or interpretive, along the bottom, sometimes taking up half the page. In effect Jack has put the glossary and notes right on the page with the text, which makes *Beowulf* look like the *Glossa Ordinaria* but will certainly save a lot of miserable thumbing on the part of the students. As with so much of modern life, the cost of convenience is hidden but high; the student is denied, for example, the pleasure of actually learning to recognize a word in Old English—the glosses are always there, whether you need them or not, which inevitably guarantees that you'll always need them. Unless the student resorts to some clumsy shift like covering up the right half of the page with an index card, Jack's glosses will always do the students' work for them. Having the glosses and notes on the page with the text makes it harder to ignore them, which some teachers will regard as a drawback. Jack's notes, however, are largely non-controversial; his emendations are the usual ones; his glosses and translations espouse no radical revision of our sense of the poem. This is as it should be in an edition meant as an introduction to the poem; his treatment of the poem's many cruces and conundrums reflects a kind of scholarly majority rule, a consensus of received opinions. Every reader of the edition will have his or her list of particular disagreements.

The introduction is workmanlike and sensibly tried to avoid interpretive issues. But of course, questions of date, meter, and composition *are* interpretive issues, and Jack might have been more circumspect in his suggestions. One cannot simply disconnect discussion of the poem's meaning from the impossible questions of its origins, audience, and language, or pretend that the latter are 'objective' while the former is 'subjective'. In a section on poem's date, for example, Jack rightly notes the breakdown of scholarly consensus since 1980 but then defers to Fulk's *History of Old English Meter*, which resurrects old linguistic arguments and proposes a date c. 685–

825. The issues are, Jack should have noted, far more complicated and controversial—not to mention more interesting—than that, and a deferral to the mystified positivism of 19th-century linguistics, even in a smart state-of-the-art modern disguise, is not the answer. It is a serviceable introduction, but more forthright admission of the hermeneutic dilemmas involved, and a bit less heigh-ho positivism, might serve to build a better reader of this fundamentally enigmatic poem. Noting omissions in the one-page “Further Reading” section on pp. 25–6 would be pointless—everyone who reads it will want to add someone’s name (Rick Russom? Allen Frantzen? James Earl? Colin Chase’s *The Dating of Beowulf?*), and perhaps subtract someone else’s. There is, oddly, no discussion of meter, not even a rudimentary presentation of the most basic elements—why not at least sketch out Sievers’ Five Types?—and little attention to the MS text apart from the usual references to Thorkelin’s transcripts. The inclusion of a photograph of a page from the MS would save the teacher some legwork, for surely anyone who teaches the poem, even to undergraduates, will want to show the students what an editor has to work with. What discussion there is of textual controversy is reserved for the footnotes to individually contested lines; there is no overall discussion of the principles of editorial intervention.

The book is apparently meant to be used along with a standard OE grammar such as Mitchell and Robinson; the marginal glosses provide the sort of grammatical information one usually finds in a back-of-the-book glossary. The “Supplemental Glossary” on pp. 217–228 provides a list of only the more common words. This is a pity, for it prevents the student from searching for all the uses of a word in the poem—who is called an *aglaca*, and when? how is *motan* used? etc.—and makes an overall study of the poem in its original language more difficult. I offer these reservations in full acceptance of the overwhelming fact that Jack’s edition will make it easier for a beginning student to read the poem. For a teacher too familiar with Klaeber, Jack’s edition may take some getting used to, but I suspect it will be welcomed by students, for whom the separation of text, notes, and glossary is often an unnecessary hardship. The edition may make it easier for students to get to the ‘good parts’ of reading *Beowulf*—less flipping through glossaries for the translation of a word, more debating the meaning and purpose of the poem. Thoroughly supported by a good grammar and a selection of critical readings, and with the guidance of a good teacher who is prepared to remind his or her students that reading the poem is really more complicated than they think, and with the occasional assistance of a ‘real’ edition like Klaeber’s and its splendid glossary, Jack’s edition may remove some of the purely linguistic and logistical obstacles that make *Beowulf* so daunting for new students. What it lacks in editorial perspective, pedagogical rigor, scholarly thoroughness, or textual insight it makes up in convenience and accessibility—call it *McBeowulf*.

There is no shortage of *Beowulf* translations, and to offer a new one requires a great deal of justification and, I would

assume, a particular kind of bravado. E. I. Ridsen’s *Beowulf: a Student’s Edition* (Troy, NY: Whitston Press; pp. xvi, 99) is not an edition at all, but a translation whose author has “aimed at providing the most accurate translation possible, while maintaining readability and keeping in mind the poet’s technique and the concerns of interested readers approaching *Beowulf* for the first time” (ii–iii). This is quite a full plate, and one cannot blame any editor or translator for not quite living up to this ambitious list of demands. Following a brief and general introduction and a useful “Glossary of Characters” (more a List of Proper Names, since it includes the names of some tribes as well), the translation proceeds. In general the big show-stopping pieces in the poem (the approach to Heorot, the Lament of the Last Survivor, the ending) are handled competently, though the author seldom reaches the heights of translators like Hudson or Chickering or even Raffel—one never forgets that one is reading a translation, laboriously dragged, sweating and staggering and short of breath, from a difficult language, one half-line at a time. A passage from the beginning of the poem gives a representative slice of the translator’s art:

Often Scyld Scefing seized mead-benches
from the warrior bands of many nations,
terrified noblemen, since first he was found
possessing nothing — he repaid that solace,
grew strong under heaven; in fame he prospered
till every one of the neighboring kingdoms
over the whale-road had to heed him,
yield him tribute. That was a good king!

The choices are occasionally unusual—why is *monegum mæghum* taken as dependent on *sceapena þreatum*, rather than in apposition to it? why is the grandiose *weorðmyndum* rendered by the brief ‘fame’? More serious is the apparent lapse in understanding exhibited by rendering *he þæs frofre gebad*, which certainly means ‘he awaited/experienced consolation for that (i.e., the fact that he was originally a destitute foundling)’ as ‘he repaid that solace’? There are other instances of such lapses in accuracy scattered throughout the work, e.g., lines 1873ff, in which Hrothgar bids farewell to Beowulf:

It was the expectation of both,
the one very wise with age and the second more so,
that he thereafter would not see him,
brave in speech.

The sense of *Him was bega wen* has been mistaken, and thus the following line is misconstrued into dubious sense in modern English; the word *meþle*, ‘council, meeting-place’, has also been misunderstood. Instances of such careless misconstruction are common enough that I cannot recommend the work for its accuracy; nor is the poetry so graceful that one is tempted to forgive such infidelities.

R.M.L.

Not Seen:

Szegó, György, trans. *Beowulf*. With Preface by Katalin Halácsy. Budapest: Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem, Anglisztika Tanszék, 1994. pp. xxii, 100. [in Hungarian]

d. Prose

Four important new editions of biblical and hagiographical texts, including work on the Old English Gospels, the legend of the Seven Sleepers, the life of St. Margaret, and Ælfric, grace the list of contributions to Old English prose for 1994. R. M. Liuzza's edition of *The Old English Version of the Gospels, I: Text and Introduction* (Early English Text Society, o.s., 304; Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994; lxxviii, 202 pp. + plate) now takes its place at the head of a line of fine editions spanning four centuries of work on the Old English Gospels. Archbishop Matthew Parker's first and notably early edition of 1571 was published by John Daye with an introduction by John Foxe the martyrologist. Parker's learned secretary John Joscelyn probably deserves the credit for the scholarship behind this first edition, which was superseded in the following century through the work of another learned antiquarian, Francis Junius. Junius collated texts from four different manuscript witnesses in his 1665 edition: Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140; Cambridge, University Library, li.2.11; Oxford, Bodley 441; and Oxford, Hatton 38. More recently, W. W. Skeat and James W. Bright have edited these Gospel texts, sometimes referring to them as the "West-Saxon Gospels" though this appellation belies their dialectal origin, which appears more mixed. Though generally adhering to the editorial principles established by this impressive line of scholars, Liuzza nevertheless differs from previous editors in matters of detail, format, and editorial policy. Despite these differences, Liuzza offers a text that, in his own words, "has nevertheless nothing in it of a revolutionary character." Like Skeat and Bright, Liuzza bases his text on Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 140, with corrections taken from Bodley 441 and Cotton Otho C. i—manuscripts that Skeat and Bright also collate.

If not revolutionary in character, several subtle changes from earlier editorial policy do yield rather significant results: Liuzza supplies chapter and verse numbers of the modern Bible in an unobtrusive manner in order to preserve the continuous prose and sectional divisions of his base manuscript. This format of solid and largely uninterrupted prose distances his edition from the glossed texts of the Lindisfarne and Macregol Gospels (or even the King James Bible), and more closely aligns his edition with other works of sustained prose, notably the Old English translations of Bede and Orosius, as well as the homilies of Ælfric and Wulfstan. Liuzza also reports substantive variants from all other manuscripts and fragments, and thus gives students of the Gospels a better and clearer record for assessing manuscript relations. A second volume, under preparation, will offer notes, commentary, and a glossary. Judging from the fine caliber of the current volume, it too will be a welcome and important addition to Old English prose studies.

Hugh Magennis offers a particularly pleasing and informative edition of *The Anonymous Old English Legend of the Seven Sleepers* (Durham Medieval Texts, 7; Durham: Durham University, 1994; iv, 128 pp.). His introduction sketches the

Old English version of the legend, in which seven young Christian men are walled up alive in a cave at Ephesus at the command of the emperor Decius. In a later century, the Christian emperor Theodosius opens the cave and the young men awaken from their miraculous sleep. The story continued to attract broad interest well beyond the medieval period: John Donne makes reference to the legend in "The Good Morrow," and allusions to the legend also appear in Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, in Goethe, and in the writings of Mark Twain. Magennis points out that in the Old English version the miracle triumphantly vindicates the Christian doctrine of the resurrection of the body—a theological belief threatened by heresy at the time of Theodosius according to the legend.

Magennis traces the dissemination of the legend and summarizes previous theories about the origin of the story. Ernst Honigmann's intriguing article from 1953 speculates that the legend originates in fifth-century Ephesus during the reign of Theodosius II (d. 450), where the legend putatively served to counter heretical teachings from the previous century. Magennis accepts Honigmann's thesis as a credible historical context for the origin of the story, and then briefly surveys surviving versions from Greek, Syriac, Coptic, Arabic, Ethiopian, Armenian, and Latin sources. Magennis notes in particular the *Passio Septem Dormientium* of Gregory of Tours (one of the two major Latin sources for the story in the Middle Ages), as well as a longer, fuller Latin version edited by P. M. Huber (*BHL* 2316) that serves as the source for the Old English version. The tale was of course later popularized in the *Legenda Aurea* before making its way into more modern literature.

The Old English text of the legend appears on folios 107v–122v of Cotton Julius E. vii (J), an eleventh-century manuscript known chiefly as the principal manuscript of Ælfric's *Lives of Saints*. A very fragmentary text also exists in Cotton Otho B. x (O), another volume of saints' lives. Magennis identifies the language and vocabulary of the text as West Saxon, and his edition includes a helpful commentary, variant readings, a text and translation of the Latin version found in British Library, Egerton 2797, 25r–37r, and a comprehensive Old English glossary.

Magennis has also collaborated with Mary Clayton to edit and translate *The Old English Lives of St. Margaret* (Cambridge Studies in Anglo-Saxon England, 9; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994; xi, 239 pp.). Their introduction surveys the legend of Margaret of Antioch, virgin and martyr, who, according to early accounts, was persecuted by the prefect Olibrius. The origin of the legend remains unknown, and no records of her survive in accounts of persecution at Antioch. Known in the Eastern Church as Marina, her fame spread in the West under the name Margarita or Margareta during the ninth century. Literary evidence of her veneration dates only from a century earlier. According to these accounts, a dragon appeared in her cell while she was being imprisoned by Olibrius and devoured her whole. She

made the sign of the cross, and the dragon burst asunder, allowing her to escape unharmed. After further tortures, her executioner, Malchus, allowed her to pray before her death. She prayed that those who venerated her memory might be freed from sin and that no physically impaired child would be born to them (a prayer that may obliquely recall her own unnatural birth from the body of the dragon).

After surveying the Latin versions of the story, Clayton and Magennis explore the legend in Anglo-Saxon England, which begins with the ninth-century *Old English Martyrology* (where she is still called Marina) and continues in the early eleventh century with a copy of the legend in Cotton Otho B. x—unfortunately destroyed by fire. Two later manuscript witnesses survive: Cotton Tiberius A. iii (from the middle of the eleventh century) and CCCC 303 (from the early part of the twelfth century). The Tiberius text has been extensively revised and edited by subsequent scribes, and the editors have decided to present this intriguing composite text as their main text, followed by the text in CCCC 303, and, in an appendix, the text as originally entered into the Tiberius manuscript. Also included is a text of a Latin version of the legend found in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale, Lat. 5574, fols. 1–39 (a manuscript from Anglo-Saxon England). Clear and helpful notes, accurate translations, and useful commentary augment this superb contribution to Anglo-Saxon scholarship.

As in past years, Ælfric remains a primary focus of Old English prose studies. Among the half-dozen or so studies this year, the editorial work of Jonathan Wilcox deserves particular notice. His edition, *Ælfric's Prefaces* (Durham Medieval Texts, 9; Durham: Durham University, 1994, vii, 202 pp.), claims an unusual status for Ælfric's writings: "he uses the authority of his name to create an authoritatively orthodox body of work in a way that is unique for a vernacular writer in Anglo-Saxon England." After briefly reviewing Ælfric's historical context, his corpus of writings, and his stylistic innovations, Wilcox focuses attention on the nature and function of Ælfric's prefaces. Wilcox's analysis builds on the more broad-ranging studies of C. L. White (who published Ælfric's prefaces in *Ælfric: A New Study of His Life and Writings*), A. J. Minnis (*Medieval Theory of Authorship: Scholastic Literary Attitudes in the Later Middle Ages*), and Tore Janson (*Latin Prose Prefaces: Studies in Literary Conventions*), as well as the more specialized work of an unpublished Ph.D. dissertation by Mary Stephens (*A Study of the Old English Preface*, University of Pennsylvania, 1960). Wilcox makes a number of sensible observations about Ælfric's prefaces, including both the obvious—that Ælfric uses Latin to address his ecclesiastical superiors and Old English to address secular lords—and the more speculative—that Ælfric uses Old English in his preface to the *Admonitio ad Filium Spiritualem* because the text is aimed at both monks and nuns. Altogether Wilcox presents about 600 lines of text, comprised of introductions to Ælfric's First and Second Series of *Catholic Homilies*, his *Grammar*, his translation of *Genesis*, his *Lives of Saints* and various minor works including the *Vita S. Æthelwoldi*, and

various letters to Wulfsgige, the Monks of Eynsham, Sigeward, and others. The conclusion that Wilcox reaches about these prefaces—that Ælfric's self-identification reflects "his concern with maintaining a rigorous standard or orthodoxy"—has been adumbrated in the writings of Godden and others, but Wilcox's edition will allow students of Ælfric to gauge the truth of this notion with greater ease of reference.

One of Ælfric's most astute readers, Malcolm Godden, offers insight into the impact of millenarian thought on the writings of Ælfric and his contemporaries in an article titled "Apocalypse and Invasion in Late Anglo-Saxon England" (*From Anglo-Saxon to Early Middle English*, ed. Godden et al., pp. 130–62). Godden explores the recurrent themes of the moral and theological problems posed by the heathen invasions of England. He touches briefly on Bede (who attributes the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain to God's wrath against the sinful Britons), Alcuin (who suggests that Viking attacks were divine wrath against fornication, incest, robbery, and other sins of the christianized Anglo-Saxons), and Alfred (who compares Viking attacks to the barbarian invasion of Italy). Godden finds similar themes in the writing of Ælfric and Wulfstan, though both these writers also incorporated apocalyptic themes to account for the Viking threat. Godden also takes note of the important political roles played by Ælfric's patrons, Æthelweard and Æthelmær, and speculates on the impact of those roles upon Ælfric. Æthelmær, of course, stayed at Ælfric's community at Eynsham, where, according to Barbara Yorke, he sought temporary exile rather than a permanent, cloistered retreat. Godden argues that Ælfric became strikingly outspoken on national issues by the end of his life and that he reinterpreted, in a more political way, biblical texts and stories that had earlier received a less topical interpretation.

Godden's essay suggests that Ælfric's earlier writings use an apocalyptic setting and virtually ignore the Viking threat. In his later writings, particularly in the *Lives of Saints* (*LS*), the Vikings and the problem of invasion become increasingly prominent. Godden analyzes *De Oratione Moysi* (*LS XIII*), which identifies the heathen *here* as divine punishment for the English nation's destruction of the monastic system. And, as Godden correctly notes, the sermon's suggestion that monastic intercession might avert attacks conflicts with any notion that the invasions might be part of a final and inevitable conflict. Ælfric seems to waver between two paradigms for explaining the contemporary situation. By analyzing accounts in Ælfric of St. Edmund, Judith, and the Maccabees, Godden demonstrates Ælfric's increasing approbation for the idea of a just war and Ælfric's escalating pleas for resistance in the face of heathen assaults. By contrast, Ælfric's apocalyptic concerns diminish.

Godden astutely analyzes Wulfstan's famous *Sermo Lupi* in the same historical context. Following the lead of Whitelock and Bethurum, Godden accepts that *Sermo Lupi* was written in three distinct versions, beginning with the shortest and expanding to the longest and latest version. Godden then

persuasively suggests that the three versions reflect Wulfstan's shifting views of the Viking threat. The first version (found in CCC 419 and Bodley 343) includes a reference to Æthelred's expulsion and must have been written after 1013. This version would seem to conclude and cap a series of sermons dealing with the end of the world and the coming reign of Antichrist. The second version (found in CCC 201) adds a substantial passage dealing with Viking assaults and omits the reference to Æthelred's expulsion: Godden therefore sensibly dates the text to 1014, after the king's return. The third version (Cotton Nero A.i and Hatton 113) incorporates a passage on Gildas and the Anglo-Saxon invasion of Britain. Godden suggests this version appeared before Cnut's accession in 1016–1017, since the sermon admonishes the English to protect themselves against the Vikings. The Nero text includes the famous rubric dating the text to 1014: *sermo ad anglos quando Dani maxime persecuti sunt eos, quod fuit anno millesimo xiiii ab incarnatione domini nostri Iesu Christi*.

Godden suggests that in each successive version Wulfstan increasingly shifts his focus away from apocalyptic concerns and more towards the imminent Viking threat—a pattern that mirrors Ælfric's increasing concern with the Viking threat. Godden points out that in quoting Gildas, who railed against the Anglo-Saxon threat, Wulfstan tacitly develops a parallel between the pagan Vikings and the Anglo-Saxons. Just as his own Anglo-Saxon forebears eventually submitted to Christianity, so too might the Vikings yield to the teachings of Christ. This paradigm of conversion, Godden argues, may have allowed Wulfstan to achieve so quickly “the frame of mind that enabled him to become Cnut's advisor”: Wulfstan apparently realized that he could play an important role in converting the Vikings.

In “Ælfric's Judith: Manipulative or Manipulated?” (*ASE* 23 [1994], 215–27), Mary Clayton argues that Ælfric has attempted to manipulate a manipulative heroine. Because Ælfric's text seems to be directed to a group of nuns, he attempts to downplay Judith's seductive qualities, and he attempts to paint her more decorously and less actively than the biblical accounts of her character. Given his audience, his attempts to emphasize those qualities that align Judith with the pattern of the virgin martyr, while tendentious, seem entirely understandable: he wishes to offer a model to the nuns, and the biblical heroine has traits he would rather ignore (Clayton's essay includes, by the way, a helpful appendix discussing the term *nunne* in Old English).

Judith, of course, resists Ælfric's mold: as Clayton notes, martyrs withstand temptation whereas Judith tempts; martyrs reject ornate clothing and the trappings of sexual adornment, whereas Judith adopts these in order to seduce Holofernes. Ælfric therefore seems selective in his account of Judith. In fact, by associating Judith with chastity (as Clayton aptly notes), Ælfric follows a pattern already found in Jerome's Preface to the Vulgate book on Judith: there Jerome upholds Judith as an example of chastity (“castitatis exemplum”). Ælfric follows Jerome in associating Judith with the Church, who

cut off the head of the devil (Jerome, Ep. lxxix, *PL* 22, 732). Yet Judith must lie and tempt in order to defeat Holofernes, behavior that Ælfric glosses over in order to present Judith as a fitting model for a community of nuns.

Three more articles on Ælfric appear in the collection of essays titled *Editing Old English* (ed. D. G. Scragg and Paul E. Szarmach, 1994) by Joyce Hill, Clare Lees, and Theodore H. Leinbaugh. In “Ælfric, Authorial Identity and the Changing Text” (pp. 177–89), Joyce Hill reviews some of the problems associated with editing medieval manuscripts, especially those problems that hinge on our understanding of the concepts of authorship and textual integrity. She argues that these concepts differ markedly from our own, “even when they appear to be present” in a way we would tend to understand them today (Hill's emphasis). She begins her essay by contrasting the more conservative editorial approach toward Old English texts championed by E. G. Stanley with the more liberal approach advocated by Michael Lapidge, who notes that conservative approaches do not generally hold sway in the editing of Anglo-Latin texts. Hill then moves on to consider Ælfric's apparent efforts to preserve authorial identity and textual integrity in his apparent bid to guarantee “theological reliability.”

Hill buttresses her argument by examining Ælfric's Pastoral Letters, one for Wulfsig, bishop of Sherborne, and four for Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester and archbishop of York. These letters were neither issued in Ælfric's name nor written in a way that would reveal his own persona. Ælfric explains that he writes a letter for Wulfsig in such a way that the letter seems as if it “had been dictated from your mouth and you had been speaking to the clergy under you.” Hill finds a similar surrender of authorial identity in Ælfric's four letters for Wulfstan. In addition, these different and evolving texts pose significant problems in identifying “the text which the author intended.” As Hill rightly observes, Ælfric's two Old English letters for Wulfstan “exemplify his careful adjustment to a not very learned audience, so that the material is expanded, explained, added, omitted and rearranged.” In the face of evolving texts, it proves at times impossible to identify or to favor the original text. And Hill points to important editorial tasks that await those who wish to pursue work with composite homilies or differing versions of other Old English prose texts.

The answer to “Whose Text Is It Anyway? Contexts for Editing Old English Prose” (*Editing Old English*, pp. 97–114) seems debatable according to Clare Lees. This discursive essay focuses primarily on texts by Ælfric, though Lees treats a variety of topics, including the canon of Old English texts and the use of textbooks in the study of Old English. She opens by observing that “newly discovered and edited texts often made their first appearance in textbooks.” Many will question this assertion, since Archbishop Matthew Parker, Napier, Belfour, Thorpe, Skeat, Pope and many others have produced substantial volumes of newly-edited texts in editions that can hardly be categorized as textbooks. And many

textbooks in fact derive their selections from these earlier scholarly editions. Yet, even if we reject the notion that textbooks provide a home for the first appearances of Old English texts, Lees nevertheless raises important questions about what textbooks include and exclude: she notes that her area of interest, prose hagiography, seems sparsely represented in the more popular textbooks—a quite valid point. Nevertheless, the editors of Old English textbooks may not be entirely at fault for these omissions. The issue of commercial viability, though not raised in this essay, seems relevant: could Basil Blackwell or Cambridge University Press be persuaded to print a textbook including substantial extracts of prose hagiography but excluding *The Dream of the Rood*, *Caedmon's Hymn*, or other more familiar selections?

Lees regards the “academic preface” as a “largely untapped resource for exploring textbooks as contexts for the canon,” and criticizes Bruce Mitchell and Fred Robinson for making a “strong but circular appeal to tradition” in the preface to their textbook. I, for one, fail to see the “circular appeal to tradition” in their preface. I take the decision to refrain from substituting “novel selections for the familiar ones” as defensible, though the interpretation Lees offers (“novel” equals “the new, the entertaining” and the “familiar” equals “the old, the instructive”) perhaps lends an interpretative twist to the wording of the preface. Could a textbook with a focus on prose hagiography be accepted by readers as “new and entertaining”?

Elsewhere Lees refers to selections “that are indeed to be found in the majority of textbooks and readers,” and I assume this defines what Mitchell and Robinson mean by “familiar selections.” If *A Guide to Old English* breaks little new ground in its selections, it nevertheless presents accurate, annotated texts that serve as an invaluable starting point for Old English studies. Whether prose hagiography will make significant headway into future textbooks seems questionable. Despite increasing scholarly interest in such areas, prose hagiography has not enjoyed good press for a large part of this century. Lees rightly observes that the critical history by Greenfield and Calder “pays scant attention to Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*,” and she also reports that Michael Lapidge has disparaged the genre as having little literary merit. Lees criticizes “the post-Romantic sensibility that still seems to inform our definitions of the literary.” But questions about the literary merit of such texts (post-Romantic sensibility or no) may well inhibit their widespread inclusion in new student texts. I believe that increased scholarly interest in the genre should yield an increased audience for these texts, though their most important venue may well be editions of a more scholarly sort, such as those by Magennis and Clayton on the Seven Sleepers and St. Margaret cited above. At the same time, we can hope, with Lees, that even more texts from an even greater variety of genres will find their way into the hands of our beginning students.

To revert to the question posed in the title of her essay, Lees ends by discussing Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* and writes

(emphasis hers): “the utterly obvious answer to the question of whose text is the collection in London, BL, Cotton Julius E. vii is that they are Ælfric’s, but they’re not all Ælfric’s.” Lees points out, as other scholars have done before her, the complexities raised by the chief surviving manuscript, which contains anonymous texts, liturgical homilies, a commissioned Life, and three final *obiter dicta*. Lees sums up by observing that what survives “as the text, or manuscript, of Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* is neither finished nor definitive, however much it may appear so in its edited, printed form.”

My own contribution to *The Editing of Old English* (“Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints* I and the Boulogne Sermon: Editorial, Authorial and Textual Problems,” Theodore H. Leinbaugh, pp. 191–211) also questions the printed form of the Julius manuscript and examines the complexities raised by the inclusion of liturgical homilies within Ælfric’s *Lives of Saints*. Herein I merely offer summary of my argument: Peter Clemoes has stated that the liturgical homilies found in the Julius manuscript form an authentic part of the *Lives*, and he justified their inclusion by speculating that homilies “directly dependent on the liturgy” were unsuitable for Ælfric’s “non-liturgical reading-book,” whereas homilies on general themes, such as those found in *LS*, were acceptable and were intended to be included. Clemoes even suggested that a liturgical homily from this latter category—item XVI, a general sermon for the memory of the saints—not only initiated Ælfric’s plan to compile a volume of *Lives* but also was “written to serve as a general introduction to it.” I argue against this claim, and I try to show that *LS* I rightly introduces Ælfric’s set of saints’ lives and forms a proper introduction.

In the article I also examine the relationship between *LS* I and four affiliated texts, most notably the complex relationship between *LS* I and a Latin sermon found in manuscript Boulogne-sur-Mer, Bibliothèque Municipale 63. In addition to its ties with Alcuin’s *De Ratione Animae*, the Boulogne sermon and Belfour IX, *LS* I shares resonances with a fourth text, King Alfred’s version of Boethius’s *Consolation of Philosophy*, which W. F. Bolton has argued provides a source for several sentences in *LS* I and Belfour IX.

Professor Godden has argued that Ælfric himself compiled the Boulogne sermon, but I reexamine the basis for this claim, which rests largely on the seemingly paradoxical proposition that the Latin sermon is both a source for and a translation of *LS* I. While I agree with Godden that Ælfric probably compiled the Boulogne sermon, I question the sequence posited by Godden, who argues that Alfred paraphrases Boethius’s Latin and Ælfric then adapts and expands that paraphrase in *LS* I, while retaining many close verbal parallels that attest the directness of the debt. Moreover, the Boulogne Latin text, which resembles *LS* I rather than Alfred’s version, must be a translation and expansion of the *LS* I. As I suggest in my article, it seems possible that a different sequence might be posited: the Boulogne text may be a source for *LS* I rather than a Latin translation (and expansion) of the Old English text. I also argue that Ælfric’s translation of

his Latin source uncannily matches Alfred's phrasing not because Ælfric directly copied from Alfred, but rather because both Ælfric and Alfred followed the same Latin source.

After examining textual errors in the Boulogne manuscript and various analogues to *LSI*, I conclude that *LSI* was meant to open Ælfric's *Lives of Saints* proper—whether or not preceded by a prefatory piece—not merely because Christmas homilies also open the *Catholic Homilies* but also because Ælfric unquestionably regarded Christ's life as the supreme exemplar of sanctity and therefore the proper cornerstone on which to build his collection of pious lives.

One other item for 1994 touches on Ælfric: in "Old Latin Intervention in the Old English *Heptateuch*" (*ASE* 23 [1994], 229–64), Richard Marsden observes that good Vulgate examples lie behind the Old English *Heptateuch*. He cites the opening of Genesis where the Old English text ("On angynne gesceop God heofonan 7 eorðan. seo eorðe soðlice was idel 7 æmti") closely mirrors the Vulgate ("in principio creavit Deus caelum et terran. Terra autem erat inanis et uacua") but does not mirror the variations found in the pre-Hieronymian "Old Latin" versions, which read *fecit for creavit* and *inuisibilis et inconpositas for inani et vacua*. Marsden then examines the few Old English readings in the Old English *Heptateuch* where no known Latin parallels exist in the thirty-odd collated Vulgate manuscripts. These Old English readings appear to derive from pre-Hieronymian texts, and Marsden traces their origin to the influence of patristic literature, the liturgy, and the availability of "contaminated" exemplar texts.

In the course of his detailed and careful essay, Marsden discusses the two major manuscript witnesses of the Old English *Heptateuch*: British Library, Cotton Claudius B. iv (from the middle of the eleventh century and incorrectly believed by S. J. Crawford to carry the elder textual tradition) and Bodleian Library, Laud Misc. 509 (from the middle of the second half of the eleventh century). Marsden also focuses attention on Ælfric's contribution to the Old English text, most notably a translation "to Isaace" (i.e. to Genesis 22), most fully represented in all probability by the copy preserved in Cambridge, University Library, Ii.1.33 (from the mid-twelfth century). Marsden follows Clemoes in differentiating between the Ælfrician and non-Ælfrician portions of the Old English *Heptateuch*, but argues that more than one "anonymous" translator wrote the non-Ælfrician parts. In the course of his essay, Marsden challenges the position held by A. E. Nichols that mixed texts containing both Vulgate and Old Latin dominated the history of the Insular Bible. Instead, Marsden contends that surviving Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of Bibles or part-Bibles, which range in date from the late seventh century to the eleventh, exhibit an essentially Vulgate form. Nor can Marsden find any references from the later part of the Anglo-Saxon period to old texts of the Bible; he can only find Bede's earlier reference to a pandect "of the old translation" (*uetustae translationis*), which Bede claims Ceolfrith brought to Wearmouth-Jarrow in 678—the same Bible that has been identified as being in the possession of Cassiodorus

at Vivarium. In analyzing Ælfric's portion of the Old English *Heptateuch*, Marsden restricts himself to eleven cases where Old Latin influences through patristic sources seem possible or very likely. And in analyzing the anonymous section of the *Heptateuch* Marsden finds only four deviations from the Vulgate where Old Latin influence seems likely.

Ælfric's contemporary, Wulfstan, engages the attention of M. K. Lawson, who explores the fact that it seems "distinctly odd" that despite the homiletics, piety, and concern for good government voiced in the edicts Wulfstan wrote for Æthelred, the king's subjects would not accept his return from exile in 1014 unless he promised to rule more lawfully (*rihtlicor*). In "Archbishop Wulfstan and the Homiletic Element in the Laws of Æthelred II and Cnut" (*The Reign of Cnut*, ed. Rumble pp. 141–64. [reprint from *EHR* 107 (1992), 565–86]). Lawson terms this fact an "apparent discrepancy" and proceeds to detail both Æthelred's inept rule and Wulfstan's contributions to Æthelred's edicts.

Lawson first sketches the history of the conversion of Germanic kings, since this process involved churchmen admonishing monarchs to follow Christian practice. As Wallace-Hadrill has written, Germanic kingship was eventually "transformed into an office with duties and rights defined by churchmen." Lawson argues further that ecclesiastical teaching on the Continent directly and indirectly influenced insular instruction. For example, in the text of *De Duodecim Abusivis Saeculi* (probably written in seventh-century Ireland), the ninth abuse of the age was an unjust king. Abbo of Fleury's *Collectio Canonum* draws on this text, and Abbo, relying on the *Collectio* and other sources, rails against oppression caused by royal injustice. Because Abbo taught at Ramsey between 985–987, English ecclesiastics must have been directly exposed to these and similar teachings from their French and German brethren.

Lawson also notes that churchmen played an important role in advising kings: Bede's *Ecclesiastical History* served in part as a mirror for kings and St. Boniface sent a letter of criticism to Æthelbald of Mercia. And, as Professor Darlington has noted, several tenth-century law codes issued in the king's name concern mainly (or entirely) ecclesiastical matters. Churchmen undoubtedly tried to influence kings at national councils, and Lawson speculates that churchmen harangued both the *witan* and the king upon the nature of their duties. Some kings may have been more open to the advice of churchmen than others, though Alfred had his difficulties with Archbishop Æthelred.

In later years, King Æthelred II encountered even greater difficulties in his dealings with the church. His problems may have started from assuming the kingship while still a child, and some have argued that he relied on bad counsel. Though there is no definite evidence for contemporary currency of the epithet Æthelred Unræd, oblique allusions in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, in Ælfric, and in Wulfstan may support that nickname. Both Ælfric and Wulfstan wrote that a nation would be miserable under the misdirection (*misræd*) of an

unwise king. Nevertheless, Æthelred's interests sometimes coincided with the interests of his churchmen: at Enham (with special coins minted to mark the event) archbishops preached by his order; he had his portrait replaced by the *Agnus Dei* on the national coinage; and the fast ordered by the code known as VII Æthelred must have had royal backing. Lawson rightly notes that such seemingly paradoxical behavior was typical of medieval Christian kingship and continued through the reign of Cnut, whom Wulfstan similarly admonished to follow codes of Christian conduct.

Another important contribution on Wulfstan comes from John William Houghton, whose article, "The *Old English Benedictine Office* and Its Audience" (*American Benedictine Review* 45 [1994], 431–45), opens with a description of this curious text, a combination of liturgical texts and commentaries translated from Latin into Old English prose and verse. Compiled by Wulfstan c. 1015, the *Old English Benedictine Office* appears in two modern editions, one by Emil Feiler and a second by James M. Ure. Houghton follows Ure in identifying the text's intended audience as members of the secular clergy. Helmut Gneuss has suggested that the text was directed at monks, and Milton McCormick Gatch has speculated that it was designed for members of the laity who wished to imitate monastic devotions. In making his argument, Houghton traces the role of the monastic reform movement (essentially following the work of D. H. Farmer), and briefly notes the roles played by St. Benedict of Aniane, Dunstan, Oda, Odo of Cluny, Oswald, and Æthelwold. Houghton also comments on the replacement of seculars by monks in many established communities and the standardization of monastic observances (as witnessed in the *Regularis Concordia*).

Houghton analyzes limited sections of the *Old English Benedictine Office*, particularly the Prime-Capitular Office Sequence, which derives in part from the Hrabanus Maurus's *De Clericorum Institutione*. Houghton observes, as others have before him, that the *Old English Benedictine Office* seems to be a textbook rather than a devotional manual per se because of its abbreviated form: there is simply not enough material to allow people to perform the daily office without the use of other books. However, some material included in the Office, specifically the *Deus in Adjutorium*, *Gloria*, and *Iam Lucis*, did not find use in monastic houses during Holy Week according to J. B. L. Tolhurst. Houghton aligns the Office with a secular rather than Benedictine tradition, particularly the tradition of Amalarius's *Regula Canoniorum* and the later, secular *Rule of Chrodegang*. Houghton also cites the work of Byrhtferth, who composed material on the *computus* for rural clergy who did not know Latin. Byrhtferth's work parallels the work of the *Old English Benedictine Office*: both works offer vernacular translations of Latin texts intended for the instruction of the secular clergy, and both works date from the early eleventh-century. Houghton persuasively concludes that Wulfstan intended that literate monks use the *Old English Benedictine Office* for the instruction of ignorant secular clergy in the performance of the seculars' own divine service.

One other item this year pertaining to Wulfstan simply lists some minor corrections that apparently escaped editorial attention: see J. E. Cross and Alan Brown, "Wulfstan and Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Près: Corrigenda" *Mediaevalia* 17 (1994 for 1991), 259—the corrections refer to the earlier article in *Mediaevalia* 15 (1993 for 1989), 71–91.

The work of the anonymous homilists captures the attention of Franz Wenisch and Roland Torkar in their contributions to the Hans Schabram Festschrift. Wenisch provides an accurate edition of a text that has slipped the notice of even the most fervent catalogers of the Old English corpus in his article "The Anonymous Old English Homily for the Dedication of a Church in MS Hatton 114 (*HomS* 51): An Annotated Edition" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, ed. Grinda and Wetzel, pp. 1–19). Wenisch notes that of the approximately 370 Anglo-Saxon homilies that have survived, only seven deal with the dedication of a church: two texts by Ælfric, one by Wulfstan, and four anonymous texts. Of the four anonymous texts, only two have been published, *HomS* 49 and *HomS* 50 (edited respectively by Brotanek and Ker). Wenisch identifies two other anonymous homilies, *HomS* 51 and *HomS* 52, as separate texts that the editorial staff of the *Dictionary of Old English (DOE)* in effect overlooked. Cameron's "A List of Old English of Old English Texts" (in *A Plan for the Dictionary of Old English*, ed. R. Frank and A. Cameron) classifies these two texts as mere variants of other texts. Wenisch makes a sound case, however, for the independence of *HomS* 51, which has an independent structure and shares only about 34 lines (out of 200) with its supposedly parallel text, the Wulfstanian homily *WHom* 18.

In the introduction to his edition, Wenisch discusses the structure of the homily, which consists of an introduction of about fifteen lines that compares the dedication of a church to Solomon's dedication of the Temple in Jerusalem. A second section (in the main a fairly literal translation of the Vulgate, 2 Chron. 6:14–7:15) details the biblical account of the dedication of the temple, and it may derive from a pre-existing translation. A third and final section (ll. 167–200) repeats verbatim *WHom* 18.

Wenisch dates this anonymous homily between c. 1000 (the date of the origin of *WHom* 18) and c. 1075, when *HomS* 51 was entered into its only surviving manuscript witness, Bodleian Library, Hatton 114, ff. 242v–246r. The language and vocabulary of the text seem largely late West-Saxon. Wenisch's edition also includes very brief but useful textual notes.

Roland Torkar, in "Die Ohnmacht der Textkritik, am Beispiel der Ausgaben der dritten *Vercelli-Homilie*" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, ed. Grinda and Wetzel, pp. 225–50), uses *Vercelli Homily III* as a basis for examining the art of textual criticism. Torkar, in examining the editions and studies of Max Förster, H. L. Spencer, J. E. Cross, D. G. Scragg, and others, aims to show some of the theoretical and practical limitations of various editorial methods. For example, Torkar criticizes Cross's assumption that the Latin source he identifies

for Vercelli III is a direct source. Torkar argues that the apparent expansions in Old English from the Latin source may in fact derive from intermediate Latin sources—the Old English may follow these sources instead of the putative direct source identified by Cross—and Cross does not consider this theoretical alternative:

Und doch nimmt es Cross als gegeben an, dass das von ihm abgedruckte ae. Textmaterial unmittelbar aus dem *S.-Père-Homiliar* übersetzt wurde, und erörtert nicht einmal als theoretische Alternative die Möglichkeit, dass die in Frage stehenden ae. Homilien nicht direkt auf diesem lat. Homiliar basieren, sondern Übersetzungen von lat. Zwischenquellen sind, die ihrerseits (neben anderen Quellen) auch das *S.-Père-Homiliar* benutzt haben, dass also Auswahl und Umstellung sowie bestimmte Erweiterungen nicht auf der ae., sondern bereits auf der lat. Textebene vorgenommen wurden.

Elsewhere Torkar argues that Scragg has misconstrued several readings. For example, Scragg prints "Æfter þam fæstene, broðor mine, synt þa [gebedu] rædinga haligra boca] to beganne, swa . . ."; this deviates from the Vercelli Codex, which reads: "æfter þam fæstene. Broðor mine, synt þa fæstenu to beganne swa . . .". Scragg emends on the basis of another manuscript reading and comments that "*Fæstenu for gebedu (7 rædinga haligra boca)*" is a copying error in A." But Torkar challenges Scragg's understanding of the evidence by noting that "Hinsichtlich *fæstene*, das jedenfalls der Vorlage angehörte, da es in A fälschlich dem vorausgehenden Satz zugeordnet ist, überzeugt die Argumentation nicht."

Torkar also faults some aspects of Spencer's work, who, he claims, misidentifies an example of dittography ("von Spencer fälschlich als Dittographie getilgt") and in other ways falls short of accuracy. Torkar's close analysis may well lead to more accurate readings in Vercelli III and to a more informed understanding of the challenges facing editorial decisions when Latin sources are adduced for Old English texts.

Other notable contributions to the study of Old English religious prose in 1994 come from Christine Fell (on female saints), Hans Sauer (on exhortations to confession), E. Wiesenekker (on the *Vespasian* and *Junius* Psalters), as well as a joint submission from Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan (on prayers). In "Saint *Æðelþryð*: A Historical-Hagiographical Dichotomy Revisited" (*Nottingham Medieval Studies* 38 [1994], 18–34), Christine Fell remarks that comparatively little writing about Anglo-Saxon saints survives from the Anglo-Saxon period. Much of our information comes from the era after the Norman Conquest, and Fell probes the disparity between earlier and later accounts of *Æðelþryð*. Fell believes *Æðelþryð*, of all the female Anglo-Saxon saints, most fully engages the imagination of Bede. *Æðelþryð*'s virginity, despite two marriages, seems to have piqued the interest of both Bede and *Ælfric*. Bede marvels that God helped her preserve this virginal state and rejoices in the fact that England has saints of this caliber in his own time (*nostra etiam aetate*). Fell finds Bede's evidence for her virginity convincing. The story that her second husband, King *Ecgfrid* of Northumbria, promised money and estates to Bishop *Wilifrid*—though only if he could persuade *Æðelþryð* to allow the consummation of their marriage—has the ring of truth to it, especially when we re-

alize that the bishop's apparent unwillingness to be a party to the scheme may explain his subsequent expulsion from the see. Moreover, Bede regards as a *signum* the fact that some sixteen years after her funeral, her body remained incorrupt: a miracle mirroring the fact that she had been *incorrupta uirili contactu*.

Fell argues that *Æðelþryð*'s hold on the Anglo-Saxon imagination rests on the fact that she most clearly represents the virgin martyrs of the early church. Bede emphasizes her asceticism as an abbess at Ely, a trait not featured in his accounts of *Hild*, *Æðelburh*, or *Ælflæd*. And Fell then analyzes Bede's references to *Æðelþryð* in his hymn and notes that his poetic talents seem particularly stimulated by those saints who mortified the flesh, especially *Cuðbert* and *Æðelþryð*. Although *Hild* holds more interest for the modern reader, Bede seems to have favored *Æðelþryð*. According to Fell, when Bede writes of *Barking* and *Streoneshealh* we see the historian at work; when he writes of Ely, where *Æðelþryð* had apparently withdrawn from the world, we see only the hagiographer.

Fell examines the mark made by *Æðelþryð* at Ely and concludes that the saint simply made Ely a "home for and a monument to her own personal and particular asceticism." Ely's fame, Fell suggests, was based on a rewriting of its past: she discounts notions of "lost lives of St *Etheldreda*" written prior to 963, "the year in which the future glory of Ely called for a creative re-writing of its glorious past."

Hans Sauer has edited two brief exhortations to confession, one taken from a Cambridge manuscript and the second from an Oxford manuscript: "Altenglische Beicht-ermahnungen aus den Handschriften CCCC 320 und Laud misc. 482: Edition und Kommentar" (*Anglo-Saxonia*, ed. Grinda and Wetzell, pp. 21–51). Each text comprises a catena of passages from various sources, but they partially share common sources and they partially parallel passages previously printed in Napier's 1883 edition of *Wulfstan* (cf. *Pseudo-Wulfstan Homily XXIX* and *Homily LVI*). The texts found in CCCC 320 date from about the year 1000 and appear on the originally blank first and last leaves of a manuscript containing *Theodore's Penitential* and other Latin texts (*Libellus Responsum, Poenitentiale Sangermanense*, etc.). Sauer accepts Ker's opinion that these two pages, written in square Anglo-Saxon minuscule, have been inserted by the same hand. The original Latin manuscript has been associated with St. Augustine's, Canterbury, but whether these Old English texts were added in Canterbury too seems uncertain. Portions of these lines also appear in a work entitled *In Quadragesima De Penitentia*, a text presumably composed by *Ælfric*, and accepted as such by Godden, though taken by Jost to be an *Ælfrician* compilation made by someone other than *Ælfric*. The lines also occur in *Ælfric's Lives of Saints XII*. Sauer's careful edition points to these connections and helpfully prints in parallel relevant passages from the *Pseudo-Wulfstan* texts—though not from the *Ælfrician* texts. The edition comes with helpful notes and commentary.

Elmar Seebold surveys different dialectal groupings in the Old English period in his article, "Regional gebundene Wörter in Wærferths Übersetzung der *Dialoge* Gregors des Großen" (*Anglo-Sazonica*, ed. Grinda and Wetzel, pp. 251-77). After discussing the differences between early and late texts, Seebold turns his attention to post-Alfredian writings. Noting the work of Helmut Gneuss and others in establishing the notion of a so-called Winchester group of texts, Seebold then builds upon his own earlier work (now augmented by Hofstetter and others) by differentiating still another group of texts represented by the interlinear glosses found in *Liber Scintillarum*, *De Vitiis et Peccatis*, and the interlinear version of the *Regularis Concordia*. Next to these texts, Seebold posits another distinctive grouping of biblical translations represented by the *Regius Psalter*, the West-Saxon Gospels, and those portions of the *Heptateuch* not written by Ælfric. Seebold then examines Anglian texts and finally studies connections between the Old English translation of Bede's *Ecclesiastical History*, the language of Wærferth's translation of Gregory the Great's *Dialogues* (a work apparently undertaken at the behest of King Alfred), and some of the southern language groupings.

E. Wiesenekker's article, "The *Vespasian* and *Junius* Psalters Compared: Glossing or Translation?" (*Amsterdamer Beiträge zur älteren Germanistik* 40 [1994], 21-39), briefly surveys the approximately twenty-five manuscripts of Latin psalters from Anglo-Saxon England. Some fifteen of these texts contain partial or complete interlinear Old English translations. The Latin texts of these glossed psalters divide equally between the Roman and Gallican versions, that is, between the earlier and later revisions of the Old Latin Psalter by Jerome. Scholars have focused particular attention on the *Vespasian Psalter* not only because it preserves the oldest interlinear translation, but also because it helps to establish a critical text of the Roman Version. More general approaches to the psalters have attempted to sort out the interrelationships among the various extant interlinear renderings: relying on earlier studies (particularly those by Lindelöf, Sisam, Bierbaumer, and Berghaus), Wiesenekker reports that the *Junius Psalter* and the *Cambridge Psalter* must derive from the *Vespasian Psalter*. The *Regius Psalter*, however, must form the prototype of most psalters from a later date, including the *Canterbury Psalter*, the *Stow Psalter*, the *Vitellius Psalter*, the *Tiberius Psalter*, the *Arundel Psalter*, and the *Salisbury Psalter*. Wiesenekker praises the achievement of the glossators as translators. He concludes by commending in particular the work found in the *Junius Psalter*: its achievement as a translation rivals its prototype, the *Vespasian Psalter*.

In "Four Unedited Prayers in London, British Library Cotton Tiberius A.iii" (*MS* 56 [1994], 189-216), Phillip Pulsiano and Joseph McGowan present a conservative and reliable text for four confessional prayers that comprise about 100 lines of Old English prose found on folios 44r-50v of the Tiberius manuscript. The same prayers appear in the *Regius Psalter* (British Library manuscript Royal 2.B.v), previously published by Henri Logeman in 1899, who also collated the

Tiberius texts. Logeman's work thus supplies in some sense an edition of these so-called "unedited" texts. Moreover, the second of the "Four Unedited Prayers" occurs in CCC 391, and this prayer was printed by Julius Zupitza in 1890, who used the Corpus manuscript as his base text and collated the prayer with against the Tiberius and Royal manuscripts. It seems fair to say that these "unedited" prayers have in fact had their editorial debut, but Pulsiano and McGowan justify their decision to publish these texts anew because the previous editors (Logeman, Zupitza, as well as Lars-G. Hallander) failed to produce "entirely reliable" collations and provided meager or partially inaccurate annotation.

Because of the predominantly West Saxon forms—coupled with Kentish spellings—Pulsiano and McGowan accept the findings of those scholars who locate the Tiberius manuscript in the southeast of England, quite possibly at Canterbury. Their new edition of these prayers includes a thorough introduction with important background material. The first prayer, which begins under the heading *Confessio et Oratio ad Deum*, partially translates a penitential prayer written by Alcuin, possibly for the emperor Charlemagne. Because of its propensity for penitential lists, the editors link this first prayer to prayers of Irish origin that share this same feature according to the research of A. B. Kuypers and Kathleen Hughes. The editors also explore links between this first prayer and Alcuin's *Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis*, Ælfric's homilies, and Augustinian thought. The careful work in this edition places the prayers within an identifiable penitential tradition and illuminates both the context and development of that tradition.

Other contributions to Old English prose studies cover a range of topics including articles on the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, King Alfred, and Anglo-Saxon law codes. Bengt Odenstedt puzzles over the identification of Wulfstan in an article "Who Was Wulfstan? A New Theory of 'Ohthere's and Wulfstan's Voyages'" (*SN* 66 [1994], 147-57). Odenstedt proposes that Wulfstan was not a voyager or sea-captain, as generally assumed, but rather an interpreter who translated Ohthere's story into Old English. The crucial passage in the Old English account reads *Wulfstan sæde þæt he gefore of Hæðum*, which Odenstedt takes to mean "Wulfstan (*the interpreter*) said that he (*Ohthere*) traveled from Hedeby." This possibility seems plausible, but the best counter-argument comes from Janet Bately, whose edition of the text takes note of linguistic differences between the accounts of Ohthere's voyage and Wulfstan's voyage. These linguistic differences suggest two sources rather than one story recounted by a single interpreter or translator. Bately also contends that "in the ninth century comprehension between Anglo-Saxon and Norseman should have provided no great difficulty" (see page lxxi of Bately's edition of Orosius—not page lxii as cited by Odenstedt): hence, the role of an interpreter would seem superfluous. Odenstedt, however, challenges Bately's position and argues that the two languages had diverged enough to require an interpreter's skill, an argument that hinges on O. Grýnik's relatively early dating of *Urnordisch* rather than the

later dating suggested by Hans Kuhn. Odenstedt's entire argument assumes, of course, that Ohthere did not speak Old English—an assumption not directly addressed in this article and one worth posing of any worldly traveler. In spite of these and other questions, Odenstedt's novel suggestion does pleasingly account for what otherwise seems an abrupt shift in the narrative: Ohthere drops out of the narrative just as he reaches Hedeby, which would seem a rather natural starting point for his possible further travels on into the land of the Estonians.

In another article dealing with narration in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Richard P. Horvath discusses "History, Narrative, and the Ideological Mode of *The Peterborough Chronicle*" (*Mediaevalia* 17 [1994 for 1991], 123–48). Horvath's article addresses the interplay between shifting modes of historiography, from annal and chronicle to what many might term interpretive history. Horvath attempts to chart the "changing conceptions of history writing" and argues that the *Chronicle* "is quintessentially a *fashioned* text." He criticizes Cecily Clark (I think unduly) on the grounds that she "valorizes in her introduction" what Clark terms the "classic Chronicle tradition of impersonality." Horvath sums up his essay in this way: "Toward concluding, what I would stress is that *The Peterborough Chronicle*'s proficiency as history derives from an authorial self-consciousness invested not so much in the actual and unrecoverable circumstances of compilation, but in a divergence from the communal perspective of the chronicle form."

Janet Bately's brief but cogent "Boethius and King Alfred" (*Platonism and the English Imagination*, ed. Anna Baldwin and Sarah Hutton [Cambridge, 1994], pp. 38–44) succinctly surveys the influence of Plato in medieval England. She notes that acquaintance with the works of Plato was at best second hand or some further remove and that his works were transmitted through Macrobius, Martianus Capella, Augustine, Boethius, and (via Calcidius's translation of the *Timaeus*) John Scotus Eriugena—as well as through Latin and Old English writings drawing on these sources. Bately points out that the most important contribution in the vernacular comes from King Alfred's reworking of Boethius's *De Consolatione Philosophiae*, though Platonic or Neoplatonic ideas also appear in Alfred's *Soliloquies* and in several Old English homilies. Bately takes as her starting point the pivotal role of Boethius in transmitting Greek philosophical learning to the Christian world. She then mentions in passing the studies by K. Otten and F. Anne Payne that chart many of the modifications and changes made by Alfred in his rendering of *De*

Consolatione Philosophiae. Bately highlights these changes through illustrative examples from three linked themes: the Platonic doctrines of the Pre-existence of the Soul, Recollection, and the Ascent of the Soul.

Richard Dammery's "Editing the Anglo-Saxon Laws: Felix Liebermann and Beyond" (*The Editing of Old English*, ed. by Scragg and Szarmach, pp. 251–61) critically scrutinizes Liebermann's work on the Anglo-Saxon law codes. Starting his essay with reference to the *editio princeps*, the so-called *Archaionomia* (printed in 1568), Dammery notes that every successive century has brought a new edition of the Anglo-Saxon laws. Dammery praises Liebermann's monumental, three-volume *Die Gesetze der Angelsachsen* for its accuracy and wealth of information about both the language and the legal content of the codes. Dammery nevertheless faults Liebermann's treatment of the manuscript sources on three counts: the handling of the textual transmission, the naming and classification of the law codes, and his division of the texts into chapters. Ker's accurate assessment that the manuscript sources used to produce the text for the *Archaionomia* were not (as Liebermann supposed) "numerous and now largely missing," but "few and extant" undoubtedly undermines Liebermann's notions about textual transmission for the Anglo-Saxon law codes. In addition, Dammery justly faults Liebermann for accepting Reinhold Schmid's 1858 edition as an authority for chapter divisions and for the classification of texts. For example, Liebermann inaccurately follows Schmid in referring to *II Edgar* and *III Edgar*, texts that in fact comprise just one law code—and the same problem holds true for the codes *I* and *II Cnut*. Dammery concludes with a call for new editorial work on the laws that will present these texts with greater clarity and accessibility than afforded by Liebermann's impressive but intractable text—it was F. W. Maitland who justifiably criticized Liebermann's "rooted objection to printing six consecutive words without a change of type."

Lastly, in "The Remedies in British Library, MS Cotton Galba A.xiv, fos 139 and 136r" (*N&Q* 41 [1994] 146–47), Stephanie Hollis and Michael J. Wright observe that the Galba manuscript, in addition to its collection of private devotions in Latin, also contains some Old English prayers and remedies. Audrey Meaney has written on the relationship between two herbal remedies in the Galba manuscript and *Bald's Leechbook*, and now Hollis and Wright briefly note that several remedies appear to be related to the *Liber de Taxone*, a text that forms the first part of the *Medicina de Quadrupedibus*.
T.H.L.

4. Anglo-Latin and Ecclesiastical Works

[Reviewer's note: The years 1993–5 saw the publication of an unusually large number of articles and (especially) books on Anglo-Latin subjects, including some of the most significant studies to appear this century addressing the Canterbury school, Aldhelm, Bede, and Alcuin. The lengthy column which follows may thus be viewed as a special report on the state of Anglo-Latin studies in the mid-1990s.]

a. Early Anglo-Latin (excepting Aldhelm and Bede)

One of three wholly new entries in the brief selection of addenda that closes out the third edition of the Dekkers-Gaar *Clavis Patrum Latinorum*—issued during 1995 as an unnumbered volume (cited hereafter as *CPL*³) in the series *Corpus*

Christianorum, Series Latina—is an anonymous *Libellus glossariorum Veteris et Novi Testamenti ex SS. Patribus*. The entry refers to several distinct treatments of Old Testament topics and verses of the gospels, preserved most fully in Milan, Biblioteca Ambrosiana, M. 79 sup. (northern Italy [?Piacenza], s. xi 2 [i.e., 1078 x 1095]). Three series of these scriptural comments, which juxtapose substantial passages of pedagogical prose with short glosses comprising single terms (or several), were issued during 1994 in their first edition. The work in question—conceived (as early as 1936) and initiated by Bernhard Bischoff, who died in 1991, and completed by his collaborator (from 1984), Michael Lapidge—is *Biblical Commentaries from the Canterbury School of Theodore and Hadrian*, ed. Bischoff and Lapidge, Cambridge Stud. in A-S England 10 (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994). The publication of these texts is a milestone in the modern course of Anglo-Latin studies. The commentaries, to maintain their editors' preferred terminology, derive in bulk from collections of biblical materials produced in Anglo-Saxon England during the second half of the seventh century. They provide a new supply of information, whose richness exceeds all expectations, about a singular phenomenon in the history of English education: the establishment of a *fundamentally* Greek-derived curriculum at early medieval Canterbury by two Mediterranean scholars—Theodore, archbishop of the see from 668 to 690, a native speaker of Greek who, according to Bede, was born in 602 at Tarsus, in the fertile coastal plain of Cilicia (near the site of the modern Gözlu Kule in southern Turkey); and Theodore's colleague and sometime traveling companion Hadrian (born in Africa, c. 630 x 635?; *ob.* 709/10), who served as abbot of the Canterbury monastery dedicated to SS. Peter and Paul (later St. Augustine's Abbey), and who, Lapidge now thinks, was possibly born in Libya and almost certainly learned Greek as his first language.

The eleventh-hour decision by Eligius Dekkers (the surviving member of the *CPL* editorial team) to include these texts among the addenda in *CPL* is hardly surprising. The appearance of any pre-Bedan Latin text in an *editio princeps* is a noteworthy event. More extraordinary, however, is the catalogue-number which Dekkers has seen fit to assign to the Milan commentaries as a group: no. 1125a. Consultation of the main body of *CPL* (pp. 365–7) reveals that Dekkers would situate these texts, which surely go back to materials compiled in England in the second half of the seventh century (after 669/70), within a section of the *Clavis* (“A concilio Chalcedonensi ad Gregorium Magnum”) typically given over to items from the period culminating in the career of Pope Gregory I, who died near the beginning of that century (in 604). Moreover, Dekkers relegates the commentaries to a subsection (“Scriptores Hiberniae”) devoted primarily to Irish works. The earnest, biblically predicated commentaries edited by Bischoff and Lapidge find a place there immediately after an entry (no. 1125) devoted to a body of Latin miracle-texts emerging out of several ill-defined eastern traditions, including *Mirabilia orientis* and *Epistula Alexandri ad*

Aristotelem. These are adduced collectively in *CPL* as sources of the anonymous and putatively Aldhelmian “monster-book” known as *Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus* (no. 1124). In Dekkers's scheme, the Milan collection immediately precedes items ascribed to two correspondents of Aldhelm (*ob.* 709/10), pseudo-Artil (no. 1126) and Cellán of Péronne (no. 1127), the former possibly of Celtic descent and the latter certainly so. The placement of the entry championed by Dekkers thus belies the circumstance that the Canterbury connections of the newly edited texts involve the pedagogy of Theodore and Hadrian, and not the attainments of their sometime pupil Aldhelm. And, clearly, the exotic elements in these Anglo-Latin (or Anglo-Mediterranean) commentaries do not derive from the traditions of Ireland but from those of the Byzantine East. Even here, the eastern sources of the texts mainly comprise reputable works of Greek-language theological and scientific discourse, and not the digressive fantasies of early medieval *mirabilia*-literature.

The problematic state of affairs in *CPL*, however, points up what may be the most extraordinary aspect of the achievement of Bischoff and Lapidge. It is indeed a rare occurrence when a neglected seventh-century text comes to light. But it is almost unheard-of that such a text should resist integration into any received classification of Christian literature. Moreover, as Lapidge's learned introduction plainly reveals, the pedagogical developments documented in detail here for the first time—those of the Canterbury school c. 670–90—did not arise and expire in isolation. They exerted an influence on educational practices across Europe that endured for centuries.

It should also be acknowledged that Dekkers's chosen solution is not wholly without merit, and may even be the best available within the pages of *CPL*. Given Theodore's debts to Byzantine scholarship promoted by institutions that had achieved their final florescence by c. 600, demonstrated here conclusively by Lapidge, the intellectual tradition of the Canterbury commentaries may be viewed reasonably as that which prevailed in the second half of the sixth century and in the early years of the seventh. Even if passages from the writings of Isidore of Seville (*ob.* 636) are frequently cited as sources and analogues in the edition of Bischoff and Lapidge, the next main chronological division in *CPL* (“A S. Isidoro ad S. Bedam”) is arguably too late to accommodate the commentaries. In the final estimate, a case could probably be made for shifting the entry for the Canterbury commentaries in any future edition of *CPL* to the section “Scriptores Britanniae Maioris,” where it would accompany entries relating to several archbishops of Canterbury—including Augustine, Laurentius, and Berhtwald—and entries for Aldhelm as well. But a shift of this sort would jettison the pre-Isidorian and eastern associations that are implicit in Dekkers's existing schematization.

The bare facts of the Mediterranean origins and Greek literary connections of Theodore and Hadrian have been known for centuries on the strength of Bede's testimony at

Historia ecclesiastica (hereafter *HE*) IV.i–ii and V.viii. But only with the appearance of Lapidge's introduction to the volume under review do we obtain a clear picture of the crucial position of Tarsus, the city of Theodore's birth, on a trade route between Asia and Africa. There is no reason to doubt that events at Canterbury in the second half of the seventh century are linked causally to earlier conflicts in Theodore's homeland, first with the incursions of the Persian forces of Chosroes II (who conquered Tarsus c. 613–14) and subsequently with those of the Arab armies (to whom the entire Cilician plain fell after c. 637). Lapidge also documents the strife arising concurrently in centers of learning to which Theodore, on the strength of evidence internal to the Canterbury commentaries, may be presumed to have traveled, including Antioch (the southeastern Turkish city now known as Antakya), where the scholar John of Antioch was active up to the time of the incursions of Chosroes II; Edessa (the ancient Syrian city on the site of Şanlıurfa in modern Turkey), where Christian education continued to be provided into the second half of the seventh century even after the Islamic conquests of the 630s—Jacob of Edessa flourished c. 640–708; and Constantinople, which suffered badly in wars with Slavs, Avars, Persians, and Arabs during the reign of Heraclius (610–41), but still managed through much of first half of the seventh century to support a university whose curriculum included such subjects as civil law, rhetoric, philosophy, and medicine.

There is no evidence for a Christian school at Tarsus in the sixth and seventh centuries and no absolutely unambiguous evidence to show that Theodore studied at Antioch, Edessa, or Constantinople. But Lapidge demonstrates beyond dispute that Theodore's exegetical method is thoroughly Antiochene in its orientation and that the commentaries (supported by a passage in the third of Bede's *Quaestiones octo* [PL 93, 456–7]) preserve evidence to associate eyewitness reports of affairs in both Constantinople and Edessa with Theodore's sojourns. As noted, the Antiochene connection is strengthened by the tenor of the exegesis itself, where the main concern is with the establishment of the literal sense of scripture through close lexical analysis of specific biblical readings and through consideration of the evidence offered by ancillary disciplines such as medicine and metrology. There is an impressively large body of Greek-language sources whose consultation at first hand seems to be reflected in the commentaries and, in many cases, is verified by a reference to a named authority: the letters and *Homiliae in Hexameron* of Basil of Caesarea; the *Stromata* and *Hypotyposesis* of Clement of Alexandria; the anonymous Greek *Topographia Christiana*, ascribed in later medieval tradition to one Cosmas Indicopleustes (and, in the Canterbury commentaries, to the *Christianus historiographus*); the Greek texts of both the *Bellum Iudaicum* and *Antiquitates Iudaicae* of Josephus; and at least four works of Epiphanius of Salamis, i.e., *Ancoratus*, *Panarion* (with the appendix known as *Anacephalaiosis*), *De mensuris et ponderibus*, and *De duodecim gemmis* (with the appendix *De diamante*). In some cases, the knowledge in question may have

been acquired indirectly, as from intermediary citations in works by Procopius of Gaza and John Moschus, or in Greek exegetical *catenae*. At other points, the commentaries seem to preserve traces of the Canterbury scholars' reading of Greek-language texts in the course of their studies abroad, and it cannot be assumed that documents preserving such texts were available at Canterbury. The list of Greek sources grows even longer when it is extended to include almost certain (or probable) borrowings from authorities who are not cited by name: Theodoret of Cyrrhus, Severian of Gabala, Theodore of Mopsuestia, Gregory of Nyssa, Maximus the Confessor, Cyril of Alexandria, Origen, as well as some anonymous Greek *Homiliae de eleemosyna* and some (pseudo-Athanasian) *Quaestiones ad Antiochum ducem*, these last two items being cited under the name of John Chrysostom.

Turning to scriptural texts, Lapidge adduces evidence to indicate the ownership of a complete, and possibly portable, copy of the Septuagint at Canterbury in the seventh century as well as knowledge of texts unlike any that have survived treating matter of the apocryphal book of Jubilees (possibly in a Latin version) and the Assumption of Moses (possibly in Greek). Other lost sources that have left traces in the Canterbury commentaries apparently include a dossier of materials, possibly in Greek, containing attacks on Jerome; a lost work on Numbers by Evagrius Ponticus; certain opinions of Sophronius, patriarch of Jerusalem; and an unidentified Greek exegetical *catena* (the apparent source of some opinions drawn *ex ipso testimonio*). There is, moreover, a stratum of passages in the commentaries that evidently goes back to Syriac sources (possibly entering the purview of Theodore during a sojourn in Edessa), including a body of writings associated with Ephrem the Syrian and the compilation known as the Book of the Cave of Treasures. At a few points, the commentaries even seem to reflect firsthand knowledge of Syriac vocabulary.

By contrast, the knowledge of Latin sources evinced by the commentaries is weak, involving *in toto* only Augustine, Jerome, Eucherius of Lyons, Isidore (*Etymologiae* and perhaps *De differentiis verbis*), and, apparently, a lost Latin work of Rufinus. In the preceding summary of Greek works, moreover, I have only included the sources for which the most convincing cases are made in Lapidge's discussion. The numerous Greek-language authorities (Gregory of Nazianzus, John Malalas, *et al.*) cited in Lapidge's commentary as offering striking parallels to the Canterbury exegesis have been left out of account. The significance of the discoveries made by Bischoff and Lapidge becomes even more clear when it is observed that the great majority of the sources mentioned above have never been adduced previously in connection with Anglo-Saxon literary culture by any scholar. It is true that J. D. A. Ogilvy, in his *Books Known to the English, 597–1066* (1967), and contributors to *SASLC* and *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* have in a few cases mentioned Latin translations or glosses deriving from some of the Greek works discussed by Lapidge. But even here, the glosses in question often circulated within

the Leiden family of glossaries, thus arguably going back to the Canterbury school, and speculation about the existence of lost Latin translations from the Greek in the early Anglo-Saxon period is now perhaps less justified in than in previous years.

Given the remoteness of the origins of the Canterbury commentaries and the vagaries of their transmission, none of the anonymous entries printed by Bischoff and Lapidge can be regarded with any certainty as preserving, say, the *ipsissima verba* of Archbishop Theodore. Lapidge's notes regularly ascribe individual opinions to "the Commentator," tacitly acknowledging the problems of authorship posed by the circumstance that even those statements which did originate in the mouth of the archbishop will have attained their written form through the efforts of students. Subsequently, any comments by Theodore preserved in written reflexes will have passed through the hands of untold collectors, redactors, and scribes on their way to preservation in Milan M. 79 sup. In approaching the Canterbury commentaries, moreover, it is clear that we have to grapple with more fundamental problems of multiple authorship. I would note, for example, that differing statements regarding the occurrence of rain before the Flood (at PentI 33 and Gn-Ex-EvIa 3) might seem unlikely to issue from a single authority. In some cases it appears that individual opinions might be more plausibly associated with the pedagogy of Theodore's colleague at Canterbury, Abbot Hadrian, whom Bede only records as having been African by nationality (*natione Afir*). Lapidge, in an unprecedented fifty-page biographical treatment of Hadrian—superseding a sketchy, eighteen-page essay issued by A. S. Cook in 1923—rejects the longstanding assumption that Hadrian's erudition may be traced back to Latin-based intellectual traditions in Africa associated with the careers of Cyprian and Augustine, traditions which centered mainly in the region of modern Tunisia. Bede states unequivocally that Hadrian was fluent in Greek as well as in Latin, an observation that is less easy to countenance if we assume that Latin was his first language. Citing a comment on the fauna of Libya that is apparently informed by personal observation (but is not, regrettably, assigned by name to Hadrian), Lapidge explores the possibility that Hadrian was born in the populous Libyan province of Cyrenaica, which saw a resurgence of Greek-speaking Christian communities in the sixth century that persisted until the Arab conquests of the 640s.

The establishment of a Greek-derived curriculum at Canterbury in the later seventh century and, Lapidge shows, the matter of the Canterbury commentaries themselves must be viewed ultimately as consequences of the upheavals in Mediterranean Christian communities brought about by the Persian and Arab wars. The commentaries include bitter comments on the Arabs (the *Saraceni* who are *semper contra aliquos certantes* ["always fighting with someone"]). Theodore is most naturally situated during the period of his residence as a monk in Rome (attested by Bede) either among the Greek-speaking refugees from Cilicia living in a house dedicated to St.

Saba or at an unidentified monastery *ad aquas Salvias*. Wherever he spent his earliest years, Hadrian's tenure as an abbot before his removal to England (also recorded by Bede), when he was resident in the region of Campania at a monastery in or near Naples, may be associated plausibly with the seventh-century formation of Greek-speaking communities in Sicily and throughout southern Italy, communities that were composed in part of refugees from the Arab incursions. Lapidge, adducing palaeographical criteria, is inclined to identify the obscure monastery at *Hiridanum* (or *Niridanum*, in witnesses to the I-text of Bede's *HE*), where Hadrian served as abbot, as an otherwise unknown establishment on the small island of Nisida in the Bay of Naples. The Canterbury commentaries do indeed evince familiarity with the island topography of the Bay of Naples.

One particularly engaging feature of Lapidge's analysis is his exploration of certain neglected aspects of Hadrian's political career, first as a diplomat of the Roman emperor Constans II (ruling 641–68 in Constantinople) and subsequently as an emissary of Pope Vitalian (seated 657–72). Lapidge (drawing on a 1961 study by M. Fuiano) speculates that Hadrian met Constans during the emperor's sojourn in Naples in 663. This visit occurred after a failed bid by imperial forces to recapture Benevento from the son of the Langobard leader Grimoald (*ob.* 671), the former ruler of that Campanian dukedom, who seized command of the whole Langobardic realm (including other conquered territories formerly under imperial rule) after the death in 661 of Aripert I, king of the Langobards. According to Bede (*HE* IV.i), Hadrian traveled twice to western Europe (*partes Galliarum*) on some sort of business (*diversis ex causis*) associated with imperial diplomacy, apparently during the period 663–7. These missions may be connected plausibly with the circumstance that Perctarit, son of Aripert and legitimate heir to the Langobardic throne, escaped "to the land of the Franks" (*Francorum ad patriam*), probably early in 663, after an attempt on his life instigated by Grimoald (according to the testimony of Paul the Deacon, in *Historia Langobardorum* V.ii). Perctarit conceivably found asylum within the Frankish *patria* of the Austrasian kingdom or, more plausibly, among the Neustro-Burgundians who soon after would take part in an attack on Grimoald. Whatever the precise circumstances of Hadrian's business, as an emissary of an unconquered territory in Campania the abbot's assistance had most plausibly been enlisted in connection with Constans's attempts to prevent further Langobardic encroachment on Italian land. Constans had also sought the support of Pope Vitalian in this effort as early as 663. The ensuing papal-imperial alliance may help to account for the high regard in which Abbot Hadrian had come to be held in papal circles by 667. In fact, Pope Vitalian first asked Hadrian, not Theodore, to undertake the mission to England. Hadrian declined, recommending as an alternate choice one Andrew, chaplain of an unidentified convent in the vicinity of Naples, perhaps the one dedicated to SS. Nicander and Marcion. When Andrew was unable to fulfill

the assignment, the pope again turned to Hadrian, who declined once more but this time put forward the name of Theodore. Theodore, at this point, will have been known to the pope primarily as one of the Greek-speaking monks who helped promulgate the *acta* of the Lateran Council of 649—thereby opposing certain positions on monotheletism taken by Constans II himself. (Theodore would later reaffirm his commitment to these *acta* in England at a synod convened at Hatfield in 679.) The pope nevertheless accepted Hadrian's suggestion, but only on the condition that Hadrian should personally accompany Theodore to England. The pair left Italy for England on 27 May 668.

Lapidge's forceful analysis reveals plainly that Hadrian, who has been overshadowed by Theodore continually since the appearance of Bede's *HE*, was in fact the more prominent political figure in Italian imperial and ecclesiastical affairs. These arguments also help to make sense of two brief but problematic statements in eighth-century historical sources. First, Bede records that Hadrian was detained in Neustria while *en route* to England on the suspicion that he was conducting a diplomatic mission for the Roman emperor (*legatio imperatoris*). Though the specific reasons for the Neustrian authorities' suspicion remain obscure, this statement at least seems comprehensible in the light of Perctarit's asylum among the Franks and the Neustro-Burgundian attack on Grimoald conducted around the time of Hadrian's two earlier visits to *partes Galliarum*. Second, the previously unexplained assertion by Paul the Deacon that Perctarit had been planning to flee to England when Grimoald died suddenly in 671 (*Historia Langobardorum* V.xxxiii) makes sense if the fugitive could have expected plausibly to find support at Canterbury from the recently installed Abbot Hadrian.

The frequently intriguing historical background of the careers of Theodore and Hadrian should not obscure the content of the commentaries that witness their pedagogy at first hand. Many of the points at which the commentaries intersect with traditions of early medieval biblical exegesis and scientific literature—especially those transmitted in Greek-language sources—are treated by Lapidge in the introduction and notes to this generously annotated, 626-page work. Lapidge also includes detailed discussion of the affinities of the commentaries with the works of Aldhelm, Theodore's *Iudicia*, and other Anglo-Latin sources; with various early medieval glossary collections; and with select Latin works such as Isidore's *Etymologiae*, whose early reception-history would seem to be documented at first hand in the sources edited here. Nevertheless, many avenues for future research remain available to source-hunters and students of the exegetical tradition in Anglo-Saxon England. I would note by way of example that the following features of the Canterbury commentaries all appear without comment in the present edition: allusions to extrabiblical commonplaces maintaining that the reference at Gen. III.7 to the Lord walking in Paradise actually adverts to the perambulation of an angel, that the Israelite firstborn recall Adam and prefigure Christ, that

the ascent out of Egypt in the Exodus is to be associated with Christ's subsequent Harrowing of Hell, and that the coat and cloak of Matt. V.40 stand respectively for faith and the body (see PentI 43 and 247; Gn-Ex-EvIa 19; and EvII 9); comments on post-pentecostal fasts and on the four "watches" (*vigilia*) of church history (Gn-Ex-EvIa 34 and EvII 34); the statement that conception occurs when male and female "mix their seed" (*miscent semen*: PentI 41); comments on the endurance of pagan customs, the apparent efficacy of wizards (*malefici*), and various methods of divination (PentI 269 and 353; Gn-Ex-EvIa 16; etc.); the implication (at PentI 409) that no one at Canterbury had ever seen a razor (or, at any rate, the type of razor, termed *novaculum*, that Theodore had presumably used to effect his earlier tonsure in the "eastern" style—that is, a fully shaved head); and the possible indication that tattoos commonly encountered in seventh-century England frequently depicted dragons and serpents (*picturae in corporibus draconum vel serpentium*), a wholly extrabiblical detail (tattoos "ut multi faciunt" ["such as many create"]; PentI 383, perhaps also referring back to the context in Lev. XIX.28).

To close the present notice with a few technical remarks, I would note that even beyond the limitations noted above, the entry for the Canterbury commentaries in *CPL*¹ is sketchy in a few codicological details. Strictly considered, the whole collection of biblical materials from which Bischoff and Lapidge have drawn their three series of commentaries is titled *Libellus glossarum* (not *glossarium*) *ueteris ac noui testamenti* and continues to the verso of fol. 125 of Milan M. 79 sup. (not 91r as in *CPL*¹). The main series of pentateuchal comments detected by Bischoff and Lapidge has been broken up and interspersed with other materials in the extant witness. The editors reconstruct this pentateuchal series (identified by the abbreviation PentI) from matter preserved at 59vb–64vb + 70va–72vb + 75rb–76rb + 77vb–78vb + 80va–b. They print the reconstructed text as their first series of commentaries; their second series (Gn-Ex-EvIa), treating verses of both the Old and New Testaments, occurs in manuscript as a continuous series at 64vb–66ra; their third series (EvII), a continuous gospel-based batch, occurs at 89ra–92ra. Four other groups of biblical comments in Milan M. 79 sup. remain unprinted, including two fragmentary batches treating the Pentateuch; a continuous series addressing other books of the Old Testament; and a continuous series treating the gospels. Some of these are bound up with the fortunes of members of the Leiden family of glossaries, notably Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 99, fols. 37–52 (Reichenau, s. viii ex.; treated by E. A. Lowe in *Codices Latini Antiquiores* [hereafter *CLA*], 11 vols. with suppl. [1934–72], VIII, 18 [no. 1078]). The establishment of their text by any future editor will be a challenging task, but Bischoff and Lapidge have provided a superb model for the undertaking.

Two further items on early insular Latin topics may be noted briefly. Gabriele Knappe has published a detailed study of the grammatical and rhetorical traditions underlying the *Hisperica famina*, which includes identifications of passages in

the *Ars maior* of Donatus and the *Praeexercitamina* of Priscian that evidently inform specific groups of lines in the *famina* themselves ("On Rhetoric and Grammar in the *Hisperica famina*," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 4 [1994], 130–62). Noting that knowledge of the *Praeexercitamina* in early medieval Ireland or England remains to be proven, Knappe cites a suggestion by Donald Lemen Clark ("Rhetoric and the Literature of the English Middle Ages," *Quarterly Jnl of Speech* 45 [1959], 19–28, at 24–5) that Theodore and Hadrian imported the texts in question to seventh-century Canterbury. In other comments of interest to students of the Anglo-Saxon period, Knappe cites the *Dream of the Rood* as possibly representing a consciously undertaken exercise in *prosopopoeia*. Knappe notes elsewhere the use of OE *biw* ("hue") as a rhetorical term, rendering Latin *figura* or Greek *schema*—but never Latin *color* in the sense of the *colores rhetorici*, the central medieval commonplace first expounded by Onulf of Speyer (c. 1050). In a recent treatment of Hiberno-Latin literature, D. R. Howlett offers several comments relating to Gildas ("The Earliest Irish Writers at Home and Abroad," *Peritia* 8 [1994], 1–17). Discussing patterned arrangements of rhythms in Cumman's letter *De controversia paschali*—dated to 632 x 635 (i.e., 633?) and thus preserving the oldest extant prose text written by an Irish author resident in his homeland—Howlett adduces an insular Latin parallel in "the alternate clausal and cursus rhythms" of the opening sentences of Gildas's *De excidio Britanniae*, which he subjects to a detailed rhythmic analysis. Howlett suggests further that Cumman's "references to Scripture read like echoes of Gildas. He may have learned to arrange rhythmical patterns also from the works of Patrick and Gildas." (For Cumman's work, see *CPL*, p. 735 [no. 2310], and M. Lapidge and R. Sharpe, *A Bibliography of Celtic-Latin Literature* [1985], p. 78 [no. 289].)

b. Aldhelm

In what will surely be remembered as a banner year for seventh-century Anglo-Latin studies, Andy Orchard has issued the first book devoted exclusively to a critical study of Aldhelm's poetry (*The Poetic Art of Aldhelm*, Cambridge Stud. in A-S England 8 [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994]). In view of the scarcity of reliable sources for Aldhelm's career, Orchard's study places an admirable emphasis on the gathering and interpretation of solid evidence. A large part of the discussion here is given over to the presentation and assessment of specific, significant verbal parallels drawn between Aldhelm's hexameters and those of his models and imitators, many of which are put on display here for the first time. Orchard thus provides the first monographic treatment of Anglo-Latin hexameter verse undertaken with full recourse to the resources now available in O. Schumann's compendious (if less than definitive) *Lateinisches Hexameter-Lexikon* (1979–83) and the advanced, contextually grounded techniques for assessing parallel diction in hexameters formulated by Neil Wright. Orchard's study endeavors throughout to achieve as full a summation of the evidence as is practical, and it is en-

couraging to see the author actively *rejecting* examples that involve less striking collocations and cadences. It is remarkable to observe how much more clearly defined the distinction between meaningful reminiscence and poetical tag has become with the ten years that have passed since the appearance of the final volume of Schumann's lexicon. At the same time, the woeful inadequacy of the treatments of sources in almost all existing studies and editions of medieval Latin verse has become clear—in the present case in Manitius's 1886 essay "Zu Aldhelm und Baeda" and in the 1919 *editio nova* of Ehwald's *Aldhelmi Opera* (MGH AA XV). Orchard is at the vanguard of a new movement in medieval Latin poetical scholarship, and Anglo-Latinists may celebrate the fact that this pioneer is a member of their own small group.

Orchard's study has far more to offer, however, than lists of shared poetical diction. It resolves decisively several longstanding questions of authorship and dating surrounding the verse of Aldhelm and his circle. Moreover, Orchard cogently addresses problems relating to the influence of Old English poetry on Aldhelm's Latin verse. And, as is the brief of any serious student of Aldhelm, he advances his own interpretations of the scanty and notoriously unreliable evidence for Aldhelm's birth and early education as well as the dating of some of the signal moments of his ecclesiastical career. Generally speaking, the argumentation advanced by Orchard may be described by turns as factual (discussions of authorship and dating, statistical analyses of hexameters composed by Aldhelm and others, and so on), critical (arguments about the sources and influence of Aldhelm's poetry and the "oral" qualities of Aldhelm's verse), and—perforce—speculative (notably in hypotheses addressing Aldhelm's early life and education).

The new facts brought to light by Orchard deserve the widest possible circulation, particularly in standard bibliographical treatments of pre-Bedan ecclesiastical literature (such as those in any future edition of *CPL*). At several junctures, however, the complexity of the argumentation on display here makes it hard to distinguish some of these facts from some of Orchard's less firmly established points. On occasion, preliminary observations advanced early on in the study, reflecting Orchard's cautious survey of ambiguous historical evidence, reappear in later pages as received conclusions. The following comments thus represent my own best attempt to summarize Orchard's insights hierarchically, progressing from the factual to the speculative. Even here I should stress that all of Orchard's assessments, even the most provisional, merit the serious attention of scholars in the field.

A major contribution to the consolidation of the Aldhelmian corpus is Orchard's forceful, virtually irrefutable, affirmation that a substantial rhythmic poem describing a violent storm, embodying two hundred octosyllabic lines, must be attributed to Aldhelm's personal authorship. The poem, discussed here as Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum*, has long been excluded from the poet's canon even though a notation accompanying its sole manuscript witness, in Vienna,

Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 751 (Mainz, s. ix med.), describes it as a *carmen Aldhelmi*. Despite the appearance of Michael Lapidge's arguments reasserting Aldhelm's authorship of the rhythmic poem, as set out in the 1979 Lapidge-Herren translation of Aldhelm's prose works and extended in the 1985 Lapidge-Rosier translation of his verse, the treatment of this item in *CPL*¹ is wholly deficient. The poem is relegated there to an appendix, where it is assigned the title *Carmen clerici cuiusdam ad Aldhelmum (siue ad Helmgisilum)* (see p. 444 [no. 1337], with note a). H. J. Frede, in the recent fourth edition of his invaluable *Kirchenschriftsteller* (1995; cited hereafter as Frede⁴), consigns the rhythmic poem, on the strength of its connections with other items in Vienna 751, to a bracketed entry in a list of Boniface's letters (see p. 328, under item [BON] ep 6.1). Orchard stresses, however, that the materials preserved in Vienna 751 were assembled by Lul (archbishop of Mainz, 754–86), an Anglo-Saxon ecclesiastic who will have encountered Aldhelm's legacy in the course of his earliest training at Malmesbury and who refers explicitly in one of his own letters to "Aldhelmi . . . opuscula . . . rithmicorum" (*Epistola LXXI* [MGH ES I, 144–5], dated to 745 x 746). Evidence to show that Aldhelm was known in his own lifetime as an authority on (and, presumably, as an exponent of) rhythmical verse-composition occurs in a letter from his pupil Æthilwald (*CPL*¹, p. 443 [no. 1341]; Frede⁴, p. 97, item [ALD] ep II), who seeks his teacher's aid in correcting some of his own octosyllables (discussed below).

Orchard greatly strengthens the unquestionably plausible attribution of the *Carmen rhythmicum* to Aldhelm with his demonstration that this very composition almost certainly circulated within the purview of Æthilwald, who echoes several phrases in his own verse. (Orchard's incisive analysis of the relevant verbal parallels and their contexts places the direction of such borrowing beyond question.) The connection with Æthilwald, Orchard reveals for the first time, also has implications for the dating of Aldhelm's rhythmic verse. The salutation of the pupil's cited letter addresses its intended recipient as an abbot ("sacrosancto abbati Aldhelmo . . ."). The *Carmen rhythmicum*—in order to have influenced the verse by Æthilwald discussed in his letter—must thus have been composed by Aldhelm before his election as bishop of Sherborne in 706, although this might have been done at any previous time in the poet's career, presumably including the period preceding his election as abbot of Malmesbury (that is, before c. 674). Evidence internal to the octosyllabic verse itself, Orchard shows, allows some refinement of this dating while cementing the attribution to Aldhelm. Greatly extending a list of reminiscences adduced by Manitius and Ehwald, Orchard sets out a group of phrases in Aldhelm's octosyllables that echo unmistakably the diction of his own hexameters (in both the *Carmen de virginitate* and *Carmina ecclesiastica*). Moreover, the rhythmic verse of the two-hundred-line composition is shown to exhibit an "aggressive" display of *recherché* diction and a range of prominent aural effects also typifying Aldhelm's hexameter verse—notably alliteration, paronomasia,

and rhyme. Taken together with the distinctive use in the *Carmen rhythmicum* of what Orchard terms *reverse cadences* (" . . . where the simple reversal of the last two metrical words in the rhythmical octosyllabic line will produce a formal cadence perfectly suited to the end of the metrical hexameter line"), these features show that Aldhelm composed his octosyllabic verse concurrently with or later than his earliest efforts as a poet of hexameter verse, assigned by Michael Lapidge to his period of study at Canterbury, c. 670 x c. 675. Orchard's nearly exhaustive appraisal of Aldhelm's rhythmic verse mentions two very brief octosyllabic items ascribed to the poet (ed. at MGH AA XV, 235 [as part of the prose treatise *De virginitate*] and 512 [in the "Aldhelmian" charter printed at 510–12]) without offering a detailed analysis. But it is clear that the materials are now in place to support such an investigation.

Orchard's *Poetic Art* contains many other solid contributions to the attribution and dating of pre-Bedan Latin texts. The most exciting, perhaps, is his demonstration that eight lines of verse preserved by Bede at *HE* V.viii, deriving from a thirty-four-line (seventeen-couplet) poem in elegiacs composed as the epitaph of Archbishop Theodore, are almost certainly the work of Theodore's pupil Aldhelm. The Aldhelmian character of these lines has been noted previously by Michael Lapidge, but Orchard substantiates the impression with his demonstration that their vocabulary, syntax, scansion, alliteration, and avoidance of elision are all entirely consonant with Aldhelm's typical poetic practices. All of the phrases in the fragmentary epitaph and all but three of its forty-six words find parallels in the corpus of Aldhelm's genuine verse. The possibility that we have to reckon with the work of an imitator is mitigated by the total absence of the telltale traces that Orchard detects in surviving specimens of pseudo-Aldhelmian verse. The scansion is flawless, as is usual in Aldhelm's metrical verse but rare in the efforts of imitators, and the fragment even displays an idiosyncratic use of the metrical license known as *correction* (here involving the lengthening of a final -a before an initial digraph *sp-*), which occurs elsewhere in Aldhelm's poetic corpus but for which Orchard "can find no parallel . . . in the works of any other poets." (As will become clear below, Orchard's study comprehends large parts of the corpora of classical, Late Latin, and patristic verse as well as a huge sample of post-Aldhelmian Anglo-Latin poetry.) It thus appears almost certain that in the fragment of Theodore's epitaph—not noted separately in *CPL*¹ (i.e., at p. 441 [ante no. 1331]) or in Frede⁴—Orchard has verified the only known poem by Aldhelm in elegiac couplets, a poem in which a prolific pupil of the famed archbishop pays tribute to his former teacher.

In other discussion serving to refine the definition of the Anglo-Latin corpus, Orchard argues that an eight-line, octosyllabic church-dedication in honor of St. Paul (not in *CPL*¹ or Frede⁴), ascribed by Lapidge to Hæddi, bishop of Winchester (c. 676–705)—himself the addressee of octosyllabic verse by Theodore—is more likely to be the work of an

unidentified poet who wished to memorialize Hæddi after his death. A reference to *Hedde pontifex* in the dedicatory verse governs a verb in the third person, and the adjective *petitus*, applied to the same, is more appropriate to the diction of an intercessor. There is no compelling reason to suspect Aldhelm's authorship of these octosyllables, even if their rhythm is characteristically Aldhelmian and not "Theodoran" (see further below). Orchard also offers some intriguing comments on an anonymous, thirty-four-line acrostic poem in hexameters, known as *Versus sibyllae de iudicio Dei*, translated into Latin from Greek sibylline verse similarly configured as an acrostic. (As a translation from the Greek, the item is not recorded in *CPL*, but cf. *CPL*, p. 469 [no. 1430a], and Frede⁴, p. 169 [item AN sib].) The poem is cited three times by Aldhelm, but evidently by no other medieval author, and it exemplifies some of the characteristic features of Aldhelm's own verse: lengthening of short final vowels before mute and liquid combinations; avoidance of elision; and restrained use of hiatus. It is unlikely, however, that Aldhelm (as Walther Bulst suggested in 1938) is the author—or, rather, translator—of this verse. Orchard shows here that the acrostic poem's vocabulary, use of sources, prominently dactylic meter, and weak grasp of the quantities of Latin words contrast markedly with Aldhelm's regular practice. And yet, he concludes, the sibylline translation probably was available for consultation at the Canterbury school, where it seems to have been studied carefully by Aldhelm. It might thus seem reasonable to suggest (although Orchard advances no such suggestion here) that the combined facts of the translation of the acrostic poem from Greek and the weak handling of Latin quantity point to the authorship of the Latin version by a native speaker of Greek. Given the evident Canterbury provenance of the *Versus sibyllae*, if the verse has its origin in England it would perhaps be seen most easily as the work of Theodore or Hadrian, whose pedagogical influence on Aldhelm (in the treatment of final vowels, and so on) might then be laid bare in its hexameters. But the importation of the poem to England by one or the other of the Canterbury scholars also remains a possibility. Finally, in this regard, Orchard's studies of dating and attribution reveal a potentially vast area of inquiry in his discussion of the influence of collections of early medieval inscriptions in verse on Aldhelm's hexameters and the poet's own influence, in turn, on the work of subsequent epigraphical poets. Some Aldhelmian connections (elaborated here by Orchard) between verse preserved in the so-called *Sylloge Turonensis* and the collection of titular *Epigrammata* ascribed to Pope Damasus I have been drawn previously by other scholars. But Orchard now brings to light hitherto unrecognized links between the efforts of Aldhelm (either as borrower or source) and the collections known as *Sylloge Laureshamensis secunda*, *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*, *Sylloge Cantabrigiensis*, *Sylloge Wirceburgensis*, and *Anthologia Isidoriana*; miscellaneous entries (including some riddles) in Paris, Bibliothèque Nationale (hereafter BN), lat. 8071, fols. 60-1 (?Fleury, s. ix); and, ultimately, the eighth-century col-

lection of epigrams compiled by Milred, bishop of Worcester (treated below in the notice of Lapidge's *Bede the Poet*).

Despite its focus on Latin texts, specialists in Old English poetry will find much that is of interest in Orchard's book. The most stunning revelation involves the use of alliteration in the octosyllabic *Carmina* of Aldhelm's previously mentioned pupil Æthilwald. (These poems are treated adequately at *CPL*, p. 443 [no. 1340], but are subsumed at p. 328 of Frede⁴ to the item [BON] ep 6.2-5.) Although the scholarship on alliteration in Latin poetry has by now become quite extensive, no Latin specialist has ever adduced examples of alliterative practices comparable to those identified by Orchard in Æthilwald's *Carmina* ii-iv: alliteration of different vowels (such as *a-* and *o-*); alliteration of *s*+consonant and identical pairs of consonants; alliteration of *h*+vowel and unaspirated vowels; and alliteration of *f-*, *v-*, and *ph-*. Such alliteration, as readers of *OEN* may well recognize immediately, occurs at many points in the surviving corpus of Old English verse. (Alliteration of *f-* and *v-* is observed in the macaronic *Summons to Prayer*.) Moreover, the alliteration in Æthilwald's rhymed, octosyllabic couplets may serve a "binding" function comparable to the alliteration spanning *a-* and *b*-halfines in vernacular poetry. Such alliteration is characteristically "double," that is, it corresponds to lines of Old English verse in which *two* words in the *a*-halfine alliterate with the first stressed syllable in the *b*-halfine (the so-called "head-stave"). In his cited letter to Aldhelm, Æthilwald himself refers to his rhythmic verse as an experiment "una eadem . . . littera comparis linearum tramitibus aptata" (Orchard translates: ". . . with one and the same letter adapted to the paired paths of the lines") and in the verse itself he refers to "nova . . . litterarum cum lusibus" ("novelties with plays upon letters"). These would appear to be the earliest surviving English attestations to the cultivation of alliteration in the course of composing new poetry, and evidence internal to Æthilwald's verse shows clearly that it is the practice of Germanic alliterative poets which is being imitated in his octosyllabic experiment. (*Beowulf* scholars may wish to take particular note of Æthilwald's alliteration of *alma* and *hostium*, among other combinations, in future contributions to the "Hunferth" debate.) This conclusion is corroborated strikingly by a comment of Aldhelm in a letter to Æthilwald, where he warns his pupil of the dangers of secular literature (*saeculares litterae*) as well as the distractions to be found "in cotidianis potationibus et conviviis" ("in daily drinking-parties and feasts")—presumably including recitations of alliterative verse. Orchard has clearly identified a remarkable case in which the usage evinced by a body of Latin verse, explicit attestations by its poet, and a comment by a member the poet's contemporary audience all bear witness to an interaction of the alliterative conventions of Latin and Old English verse.

Aldhelm's own extensive use of alliteration in his *Carmen rhythmicum*, where the practice (Orchard shows) affects nearly seventy-four percent of the poem's two hundred lines, simi-

larly might be associated with native poetic practice. In view of Aldhelm's explicit warnings to Æthilwald, however, such a seemingly natural deduction carries with it a certain burden of proof. Indeed, the situation with respect to Aldhelm's use of alliteration is far less clear-cut than it is in the case of Æthilwald. The main complication is the proper assessment of Aldhelm's debt to alliterative, rhythmic verse occurring elsewhere in the insular Latin tradition, specifically the octosyllabic compositions of Irish poets. Orchard, verifying conclusions advanced by Michael Herren and others, affirms that the defining accentual characteristic of insular Latin octosyllabic lines (including those produced by Aldhelm) is their regular, if not absolutely invariable, placement of a prominent stress on the proparoxytone—the antepenultimate, or third-to-last, syllable—to be followed by unstressed syllables only (/ x x). Discussing Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic practice generally and citing in particular examples of rhymed, rhythmic octosyllabic lines displaying Norberg's form 8pp + 8pp (which is also the Aldhelmian norm), Orchard concludes that the rhythmic verse of Aldhelm and his imitators must ultimately owe a debt to Irish poetry. Reviving the conclusions (but, fortunately, not the methods) advanced in earlier studies by James Travis, Orchard argues that the prevalence of alliteration in Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic verse reflects the influence of alliteration in vernacular poetry (that is, Old Irish poetry) and owes little or nothing to such alliteration as occurs in earlier Latin verse. Given Aldhelm's chastisement of Æthilwald, it might thus be possible to maintain that the vernacular influence that is bound up with Aldhelm's prominent use of alliteration in the *Carmen rhythmicum* is the ultimate influence of Old Irish poetic practice, which entered his purview in the course of his study of Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic verse. For some reason, then, Aldhelm determined to extend greatly a practice which he adopted from his Irish models.

Orchard does not address this issue directly, but I would note that even here the most natural explanation would probably involve Aldhelm's emulation (whether conscious or unconscious) of the conventions of Old English verse. My own hasty survey indicates that alliteration appears to serve a binding function comparable to Æthilwald's practice in about forty percent of the rhymed pairs of octosyllabic lines in Aldhelm's *Carmen rhythmicum* (as against twenty-five percent or so of adjacent, non-rhyming lines). There are instances of apparent alliteration involving different vowels (as at lines 13–14, 79–80, 103–4, and 115–16) and, as Orchard notes, there may be as many as twenty-three occurrences of "double" alliteration in the poem. Nevertheless, I would caution that any inclination to view these early Anglo-Latin octosyllables first and foremost as Latinate approximations to Old English verse should be resisted, even in the case of Æthilwald's experiment. The fixed syllable-count and prominent use of rhyme argue against such a view, and the defining characteristic of the "Aldhelmian" form of octosyllabic verse, proparoxytone stress, finds no counterpart in Old English verse. The occur-

rence of an unqualified (that is, unresolved) antepenultimate stress followed by two wholly unstressed syllables at the end of any halfline (*a* or *b*) simply is not recognized in any of Sievers's five main types or their major variants.

The examples set out by Orchard in his discussion of Æthilwald's octosyllabic verse provide the earliest evidence yet adduced to indicate that alliterative conventions in Latin and Old English verse might be recognized by a single Anglo-Saxon poet. In a discussion of the repetitive phraseology of Aldhelm's hexameter verse, Orchard advances specific evidence to show that the poet's practice reflects a similar sort of bilingual sensibility. The point of departure is the observation that "Aldhelm repeats more phrases more often than any earlier Latin poet." In an analysis of sample passages drawn from Vergil, Juvencus, and Aldhelm, Orchard finds that parts of some sixty-eight percent of the Aldhelmian verses in question are repeated verbatim elsewhere in his poetic corpus (as against forty-four percent in the sample passages from Vergil and forty percent in those from Juvencus). When account is taken of the number of times a given phrase is repeated, the mean rate of repetition in Aldhelm's verse is almost twice what we find in Vergil. Suspicious that Aldhelm's practice here reflects personal familiarity with compositional methods employed by poets of Old English alliterative verse, Orchard subjects the poet's hexameters to the five-part "Peabody test for orality" (originally devised for the analysis of Greek poetry). Examination of Aldhelm's metrical verse with respect to phonemic redundancy, formulaic usage, enjambement, thematic repetition, and "the intrusion of remembered songs" (Peabody's phrase) supports Orchard's conclusion that Aldhelm's verse is (again in Peabody's words) "a direct product of an oral tradition." Orchard, however, cites Peabody's caveat, "[i]f some of the tests cannot be made because of the absence of material, the answer must remain moot," which may suggest that some caution will be necessary in interpreting these results. In particular, Peabody's "song test" demands consideration of both "songs from a living oral tradition" (Orchard's phrase) as well as "songs of related provenance" (Peabody). Both desiderata are clearly problematic in the case of Aldhelm's singular and in some respects isolated achievement. For example, the "remembered songs" that Orchard attributes to Aldhelm's knowledge in this part of his discussion include passages from the Psalms, Vergil's *Aeneid*, and Sedulius's *Carmen paschale*. Only the first of these is commonly recognized as having entered distinct channels of oral transmission in the early Middle Ages.

The crux of the matter, however, has less to do with the specifics of Orchard's analysis than with the failure of modern scholarship to define adequately what "orality" and "oral style" should be taken to mean with respect to written compositions produced and transmitted within a literary tradition. This is unfortunate, given the fact that Ruth Finnegan (supported by Lord, Foley, and others) has long since demonstrated that both oral and written compositions may be transmitted concurrently within a single, mnemonically supported

textual continuum. Orchard does not directly address the difficult questions raised by Michael Lapidge (following Larry Benson) concerning possible "literary-formulaic" (and, arguably, "manifestly written") aspects of Aldhelm's verse and of some Old English verse-translations as well. But it is probable, in my view, that any future resolution of these conceptual and terminological difficulties will leave the bulk of Orchard's carefully supported analysis intact. Orchard shows that Aldhelm's verse without question embodies the most relentlessly *formulaic* (in whatever sense) diction produced by any early Latin poet. At the level of the phrase, it displays everywhere the sort of studied restatement of identically structured—if differently worded—locutions that scholars of Old English poetry describe as "systematic variation" (as opposed to purely formulaic repetition). In thematic terms, Aldhelm's verse manifests the recurrence of similar expository strategies (usually involving the recurrence of similar lexical collocations) in wholly distinct narrative contexts, and these frequently bear comparison with "type-scenes" adduced by exponents of oral-formulaic theory. Orchard's conclusion that the immediate explanation for Aldhelm's formulaic usage is to be sought in the persistence of a vigorous, living tradition of oral composition will strike most readers as eminently reasonable.

Nearly three fourths of Orchard's study is devoted to an analysis of Aldhelm's hexameters in the light of earlier traditions of Latin quantitative verse. As noted, Aldhelm is shown to be extremely scrupulous in his avoidance of false quantities. He also generally exhibits absolute consistency in his scansion of a particular word, the most notable exceptions involving vowels regarded as *communes* (and thus capable of being scanned either as long or short) before combinations of mute and liquid consonants (i.e., *b, c, d, g, p, or t* followed either by *r* or, where possible, by *l*). Orchard finds forty-three occurrences of this metrical license in the corpus of Aldhelm's hexameter verse. The practice is specifically condemned by Bede, and it offers an example of one of several respects in which Bede's poetry, considered in relation to the whole range of Anglo-Latin hexameter verse, stands farther from Aldhelm's regular practice than does the work of almost any other English poet. Other examples of divergence between Bede and his predecessor include Bede's cultivation of a prominently dactylic rhythm, contrasting markedly with Aldhelm's preference for spondees; Bede's evident distaste for alliteration, one of Aldhelm's favored effects; Bede's moderate use of elision (generally avoided altogether by Aldhelm); his total avoidance of hiatus (sparingly admitted by Aldhelm); and Bede's infrequent use of finite verbs in mid-line positions, termed *molossi*, which are very common in Aldhelm's verse. Orchard concludes that Bede's metrical technique "seems almost deliberately contrived to contrast with that of his predecessor." Aldhelm's handling of *molossi*, moreover, resembles practices observed in the anonymous, North African poem *Carmen ad Flavianum Felicem de resurrectione mortuorum et de iudicio Dei* (composed 496 x 523) and in the Hiberno-Latin

Hisperica famina. Regarding Aldhelm's avoidance of elision, Orchard notes that this tendency inexplicably goes against recommendations in his own treatise *De metris*. The one major exception is Aldhelm's idiosyncratic preference for *ecthipsis*—elision involving the combination vowel+*m*.

Orchard's scansion of the whole of the surviving corpus of Aldhelm's hexameter verse solidifies the quantitative basis of his investigation. He strengthens conclusions set out previously by Michael Lapidge and Neil Wright concerning the "monotony of metrical patterning" in Aldhelm's hexameters, particularly in the case of the poet's apportionment of spondees (hereafter abbreviated "S") and dactyls ("D"). Fully 1,232 Aldhelmian lines (nearly thirty percent of the extant corpus) evince the predominantly spondaic pattern DSSS. (Bede prefers the more prominently dactylic pattern DDSS, but admits it only fifteen percent of the time.) A single pattern may recur over as many as fourteen successive Aldhelmian lines. Nearly ninety-eight percent of Aldhelm's hexameters include a prominent mid-line caesura, effectively splitting each line in half, and the vast majority of his sentences are end-stopped. This rigidity in Aldhelm's metrical patterning interacts in hitherto unrecognized ways with the poet's verbal borrowing and use of formulaic diction. Orchard finds that Aldhelm's reminiscences of the verse of earlier poets are "frequently restricted to the two metrical cola before the first main caesura and in particular after the second." A similar sort of regularity characterizes Aldhelm's localization of favorite words and phrases to specific line positions. For example, Orchard counts fully nineteen instances in which the adjective *aurca* begins a line. The most striking parallels to these idiosyncratic features of Aldhelm's poetic practice occur in Greek hexameter verse. Orchard is inclined to attribute the correspondences in question to the common influence of techniques of oral composition. The minute analysis of Aldhelm's metrical practice undertaken here by Orchard also provides some secure criteria for the relative dating of certain compositions. The *Carmen de virginitate* and *Carmina ecclesiastica*, for example, may be viewed as essentially homogeneous in terms of meter, but the metrical patterning of the *Enigmata* stands apart from that observed in either of those two bodies of verse. Orchard sees this circumstance as supporting Michael Lapidge's view of the *Enigmata* as constituting "one of Aldhelm's earliest compositions, perhaps the earliest." Orchard's study of the sources (or "remembered reading") that exerted the most profound influence on Aldhelm's metrical verse is superb. Seeking to promote "the accurate assessment of the library at [Aldhelm's] disposal," Orchard cites the following for every source that he discusses in detail: illustrative excerpts, where available, in Aldhelm's metrical treatises; surviving copies in English manuscripts; entries in booklists; other indirect witnesses, including new gleanings from Orchard's own surveys of Anglo-Latin literature; entries in Ogilvy's *Books Known to the English*; and articles by various authors preparatory to *SASLC*—he offers, in other words, a full treatment of the evidence for knowledge of the relevant text(s) in Anglo-Saxon England. Most

impressively, Orchard avoids the mechanical enumeration of verbal parallels that typifies discussions of this sort. He shows that the interaction of Aldhelm's remembered reading with his formulaic usage (noted above in connection with his metrical patterning) provides a previously neglected diachronic index to his verse. For example, when the poet modifies one of his own derivative verses without recourse to its ultimate model, his practice offers a secure relative-dating criterion for the passage in question.

Of the classical poets in Aldhelm's purview, Vergil is overwhelmingly the most frequently cited—Orchard verifies about 220 almost certain borrowings—and Aldhelm seems also to have known the *Cento Vergilianus* of the Christian Latin poet Proba at first hand, as well as some minor pseudo-Vergilian poems (*Culex*, *Epitaphium Lucani*, and *De pedagoga*). Apart from Vergil, the most convincing cases for Aldhelm's direct knowledge of classical and Late Latin verse (most of which are strengthened here by Orchard's provision of newly recognized parallels) involve Lucan, Statius' *Thebaid*, Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, the *Epithalamium Laurentii*, and the riddles ascribed to Symphosius. The cases for Aldhelm's direct knowledge of works by Persius, Horace, Juvenal, and of Statius' *Achilleid*, although supported by new evidence set out here, are ultimately inconclusive. Orchard also discusses some intriguing Aldhelmian verbal parallels with verse by Lucretius and Terence, whose significance ultimately remains doubtful, and he concludes that any knowledge that Aldhelm may have had of the poetry of Ennius or Seneca, or of Ovid's erotic verse, was almost certainly derived at second hand. The most appealing use made by Aldhelm of a minor secular source involves a four-line pseudo-Ovidian poem in elegiac couplets (entitled *Ad puellam quam in somnis viderat* in one manuscript), which celebrates the shining countenance of a woman whom the poet has seen in a dream. In addition to his impressive discussion of the various Anglo-Saxon associations of this brief poem's manuscript transmission—notably in relation to Aldhelm's *Enigmata* and the scholar's circle at Canterbury—Orchard sets out two previously unrecognized verbal parallels that leave no doubt that this forerunner of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* (treated below in a notice of Ziolkowski's new edition) was one of Aldhelm's favorite songs.

The situation with respect to Claudian (fl. c. 400) is slightly more complicated. Whereas two of the three illustrative examples in Aldhelm's metrical treatise *De pedum regulis* which cite the North African poet by name in fact reproduce texts from the pseudepigraphic *Epithalamium Laurentii*, the evidence for knowledge of Claudian's genuine verse provided by Aldhelm's hexameters (although extended slightly by Orchard) is ultimately inconclusive. But a letter to Aldhelm from an unknown correspondent, preserved in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 751 (Mainz, s. ix med.), on 25r-v, appends the entire text of a twenty-line Christian poem sometimes ascribed to Claudian. (The addendum is omitted from the standard edition of the letter in Ehwald's *Aldhelmi Opera* [*Epistola VI*, as ed. at MGH AA XV, 494–5, with a

note on the verse in the apparatus].) Two verbal parallels set out here by Orchard for the first time strongly suggest that Aldhelm had in fact received the letter in question and had scrutinized closely the poem appended thereto. It would seem, therefore, that Aldhelm may have been the only Anglo-Saxon scholar to know some lines of Claudian's verse at first hand. A complicating factor here, I would note, is the status of the ascription of the paschal poem in question (*De salvatore*) to Claudian, which remains controversial (see *CPL*, p. 478 [no. 1461], where Claudian's authorship appears to remain credible, and Frede⁴, p. 383 [item PS-CLAU pa], where it is denied outright).

Turning to verse whose composition by patristic authors is securely established, Orchard reveals that the single most frequently recalled source in Aldhelm's hexameters after Vergil is the shadowy, fifth-century Christian poet Sedulius. He supports this conclusion with a list of parallels containing more than 150 items. Aldhelm is the only attested Anglo-Saxon author who seems to have known the Old Testament versification *Heptateuchos*, ascribed to Cyprianus Gallus, in its entirety. He is, moreover, the only Anglo-Latin poet to have gained any knowledge of verse by the sixth-century African poet Corippus, possibly through the agency of Theodore or Hadrian (or both). And Aldhelm is the only Anglo-Saxon author apart from Bede who was acquainted with the massive versification *De vita S. Martini* by Paulinus of Périgueux. Other Christian Latin influences on Aldhelm's hexameters analyzed here by Orchard include the verse of Juvenecus, Prudentius (the *Liber cathemerinon* is the only poem whose firsthand knowledge by Aldhelm is in doubt), of Paulinus of Nola (part of whose *Natalicia* series Aldhelm alone seems to have known in the Anglo-Saxon period), Arator, Prosper of Aquitaine (Aldhelm's use of the *Epigrammata ex sententiis S. Augustini* and *De ingratis*, now securely established by Orchard, witnesses their Anglo-Saxon circulation for the first time), Dracontius (the secular poems—e.g., *Romulea*—are the only works whose cultivation by Aldhelm appears unlikely), Venantius Fortunatus, and Sisebut (Orchard identifies a hitherto unknown borrowing from Sisebut's early seventh-century *Carmen de eclipsis solis et lunae*, the most substantial hexameter composition by a non-native speaker of Latin to appear before Aldhelm's florescence). Doubtful patristic sources include poems by Ausonius, Sidonius Apollinaris, Avitus, and Eugenius of Toledo, as well as the *Alethia* of Claudius Marius Victor.

Orchard's treatment of the legacy of Aldhelm's hexameter verse in Anglo-Saxon England is as thoroughgoing as the other sections of this study, but its results will be summarized here only briefly. (Much of this material was set out previously by Orchard in his article "After Aldhelm: the Teaching and Transmission of the Anglo-Latin Hexameter," *Jnl of Med. Latin* 2 (1992), 1–43 [new to *OEN*].) In the decades following his death in 709/10, Aldhelm's most influential poem was his *Carmen de virginitate*, which was definitely known to the following poets: Bede (Orchard dismisses all but four of

the parallels noted in Jaeger's edition, *Bedas metrische "Vita Sancti Cuthberti"* [1935], but adds twelve new, convincing examples of his own); Boniface (a diligent imitator); the anonymous author (also a very diligent imitator) of an acrostic poem addressing BÆDA LECTOR (ed. at CCSL 123A, 71); Aediluulf (whose connections with the school of York in the later eighth century, recently posited by Lapidge, are strikingly corroborated by evidence set out by Orchard); and the poet of the *Miracula Nynie episcopi* (another borrower active at a Northumbrian center). The influence of Aldhelm's *Carmen de virginitate* persisted in England as late as the tenth-century Benedictine reform. This may be seen clearly in the verse of the Canterbury poet Frithegod, whose knowledge of Aldhelm's verse, possibly acquired on the Continent, seems to be limited entirely to the *Carmen de virginitate* (Orchard finds eight new parallels to supplement fifteen set out previously by Alistair Campbell in his edition *Frithegodi Monachi Breviloquium* [1950]). The career of Wulfstan of Winchester (born c. 960; died after c. 1000), for whom Aldhelm's verse remains the single most important poetic influence, signals the end of the direct influence of Aldhelm's verse (most notably his poem on virginity) on the compositions of native English poets.

Aldhelm's engaging *Enigmata*, not surprisingly, exert a major influence on the post-Aldhelmian riddlers Tatwine (whose cultivation of Aldhelm's prominently spondaic rhythm marks him as a member of a typically Southumbrian school of poets, Orchard suspects) and Eusebius (whose Southumbrian milieu, posited by Lapidge, may in fact be called into question by the poet's typically Northumbrian preference for dactyls), as well as Bede, Boniface, the *Miracula Nynie* poet, Aediluulf, and (eventually) Wulfstan of Winchester. Beyond his groundbreaking, metrically informed discernment of Southumbrian and Northumbrian schools of hexameter poets—respectively defined by poets' preferences for either spondees (Aldhelm, Boniface, and Tatwine) or dactyls (Bede, Eusebius, Alcuin, Aediluulf, and the *Miracula Nynie* poet)—Orchard distinguishes poets who slavishly follow the model of Aldhelm's verse (most notably Boniface) from those who disguise their Aldhelmian borrowings through the careful manipulation of synonyms (notably Bede and Wulfstan of Winchester). There is no evidence to indicate the circulation of Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica* as a collection during the Anglo-Saxon period, but one poem in particular—*carmen* iii, on a church built by Bugga, daughter of Centwine, king of Wessex—was known (seemingly in isolation) to Bede and to Boniface, also exerting a singular influence on the poet of Bugga's epitaph. The poet of the BÆDA LECTOR acrostic displays knowledge of *carmen* iv alone. The verse of Aediluulf, of the *Miracula Nynie* poet, and of Wulfstan of Winchester collectively reflects knowledge of a range of Aldhelm's *Carmina ecclesiastica*, with *carmina* iii and iv exerting the strongest influence overall. Orchard does not essay detailed treatments of Aldhelm's influence on the verse of Alcuin, Lantfred of Winchester, on the *Breviloquium de omnibus sanctis* recently ascribed to Wulfstan of Winchester, or on any of several hex-

ameter poems recently assigned an origin in tenth-century England by Michael Lapidge (see *OEN* 24.2 [1991], 45–6, and 27.2 [1994], 68–9). Some future consideration of Lantfred might complement Orchard's analysis of Frithegod's use of Aldhelm, particularly with respect to the circulation of Aldhelm's verse in continental Europe, which is addressed only briefly here. It is clear enough from Orchard's preliminary comments, however, that the influence of Aldhelm's verse on the Continent emerged during the poet's lifetime, as the witness of the verse of the Irish émigré Cellán of Péronne plainly reveals.

As this lengthy précis may suggest, Orchard's *Poetic Art* is packed with useful (and often wholly new) information, and the book is refreshingly free of controversy. Orchard's most provocative stance involves his interpretation of the eternally problematic evidence for Aldhelm's birth and early career. Citing Aldhelm's own letters and William of Malmesbury's doubtful and (in surviving sources) unprecedented statement that Aldhelm was at least seventy years old when he died (in 709/10), Orchard maintains that the scholar's birth c. 640—an event that would then have occurred almost five hundred years before William issued his report—accords well with the notion that Aldhelm only briefly "studied at Canterbury [probably c. 670–5] when he was about thirty years old, and when his basic education was already complete." Orchard is further inclined to credit the accuracy of a supplied or altered salutation preserved in Vienna 751, which attributes to *Scottus ignoti nominis* ("an Irishman whose name is not known") the authorship of the previously cited, anonymous letter to Aldhelm appending the verse sometimes ascribed to Claudian. Orchard does not adduce the name Artuil in this connection, dubiously assigned by William of Malmesbury to the correspondent in question. But he is prepared to accept William's statement that Aldhelm received his early education from an Irish mentor at Malmesbury, and notes that "Aldhelm's links with a number of Irish scholars and his dire warnings about Irish culture and scholarship are well attested in his correspondence, and Malmesbury was an Irish foundation"—the final statement resting, as it always has, primarily on onomastic evidence of uncertain antiquity (e.g., Bede's allusion to Malmesbury as *Maildufi* [or *Maildubi*] *urbs* at *HE* V.xviii). Noting that the correspondent in the letter preserved in Vienna 751 states that Aldhelm was "a quodam sancto viro de nostro genere nutritus" ("nourished by a certain holy man from our nation [or 'race'?]"), Orchard concludes that Aldhelm is most likely to have received his early education from an Irish scholar, but does not claim (with William of Malmesbury) that this scholar will have been named Maildub. Clearly, Orchard's inclination "to reinstate William's story of Aldhelm's early education under an Irish scholar" represents a departure from recent scholarship (by John Marenbon, Michael Winterbottom, Michael Lapidge, and others) which has tended to stress the verifiable, continental European and Mediterranean affiliations of Aldhelm's studies and writings. But Orchard's view is in line with recent suggestions concerning the Irish

connections of Malmesbury (and Aldhelm) by Patrick Sims-Williams (see his *Religion and Literature* [1990], pp. 108–9; cf. also *OEN* 25.2 [1992], 61–2).

It deserves to be restated in this regard, however, that the citation of the *Scottus ignoti nominis* in Vienna 751 is to be connected inarguably with the transmission of the anonymous letter in question and not with its composition. Elsewhere in this study, Orchard (as noted) has vindicated the reliability of a long-disparaged annotation in Vienna 751 identifying the two-hundred-line *Carmen rhythmicum* as a *carmen Aldhelmi*. It is possible, of course, that Lul himself had acquired knowledge (presumably during his time in residence at Malmesbury) of a tradition concerning Aldhelm's tutelage under an Irish master, and it is even possible that he personally caused the ascription to the unknown *Scottus* (subsequently reproduced in Vienna 751) to be added under his watch. But even so, it does not necessarily follow that Lul will have correctly identified the nationality of the correspondent in question. If we possessed neither the salutation reflected in Vienna 751 nor William's appealing account of Aldhelm's studies in the forest with an Irish recluse, would we not be inclined more readily to posit a correspondent with an interest in Aldhelm's Roman sojourn (*adventus Romae*) who is responsible for transmitting a unique exemplar of Mediterranean verse traditionally ascribed to the African-born poet Claudian as a fellow-exile of Hadrian or of Theodore, teachers whom Aldhelm cites by name?

The great strength of Orchard's discussion of the question of Irish influence on Aldhelm's verse (and, at several points in this study, on his prose) is its reliance on specific textual data. Orchard presents the most compelling evidence adduced to date for Aldhelm's firsthand knowledge of Hiberno-Latin texts with his demonstration that Irish octosyllabic verse exhibiting prominent proparoxytone stress provides the only feasible model for the rhythmic verse of Aldhelm and his pupil Æthilwald. (In addition to the evidence summarized above, Orchard's identification of Irish and Aldhelmian rhymes involving long and short forms of *-a* would seem to close the case.) One specific Hiberno-Latin octosyllabic composition that Aldhelm almost certainly knew at first hand was *Altus prosator*. Orchard refines Jane Stevenson's recent tabulation of vocabulary shared by that poem and Aldhelm's octosyllabic verse with an enumeration of shared *phrases* as well as *recherché* terms employed in identical positions in the rhythmic line. Despite Aldhelm's own apparent condemnation (in *Epistola V*) of Hiberno-Latin rhythmic verse as doggerel (or *ludicra linguae*), Orchard detects possible Celtic influence in his cultivation of mid-line (*molossus*) verb-placement and "golden" lexical symmetry in hexameter verse, and, in prose works, his use of hyperbaton and his studied avoidance of *homoioteleuton* (coincidence of grammatical endings) in adjacent noun-adjective combinations. Orchard cites Gildas's prose and, especially, the amorphous *Hisperica famina* as exemplifying in turn some or all of these practices.

It is equally clear that the facts of Aldhelm's study at Canterbury and his encounters there with various Greek-derived and African Latin texts receive new corroboration in Orchard's study. His analysis suggests that Aldhelm composed his extant octosyllabic verse *after* studying hexameter composition at Canterbury. It might be worth asking whether an analysis based strictly on textual evidence internal to Aldhelm's own poetry—again, *without* recourse to the received etymology of Malmesbury, the ascription in Vienna 751, or the assertions of William of Malmesbury (especially regarding Aldhelm's supposed residence in Malmesbury *before* his studies at Canterbury)—might lead to a conclusion that Aldhelm's writings reflect the textual influence of works from many regions, including Celtic Latin compositions, and not to a conclusion that Aldhelm himself had received his basic education from an Irish tutor.

In the present state of research, it is hard to reconcile the solid evidence unearthed by Orchard's masterly source-studies—including evidence for the relative dating of Aldhelm's works, which will surely prove invaluable in any future attempt to develop a literary-historical account of his career—with any of the received biographical treatments of Aldhelm. One is left with a plethora of questions and partly contradictory impressions: Was one of the greatest libraries in seventh-century Europe—a library which at some point came to be stocked with copious amounts of hexameter verse—established in Wessex by the Irish scholars of Malmesbury and subsequently overseen by Aldhelm during his tenure there as abbot? Orchard suspects that the Irish had little if any grasp of Latin quantity around the time of the foundation of Malmesbury and that metrical composition only came to be taught in England during Aldhelm's lifetime. Or, alternatively, was the well-stocked library situated at Canterbury? If so, in the course of a fairly brief stay in that community (lasting fewer than five years, both Lapidge and Orchard suspect), Aldhelm appears to have imbibed enormous amounts of metrical verse, much of whose phraseology seems to have been permanently retained by his steeltrap memory. Why would Aldhelm, having received instruction in techniques of metrical composition, afterwards embark upon (or return to) a course of rhythmical verse-composition, presumably after his departure for (or return to) Malmesbury?

Perhaps it is most reasonable to conclude (on the basis of a close reading of Orchard's study) that the library at Malmesbury did possess specimens of Hiberno-Latin verse from its earliest days—even if we have no means at present to tell when Aldhelm first will have encountered them—and that it acquired a reasonable collection of hexameter verse (almost certainly including the poetry of Vergil and Sedulius) in the course of the seventh century; that Aldhelm studied and perhaps copied (or caused to be copied) some specimens of exotic hexameter verse available at Canterbury, notably North African and other Mediterranean compositions, while developing his own idiosyncratic compositional techniques; and that he furthered his study of verse by western patristic

poets, continued to obtain unusual specimens of Latin verse from correspondents, and promoted the acquisition of poetic texts for the libraries at Malmesbury and (subsequently) Sherborne right up to the time of his death.

If Orchard's monograph may be viewed (in one respect) as attesting to the impact of Schumann's *Hexameter-Lexikon*, a recent study of Aldhelm (and Bede) by George H. Brown bears witness to the early impact of a new, digitally encoded resource for medieval Latin studies: the database known as CLCLT, recently issued on CD-ROM by scholars of the research center CETEDOC (now available as *CETEDOC Library of Christian Latin Texts*, 2nd ed. [CLCLT-2], ed. Paul Tombeur, et al., for the Centre de traitement électronique des documents [CETEDOC] and the Université catholique de Louvain [Turnhout: Brepols, 1994]). Apart from providing an open window on our inexorably acronymic future, the database—which allows *ad hoc* lexical searching for all occurrences of a given string within the Vulgate, Old Testament pseudepigrapha, and a large part of the corpus of early church Latin—greatly facilitates inquiries into the semantic fields of terms such as *interpres*, the focus of Brown's study ("The Meaning of *interpres* in Aldhelm and Bede," in *Interpretation—Medieval and Modern: The J. A. W. Bennett Memorial Lectures, Eighth Series, Perugia, 1991*, ed. Piero Boitani and Anna Torti [Cambridge: Brewer, 1993], pp. 43–65). Noting the etymological obscurity of the *-pres* element—which has variously been thought to connote "gift," "trafficking (in)," "mindset," "spreading (abroad)," or "(intermediary) party"—Brown emphasizes four major senses of *interpres* in Late Latin and patristic usages: (1) "go-between, broker," involving legal and even sexual connotations; (2) "ambassador, messenger"; (3) "explainer, expounder"; and (4) "translator of a foreign language." Aldhelm and Bede exemplify the term's full range of meanings (with more than six hundred citations by Bede alone), though the third sense predominates.

In his discussion of Aldhelm, Brown offers the first cogent argument I have seen that seeks to connect the "hermeneutic style" attributed to Aldhelm by later twentieth-century scholars with the discipline of hermeneutics in both its traditional scriptural and modern critical embodiments. The discussion is timely insofar as the general notion of the "hermeneutic style" has achieved some currency in Anglo-Latin studies, largely supplanting other terminology (as in earlier allusions to Aldhelm's *Hisperic*, *recherché*, or simply ostentatious diction), even though the origin and meaning the phrase have never been explained adequately. Michael Lapidge, who popularized the phrase (albeit in reference to much later Anglo-Latin literature) in an influential 1975 article in *ASE*, suspected that Alistair Campbell, who coined the phrase but never specifically justified its use, meant to suggest the literary use of glossary-based vocabulary deriving from the *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana* and other collections. But Campbell did not refer to a "hermeneumatic style"; Lapidge's alternative term "glossematic" has not caught on; and, crucially, recent research (including that of Orchard) has revealed

that the traditions of glossaries can only go so far in accounting for the diction of Aldhelm and his successors. Brown maintains, however, that the fairly inscrutable style typifying much of Aldhelm's prose and verse, as well as the challenging content of his stylistically lucid *Enigmata*, were intended to encourage acts of interpretation (that is, hermeneutic acts), especially in the area of pedantic exposition. Brown's study thus suggests that the adjective *hermeneutic* might well be retained in this context, even if (I would note) what is at issue here is a *mode* of exposition and not a literary *style* as such. (My thanks to Neil Wright for helpful discussion of these terminological difficulties; the opinions offered are entirely my own.) As noted, Brown finds that Bede frequently employs the term *interpres* in the sense "exegete, expounder," the sense that best describes his own role as an "interpretative historian" and as an "authorial interpreter . . . [who] gently but firmly controls his narrative." Finally, Brown suggests that the mysterious *interpretes* of the *Cædmon* episode—the interlocutors who communicated biblical texts to the unlettered poet—were the "Anglo-Saxon *boceras*, the exegetes of the Latin Bible and the Christian church." Brown's study benefits from some well-chosen citations of scholarship on monastic *ruminatio* (notably Gernot Wieland's "Cædmon, Clean Animal," *Amer. Benedictine Rev.* 35 [1984], 194–203) and on interpretative problems in general (especially in citations from Seth Lerer's formidable *Literacy and Power in Anglo-Saxon England* [1991]).

Aldhelm's reputation as an authority on early medieval computistics improved considerably during 1994, notably in the wake of some new discoveries about a long-lost ante-Dionysiac (essentially, pre-*anno Domini*) Easter table, one whose invention is traditionally ascribed to Celtic ecclesiastics. Ending centuries of speculation that this eighty-four-year table had been permanently lost to posterity, the recovery of a complete exemplar of the table from a manuscript in Padua (see *OEN* 26.2 [1993], 60) has helped to vindicate a long-dismissed computistical allusion in Aldhelm's *Epistola IV* (addressed to Geraint, king of Devon and Cornwall [fl. before c. 710]). Aldhelm there associates a system of chronological reckoning spuriously ascribed to Anatolius of Alexandria, bishop of Laodicea (*ob. ante* 300), with some chronological inquiries supposedly conducted by Sulpicius Severus of Aquitaine (*ob. c.* 420), "qui LXXXIII annorum cursum descripsit" (" . . . who described [or 'wrote out?'] an eighty-four-year cycle": MGH AA XV, 480–6, at 483.20–5). In a recent discussion of this passage, Daniel McCarthy accepts that none of the extant writings of Sulpicius explicitly refers to the duration of a paschal cycle ("The Origin of the *latercus* Paschal Cycle of the Insular Celtic Churches," *Cambrian* [formerly *Cambridge*] *Med. Celtic Stud.* 28 [1994], 25–49). He recognizes, moreover, that nearly all of the sources attesting to the paschal limits and lunar cycles that typify the system used to determine the date of Easter in the churches of the Irish, Britons, and Picts from the fifth to the eighth centuries are either of Irish origin or have most frequently been

identified as such. These include the letters of the Irish ecclesiastics Columbanus (*CPL*, pp. 359 [no. 1111]) and Cummián (as cited above at the end of section [a]), the Munich computus (a text in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 14456 [Regensburg, s. ix 1], 8r–147v; not treated in *CPL*; classed as an Irish text by Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, pp. 95–6 [no. 336]), and the pseudo-Anatolian *De ratione paschae* (classed as an Irish work at *CPL*, pp. 733–4 [no. 2303], and also by Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, p. 91 [no. 320]). Apart from Aldhelm's letter, the most notable Anglo-Saxon sources are two of Bede's chronological writings, *De temporum ratione* (hereafter *DTR*) and *Epistola ad Wictbedum de paschae celebratione*—both of which provide their information in the context of criticizing the Celtic system. But Sulpicius Severus, a wealthy Gaulish lawyer who converted to Christianity around the year 395 and subsequently promoted a doctrine of devotional asceticism, McCarthy explains, is known to have written around the year 402 to Paulinus of Nola requesting some chronological information. Paulinus forwarded this request to Rufinus in 403, the year in which the latter published his well-known Latin translation of Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica*. Rufinus's Eusebian translation is in fact the only work outside of the insular tradition to display significant verbal congruence with passages in the pseudo-Anatolian *De ratione paschae*, though the question of the direction of the borrowing has fueled an enduring controversy.

In his *Chronicorum libri duo*, completed c. 403–6, Sulpicius identifies the date of the Pasch with the date of the Crucifixion, thus assigning the date of both to the fourteenth day of the (lunar) month—a prominent, if not unique, feature of the eighty-four-year system. But Sulpicius, on the evidence of the *Chronicorum libri duo*, does not seem to have worked out a comprehensive position regarding a continuous paschal cycle by this point. McCarthy is thus inclined to date any completed attempt on his part to develop a full table to the period c. 406–20 (the later date established by Sulpicius's death by c. 420). The hypothesis that Sulpicius Severus, as Aldhelm states explicitly, did describe (or invent) the eighty-four-year system that has been ascribed for so long to "Irish forgers" and their ilk might tend to be supported by the fact that such a revision would have assigned the first year of the cycle that was underway during Sulpicius's lifetime to 354, the year which saw the baptism of Martin of Tours, the hagiographical subject of Sulpicius's hugely influential *Vita S. Martini*. This correspondence accords well with statements by Columbanus and Cummián characterizing the eighty-four-year system as a "Martinian" tradition, Cummián also supplying some tangentially related corroboration of Aldhelm's witness. McCarthy thus concludes that Sulpicius Severus, as Aldhelm alone now attests, instituted the eighty-four-year cycle subsequently adopted by the Celtic churches. Sulpicius sought to rectify the major drawbacks of the nineteen-year cycle (the cycle mentioned by Aldhelm immediately before his allusion to Sulpicius) promoted in the tract he had received from Rufinus, that is, in the pseudo-Anatolian *De ratione paschae*

(or some forerunner thereof): incompatibility with a twenty-nine-day paschal term and the occasional placement of Easter as late as 28 April. It is thus probable that the pseudo-Anatolian *De ratione paschae*, and perhaps the Munich computus and the Padua table as well, should now be removed from the canon of Hiberno-Latin literature, unless transmissional considerations might allow them to retain their place therein.

McCarthy, bolstering a conclusion published previously in his cited study with Ó Cróinín, has determined that the eighty-four-year period summarized in the Padua table commences in the year 438, that is, it treats the cycle immediately following the "Martinian" cycle now held to have been formulated by Sulpicius. McCarthy's analysis of the table has been strengthened considerably by his 1990 discovery—rivaling Ó Cróinín's recovery of the eighty-four-year table itself in its significance for dating events of early Celtic history chronicled according to a church calendar—of a previously overlooked witness to the durations of lunar months (whether of 29 days or of 30 days) in this ante-Dionysiac system, preserved on the recto of fol. 28 of the Munich computus. Whereas the Roman lunar year exhibits a regular, twelvefold alternation of monthly periods (30 days, 29 days, 30, 29, 30, 29, and so on), the eighty-four-year system, McCarthy has found, employed an irregular twelvefold series (30, 29, 29, 29, 30, 29, 30, 30, 29, 30, 29, and 30—for a total of 354 days). This vital clue to the operation of the Padua table is discussed by McCarthy in another recent study ("Easter Principles and a Fifth-Century Lunar Cycle Used in the British Isles," *Jnl for the Hist. of Astronomy* 24 [1993], 204–24—new to *OEN*).

Finally, McCarthy, in a third recent article, offers some brief but cogent remarks that lay bare the enormous significance for the history of Celtic Christianity that his new conclusions will betoken, if accepted ("The Chronological Apparatus of the Annals of Ulster AD 431–1131," *Peritia* 8 [1994], 46–79). One riddle that has never been solved involves the emergence and persistence of non-Roman, often ascetic strands of Christian thought in Celtic regions during a period when much of the rest of western Europe still awaited conversion. Without prejudice to the possibilities of some exotic devotional practices having reached Celtic lands along the sea-routes of Mediterranean traders or by way of Spain, the derivation now postulated for the eighty-four-year Easter cycle suggests that "the origins of Celtic insular monasticism, and in particular the Columban church, lay in the stream of ascetic, aristocratic and anti-episcopal monastic christianity that developed in the late fourth century in southern Gaul," notably among the circles of Sulpicius Severus and other exponents of a largely non-Roman, "radical Gaulish monasticism with decidedly anti-episcopalian views . . . whereby the highest administrative authority was vested in the monastic abbots to whom bishops were made subject." These are exciting times for students of the early insular Christian communities and the first wave of Celtic *peregrini*.

c. Bede

In the first Jarrow Lecture dedicated exclusively to the poetry of Bede (delivered in 1993), Michael Lapidge notes that Bede's metrical treatise *De arte metrica* remained a standard introduction to verse composition throughout the Middle Ages and into the early modern period, generating copies in more than one hundred extant manuscripts and appearing in eleven printed editions by 1600 (*Bede the Poet* [Newcastle upon Tyne: n.p., 1994]; see also the notice below of a Variorum reprint). Bede himself offers a threefold enumeration of his own poetic corpus in the course of a list of works which he provides at *HE* V.xxiv: (1) a *vita sancti patris monachi simul et antistitis Cudberti . . . heroico metro*; (2) a *liber hymnorum diverso metro sive rhythmo*; and (3) a *liber epigrammatum heroico metro sive elegiaco*. The first allusion refers to Bede's extant life of Cuthbert in hexameter verse, the *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*, but no discrete copies of either of the two *libri* (respectively containing hymns and epigrams) cited by Bede have survived. (See further the discussion of Henry of Kirkstead, below.) We do possess reliably ascribed examples of Bedan epigrammatical verse and hymns, however, and it holds to reason that the poet may have issued collections of these and similar compositions during his lifetime, perhaps influenced respectively by the models of the *sylloge* (or compendium of epigrams) assembled by Pope Damasus I (366–84), preserving fifty-nine poems, which was known in England by the late seventh century, and of the "Old Hymnal" serving the needs of English office participants from (plausibly) c. 600.

One specimen of epigrammatical verse reliably attributed to Bede is a twelve-line epigraphic poem (that is, a poem meant to be inscribed on stone or wood) in hexameters, composed for an apse in a church built by Cyneberht, bishop of Lindsey (fl. before c. 730), which is designated *[Versus] Beda[e] in absida basilice* in its sole surviving manuscript witness. This occurs in a two-leaf fragment of a tenth-century copy of a *sylloge* compiled by Milred, bishop of Worcester (743 x 745 to 774/5), the present Urbana-Champaign, University of Illinois Library, 128 (s. x med.; later provenance Malmesbury), on 2v. The verse of this recently discovered Bedan text is now printed here in full by Lapidge (following an emended text established by Dieter Schaller) and supplied with an English translation. (The poem is treated accurately at *CPL*¹, pp. 453–4 [no. 1373b], but receives no notice in Frede¹.) D. J. Sheerin, in the course of research leading to an article published in 1977 ("John Leland and Milred of Worcester," *Manuscripta* 21 [1977], 172–80), recognized this Urbana-Champaign epigram as the very copy of Bede's poem that was consulted and transcribed in part by the antiquary John Leland (c. 1506–1552) before the dismantling of the Milredian codex and the use of the sheet under discussion as binding material. The Urbana fragment preserves the only securely identified specimen of Bede's verse for inscriptions now extant, but the former preservation of at least three more such epigrams down to the sixteenth century is indicated by a note in which Leland refers to *Epigrammata Bedæ ad S. Michaëlem. Ad S. Mariam de*

consecratione eccl[esiæ] in ejus honorem. Versus ejusdem [i.e., Bede] *in porticu eccl[esiæ] S. Mariæ, ab Wilfrido episcopo constructa, in quibus mentionem facit Accæ episcopi*. (See Leland's *De Rebus Britannicis Collectanea*, 2nd ed., ed. T. Hearne [1774], III, 114; cf. Lapidge, "Some Remnants of Bede's Lost *Liber epigrammatum*," *EHR* 90 [1975], 798–820, at 803–4 [nos. 6–8].) Leland's note seems to describe three epigrams by Bede, commemorating respectively an unidentified ecclesiastical building (or a construction therein) dedicated to St. Michael; an unidentified church dedicated to the Virgin Mary; and the church at Hexham dedicated to the Virgin, whose construction was undertaken by Wilfrid and Acca (first recorded in the *Vita S. Wilfridi* ascribed to Stephen of Ripon, in ch. lvi). Lapidge does not here address Patrick Sims-Williams's plausible identification of an epigram on St. Michael in elegiac verse, now printed as part of the Alcuinian *Nachlass* treated at MGH PLAC I, 344–7 (at 345 [item CXIV.ii]), as the epigraphic composition on that saint by Bede which Leland mentions ("Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams and Its Continental Counterparts," *ASE* 10 [1982], 21–38, at 37). The ten-line (five-couplet) epigram on Michael (not in *CPL*), first printed among texts drawn from a Saint-Bertin manuscript (now lost) in an edition of Alcuin's works issued in 1617 by André Duchesne (cited below under "Alcuin"), stands near the head of a distinct, nine-item series of Saint-Bertin epigrams—interspersed with some poems by Rusticus Helpidius—exhibiting striking points of correspondence with verse preserved in (or associated with) the *Sylloge Laureshamensis quarta*, the *Sylloge Cantabrigiensis*, and, especially, the combined witness to Milred's *sylloge* provided by Leland and the Urbana-Champaign fragment. Regarding traces of Bede's lost epigraphic poems, I would note further an attractive suggestion published elsewhere by Sims-Williams concerning two epigrams on St. Paul in the Saint-Bertin series (now printed at MGH PLAC I, 345 [items CXIV.iv–v]; not in *CPL*), the second of which also appears as the first entry on the second leaf of the Urbana-Champaign fragment ("William of Malmesbury and 'La silloge epigrafica di Cambridge'," *Archivum Historiæ Pontificiæ* 21 [1983], 9–33, at 24). These complementary four-line (two-couplet) compositions in elegiac verse may once have constituted a matched pair of altar inscriptions whose second element alone now survives in the Urbana-Champaign fragment. The Urbana-Champaign entry on Paul bears the heading *Ab alia parte altaris*, clearly implying that it was once preceded immediately by an epigraphic counterpart, and the surviving verse displays complete lexical agreement with the second of the two Saint-Bertin epigrams on the apostle. Before the mutilation of the Milredian codex consulted by Leland, Sims-Williams concludes, the verse of the poem on Paul in the Urbana-Champaign fragment "may well have been preceded by" a copy of the first of the two Pauline epigrams in the Saint-Bertin collection. Although Sims-Williams does not explicitly champion Bede's authorship of these paired inscriptions on Paul, he calls attention to their clear—if slight—verbal parallels

with two literary epigrams on Isaiah (both discussed below), one attributed to Bede by Leland and the other known to have circulated at Wearmouth–Jarrow during Bede's lifetime.

Finally, no critic has yet come to specific terms with Luitpold Wallach's suggestion that the final item of the Urbana-Champaign fragment, a single hexameter constituting the first line of a poem otherwise lost, is "perhaps by Bede" ("The Urbana Anglo-Saxon Sylloge of Latin Inscriptions," in *Poetry and Poetics*, ed. G. M. Kirkwood [1975], pp. 134–51, at 146–7 [no. 16]; not in *CPL*). Wallach notes that the verse in question immediately follows the authentic *Versus in absida basilice* and adduces three-word parallels occurring in two other poems presently included in the corpus of Bede's genuine verse, that is, the composition in elegiac couplets entitled *Oratio Bedae presbiteri* in the Fleury Prayerbook (Orléans, Bibliothèque Municipale, 184 [Bavaria, s. ix 1, i.e., 815/20 x 840]; Fraipont's *Hymnus xv* [CCSL 122, 445–6]), and the so-called *Soliloquium de Psalmo XLI*, in hexameters (*Hymnus xvi* [CCSL 122, 447–8]). Wallach also cites a two-word patristic parallel in the *Carmen paschale* of Sedulius, and Sims-Williams has since noted a three-word parallel in the verse of Juvenius ("Milred," 26, n. 33). Moreover, Sims-Williams (*Religion and Literature* [1990], pp. 358–9) has brought to light a very striking, four-word parallel mirroring the final cadence of the single Urbana-Champaign hexameter, which occurs in the fourteen-line Anglo-Latin poem *Versus de sancta trinitate*, a rendition of a creed in hexameter verse, which is ascribed to one Cuth in the surviving copy in London, British Library (hereafter BL), Royal 2. A. XX (Worcester, s. viii 2; *CLA* II, 28 [no. 215]; "Royal Prayerbook"), on 40r. On this basis Sims-Williams infers that the *Versus de sancta trinitate* "may have originated in Milred's literary circle." Sims-Williams does not address directly the possibility of Bede's authorship of the lost poem now represented by the single Urbana-Champaign hexameter. The cogent verbal parallel from the Bedan *Oratio* in elegiac verse (*Hymnus xv*, at line 1), however, offers the shared context of an invocation of God (or Christ) expressed in the first line of a poem, as well as the sort of variation in vocabulary and word-placement ("Deus . . . mundo spes unica uitae" in the *Oratio* as against the Urbana-Champaign phrasing "Deus uitae spes unica terris") that typifies Bede's poetic technique when he draws on an earlier source or echoes his own usage. The influence of such a Bedan composition on the poet of the *Versus de sancta trinitate* would hardly be improbable. In fact, the Bedan *Oratio* in elegiacs appears shortly before the copy of that liturgical versification in the Royal Prayerbook as presently constituted (see Sims-Williams, *Religion and Literature*, pp. 281 and 358). Perhaps the verse copied out on the lost parchment that formerly followed the second leaf of the Urbana-Champaign fragment was an acephalous passage of Bedan epigraphic poetry, a sequence of lines that may (at a guess) have commenced with an elegiac pentameter.

Bede's epigrammatical dossier also evidently contained short poems intended for use as inscriptions in books, as at

the start or conclusion of a literary work. Nine examples of putatively Bedan literary epigrams have been discussed in recent years. The authenticity of two of these epigrams may be accepted without reservation insofar as the items in question appear contiguously in manuscripts with prose works by Bede and both poems have been edited integrally with those works in modern editions. Continuing uncertainty about the textual transmission of two further epigrams accompanying Bede's prose in manuscripts precludes any final judgment regarding their authorship, but both may well preserve genuine specimens of Bede's verse. Three additional literary epigrams circulating independently of Bede's prose are possibly authentic. One doubtful epigram and one almost certainly spurious item also occur apart from the author's legitimate works. Elaborating in certain respects the valuable treatment of the five most important Bedan literary epigrams provided by Lapidge in *Bede the Poet*, I summarize the items at issue here under headings reflecting the works of Bede accommodating (or most plausibly intended to accommodate) their verse:

(1) *De natura rerum*: A genuine, four-line (two-couplet) *versus Bedae presbiteri* in elegiacs precedes the list of *capitula* (as ed. by Jones at CCSL 123A, 189; cf. PL 90, col. 187; not noted in *CPL* either at p. 445 [no. 1343] or p. 452 [*ante* no. 1370—in the *CPL* editors' summary of Bede's "epigrammata pauca"]). (2) *De locis sanctis*: A genuine, six-line (three-couplet) *versus eiusdem* [*sc.* of Bede] in elegiacs precedes the list of *capitula* (as ed. by Fraipont at CCSL 175, 251; cf. CSEL 39, 301; not noted in *CPL* at p. 742 [no. 2332], but recorded accurately at p. 452 [*ante* no. 1370]). (3) *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*: A possibly genuine, twenty-two-line (eleven-couplet) *epigramma* (or *versus*) *Bedae* in elegiacs, circulating elsewhere as a separate item, follows (or, in some witnesses, precedes) the prologue of the work (see PL 93, cols. 133–4; not noted in *CPL* at p. 449 [no. 1363] or p. 452 [*ante* no. 1370]). Final determination regarding the authenticity of the epigram now awaits the appearance of the forthcoming critical edition of the *Commentarius in Apocalypsim* by H. F. D. Sparks, D. Hurst, and T. W. McKay. For some comments on manuscript witnesses, see M. L. W. Laistner, *Hand-List of Bede Manuscripts* (1943), p. 129. (4) *Commentarius in epistolas septem catholicas*: A possibly genuine, ten-line epigram in hexameters precedes the *prologus* of the work in four manuscripts written before 900—in three cases before 850 (see MGH PLAC IV, 1067 [with apparatus], and CCSL 121, at 180 and 181 [in apparatus]). The same configuration of texts appears in two later manuscripts noted in the MGH edition and by Laistner (*Hand-List*, pp. 129–30). The epigram is cited without reservation as a genuine Bedan poem of the cited *Commentarius* in *CPL* at pp. 448–9 (no. 1362) and p. 452 (*ante* no. 1370). The epigram's status as an integral part of this Pauline commentary nevertheless may be called into doubt by the following: transmissional concerns expressed by Laistner, as cited, but on the basis of an incomplete survey of the evidence; the relegation of the whole text of the epigram to the apparatus of the CCSL edition by D. Hurst; the at-

tested circulation of the verse as an independent item (see, e.g., the MGH edition and Laistner, as cited); and now Lapidge's assertion that the lines possibly were intended to accompany Bede's extant (but still unprinted) *Collectio ex opusculis S. Augustini in epistulas Pauli apostoli* (see Laistner, *Hand-List*, pp. 37–8), an interesting suggestion, but one for which I find no support in the detailed report addressing that work by A. Wilmart, "La collection de Bède le vénérable sur l'Apôtre," *Revue bénédictine* 38 (1926), 16–52.

(5) Bede's lost *In Isaiam distinctiones capitulorum ex tractatu beati Hieronimi excerptas* (following the title given at *HE* V.xxiv): An eight-line (four-couplet) epigram in elegiacs, probably a genuine composition of Bede, was transcribed under the title *versus Bedæ de tractatu Hieronymi in Esaiam* by Leland (whose transcription embodies a lacunose, six-line text) from a lost leaf of the Milredian codex now witnessed by the Urbana-Champaign fragment (Lapidge, "Some Remnants," pp. 802–3 [no. 2], and Sheerin, "John Leland"; not in *CPL*). An eight-line text of the epigram appears without any attribution to Bede in a poorly copied series of epigrams and miscellaneous verse in BN lat. 8071, fols. 60–1 (see notice of Orchard, above, and Sims-Williams, "William of Malmesbury," 18–19 and [for the additional lines] 24, n. 78). Dieter Schaller, who discovered the analogue of Leland's *versus Bedæ* on Isaiah in BN lat. 8071 ("Bemerkungen zur Inschriften-Sylloge von Urbana," *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 12 [1977], 9–21, at 21, n. 49), took a skeptical view of the ascription to Bede, citing lapses elsewhere by Leland and the ostensibly Roman context of the poem within the epigraphic series in BN lat. 8071. Sims-Williams, however, has illuminated connections between the continental series and English collections by Milred (in the witness of the Urbana-Champaign fragment as well as that of Leland) and, especially, in the *Sylloge Cantabrigiensis*. Neil Wright, moreover, has noted that the epigram on Isaiah evinces verbal parallels with a genuine eighteen-line (nine-couplet) poem by Bede in elegiac verse celebrating Cuthbert (included in Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti* at ch. xlii; not noted separately in *CPL*, at p. 452 [ante no. 1370] or p. 456 [no. 1380]), with some characteristically Bedan borrowings from Venantius Fortunatus, and (establishing an Anglo-Latin transmission) with Alcuin's *Versus de sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* (apud Sims-Williams, "Milred," 33, n. 70). The case for Bede's authorship here thus hardly bears comparison with the egregious case in which a spurious *versus Bedæ* cited by Leland may be ascribed plausibly to Aldhelm's Irish correspondent Cellán of Péronne (*CPL*, p. 367 [no. 1127]; see further, Lapidge, "Some Remnants," pp. 804–6 [nos. 9–10]). (6) The lost *In Isaiam distinctiones capitulorum* (again): Offering a second possible example of a literary epigram by Bede on Isaiah, a four-line (two-couplet) poem in elegiacs is reproduced without title in Leland's transcript immediately before two items securely associated with (but not composed by) Bede (Lapidge, "Some Remnants," p. 819 [no. 27]; not in *CPL*). Sims-Williams has noted that the epigram's first couplet only is inscribed in silver in the Codex Amiatinus—Florence, Biblioteca

Medicea Laurenziana, Amiatino 1 (Wearmouth–Jarrow, s. viii in.; *CLA* III, 8 [no. 299])—on 8r, establishing its circulation in Bede's milieu during his lifetime, and has called attention to verbal parallels with the longer epigram on Isaiah transcribed by Leland as well as the second poem of the paired (and possibly Bedan) altar inscriptions discussed above ("William of Malmesbury," 24, and *Religion and Literature*, pp. 182–3 and 352). (7) *Liber epigrammatum*: A three-line fragment of a literary epigram in elegiacs, almost certainly by Bede (the fragment's intact couplet begins "Beda, Dei famulus, scripsi . . ."), has recently been discovered by Sims-Williams, who calls attention to verbal parallels with genuine epigraphic and literary epigrams by Bede (*Versus in absida basilice* and the prefatory epigram in *De natura rerum*). Sims-Williams ("Milred," 37–8, and "William of Malmesbury," 26 with n. 88) speculates that the epigram—preserved in a series of short poems in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, clm 19410 (Passau, s. ix med.), pp. 51–4, at 54, and evidently copied from a sylloge associated with Alcuin's circle—served to conclude Bede's lost *Liber epigrammatum*. (Not in *CPL*.) (8) *Liber epigrammatum* (again): Lapidge has edited a second possible example of a literary epigram composed for Bede's collection, a six-line epigram in hexameters transcribed by Leland ("Some Remnants," p. 819 [no. 28]; not in *CPL*), which in its present form is difficult to view as Bede's own work but was apparently intended to accompany a volume of Bede's poetry. (Lines 2–3 read "versiculos scripsit . . . / Beda, Dei famulus," but lines 4–5 indicate that he has died: "nostro . . . clarus in orbe / extitit . . .") Lapidge suggested that the lines are a recast version of Bede's original dedication-verse in his *Liber epigrammatum*, thus preserving some genuine Bedan phraseology, but Sims-Williams has since suggested that the verse may be a scribal epigram attached to a later copy of Bede's verse, an epigram composed *in toto* after the poet's death (*Religion and Literature*, pp. 352–4). (9) *Epistola ad Wicthedum de paschae celebratione*: An almost certainly spurious, three-line literary epigram in hexameters—justifiably ignored by Lapidge in *Bede the Poet*—continues on occasion to be cited as a genuine poem of Bede (as at *CPL*, p. 452 [ante no. 1370], despite the fact that the spurious nature of the passage adjoining the epigram is noted at p. 738 [no. 2321]). The epigram serves to conclude certain versions of a brief computistical passage, indicating an *annus praesens* of 776, that has sometimes been joined to Bede's *Epistola ad Wicthedum*. The hexameters have been printed at PL 90, col. 606 (as prose); PL 94, col. 682; PL 101, col. 1002; and in a critical edition by C. W. Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigrapha* (1939), pp. 104–6, at 106, with discussion at pp. 41–4. The computistical passage will be discussed in greater detail below (in section [d]) as a possible work of Alcuin composed before his departure from York, but I would note that no witness to the Alcuinian (or pseudo-Alcuinian) passage dated to 776 has yet come to light identifying the *dilectus comes* saluted in the epigram, and it is thus remotely conceivable that the 776 passage was inserted so as to precede an authentic epigram addressed by Bede to

Wihthed. But the findings on the 776 passage's transmission offered by Jones (who notes that the order of the two prose items may be reversed) pose an obstacle to such an hypothesis. The hexameters certainly deserve further comparison with the poetry of Alcuin.

In connection with Bede's epigrammatical verse, Lapidge does not here address an influential comment by M. L. W. Laistner maintaining that "the library at Bury St Edmunds early in the fifteenth century had a *Liber hymnorum* and a *Liber epigrammatum* bearing Bede's name" (*Hand-List*, p. 122). Laistner here refers to two consecutive entries in an ambitious, mid-fourteenth-century "union catalogue" treating occurrences of works by 674 authors in books held by 195 medieval English libraries. The catalogue, known as the *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*, was compiled by Henry of Kirkstead—it is often falsely attributed to a figure known to modern scholarship as Boston of Bury, a scribe whose name appears (rendered as *Botulphi villa*) in a Latin metrical colophon attached to Henry's catalogue—and its full text now survives only in a seventeenth-century transcript made by Thomas Tanner (the present Cambridge, University Library [hereafter CUL], Additional 3470). The two entries informing Laistner's comment (both of which occur under the heading *Beda*) read: "Ympnorum diverso metro sive rithmo lib. 1" and "Epigrammatum heroico metro sive elegiaco lib. 1" (as ed. by R. H. Rouse, "Bostonus Buriensis and the Author of the *Catalogus scriptorum ecclesiae*," *Speculum* 41 [1966], 471–99, at 496 [nos. I.40–1]). On the basis of these two entries, it has commonly been maintained (notably by Lapidge in his 1975 *EHR* article and by B. Luiselli, "Sul perduto *Liber epigrammatum* di Beda," in *Poesia latina in frammenti* [1974], 367–79, at 367, n. 1) that at least one copy of each of Bede's two poetical *libri* remained available in the later Middle Ages. Although Lapidge may have occasion to address this issue once again with the forthcoming reissue of his *EHR* article in his collection *Anglo-Latin Literature 600–899*, I will offer a clarification here for the benefit of readers of *OEN*. Although no medieval copy of Henry's *Catalogus* (by Boston or any other scribe) has survived, Richard H. Rouse demonstrated thirty years ago that autographic entries by Henry of Kirkstead himself are extant in a number of manuscripts. Preparatory to the treatment of Bede in his catalogue, Henry copied out Bede's own list of his works (from *HE* V.xxiv) in *extenso* on a flyleaf (p. vii) of the present Oxford, Bodleian Library (hereafter OB), e Museo 9 (*SC* 3570) (s. xii; provenance Bury St. Edmunds). In the course of his transcription, Henry began to recast Bede's citations so that each entry would uniformly conclude with an indication of the number of (literary) books in a given work—for example, the Bedan phrase ". . . librum de orthographia" (referring to Bede's treatise *De orthographia*, in one book) becomes *De orthographia. li. 1. (sic)* on the OB e Museo 9 flyleaf. As he augmented his catalogue, Henry regularly supplemented each entry with the *incipit* and *explicit* (the opening and closing words) of the work it addressed, also supplying up to seven Arabic numerals as references to libraries known to

him that owned copies of that work. Citations containing Bede's accusative singular *librum* (some of which are still present in OB e Museo 9) were eventually recast to include Henry's preferred phrase (*apud* Tanner) "lib. 1"—notably in the cases of the entries for both the *Liber hymnorum* and the *Liber epigrammatum*. (See Rouse, "Bostonus," 476; plate 8, lower [two-column] part of note, col. 2, lines 24–5 and 28; and appendix at 495–6 [items I.40–1 and I.45]). The entries for Bede's *Liber hymnorum* and *Liber epigrammatum* were carried over from Henry's preliminary notes to his final catalogue simply as a matter of course. The absence of any *incipit* or any numbered library reference in Henry's final catalogue entries for either of the two items clearly indicates that these references mean quite the opposite of what has commonly been inferred: Henry of Kirkstead, who probably carried out his bibliographical inventory from c. 1350 and into the 1370s, never managed to find so much as a single copy of either of Bede's poetical *libri* in any of the 195 libraries in his purview, and he never managed to obtain so much as an *incipit* for either work from any of his correspondents.

Lapidge treats three Bedan metrical versions of Psalms XLI (noted above), LXXXIII, and CXII as literary epigrams, likening them to the metrical *sententiae* based on Augustine's prose composed by Prosper of Aquitaine. (For Bede's poems, see *CPL*, p. 453 [nos. 1371a–c] and *Frede*, p. 318, item BED hy [nos. 16–18].) Lapidge suspects that these poems may also have been included in Bede's lost *Liber epigrammatum*, but notes Bruno Luiselli's contention that they belonged rather to the *Liber hymnorum*. They are similarly grouped with Bede's hymns in Fraipont's edition in *CCSL* 122, as is the psalmic centonization known as *Collectio psalterii* (*CPL*, p. 453 [no. 1371]; *Frede*, p. 320 [item BED Ps]; see further *OEN* 27.2 [1994], 63–4), not treated here by Lapidge. Bede's psalmic versifications, Lapidge notes, treat themes addressed elsewhere in his verse, including the separation of the soul from the body and the domains of heaven and hell. They also display a certain tendency toward stylistic verbosity without parallel in the Bedan poetic corpus—with the possible exception of the long apocalyptic poem known as *De die iudicii* (*CPL*, pp. 452–3 [no. 1370], and *Frede*, p. 318, item BED hy [no. 14]). Lapidge acknowledges the thematic and stylistic links of *De die iudicii* and Bede's metrical psalms (as well as the Old English verse of *Bede's Death-Song*), the frequent ascription of the apocalyptic poem to Bede in manuscripts, and the *envoi* accompanying texts of *De die iudicii* addressing Bede's friend Acca of Hexham. But he nevertheless credits here the alarming possibility that "the poem [*De die iudicii*] is not in fact [Bede's]." The poem contains "a large number of metrical faults" unlike any found in Bede's securely ascribed verse. Bede mentions no such poem in his list of works at *HE* V.xxiv, and it is not clear that *De die iudicii* would find a place in either of the two cited poetic *libri* of epigrams and hymns. Finally, the *envoi* to Acca (which is actually a modified version of some lines by Eugenius of Toledo) fails to appear altogether in many witnesses and lacks the explicit mention of the dedicatee in

others.

The main source for Bede's hymns, which also failed to survive in a discrete *liber*, is a sixteenth-century collection of hymns printed by Georg Cassander (1513–66), drawing on a transcript of a lost manuscript made by Caspar von Niedpruck (ob. 1557). Lapidge disputes the recent assertion of Fidel Rädle (in a 1993 article that receives separate notice below) that von Niedpruck's consultation of this manuscript took place at Flanders; Trier and Fulda also merit consideration in this regard. Lapidge notes that a sixteenth-century Fulda library catalogue records an *ymnarius Edilwaldi*, whose title may refer to Æthelwald, bishop of Lindisfarne (721–40) and friend of Bede. In all, Cassander (following von Niedpruck) attributes eleven hymns to Bede by name and he distributes these throughout his edition according to a scheme informed by the progression of the liturgical year. The uniform value of these *individual* ascriptions to Bede (though not necessarily the reliability of their *collective* attribution of the hymns in question to his hand) is strongly suggested by the constitution of a group of hymns preserved in Alcuin's inedited florilegium *De laude Dei*, one witness to which—in Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek, Misc. Patr. 17 (B. II. 10), 133v–161v (Bamberg, s. x ex.), on 150v–151v—reproduces verses from eight of the eleven hymns assigned to Bede in Cassander's edition in an unbroken sequence. (Lapidge notes that a second, seldom-discussed witness to Alcuin's collection *De laude Dei* occurs in Escorial, Real Biblioteca, b. IV. 17 [southern France, s. ix med.], 93r–108v.) If the Bedan attributions conveyed by von Niedpruck to Cassander are in fact collectively reliable, we have eleven authentic specimens of Bede's hymnody (Fraipont's *hymni* i–iii and vi–xiii; cf. *CPL*¹, p. 453 [no. 1372], and *Frede*⁴, p. 318 [item BED hy]). Common features of the hymns securely attributed to Bede include virtually flawless metrical composition; lack of hiatus; a concise, Ambrosian style; and the inclusion of sixteen or thirty-two stanzas (as against the Ambrosian standard of eight stanzas).

Two anonymous hymns which are attested in *De laude Dei* but which do not appear in Cassander's printed collection were presented as authentic compositions of Bede (*Hymni* iv and v) in Fraipont's 1955 edition of Bede's hymnody (in CCSL 122; Bede's authorship of both items is accepted by *Frede*⁴, p. 318, item BED hy [under nos. 4–5]). Lapidge challenges the authenticity of both hymns here on grounds of metrical and even grammatical incompetence. Similarly, Lapidge rejects Bede's authorship of two four-line stanzas ascribed to the poet in Christian of Stavelor's ninth-century *Commentarius in Matthaeum*, here on grounds of the presence of hiatus as well as some outright metrical flaws. (These lines, cited recently with reference to Bede's epigrams by Bernhard Bischoff, *apud* Patrick Sims-Williams ["William of Malmesbury," at 26, n. 88] are addressed here by Lapidge more suitably in connection with Bedan hymnody.) Alcuin's collection *De laude Dei*, however, preserves verses of four anonymous rhythmical hymns, whose texts may now be consulted as follows: (1) MGH PLAC IV, 453 (no. 12 [diplo-

matic text]; cf. *CPL*¹, p. 452 [ante no. 1370]; not in *Frede*⁴); (2) *ibid.* 491–5 (no. 13; not in *CPL*¹; *Frede*⁴, p. 687, item POE Mer [no. 13]); (3) *ibid.* 507–10 (no. 17; *CPL*¹, p. 496 [no. 1522a]; *Frede*⁴, as cited [no. 17]), and (4) *ibid.* 512–14 (no. 19; *CPL*¹, as cited [no. 1523]; *Frede*⁴, as cited [no. 19]). Lapidge suggests that these rhythmical hymns deserve consideration in connection with Bede's explicit statement that he composed hymns *diverso rythmo*—none of which has ever been identified reliably. Bede includes an unattributed extract from the third of these hymns as an illustrative example at *De arte metrica* xxiv (CCSL 123A, 139); the second and third treat the Judgment Day theme; and the third and fourth are abecedarian compositions, thus exhibiting a form employed by Bede in one of his reliably attributed poems, the fifty-four-line (twenty-seven-couplet) abecedarian *Hymnus in Æthelbrytham reginam* in elegiac verse, included at *HE* IV.xx(xviii) (noted in *CPL*¹ at p. 452 [ante no. 1370] but not at pp. 454–5 [no. 1375]). But none of these rhythmical compositions is ever attributed to Bede outright in a manuscript and Lapidge leaves the question of their authorship open.

Elsewhere, the discussion in *Bede the Poet* includes valuable comments on the use of hymns in the celebration of canonical hours in seventh- and eighth-century England. Lapidge notes that the *Carmen rhythmicum*, whose attribution to Aldhelm is now seemingly incontrovertible (see notice of Orchard, above), provides clear evidence for the antiphonal singing of hymns in the Divine Office by "two standing ranks" (*binis stantes classibus* [see lines 127–30, at 127]) in seventh-century Anglo-Saxon England. Bede's authentic hymns seem to have been intended to supplement the sixteen hymns of the Canterbury "Old Hymnal" (see *CPL*¹, p. 658 [no. 2010b], and cf. *ibid.* pp. 657–8 [no. 2008]), known at Wearmouth–Jarrow by the late seventh century. His additions will have been especially useful in remedying deficiencies in the existing hymnal with regard to celebrations of church holidays and saints' feasts, which were proliferating during this period. At least one authentic hymn by Bede (printed by Cassander but not cited in *De laude Dei*; see *Frede*⁴, p. 318, item BED hy [no. 6]), on the Ascension, found its way into the Frankish "New Hymnal," probably compiled in the early ninth century (*CPL*¹, p. 658 [no. 2009]).

Lapidge concludes his Jarrow Lecture with a discussion of two versions of Bede's 979-line hexameter poem on the life of Cuthbert (*CPL*¹, p. 456 [no. 1380]). (The discovery of the earlier version, composed c. 705, was published by Lapidge in 1989; see *OEN* 24.2 [1991], 41.) Lapidge maintains that the *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica* is best regarded in some measure as a non-narrative composition whose compressed diction (illustrated here by the example of a miracle involving a divinely supplied meal of fish-flesh) is intended to encourage meditation on the verse. Bede's hexameters are metrically superb and (as noted above in the notice of Orchard's book) they contrast with Aldhelm's verse in their preference for dactylic rhythm and moderate use of elision as well as their avoidance of hiatus. Favored sources include Vergil, Juvenius,

Sedulius, and Arator. Lapidge's lecture would thus appear to address the whole body of verse whose ascription to Bede is generally accepted, with only a few exceptions: (1) a twenty-six-line (thirteen-couplet) poem in elegiac verse, known as *Oratio ad Deum* (Fraipont's *Hymnus* xv; also in PLS 4, col. 2237; see *CPL*, p. 453 [no. 1373]), whose recovery by Wilhelm Meyer occasioned one of the great feats of textual reconstruction to occur in the present century—Meyer unscrambled the elegiacs of the *Oratio* out of two nonsensical batches of lines transmitted in manuscript as separate "poems" (*NachrGött* 1912, 228–35)—even if the poem's authorship deserves further attention; (2) three single-line *fragmenta* of psalmodic renditions printed as Fraipont's *Hymnus* xix (CCSL 122, 451; also in PLS 4, col. 2235; see *CPL*, p. 453 [no. 1373a]); and some previously noted items: (3) the poem in elegiacs in the prose life of Cuthbert; (4) the poem in elegiacs entitled *Oratio Bedae presbiteri* in the Fleury Prayerbook; (5) the abecedarian *Hymnus in Æthelthrytham reginam* in elegiacs; and (6) the centonized *Collectio psalterii*. Orchard's recent findings (see notice above), moreover, suggest to me that the putatively Bedan verse of the *Epitaphium Wilfridi*, at *HE* V.xx, which exhibits elision nearly three times as often as Bede's verifiable hexameters, may now be excluded permanently from the Bedan canon (cf. *CPL*, pp. 441 [no. 1330], and 452 [ante no. 1370]). In sum, Lapidge's lecture—notable both for its clarity and its cautious scholarly method—may serve as a benchmark for any future evaluation of the Bedan poetic corpus.

In a second recent study of Bede's poetry ("Bedas Hymnus über das Sechstageswerk und die Weltalter," in *Anglo-Saxonica: Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der englischen Sprache und zur altenglischen Literatur—Festschrift für Hans Schabram zum 65. Geburtstag*, ed. Klaus R. Grinda and Claus-Dieter Wetzel [Munich: Fink, 1993], pp. 53–73), Fidel Rädle has issued a three-manuscript edition and German translation of the substantial (twenty-eight-stanza) hymn *De opere sex dierum primordialium* (edited by Fraipont as Bede's *Hymnus* i [CCSL 122, 407–11]; incipit "Primo Deus caeli globum"). The hymn is composed in eight-syllable iambic dimeters arranged in four-line Ambrosian strophes, where repeated (or "echoic") lines occurring in adjacent stanzas serve to establish pairs of epanaleptic or "bound" strophes. (This occurs in stanzas 3–18 but not in stanzas 1–2 or 19–28.) Rädle's edition also takes account of readings printed in 1556 by Georg Cassander (on the basis of the report of a lost manuscript mentioned above, in the notice of Lapidge's *Bede the Poet*), as well as the textual criticism of Fraipont, G. M. Dreves, J. Szövérfy, and (especially) Walther Bulst.

Rädle asserts that it is the unique distinction of this composition to have been directly associated with Bede's hymnody in a letter from Alcuin to Arno of Salzburg (Alcuin, *Epistola* CCLIX, as ed. at MGH ECA II, 417 [no. 259]). The letter summarizes the contents of a hastily assembled devotional handbook (*libellus manualis*) which Alcuin has dispatched to his correspondent, whose miscellaneous contents—various prayers, psalms, hymns, and passages of religious prose—clearly

bear comparison with those preserved in Alcuin's extant but inedited florilegium *De laude Dei*, whose Bamberg witness, cited above, preserves an excerpt (at 150vb–151ra) of the hymn edited here. The manuscript which emerges (with Cassander's printed text) as the main source for the text edited here—Cologne, Dombibliothek, 106 (Werden, s. ix in. [after 809]), on 45r–v—also contains a similar assortment of texts and, in the nineteenth century, was even identified as the very handbook described by Alcuin. (Although this identification is no longer credible, Bernhard Bischoff concluded in 1965 that Cologne 106 nevertheless preserves a copy of a collection founded on "eine Sammlung Alkuins.") As Rädle does not reproduce in full the Latin text supporting Alcuin's supposed authentication of the ascription to Bede, that text may be cited here: "Est quoque in eo libello psalterium parvum, quod dicitur beati Bedae presbyteri psalterium, quem ille collegit per versus dulces in laude Dei et orationibus per singulos psalmos iuxta Hebraicam veritatem. Est quoque hymnus pulcherrimus de sex dierum opere et de sex aetatibus mundi. Est et in eo [sc. the *libellus manualis*] epistola de confessione, quam fecimus ad infantes et pueros." Clearly the direct ascription to Bede which Rädle detects depends on a particular interpretation of the two clauses beginning with the words "Est quoque . . .," which may seem ambiguous. (Compare the translation by S. Allott, which reads in part: "[I have sent you . . .] also a small psalter, said to be the psalter of the blessed priest Bede . . . also a fine hymn on the six days of creation and the six ages of the world," citing Allott's *Alcuin of York* [1974], 148 [no. 146].) Arguably, Alcuin is saying that the *hymnus pulcherrimus* is not in fact part of the *psalterium Bedae*.

Any doubt about the hymn's authenticity, however, should be removed by the ascription of the hymn to Bede in Cologne 106 and by the same ascription supplied credibly by Cassander with his printed text—and also by Rädle's own incisive analysis, which adduces parallels for the content of all of the hymn's strophes in Bede's *DTR* viii, x, lxvi, lxvii, and lxxi. The publication of *DTR* in 725 thus establishes a *terminus post quem* for the composition of the hymn. Rädle characterizes the hymn as a didactic vehicle, reproducing technical matter presented in Bede's scientific discourse in an easily remembered form, similar to that effected by Ambrose in a famous hymn on Creation, *Aeterne rerum conditor*, which parallels matter set out in the prose of the same author's *Hexaemeron*. Strikingly, Bede's *Hymnus* i and *DTR* both expound a scheme involving *eight* ages of the world rather than the familiar *six* ages erroneously cited in the title given in Cologne 106; in a title preceding a late, inferior copy of the hymn in Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, 1743 (Salzburg, s. xii), on 93v–94v—whose origin at Salzburg may put us in mind of Alcuin's correspondent Arno; and even by Alcuin himself in his letter to Arno! From a textual standpoint, Rädle's edition of the hymn should wholly supersede Fraipont's CCSL text, which included five dubious strophes from Vienna 1743 (not found in Cologne 106 or Cassander and printed by Rädle in

an appendix), whose authenticity was vigorously challenged in a review by Bulst, along with other doubtful readings admitted by Fraipont but now eliminated by Rädle. Rädle's commentary and notes also resolve questions raised by H. L. C. Tristram concerning the Bedan affinities of the hymn's content and by Szövérfy concerning the artistic integrity of the authentic strophes, which, as has been noted, use the "binding" device of repeated lines in adjacent strophes—but only in the treatments of the six days of Creation and the first day of rest, conveying an impression of disunity. Rädle's apparatus would have benefited from an enumeration of verbal parallels with Bede's other verifiable hymns and his notes might have addressed the substantial tradition of pseudo-Bedan versifications based on Bede's scientific works, involving such spurious poems as the so-called *De duodecim signis zodiaci*, (pseudo-) *Dionysius de annis*, and "*Manfredi*" *carmina* (for which see Jones, *Beda's Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 79 and 92–3), all of which are based on *DTR*.

One additional item attesting to Bede's influence as an authority on metrical composition may be noted briefly. A recent source-study by Bengt Löfstedt ("Cruindmelus: Studien zu Quellen und Parallelen," *Eranos* 92 [1994], 46–51) treats the *Ars metrica* of the Irish *peregrinus* and sometime poet Cruindmáel (first half of the ninth century [i.e., c. 800 x 820?]; cf. Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*, p. 176 [nos. 668–9]). Löfstedt's research greatly augments the nineteenth- and early twentieth-century investigations of Huemer and Manitius, particularly with respect to the grammarian's use of Aldhelm and Bede. Although Jean Chatillon argued in 1955 that Cruindmáel's parallels with Aldhelm (mainly involving Aldhelm's treatise *De metris*) reflect the common use of a lost insular source, Löfstedt proves here that the line of transmission from Aldhelm to Cruindmáel is direct. The Hiberno-Latin treatise thus contains some substantial, continuous witnesses to the transmission of Aldhelm's metrical writings. But Bede's *De arte metrica* is the most heavily cited source overall, providing an intermediary channel, Löfstedt shows, for many of Cruindmáel's illustrative citations of early medieval poetry.

A 302-page book addressing Bede's treatment of the miraculous was issued in 1994 by William D. McCready, who considers whether "Bede himself accepted as factually true whatever he chose to include in his [historiographical] narrative," including miracle-stories (*Miracles and the Venerable Bede*, Stud. and Texts 118 [Toronto: Pontifical Inst. of Med. Stud., 1994]). McCready concludes, in part, that "Bede believed that the universe designed and called into being by the Creator was an orderly place, one in which the causes of phenomena could be investigated and explained in rational terms," but also one in which the "same phenomena treated by science could be viewed from a theological perspective and seen as instruments in the hands of Providence. They were also subject to the more direct divine intervention that resulted in miraculous suspensions of the natural order." The conclusions set out here by McCready bear comparison with those

advanced in his previous book, *Signs of Sanctity* (1989), on the function of miracles in the writings of Gregory I, where it is argued that although miracle-stories "are vehicles by which Gregory intends to convey lessons of a doctrinal or moral nature," it should not be inferred that "the empirical status of these tales can safely be ignored, or that Gregory was engaging in a kind of moralizing, historical fiction Whatever we may think of the historicity of Gregory's miracle stories . . . , Gregory himself believed them, and intended his readers to believe them as well." There can be no doubt that Bede knew Gregory's works at first hand and was influenced by his treatment of the miraculous, but he differed from his predecessor, McCready maintains, in that on one occasion at least, to be considered below, he allowed literary concerns to shape his narrative.

In reviewing these questions, McCready's far-ranging study adduces some telling examples drawn from Bede's prose (including *HE*, the prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, *Historia abbatum*, as well as a wide range of exegetical and scientific works). In the treatise *De natura rerum*, for example, Bede discusses the natural causes of storms—such as "aqueous particles coming into contact with igneous particles"—but he then goes on to discuss the interpretation of storms occurring out of season as signs. Worldly events, for Bede, are thus open both to empirical investigation and to figural interpretation. He views the history of human events in much the same way. For example, Bede sees the Britons' decision to invite the Saxons to their island not only as a reflection of a political consensus reached through due process but also as a manifestation of divine will. McCready deduces that Bede sees historical events as metaphors, and his world-view allows him to "read" events in a manner similar to texts. In general, the operation of the divine is crucial to Bede's schematization of the miraculous. Saints have no supernatural efficacy of their own, but rather serve as conduits for divine power; only Christ directly controls his own miracles. Human illness is almost always divinely inflicted and cured in Bede's narratives. The author manifests only a limited conception of natural illness and has small faith in medical cures. McCready vigorously opposes the view that Bede saw hagiography and historiography as constituting two essentially separate genres. In the listing of his own works near the end of *HE* (at V.xxiv), Bede treats the *vitae* of Felix, Anastasius, and Cuthbert; *Historia abbatum*; and (crucially) *HE* itself as a single group. Against Colgrave, Mayr-Harting, Bolton, and others, McCready argues that Bede sees only one genre here: *historia*.

Bede consistently stresses the historicity of ancient miracles. In discussing Lot's wife, he notes that in the time of Josephus her pillar of salt could still be seen. Regarding Paul's statement that he spent a day and a night in the depths of the sea (II Cor. XI.25), Bede maintains that there is no figural language here—the apostle was fully submerged underwater for the indicated period. Defending the miraculous nature of the darkness descending at the moment of the Crucifixion in a scientific work (*DTR*), Bede (following

Jerome) notes that the event could not have been a solar eclipse, as no such eclipse can occur when the moon is full, as it is at Passover. Addressing Bede's belief in modern miracles, McCreehy maintains that elements of the miraculous are present in *Historia abbatum* to a greater extent than is commonly supposed and that the work as a whole conforms to the providential scheme sketched out above. Bede was an eyewitness to many of the events described in *Historia abbatum*, and he simply does not have any major miracles to report. Bede's apparent diminution of a miracle in one of his sources, the anonymous *Vita S. Ceolfrithi*, a miracle involving an appearance of lights at the moment of Ceolfrith's death, arises out of his desire to effect a stylistic homogeneity in the work—and, McCreehy demonstrates, Bede does in fact reproduce some of the language of the supposedly suppressed miracle-story. In his *Homiliae* on the gospels and *Commentarius in Cantica canticorum* Bede clearly refers to the persistence of contemporary miracles. He even views them as superior to biblical miracles, since they restore souls and not merely bodies.

In a chapter discussing "The Purpose of Miracle," McCreehy acknowledges the importance of apologetics in the emergence of ancient miracle-stories for purposes of substantiating the claims of the new faith and of stimulating the acceptance of its tenets among recent converts. Beyond this, "their role was to shock, to stupefy, to charge with awe, and hence to produce a cast of mind receptive to the Christian message." This consideration was of greater concern to Gregory, for whom encouragement to conversion was a continuing necessity. But McCreehy, in a substantial discussion of Anglo-Saxon paganism and syncretism, concludes that the promotion of an apologetic message by way of miracle-stories was a somewhat less urgent desideratum by Bede's time. By and large, Bede's miracles are intended to elicit veneration in a contemplative setting and not to promote active imitation. This is especially clear in the cases of miracles involving mortification of the flesh, which McCreehy sees as emanating from a wholly non-Gregorian, predominantly Celtic tradition. Bede also diverges from Gregory in his occasional attributions of efficacy in the performance of miracles to evildoers, ranging from minor instances of demonic sleight-of-hand to the anticipated miracles of the Antichrist.

In his chapter "Bede and the Hagiographical Tradition," McCreehy notes that Bede, similar to Gregory, records only one miracle which he has experienced at first hand. While singing the praise of St. Cuthbert, Bede tells us (in the prose preface to the *Vita S. Cuthberti metrica*), he once experienced a miraculous cure of a malady oppressing his tongue. All other miracles reported in the Bedan canon derive from eyewitness reports or hearsay. Bede is sufficiently concerned about his diligence in the citation of sources to insert admonitions to future copyists in the prologues of both the *Commentarius in Lucam* and *Commentarius in Marcum* to preserve his marginal references to sources. Of the total of seventy-six miracle-stories which McCreehy finds in *HE*, fifty-three percent overall

advert to a specific source (whether named or not). The frequency of citations rises incrementally throughout the work, and in Book V of *HE* McCreehy finds that fully seventy-seven percent of Bede's miracles are "sourced." But, for McCreehy, such allusions create their own set of problems insofar as the diction of hagiographical appeals to the authority of credible witnesses is often formulaic. He sees the literary overtones of such statements as suspect, especially with regard to the historical veracity of the events which they claim to substantiate. Moreover, McCreehy feels that any outright borrowing of miracles in saints' lives would amount to historiographical fraud. Problematically, he detects possible examples of such borrowing in Bede's prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, which exhibits parallels with both the *Vita S. Wilfridi* ascribed to Stephen of Ripon and the *Vita S. Columbae* of Adomnán. In one such case, Bede himself appears to be blameless, since the borrowing may have occurred during the composition of an earlier, anonymous *vita* of Cuthbert, which is Bede's immediate source here. But in another case, dual accounts of miracles in which barley sown late in the season produces bumper crops suggest that "[q]uite possibly Bede has borrowed from Adomnán." Moreover, parallels evinced by miracles involving a *gesith* named Hemma in the anonymous *Vita S. Cuthberti* (IV.iii; reproduced in Bede's prose *vita* of Cuthbert at ch. xxix) and a *gesith* named Puch in *HE* (V.iv)—both of whose wives take ill and are cured by the intercession of a saint—suggest that Bede may have recast at least one miracle drawn from his own works. McCreehy's most telling example, however, involves three successive chapters of *HE* (V.xii–xiv) whose miraculous narratives parallel both the substance and the sequence of miracles in Gregory's *Dialogi* IV.xxxvii–xl. McCreehy is unable to account for these parallels by any means other than literary borrowing and is forced to conclude that Bede here "fashion[s] a narrative from which his contemporaries could derive spiritual benefit." For McCreehy, such borrowing, however rare, impinges on the veracity of Bede's historiographical narratives.

Appropriately enough, McCreehy follows these insights with a chapter entitled "*Vera lex historiae*," containing an analysis of Bede's own description of himself as *verax historicus* (*HE* IV.xix[xvii]) and a discussion of his appropriation of Jerome's notion of *vera lex historiae* (explicitly cited by Bede in his *Commentarius in Lucam*). Contrary to what might be expected, the latter phrase refers most often to public opinion, the *fama vulgans* for which the common but erroneous view of Joseph as the biological father of Christ provides a *locus classicus*—a view of *historia*, in other words, as something closer to the modern notion of "story" or even "hearsay" than to historiography as such. In general, Bede allows himself the unverified use of the *opinio vulgi* only where primary or corroborating evidence is wholly lacking—a common strategy countenanced even in classical rhetorical treatises. In the prefaces of both *HE* and his prose *Vita S. Cuthberti*, however, Bede claims to have checked the veracity of his sources wherever possible. He defends himself against

blame only for errors of which he is unaware. Bede did allow himself one specific license as an historian, McCready shows. He explicitly reserved the right to "suppress . . . details that, if included, could have created a different impression of the events in question" without incurring any culpability for prevarication. In his *Commentarius in Genesim* iii, Bede actually goes so far as to argue systematically that "[l]ying is to be distinguished from withholding some portion of the truth, even if the result is to mislead." But the appearance of Bede's *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum*, wherein he acknowledges and corrects errors in his earlier *Expositio Actuum apostolorum*, shows, McCready feels, that he was *prima facie* neither willing to sacrifice factual veracity to a higher (moral) purpose nor to pass on uncritically what was popularly held to be true.

In another 1994 study addressing Bede's handling of miracle-stories, Willard W. Dickerson, III, confronts many of the same issues treated in McCready's book, if (perforce) in a less thoroughgoing fashion, and reaches strikingly similar conclusions ("Bede as Literary Architect of the English Church: another Look at Bede's Use of Hagiography in the *Historia ecclesiastica*," *Amer. Benedictine Rev.* 45 [1994], 93–105). Dickerson compares *HE* to a "literary cathedral" in which historical events provide a foundation and miracle-stories serve as adornments. Nevertheless, Dickerson maintains, there can be no doubt that Bede believed in the miracles of the Bible and of his own time. Influenced by Eusebius and Augustine, he viewed history as a product of God's personal authorship, containing its own types and figures, and thus susceptible to exegesis comparable to that commonly performed on the words of the Bible. Drawing on a close examination of Bede's account of King Edwin's conversion (*HE* II.ix-xiv), Dickerson concludes that Bede "meant to teach us something about the cosmos; but he did this by examining the microcosm."

In a third 1994 publication discussing (among other issues) Bede's treatment of the miraculous, Henry Mayr-Harting considers whether the prevalence of miracles in *HE* as against *Historia abbatum* indicates that Bede simply viewed miracles as a "sop" to the popular tastes of a segment of his audience ("Bede's Patristic Thinking as an Historian," in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, Veröffentlichungen des Instituts für Österreichische Geschichtsforschung 32 [Vienna: Oldenbourg, 1994], pp. 367–74). Mayr-Harting concludes that Bede believed in miracles, but followed Gregory I in reserving them for particular audiences. He cites a passage in Gregory's *Homiliae in Evangelia* (at PL 76, col. 1110) explaining that the Magi followed a star because, as Gentiles, they were better equipped to interpret signs, whereas the shepherds, as Jews, might well respond to the announcement of a rational creature—that is, an angel. The well-educated monks of Wearmouth–Jarrow, some of them Bede's own pupils, thus did not require the signs of miracle-stories but rather the rational discourse we find in *Historia abbatum*. In other discussion, Mayr-Harting considers the reasons for Bede's inclusion of precisely seven names in his list of early rulers who

held the *imperium* south of the Humber (who are associated with the term *bretwalda* only in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, Mayr-Harting is careful to note). Mayr-Harting cites the seven days of Creation and God's rest; the seven years of Solomon's temple-building (III Kings VI.38); and specific numerological passages in the preface of Gregory's *Moralia in Job* and in Bede's own *De templo* and *Commentarius in Ezram et Neemian*. He also revives questions about the extent of Bede's reading as against that of Aldhelm; about Bede's knowledge of Eusebius's *Historia ecclesiastica* apart from Rufinus's Latin translation and apart from Jerome's summary treatment of Eusebius in his *Chronicon omnimodaie historiae*; and about Bede's extraordinary concern to challenge heretical writings, given the scarcity of heretics active in his milieu. Mayr-Harting concludes, arguing (gently) against Walter Goffart, that Bede inhabited the "world of books" and was "not very interested in kingship as such."

The theory-related arguments are heating up in Bede studies. Addressing the caricature of Bede as a "library-bound" scholar just noted in the précis of Mayr-Harting's article, John McNamara—without denying that this view has much to commend it—emphasizes Bede's active solicitation of oral reports during his preliminary work on *HE* ("Bede's Role in Circulating Legend in the *Historia ecclesiastica*," *ASSAH* 7 [1994], 61–9). Essentially challenging the direction of all research in this area to date, McNamara takes serious issue with findings (and methods) in studies by D. P. Kirby ("Bede's Native Sources for the *Historia ecclesiastica*," *Bull. of the John Rylands Lib.* 48 [1966], 341–71), Martine Irvine (1986; see *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 103), and Gail Ivy Berlin ("Bede's Miracle Stories: Notions of Evidence and Authority in Old English History," *Neophilologus* 74 [1990], 434–43—new to *OEN*). McNamara maintains that recent scholarship addressing the oral dimension of Bede's achievement has been characterized by undue emphases on the "truth value" of oral sources, on a false dichotomy that has been drawn between "élite" and "folk" cultures, and on the supposedly substantial alterations undergone by (originally oral) narratives in the course of their transformation into (written) "texts." Bede scholars have thus failed to reap the benefits of modern approaches developed by leading exponents of folklore studies—approaches in some cases nearly three decades old—which treat oral narratives as sources performed by a community of narrators. What is at issue here is a process of storytelling, characterized by a "flowing together" of popular and official cultures. "Rhetorical interactions" here reflect "the range and complexity with which the oral and the written interact." As Linda Dégh has demonstrated in a series of publications going back to 1969, issues of truth and untruth should be subordinated to issues of credibility, that is, what storytellers and their audiences believe to be true. For his part, Bede—indicating his use of oral sources by means of words and phrases such as *narrantur*, *ostenditur*, "multi alii . . .," and "referre erat solitus . . ."—does not simply "write" his oral sources into the domain of official exemplars ("what is in current jargon called 'textuality,'" McNamara

protests, perhaps a bit harshly). Rather, Bede engaged in "a communal process of sharing oral narratives," in which he actually contributed to the shape of such narratives by the choice of questions he asked interlocutors during preliminary work on *HE*. Far from "closing" the interpretation of a particular narrative with "textual authority," he provides matter for future oral traditions in his written reports. Bede, in the end, is a practitioner of legend in *HE*, wherein, "as a fluid form, the legend takes life in the dialogic, communal process of story-telling and memory-sharing."

In another recent application of advances in contemporary critical theory to the Bedan canon, Clare A. Lees and Gillian R. Overing convey a grim impression of the status of women in early Anglo-Saxon Christian culture, issuing a study that is concerned, as well, with the marginalization of Anglo-Saxon women by eighth- and ninth-century Latin authors—and also by twentieth-century critics ("Birthing Bishops and Fathering Poets: Bede, Hild, and the Relations of Cultural Production," *Exemplaria* 6 [1994], 35–65). Offering "a different model for future feminist scholarship," the authors stress that Hild's marginal role in Bede's account of Cædmon figures in a "patriarchal myth of the origins of Old English poetry . . . a patriarchal myth of literary creation which imitates the first Christian myth." Although well-placed women in monastic culture were "instrumental in promoting their patriarchal religion," even the efforts of successful aristocrats such as Hild, Ælfflæd, and (later) Edith of Wilton and Æthelthryth of Ely were "clearly coopted in the service of the patriarchy." Although I have run the risk with this choice of quotations of making this long and complex article appear repetitive and heavy-handed, my own view is that the emphasis of the authors is entirely justified with respect to the patriarchal hegemony which remained in force throughout the Anglo-Saxon period, and which may be seen especially clearly in the early centuries. Simply no other conclusion is possible in addressing a period in which the law-codes most frequently concerned with women's affairs (notably those of Æthelberht I) treated women almost invariably as property, often property of the king; in which the neuter plural *goda* (originally connected with the pagan Germanic pantheon) had recently been reinvented as a masculine singular (*God*); and in which the hierarchy of clerical positions outside of the monastic sphere was wholly dominated by male ecclesiastics. Clearly the study of Lees and Overing embodies a plausible corrective to the relatively bright picture drawn recently by Jane Tibbetts Schulenburg, who sees an early Anglo-Saxon era in which "[f]emale religious were accepted as partners, friends, sisters, and collaborators in the faith." As is true with many "Golden Age" formulations, this view seems reasonable from a retrospective standpoint—here that of the confiscations and enclosures to which women were subjected in the central and later Middle Ages. But Lees and Overing seem to suspect that Schulenburg's case may be slightly overstated.

The two main examples considered here by Lees and Overing involve the omission by Bede of the name of Hild

(identified only by her institutional title, *abbatissa*) in the account of Cædmon in *HE* IV (termed here "the book of female abbesses") and the omission of the name of Osburh, anonymous *mater* of the young Alfred in Asser's well-known account of the prized book of Old English poems. Discussing gendered cultural activities with respect to means and agents of production (labor power, institutions, etc.), the authors observe that "Bede (the man) fathers Cædmon (poets/poetry/sons) while Hild (the woman) mothers bishops/men." Lees and Overing are careful to note that they are "not concerned with chastising Bede, critics, or historians for selective amnesia or partial recall," but their study asks many hard questions that some scholars will find unsettling. Kevin S. Kiernan, Martin Irvine, Michael Lapidge, and Seth Lerer are not chastised, it is true, but they are all charged *nominatim* with partial recall (or the like) at various points—Lerer repeatedly. For my part, I was forced to recognize that even though I had tried recently to rectify Bede's omission of Hild's name by the addition of a bracketed insertion (P. G. R., *Old English Biblical Verse* [1996], p. 40, n. 65), elsewhere, sadly, I maintained Asser's silence regarding Osburh (*ibid.*, p. 32). As Lees and Overing note, contemporary critical treatments of Asser's anecdote rare⁷ suggest that Alfred's mother even had a name!

The authors acknowledge that their study raises as many difficult issues as it resolves. I hope that my genuine enthusiasm for the tenor of the argumentation offered here will not seem to diminish if I record a few of the questions which remained when I had finished this article. First, is the *mater* of Asser's account properly to be identified as Osburh, biological mother of King Alfred, rather than (say) as a fictive mother-figure in a rather fanciful work of royal biography? The same issue arises in the case of Hild, but here we have to reckon with some specific literary-critical and historical arguments (published by Margaret Goldsmith, D. N. Dumville, and others) asserting that the identification of Cædmon as the first Christian poet and even his assignment to the time of Hild's tenure as abbess of Whitby are modern critical inferences; strictly speaking, the account in *HE* is ambiguous on both points. Similarly, the point raised here about Hild's conjectured major role in the Synod of Whitby and Bede's supposed suppression thereof rests on the modern identification of *Streoneshalh* as Whitby, and even this received conclusion has been challenged recently (see *OEN* 28.2 [1995], p. 58). Elsewhere, Lees and Overing seem to accept that the Old English composition now known as *Cædmon's Hymn* was in fact composed before Bede's time by an oral poet named Cædmon, an assumption crucial to their points about Bede's suppression of Cædmon's vernacular artistry with his introduction of a Latin paraphrase and the subsequent attempts by marginal annotators of *HE* to "recuperate the poem linguistically for the vernacular." (See now Andy Orchard's "Poetic Inspiration and Prosaic Translation: The Making of *Cædmon's Hymn*," in *Studies in English Language and Literature*, ed. M. J. Toswell and E. M. Tyler [1996], pp. 402–22.) Finally, positing a binarism in Bede's narrative "between the old (the Ger-

manic or British illiterate laborer, Cædmon [reviewer's italics]) and the new (the Christian scholar, Bede)," are Lees and Overing themselves devoid of the sort of attitudinal bias they seem to attribute to Bede in his characterization of the orally improfluent laborer Cædmon (before his monastic profession), whom they have previously termed a "swineherd-turned-poet" (itself a substantial error of "partial recall" both in terms of Northumbrian land-economy and the connotations of cow and pig in Bede's association of Cædmon's *ruminatio* with Mosaic Law)? I hasten to acknowledge, however, that in every one of these cases (except, perhaps, the last) the assumptions of Lees and Overing are in line with the consensus of modern scholarship. The article as a whole may be taken as an illustration of the difficulty of producing advanced, theoretically informed criticism that addresses the texts of the earliest, most badly attested centuries of the Anglo-Saxon period without, of necessity, founding hypotheses on other hypotheses. (I would like to thank Laurie Finke for helpful discussion of some of these problems; the opinions expressed are entirely my own.)

Bede's problematic treatment of the Jutes (*Iutae*) in *HE* I.xv and IV.xvi(xiv) comes under fire from two directions in a recent article by Harald Kleinschmidt ("Bede and the Jutes: a Critique of Historiography," *NOWELE: North-Western European Language Evolution* 24 [1994], 21-46). Generally, Kleinschmidt disputes the notion that the *Iutae* ever constituted a homogeneous, migrating *gens* comparable, say, to the *Angli*. Specifically, he takes issue with J. N. L. Myres's contention "that the 'Jutes' came from Jutland . . . [and] that they migrated to the British Isles through the lands of the Frisians." The evidence of placenames in Sussex, Berkshire, and southern Hampshire points to a continental group known as the Euts, centering in the area of the Rhine river valley; and various placenames in Kent show associations with other locales in the Rhineland, on the Frisian coast of the North Sea, and in Saxon territories—but none whatsoever in Jutland. Kleinschmidt argues that Bede, in a bipartite treatment of Kentish genealogy revolving around Hengest, offers one lineage (extending from Hengest to Æthelberht) that includes names, e.g., Irminricus and Oisc, whose continental connections are predominantly Gothic, and another, chronologically earlier lineage (extending from Woden to Hengest) that includes names evidently drawn from East Anglian genealogies associated with Bede's Wuffingas, whom Kleinschmidt identifies with the Wylfingas mentioned in the poem *Widsith*. Kleinschmidt concludes that Bede was misled by a propagandistic campaign of genealogical forgery occurring under Wihtred, king of Kent (c. 690/2 x 725), wherein some characteristically East Anglian names were altered to new forms so as to hide traces of the fabrication (as in a change of Wuffa to Wittā). Bede's failure to document three generations of powerful religious women associated with the Kentish establishment of Minster-in-Thanet (notably Æbba, Mildreth, and Eangyth) may also reflect misinformation promulgated during the reign of Wihtred, whose father Ecgberht had caused

the murders of Eangyth's grand-uncles Æthelbald and Æthelred. Bede's imprecise allusion to the *Iutae*, for whom he offers no information about a continental homeland comparable in detail to that offered for the Saxons and Angles, thus ultimately reflects his lack of reliable sources for the early Kentish dynasties. Much later, it would encourage the Romanticist view of the Migration Age, promoted by nineteenth- and early twentieth-century philologists, as a succession of coherent tribal movements.

To note one additional item addressing Bede's historiography, Michael Gleason advances some literary insights into *Historia abbatum* and *HE* in an attempt to come to terms with Bede's historiographical effort "to justify the irregular actions of two men whom he knew personally [and] whom he most loved" ("Bede and His Fathers," *Classica et Mediaevalia* 45 [1994], 223-38). The actions at issue are the abdication of Ceolfrith from his position as first abbot of Jarrow and Benedict Biscop's frequent travels abroad when his services were much in demand at the single *monasterium* (Bede's use of the singular is invariable) that joined institutionally the two geographically separated communities at Wearmouth and Jarrow. In the case of Ceolfrith, Bede's solution in *HE* is most direct. He simply does not mention Ceolfrith's resignation or death. In *Historia abbatum*, he quotes from a letter of Hwætberht implying that the ailing, seventy-four-year-old abbot had earned his retirement. In any event, Ceolfrith was busy transporting a lavish Anglo-Saxon Bible to Rome when he died on the road in France. Gleason detects an apt parallel to the situation at the "twinned" institution(s) of Wearmouth-Jarrow in Ceolfrith's death at the so-called Monastery of the Twins (*monasterium geminorum*) at Langres. Benedict Biscop's *vita activa* in large measure afforded his monks their own *vita contemplativa*, and Benedict's deathbed recollection of Matt. XII.25 ("Every kingdom divided against itself shall be brought to desolation . . .") at least implies an awareness of the problems of administration that might have resulted from his "restless absences" (in Walter Goffart's phrase), which he had sought to avoid by the appointment of Eosterwine as co-abbot at Wearmouth. Gleason suggests that Bede, rather than resorting to outright literary fabrication, carefully manipulated his "choice of words [to suit] his choice of incident," supporting this conclusion in an appendix that offers a lexical analysis of Bede's use of the verb *componere* in various hagiographical, typological, and administrative senses.

Bernard P. Robinson has issued a wide-ranging and surprisingly lively review of Bede's biblical commentaries ("The Venerable Bede as Exegete," *Downside Rev.* 112 [1994], 201-26), which surveys each exegetical work in turn and records Robinson's main impressions arising out of what appears to have been an extended course of reading. Robinson begins by noting that Bede's predominantly Alexandrian interpretative mode is often characterized as exemplifying a fourfold approach to the explication of scripture, but that at various points Bede expounds threefold and twofold interpretations as well. The Song of Songs, for Bede, in fact has *no* literal sense—

manifesting only spiritual and tropological levels. Noting the frequently overlooked "homely" character of some of Bede's exegesis, Robinson cites an example in which "the bride [of Song VIII.1] says, 'If only you were to me like a brother nursed at my mother's breast . . .'" Insisting on the verse's literally implausible and thus exclusively allegorical meaning, Bede asks, "What woman . . . ever wished her lover to be a baby again?" (Robinson's paraphrase). (Robinson cites further discussion of Bede's *Commentarius in Cantica canticorum* by E. Ann Matter, *The Voice of My Beloved: The Song of Songs in Western Medieval Christianity*, Middle Ages Ser. [Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press, 1990], pp. 97-101—new to *OEN*.) Other homely details include Bede's exposition of Luke XVII.6 (" . . . one's faith must be like a grain of mustard seed"), which notes that ground mustard mixed with honey produces a gargle good for congestion—and so faith helps to rid the faithful of "the phlegm of sin"; a discussion of Genesis IV which asks why the birds in the Ark simply did not fly away and ponders the disposal of the animals' collective waste; and the outright humor Robinson detects in a passage treating the rededication of the Second Temple of Solomon, which occurs "not in the autumn [as did the original dedication] but [Bede says,] 'on the twenty-fifth day of the ninth month, our December—which none can doubt to be part of winter.'" Noting some arguably far-fetched examples of Bedan typology, Robinson discusses a treatment of Num. XIII.24-5, where two men carrying a cluster of grapes on a pole are said by Bede to betoken the preachers of the Old and New Covenants. Robinson wonders: "Are we really being asked to believe that God so stage-managed history that he made two men in the thirteenth century BC chance to walk along a certain road with a bunch of grapes, just so that, more than a thousand years later, the episode could be seen as a foreshadowing?" Robinson also includes valuable discussion of Bede's treatment of Pelagianism; prose texts of the daily office; wordplay; and imagery associated with the Ascension.

Arthur G. Holder's recent series of articles on Bede's exegesis of sacred architecture, notably in *De tabernaculo* and *De templo*, has been rounded out nicely by the appearance of a full translation of the former work (Bede, *On the Tabernacle*, tr. Holder, *Translated Texts for Historians* 18 [Liverpool: Liverpool Univ. Press, 1994]). (For notices of three of Holder's previous studies, see *OEN* 24.2 [1991], 41-2, and 26.2 [1993], 65, to be supplemented by his "Bede and the Tradition of Patristic Exegesis," *Anglican Theol. Rev.* 72 [1990], 399-411, and "The Mosaic Tabernacle in Early Christian Exegesis," *Studia Patristica* 25 [1993], 101-6 [both new to *OEN*].) The translation is accompanied by valuable indices treating biblical, classical, and patristic sources, indices which may serve to refine the apparatus of Hurst's edition of *De tabernaculo* (CCSL 119A, 3-139). Holder is particularly circumspect regarding passages cited by Hurst from Origen and Isidore, for which he detects no compelling verbal parallels, but he is expansive in his treatment of Bede's knowledge of Josephus (whom Bede evidently consulted in the Latin trans-

lation made at Vivarium), the treatise *De duodecim gemmis* of Epiphanius (which Bede also knew in Latin translation, specifically the version that Peter Kitson has shown to have been consulted for his *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*), and various traditions arising out of a body of Greek-language exegesis that includes the writings of Clement of Alexandria and the *Topographia Christiana* ascribed to Cosmas Indicopleustes. In his treatment of sources composed in Latin, Holder's most detailed comments illuminate Bede's debts to works by Jerome and Gregory I. Several notes address Bede's knowledge of Old Latin scripture as well as variant readings in the Vulgate tradition associated with the Codex Amiatinus (esp. pp. 20 and 144; cf. also p. 92). Holder also includes detailed notes summarizing architectural references appearing elsewhere in Bede's own writings. Incorporating citations from Neil R. Ker's review of Laistner's *Hand-List* (*MÆ* 13 [1944], 36-41), Holder offers a thorough discussion of the fortunes of *De tabernaculo* after Bede's death, recording ninth-century copies of the work produced at Fleury, Saint-Martin at Tours, Sankt Emmeram, Sankt Gallen, Lorsch, Würzburg, and Freising, as well as contemporaneous secondary citations by Amalarius of Metz and Hrabanus Maurus. The absorption of much of the commentary into the *Glossa ordinaria* complicates the identification of firsthand citations in the central Middle Ages, but the *Allegoriae super tabernaculum Moysi* of Peter of Poitiers and *De tabernaculo libri duo* of Peter of Celle appear to depend directly on Bede's work, whereas the *Expositio difficultatum suborientium in expositione tabernaculi foederis* of Richard of Saint-Victor systematically treats topics overlooked by Bede. Beyond Bede's monastic audience, Holder sees *De tabernaculo* as intended to suit the needs of preachers, educators, and secular ecclesiastics involved in the ministrations of pastoral care. The commentary here treats numerous issues relating to catechesis and baptism (as at pp. 96, 101, 103, 130, 143, and 157), notably the commonplace of the "opening of the ears" and various gestural practices including the signing of the Cross, touching of the forehead, and finger-counting. In one of his more provocative suggestions, Holder maintains that Bede's opening remarks advert to the classical rhetorical traditions of *inventio* and *circumstantiae*. His notes often endeavor to convey rhetorical aspects of Bede's Latin that do not carry over well in an English translation, including some striking uses of rhetorical paronomasia (as in figures involving the paired terms *angulae* and *ansulae*, *virgo* and *virga*, *virgines* and *virtutes*, and *caelibes* and *caelo*). Anagogically, the tabernacle most often emerges as a type of the church militant, whereas the temple anticipates the church triumphant. But Holder is inclined to dispute the modern critical characterization of Bede as an exponent of a fourfold exegetical method (stressing the following senses: [1] historical or literal; [2] allegorical, spiritual, or typological; [3] moral or tropological; and [4] anagogical), even though this commentary is often cited as the *locus classicus* in the medieval development of the fourfold approach. Rather, Holder distinguishes two main senses in Bede's exegesis: the historical (or "literal") sense

and the spiritual (or “allegorical,” “figurative,” “mystical,” “sacramental,” or “typic”) sense.

Rita Copeland, in a study of the “popular polemics of Wycliffite hermeneutics,” situates Bede’s *De schematibus et tropis* at a point midway between late Roman and high medieval theorizations of scriptural symbolism and rhetorical language generally (“Rhetoric and the Politics of the Literal Sense in Medieval Literary Theory: Aquinas, Wyclif, and the Lollards,” in *Interpretation*, ed. Boitani and Torti, pp. 1–23). Citing Armand Strubel’s 1975 study of allegory in Bede (see *OEN* 12.1 [1978], 67), Copeland maintains that allegory, for Bede, constitutes the master trope and that Bede’s exposition of an historical *allegoria in factis* and a purely verbal *allegoria in verbis* represents an elaboration of the Augustinian distinction between *signum proprium* and *signum translatum*, as set out briefly in *De doctrina Christiana* II.x.15. Generally speaking, Bede’s historical allegory subsumes all four major categories in the Alexandrian system of biblical exegesis (identified here as the historical, typological [or “allegorical”], moral, and anagogical senses), whereas verbal allegory properly involves the tropes and figures of classical rhetoric. Bede complicates the issue when he asserts that *allegoria in verbis* may convey figuratively the moral and anagogical senses of scripture. This ambiguity caused consternation among central medieval exegetes such as Hugh of Saint-Victor and Peter of Poitiers, eventually necessitating clarification by Aquinas—followed by the Wycliffites—who held that the words of the Bible *only* pertain to the literal sense. The literal senses of words, however, point to *things*, and these in turn “are ordained to yield up higher truths” in the moral, typological (or “allegorical”), and anagogical senses.

Additional comments on Bede’s hermeneutics appear in a recent article by Michael Richter, who recalls Bede’s well-known indictment of the limits of the Latin language in justifying his decision to reproduce only the sense of the words of Cædmon’s hymn (*HE* IV.xxiv[xxii]: *sensus non autem ordo ipse verborum*) (“Latein als Schlüssel zur Welt des früheren Mittelalters,” *Mittelateinisches Jahrbuch* 28.1 [1993], 15–26). These comments arise in the context of Richter’s discussion of problems facing historians who rely on Latin sources as their “key” to cultures whose primary means of communication remained the vernacular. Richter’s essay, which previously appeared in a Russian version (“Latyn—ključ k ponimaniju mira ranego srednevekov’ja?,” in the collection *Odysseus: Man in History* [Moscow, 1991], pp. 125–36—new to *OEN*), discusses the denotation of the phrases *lingua Latina* and *lingua Romana* on the one hand and *rustica Romana lingua* on the other, thus building on insights set out in his earlier article “*Latina lingua—sacra seu vulgaris?*,” in *The Bible and Medieval Culture*, ed. W. Lourdaux and D. Verhelst (1979), pp. 16–34. Richter includes comments on “rustic” elements in Alcuin’s prose style (citing an article by Michel Banniard, “Théorie et pratique de la langue et du style chez Alcuin: rusticité feinte et rusticité masquée,” *Francia* 13 [1986 for 1985], 579–601—new to *OEN*) and Boniface’s avoidance

of the use of a term such as *civitas* in referring to familiar places such as *Uuirzburg*, *Buraburg*, and *Erpbesfurt* (in his *Epistola* L [MGH ES I, 80]). In a final notice of work on Bede’s biblical exegesis appearing during 1994, an abstract of a recent doctoral dissertation by John William Houghton serves notice of some intriguing conclusions regarding Bede’s exegetical method in *Expositio Actuum apostolorum* and *Retractatio in Actus apostolorum* (“Bede’s Exegetical Theology: Ideas of the Church in the Acts Commentaries of St. Bede the Venerable” [unpub. Ph.D. diss., Univ. of Notre Dame, 1994], abstr. in *DAI* 55A (1994), 613). Concentrating on Bede’s treatment of the Universal Church, Houghton finds that the entity in question, in Bede’s conception, includes (in addition to baptised Christians) righteous personages of the Old Testament as well as virtuous pagans but excludes sinners and, in the period following the Incarnation, heretics and Jews. Bede also champions the efficacy of rituals of the Old Testament for purposes of achieving salvation, here going against Augustinian doctrine. Nevertheless, he employs, by and large, the techniques prescribed in Augustine’s *De doctrina christiana*. As a “pre-critical” reader, Bede does not hesitate to reproduce passages from earlier authorities without acknowledgment, but, Houghton concludes, “these practices in fact constitute a critical approach to the text” that spans Bede’s career. (Houghton dates the works studied here to opposite ends of the period extending from c. 710 to c. 725.) An appendix to Houghton’s dissertation offers a detailed analysis of Bede’s treatment of Acts III.1–IV.22.

The first thirty-six Jarrow Lectures, published as monographs since the inception of the series in 1958, were reissued during 1994 in a comprehensive, 1017-page Variorum edition (*Bede and His World: The Jarrow Lectures 1958–[93]*, pref. Michael Lapidge, 1 vol. in 2 [Aldershot, Hants.: Variorum, 1994]). The reissue extends from Bertram Colgrave’s inaugural lecture, *The Venerable Bede and His Times* (1958), through Paul Meyvaert’s *Bede and Gregory the Great* (1964—the first lecture to include a scholarly apparatus in its published form), and on to Michael Lapidge’s recent *Bede the Poet* (1993; see the notice above). The continuously paginated, two-volume set benefits from an introduction by Lapidge, who notes that the present circumstance that “all of Bede’s exegetical writings—with the regrettable exception of the *Commentarius in Apocalypsim*—are both in print and accessible in machine-readable form on a CD-ROM recently issued by CETEDOC [see notice of Brown, above] . . . means that modern scholars are able to control the writings of Bede in a way that was unimaginable” in 1958. Beyond the cited apocalyptic commentary, Lapidge notes that reliable editions are still needed for Bede’s *Martyrologium*; the recently discovered copy of Bede’s redaction of the Greek-derived *Passio S. Anastasii* (see *OEN* 17.1 [1983], 105); the still-unprinted *Collectio ex opusculis S. Augustini in epistulas Pauli Apostoli* (see above, in notice of Lapidge’s *Bede the Poet*); among other, unspecified, works. (Apart from Bede’s *Quaestiones octo* [i.e., *quaestiones i–viii* of the so-called *Aliquot quaestionum liber*]

and the brief treatises *De mansionibus filiorum Israel* and *De eo quod ait Isaias: "Et claudentur . . ."*, it appears that all other putatively Bedan works that remain accessible primarily in the columns of PL are of dubious authenticity: *In proverbia Salomonis allegoricae interpretationis fragmenta*; *In epistola ad Hebraeos*; *Capitula lectionum in Pentateuchum Moysi, Iosue, Iudicum*; and miscellaneous sermons and *computistica*; see CPL, pp. 447–52, 729, and 736 [nos. 1352, 1361, 1363a, 1364–6, 1368–9, 2283, and 2316] and Frede⁴, pp. 96, 271, 317–20, 322–3, 593, and 784 [items PS-ALC curs, PS-AU s 209; BED frg, Is, man, and q; PS-BED h and Prv; KA c; and VIC-A cal.] Lapidge notes that the Jarrow Lectures have occasioned pivotal contributions to the study of such subjects as pastoral organization and rural life in Northumbria; English–continental, English–Celtic, and English–Pictish relations; northern cults of saints and relics; architecture and archaeology; and palaeography and manuscript studies generally. All of these subjects are accessible by way of an excellent, forty-three-page index compiled by Alicia Corrêa. Regrettably, the standard of production in this Variorum edition is uneven. To my eye, the title pages in both volumes are defective, providing no convenient means of citing the collection as a whole and effectively separating Lapidge's introduction from the second volume, which it in fact covers. Surprisingly, the table of contents does not include the years in which individual lectures were first delivered—the standard means of referring to the Jarrow Lectures in modern scholarly practice, including that observed in Lapidge's introduction. Some minor calculations are required, for example, to determine which scholar is charged with "a substantial number of errors, particularly in respect of manuscript shelf-marks and Old English personal names" in the 1991 lecture. Fortunately, the continuous pagination in these volumes complements, but does not replace, the page-numbers of the original monographs, facilitating reference to existing scholarship. The commencement of the Jarrow Lectures in 1958 and the publication of individual lectures as pamphlets has guaranteed that most have never been cited in the *OEN* bibliography or treated in *YWOES*. It is not possible to present full information about the lectures and their authors in this already swollen column, but in order to bring their contents to the attention of readers—and to augment the table of contents in the Variorum reprint—I offer the following brief summary of subject entries, where (in each case) the topics "Bede" and "northern England" can be taken for granted. References to Berkhout's bibliography in *OEN* and notices in *YWOES* are included wherever I have found them (see *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 74, for the general scheme); in other cases, references dating from 1972 should probably be viewed as supplements to the *OEN* bibliography: (1) 1958: seventh- and eighth-century background; (2) 1959: *HE* and twentieth century; (3) 1960: legacy and fortunes of works; (4) 1961: architecture; (5) 1962: European background; (6) 1963: pastoral organization in Durham and Newcastle; (7) 1964: Gregory I; (8) 1965: sculpture; (9) 1966: apocalyptic tradition; (10) 1967: art in Codex Amiatinus (as cited

above); (11) 1968: Wearmouth–Jarrow in history; (12) 1969: St. Ninian's Isle treasure; (13) 1970: Christian Pictland; (14) 1971: Book of Kells; (15) 1972: music; (16) 1973: archaeology and cult of relics; (17) 1974: rural labor; (18) 1975: ecclesiastical historiography; (19) 1976: Benedict's *Regula* and social class; (20) 1977: Codex Amiatinus and Byzantine influence; (21) 1978: Durham Cassiodorus (Durham, Cathedral Library, B. II. 30 [Northumbria, s. viii med.; provenance Durham]; cf. *CLA* II, 11 [no. 152]); (22) 1979: *reges* and *principes* in *HE* (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1981); (23) 1980: visual arts (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1986; *YWOES* = *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 101); (24) 1981: Benedict Biscop; (25) 1982: Wearmouth–Jarrow scriptorium; (26) 1983: cult of Oswald; (27) 1984: charter evidence for conversion (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1986; *YWOES* = *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 101 and 138–9); (28) 1985: science (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1986; *YWOES* = *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 101–2); (29) 1986: Durham monks; (30) 1987: architectural description; (31) 1988: Stephen of Ripon and northern British forts; (32) 1989: ecclesiastical archaeology; (33) 1990: sculpture of Deira (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1991; *YWOES* = *OEN* 26.2 [1993], 99); (34) 1991: psalter (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1992; *YWOES* = *OEN* 27.2 [1994], 63–4); (35) 1992: setting of *HE* (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1992; *YWOES* = *OEN* 27.2 [1994], 63); (36) 1993: Latin poetry (Berkhout, "Bibliography" for 1994; see notice above).

1994 also saw the appearance of another long-anticipated reprint, that is, a variorum of Charles W. Jones's studies of Bede's writings, of Anglo-Saxon educational practices generally, and of early medieval computistical writings by Bede and others—including a reissue of the whole of Jones's still-indispensable 1939 monograph *Beda's Pseudepigrapha* (Jones, *Bede, the Schools and the Computus*, ed. Wesley M. Stevens, Collected Stud. Ser. 436 [Aldershot, Hants.: Variorum, 1994]). The introduction to the collection, by Wesley M. Stevens, offers some useful pointers to related scholarship (notably by Dieter Schaller and by Stevens himself); signals major changes of opinion expressed by Jones (who died in 1989) in later stages of his career; and notes miscellaneous corrections issued by Jones and other scholars. Stevens also cites several writings by Jones that do not appear in this reprint, including a trenchant review of P. Hunter Blair's *The World of Bede* (1970) in *Speculum* 47 (1972), 285–8, and the extensive introductory matter in Jones's 1943 work *Beda's Opera de Temporibus*, which was not included with the reissue of the texts established by Jones in CCSL 123B–C. The 357-page collection laudably reproduces the original pagination of all items while adding a superb general index, prepared by Stevens with the assistance of Miroslaw Bielewicz and Karl Sieverling—the entries for Bede, *computus*, schools, and *tractatus* will prove especially useful—and an index of manuscripts. Articles reprinted under the rubric *Bede and Anglo-Saxon Schools* are: "The Byrhtferth Glosses" (1938), "Bede and Vegetius" (1932), "Bede as Early Medieval Historian" (1946), "Some Introductory Remarks on Bede's Commentary on Genesis" (1969–70), and

"Bede's Place in Medieval Schools" (1976; see *OEN* 11.1 [1977], 73); and, under *Computus—Victorius, Dionysius, and Bede*: "Polemios Silvius, Bede, and the Names of the Months" (1934), "A Legend of St. Pachomius" (1943), "The Victorian and Dionysiac Paschal Tables in the West" (1934), "Two Easter Tables" (1938), and "The 'Lost' Sirmund Manuscript of Bede's *computus*" (1937).

Finally, Bede specialists, teachers, and general readers will all wish to take note of a new paperback in an Oxford series, The World's Classics, which will finally make Bertram Colgrave's 1969 translations of Bede's *HE* and the *Epistola Cuthberti de obitu Bedae* available to a wider audience (Bede, *The Ecclesiastical History of the English People—The Greater Chronicle—Bede's Letter to Egbert*, ed. Judith McClure and Roger Collins, The World's Classics [Oxford: Oxford Univ. Press, 1994]). The book's publication also marks the first appearance in a popular format of English versions, by Judith McClure and Roger Collins, of both the *Chronica maiora* and the *Epistola ad Egberhtum*, and the edition embodies a new set of notes on *HE* (here replacing the notes of Colgrave and R. A. B. Mynors), also by McClure and Collins, which makes good use of J. M. Wallace-Hadrill's 1988 supplementary commentary on *HE* (see *OEN* 23.1 [1989], 72). In discussing the letter to Egberht, the editors stress the "radical nature of Bede's solution" to the problem of moral decline in monasteries, wherein "deeds of gift made by previous kings should be annulled." This "would have undermined the whole principle of security of tenure based on documentary proof of ownership . . . deriving from Roman legal practice." In addition to serving as a useful school-edition, the World's Classics text will be an excellent resource for Anglo-Saxon specialists preparing English translations to accompany quotations of Bede's Latin in scholarly articles (insofar as "[i]mprovements to the translation suggested by J. M. Wallace-Hadrill . . . have been included in the notes . . . , together with other corrections that now seem necessary").

d. Alcuin

The recent explosion of work in the field of Anglo-Latin studies continues with the publication of a dozen substantial articles in 1993 and 1994 addressing issues relating to Alcuin and his role in the Carolingian renewal, all of which contain large amounts of detailed, factual information. Fortunately for the reviewer, several articles cover similar ground and some of these display a significant amount of complementarity or even overlap in content. It may thus prove expedient to assign a Roman numeral (in bold type) to each article and to review all of these items as a group:

(I) Arno Borst, "Alkuin und die Enzyklopädie von 809," in *Science in Western and Eastern Civilization in Carolingian Times*, ed. Paul Leo Butzer and Dietrich Lohrmann (Basel: Birkhäuser Verlag, 1993), pp. 53–78; (II) Bruce Eastwood, "The Astronomies of Pliny, Martianus Capella, and Isidore of Seville in the Carolingian World," *ibid.* pp. 161–80; (III) Josef Fleckenstein, "Alcuin im Kreis der Hofgelehrten

Karls des Grossen," *ibid.* pp. 3–21; (IV) Menso Folkerts, "Die Alkuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*," *ibid.* pp. 273–81; (V) Menso Folkerts and Helmuth Gericke, ed. and tr., "Die Alkuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* (Aufgaben zur Schärfung des Geistes der Jugend)," *ibid.* pp. 283–362; (VI) Mary Garrison, "The Emergence of Carolingian Latin Literature and the Court of Charlemagne (780–814)," in *Carolingian Culture: Emulation and Innovation*, ed. Rosamond McKitterick (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994), pp. 111–40; (VII) Edward James, "Alcuin and York in the Eighth Century," in *Science*, ed. Butzer and Lohrmann, pp. 23–39; (VIII) Vivien Law, "The Study of Grammar," in *Carolingian Culture*, ed. McKitterick, pp. 88–110; (IX) Dietrich Lohrmann, "Alcuins Korrespondenz mit Karl dem Großen über Kalender und Astronomie," in *Science*, ed. Butzer and Lohrmann, pp. 79–114; (X) John Marenbon, "Carolingian Thought," in *Carolingian Culture*, ed. McKitterick, pp. 171–92; (XI) Stephen C. McCluskey, "Astronomies in the Latin West from the Fifth to the Ninth Centuries," in *Science*, ed. Butzer and Lohrmann, pp. 139–60; (XII) Dáibhí Ó Cróinín, "The Irish as Mediators of Antique Culture on the Continent," *ibid.* pp. 41–52.

Alcuin's writings provide our most detailed source of knowledge about the schools and churches of York in the second half of the eighth century. But the fact remains that these writings mainly postdate Alcuin's departure from England in 782, having been written during the periods of his presence at Charlemagne's court and of his later residence at Tours. Nevertheless, the only probable specimen of Alcuin's own handwriting identified to date, discovered by Bernhard Bischoff as a marginal note in a Tours manuscript, shows Alcuin practicing an insular hand in his old age, and not one of the new forms of Carolingian minuscule (VII, citing D. A. Bullough, "Alcuino e la tradizione culturale insulare," in *I problemi dell'Occidente ne secolo VIII*, 1 vol. in 2, *Settimane di studio del Centro italiano di studi sull'alto medioevo* 20 [Spoleto: Presso de la sede del Centro, 1973], pp. 571–600—new to *OEN*). About two decades earlier, Alcuin had signaled his imminent entry into continental affairs (which would occur in 782) by the dispatch of a *Stationsgedicht*, a poem addressing his personal circumstances (probably composed in 781), which anticipated the rivalry of Peter of Pisa and other future acquaintances already installed in Charlemagne's court (III and VI). But it is clear that even after Alcuin left York, he never lost touch with the intellectual life at his home institution. The list of forty-one authors included in Alcuin's long hexameter poem *Versus de sanctis Euboricensis ecclesiae* is not, as Peter Godman, has argued, a "learned advertisement" likely to embody some exaggeration. Rather, it is written for an audience presently in residence at York (as lines 1408–9 make clear), an audience that would be in a good position to judge its reliability (VII). Alcuin's letters show that he continued to request books from York into the last decade of his life, perhaps including a mathematical treatise (discussed below) that would reveal the school there to have offered the

most advanced instruction in non-computistical arithmetic and geometry available anywhere in western Europe at the close of the eighth century (IV, V, and VII). Indeed, Alcuin's cited poem on York (at lines 1440–6) specifically praises the training in arithmetic provided by his teacher Ælberht (VII). Edward James (*ibid.*) traces the development of the York school from the time of the probable seventh-century importation of books from Gaul and Rome by Wilfrid; through subsequent additions of books by the bishops John of Beverley (seated 705/6 x c. 714–18) and Wilfrid II of York (718–32); the education of Alcuin's first teacher, Egberht, by Bede; Egeberht's probable importation of texts from Wearmouth-Jarrow; and, finally, the itinerary (before 767) of Alcuin's subsequent teacher, Ælberht, across Europe in search of books—possibly with the youthful Alcuin as a fellow traveler. James also offers a concise treatment of the major non-Alcuinian witnesses to the curriculum at York: letters from Boniface and Lul to Egberht and Ælberht requesting copies of works by Bede; a letter of Egberht revealing familiarity with the Latin verse of Sedulius; a letter of Ælberht quoting Bede; the account the Frisian student Liutger, later first bishop of Münster, who returned to the Continent from his tutelage at York “habens secum copiam librorum” (as recorded by his successor, Altfred, in the *Vita S. Liudgeri* I.xi–xii and I.xviii [MGH SS II, 403–24, esp. 407–10]); and neglected Anglo-Latin texts such as the inscription on the so-called Coppergate helmet (see *OEN* 25.2 [1992], 84–5), arguably (James ventures) relating to the promotion of the feast of All Saints at York, perhaps specifically by Alcuin. (I would add that the verse of Aedilulf's *Carmen de abbatibus* and the anonymous *Miracula S. Nynie* are now emerging as important witnesses to metrical instruction at York.) The archaeological record, generally speaking, supports a view of eighth-century York as a flourishing center, revealing that coin production peaks during the period 737 x 790 (all VII).

When Alcuin joined Charlemagne's retinue at some point after his initial visit to Parma in March 781 (most plausibly in 782 or shortly thereafter), several scholars in the court were already occupied as teachers (III and VI). These included the Italian prose authors and sometime poets Peter of Pisa and Paulinus of Aquileia, both of whom had arrived as early as c. 769 and are described in some sources as *magistri* of grammar (see Alcuin, *Epistola* CLXXII [MGH ECA II, 284–5, at 285], and MGH DC I, 158–9 [no. 112]); Fardulf (arrived by c. 774), an ecclesiastic and sometime poet, who was initially taken captive during a conflict in Lombardy, and in time became abbot of Saint-Denis; the Anglo-Saxon Beornrad (arriving in the late 770s), first serving as abbot of Echternach and later as archbishop of Sens; and the obscure Irish scholars Jonas and Raefgot. Learned associates of the king before Alcuin's arrival who were not actually resident at court included Cathwulf, a confidant of Charlemagne c. 775, who is sometimes identified now as an Anglo-Saxon and whose epistolography to the king (including some lines of verse) would thus seem to provide a neglected source for Anglo-

Latin studies (see MGH ECA IV, 501–5 [no. 7]); Arno (or Arn), future archbishop of Salzburg, who left his Bavarian homeland before 780, possibly to join Charlemagne, and in any event had undertaken the abbacy of Saint-Amand by 782; Godesscalc, the scribe who praised Charlemagne's promotion of learning in verses accompanying a gospel lectionary executed c. 781; Adam, abbot of the Alsatian monastery at Mäsmunster, who dedicated a copy of a grammatical treatise by Diomedes to Charlemagne in 780; and perhaps Riculf, later a pupil of Alcuin (see his *Epistola* XIII [MGH ECA IV, 38–9, at 39]), who eventually would become archbishop of Mainz (in 787). Paul the Deacon, another refugee from the Lombard uprising, arrived at about the same time as did Alcuin (c. 782). Although it appears that Paul and his countryman Peter of Pisa excluded Alcuin from their circle (VI), Alcuin seems to have avoided undue conflict with the existing royal entourage, most plausibly because he was regarded from the start as a polymath and not merely as an *artis grammaticae magister* (III).

Over the course of his career, Alcuin was renowned as an exponent of all seven liberal arts, as a scriptural exegete, an occasional poet, a textual critic of the Old and New Testament, a hagiographer, a standardbearer in the liturgical sphere, and, finally, as an adviser, confidant, and (we may suspect) sometime amanuensis of Charlemagne (III, VI, and X). The fifteen-year span (c. 782–96) which saw Alcuin's membership in Charlemagne's inner circle ended with his move (or, one suspects, rustication) to Tours in 796, where he was seated as bishop. Only in the final three years of Alcuin's tenure at court (794–6) did Charlemagne's household achieve a measure of domestic stability with its settlement at Aachen in 794. But even during the period of its existence as a peripatetic warrior-court, the king's retainers wintered regularly at six established residences. Garrison suspects that early Carolingian innovations in the areas of poetic composition and letter-writing, amply reflected in Alcuin's canon, may well have emerged during these seasonal breaks as adjuncts to courtly entertainment and personal communication (VI). Named members of the ill-defined, pre-Aachen *scola* included several disciples of Alcuin, notably the continental scholars Frithugils (Fridugisus, Fredegisus, etc.), Hwita (Candidus or Wizo), the previously mentioned Riculf, and the Irish scholar Joseph Scottus. Other members of the retinue included the Irish scholars Dungal, Cadac-Andreas, and the anonymous *Hibernicus exul*; the western Goth Theodulf, later bishop of Orléans, an occasional poet who promoted the study of Ovid as well as Prudentius; and the earliest native Frankish scholars to be educated with the benefit of the curriculum that Alcuin had helped to institute, most notably Angilbert, one of the very few native Frankish poets of the period, who served as lay-abbot of Saint-Riquier from 789 even after he had fathered the future historian Nithard in his capacity as consort of Charlemagne's daughter Bertha. The Frankish scholar Einhard, biographer of Charlemagne and a reputed poet, arrived at court around the time of Alcuin's departure,

c. 794 (all III and VI).

Fundamental to the rise of Carolingian scholarship was the promotion of literacy and of educational reform generally, and this goal entailed instruction in the principles and techniques of *grammatica* (see also the notice of Irvine, below). It will be clear from the preceding comments that the Italian scholars Peter and Paulinus were recognized for their early attainments as grammarians, and that the study of grammar at the Frankish court had commenced years before Alcuin's arrival. Vivien Law (VIII) notes that although Carolingian scholars are often remembered for their role in the dissemination of the Late Latin grammars of Donatus and Priscian, their achievements in the first instance were more immediately in line with the seventh- and eighth-century efforts of insular Latin grammarians. The production of concise grammars of the *regulae* type (notably in the elementary forms comprising *declinationes nominum* and *coniugationes verborum*) was especially attuned to the requirements of non-native speakers of Latin. The identification of the special needs of this group, however, is considerably more difficult in the case of continental speakers of pre-Romance dialects than in the cases of the insular audiences of elementary grammars, whose members spoke Celtic and Germanic languages. The Carolingians also contributed to the eighth-century production of augmented, often conspicuously Christianized redactions of works by Donatus and other grammarians, as well as grammatical commentaries addressing the Bible and various patristic works. Law suspects that the compendious *Diadema monachorum* of Smaragdus of Saint-Mihiel was composed with the help of some sort of "card file." The major pedagogical innovation of the early Carolingians, however, was their systematic exposition of grammar itself, mainly in the service of religious study. These efforts cleared the ground for the emergence of wholly new types of grammatical texts in the ninth century, such as "parsing grammars" and full-scale commentaries subjecting the treatises of grammarians to the type of detailed scrutiny previously reserved for the Bible and patristic writings.

Beyond the promotion of basic literacy, the production of new (or revived) forms of poetry is one of the most celebrated achievements of the Carolingian renewal, but Mary Garrison (VI) suspects that the circulation of such verse was characterized by a certain nonchalance. Contradicting the impression conveyed by modern collections of Carolingian poetry, the transmission of individual poems suggests that the verse in question was often viewed in its own time as ephemeral. No systematic attempt was made to collect poems during the late eighth or early ninth centuries. The occasional nature of much Carolingian poetry may reflect its authors' early cultivation of epigraphic, dedicatory, and commemorative verse, but it is equally clear that Alcuin and his contemporaries undertook the production of forms seldom if ever encountered previously in early medieval Europe: poems reflecting their authors' personal circumstances, the joys of friendship, and related themes—with the marked exception of love-poetry. This development mainly reflects the influence of secular, and es-

pecially pastoral, verse—most notably by Vergil, but also by the later Roman poets Calpurnius and Nemesianus, the last two revived after centuries of neglect—as well as the rediscovery of Boethian *metra*. Other new forms included the following: various kinds of "circular" poetry, such as letter-poems (some embodying fanciful pseudonyms), riddle-poems, answer-poems, and feud-poems—verse whose typically communicative mode is perhaps traceable to the importation by Paul the Deacon of epistolary adonics composed by Ennodius of Pavia (*ob.* 521); elaborate form-poems (*carmina figurata*) composed by Alcuin, his Irish pupil Joseph, Theodulf, and others, some of which interweave acrostics, telestichs, and mesostichs in the manner of the late Roman court poet Publilius Optatianus Porfyrius (perhaps also reflecting, through Alcuin's mediation, the influence of some early Anglo-Latin acrostics)—a collection of form-poems whose composition is datable to the 780s survives in Bern, Burgerbibliothek, 212 (s. ix 1); and aristocratic performance-poems intended for public recitation in a courtly setting. Exerting a major influence on these last-mentioned poetic innovations—and, Garrison finds, on the Carolingian institution of literary patronage generally—are the Christian Latin poetry and the biographical *persona* of Venantius Fortunatus (c. 530–c. 600), a "prolific writer of epitaphs, panegyrics, poems of consolation, . . . and other *pièces d'occasion*," who "had been a true professional poet . . . at several Merovingian royal and episcopal courts." Garrison would thus associate the florescence of poetry in the court-circle of Alcuin and his contemporaries with other manifestations of an optimistic and self-consciously aristocratic *Weltanschauung*, noting the employment of the "new Athens (or Rome)" topos by Alcuin, Einhard, and others, and the vogue for the prose genre of the *speculum principum*.

In the area of prose composition, the most important Carolingian innovations occurred in connection with the promulgation of philosophical discourse. The Carolingians almost single-handedly undertook the revival of dialectic and the study of logic (VIII and X). At a basic level, this phenomenon is reflected in the proliferation of pedagogical "question-and-answer" literature during the period. Alcuin's frequently misunderstood *Ars grammatica* (see PL 101, cols. 849–902) is best viewed as a composite, twofold work consisting in (1) a discrete treatise (*De vera philosophia*, in cols. 849–54), cast in the form of a dialogue between master and pupils—commonly and incorrectly viewed as the preface to a unified Alcuinian grammatical *ars*—which enriches a Cassiodoran analogy likening the seven liberal arts to Solomon's seven-pillared temple with an original Boethian reminiscence (the earliest, perhaps, anywhere in the medieval literature of western Europe), also adducing neo-Platonic speculation about the steps (*gradus*) leading to a mastery of *philosophia* (here drawing on Augustine's *De ordine*; see further X), and (2) a pupil-to-pupil dialogue, punctuated by interjections from the master, entitled *Dialogus Franconis et Saxonis de octo partibus orationis* (PL 101, cols. 854–902), drawing on Priscian's *Institutiones grammaticae* for its discussion of

syntax. (See further VIII, where Law notes that unprinted marginal glosses in Carolingian Priscian manuscripts provide a resource still virtually untapped by students of the period.) The recovery of the writings of Boethius catalyzed the production of more advanced philosophical studies by the early Carolingians. In addition to *De consolatione Philosophiae*, John Marenbon (X) suspects that all of the so-called *opuscula sacra* attributed to Boethius (see *CPL*¹, p. 293 [nos. 890–4]) were known to Alcuin and his circle, although the earliest surviving copy in manuscript dates from c. 820. Even so, the earliest collection of logical texts, bar none, to survive from the western European tradition—now Rome, Bibliotheca Padri Maristi, A. II. 1 (s. ix in. [i.e., before 814])—was owned by Alcuin's associate Leidrad, bishop and later archbishop of Lyons. The manuscript preserves extracts from Alcuin's own writings and from some of his sources: Porphyry's *Isagoge*; the *Periermenias* commentaries of Apuleius and Boethius; and the Aristotelian *Tractatus de categoriis Aristotelis*, known as *Categoriae decem* (see *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 64). Marenbon, clarifying a point raised in his book *From the Circle of Alcuin* (1981), advances a possible explanation for Alcuin's insistence on attributing the *Categoriae decem* to Augustine. A compilation prepared by one of Alcuin's favorite pupils, the previously mentioned Hwita, extracted a passage from Augustine's *De trinitate* containing a discussion of *substantia* (one of Aristotle's ten categories) under the title *De decem categoriis Augustini*. Marenbon acknowledges that Alcuin's circle produced "no logicians of genius, . . . [no] Anselm . . . or Abelard." But in surviving works by Alcuin and his contemporaries he sees foreshadowings of the sophisticated inquiries undertaken in the later Carolingian period by John Scottus Eriugena, Remigius of Auxerre, and others. For example, Alcuin's pupil (and successor as abbot of Tours) Frithugils made an early contribution to the study of negative dialectics with his composition of a treatise on the nature of nothing (*De nihilo et tenebris*; ed. at MGH ECA IV, 552–5 [no. 36]). Qualifying the common characterization of the Carolingians as unimaginative encyclopedists, Marenbon asserts that they were "active assimilators, not passive ones," even if Alcuin's "derivative" *De fide sanctae et individuae trinitatis* exemplifies a "servile dependence on authority" (for another view, see *OEN* 27.2 [1994], 65–6).

Before returning to the review of the twelve articles cited above, one additional item addressing Alcuin's literary undertakings may be noted briefly. Frederick M. Biggs, in a discussion of Alcuin's patristic sources ("Alcuin's Use of Augustine and Jerome: a Source and a Recollection Identified," *N&Q* 41 [1994], 3–6), removes the uncertainty surrounding two citations by Alcuin of a certain *epistola ad Hilarium et Prosperum*, ascribed to Augustine, in *Adversus Felicem* (see PL 101, cols. 139 and 141). The identification of this "letter" (*epistola*) has eluded source-hunters from Froben Forster (see below) to Ogilvy. Biggs here reveals that Alcuin refers to a substantial prose work by Augustine, known as *De praedestinatione sanctorum ad Prosperum et Hilarium* (see pas-

sages in the edition in PL 44, cols. 959–92, at 981–2). This work's attested circulation in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts is apparently restricted to a collection in Salisbury, Cathedral Library, 117, fols. 1–162 (s. x; provenance Salisbury). In *De animae ratione*, Alcuin refers to an exchange between Augustine and Jerome on the origin of the soul (see PL 101, 645). The "exchange" in question consists in a pair of passages from Augustine's *Epistola* CLXVI and Jerome's *Ep.* CXXVI (and perhaps, as Donald Bullough has argued, a brief passage in Jerome's *Ep.* CXXXIV). The previously unidentified passage in Jerome's *Ep.* CXXVI stands particularly close to the Alcuinian paraphrase. (Both of Jerome's letters are misidentified in Biggs's article, evidently as a result of typographical error.) Biggs shrewdly recognizes that Alcuin is nodding when he characterizes Jerome's words as a response to Augustine's *Ep.* CLXVI, which in fact was written as a response to Jerome's *Ep.* CXXVI (sometimes identified as *Ep.* CLXV in the canon of Augustine's correspondence).

Alcuin's role as a reformer of systems of chronological reckoning received close scrutiny in two 1993 articles (I and IX, respectively by Arno Borst and Dietrich Lohrmann; cf. also II and XI). Between them, these studies embody an extremely thorough analysis of three main bodies of evidence: (1) Alcuin's correspondence with Charlemagne on chronological and astronomical issues, specifically in eleven letters edited by Dümmler as Alcuin's *Epistolae* CXXI (late 796–early 797; including comments on *grammatica*, astronomy, and some books at York [*exquisitiores eruditionis scolasticae libelli*]; ed. at MGH ECA II, 175–8); CXXVI (autumn 797 [i.e., early November?]; chronology, especially the *saltus lunae* in November; *ibid.* 185–7); CXLIII (early February 798; liturgical year and recreational mathematics; *ibid.* 224–7); CXLIV (early March 798; Charlemagne to Alcuin: liturgical year; *ibid.* 228–30); CXLV (late March 798; Felix of Urgel, *saltus lunae*, and Charlemagne's Saxon mission; *ibid.* 231–5); CXLVIII (shortly before mid-July 798; Charlemagne's gift of solar *horologium*, Frithugils, Felix, *cursus solis*, and *bissextus*; *ibid.* 237–41 [original letter] and 241 [postscript: see Bullough, *Carolingian Renewal* [1991], p. 234, n. 127]); CXLIX (22 July 798; Felix, Leo III, movement of Mars, and Saxon mission; *ibid.* 241–5); CLV (early September 798; wandering stars, *cursus lunae*, Mars, lost scientific diagram; *ibid.* 249–53); CLXX (first part of 799, probably late March; astronomy, Saxon mission, and Arno of Salzburg; *ibid.* 278–81); CLXXI (after March 799; Felix, *cursus lunae*, and *bissextus*; *ibid.* 281–3); CLXXII (April–May 799, probably before late April; Felix, Peter of Pisa, Leidrad of Lyons, and recreational mathematics; *ibid.* 284–5). (Dates given here derive in the first instance from Dümmler's edition in MGH ECA II, but these have been verified as far as possible and modified where necessary by reference to Wilhelm Heil, *Alkuinstudien* I [1970]; Bullough's unevenly indexed *Carolingian Renewal*; and Lohrmann's article [IX].)

(2) A disparate batch of chronological writings (most conveniently consulted as a group at PL 101, cols. 979–1002, under the title *De cursu et saltu lunae ac bissexto*), which were

first gathered together in the eighteenth century, and published under Alcuin's name, by Froben Forster ("Frobenius"), abbot of Sankt Emmeram at Regensburg, in his edition *Beati Flacci Albini seu Alcuini Opera*, ed. Forster, 4 vols. in 2 (Ratisbon: Englerth, 1777), partly on the basis of passages in the Alcuinian letters just cited and also in the light of suggestions issued previously by the seventeenth-century editor Duchesne ("Quercetanus") in his edition *B. Flacci Albini, sive Alchuuini abbatis, Karoli Magni regis ac imperatoris magistri, Opera quae hactenus reperiri potuerunt nonnulla auctius et emendatius*, ed. Duchesne, 1 vol. in 3 parts (Paris: Cramoisy, 1617). In publications issued in 1937 and 1939, Charles W. Jones effectively denied Alcuin's authorship of the great bulk of these writings. Jones cited the unreliability of notations attributing certain items to Alcuin in manuscripts and demonstrated that much of the matter in these texts must predate Bede. The collection printed in PL 101 (following Forster) has most often been divided into four separate works: *Ratio de luna XV et de cursu lunae*, in two parts (cols. 981-4); *De saltu lunae*, in eight *problemata* (984-93); *De bissexto*, in two *argumenta* (cols. 993-9); and the *calculatio* (incipit: "Quomodo possit reperiri") commonly ascribed to Alcuin in modern editions, and sometimes to Bede (cols. 999-1002). The first three of these items (i.e., all but the *calculatio*) are treated as a single text and assigned an Irish, pre-Bedan origin in entries in *CPL* (p. 736 [no. 2316]) and *Frede* (p. 96, item PS-ALC curs), but the Celtic Latin origin and seventh-century dating of these writings (again regarded as a single text) is called into question by Lapidge and Sharpe (*Bibliography*, p. 326 [no. 1232]), who class them as a *dubium* of "possible or arguable" Celtic origin. Lohrmann's study (IX), however, now shows plainly that the traditions of manuscripts (treated below in item [3]) reveal the body of material in question to comprise eight separate items, which, for purposes of subsequent discussion here will be assigned *sigla* in the alphabetic range A-H:

(A) Alcuin, *De cursibus solis et lunae epistolae fragmentum maius* (ptd as *Ratio de luna XV* at PL 101, cols. 981-3), a genuine fragment (or a self-contained draft, or a note) deriving from Alcuin's correspondence with Charlemagne on chronology and astronomy; (B) Alcuin, *De cursibus solis et lunae epistolae fragmentum minus* (ptd as *De cursu lunae*, *ibid.* 983-4), another genuine fragment (or draft or note); (C) *Tractatus de saltu lunae* (ptd as *De saltu lunae: problema primum*, *ibid.* 984-9), a fairly lengthy tract on the *saltus* (or "leap") affecting the length of lunar months; (D) *Argumentum de saltu lunae* (ptd as *Argumentum de saltu lunae: problema secundum*, *ibid.* 989-90), a brief *problema* on the same subject; (E) *Argumenta de saltu lunae pauca* (ptd as *idem, problemata iii-iv, v (per partes), vi (per minuta), vii (per momenta), and viii*, *ibid.* 990-3), a group of six brief *problemata* on various aspects of the same subject; (F) *Tractatus de bissexto* (ptd as *De bissexto*, *ibid.* 993-8), a fairly lengthy tract on the *bissexto* or "leap-day" in a solar year; (G) *Argumentum de bissexto* (ptd as *Aliud argumentum de bissexto*, *ibid.* 998-9) a brief *argumentum* on the same subject; (H) *Calculatio anno Domini DCCLXXVI* (ptd as *Calculatio*

Albini magistri, *ibid.* 999-1002), a brief chronological tract (dated internally to 776) possibly composed by Alcuin at York before his removal to the Continent (I and IX).

(3) The transmission-histories of the preceding eight items (A-H), as attested by copies which Lohrmann finds in the following manuscripts: Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, F. III. 15. k (s. ix; provenance Fulda), 49r-52r (C), 52r-55r (F), and 55v (G); Geneva, Bibliothèque Publique et Universitaire, lat. 50 (Massai, s. ix in. [c. 805]), 151r-153r (C); OB Bodley 309 (SC 8837) (Vendôme, s. xi 1), 74r-76r (F), 76r-78r (C), 78r-78v (D), and 78v (G); BN nouv. acq. lat. 1613 (Tours, s. ix), 11v and 16v-17r (D); Troyes, Bibliothèque Municipale, 1165 (s. ix ex. or ix/x), items 25-6 (A + B); BAV lat. 642 (?Lyons, s. xi or xi/xii), 83r-85v (F) and 85v-87v (C); BAV Reg. lat. 226 (western France, s. x), 19r-23v (C), 23v-24v (D), 24v-26v (E), 26v-31v (F), and 31v-32v (G); BAV Reg. lat. 272 (Saint-Remi at Rheims, s. x), 40r-41v (A + B); BAV Rossianus lat. 247 (s. xi or xi/xii), 170r-173r (F) and 173r-176v (C). (Information given here derives in the first instance from an appendix in IX, which has been supplemented by reference to I [esp. n. 21, p. 61, for BAV Rossianus lat. 247]; and compared with information given in MGH ECA II; and by Laistner, *Hand-List*; Jones, *Bedae Pseudepigrapha* and *Bedae Opera*; Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*; and Walsh and Ó Cróinín [as cited below].)

Joint consideration of these three bodies of evidence may justify some firm conclusions regarding at least two of the items under discussion. These may be set out briefly. (A more detailed account of the reasoning in each case will be provided below.) A convergence of external and internal evidence proves beyond reasonable question that the longer fragment A (the surviving text of which treats the moon's course)—as both Lohrmann and Borst agree—should be restored permanently to the canon of Alcuin's genuine writings and, in all likelihood, should be associated specifically with the corpus of his letters. Just as certainly, a similar convergence of evidence shows that the fairly lengthy *Tractatus de bissexto* (F) should be permanently dissociated not only from Alcuin's authorship but from his efforts as a redactor of computistical and astronomical texts as well, though it remains possible (if doubtful) that Alcuin played a role in the transmission of an earlier version of this *tractatus*. Final dispositions on the other texts (items B-E, G, and H), as we shall see, generally fall between the two extremes observed in the cases of items A and F.

The longer and shorter fragments treating the moon's course (A and B) have the distinction of sharing one particular line of transmission, one which is wholly removed from the transmission-histories manifested by all of the other texts under discussion (C-H). The copies of fragments A and B in Troyes 1165 and BAV Reg. lat. 272 both occur in the midst of continuous sequences of Alcuin's letters, sequences whose ordering and content are virtually identical where they overlap. (BAV Reg. lat. 272 preserves 110 items in all, whereas the codicologically lacunose Troyes 1165 preserves seventy-three

[or seventy-four] items.) With the sole exception of the fragments in question (A and B), the authenticity of all items common to both collections has never been questioned, that is, every member of the coherent body of correspondence witnessed by these two manuscripts (apart from the fragments) has been edited as part of the canon of Alcuin's genuine letters by Dümmler and other scholars. Lohrmann (IX) stresses the fact that Alcuin states explicitly in his *Epistola* CLV (at MGH ECA II, 251.16–18) that he has previously sent information to Charlemagne in another letter (*in alia epistola*) concerning some problems involved in reconciling lunar hours with solar days (“... quomodo convenirent . . . horae lunares . . . diebus solaribus”). Lohrmann demonstrates that the detailed comments of Alcuin here (and in another letter, treating the sun's course—the cited *Epistola* CXLVIII) places the identification of the longer text (A) as a fragment of the lost *alia epistola* beyond serious question. Alcuin's letter, Lohrmann reveals, draws on the writings of Bede, most notably *DTR* xvii (*De lunae cursu per signa*) but also *DTR* iv and xxvii, as well as *De natura rerum* xxi. Additional parallels with Alcuin's letters just cited (and also *Epistola* CLXXI), however, make it clear that Alcuin should be regarded as the primary author of fragment A, not simply as a redactor or transmitter of Bede's comments. Lohrmann thus sees fit to print the entire text of A + B (following PL) in an appendix, including a German translation (by Lohrmann and Harald Müller) and expressing regrets that he has been unable to complete a new critical edition.

The situation regarding the shorter fragment (B) is somewhat less clear. At issue are (1) the relationship of the fragment to the longer fragment (A), involving both codicological evidence and evidence internal to the texts themselves—the two items should perhaps be viewed as fragments of the same lost letter of Alcuin to Charlemagne, and (2) the relationship of the shorter fragment to its sources, as yet scarcely identified (Lohrmann compares *DTR* iii–iv), and Alcuin's other known chronological and astronomical writings. Specifically, it is not clear whether Alcuin should be viewed either as the author of this brief text or, alternatively, simply as its redactor or transmitter. The codicological evidence for Alcuin's direct association with text B in some capacity, however, is every bit as strong as in the case of A. If B is wholly non-Alcuinian, it is the *only* such item to be found among the dozens of genuine letters witnessed jointly by Troyes 1165 and BAV Reg. lat. 272. The possibility that B, like A, is a remnant of Alcuin's chronological correspondence with Charlemagne is supported by the items' consecutive appearance in these two books, but their separate identities are evident as well. A and B were printed as two discrete Alcuinian letters (Duchesne's *epistolae* xxv and xxvi) in the 1617 *editio princeps*, and Dümmler describes them as *duo tractatus*. They were removed from the canon of Alcuin's letters and juxtaposed with the dubiously Alcuinian *Tractatus de saltu lunae*, etc., in the course of editorial revisions preparatory to the edition of Froben Forster and its reissue in PL. There is, I would note, a plausible

codicological rationale for the fragments' joint appearance at precisely this point in the sequence of letters attested in Troyes 1165 and BAV Reg. lat. 272 (cf. MGH ECA II, 7). The two items appear, as we might expect, immediately before a letter dated to the period which saw the scientific correspondence of Alcuin and Charlemagne addressed at length by Lohrmann (796–800/1), i.e., between Alcuin's *Epistolae* CCXI and CLXII, in that order. These four items taken together actually serve to close out a coherent group of Alcuin's letters most conspicuously given over to this very correspondence on scientific topics. The sequence of letters in this group (largely obscured in the MGH edition) commences in Troyes 1165 and BAV Reg. lat. 272 with Alcuin's crucial request to Charlemagne for assistance in importing some rare texts from York as its first item. It subsequently comprises *all* of the astronomical and chronological letters treated by Lohrmann except *Epistola* CXLIV. In both manuscripts, this body of correspondence precedes a discrete sequence of Alcuin's *earlier* letters, *all* of whose items are dated to the period 791–6. A and B thus appear to be miscellaneous items that fell to the bottom of a batch of Alcuin's letters from the late 790s. (See further Theodor Sickel, “Alcuinstudien,” *Sitz Wien* 79 [1875], 461–550, at 510–11 [not cited in I or IX].) I would note further that Alcuin's letters elsewhere reveal that he occasionally sent Charlemagne brief texts written out on discrete sheets of parchment—some mathematical diversions are discussed below—and so it is possible that A and B should be viewed as self-contained notes or drafts by Alcuin, and not as fragmentary witnesses to a completed letter which has been lost to posterity. Finally, Borst's observation (I, p. 71, n. 43) of a borrowing from A in the inedited 809 revision of the so-called Carolingian chronological *Encyclopedia* (see below) points to a line of transmission that Lohrmann's treatment of manuscripts fails to address.

The only other chronological text discussed by Borst and Lohrmann that might be seen reasonably to reflect a significant compositional effort by Alcuin is the relatively brief *calculatio* in H, which sometimes appears, as we have seen (in the notice of Lapidge's *Bede the Poet*), as a spurious addition to Bede's *Epistola ad Wicthedum*. Citing an *annus praesens* in the *calculatio* of 776, Borst accepts this text as a genuine witness to “Alkuins Rechnung,” produced at York before his emigration to Francia. Lohrmann views it as a pseudo-Alcuinian, possibly Irish text of pre-Bedan origin—but one which may have been known to Alcuin as early as 776. These contrasting views in fact represent different conclusions drawn from the same considerations: Jones's statement (*Beda's Pseudepigrapha*, pp. 42–4, at 43) that “there is no definite reason for rejecting this . . . as the work of Alcuin. . . . If he did write it, he must have done so at York”; the same scholar's assertion that the 776 *calculatio* is a revision of an *earlier* passage characteristic of the Sirmund group of computistical texts, whose matter, Irish at core, predates Bede (Jones, *ibid.*, cites relevant manuscripts as well as further printed texts at PL 67, cols. 505–6, and 129, cols. 1308–9); and the apparently unique occurrence of a rubric com-

mencing with the words *calculatio Albini Magistri* in an uncial script in a copy of the passage in BAV Pal. lat. 1449 (?Mainz, s. ix), 11v–12r. Alcuin's contributions, if they could be verified, might be seen to be those of a redactor and not those of an author. But the changes in the 776 revision *vis-à-vis* the earlier version cited by Jones are substantial and, in my view, may verge on the authorial. The discussion here does not advance the state of the question far beyond the point reached in Jones's treatment, but Borst lays the ground for any future reconsideration of the matter with his citations of the previously unrecognized use of H in the nineteenth chapter of the *Annales Prumienses* and in the 809 revision of the Carolingian chronological *Encyclopedia*. I would add that further analysis of the three-hexameter colophon that closes out the 776 passage in at least two ninth-century witnesses might throw further light on Alcuin's association with the text (if any).

There is no reason to doubt that the basic matter of the *Tractatus de saltu lunae* and *Tractatus de bissexto* (C and F) was composed by Irish scholars who flourished before Bede's time. Jones notes that in OB Bodley 309, 74r–78r, the two tracts immediately follow texts securely associated with Irish computistical materials known to Bede, and that a list of *capitula* attesting to a lost collection of Irish materials in the same source (at fol. 62) reads *de bissexto. de saltu* in two successive entries. (See Jones, *Beda's Opera*, pp. 375–6, with 97, n. 2, and 110; and *CPL*¹, 736 [no. 2316].) Ó Cróinín has recently augmented Jones's codicologically predicated conjectures with his identification of notional and limited verbal parallels exhibited by C and F and the pre-Bedan Irish computistical text *De ratione computandi* (hereafter *DRC*; "Brussels Computus"; classed as a *dubium* in Lapidge and Sharpe, *Bibliography*; now ed. in *Cummian's Letter "De controversia paschali" together with a Related Irish Computistical Tract "De ratione computandi"*, ed. Maura Walsh and Ó Cróinín, *Stud. and Texts* 86 [Toronto: Pontifical Inst. of Med. Stud., 1988], pp. 113–213—new to *OEN*). The affinities of F with the works of pre-Bedan, Irish authors appear to be especially pronounced. Ó Cróinín cites parallels in *DRC* xxvi, lii, and lvii, the tract's use of the very rare, early seventh-century (or earlier) Irish tract *Disputatio de ratione paschali*, pseudonymously attributed to Morinus, bishop of Alexandria (*CPL*¹, p. 734 [no. 2306], and *Frede*⁴, p. 646, item MOR)—never cited by Bede and rare even in Celtic sources—as well as connections with the *Catechesis Celtica* and the pseudo-Bedan, putatively Irish *De divisiones temporibus*. (The fact that *DRC* does not appear either in *CPL*¹ or *Frede*⁴, despite the appearance of detailed arguments championing a seventh-century origin by Ó Cróinín, suggests that he may have to go the second mile in defending the early Irish origin of this text.) Borst cites evidence to show that F goes back to a longer tract on the same subject, extant in Ireland in 689, and Lohrmann demolishes the arguments of previous scholars who have tried to associate the work with Bede's *DTR* xvi. Still, it is clear that these observations mainly involve the sources of the tract. No scholar before Lohrmann seems to have come

to terms with the fact that the extant text of the *Tractatus de bissexto* (F) cites Macrobius (an authority recovered mainly in the ninth century) and, crucially, includes an unambiguous indication of an *annus praesens* of 824! Moreover, the discussion of the *bissexto* in Alcuin's *Epistolae* CXLVIII and CLXXII, Lohrmann shows, cannot refer to the concepts presented in F, and Borst's study makes clear that F did not influence any of the 793, 809, and 818 redactions of the Carolingian chronological *Encyclopedia*. It is thus clear that Alcuin is neither the originator nor the redactor of F, though Lohrmann leaves open the question of whether he may have played some role in the transmission of an earlier version.

Borst still champions the *Tractatus de saltu lunae* (C) as an authentically Alcuinian composition, noting the following: the tract's preservation in BAV Reg. lat. 226, where it appears in proximity to a batch of Alcuin's astronomical and chronological letters (albeit, I would note, near a copy of F, and copies of D, E, and G as well); Alcuin's discussion of the leap (or *saltus*) in the nineteen-year lunar cycle in his *Epistolae* CXXVI and CXLV; and evidence for the circulation of the text in Carolingian circles in the form of indirect witnesses in the chronological *Encyclopedia* (in its 809 revision) and in *Annales Prumienses* xxx and l. But Ó Cróinín has cited parallel passages in C and *DRC* cix, cx, and cxii and notes the citation in C of the pseudo-Anatolian *De ratione Paschae* (see notice of McCarthy above [in "Aldhelm"] and PL 101, col. 988), a work most often cited by Irish authors. (Note also Ó Cróinín's recent detection of further parallel passages in another arguably Irish work, treated below.) Thus, although it appears that the reputedly Alcuinian connections of C are more plausible than those of F, what is at issue is still Alcuin's possible role either as a transmitter or as a redactor of the text.

To conclude this discussion, independent investigation into the Alcuinian connections (if any) of the minor *argumenta* on the *saltus* and *bissexto* (D, E, and G) has hardly begun. Jones (*Beda's Opera*, p. 376) states that the fairly brief *Argumentum de saltu lunae* (D) and the collection of the very brief *Argumenta de saltu lunae pauca* (E) "are *argumenta* which are common in computistical manuscripts," but thus far Lohrmann has only managed to identify two witnesses to the former and one to the latter, both in manuscripts witnessing pre-Bedan computistical materials. The single *argumentum* on the *saltus* (D) has been cited in connection with the text of *DRC* cix by Ó Cróinín, and Borst reveals that this item has an Alcuinian connection insofar as it accompanies a copy of Alcuin's epitaph (edited by Dümmler as his *Carmen* cxxiii) in the fragmentary witness to the Carolingian chronological *Encyclopedia* at BN nouv. acq. lat. 1613, 16v–18v.

Preparatory to his *editio princeps* of the frequently discussed but still inedited Carolingian "encyclopedia of time studies," extant in three redactions and preserved in several dozen manuscripts, Arno Borst reviews the collapse in seventh-century Europe of chronological systems imported from Mediterranean centers, the ensuing contention among the insular

churches, and, eventually, the efforts of Frankish scholars (from 760) to implement a unified system of time-reckoning (I). Alcuin played a key role in these efforts from the time of his arrival at Charlemagne's court c. 782. His possible connection with the chronological *Encyclopedia*, however, has never been investigated carefully. Borst notes that this compilation first emerged in 793, and went through major revisions in 809 and 818. There is a limited amount of evidence to suggest Alcuin's personal authorship of the first version of the *Encyclopedia*, issued in 793. Borst finds his "best copy" of this text in Berlin, Deutsche Staatsbibliothek, Lat. Fol. 128 (*olim Phillipps 1831*) (Verona, s. viii/ix; later provenance Metz), 116r–125r. (The text of a full copy in Monte Cassino, Biblioteca dell'Abbazia, KK. 3 [s. ix], pp. 148–65 and 193–4, has been printed in *Bibliotheca Casinensis*, ed. by the Benedictines of the Abbazia di Montecassino, 5 vols. [1873–9], I, 80–9 and 96.) The earliest copy overall is preserved in the present Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 6407 (Verona, s. viii/ix; provenance Freising; *CLA IX*, 15 [no. 1282]), which Donald Bullough has discussed as a copy made c. 800 at Verona, under the supervision of Bishop Egino, from a Tours exemplar elsewhere preserving authentic works of Alcuin (*Age of Charlemagne* [1966], p. 121).

The facts of the matter (as summarized by Borst) are as follow. At some point after 789, perhaps as late as 793, Alcuin is known to have written a chronological treatise to which he applies the title *Libellus annalis* (echoing Bede, *DTR* xxiii) in a twelve-line dedicatory poem (Alcuin's *Carmen lxxii* in Dümmler's edition [MGH PLAC I, 294–5]). This literary epigram is preserved in a single manuscript (BAV Pal. lat. 1448 [Trier, s. ix 1; provenance Mainz], at 72r), a manuscript also containing excerpts from the 793 version of the *Encyclopedia*. The poem, moreover, mentions Bede and (implicitly) the writings of Greek chronographers (*veterum argumenta sopherum*), sources which are laid under contribution in the first version of the chronological *Encyclopedia*. Against the view of Alcuin as author of the 793 work, however, the title *Libellus annalis* and, perhaps, Alcuin's epigrammatical verse might be more plausibly associated with a hastily prepared collection of extracts from Bede, some of which are also preserved in BAV Pal. lat. 1448. Tellingly, Borst feels, Alcuin indicates that Charlemagne had requested just such an ambitious synthesis as we find in the 793 *Encyclopedia*, but that he, Alcuin, writing *celeri calamo*, has failed to provide it.

Eventually, however, Alcuin would come to leave his mark on the chronological *Encyclopedia*—but, perhaps, not until a point after his death. An otherwise lost *lectio* by Alcuin, matter from the genuine *De cursibus solis et lunae epistolae fragmentum maius*, as well as the dubiously Alcuinian *calculatio* of 776, among other materials known to have been assembled by Alcuin (including extracts from Bede) were incorporated into the 809 revision of the *Encyclopedia* coordinated by Adalhard of Corbie. (Borst's best copy occurs in Madrid, Biblioteca Nacional, 3307 [Prüm, s. ix], 5r–8ov.) Finally, in 818, Arno of Salzburg extended the work of his deceased men-

tor and friend Alcuin in the third version of the *Encyclopedia*. (Borst's best copies of this version occur in Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 210 [Salzburg, s. ix 1, i.e., 818], 1r–163v, and Vienna, Österreichische Nationalbibliothek, lat. 387 [Salzburg, s. ix], 1r–165v.) Arno introduced complex arithmetical formulae and additional ancient sources in his attempt to promote the rigorous exactitude in time measurement that had been championed by Alcuin. Shortly thereafter, the massive compilation in the third version of the *Encyclopedia* would itself be superseded by a similarly compendious but more carefully structured work by Hrabanus Maurus, known as *De computo* (now edited in CCCM 44, 163–323), which would then come to dominate European chronological studies for more than one hundred years.

Two final items relating to Alcuin's astronomical and chronological studies may be noted briefly. Bruce Eastwood (II; cf. also XI) views the 809 *Encyclopedia* (in three books) and its 818 expansion (in seven books) as landmarks in the progress of Carolingian science. These collections were notable for the overall reduction in the quantity of passages given over to allegory and symbolism and the addition of texts presenting concrete information, developments encouraged years before by Alcuin. Noting that all of Bede's information on the planets in *De natura rerum* derived from Pliny, Alcuin promoted the excerption of that author's works from the time of his 796/7 correspondence with Charlemagne. Eastwood reviews the evidence for the availability of full copies of Pliny's works in Carolingian royal libraries, at Reichenau, and at Corbie, copies which were evidently consulted frequently in the course of the 809 and 818 revisions of the *Encyclopedia*. Another non-Christian work, Martianus Capella's *De nuptiis Philologiae et Mercurii*, by contrast, was rarely excerpted during the compilation of compendia. Nevertheless, nineteen copies of the full work are known to survive from the ninth century, augmented by an additional four copies of the eighth book only. The concretization of astronomical knowledge in the ninth century was accompanied by an increase in the use of diagrams. The earliest astronomical or computational diagram known to have existed in medieval Europe, bar none, is the illustration that was sent to Charlemagne by Alcuin with his *Epistola CLV* (see esp. I, p. 66), now lost to posterity. Eastwood discusses diagrams issued in subsequent decades to accompany works of Bede, often those drawing on Pliny, in BN nouv. acq. lat. 1615 (Auxerre, s. ix 1 [c. 830?]), BN lat. 5543 (s. ix med. [i.e., 847]; provenance by s. ix/x Fleury), Sankt Gallen, Stiftsbibliothek, 248 (Sankt Gallen, s. ix 2 [c. 889]) and Melk 412 (see *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 61). Notice may also be taken here of two major studies by Eastwood treating topics relating to Bede and Alcuin: "Plinian Astronomy in the Middle Ages and Renaissance," in *Science in the Early Roman Empire: Pliny the Elder, His Sources and Influence*, ed. Roger French and Frank Greenaway (London: Croom Helm, 1986), pp. 197–251, and "Plinian Astronomical Diagrams in the Early Middle Ages," in *Mathematics and Its Applications to Science and Natural Philosophy in the Middle Ages*, ed. Edward Grant

and John E. Murdoch (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), pp. 141–72 (both new to *OEN*). In the course of a review of medieval Irish knowledge of classical Latin texts (XII), Dáibhí Ó Cróinín posits the Irish authorship (or compilation) of a commentary on Bede's *De temporibus rerum* (discussed by Jones at CCSL 123B, 258–9). Ó Cróinín's prosopographical study of Irish names in early medieval manuscripts leads him to suggest that "Comgán, one of the circle of Irishmen whose names occur in the margins of several ninth-century manuscripts now on the continent, may well have compiled the commentary." Ó Cróinín's speculation about the author's name should probably be separated from his discussion of the text's Irish connections, which draws on the insight that the commentator's remarks concerning *rustici computatores* who begin the year in September—Jones said he knew of no such reckoning—corroborates computational discussions in Alcuin's *Epistola CXLV* and in the dubiously Alcuinian *Tractatus de saltu lunae* (treated above as item C). These sources attribute a New Year's Day in September to *pueri* and *Aegyptii* who are almost certainly to be identified as Irish calculators. *Inter alia*, Ó Cróinín registers his guess that the marginal annotator who signs his work as *Suadbar* may be none other than *Sedulius Scottus*, whose native Irish name has never been recovered previously.

Some of the most important criticism of any Alcuinian text to appear in recent years occurs in the re-edition and discussion by Menso Folkerts and Helmuth Gericke of a series of engaging and frequently complex mathematical problems known as *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* (IV and V). The text established here augments the edition in an earlier study of the *Propositiones* by Folkerts ("Die älteste mathematische Aufgabensammlung in lateinischer Sprache: die Alkuin zugeschriebenen *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*—Überlieferung, Inhalt, kritische Edition," *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften, mathematisch-naturwissenschaftliche Klasse* 116.6 [1978], 15–78—new to *OEN*), by providing an integrated translation and commentary in German as well as a generous supply of illustrations. Folkerts's 1978 edition, however, still embodies a far superior textual apparatus. A modern English translation, announced for 1992 publication by the mathematician David Singmaster (known for his series of publications on Rubik's cube, among other recreational topics) and John Hadley, seems not yet to have appeared. Some additional recent discussion of the *Propositiones*, there unhesitatingly ascribed to Alcuin, does occur in Singmaster's article "Some Early Sources in Recreational Mathematics," in *Mathematics from Manuscript to Print, 1300–1600*, ed. Cynthia Hay (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1988), pp. 195–208 (new to *OEN*).

In most witnesses, the Alcuinian *Propositiones* contain just over fifty problems in algebra and geometry, ranging from recreational "think-of-a-number" diversions similar to those found in the lively pseudo-Bedan (or pseudo-Alcuinian) *De arithmetica propositionibus*—also edited recently by Folkerts (see *OEN* 24.2 [1991], 45)—to sophisticated linear or "trans-

port" story-problems (involving the crossing of a desert, a river, or the like), which challenge the reader to complete fairly complex equations. The new edition is founded on texts preserved in thirteen manuscripts, the earliest of which was written around the end of the ninth century (Vatican City, Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana [hereafter BAV], Reg. lat. 309 [Saint-Denis at Paris, s. ix ex.], 16r-v + 3v-4r), eight others having been dated to c. 1000–c. 1100. These include the editors' "best witness," Karlsruhe, Badische Landesbibliothek, Aug. perg. 205 (Reichenau, s. x ex.), 54r–70r; and also Munich, Bayerische Staatsbibliothek, cgm 14272 (Sankt Emmeram, s. xi in. [i.e., c. 1020]), 181v, witnessing a lost text found at Chartres by the monk Hartwic; and Leiden, Voss. lat. oct. 15 (Saint-Martial at Limoges, s. xi 1 [i.e., 1023–5]), 203v–205v and 206v–210r, written by Ademar of Chabannes.

The mathematical problems were first ascribed to Alcuin by Froben Forster in the 1777 edition cited above, on the basis of their juxtaposition with a copy of Alcuin's *In Genesim* in the manuscript now at Karlsruhe. Although, as we shall see, the problems in question resist attribution to a single author by their very nature, the association of their transmission with Alcuin's continental pedagogy is in fact supported by a convergence of evidence. The earliest witnesses to these puzzles occur in manuscripts executed in eastern or northern Francia and western or southern Germania, and some fairly slight linguistic evidence also may point to the origin of the continental archetype in a Frankish milieu. More specifically, in the light of evidence internal to his *Disputatio Pippini regis cum Albino* and some of his poetry, there can be no doubt that Alcuin loved problems of this sort. Alcuin's fondness for mathematical posers is also indicated unambiguously in his *Epistola CLXXII* of 799 (see MGH, ECA IV, 285.8–15), where he states that he has sent some problems in arithmetic (*aliquae figurae arithmeticae*) for Charlemagne's enjoyment (*subtilitatis laetitiae causa*). Further evidence to associate Alcuin with the *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* is found in three medieval library catalogues, which apparently attribute these problems (or a similar collection) to his hand. The earliest of these, from Fulda (c. 850), includes the following three entries in succession: *eiusdem* [sc. Alcuin's] *quaestiones in Genesim*; *eiusdem de formulis arithmeticae*; *eiusdem de grammatica*. The first and third of these items are best taken as references to genuine works of Alcuin (*In Genesim* and *Ars grammatica*), and thus the implication is that a work treating mathematical equations circulated as part of Alcuin's canon within fifty years of his death. With the sole (and by no means securely dated) exception of the previously mentioned pseudo-Bedan *De arithmetica propositionibus*, the *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes* constitute the *only* collection of Latin mathematical problems known to have circulated in western Europe before c. 850. Finally, the juxtaposition of the *Propositiones* with a copy of *In Genesim* in the Karlsruhe witness, corroborating the sequence in the Fulda catalogue, would seem to cement the attribution of the collection to Alcuin. Folkerts concludes cautiously that "it is probable that the author was indeed

Alcuin" (IV, English abstract), suggesting that a specialist in Anglo-Latin might undertake a stylistic study as a test.

It is certain that Alcuin, to judge by his comments to Charlemagne, had a hand in the transmission of some mathematical problems—most plausibly the *Propositiones*—and it might seem likely that he undertook, at the very least, to redact some of their texts. It is possible, of course, that any redactorial (or even compositional) efforts undertaken by Alcuin in this connection were sufficient to earn such a set of problems a place in his canon. But this line of inquiry fails to confront the difficulties inherent in the very notion of authorship as it relates to an aggregate text such as the *Propositiones ad acuendos iuvenes*. The more interesting question, in my view, concerns the route by which the *Propositiones* might have reached Alcuin's cognizance. Apart from some distant parallels in the writings of Quintilian and in the fifteenth-century Sankt Emmeram *Algorismus Ratisbonensis*, the apparatus of Latin sources in the edition of Folkerts and Gericke is most notable for its near-total lack of entries. The works cited by the editors as sources and analogues of the problems (all in V) were in great bulk composed by Greek- or Syriac-speaking authors: Heron of Alexandria (before 100); Nikomachos of Gerasa (c. 100); Diophant of Alexandria (c. 250); the Syrian scholar Iamblichos (*ob.* c. 330); and the shadowy figure Metrodoros (c. 300–500). Additional citations mainly involve analogues in texts of Arabic, Egyptian, Babylonian, or Chinese origin. Folkerts and Gericke express complete bafflement regarding the circulation of these *Propositiones* in a Carolingian milieu, only noting by way of possible explanation the arrival of the Greek educator Elissaios in 781 to tutor Charlemagne's daughter Rotrud. Intriguingly, I would note, Alcuin wrote his letter mentioning *figurae arithmeticae* (April–May 799) to Charlemagne within a few years of the earlier letter (796/7) in which he mentioned some texts from York that he had been unable to find during his residence on the Continent, copies of which he hoped might be obtained from his former school (*Epistola CXXI*; not cited in IV or V). Clearly, in the light of the 1994 edition of Bischoff and Lapidge (see notice above), the Canterbury school deserves consideration, at least in passing, as an intermediary channel for the transmission of these exotic texts to York and thence to Alcuin at Tours. On first reflection, the well-known contention between Theodore and Wilfrid would seem to argue against an early exchange of texts between Canterbury and York. But it is worth recalling that Theodore effected a rapprochement with Wilfrid in 686, which could in principle have involved gifts of books as well as land. Moreover, it is not necessary to assume Theodore's personal agency in such an exchange. On the witness of *HE* V.iii, John of Beverley, bishop of York, cited Theodore's opinion on a fairly abstruse medical matter, leading Michael Lapidge (in the cited edition) to consider the possibility "that John had imbibed the teaching [of Theodore] at first hand." The weight of the evidence for the Canterbury derivation of the core collection of the *Propositiones* may thus seem approximately equivalent

to that recently adduced by Lapidge for the transmission of a Greek-derived form of litany of saints to Worcester by the Canterbury alumnus Oftfor (see *OEN* 26.2 [1993], 60–1)—with the possible exception of the lack of a surviving manuscript of the *Propositiones* originating at York. But the nexus of evidence represented by Alcuin's recurrent interest in mathematical problems, the dating of the mission to acquire books from York, the dating of his epistolography to Charlemagne, the entry in the Fulda book-list, the contents of Karlsruhe Aug. perg. 205, and the nature of the *Propositiones* themselves might be seen to support the postulation of a lost Anglo-Saxon witness from York. Even though the Bischoff–Lapidge edition has already supported (in part) a book-length study by Jane Stevenson advancing the hypothesis of the Canterbury origin of a Latin translation from a Greek work by John Malalas (to be reviewed in my next column), the assignment of any early Latin text to the Canterbury school should only be undertaken for the best of reasons. I wish to do no more than raise the issue here. I would note, however, that nearly all of the fluid measures and measures of weight and coinage mentioned in the *Propositiones* are treated in extant texts assigned to the Canterbury school, and that such a derivation would help account for the references to desert tracts, camels, and other non-European subjects addressed by these problems.

e. The tenth and eleventh centuries

We have seen above (in the notice of Orchard's *Poetic Art*) that Late Latin secular poetry found an audience in Anglo-Saxon England as early as the time of Aldhelm, who found several opportunities to echo a four-line lyric limning the face of a dream-woman. About one hundred years later (c. 764), Cuthbert, an abbot of Wearmouth–Jarrow who had probably studied under Bede—not Cuthbert of Farne Island, whose dates are given by Ziolkowski, as cited below, p. xx—wrote a letter to a countryman on the continent (Lul, archbishop of Mainz) requesting the services of a lutanist (*citharista*) to play an Anglo-Saxon stringed instrument known as the *rotta*. Cuthbert hopes that his correspondent will not scorn his request or "think it laughable" (MGH ES I, 250–2 [no. 116], at 251; trans. follows D. Whitelock, *English Historical Documents* I, 2nd ed. [1979], 831–2). The most impressive testimony to the appreciation of both secular and religious lyrical poetry in Anglo-Saxon England emerges near the end of the period in the form of a miscellaneous collection of verse now preserved at Cambridge, in CUL Gg. 5. 35 (St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, s. xi med.), fols. 432–41 + [recently recovered leaf] + 442–3. During 1994, Jan M. Ziolkowski issued a new critical edition of the lyrics in question—generally termed *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* ("Cambridge Songs") despite their continental European origins and Canterbury provenance—the first edition of their verse to be supplied with a detailed introduction, a facing-page English translation, a full set of notes, and a comprehensive bibliography (*The Cambridge Songs (Carmina Cantabrigiensia)*, ed. Ziolkowski, Lib. of Med. Lit.

66A [New York: Garland, 1994]). This is also the first edition of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* to include twenty-seven extracts from the *metra* of Boethius's *De consolazione Philosophiae* that were recovered in the 1980s (Ziolkowski's *carmina* l–lxxvi; see *OEN* 18.1 [1984], 115–16, and 28.2 [1995], 75 [item h]) as well as seven poems previously excluded from the collection on palaeographical and codicological grounds (Ziolkowski's *carmina* lxxvii–lxxxiii). Ziolkowski is also the first editor to divide *carmina* i, xiv, and xxx into two items each (thereby introducing *carmina* iA, xivA, and xxxA), for a total of eighty-six *carmina* altogether. (Ziolkowski also prints an eighty-seventh item from CUL Gg. 5. 35, 444r, in an appendix, i.e., an eight-line poem on the victims of the Amazons copied by a distinct scribal hand.) Despite the fact that the surviving copy was executed in Anglo-Saxon England, all scholars to date have agreed that the emergence of the collection itself is to be situated in continental Europe. Specifically, Ziolkowski maintains that “at least one large component of the collection was assembled” under Salian rule, during the early stages of what “later became knightly and courtly culture,” the lyrics themselves probably reflecting “the tastes of episcopal courts in Speyer, Mainz, Trier, and Cologne, and of imperial courts along the Rhine.” The latest poem in the collection, datable on internal grounds, may be *carmen* xxxiii, in which the Burgundian court chaplain Wipo laments the death of his patron, Emperor Conrad II, on 4 June 1039.

In his introduction, Ziolkowski weighs the merits of the many competing theories that have been formulated over the years to account for the appearance of this unique collection of medieval Latin lyrics between the ninth-century production of corpora of such verse by Carolingian poets and the emergence of the well-known *Carmina Burana* in the thirteenth century. Early critics tended to detect the repertoire of a single, itinerant minstrel, an entertainer who presumably traveled from the Rhineland to Canterbury and eventually retained a single scribe to copy his favorite lyrics as a unit, mainly in a single quire of CUL Gg. 5. 35 (see below). Ziolkowski notes that there are several serious objections to such a unified view of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*. It is true that *carmina* i–xlx—and, we now know, the Boethian *metra* of Ziolkowski's *carmina* l–lxxvi—were copied by one main scribe, whereas the seven items traditionally excluded from the collection, Ziolkowski's *carmina* lxxvii–lxxxiii, have all been entered by a second hand. The work of the first scribe appears in bulk in the penultimate quire of CUL Gg. 5. 35 (quire 44, at fols. 432–40), whereas the extant contributions of the second main hand are wholly restricted to the final quire of the manuscript (quire 45, at fols. 442–3). But even proponents of the “wandering-minstrel” hypothesis have had to acknowledge that the contributions of the first scribe carry over to the end of the first leaf of quire 45 (that is, through fol. 441); and we now know that this scribe's work continued at least as far as the end of the second leaf of that quire, that is, to the end of the recovered leaf containing the Boethian excerpts (which properly follows fol. 441). Moreover, it is prob-

able that a codicological lacuna still intervenes between the recovered leaf and the present fol. 442 of CUL Gg. 5. 35, a lacuna which formerly will have accommodated extracts from the verse of the fourth and fifth books of *De consolazione Philosophiae* as well as some later medieval verse, notably the beginning of Ziolkowski's *carmen* lxxvii. As the replacement of the first main hand by the second most plausibly occurred on parchment lost to this lacuna, it is evident that the quiring of CUL Gg. 5. 35—beyond the clean start of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* in the first column of the first leaf of quire 44 (432ra)—must be viewed as irrelevant to the demarcation of the lyrical collection. Moreover, it is by no means clear that the change of scribe in quire 45 involved a change of exemplar. Indeed, Ziolkowski shows that the last seven extant lyrics (the religious poems of his *carmina* lxxvii–lxxxiii) display thematic links with preceding verse. The subject matter of *carmen* lxxxii (on David, Goliath, and Saul), moreover, is ascribed to the repertoire of an eleventh-century German minstrel in the Latin verse of a Speyer poet known as Sextus Amarcus Gallus Piosistratus (c. 1050). Ziolkowski thus concludes that both the Boethian extracts and his *carmina* lxxvii–lxxxiii represent authentic continuations of the main series of the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia*.

The wandering-minstrel hypothesis and a related theory, holding that the *Carmina Cantabrigiensia* were employed as a course-text for the training of jongleurs or goliards, have to contend with the certainty that some of the lyrics are ill-suited to popular performance in an informal setting. *Carmen* xxvi celebrates the nuns of an unidentified German convent dedicated to St. Cecilia, and various other items advert earnestly to milieux in courts, schools, and ecclesiastical centers. *Carmen* xliv is intended to be sung by a pair of male choirs and other lyrics display prominent liturgical overtones. Most of the alternative hypotheses proposed to date, including the most recent, have tended to view this lyrical compilation as a fairly static entity: for example, as a miscellaneous collection put together by a literary-minded lover of poetry, who sought to assemble specimens of many different kinds of verse and thus felt free to include truncated texts preserving only the opening lines of certain compositions, such as often occur in the extant copy (Strecker); or as an “advanced” section in a graded selection of poetic texts of increasing difficulty, that is, the contents of CUL Gg. 5. 35 regarded as a whole (Rigg and Wieland); or as a component of a reference-book, which may have been consulted in, or borrowed from, a library (Lapidge). Ziolkowski contends that any future resolution of these problems will have to come to terms with the collection's emergence as the culmination of a three-stage process. A satisfactory proposal would have to consider (1) the varying reasons for the composition of certain poems at different times and places (as indicated by the divergent handling of line-breaks and prominent initials in CUL Gg. 5. 35, among other evidence), as well as the revision of individual items over time; (2) the rationale for the assembly of the prototype of the surviving collection; and (3) the rationale for the execution of

the copy in CUL Gg. 5. 35. Ziolkowski disputes the common characterization of the songs as a fundamentally German collection, noting the origin or circulation of certain items in France and Italy. The European cultural associations of the lyrics, however, are more typically continental than insular: Ziolkowski's notes adduce Anglo-Latin thematic parallels only for *carmina* v (the theme of the three resurrections, as in Bede), x (the nightingale, as in Alcuin), and lxxvii (the fall of Satan, the Creation, and the fall of Adam and Eve, also as in Alcuin—and, I would add, *Genesis A*).

Partly vindicating views expressed decades ago by Hans Spanke, Ziolkowski sees musical considerations as having played the most important roles in the assembly of the collection. Several lyrics refer explicitly to the history, theory, and performance of music (e.g., *carmina* x, xii, xxi, and xlv). Such references leave no reason to doubt that we are dealing in the main with genuinely lyrical compositions, meant to be sung with instrumental accompaniment. The recent recovery of the neumed Boethian extracts, which as a rule embody only four to six lines of the *metra* that they signal, solves decisively the problem of the incomplete state of many lyrics, Ziolkowski feels. The assembler of the prototypical collection (or, conceivably, an abbreviating scribe) often included only enough to recall the full text of a given lyric from memory and to establish its basic melody. The collection includes a number of non-lyrical—or, at best, quasi-lyrical—introductory or transitional texts containing cues for performers. For example, one curious bit of doggerel (edited as *carmen xxx*) contains thirty words in succession, in nine mainly octosyllabic lines, each of which begins with the letter c (*incipit*: "Caute cane, cantor care . . ."), recalling a similar *tour de force* in hexameter verse by Hucbald of Saint-Amand (see Orchard's *Poetic Art*, p. 45, n. 100). The functions of these semi-poetic texts resemble those of certain preludes and tropes in liturgical sequences and, indeed, certain items are accompanied by neumed melodies familiar from popular sequences. The musical apparatus of the extant copy is limited, failing to fill even the relatively cramped space apportioned for it in the layout of CUL Gg. 5. 35, especially *vis-à-vis* the relatively generous amounts of space left for the glossing of hexameter verse in previous sections of the manuscript—the very hexameters characterized by Rigg and Wieland as supposedly easier to comprehend. The employment of adiastematic (unheighted) neumes without any indication of differentiations in pitch—possibly added to the copy in CUL Gg. 5. 35 by someone with special musical expertise after the completion of the work of the main scribes—prevents the recovery of the precise melody of most of the notated items, but in one case (that of *carmen xlvi*) the full melody can be reconstructed from diastematic notation preserved in a later manuscript. Again, the collection (on the evidence of the surviving witness) seems to have included only enough information to recall a piece for readers already familiar with its melody. Ziolkowski makes the important point that the musical form of many of the Latin compositions will have rendered them attractive not only to

members of ecclesiastical audiences but to lay listeners who were conversant only in their respective vernaculars: "[M]any people around the world today would not hesitate to attend an opera in a language they had never learned . . . and millions buy recordings and attend concerts of rock or rap musicians whose lyrics are in foreign languages." He also notes that the verses in CUL Gg. 5. 35 are not, for the most part, lyrical in the modern sense of "allowing the poets to . . . express their most intimate feelings and concerns" directly; nevertheless, four of the six ostensible love-poems in the collection have been effaced in the manuscript by a censor. One of the strengths of this edition is Ziolkowski's exhaustive bibliography, which augments references to earlier scholarship with newer items cited in Schaller and Königsen's *Initia Carminum Latinorum* (1977), very recent entries reflecting scrutiny of the annual bibliography *Medioevo latino*, and other citations. The edition also offers a general index as well as indices of *initia*, titles, Latin words, Old High German words, biblical passages, and manuscripts. Strecker's charts of syllabic and accentual patterns are not reproduced or elaborated here and there is no comprehensive treatment of the musical notation in CUL Gg. 5. 35. But it is abundantly clear nonetheless that Ziolkowski has produced a superlative edition that will meet the requirements of general readers and specialists alike.

In another thorough treatment of a continental European text preserved in a later Anglo-Saxon manuscript, Helmut Gneuss has published a semi-diplomatic edition of a widely disseminated glossary of Greek grammatical, metrical, and more broadly literary terms ("A Grammarian's Greek-Latin Glossary in Anglo-Saxon England," in *From Anglo-Saxon to Middle English: Studies presented to E. G. Stanley*, ed. Malcolm Godden, Douglas Gray, and Terry Hoad [Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1994], pp. 60–86). A unique English witness to the text of the glossary is preserved in BL Harley 3826 (?Abingdon, s. x/xi), on 150r–152r. The compilation of this "Grammarian's Glossary" (entitled *Grammaticae artis nomine Grece et Latine notata* in Harley 3826) occurred centuries earlier than the execution of the copy edited here. The *terminus a quo* is indicated by a total of about fifty entries reflecting the influence of the *Etymologiae* of Isidore (*ob.* 636), and the *terminus ad quem* by a copy of the glossary preserved in a continental manuscript written c. 750, the present Wolfenbüttel, Herzog-August-Bibliothek, Weissenb. 86 (?Tours, s. viii med.; *CLA IX*, 44 [no. 1394]). Gneuss cites twenty copies of the glossary preserved in continental manuscripts, sixteen of which are supplied here with sigla and summaries of dates, origin (and provenance), existing studies, and, where available, editions and facsimiles. (Three continental witnesses that came to light as this article was going to press receive only brief notices here, as does a fourth witness destroyed in the last war.) Gneuss is inclined to date the composition of the glossary to the seventh century, but, despite the pervasive emphasis on Greek terms (especially Greek metrical terms), he views an origin at Canterbury as less likely than one in France, citing the glossary's strong continental manuscript tradition and the

paucity of connections with glosses occurring in members of the Leiden family and the Épinal–Erfurt group, or in the so-called Second Corpus Glossary. Although the evidence of the First Corpus Glossary verifies the importation of the Grammarian’s Glossary to England by the early ninth century at the latest, the copy in Harley 3826 probably attests to its subsequent re-importation during the tenth century, which introduced a text most closely related to the one typified by readings in a distinct group of witnesses identified by Gneuss, notably Berlin, Staatsbibliothek der Stiftung Preussischer Kulturbesitz, Dieziana B. Santeniana 66 (Carolingian center, s. viii ex.; *CLA*, VIII, 7 [no. 1044]), p. 349; Florence, Biblioteca Medicea Laurenziana, San Marco 38 (Corbie, s. ix 1 [before c. 825]), 3r; BAV Reg. lat. 1587, 1r–64v (western France, s. ix 1), on 22v–25v; and Erfurt, Wissenschaftliche Bibliothek der Stadt, Ampl. oct. 8 (s. xii), 125v–126r. Beyond the fifty or so Isidorian entries, more than thirty can be traced to glossaries associated with the *Hermeneumata pseudo-Dositheana*, and more than a dozen to a glossary ascribed to one Placidus. The full contents of Harley 3826 (including copies of orthographic treatises by Bede and Alcuin, as well as a copy of the third book of the *Bella Parisiaca urbis* of Abbo of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, equipped with an interlinear gloss) are supplied here with a masterly description by Gneuss, in many respects superseding the brief description by Ker, *Catalogue of Manuscripts* (1957), pp. 313–14 (no. 241). The Harley text embodies the only continuous (if occasionally lacunose) English copy of the Grammarian’s Glossary, but Gneuss (sometimes revising information set out in his preliminary list of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts in *ASE* 9 [1981], 1–59 [hereafter “List”]) notes English sources preserving extracts from the glossary in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College [hereafter CCCC] 144 (?southern England, s. ix 1 [after c. 825]; later provenance St. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury; revising entry in Gneuss, “List,” p. 8 [no. 45]), 1r–3v—whose connection with the Grammarian’s Glossary is revealed here for the first time; CCCC 356, part iii (?St. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury, s. x ex.), 1r–42r; BL Harley 3376 (?western England, s. x/xi; for apparent *membra disiecta*, see *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 65, and Gneuss, “List,” p. 29 [no. 436]), *passim*. From its very first entry—*poeta .i. uates* (“a poet, that is, a seer”)—the Grammarian’s Glossary comprises dozens of fascinating glosses, which address genres and elements of poetry; the noun and other parts of speech; and techniques of versification.

A third estimable edition of a text circulating in the later Anglo-Saxon period appeared in 1994 as an appendix to a collection of essays on Cnut (Alexander R. Rumble and Rosemary Morris, ed. and tr., “*Translatio Sancti Ælfegi Cantuariensis archiepiscopi et martiris* (BHL 2519): Osbern’s Account of the Translation of St. Ælfheah’s Relics from London to Canterbury, 8–11 June 1023,” in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Rumble, Stud. in the Early Hist. of Britain [London: Leicester Univ. Press, 1994], pp. 283–315). In a six-manuscript edition of the late eleventh-century *Translatio S. Ælfegi archiepiscopi et martiris*

(by Osbern, an English monk of Christ Church, Canterbury), Alexander R. Rumble has issued a new version of a text that was last edited afresh, albeit from one manuscript, in 1701 by Jean Mabillon (*Acta Sanctorum Ordinis S. Benedicti*, with Luc d’Achery, 6 vols. in 9 [1733–8], VI.i, 123–7; repr. in PL 149, cols. 387–94; cf. excerpts and discussion in *Acta SS.* for March, vol. 2, pp. 225–8, and April, vol. 2, 3rd ed. [1866], pp. 640–1 and 873). The work contains hagiographical prose celebrating the translation in 1023 of the relics of Ælfheah, archbishop of Canterbury (seated 1006 x 19 April 1012), from London to Canterbury. The edition is founded primarily on the now dismembered witness in BL Cotton Nero C. vii, 72v + BL Harley 624, 137r–139r (Christ Church, Canterbury, s. xii med.), supplemented by variants from the damaged Cottonian manuscript BL Cotton Vitellius D. xvii, 2r–3v (?Jumièges, s. xi ex.; later provenance ?Malmesbury). Rumble’s edition is accompanied by an English translation (by Rosemary Morris), a full set of notes, and an apparatus providing information about the division of the hagiographical prose into liturgical lections. Osbern’s verbose Latin is characterized by the conspicuous cultivation of *homoioteleuton* and other forms of prose rhyme. Osbern frequently alters and augments details of the translation found in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* (texts D and E with some additional details in C), thereby promoting the interests of his establishment. Figures from Christ Church (and associated centers) play a prominent role in the translation of Ælfheah’s relics; names of some extramural figures are suppressed; and there are added references to Dunstan, the major saint buried at Christ Church (and not at St. Augustine’s Abbey, as were most archbishops), whose relics, after Anselm’s renovation, occupied an altar opposite the one dedicated to Ælfheah. Osbern’s most notable added source is the *De institutione arithmetica* of Boethius, also consulted by the hagiographer for his *Vita S. Dunstani*, possibly from a copy now preserved in CCCC 352 (s. x med.; provenance St. Augustine’s Abbey, Canterbury).

Mary Clayton notes that her 1990 study *The Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England* (Cambridge Stud. in A-S England 2 [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press]—new to *OEN*) seems “hermetically sealed off” from roughly contemporary books on Anglo-Saxon cults of saints and relics by Susan Ridyard (1988; *YWOES* = *OEN* 23.1 [1989], 85–7), treating royal saints, and by David Rollason (1989; *OEN* = Berkhout, “Bibliography” for 1989), mainly treating local and national cults of English saints; “it is astonishing how little overlap there is,” Clayton observes (“Centralism and Uniformity versus Localism and Diversity: the Virgin and Native Saints in the Monastic Reform,” *Peritia* 8 [1994], 95–106). This recent critical disjunction ultimately may go back to the promotion of the cult of Mary during the tenth-century Benedictine reforms as a means of encouraging monastic unification on a national scale. Mary’s cult thereby impinged on both the proprietary interests of local cults and the universal goals of royal cults. The force of the Marian challenge should not be underestimated. Almost every reformed mon-

astery was dedicated to the Virgin; *Regularis concordia* prescribes daily Marian devotions; and Mary's example was especially useful in disseminating such universal monastic ideals as virginity and celibacy. Clayton observes that only a few English saints were ever venerated to foster a sense of unity among reformed houses, and these as a rule were royal male saints. More commonly, native saints (including royal women saints) contributed to the prestige of individual centers. The persistence of *furtum sacrum* and other clues from Anglo-Saxon material culture may help to account for the transitory nature of the tenth-century Marian cult. Most problematically, there was never a single, designated center for Marian pilgrimage, even if Winchester may have had some special claims in this regard. Clayton notes that the iconographical depiction of Mary as a queen, notably in BL Additional 49598 (Winchester, s. x 2; "Benedictional of Æthelwold"), emerges more or less concurrently with Ælfthryth's achievements as the first West Saxon queen to be anointed and placed in direct control of women's cloisters. Not until similarly intensive efforts on behalf of monastic communities were mounted by Queen Emma-Ælfgifu do we see the reappearance of this sort of royal depiction of Mary, as in the New Minster *Liber vitae* (BL Stowe 944 [New Minster, Winchester, s. xi 1]). The Marian cult dwindled temporarily after the initial enthusiasm for the Benedictine reforms had moderated. Clayton finds only two sources of miracles involving the Virgin in later Old English prose: in the E-text of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* for 994 (where Mary is implicated in the rescue of London) and in a homiletic narrative, following non-native sources, included among Ælfric's First Series of *Catholic Homilies* (see *DOE ÆCHom* I 30 = Cameron, "List" [in *A Plan for the DOE*, ed. Roberta Frank and A. Cameron (1973)], pp. 55-6 [B.1.1.32]). The veneration of Mary endured, however, notably at Winchester and Canterbury, and eventually came to support the single most important devotional cult in England during the post-Conquest period.

The sequence, an innovation of Carolingian liturgists, is a syllabic chant recited immediately after the alleluia of the mass (see further *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 71-2). The only surviving collections of English sequences preserved in pre-Conquest manuscripts occur in the famous "Winchester tropers"—that is, OB Bodley 775 (*SC* 2558) (Old Minster, Winchester, s. xi med.) and CCC 473 (Old Minster, Winchester, s. xi 1 [Gneuss, "List," 11, no. 116] or s. x ex. [Hiley, as cited below]). The sequences in these sources have formed the basis of several recent studies by David Hiley, who finds that numerous additions and alterations (including revised musical notation) introduced into these collections during the eleventh and twelfth centuries seem to be intended to keep their volumes current with local usage ("Changes in English Chant Repertories in the Eleventh Century as Reflected in the Winchester Sequences," *Anglo-Norman Stud.* 16 [1994], 137-54, illus.; a related study by Hiley is "Editing the Winchester Sequence Repertory of ca. 1000," in *Cantus Planus: Papers Read at the Third Meeting, Tihany, Hungary, 19-24 Sep-*

tember 1988, ed. László Dobszay for the International Musicological Society Study Group "Cantus Planus" [Budapest: Hungarian Acad. of Sciences Inst. for Musicology, 1990], pp. 99-113, and excerpts from Hiley's paper "The Repertory of Sequences at Winchester" appear in the videocassette release *From Rome to the Passing of Gothic: Western Chant Repertories and Their Influence on Early Polyphony—A Conference in honor of David G. Hughes* [Cambridge, MA: Harvard Univ. Dept. of Music, 1990]—both new to *OEN*). Altogether, there are twenty-nine added sequences in Bodley 775 and eleven in CCC 473, all of which are analyzed by Hiley in his valuable Table 5. (The "Origin" column in Hiley's table may be especially useful for identifying previously neglected Anglo-Latin compositions in verse.) In some respects, the chant melodies constitute the most stable element of the sequence collections. Nearly all of the pre-Conquest Winchester texts are unknown in earlier sources, but parallels can be found for their melodies. The melodies regularly remain the same even when the texts supporting them change. No new melodies, that is, none beyond the basic three found already in the unaugmented repertory, appear to have been composed for the additions to the sequences collected at Winchester. (At Canterbury, however, some new melodies were produced, Hiley finds.) Most impressively, Hiley offers a specific medieval musical term—*symphonia rythmica*—used to describe the conspicuous interaction of music with the words of an accompanying text. (See *OEN* 28.2 [1995], 71, for germane observations by Susan Rankin.) For example, a lyrical narrative evoking the vanquishing of the sorcerer Simon by St. Peter is accompanied by suitable musical effects at its most dramatic moments. (Hiley notes that the piece in question, titled *Agmina leta* and known only in English books, also employs grecisms and other *recherché* vocabulary.) Hiley suggests that the pattern evinced by the Winchester books—a fairly stable core collection altered as needed in response to local needs—remains the general rule well into the central Middle Ages.

A recent article by David W. Porter addresses the fundamentally pedagogical contents of Ælfric Bata's *Colloquia* ("The Latin Syllabus in the Anglo-Saxon Monastic Schools," *Neophilologus* 78 [1994], 463-82), which Porter contrasts with the *Colloquia* of Bata's namesake Ælfric of Eynsham (the second item essentially constituting a "literary work and a moral treatise"). Citing "identical responses to identical teaching problems," Porter is struck by numerous parallels to modern practices employed in the teaching of foreign languages: grammatical contextualization of paradigms, enumeration of alternative or quasi-synonymous words and phrases, discursive "glossing" of terms and usages. The aim of Bata's *Colloquia*, Porter finds, is to promote the use of Latin as a *spoken* language, and in this respect they complement more formal grammars intended to develop reading skills. Techniques promoted by Bata that have now sometimes fallen out of favor include verbatim translation and rote memorization of dialogue, the latter involving (in the *Colloquia*) the assignment of roles to students by the teacher; the students' memorization of roles

out of the teacher's presence; and finally, a formal recitation before the teacher. Bata occasionally employs *recherché* literary vocabulary, but there is no expectation that students will do so in the early stages of their study. Rather, Porter stresses the chainlike nature of the pedagogical process—Bata expects that his students will one day become teachers. In a complementary note, Scott Gwara discusses passages in two classroom debate-poems: *Altercatio magistri et discipuli*, whose hexameters were most plausibly composed at Æthelwold's school at Winchester, and *Responsio discipuli*, a companion-piece in adonics ("An Onomastic Pun in a Tenth-Century Anglo-Latin Poem," *MÆ* 63 [1994], 99–101). In its account of an acerbic debate between a Welsh teacher and an unnamed but presumably English student, the teacher (named Ioruert, or Iorwerth) is accused punningly of perverting the ". . . *iornum* . . . *uerum*" ("true *iornum* [or *iornus*?]"), an inscrutable phrase whose first, neologistic element, Gwara proposes, represents a Latinization of OE *georn* ("eager"), meant to play off the adjective *piger* ("lazy") in the previous line of the poem, and whose second element adverts to the punning association of the onomastic theme *-uert* with Latin *uerus* ("true") elsewhere in the *Altercatio* and *Responsio*.

f. Comprehensive works

Pushed up like bookends supporting the full shelf of 1994 studies on Anglo-Latin subjects—and threatening to topple off in one direction or the other—the weighty, 600-page volumes produced by Bischoff and Lapidge and by Martin Irvine remind us in different ways how little we know about the primary witnesses to the literary culture of the Anglo-Saxons. Speaking broadly, Bischoff and Lapidge remind us how little we know about the survival of the relevant witnesses, whereas Irvine reminds us how little we really know about those witnesses which we do know to survive. It is fair to say that before the appearance of the 1994 edition of the *Canterbury commentaries*, no one suspected the extent to which Mediterranean learning directly impinged on the minds of English students in the seventh century—Irvine, for example, in addressing the achievements of Theodore and Hadrian, stresses the re-establishment of "the Roman institutional ties initiated by Augustine of Canterbury"—and certainly no one before Irvine managed to state in so many words that "the majority of Old English poems at each level from that of their physical form in the manuscripts to that of their (final) composition and reception within a textual community . . . set up an interpretive dialogue with prior texts, and their own textuality is formed from an internal dialogue between the discursive systems that make up English and Latin literary discourse" (*The Making of Textual Culture: grammatica and Literary Theory, 350–1100*, Cambridge Stud. in Med. Lit. 19 [Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1994]). Parts of Irvine's book were issued previously in articles that have already received separate notice in *YWOES* (see *OEN* 21.1 [1987], 103 [Bede]; *ibid.* 70 [*Dream of the Rood* and *Elene*]; and 26.2 [1993], 23 [textuality in Anglo-Saxon culture]). The sections

of Irvine's book that address Anglo-Saxon and particularly Anglo-Latin topics (that is, chs. 7 and 9) are in fact those which contain the bulk of this reissued (albeit carefully revised) material. The following comments thus attempt to supply some of the background discussion that earlier notices in *YWOES* were unable to provide.

Irvine begins by identifying one of the main components of grammatical discourse as "a normative written or textual Latin (*latinitas*)." This formulation is crucial to understanding the notion of "textuality" promoted by this book, as in the vast majority of cases the *texts* discussed here by Irvine are fixed, written compositions preserved and transmitted in manuscripts. The nearest Old English synonym adduced by Irvine for the adjective "textual" in this sense is *bodlic* ("preserved in books"), and the vernacular equivalent for his crucial term *grammatica*—a Latin feminine singular corresponding to Greek *grammatike*, not a neuter plural—is *stæfcreft* ("the discipline of alphabetic characters"), which, for Ælfric, is the key (*cæg*) which unlocks the knowledge of books ("boca andgit unlicð"). It is clear that this bookish notion of textuality is not intended here to refer in the first instance to any of the following: oral compositions, whether regarded as variable texts, such as products of oral-formulaic improvisation, or (idealistically) as fixed texts, such as genealogical and legal poems, charms and incantations, or the like; compositions in words considered apart from their transmissional medium (or media), such as the (abstracted) "text" of Irvine's own study-example the *Dream of the Rood*, which was evidently preserved in the Anglo-Saxon period in orally transmitted, written, and epigraphically inscribed forms; in a performative context, the texts which practicing artists commit to memory before public recitals; or written, but nonetheless variable, texts that differ substantially from copy to copy, including certain liturgical texts, sets of glosses, recipes, and even some elementary grammatical texts. The concept of *text* in this study intersects only occasionally with the idealized entity which textual critics traditionally seek to recover (or invent) in producing their scholarly editions. It has little to do with the formal discourse of public speakers (except when written norms influence oral discourse); it has even less to do with natural speech (except, again, in cases of cultural back-filling); and it has nothing whatsoever to do with the objects of the external world which language (in its futility) seeks to represent. In short, the term *text* here loses many of the subtle connotations of Latin *tegere* ("to [inter]weave"), particularly those which serve to represent a composition in words considered apart from its transmissional medium (or media)—though these may be recouped in some measure through the advancement of a related construct, *intertextuality*.

The question then arises whether the arguably reductive use of the term *text* here—reductive, I would note, largely as a result of the *virtue* that Irvine is exceptionally careful to define his terminology and to apply his terms consistently and in accordance with his definitions—justifies the sacrifice of some of the more familiar and versatile denotations of

text(ual) in order to support the promulgation of advanced concepts such as *textuality* and *intertextuality*. What, precisely, does Irvine's preferred nomenclature bring to the party that would not be served up by standard phrases such as "literary culture," "documentary evidence," and so on? The first response is that Irvine should not be held solely accountable for these developments in critical vocabulary. His study draws on work by Bakhtin, Barthes, Derrida, Foucault, Jauss, Kristeva, Peirce, de Saussure, Todorov, and Hayden White (but not, at least on the evidence of the citations in the bibliography, Adorno, Benjamin, Brinkmann, Iser, or Riffaterre). The scholars of medieval literature cited by Irvine in connection with the cited terminology, notably Bloch, Stock, Vance, and Zumthor, it is true, have generally applied the concept of textuality to literatures of the central and later Middle Ages, literatures emerging in centuries when the study of *grammatica* had been pushed in new directions by the scholastics and the ideal of lay literacy had made some slight advances beyond the rudimentary levels that obtained in the early Middle Ages. Irvine's emphasis on *grammatica* also serves to distinguish his work from recent textual inquiries by Allen J. Frantzen, Carol J. Pasternack, and Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe. The credit should redound mainly to Irvine for the application of a fundamentally scriptorium-bound concept of textuality, emerging out of the classical and Late Latin traditions of *grammatica*, to compositions produced within an Anglo-Saxon culture standing (at least in the early centuries) near the cusp of orality and literacy.

My own view is that Irvine's schematization does in fact provide specialists in our field with an analytical framework and a nomenclature that simply could not be accommodated within earlier systems of philological and literary-historical discourse. Irvine makes it clear that a "written work" only becomes a *text* when it "takes its place in a larger cultural library and . . . is interpreted as part of a system of other texts, genres, and discourses" in accordance with an official (or institutional) interpretive methodology; his concept of *grammatica* is "explicitly *intertextual* [author's italics], based on transtextual competencies." The interpretive methodology is largely in line with the dominant paradigm, defined here, with Kuhn, as "a conventional and consensual epistemic model acknowledged in varying degrees of self-consciousness by individual practitioners of a discipline"; *grammatica* is a paradigm and a "discursive practice that supplied the conditions for knowledge, providing the discursive means for constituting textualized linguistic objects as objects of knowledge *per se*." By excluding the "world of objects" (the things that words seek to represent) from his inquiry, Irvine is able to focus on the *metalinguage*, a formulation allowing consideration—here re-admitting to the discussion a limited segment of the "real world"—of the social position of texts within the dominant paradigm and in relation to "a special kind of literate subjectivity, an identity and social position for *litterati* which was consistently gendered as masculine and socially empowered."

There is no reason to doubt that the early medieval conception of *grammatica* is every bit as important as Irvine conceives it to be. After biblical, exegetical, and liturgical materials, grammatical manuscripts comprise the largest surviving subcategory of medieval manuscripts. Large parts of this book are given over to eminently practical discussions and surveys drawing on this insight, such as a valuable list of 109 grammatical manuscripts (pp. 395–404), each of whose entries includes a useful summary of its volume's contents (in manuscript order). Once the reader has become acquainted with Irvine's consistently applied and ultimately (in my view) inobtrusive critical vocabulary, the argumentation is easy to follow and often stunning in its erudition. Anglo-Latinists in particular can expect to find learned elaborations of the following insights: Aldhelm viewed *grammatica* as embracing all of the arts and disciplines of the medieval curriculum. Bede's *HE* articulated fully "an ideology of the text within grammatical culture" whereby "[r]eading the history, or hearing it read, reproduces an authoritative chain in its readers, solidifying and constructing the political bonds of the textual community itself." Alcuin contributed to a Carolingian refinement of pedagogical institutions, whereby *grammatica* became associated more closely with philosophical discourse. And a century later Alfred pioneered a bilingual curriculum for *grammatica* which would permanently change the direction of Anglo-Latin (and, for the first time, Old English) letters. To some extent, Irvine's approach might even be seen as conducive to the traditional goals of literary-historical criticism insofar as it facilitates exceptionally close consideration of the historical moments and social conditions that enable the production and circulation of texts.

Bruno Luiselli's weighty study *Storia culturale dei rapporti tra mondo romano e mondo germanico* (Biblioteca di Helikon 1 [Rome: Herder, 1992]) contains a chapter on "Anglo-Saxon Britain" (pp. 821–66: "La Britannia anglosassone"), addressing the transitional period spanning Germanic incursions into British territories around the time of Gildas and early developments in the cultures of the Anglo-Saxons (through Bede and Alcuin). The chapter serves to conclude Luiselli's 951-page study, which itself marks a climactic moment in the scholar's lifelong exploration of the interactions (speaking broadly) of the cultures of various Mediterranean, Germanic, and Celtic regions with the Roman imperial tradition—or the *idea* thereof. The book brings together a wealth of information that will prove especially useful to specialists in Germanic and Celtic studies, and, at present, this Italian publication finds no counterpart in a single English-language work. Luiselli's scholarship addresses the origins of the classical mythology of the northern-dwelling Hyperboreans; Greek views of northern Europe from the sixth century BC; the seldom-discussed narrative ascribed to Aristeia on the peoples of the trans-Ural regions; the account of the nautical voyage of Pitea to the far North; surviving fragments of the Greek ethnography of Posidonius; Roman ethnographic writings from Caesar and Tacitus to the fall of the Roman empire; the

conversion of the Goths; the emergence of Vandal Africa, Visigothic Gaul and Spain, Ostrogothic and Langobardic Italy, and, finally, Anglo-Saxon England. Luiselli notes that the Anglo-Saxons underwent a type of Romanization whose course differed fundamentally from that observed among other Germanic peoples. The Visigoths, Suevians, and Burgundians, for example, first passed through a period of Romanization; this led naturally to a period of Christianization, which in the case of each of the cited peoples ushered in a phase of heretical Arianization; and this finally gave way to a restoration of orthodoxy, which Luiselli terms Catholicization. The Anglo-Saxons, by contrast, passed along an inverse course, wherein a phase of Christianization preceded the main period of Romanization, which is best viewed as a secondary development. Sadly, the historical materials that would allow Luiselli to explore this valuable insight in greater detail are nowhere in evidence. A few recent studies by English and North American specialists in Anglo-Latin are cited in passing, but for the most part these have had little effect on Luiselli's scholarship. Much of the evidence set out by Luiselli is linguistic or (in a sense) textual in nature, addressing Latin and Old English forms of placenames (e.g., *Eboracum* and *Eoforwic* as names of York); the adoption by native English clergy of Latin-derived or biblical bynames (as by Benedict Biscop and Boniface,

as well as less figures well known, such as Damian, Daniel, Deusdedit, and Thomas); and broadly Roman and "semibarbarian" features of the latinity of Aldhelm, Æthilwald, Bede, and Alcuin. The long and in some respects idiosyncratic lists of Anglo-Latin phrases that Luiselli finds striking, in my view, are among the strengths of this study. For example, Luiselli identifies some "hybrid" rhetorical features of Aldhelm's verse and prose which Orchard's more systematic analysis has not yet managed to quantify: intersecting patterns of assonance and rhyme; phrases combining alliteration and paronomasia; and so on. But Luiselli's synopses of works known to Aldhelm and Bede, among others, simply offer thumbnails of some obsolescent sources—the index to Ehwald's *Aldhelmi Opera*; Laistner's "The Library of the Venerable Bede"; etc. The most heavily cited secondary authority overall for the early Anglo-Saxon period is William of Malmesbury. The chapter "La Britannia anglosassone" provides a somewhat disappointing conclusion to a book that will nevertheless stand as a monument in a field of study that Luiselli virtually invented, a field which he has done more to consolidate than has any other scholar over the twenty years that have passed since the appearance of his study of Jordanes in *Romanobarbarica* 1 (1976).

P.G.R.

5. Manuscripts, Illumination, Diplomatic

Just one major book (as opposed to essay collections) appeared in 1994, but it's phenomenal. Robert D. Stevick has pulled together two decades of work on the mathematical forms underlying the bookarts and poetry of Anglo-Saxon England and developed his ideas in *The Earliest Irish and English Bookarts: Visual and Poetic Forms before A.D. 1000* (Philadelphia: Univ. of Pennsylvania Press). Beginning with the Soiscél Molaise book shrine from the late eighth or early ninth century, Stevick demonstrates how the design required nothing more than a compass and straight-edge to construct. Its method serves as a paradigm for understanding a series of carpet, cross, and evangelist portrait pages from Insular manuscripts and the sectional divisions in longer poetic texts in Old English. Stevick guides the reader through analyses of the geometrical properties of the forms of whole-page illuminations grouped according to their handling of proportion as well as other features. He alternates chapters devoted to visual art with ones demonstrating related formal principles for the sectional length of poems. He further argues that the written space on a manuscript page involves the same type of planning as for decoration and textual division. Poems discussed include *Andreas*, *Christ II*, *Elene*, *The Phoenix*, *Christ III*, and *Guthlac A*. Throughout his analyses, Stevick focuses on what can be known objectively about the constructional principles used to create the forms of individual works. To appreciate fully the significance of his project, however, I recommend reading chapters 1 and 15 (the first and last in the

book) before proceeding through the details. One of his most challenging ideas is that the forms realized in Insular bookarts, while reflective of musical intervals, are pre-Christian responses to the codex as it replaced the scroll. He stresses that aesthetic principles of form in visual and literary bookarts were as important as color, figure, narrative, and other features commonly noted about these works. There is much to consider in Stevick's book which coheres more effectively than this summary may imply.

Two extraordinarily useful tools for research in Anglo-Saxon manuscripts appeared in 1994. The first installment of ten manuscripts in microfiche facsimile, with descriptions by A. N. Doane (Binghamton: Medieval and Renaissance Texts and Studies), introduces the project which, upon completion, will cover nearly five hundred manuscripts containing Old English. Each description begins with a history of the manuscript (where known) followed by a codicological description, collation, list of contents, and relevant bibliographical references. The scheme of selection for this first volume is not entirely clear. There are groupings of prayer books and medical texts that allow for some cross-referencing, but this is far from exhaustive given a corpus of ten manuscripts. The completed project will presumably address these issues. While in general an indispensable research tool, the facsimiles have their limitations in that they do not allow the reader to zoom in on damaged or illegible portions of the text. A more serious problem is the lack of foliation notated on the fiches.

Each fiche has seventy numbered spaces for images, but unless the folio number is clearly visible on the MS page, it is difficult to find a specific item cited in the description, the moreso if the MS is in poor condition. For example, the description of London, British Library, Cotton Galba A. xiv indicates that the leaves are mounted separately and a number of them are incorrectly presented by being reversed, out of order, or upside-down. It is difficult to determine whether or not the fiche presents these pages oriented correctly and in order since the leaves are not numbered and parts are illegible. That being said, the descriptions provide a valuable supplement to Ker's *Catalogue* by offering the work of later scholars to amplify and/or correct Ker's judgments.

The *Corpus of Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and Early Anglo-Norman Manuscript Art: a Hypertext System (Hypershell Version 1.0)* by Thomas H. Ohlgren and William I. Bormann (West Lafayette, IN: ScholarWare) provides "an electronic guide to the textual and iconographic contents of 232 Insular, Anglo-Saxon, and early Anglo-Norman illuminated manuscripts, produced or owned in the British Isles" c. 625-1100. Keyed to images in Ohlgren's reference work, *Insular and Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts: An Iconographic Catalogue* (New York and London: Garland Publishing, 1986), with references to images and descriptions published elsewhere, the corpus can be accessed by keywords, image numbers, manuscript citations, and innumerable hypertext links. This tool serves the novice as well as the advanced scholar since definitions of terms, short biographies of authors, and summaries of works are provided along with the cross-references to related images and contexts. It is possible to work at the level of analysis one needs, yet to query other levels on occasion. Paleographers, textual scholars, and historians—as well as art historians—will find this corpus useful as a guide to images of all types preserved in manuscripts from the Anglo-Saxon period.

A number of works analyzing various paleographic features of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts appeared in 1994. The most general of these is *Monks, Monasteries, and Manuscripts: the Scriptoria of North-East England in the Early Middle Ages* by Sheila C. S. Newton (Durham: Deorwenta). This is a popular large-format book with line drawings and illustrations of calligraphy and decorative pattern designs. The first chapter on monasteries describes the settings in which manuscripts were produced, with special emphasis on Northumbrian foundations. Chapter two addresses monastic and secular life in Bede's time, while chapter three describes materials and script types used for the production of manuscripts in the early Anglo-Saxon period. Focusing on the Lindisfarne Gospels, Newton summarizes such facts as are known about the work of individual scribes on these Gospels and discusses the process of decorating the book. The final chapter examines the influence of manuscripts produced in Northumbria in the seventh and eighth centuries both in content (especially Bede) and design. In short, this is a brief but solid introduction to writing and manuscript production in the age of Bede. The

one troubling feature is a map of northeast England intended to show the sites described in the book but not drawn to scale.

Linda Nix has published two articles, "Early Medieval Book Design in England: the Influence of Manuscript Design on the Transmission of Texts" in *A Millennium of the Book*, ed. Robin Myers and Michael Harris (Winchester and New Castle, DE) and "Manuscript Layout and Re-Production of the Text in Anglo-Saxon England," in *Gazette du Livre Médiéval* 25: 17-23. In the first of these closely related pieces, Nix sets forth the attractive thesis that "the design of a book can affect the text and its transmission, and conversely, . . . a particular text can affect a book's design." She uses examples from various groups of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts to show how their design helps to understand Anglo-Saxon literary culture. From an examination of Gospel books she determines that correct layout, rather than a complete and accurate text, guided the production of these books which had symbolic as well as literary significance. With regard to hagiographic texts, Nix uses the example of Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* to show the difference in message conveyed by a series of copies of varying quality, including one copied at St. Augustine's Canterbury along with Jerome's life of St. Paul. With examples from Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica*, Nix illustrates "how layout has a direct bearing on a text's transmission: the text's structure is altered; previously unimportant features become major features; text is omitted, included without translation or separated from its usual place. . ." From a review of surviving manuscripts of Sedulius' *Carmen Paschale*, Nix concludes that the revival of interest in this work in the tenth century coincided with the availability of Continental manuscripts from several centers which then were copied and disseminated widely in England. The second piece by Nix is drawn in large part from the previously-described essay. This piece re-organizes and expands the analysis of the manuscript tradition of Felix's *Vita Guthlaci* but at one point, comparing the quality of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 307, part I with that of London, British Library, Royal MS. 13.A.xv, actually contradicts the conclusion of her other work.

Mildred Budny provides a splendid introduction to the study of Old English poetical manuscripts in "Old English Poetry in Its Material Context" in *Companion to Old English Poetry*, ed. Aertsen and Bremmer, pp. 19-44. Covering the topics of writing and book-production, patterns of survival and distribution, the making of manuscripts, and manuscript layout and printed editions, Budny provides a thorough, appropriately detailed, and well-illustrated guide to the subject. On a similar topic, Alexander R. Rumble contributes "Palaeography and the Editing of Old English Texts," in *The Editing of Old English*, ed. Scragg and Szarmach, pp. 39-43. Here Rumble reviews the history of editing Old English from the time of King Alfred, who worked with earlier lawcodes, to the making of cartularies, to the compiling of manuscript catalogues, to the publication of manuscript facsimiles. He notes the value to scholars of all of these methods but com-

mends the formal study of palaeography as the best means to train for editing Old English texts.

In another of his analyses of tenth-century English script styles, David N. Dumville contributes "English Square Minuscule Script: the Mid-Century Phases" (*ASE* 23: 133–64). Dumville recapitulates his earlier analysis of Phase I Square minuscule, and then proceeds to describe the development of Phase III (A. D. 940–59) and Phase IV (960–early eleventh century). While setting boundaries and identifying developments and influences on English script styles, Dumville uses royal charters to show both continuity and change through the tenth century. He links major developments in calligraphy to the beginning of the reigns of Æthelstan (927), Edmund (939) and Edgar (959), and concludes that chancery clerks invented new script styles to mark the occasion of political transition. Because these styles appeared in royal documents, they were circulated quickly and set the fashion for imitation. The reign of Æthelstan, the setting for Phase II, initiates this series of changes that characterize the script of the tenth century.

Following on a 1987 article where he identified two pre-Conquest books imported to Glastonbury, James P. Carley has published a new essay entitled "More Pre-Conquest Manuscripts from Glastonbury Abbey," *ASE* 23: 265–81. First Carley examines Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 430 which contains the rare, if not unique series of texts: Martin of Braga's *Formula honestae uitae*, Ferrandus Diaconus' *Epistula VII*, and Ambrosius Autpertus' *Sermo de cupiditate*. An entry in the 1247 inventory of books at Glastonbury almost certainly refers either to this codex or a closely related volume that has since disappeared. Bernhard Bischoff argued that CCC 430 was produced at Saint-Amand in the late ninth/early tenth century. Late in the tenth century it was augmented by a scribe at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, according to T. A. M. Bishop. Carley's scenario would have CCC 430 moving to Glastonbury sometime thereafter if it is the book referred to on the Glastonbury list. The case for the second manuscript, London, British Library, MS. Harley 3020, is even more complicated. It is a composite of booklets, all of which are written in the same style at approximately the same date (late tenth/early eleventh century), but which may have derived originally from as many as three different centers: Glastonbury, Canterbury, and Winchester. It may have been seen in Glastonbury by John Leland early in the sixteenth century when he listed a pair of texts referring to Bede's *Homelia* I.13 and Bede's *Historia abbatum*. According to Carley, "This is the only known case where *Hom.*I.13 appears as an independent work, and the combination of these two items, one following the other, would seem to indicate that we are dealing either with the manuscript seen by Leland at Glastonbury or with a manuscript of a closely related tradition." Additional evidence for connecting Harley 3020 with Glastonbury comes from part 1 having served as the exemplar for Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 112, part 1 (*Historia abbatum* and the *vita* of Ceolfriht) in the early twelfth cen-

tury. The texts in Digby 112 are linked in several ways to Glastonbury. The second portion of Carley's essay contains a full analysis of the complex Harley 3020 and its early history as separate booklets.

In another informative article, Gernot Wieland surveys "Anglo-Saxon Culture in Bavaria," *Mediævalia* 17 (1994 for 1991): 177–200. From 739–44 St. Boniface established the sees of Salzburg, Freising, Passau, Regensburg, and Eichstatt. Wieland examines each of these in turn for evidence of manuscripts brought by the Anglo-Saxons to Bavaria, manuscripts written by Anglo-Saxons or their German students in Bavaria, and works written by Anglo-Saxon authors found in Bavarian libraries before 850. He also identifies Anglo-Saxon sources and echoes in Bavarian literature from the period. He concludes, surprisingly, that Northumbrian influence predominated despite the fact that Boniface hailed from Southern England. All the surviving manuscripts linked to England come from the North, and the extant Anglo-Saxon authors also are mostly Northumbrian. Communication among Bavarian sees and with others outside the region, along with the relatively slight surviving evidence of all sorts, muddies the picture, but the trends seem clear. William O'Sullivan writes another survey in "The Lindisfarne Scriptorium: For and Against," *Peritia* 8: 80–94, in which he reviews a collection of papers published in Gerald Bonner, David Rollason, and Clare Stancliffe, eds., *St. Cuthbert, his cult and his community, to AD 1200* (Woodbridge: Boydell Press, 1989) and argues that, from a variety of standpoints, the Echternach and Durham Gospels, along with other decorated manuscripts from the early Anglo-Saxon period, had their roots in Ireland. He specifically rejects the notion of a "Durham-Echternach calligrapher," which he states is a chronological impossibility. As he considers the various essays in the collection under review, O'Sullivan draws attention to the Irish connections they illuminate.

An excellent book of essays entitled *The Early Medieval Bible: Its Production, Decoration and Use*, edited by Richard Gameson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press), appeared in 1994. The scope of contributions runs from the oldest manuscripts of the Latin bible, through productions from Anglo-Saxon England, the Carolingian empire, and the Continent in the thirteenth century. Five essays refer to Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. In "The Oldest Manuscripts of the Latin Bible" (pp. 1–23), Patrick McGurk surveys the manuscripts described in E. A. Lowe's *Codices Latini Antiquiores*. Although generalizing from a list of survivors is chancy, McGurk notes a high proportion of gospel books among the extant material from before 800 A.D. The manuscripts were written in uncials until the advent of more utilitarian copies and pocket gospels in the eighth century. In general, the size of the books increased over the centuries, with eighth-century gospel books originating in England exceeding in size contemporary volumes produced elsewhere. Illustrations were more likely to appear in smaller books as opposed to complete Bibles. Evidence indicates that many books served in the liturgy, while

others were designed to be studied and commented upon. Most were corrected at one time or another. Pocket gospel books were made for personal use but in some cases came to be used as relics. In this context, the *Codex Amiatinus*, made by the monks of Wearmouth-Jarrow and taken as a gift to the Pope by Abbot Ceolfrith in 716, stands out as one of the few documented gifts of biblical books of this period.

Two of the essays focus on Carolingian Bibles from Tours. In "Mass Production of Early Medieval Manuscripts: the Carolingian Bibles from Tours" (pp. 53–62), David Ganz describes the features of books produced in the scriptoria of St. Martin's and Marmoutiers during the ninth century and lists the surviving manuscripts. He notes that the copying of complete texts of the Bible constituted a new development in medieval book production, and that many of these and other volumes produced at Tours were sent to a community of libraries. The scope of the enterprise was impressive, especially given the attention to accurate copying of the scriptural text at Tours. Rosamond McKitterick continues the topic in "Carolingian Bible Production: the Tours Anomaly" (pp. 63–77). She finds that the sheer size of Tours production has given us an exaggerated impression of the influence of the Alcuinian text on Carolingian biblical tradition. As does Ganz, McKitterick stresses the "essentially educational tradition in Carolingian Bible production" as evidenced by a clear presentation of the text by means of format and selected scripts. The text was further augmented with accompanying prologues and explanatory treatises. Uniformity was not the goal, nor did any one textual type predominate.

In "The Royal 1.B.vii Gospels and English Book Production in the Seventh and Eighth Centuries" (pp. 24–52), Richard Gameson examines an Insular, probably Northumbrian, gospel book of probably eighth-century date. Its interest stems from its very unpretentiousness, which includes mediocre vellum, unambitious decoration, and modest script, contrasting with deluxe productions such as the Lindisfarne Gospels. Gameson argues that the present Gospels is an example of mass production from the time of the young, expanding missionary church in Anglo-Saxon England. Relatively few books from this much larger but more modest class have survived because they experienced greater wear and tear. Thus Gospels such as Royal 1.B.vii can shed important light on book production in early Christian Anglo-Saxon England. Richard Marsden looks at the remains of pre-Conquest Bibles in "The Old Testament in Late Anglo-Saxon England: Preliminary Observations" (pp. 101–24). With the *Codex Amiatinus* the only complete Bible surviving from the period, the evidence is scanty, provided by survivors mainly from the period of Northumbrian leadership. The most important source of information about the Old Testament in late Anglo-Saxon England is found in London, British Library, MSS. Royal 1.E.vii–viii. Marsden describes this two-volume, now incomplete, Bible and shows that its text and other features combine Alcuinian and Theodulfian influences. Whereas this text and other contemporary survivors descend from a

Carolingian tradition, and the connection with Fleury was strong during the Benedictine revival in England, direct linkages are yet to be traced.

In another survey of Carolingian materials, Rosamond McKitterick writes "The Audience for Latin Historiography in the Early Middle Ages: Text Transmission and Manuscript Dissemination," in *Historiographie im frühen Mittelalter*, ed. Anton Scharer and Georg Scheibelreiter, pp. 96–114. McKitterick finds that Roman histories from Caesar and Sallust forward, Christian histories including parts of the Old Testament, the Apocrypha, and Eusebius, barbarian histories such as that of Jordanes, and Carolingian annals and other works were copied widely in the early middle ages. These histories sometimes were associated with specific texts by compilers, and at other times could be excerpted into anthologies depending upon the theme or purpose of the collection. She further notes that Frankish interest in history "was confined for the most part to the three peoples, Trojans, Romans, and Jews, whose history was seen to stand in direct continuity with that of the Franks." On this general theme, Philippe Depreux explores the bibliomania of Lupus of Ferrières in "Büchersuche und Büchertausch im Zeitalter der karolingischen Renaissance am Beispiel des Briefwechsels des Lupus von Ferrières," *Archiv für Kulturgeschichte* 76: 267–84. Through his letters, Lupus shows an avid desire to borrow and exchange books, often for the purpose of achieving a better text than the one available to him. His connection with York was extremely strong in this regard as he sought above all to increase his collection of classical Latin authors such as Cicero. These letters also reveal the holdings of libraries at York and on the continent during the period of the Carolingian Renaissance.

Scott Gwara has written three related articles on manuscript glosses in various copies of Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate*. In "Manuscripts of Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate* and the Rise of Hermeneutic Literacy in Tenth-Century England," *SM* 3rd ser., 35: 101–59, Gwara argues that Aldhelm's work became the most influential handbook of the florid Latin style as an outgrowth of the Benedictine revival. Extensive glossing in the extant copies testifies to the use of this text for instructional purposes. Through painstaking analysis of textual variations and relations among the glosses themselves, Gwara conjectures that one copy is likely to have been copied during Dunstan's tenure at Glastonbury, and that Dunstan himself may well have been a major factor in the rise of Aldhelm's prestige as a stylistic master. In "Unpublished Old English Inked Glosses from Manuscripts of Aldhelm's *Prosa de Virginitate*," *NM* 95: 267–71, Gwara cites eleven glosses from six manuscripts that have been overlooked. Usefully, he follows the form of entries in the *Dictionary of Old English*. He finds one *hapax legomenon* in the gloss *wilsambede*. Lastly, in "The Continuance of Aldhelm Studies in Post-Conquest England and Glosses to the *Prosa de Virginitate* in Hereford, Cath. Lib. MS P.I.17," *Scriptorium* 48: 18–38, Gwara demonstrates the perseverance of Aldhelm studies into the post-Con-

quest period. The Hereford MS dates to the late twelfth/early thirteenth century and descends, as he shows, from one copied two centuries earlier—Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS. Digby 146. Irregularities in the copying of glosses indicate that monks studying the Hereford MS also had access to its exemplar. Gwara believes that the tradition of Aldhelm studies thus continued in the vicinity of Abingdon even if it died out, as William of Malmesbury averred in his *Vita Aldhelmi*, at his former abbey (Malmesbury).

Philip G. Rusche contributes to the study of the same work in "Dry-Point Glosses to Aldhelm's *De laudibus virginittatis* in Beinecke 401," *ASE* 23: 195–213, where he publishes 160 dry-point glosses and gloss fragments for the first time. These appear to have been written by a student struggling to understand the Latin text. He often glosses word-for-word and attempts to convey the grammar and construction of the Latin in the gloss. The evidence suggests that the prologue was studied far more than the rest of the text and mainly as a source of vocabulary and grammar. Scratched words could be used for other purposes, as W. Schipper shows in "Dry-Point Compilation Notes in the Benedictional of St Æthelwold," *Brit. Lib. Jnl* 20: 17–34. Produced between 971 and 973, this manuscript (London, British Library, Add. MS. 49598) contains informal notes that indicate how it was assembled. Physical features, such as the variety in the size of gatherings, the singletons, spoiled pages re-used, misruled pages, and double sets of prickings, suggest that the manuscript was not prepared systematically. The thirteen surviving notes predate the copying of the main text and provide direction as to what benedictions were to be inserted and where.

In another study related to the transmission of the Latin Bible in Anglo-Saxon England, Richard Marsden explores the history of one text in "The Survival of Ceolfrith's *Tobit* in a Tenth-Century Insular Manuscript," *Jnl of Theol. Stud.* 45: 1–23. In the Codex Amiatinus, one of three great pandects ordered by Ceolfrith after becoming abbot of Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in 690, is preserved an unusual text of the book of *Tobit*, a corrupt version that had been improved "apparently without the aid of other Vulgate models." This text was used by Bede in his commentary *In Tobiam*, but with the disappearance of the other copies, has lacked additional witnesses until now. Marsden demonstrates that a version of *Tobit* descended from the distinctive Ceolfrithian text appears in a composite codex, Oxford, Bodleian Library, Bodley MS. 572. Copied in the late ninth or early tenth century, probably in Cornwall, the later version shares many readings with the Northumbrian text to the exclusion of continental copies of *Tobit*. Such variations as occur between the Bodley and Northumbrian *Tobit* follow patterns that are easily explainable. Altogether this is a very provocative discovery.

Two further essays deal with manuscript fragments. In "Part III of the *Moralia* in MS. Bodley 310: a New College Manuscript," *Bodleian Lib. Record* 15: 13–19, Frederick M. Biggs presents evidence that the *Moralia* manuscript was in New College when Thomas James catalogued the collection

in 1598, and develops the possibility that it was in Corbie during the late twelfth century. In "An Eleventh-Century Anglo-Saxon Missal Fragment," *ASE* 23: 283–89, Nicholas Orchard describes London, British Library, Harley MS. 271, or actually the flyleaves thereof. These are two membrane leaves from an English eleventh-century un-noted missal, and once probably formed a bifolium. Orchard argues that the surviving text is closer to those in three early fourteenth-century Paris Missals than any other comparable source. He provides a transcription of the fragment and notes on important variant readings.

In a paper not about fragments after all, Jan Geir Johansen argues for the unity of an Old English text that usually is divided by editors. His article, "The Cohesion of the Worcester Fragments," *Papers on Lang. and Lit.* 30: 157–68, addresses the work written in "216 long lines on the last four of sixty-six trimmed and separate vellum sheets discovered by the Antiquarian Thomas Phillipps, in the binding of an unspecified book at Worcester Cathedral in 1838," now known as Worcester Cathedral MS. F. 174. Johansen makes the case for the thematic unity of the so-called "Bede Fragment" on the lower half of fol. 63r and "The Departing Soul's Address to the Body" on fols. 63v–66. In brief, "the lament for lost learning and the soul-and-body text both deal with the lack of good education and the consequences of that lack" both for an individual and for society. Hans Ulrich Schmid has written an article with a self-explanatory title: "Ein Regensburger Fragment von Bedas Schrift *De Temporum Ratione* mit den altenglischen Monatsnamen," *Anglia* 112: 103–06. Schmid describes and transcribes a single leaf copied in southeastern Germany in the eleventh century. Although a fragment of Bede's longer work, the leaf preserves the full chapter *De Mensibus Anglorum*, which explains (in Latin) the Old English names for the months. In another interesting discovery, Norbert Wagner describes a series of alphabets accompanied by the names of the letters which follow Alcuin's treatise *De Orthographia* (PL 101: 901–20) in Vienna, Osterreichischen Nationalbibliothek, MS. 795. Wagner's article, "Zu den Gotica der Salzburg-Wiener Alcuin-Handschrift" *Historische Sprachforschung* 107: 262–83, concerns itself mainly with the Gothic lists, but mentions twenty-eight Anglo-Saxon runes with their transliteration in Latin on fol. 20r.

Simon Keynes contributed two lengthy pieces on charter evidence in 1994. In "The 'Dunstan B' Charters," *ASE* 23: 165–93, Keynes edits two recently-discovered transcripts of charters from the reign of King Edgar. The first, issued in 958, was found among legal papers within the archives of the Bond family of Newland in Gloucestershire. In it, King Edgar grants an estate of three hides at Coundon, Warwicks., to Eadwald, his thegn. The second, from 974, occurs in the papers of Thomas Madox (1666–1727) in the British Museum. There King Edgar grants an estate of nine hides at Brickendon to his thegn Ælfhelm. To illuminate the shared features of structure and formulation that ally these charters

to the "Dunstan B" series of charters, Keynes lists and describes briefly the others in the group as issued by Kings Eadred, Eadwig, Edgar, and Æthelred. Keynes then characterizes the distinctive diplomatic of these charters and suggests that these might be the products of a single agency operating on the king's behalf over a period of twenty-five years. The group seems to have originated at Glastonbury Abbey in the late 940s, with the direct or indirect involvement of Dunstan. Keynes takes on a much larger topic in "The West Saxon Charters of King Æthelwulf and his Sons," *EHR* 109: 1109-49. His purpose is to survey the surviving corpus of West Saxon charters issued in the ninth century and to trace the emergence and development of a coherent diplomatic tradition. Working from the reign of Æthelwulf through that of Edward the Elder, Keynes reviews a mass of evidence for patterns and other indications of diplomatic relationship. He suggests that the charters may well have been produced by priests attached to the royal household rather than to an episcopal seat.

In a fresh approach to the issue of manuscript migration from England to the Continent, David N. Dumville studies the complexity of motives behind such travels in "Anglo-Saxon Books: Treasure in Norman Hands?," *Anglo-Norman Stud.* 16: 83-99. Dumville provides a list of fifty high-status manuscripts exported from England after 1066 with an eye to assessing the scope of losses, the motives for export, and the fates of those books which left England. Liturgical books form the largest group that travelled to the Continent in the late eleventh or twelfth century. These include gospel books, hagiographical *libelli*, psalters, lectionaries, and the like. Those with precious bindings were particularly vulnerable to alienation. A noteworthy exception is the English vernacular illustrated book since intelligibility apparently was a factor in the matter of acquisition. Dumville notes that only one item from Bishop Leofric's collection at Exeter escaped, leading to the conclusion that a strong head of a church may have been able to guard its movable property if minded to do so. Many books, however, were sent as gifts to Continental churches, and as various ecclesiastics and aristocratic laypeople travelled to the Continent after 1066, they likely would have taken some items with them. Also interesting is the evidence that certain imported books may have continued in liturgical use in their new homes. As Dumville shows, a large outflow from England did take place after the Conquest but a number of factors contributed to that process.

In 1994 a number of works appeared about antiquarians, their collections and other activities during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. David N. Dumville published "John Bale, Owner of St. Dunstan's Benedictional," *N&Q* 41: 291-95, in which he quotes a letter sent from Bale to Archbishop Matthew Parker on July 30, 1560. Bale describes an old, strangely-written benedictional once belonging to St. Dunstan while on the Continent. Dumville then reviews several surviving examples of archbishops' liturgical books in Square minuscule from the tenth century to consider as possible ref-

erents of Bale's description. Dumville proposes two credible alternatives: Paris, Bibliothèque nationale, MS. latin 943, a combined pontifical and benedictional, and three fragments from a benedictional now distributed among Cambridge, MA, Harvard College Library, MS. Typ. 612, and two private English collections. Timothy Graham reports a firmer discovery in "Robert Talbot's 'Old Saxonice Bede,'" *Cambridge Bibliographical Soc. Newsletter* 2: 6-7. Talbot (c. 1505-58) claimed to have owned a copy of Bede's *Historia Ecclesiastica* in Old English translation. Cambridge, University Library, MS. Kk.3.18, produced at Worcester Cathedral Priory in the second half of the eleventh century, has a few entries in Talbot's hand that seem to confirm his ownership of the MS which then passed to Archbishop Parker. A runic alphabet described by Talbot in the same MS may now appear on a strip mounted in a paper frame as fol. 10 of London, British Library, MS. Domitian ix.

In "A Parkerian Transcript of the List of Bishop Leofric's Procurements for Exeter Cathedral: Matthew Parker, the Exeter Book, and Cambridge University Library MS. Ii.2.11," *Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.* 10: 421-55, Timothy Graham draws attention to a sixteenth-century transcript of Leofric's Old English list. Copied from the list in the Exeter Book, the transcript is preserved in Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 101, pp. 447-50. Notes commenting on some of the books on the list shed light on Parker's use of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts from Exeter Cathedral. One note, for example, indicates that Parker borrowed and returned the *canon on leden 7 scriftboc on englisc*, now identified as CCCC 190. Another note and related evidence show that Parker was responsible for removing eight leaves, including Leofric's list, from the Old English Gospels (CUL Ii.2.11) and mounting them in the Exeter Book. This is seen to be part of Parker's habit of removing documents concerning specific institutions from manuscripts not primarily documentary, for restoration to related materials and, in this case, their home institution. Parker's heirs are the subject of Carl T. Berkhou's essay, "The Parkerian Legacy of a Scheide Manuscript: William of Malmesbury's *Gesta Regum Anglorum*," *Princeton Univ. Lib. Chronicle* 55: 277-86. The book in question, now Scheide Library MS. 159, was copied about 1200 and became part of a composite volume bequeathed by Parker to the Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, library. The book remained in the possession of Parker's son John, however, which allowed a series of antiquaries to leave their marks of use and improvement. It seems that John's son Richard pawned the composite volume which was bound into three separate books by the eighteenth century. One was purchased by the Scheide library in 1990. Further on the topic of improving manuscripts, Hiroshi Ogawa has written "The Retoucher in MSS Junius 85 and 86," *N&Q* 41: 6-10. Ogawa argues that the retouching probably dates from the seventeenth century. The kinds of mistakes made in copying and punctuating suggest that the retoucher is not medieval. Moreover, a pressmark indicates that Isaac Voss, a nephew of Junius, owned the manuscripts in the seventeenth

century. Junius transcribed portions of them and may have been one in Voss's circle who retouched them as well.

Helmut Gneuss reminds us of the importance of George Hickes's *Catalogus Veterum Librorum Septentrionalium* in "Der älteste Katalog der angelsächsischen Handschriften und seine Nachfolger," in *Anglo-Saxonica*, ed. Grinda and Wetzel, pp. 91-106. The Anglo-Saxon manuscripts form a major portion of the catalogue, which also describes Gothic, Old High German, Old Frisian, and Old Norse materials. Gneuss provides an overview of the contents of Hickes's catalogue and then identifies the Old English manuscripts listed on pp. 135-77. These were housed in the Bodleian Library, Oxford; several Cambridge libraries; the Royal Library in St. James Palace; Cotton House, Westminster; and various other places. Hickes covers about 120 manuscripts which contained a significant proportion, if not the entire book, of Old English texts. Humfrey Wanley, the next great cataloguer, who began his work by 1696, had the advantage of Jean Mabillon's *De re diplomatica*. Wanley's work remains indispensable for Anglo-Saxonists though Hickes's still has much to offer, as his description of Cotton Vitellius A.xv sans *Beowulf* illustrates.

An important series of lectures by Colin Tite entitled *The Manuscript Library of Sir Robert Cotton* (Panizzi Lectures 1993) was published as a monograph in 1994 by the British Library. In three parts, the series covers the development of the manuscript collection, 1588-1753; librarians and aspiring librarians; and Cotton House and the reputation of Sir Robert. No doubt influenced by his schoolmaster at Westminster School, William Camden, Robert Cotton began acquiring manuscripts when he was seventeen years old. He took advantage of opportunities to augment his collection from estates where libraries were dispersed, and soon his own library attracted readers and additional books. Want lists and notations of borrowers are among the records that help to trace the early history of Cotton's work. Tite argues that Cotton himself was the first cataloguer of his collection in the sense that his notes comprise much of the text for the earliest descriptions. Cotton also re-arranged manuscripts, sought to fill gaps in the coverage within certain volumes he had created, and oversaw the binding of his books. In this work he was assisted mainly by Richard James (d. 1638), the first of a series of capable librarians who worked with the collection prior to the fire of 1731. Using information from drawings of Cotton House and catalogues of the collection, Tite reconstructs the arrangement of the library, thereby providing a vivid sense of how the library appeared at the end of the seventeenth century. Lastly Tite considers Cotton's reputation and argues that many of his actions were typical of collectors at the time, his primary motive seeming to be the development of a national archive for England.

The year 1994 was short on articles related to Anglo-Saxon art, but George Henderson published "Emulation and Invention in Carolingian Art," in *Carolingian Culture*, ed. McKitterick, pp. 248-73. Here Henderson surveys the various media where Frankish accomplishment gave way to new

influences that shaped the Carolingian renaissance, not the least of were the exemplars of Insular art. Book decoration was exported during the English and Irish missions to the Continent, influencing the iconography in manuscripts and ivory covers. Henderson details these and other strands in the artistic developments of the period.

M. P. R.

Works not seen:

Barnhouse, Rebecca Anne. "Text and Image in the Illustrated Old English Hexateuch." Diss. Univ. of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. *DAI* 55A (1994), 1554.

Meggison, David Paul. "The Written Language of Old English Poetry," Diss. Univ. of Toronto. *DAI* 54A (1994), 3430.

Page, R. I. "The Parker Library and Its Collections Today" and "The Conservator and the Scholar." *Conservation and Preservation in Small Libraries*. Ed. Nicholas Hadgraft and Katherine Swift. Cambridge, 1994. Pp. 8-13 and 15-19.

[Three important new essays, five substantially revised previously printed ones, and seven reprints of seminal studies make up the latest volume in the Garland *Basic Readings in Anglo-Saxon* series, *Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: Basic Readings*, edited by Mary P. Richards. The following paragraphs will address the nine which fall under Professor Richards's section of the *Year's Work*, with particular attention to the articles appearing for the first time.

Alexander Rumble's "Using Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts" (pp. 3-24) is a distillation of his introductory course in paleography at the Manchester Centre for Anglo-Saxon Studies. The essay is divided into six sections: Paleography, Codicology and Anglo-Saxon Studies; Catalogues of Manuscripts; Describing a Codex (by far the fullest and most helpful section); Describing Manuscript Fragments; Describing Single-Sheet Documents; and Making Transcripts and Editions of Manuscript Texts. Suggestions for further reading appear at appropriate points throughout the essay. This essay is a fine introduction to the subject and can serve as well as a refresher course for more experienced students of manuscripts.

Kevin S. Kiernan's "Old Manuscripts/New Technologies" (pp. 37-54) is an overview of a wide variety of techniques and technologies which point toward totally new approaches to manuscript studies, noting that the future of manuscript studies will include a major role for computers in providing wide access to manuscripts formerly available to but a few scholars. A postscript to the essay describes briefly the ambitious "Electronic *Beowulf*" project and the plans to digitize the Thorkelin transcriptions and other early collations and editions of the poem.

Richard W. Pfaff's "N.R. Ker and the Study of English Medieval Manuscripts" (pp. 55-77) is at once a learned evaluation of the enormous contribution of Ker to the subject and an affectionate biographical picture of how these accomplish-

ments came to be and why. Pfaff begins with Ker's school days at Eton, where the Provost was perhaps the best known student of medieval manuscripts in the world, Montague Rhodes James. He follows Ker to Oxford and the B. Litt. and provides a fascinating account of his interactions and collaborations with the likes of E.A. Lowe, Richard Hunt, Sir Roger Mynors, and others, and his putting together the formidable enterprise *Medieval Libraries of Great Britain*. After noting the several useful articles from that period, Pfaff turns to Ker's monumental *Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon*, which he discusses in considerable detail. The final work to receive extensive consideration is Ker's *Medieval Manuscripts in British Libraries*. Pfaff's touching conclusion brings us full circle to his beginning paragraphs on Ker, James, and Eton, quoting Francis Wormald's introduction of a lecture by Ker in the 1950s: "in the history of manuscript studies in this country, three men were outstanding, Humfrey Wanley, M.R. James, and Neil Ker, and that to mention one in connection with the others was to give an indication of his stature." Pfaff adds that "those who knew Neil Ker can imagine the look of embarrassment mingled with amusement which would have crossed his face at that moment; but it is a judgment which it is not possible to dispute." This erudite yet affectionate essay is not to be missed.

Although the remaining articles to be noticed here are reprints, it should be emphasized that Mary Blockley's "Further Addenda and Corrigenda to N.R. Ker's *Catalogue*" (pp. 79-85) adds sixteen *new* items to the twelve she published in the original version of this essay in *Notes and Queries* n.s. 29 (1982). Ker had produced in 1976 his own fifteen-item supplement to his *Catalogue* in *Anglo-Saxon England* 5 (1976). Michael Lapidge has also updated his essential study "Sur-

viving Booklists from Anglo-Saxon England (pp. 87-167), both with additions to the text and with a 1993 postscript, describing in some detail *Fontes Anglo-Saxonici* and *Sources of Anglo-Saxon Literary Culture*. D. G. Scragg's 1973 article, "The Composition of the Vercelli Book" (pp. 317-43) has been revised to acknowledge the appearance of Szarmach's 1981 edition of homilies 9-23 and Scragg's own edition of all of the homilies in 1992 for EETS. He also includes discussion of Vercelli's indebtedness to Pembroke 25. David Dumville, likewise, has substantially updated his learned 1981 essay, "English Libraries before 1066: Use and Abuse of the Manuscript Evidence" (pp. 169-219). And finally, the late Peter Clemoes updates and revises portions of his introductions to the EEMF editions of Ælfric's First Series and of *The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch* ("History of the Manuscript" and "Punctuation", pp. 345-64, and "The Production of an Illustrated Version", pp. 365-372). The other essays in the book, all reprints of earlier studies, may be listed here for the sake of convenience: P. R. Robinson, "Self-Contained Units in Composite Manuscripts of the Anglo-Saxon Period" (pp. 25-35); Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe, "Orality and the Developing Text of *Cædmon's Hymn*" (pp. 221-250); Barbara C. Raw, "The Construction of Oxford, Bodleian Library, Junius 11" (pp. 251-275); Kevin S. Kiernan, "The Eleventh-Century Origin of *Beowulf* and the *Beowulf* Manuscript" (pp. 277-299); Patrick W. Conner, "The Structure of the Exeter Codex" (pp. 301-315); and Kenneth Sisam, "The Publication of Ælfric's *Pastoral Care*" (pp. 373-381). All are solid studies which add to the value of this exceptional collection. The editor appends an Index to Manuscripts, arranged alphabetically by city and repository.

J.B.T.]

7. Names

The Place-Names of Rutland, Nottingham, 1994, by B. Cox, continues the scholarly tradition of the previous EPNS county volumes; actually, it encompasses three volumes (for 1989-1992). The bulk of the book presents the place-names that occur in each of the old Hundreds, organized alphabetically by parish name and also within each parish. Each name is cited in its earliest attested form and with its relevant later citations, and a possible or probable etymology is provided. The final section for each parish lists field-names. Subsequent chapters present an alphabetical list of elements other than personal names in Rutland place-, stream-, and field-names (with probable meanings), lists of field-names and minor names by category, a list of personal names in Rutland minor names and field-names, and a list of names of identified persons or families with the minor names or field-names in which they occur. Eight high-quality maps suitable for projection also accompany the book. J. Field's *A History of*

English Place-Names, London and New York, 1993, is written primarily for an intended audience of local historians in order to provide a model, a methodology, and a knowledge base for them to further their own research into local field-names as a way to understand the history of agriculture and rural life in England as well as to become acquainted with the history of the language. The book is highly readable and provides Old and Middle English etymologies for more recent field-names, but it does not break any new ground for place-name scholars. Nevertheless, the book is an interesting history and, as such, might better have been entitled: *A History of England as Told through Field-Names*.

J. Insley's *Scandinavian Personal Names in Norfolk: a Survey Based on Medieval Records and Place-Names*, Uppsala, 1994, is based on his 1980 Ph.D. dissertation. It is primarily a corpus of Scandinavian personal names found in records from Norfolk from the tenth to the second half of the thirteenth

centuries. Insley says that the onomastic commentaries for each personal name as well as the biographical information have not been updated since 1980, and he notes that there are probably more sources that he has not seen. However, he feels that his corpus and number of sources are large enough to give a clear picture of the Scandinavian personal-name patterns in medieval Norfolk. The generalizations he draws from the data include that there are distinct regional patterns of name-giving in Scandinavian England, that the degree of Anglicization of personal names in Norfolk was greater than in Yorkshire or in the Five Boroughs, and that Scandinavian personal names often occur in areas where there is less place-name evidence of Scandinavian settlement. Despite the lag time between the research and publication, the book is a valuable resource for name-scholars. N. Wagner, in "Ungedentete althochdeutsche Personennamen und das Altenglische" (*Anglo-Saxonica: Beiträge zur Vor- und Frühgeschichte der englischen Sprache und zur altenglischen Literatur Festschrift für Hans Schabram zum 65. Geburtstag*, Munich, 441–53), uses Old English and Old Norse cognates to provide etymologies and grammatical analyses of Old High German personal names: *Azzaldrud*, *Sola/Suolo*, *Zuualp*, *Vnuualz*, *Podalunc*, and *Stupinga*. R. Wenskus, in "Der 'hunnische' Siegfried Fragen eines Historikers an den Germanisten" (*Studien zum Altgermanischen: Festschrift für Heinrich Beck*, Berlin and New York, 686–721), identifies *Siegfried* along with other *-frid* names as Westphalian in origin, coming from the area known as Hunaland and not to be confused with Attila the Hun and his followers as has commonly been done.

In "Danish Place-Names and Personal Names in England: the Influence of Cnut?" (*The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark, and Norway*, London and Rutherford, N.J., 125–40), G. Fellows-Jensen recapitulates the history of the study of Scandinavian elements in English place-names by E. Ekwall, F. Stenton, P. Sawyer, K. Cameron, etc. and then examines specific place-names with Scandinavian elements. Fellows-Jensen concludes that the majority of the Scandinavian place-names in the Danelaw were coined fairly early in the tenth century; however, there are some place-names containing Scandinavian personal names, particularly those in *-by*, *þorp*, and *-tūn*, that probably reflect Cnut's land-grants to his Danish followers in the eleventh century. K. Dietz, in "Die kontinentalen Örtlichkeitsnamen der altenglischen Annalen" (*Anglo-Saxonica*, Munich, 483–514), provides analyses of the elements in eight continental place-names and six river-names as they appear in various versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. He discusses the elements: *Bunan*, *Cwantawic*, **Casiei*, *Cundop*, *Embene**, *Gend*, *Masu**, *Ione**, *Metern**, *Paris*, *Sant Lauda(n)*, *Scald*, *Sigen**, and *Sunne** in terms of their low Franconian or their Proto-French origins and their various phonological changes. In "De germanska *sta*-namnens uppkomst och de nordiska *sta*-namnens pluralitet. Förslag till problemens lösning" (*Namn och Bygd* 81, 33–47), G. Holm suggests that the Scandinavian place-names in *-sta(d)*, *-sted* from Old Norse *-staðir*, a plural form, in contrast to the En-

glish place-names in *-stead*, a singular form, reflect the fact that Old Norse field names were often plural and that these place-names originally referred primarily to fields adjacent to the villages.

Two articles in this year's bibliography provide updates on forthcoming projects. In "English Place-Names: The Leverhulme Project" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Name Soc.* 26, 15–26), C. Hough, who is the first Research Associate working on the project known as *A Survey of the Language of English Place-Names*, identifies the aims of the project and the progress made during the first two years of the five-year project. The first aim is to establish a computerized database of English place-name material, and that was scheduled to begin in early 1994. Separate entries will be made for place-names and for place-name elements. Each place-name entry will give the modern form of the name; its location on grid maps, country, wapentake, and parish maps; earliest known recorded date; type of place-name; whether it is still in use; its etymology; the EPNS volume and page reference where it is found; and its elements. Each place-name element entry will identify the source language, dialect if relevant, part of speech, grammatical case and number, function, subject category, and whether the name is independently recorded. The database will allow two entries for dialect (with the Anglican dialect form used as a headword entry) and case if needed as well as for alternate etymologies. The second aim is to produce a new edition of *English Place-Name Elements* to replace Smith's 1956 edition; it is hoped that the new edition will be completed by the end of 1996. The other aims are to compile a dictionary of Old English words in place-names to supplement *The Toronto Dictionary of Old English*, to compile a dictionary of Middle English words to supplement the *Ann Arbor Middle English Dictionary*, and to compile a list of Early Modern English terms antedating or correcting *OED* entries. The last three goals, of course, can only follow the completion of the first two. In "A New Dictionary of English Place-Names" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Names Soc.* 26, 7–14), V. Watts discusses the forthcoming English place-name dictionary to be published by Cambridge University and based on the work of EPNS members, both in publications and in archives. This work will not only supersede E. Ekwall's monumental work; it will also have a broader focus by presenting a synchronic analysis of the onomastics of modern England, regardless of the antiquity of the names, instead of Ekwall's more limited focus on only older names.

In "Place-Names and Word Geography: Some Words of Warning" (*Speaking in Our Tongues*, Cambridge, 125–40), G. Fellows-Jensen calls for "a database containing dated and localized field-names from the whole of [England]" that would allow the determination of the distribution patterns and/or meanings of various place-name elements. The essay also cautions against relying on published distribution maps which simply give data without interpretation or that involve elements that later becomes current in wider geographic areas and notes that varying forms may not reflect different origins

but only later phonological developments in certain dialect areas.

K. Cameron, in "Stenton and Place-Names" (*Stenton's 'Anglo-Saxon England' Fifty Years On*, Reading, 31-48), writes both a tribute to Sir F. Stenton and a short history of place-name studies over a fifty-year period beginning in 1942. The essay focuses on Stenton's contributions to Celtic, Anglo-Saxon, and Danish place-name studies. Stenton probably underestimated the extent of Celtic survival in Anglo-Saxon England as well as the continuity of settlement from Romano-British times, so he also underestimated the influence of bilingual Britons passing on Primitive Welsh names into Old English. However, he was well aware of the Celtic origin of many place-names which at first appeared to be English. Many of Stenton's views about Anglo-Saxon names have also been revised by later studies. For example, *-ingas-* names are no longer felt to be the earliest place-names, nor is the first element in such place-names felt to derive necessarily from "the founding father." Furthermore, Stenton underestimated the importance of topographical elements in place-names, which were among the earliest names, and he overestimated the number of place-names reflecting Anglo-Saxon paganism, although his interpretations of such names are, for the most part, accurate. Stenton's studies of Danish place-names have stood the test of time best. His views of the number of Danes settling in eastern England, of the importance of field-names in name studies, and his interpretation of the *-bys* and the *thorpes* have been further supported. Of course, one would

expect and hope for revisions of some of Stenton's view over fifty years of place-name studies; however, these revisions in no way diminish the importance of his work to later scholars.

In "The Pattern of Old English *burh* in Early Lindsey" (*ASE* 23, 35-56), B. Cox focuses on the *burh* names in the area of Lincolnshire defined as Lindsey in The Lindsey Survey during the reign of Henry I. Cox says the element *burh* in Lincolnshire is taken to mean "an Anglo-Saxon stronghold" and that each *burh* was located strategically to control a line or lines of communication, specifically to "a point of entry to the territory via river or coast and/or to an early trackway or Roman road." This pattern suggest an early seventh century origin as a system of defense provoked by threats to the territory of the Lindisfarne from both Northumbria and Mercia. In "Baulking: An Anglo-Saxon Industry Revealed" (*Jnl of the Eng. Place-Names Soc.* 26, 27-31), A. Cole argues convincingly that the village-name *Baulking* in Berkshire should be interpreted as "the stream with the baths" and that it is the site of pools created in the stream where fuller's earth from the same area was used for degreasing or fulling fleeces or woollen cloth and that the name dates back at least as early as 870.

J.D.C.

Work not seen:

Hough, Carole. "The Survey of the Language of English Place-Names." *Med. Eng. Stud. Newsletter* 31 (1994), 9-11.

8. Archaeology and Numismatics

a. Archaeology

Nicholas Bateman details the important finds in excavating "The London Amphitheatre" in *Current Archaeology* 137 (Feb.-March 1994): 164-71). Located under and beside London's Guildhall, a timber amphitheater of c. AD 70 was succeeded by a masonry version c. AD 120 which held some 8000 spectators. It seems to have had two chambers at its east entrance, both opening to the arena; one may be analogous to the Chester shrine with an altar, while the other contained a slotted threshold that suggests a trap door for releasing animals. Large quantities of bone, both animal and human, have been recovered, including a bull and a bear, and disarticulated human remains. Later levels suggest a possible use as a market, given the number of sheep and cows represented. Most exciting about the early levels is the excellent preservation of wood, allowing the timber drainage system to survive, down to a silt trap and door frames; the walls and drains will be reconstructed in the new Art Gallery as part of an exhibit on the story of the amphitheater. Remarkably, the amphitheater was in continuous use, as evidenced by constant upkeep until the later 4th century; this implies a more substantial presence in late Roman London than previously thought, and has im-

portant implications for any questions of continuity. After the amphitheater went out of use, it continued to influence the shape of AS roads around it, and Saxon finds include timber walls, wattle buildings and a fragment of late 10th or early 11th century glazed, decorated tile of a type usually associated with rich ecclesiastical sites. This point may link with a tradition that the eastern gate towers of the Roman fort, some 30 m. away, may have been part of the late Saxon royal enclosure in northwest London. One of the roads curving around the amphitheater and its collection of timber buildings is Aldermanbury Street, whose name suggests that such a site might have been closer than previously considered. Unremarked in the article but striking in the plan is how the earthworks of the ruined amphitheater would have formed a protective, perhaps even defensible enclosure for the timber buildings. The potential for this site to yield badly needed evidence for Saxon London increases when the size of the excavation is made plain: some 700 square meters will be excavated, on a site where water has preserved materials normally lost. Future excavation reports should be eagerly awaited.

In "Wood Usage in Anglo-Saxon Shields," *ASSAH* 7 (1994), 35-48, Jacqui Watson provides information on the type of wood used for over 140 shields from various sites across

England. All the shields sampled came from cemeteries, and most had been excavated within the past thirty years. She notes that, while only a limited range of woods were used in shield construction, both shield size and weight could vary enormously depending on what type of wood was chosen. Watson dispels the popular belief that lime was the favorite wood for shield construction, demonstrating that willow and poplar were actually the most common woods used (37). One particularly interesting point is her observation that sword blows were most effectively countered if the grain of the shield was horizontal to the blow, so that variations in board/grip orientation can reveal much about how a shield was used. Watson includes a clear explanation of the process through which wood is preserved and identified. Separate tables provide information on organic material associated with finds at individual sites, evidence for organic material on shields from individual sites, and the regional distribution of wood species used in shield construction at individual sites. Due to the difficulty in compiling and accessing the type of information surveyed here, a data base of specialist information on artefacts is being compiled by the Ancient Monuments Laboratory.

Also in *ASSAH* 7 (pp. 85–148) is a report on “The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Dinton, Buckinghamshire,” by Andrew Hunn, Jo Lawson, Michael Farley, *et. al.* Dinton is a late-5th to 6th century cemetery first discovered in the 18th century. The excavations published here were undertaken as part of an evaluation of land planned for redevelopment as a golf course. Twenty inhumation burials were excavated, sixteen containing grave goods. The graves were analyzed according to the sex of the occupant, by orientation, and by artefactual distribution and type. The authors conclude that although this is a relatively small sample, the burials seem to fall into two distinct, possibly family, groups distinguished by orientation, wealth, and the types of ornaments worn by the women. Of particular interest is the fact that the female graves are, on the whole, far richer than those of their male counterparts, as well as the fact that designs incorporating five-pointed stars seem to have been especially popular (128). While the authors’ discussion of both the cemetery and the individual graves is excellent, the labelling of drawings and diagrams can be confusing as the captions do not always distinguish between media. The report includes a catalogue of both the inhumations and accompanying grave goods.

The Anglo-Saxon Cemetery at Spong Hill, North Elmham. Part V: Catalogue of Cremations (Nos 2800–3334), ed. Catherine Hills, Kenneth Penn and Robert Rickett (East Anglian Archaeology Report No. 67. Dereham, Norfolk: Field Archaeology Division, Norfolk Museums Service, 1994) is one of two volumes published in that year (Part 8 was not located for this review). Part 5 continues cataloguing the finds from the only complete excavation of a cemetery of this type. The descriptions for the pots and finds, as before, depend and build on those included in the second volume; however, unless you own a personal copy, you may find it difficult to locate one. In preparation for this review, an interlibrary loan

search found no catalogued copy of volume two in the US; the closest is in Ireland! Something to recommend to your acquisitions departments, especially if your library already owns other volumes of the Spong Hill series. Part 5, meanwhile, has increased the number of stamp-linked pottery groups to 132, and as usual the clear and uniform presentation of types, associated finds, stamped decoration and even stratigraphy within the pots makes each volume accessible and efficient to use. The illustrations are of uniformly high quality. Of particular note in this batch of cremations is the exceptional glass finds, described by Vera Evison. Eleven definite, and 6 probable claw beakers were noted, the highest number for any one site anywhere, in England or out. In addition, one cremation may actually have been placed in a blue-glass claw beaker, a unique occurrence. Finally, a bichrome claw beaker, only the second definite example before the end of the 7th/beginning of the 8th century, was found. In all, 29 AS forms were identified, and “if each occurrence of glass in a cremation can be taken to represent one vessel which was burnt, a total of over 100 vessels is indicated by the remains in the Spong Hill Cemetery, a significant amount when compared with the total of 259 known for the whole country . . . in 1956” (30). A set of four microfiches make this volume necessary if earlier volumes are owned, as it contains revisions to the catalogues in Parts I and II, with revised drawings and drawings of additional grave goods. Specialist reports are also found here, particularly for plant material and organic residues.

Julian Richards reports on the “Cottam Evaluation” in the *Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 66 (1994): 57–8, which consisted of fieldwalking and limited excavation of this Anglian site in North Humberside. The main publication will follow in this same journal, but his interim report makes it clear that a major site has been found. Dated to the 8th and 9th centuries, “it belongs to a new category of site in Humberside and Yorkshire producing rich Middle Saxon and Viking Age metalwork” (57). Fieldwalking confirmed an Anglian nucleus on the site apparently shifted to the northeast during the Viking period. Three trial trenches were planned but only two opened, and it was found that much had been ploughed out. The first (“One”) opened a major north-south ditch which cut a rectangular posthole building (Anglian date?). A circular pit to the east contained an adult male skull and “a valuable faunal assemblage, also of 8th century date” (57). The second trench (“Three”) located another building and a corn-drying oven. Most metal finds were in the upper fills of the cropmark features disturbed by ploughing and so are not *in situ*, but testify to both longterm domestic settlement and to high status.

In “Monkwearmouth and Jarrow in their Continental Context,” “*Churches Built in Ancient Times: Recent Studies in Early Christian Archaeology*, Vol. 16 Occas. Papers, Society of Antiquaries of London (1994), 279–94, Rosemary Cramp takes selective stock of what is currently known about continental monasteries in the post-Roman and pre-Carolingian era. If Benedict Biscop based his rule at Monkwearmouth on the best of those employed in seventeen monasteries from

across England and the Continent, how might these different sources have influenced the development of Monkwearmouth? Cramp reviews both the material evidence from the excavations and the documentary sources to summarize what we know about the plan of both Wearmouth and Jarrow from their earliest structures to their latest Saxon plans, and considers the possible sources and parallels for features such as the western adjunct at Monkwearmouth, or the funerary chapel at Jarrow. She suggests that at Jarrow builders may have copied elements of nearby Roman structures, but that borrowing at both sites was selective, and that elements, whatever their source, were adapted to the requirements of the individual site. She also suggests that because we have evidence of extensive textile working from Whitby, but none from Jarrow, while Jarrow does provide evidence of metalworking, Northumbrian monasteries might have operated a system of exchange. (See Cramp in *Age of Migrating Ideas* below, where she repeats this claim.) Admittedly there is also evidence of metalworking from both Whitby and Hartlepool, but this does not rule out the possibility that monasteries did exchange goods in addition to providing for the needs of their own communities.

T. W. Potter and R. D. Andrews provide a fascinating look at an important site in "Excavation and Survey at St Patrick's Chapel and St Peter's Church, Heysham, Lancashire, 1977-8," *Ant J* 74 (1994): 55-134. While neither site provided the expected information for a very early Christian center, the finds from the sites, especially the chapel, were extraordinary. The chapel was constructed in two phases, with the earlier one producing fragments of painted and lettered plaster which may preserve the word "mulier" (or be two unassociated syllables) and perhaps the four-colored remains of a mural. Phase 2 of the chapel extended the length of the building and added a south door. The cemeteries surrounding the chapel consisted of several notable rock cut graves, most with sockets for cross headstones and rebates for possible lids, some 78 to 84 individual burials (men, women and children, indicating a lay cemetery to the excavators). These included a female grave with Anglo-Scandinavian comb, and one grave whose reused lid was revealed to be a striking shaped bird head which Cramp considers to be part of church furniture, perhaps a chair, or less likely, a finial to an early chapel roof. At least some of the cemetery was enclosed. St. Peter's Church was probably contemporary, that is, late 8th century or later, raising the question of why two such buildings were found so close together. There is no indication of a small monastic community from the cemetery evidence of the chapel, though excavations at the church were not possible. The well known Heysham hogback, found in the churchyard, certainly fits into the site's context of unusual elaboration, and may have been associated with another Viking period burial, as an 1823 account of finding a corroded spearhead nearby suggests. In addition, a stone with a fine cable edging probably belongs to St Peter's, as does a cross fragment, the so-called Lazarus stone. This cross fragment in fact does not depict that ico-

nography, though what it does show is uncertain. On one side, a seated, haloed figure holds a book, identified by Cramp as Christ in Majesty or Christ Judex; two sides preserve leaves, spirals and knots; and the final side has a gabled building with three heads looking out windows, four lower windows possibly with lightly incised figures, and an arched doorway beneath which a swaddled figure stands, hooded. A piece of vinescroll in the west wall of the porch of St. Peter's may also have belonged with this cross. The sites at Heysham have provided evocative evidence for quality unsuspected in such small buildings. That the excavations were carried out as rescue endeavors due to weathering but even moreso to vandalism makes the results that much more satisfying, despite the questions which remain.

Kevin Blockley reports on "Canterbury Cathedral" in *Current Archaeology* 136 (Oct.-Dec. 1993): 124-30, and the discovery of the AS cathedral directly under the nave of the present cathedral. While reflooring the nave, it was discovered that foundations representing four building phases of the AS period survived. Despite restrictions not to uncover remains down to the top of the archaeological levels, some core samples and isolated deeper excavations where pipes would destroy evidence or where graves could be cleared of filling from the 1787 paving were allowed. The earliest phase appeared as four stretches of wall near the east end of the nave, made of reused Roman bricks set in mortar and cutting into "dark earth" deposits. The "dark earth" sealed a Romano-British street and contained a single sherd of c. 450-550 date; the church cut diagonally across this street and was set on c. 50 cms. of Roman deposits. The second phase destroyed the first and greatly extended the church to the west, creating a basilican style church which seems to have included a western narthex and north porticus with a possible pulpit foundation and a grave as part of the foundation in the north aisle. An independent structure was also built to the southeast, with a floor of reused Roman bricks; Blockley suggests it functioned as a mausoleum, but calls for suggestions. Another possibility might be a baptistery. It dates possibly to Archbishop Wulfred (805-32). A brief third phase survives only as an offset string course on the south, perhaps a rebuilding, and the final phase in the late Saxon period is a major embellishment, especially in creating a *westwerk*. A western apse was built, with a hexagonal tower to the south and perhaps the north. The strengthening of the arcade walls suggest a new arch, layers of Marquise stone chippings suggest decorative elements, and a square tower or porticus on the southeast corner may be the tower of St Gregory mentioned by Eadmer, where legal proceedings were held. The date of this final phase should be after the raid in 1011 of Thorkell the Tall, and before the disastrous fire of 1067 which destroyed the church and caused the 1070 construction by Lanfranc of the Norman cathedral. Notably, the AS cathedral is nearly as large as Lanfranc's; it is roughly the same width, and somewhat shorter, with the Norman cathedral shifted 5 m. south to avoid its foundations. We can be grateful for the glimpse allowed during repaving,

though disappointed that such a find could not admit a change of plans, allowing more extensive archaeological examinations.

H. M. James writes a brief note on "Excavations on the Site of Flawford Church, Ruddington, Nottinghamshire" in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 98 (1994): 134-6, with plan. He refers to his fuller publication at the end, but this note arrived too late for that publication to be reviewed this year: *Excavation on the site of Flawford Church, 1967-1984*. The name Flawford may come from Old Norse *flaga*, flagstone, or Old English *fagfah*, and as early as 1956 it was thought the name might refer to a Roman mosaic pavement. Finds covered a range of dates, from flints of possible Bronze Age date to 16th and 17th century pottery. The stone footings of a building "apparently unrelated to the later church" (134) were associated with a disturbed tessellated floor of white limestone and red samian, unlikely to be earlier than AD 160 according to James and his informant. He does not here explain why, though he adds that along with the tesserae were found late 9th century Saxon coins of Burgred and Alfred. The first building recognized as a church had floor slabs 0.15 m above the tesserae. Its foundations were of cobbles and rubble in irregular trenches; the nave measured 9.0 x 5.5m, the chancel 4.25 x 4.0 m. Unfortunately, James never dates this building or the subsequent alterations of a possible west tower, an eastern extension, and later buttressed foundations. The plan he produces is reminiscent of the basic plans in publications of earlier decades, as he merely notes three phases with the terms "earlier," "later," and "Roman," the last the sole specific date. He does not mention that dating was particularly difficult here, and gives no reason for why the next clear reference to date is to a 13th century south aisle added for graves of the de Ruttington family. He adds tantalizingly that also found were foundations of a small northwest chamber to the church, and on the north side, a two roomed building, but he gives no details, and has omitted them from the plan. Perhaps if the longer version of his work can be located, the omissions will be clarified. For those interested, the finds and archive are located at Nottingham University Museum, Department of Archaeology.

Christopher Wandle considers "Evidence for the Anglo-Saxon Date of the Church of St. Laurence, Walton-on-Trent," *Derbyshire Archaeol. Jnl.* 114 (1994) 10-13. This is a short note on a fragment of a window-header found on the outer face of the south wall of the nave in the church cited. Additional details and discoveries in the fabric of the present church confirm a Saxon origin for the structure; however, Wandle does not differentiate clearly enough between which details are considered to be Norman, and which pre-Norman. The monolithic window-header is clearly Saxon, and has parallels in other Anglo-Saxon churches. The fragment is crudely decorated with a pattern of interlocking triangles, possibly executed at a later date. A church is recorded as existing on the site as early as 942.

Helena Hamerow covers "Migration Theory and the Migration Period" in a volume intended to celebrate the RAI

and to survey the key fields and questions facing British archaeology in the late 20th century: *Building on the Past: Papers Celebrating 150 Years of the Royal Archaeological Institute*, ed. Blaise Vyner, London: The RAI, 1994, 164-77. Her review is balanced, focussed, and ultimately optimistic, a stimulating piece for all Anglo-Saxonists, not simply archaeologists. She considers especially the fundamental debate between those who picture large scale Germanic migration and population displacement (the "Germanists") and those who claim that the British population was more numerous, but dominated by a small, powerful Germanic warrior élite (the "élite dominance school"). She begins with a survey of post-war scholars, ably demonstrating the trends that took us from Leeds and Myres with their dependence on Bede, Gildas and the *AS Chronicles*, to Hodges and Higham, who "demote the accounts of large-scale migrations virtually to the status of origin myths promoted by 'a few thrusting chiefs' emphasising instead indigenous processes of social change" (166). In reaction, British archaeologists, uncomfortable with associations of European expansionism, turned to processual models of social change, until in the '80s and '90s, post-processual discussions have made migration a central topic once again. Hamerow then proceeds to review analyses of burials, settlements and land use to demonstrate how the central issue of migration has affected the history of archaeological thought. Where once burials were classified by such aspects as orientation or crouched posture, now physical anthropology is becoming a method used to describe genetic lineages within cemeteries. The method is still to be tested adequately, and considered in addition to other factors. Radiocarbon dating also may help to determine indigenous populations versus immigrants. With settlements, the key question of why the longhouse, traditional on the Continent for centuries, would be abandoned so quickly when distinctive markers in material culture, such as jewellery, were reinforced sums up the difficulties encountered in judging "AS" or "indigenous" forms (170). Only studies of land use, along with animal husbandry and estate structures, have escaped the preoccupation with ethnic identity, mainly because of the nature of such studies, which stress continuity; the extent to which migrations would disrupt native systems is unclear. In conclusion, Hamerow says, "Clearly, the material culture of Anglo-Saxon England cannot be explained by denying the impact of the migrations. . . . Paradoxically, the greatest danger now is that our perspective may become at once insufficiently regional and too insular. . . . we risk adopting a parochial perspective which treats all 'Anglo-Saxon' material culture as a slightly Germanised version of Romano-British antecedents" (174). She recommends a greater familiarity with ethnographically derived models in anthropology to look at the process of acculturation; she also recommends a greater familiarity with Continental material than the "élite dominance school" exhibits, seen in the very use of the term "Germanist" to describe those who use such material. Rather than focus on numerical domination or untwisting ethnic cultural strands,

she advocates "regional studies of land-use, environmental change, and intra-regional exchange . . . correlated with detailed studies of individual communities" (175). Sounds a bit like keeping national identity while joining the the EEC—another instance, though not a bad one, of how approaches reflect the cultural concerns of the day.

Andrew David looks at "The Role of Geophysical Survey in Early Medieval Archaeology," *ASSAH* 7 (1994), 1–26. The aim of this paper is to present a summary of the past contributions of geophysical survey and an assessment of its present application and future potential. The information is arranged according to site type—settlement, ecclesiastical, industrial, cemeteries, earthworks—and the methods discussed are limited to resistivity, magnetometry and electromagnetics. David believes that while geophysical survey has had its limitations in the past, it has had, and is increasingly having, effective results. While only a relatively small number of sites are covered, the information included for each site is so detailed that only a brief summary can be provided here. Magnetometry has been successfully used to detect SFBs because they are often filled in with "magnetically enhanced 'occupation' soil," although the rate of success does depend on conditions and can vary enormously from site to site (6). It was also used successfully to plot traces of timber buildings at Foxley (Wilts.), where the foundations of the buildings had again been infilled with magnetic occupation soil (7); however, David feels that in general geophysical survey methods have proven ineffective in locating timber buildings. Similarly, while magnetometry has obtained encouraging results in locating graves containing ferrous objects, geophysical methods have little to offer cemetery archaeology at present. Resistivity survey has been effective on later medieval sites, particularly ecclesiastical sites—at Whitby for example—and may have much to offer medieval archaeology, but again, results have varied from site to site (15). Both resistivity and magnetometry have been used effectively in tracing earthworks. Electromagnetic methods, which include both ground penetrating radar and metal detectors, have made significant and well-publicized contributions on a variety of sites. In spite of their variable success rate, David believes that consideration of these methods is important because of the contemporary interest in understanding the context of human settlement, and the increasing use of non-invasive survey techniques (21). The increased popularity of geophysical methods, he hopes, will ultimately lead to their refinement.

**The Age of Migrating Ideas: Early Medieval Art in Northern Britain and Ireland*, edited by R. Michael Spearman and John Higgitt, gathers papers from the second International Conference on Insular Art in 1991 (Edinburgh: National Museums of Scotland/Alan Sutton Publishing, 1993, £35). It was held during the exhibition of 6th to 9th century 'Celtic' metalwork called "The Work of Angels." Divided into five parts, the book opens with a section exploring the migration of ideas, continues with three centers of production and patronage of art, and finishes with sections on the media of

manuscripts, metalwork and sculpture. The first two sections will be covered here for lack of a more specific subheading, while the manuscripts, metalwork and sculpture will appear in their respective sections.

*Part I, the *Migration of Ideas*, begins with Ernst Kitzinger's "Interlace and Icons: Form and Function in Early Insular Art" (3–15). He attempts to demonstrate the impact of iconic presentations on the earliest Christian art in the British Isles. Examining interlacing, he comments on the ancient practice of knots serving as amulets, to ensnare and confuse evil; the addition of an animal head gives it life and so more power. Kitzinger follows the use of interlace in gospel books and on stone crosses, but notes that not all interlace and knotwork need have such a magical aspect; he recommends a look at function to consider such a possibility. Artifacts such as the Coppergate helmet, and the reptilian or snake-like carving at the doorway to Monkwearmouth church, are paralleled by mosaic floors at sacred sites and the Hypogée des Dunes at Poitiers. He notes the frequent appearance of inscriptions in conjunction with such interlace and argues for an apotropaic function. The designs were aesthetic, but with a magic potential. He turns then to icons, focussing particularly on the images Biscop brought home to Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, and on the great crosses of Ruthwell and Bewcastle. He parallels many insular forms with the recent publication of contemporary icons from Mount Sinai. Kitzinger argues for the possibility that Biscop had not paintings on panels, as Meyvaert argues (*ASE* 8 [1979]: 63–77), but that he had drawings or paintings made for the use of muralists, works he terms "pictorial guides." He argues that it is as likely that Biscop found artists who could produce frescoes when he acquired his masons from Gaul. The drawings brought to Britain served as the sources for narrative and iconic depictions such as those on the Ruthwell cross. He looks especially at the Christ with the beasts panel on Ruthwell, replacing O Corragáin's "multivalence" with his preferred term of "conflation," a deliberate ambiguity introduced by the artists. Instead of a slavish follower of models, the insular artist for Kitzinger is innovative, boldly recasting the figure to evoke the beasts submitting to Christ in the desert, Christ of Psalm 90 (91), and Christ as judge. The cross retains the frame and inscription format often found in the Sinai icons. In contrast, Bewcastle omits the narrative in favor of the iconic, and introduces the secular image at the bottom, separated from the holy figures by an inscription. Kitzinger rejects the reading of this figure as John with his eagle in favor of a falconer, and notes that unlike the iconic holy figures, this one does not appear *en face*. For Kitzinger, the glory of insular manuscripts and their interlace-framed figures draws on the new influences discussed. But he adds that the "Insular miniaturist had behind him a longer and far more deeply rooted tradition than did the Greek icon painter of conveying elementary spiritual force in visual terms. . . . [the insular artist] took to the 'icon' naturally and, one could say, perfected it" (12).

*Robert B. K. Stevenson's "Further Thoughts on Some

Well Known Problems" (16–26) collects a series of short notes on topics relating to sculpture and especially, in the main, to crosses and Pictish monuments. Stevenson died shortly after the conference, but did complete an expanded version of his paper for publication; the volume is in fact dedicated to him, and to his friend Günther Haseloff, who had been planning to attend but died before then. Stevenson's collection of notes begins by citing the outline of a cross engraved on the oak board base of Cuthbert's coffin, dated 698. Unlike any Anglo-Saxon form, the squared head cross is continuous with the shaft, and has semicircular indented armpits; it is similar to forms from the St. Ninian's Isle treasure (c. 800) and St. Oran's cross at Iona, and so he considers the form then to be part of Lindisfarne's heritage from Iona, possibly with the armpits as skeuomorphs of holds for tying beams together. The next note looks at sceptres and rods, beginning with the archangel figure on Cuthbert's coffin which holds a *fleur-de-lis* headed sceptre. He compares it with the V-rods of Pictish sculpture and argues that they too are sceptres because of the parallel in the *Book of Kells*, and that "the meaning of the crescent and V-rod must have been known at Iona" (18). Stevenson points out that these symbols appear in contexts of "major Christian iconography," and that "the design-committee at Iona felt that the formula that the Picts had been using, and were continuing to use, for their common crescent and sceptres symbol, was not unsuitable for Iona's Trinitarian symbolism" (18). A third note very briefly traces embossed work in Scotland and parallels in Co. Kildare and perhaps on a Carolingian reliquary.

Three longer notes by Stevenson follow these shorter pieces. He considers animals and scrolls, creating a "declining symbol" chart based on those by Isabel Henderson. Tracing declining detail, he concludes that Evangelist symbols are the source of the Pictish animals such as the bull and lion. The scrolls and curls of Pictish carvings were increasingly "stultified," but the figures never became part of the paired symbol system, and may slightly postdate it. Citing George Henderson's work on the importance of Iona, Stevenson notes that the area of Moray Firth seems strongest as the origin for Pictish symbols; he notes, however, that we need not suppose any "foreign usage governed the Pictish significance of a motif, or that signs already used locally could not be included in the new symbolism" (20). The base of the Ruthwell cross features in his next note, and he begins by supporting Hellenistic influence and direct or indirect ideas from a Middle Eastern sculptor. He particularly concerns himself with the supposed lost scenes at the base, of which traces of a crucifixion survive. Stevenson feels that it may have been incomplete, noting blanks where side figures would stand, and low relief compared to the rest of the monument. While some think a Nativity would be on the opposite side, he does not agree. For him, the cross at first had a roughly flaked bulbous base, later squared off and chiseled to create a tenon which is now what is sunk in the church floor. The damage to the base which others have put down to iconoclasts, he attributes

to the horns and shoulders of short cattle-beasts while the cross stood outside. While this may seem odd initially, anyone who has seen the actual cross base would notice the smoothness of the obliteration, as opposed to the sharp breaks where deliberate damage was achieved; wear by rubbing seems to fit the surface texture as we now have it quite well.

The third longish note looks at cross-slabs and crosses, initially in particular at Acca's cross and its interlace. Noting the contributions of Cramp and Isabel Henderson, he looks at the unusual arrangement of branches interlaced into medallions, some of which form outline crosses or quatrefoils. Relating these to Pictish cross-slabs, he comments on the Meikle interlace as analogous to the Hexham medallions, which he sees as the areas of likely inspiration. He also comments on influences from even further afield, as the same stone has a camel and figure without wings, but with iconographic details that match those found in depictions of Ahuramazda. Turning to the St. Andrews tomb shrine, he suggests more might be made of links to Byzantine mosaics, but also wonders if the non-figural sculpture, bosses and snakes come from Iona, rather than to it. He considers T and L shapes on the end of the shrine, compares them to various analogues, and concludes that Irish influence and a 9th century date fit the shrine; that date in turn might change the foundation date for St. Andrews to Oengus son of Fergus (c. 820–34) rather than the early 8th century Oengus. Stevenson's final note concerns images of centaurs on six Scottish sculptures. He traces the links to Chiron, tutor of Aesculapius, complete with iconography of branch and axe to cut medicinal plants. On the Meikle stone, he argues the centaur can represent Christ as Healer as a result, and that we cannot dismiss any aspect of the sculptures as merely decorative or secular. He also provocatively suggests that "by the late 8th century a Pictish monastery somewhere in the Meikle and Glamis area had an illuminated medical manuscript, and a library through which ideas came . . . from afar and were redistributed" (24). As can be seen from this survey of his article, Stevenson's wide-ranging and active scholarly curiosity will be missed.

Hilary Richardson writes "Remarks on the Liturgical Fan, Flabellum or Rhipidion" (27–34), demonstrating that the ritual fan illustrates the common bonds which once united Christendom. Richardson traces a brief history of the fan, from practical use as protection from flies in the warmth of the Middle East to symbolic protection from evil influences. Examples from the East are paralleled by the insular evidence on sculpture and in manuscripts, as no fans are extant in the British Isles. The words *cuilebad/culebadh/cuillebaigh* were finally translated by Olden in 1886 when he found a gloss in the *Soliloquies* of St. Augustine in the 9th century Carlsruhe manuscript: "cuilebad" was glossed as "flabellum." Richardson notes the early date of references in Ireland, where the use of the fan goes back at least to the 7th century. The Carndonagh cross-pillar and the Fahan Mura Cross-slab are discussed as depictions of such a liturgical fan between two figures which it dwarfs. The fans are circular, or have a cross shape fitting

into a circle, and are paralleled in the *Book of Kells*, most notably on the Evangelist symbol page. Each symbol has two fans crossed behind it, and Richardson includes commentary on the possible use (first suggested by McRoberts) of the St. Ninian's Isle conical mounts as part of such a liturgical fan, *contra* Wilson. The article is a stimulating addition to mounting evidence of Eastern influence in the British Isles.

*Egon Wamers considers "Insular Art in Carolingian Europe: the Reception of Old Ideas in a New Empire" (35–44) by building on the work of Günther Haseloff on the Tassilo Chalice and its influence on religious and secular artefacts. Beginning with a catalogue of fifteen Insular objects found on the Continent, most of 8th century date, he proceeds to examine Continental work for evidence of the style associated with the chalice. He finds some 85 objects (which will be published in a complete list), far more than expected. Significantly, plant ornament forms a major part of the "Tassilo style," so much so that he argues, "Representations without plants should be understood as abbreviations of the complete motif complex. . . . The Tassilo chalice style has almost nothing to do with Germanic animal styles" (38). The motifs are derived from inhabited vinescroll from Northumbria, brought by Irish and Anglo-Saxon monks and missionaries, but used on both religious and secular pieces. A religious piece like the Fejo cup, likely a pyx with architectural designs to evoke the twelve gates of Jerusalem, are matched by spurs, swords and sword-fittings. Richardson explains these pieces as the equipment of noblemen newly Christian and part of the imperial court. He also explains the distribution as not directly linked with the Insular mission, but rather due to the adoption of new ideas from the British Isles. The eastern border of distribution aligns with the border of the Frankish Empire, the finds from female graves in Scandinavia, Fejo and Ireland are connected with Viking activities in the 9th century, and the western border corresponds not to political boundaries but to linguistic ones, between Germanic and Romance speaking peoples. The last area mentioned may show the contrast between Germanic and Gallo-Roman lifestyles. The article is important in showing the danger of assuming merely a religious source for the distribution of styles and artefacts, and the need to consider the political alongside the religious in such cases.

*Nancy Netzer writes "Observations on the Influence of Northumbrian Art on Continental Manuscripts of the 8th Century" (45–51), completing the section on the "Migration of Ideas." She focuses on defining the form that Northumbrian influence took in Continental scriptoria, noting the difficulties of limited extant manuscripts and the small fraction of those which have been studied in detail and so localized. She looks in particular at manuscripts produced in the scriptorium at Echternach, commenting that she does not believe Echternach was exclusively a Northumbrian centre, and noting its indebtedness to Irish traditions. Netzer then outlines three forms of Northumbrian influence. The clearest is imitation of Northumbrian style by a Continental centre, whether

because of the importation of artists or of models. The second form is less exclusively Northumbrian, using Northumbria's receptivity to Mediterranean models to explain the Continental desire to use such an alien style. She cites the scribe Thomas of the *Trier Gospels* as an example. The third form is the most complex, involving the process of adaptation in which Northumbrian style is conflated with a local Merovingian or a Mediterranean model. Examples include initials and more importantly canon tables from the *Trier Gospels*. The figures in this manuscript show Northumbrian portrait characteristics, including the S stroke from eyebrow to nose found on the Cuthbert coffin figures in St. Gregory in the *Leningrad Bede*. The *Maeseck Gospels* provide an example of conflating the Mediterranean with the Northumbrian, as do portraits of the evangelists in the *Trier Gospels* and in the St. Gall portrait of Matthew. Netzer notes, "The conflation in the St Gall portrait then of elements found in both the *Maeseck* and *Trier* portraits—that is products of the same scriptorium deriving from different models—suggests that the scriptorium at Echternach was responsible for the dissemination of this Northumbrian influence to St Gall" (48). The same argument is made for evangelist depictions on the Tassilo chalice. Finally, she looks at combinations of all three types of influence, using a page from the *Trier Gospels* which depicts the four evangelical symbols around a medallion of Christ; the symbols are modelled on Northumbrian examples such as the *Echternach Gospels* while the medallion is probably from a Mediterranean source. She finishes by commenting on the elusive question of the extent of Northumbrian influence. Obstacles include not knowing how many generic influences are Northumbrian coupled with the lack of evidence for how forms came to the Continent in the 8th century: documentary evidence for travelling scribes and artists does not exist. While the *Echternach Gospels* are shown to be a model, and so imply that luxury manuscripts were loaned and copied directly, we do not know how often or with how many manuscripts this was done. Netzer concludes that "the manuscripts do provide an example, unusual in the history of art, but possibly more common in the early Middle Ages than has been acknowledged, of art providing context" (51).

*The second section of *Age of Migrating Ideas* covers three sites of production and patronage, one each in Scotland, England and Ireland. *Ewan Campbell and Alan Lane discuss "Celtic and Germanic Interaction in Dalriada: the 7th-century Metalworking Site at Dunadd" (52–63), which they regard as a primary royal site, "probably to be regarded as an inauguration site for the Dalriadic Kings till the 9th century" (52). Earlier excavations of 1904 and 1929 were supplemented by those in 1980–81, to discover if any undisturbed deposits could provide stratigraphic information. The paper, however, focuses on the evidence for metalworking and especially the mould evidence for local production. The authors make their most important point in countering Henry's suggestion (1965) that the style of the Tara Brooch, *Book of Durrow* and *Lindisfarne Gospels* developed from importation of AS objects

brought to Ireland, copied and adapted; archaeology to date records insufficient evidence for such a flood in the 7th century. Evidence at Dunadd demonstrates a significant Germanic/AS influence in moulds and in surviving metalwork on the site: penannular bird-headed brooches "must be copies of these Anglo-Saxon annular brooches, adapted to the Celtic tradition of wearing penannular brooches" (55), while two pieces of AS metalwork prove direct influence is possible. The authors see the Germanic items as being stripped down for re-use on site. A second major point demonstrates that finds of panelled brooches provide all elements necessary for creating a brooch such as the Hunterston brooch, which may be earlier than thought as a result. As hoped, stratigraphy did help with dating somewhat, as one of two groups of phasings is securely stratified, with sealed layers. C₁₄ dating of unusual accuracy placed all but one of the date ranges before 700. "Consequently it seems clear that we have both Anglo-Saxon objects and Anglo-Saxon influenced penannular brooches in 7th-century Dalriada" (60). Scottish evidence would give an important earlier and previously unsuspected phase of brooch manufacture to the standard typologies. How did AS influence come here? The writers suggest the site might have been suitable for exiled Northumbrian nobles, and that gift exchange, tribute and ecclesiastic links added other venues. Their final point raises the possibility that *Durrow* is an Ionan product. Dunadd metalwork has "Durrowesque" details, and evidence for literacy, Pictish animal art and the yellow pigment of *Durrow* are also found here. This striking article makes full publication of the site an important event with great impact for early medieval scholars in many specialties.

*Rosemary Cramp publishes "A Reconsideration of the Monastic Site of Whitby" (64–73), focussing on the great amount of sculpture and metalwork found there. She notes that records from the excavation done on the site earlier in the century are not up to modern standards, creating problems in locating and dating finds; no one has as yet studied them in their entirety to see if they cover one or several periods. Using excavations at Hartlepool (from which Hild moved, and which was also a double house founded by an abbess), Cramp discusses the possibilities for early buildings and the placement of the church. Recent excavations on the west of the site away from the 1920's excavations were done by Mark Johnson, who "apparently concludes that the buildings with stone sills at Whitby were . . . medieval, whilst noting that they are not typical of medieval structures" (66). Cramp instead argues they are Saxon, analogous to building forms at Hartlepool, noting finds of 13 timbers 5 feet down on the north side of the medieval church. She turns then to metalwork evidence, concluding from finds of skillets, dress fastenings, and mounts possibly meant for book covers that by the mid 8th century England had common styles of form and ornament. Whitby seems however to have some evidence for a local style, paralleled by forms from the Strickland (Yorkshire) brooch and from Hackness. Sculpture too is something Whitby had in plenty, and by mapping general find

sites on large grids, Cramp locates the north transept areas as providing the main architectural sculpture, even wondering if structure D is a church porticus. Whitby also has notable importance for reflecting Continental rather than Bernician influence. The plain crosses, which seem to indicate wooden models, and monuments termed "upright stelae" are most closely matched in York Minster and Merovingian cemeteries, especially that of Banthélu, Val-d'Oise, until the 8th century; the abundance there is exceptional in France, and the area is one with strong Irish and AS church contacts. It is also important for the activity of AS nuns there, a female contribution one would like to see more thoroughly examined. Cramp speculates, "Could one make the suggestion that Whitby pioneered the development of stone crosses, but accepted a form which had been popularized by the Continental stelae from York?" (70). If a female influence on distribution and production is possible here, Cramp's further ideas about site specialization are suggestive. Noting Wearmouth/Jarrow's evidence for metalworking but absence of any for cloth-making, with the reverse for Whitby, she considers it possible that the monastic network may have had specialized sites and organized exchange. In any case, she argues strongly for a special interrelationship of artistic influences and practice at Whitby despite the problematic excavation record.

*John Bradley examines "Moynagh Lough: an Insular Workshop of the Second Quarter of the 8th Century" (74–81). During land reclamation in 1977, which damaged some stratigraphy, a crannog site with important evidence for metalworking was disclosed. Four phases of occupation have been found, with little recovered from Phases Z and W, but significant evidence found in Phases Y and especially X. Two round houses and a furnace in Y were surrounded by a post and panel palisade, and dendrochronology dates of 748 for the felling provide the terminus post quem. The furnace provided crucible, heating tray, mould and clay nozzle evidence along with a bronze ingot, and numerous iron artefacts in the house accompanied bone combs, glass beads and a drinking horn terminal. Phase X provided the most important evidence, however, allowing reconstruction of the actual working area of a smith. Metalworking area two shows that metal arrived in ingot form, was melted in crucibles and poured into moulds which cooled in a pebbled area. Moulds were broken open and discarded, and a pink clay spread nearby seems the place where moulds were created. Because the furnace provided evidence for at least 8 reuses, Bradley thinks the smith was a crannog resident, and 25ff of all finds on the site show metalworking was regular and a major activity. Over 600 mould fragments were found, along with finds parallel to those in Phase Y, and in addition, an antler motif piece.

b. Manuscripts

*The third section of *The Age of Migrating Ideas* deals with manuscripts, and begins with *George Henderson's "Cassiodorus and Eadfrith Once Again" (82–91). After rehearsing the dispute over whether the Ezra miniature of the

Codex Amiatinus represents "a window onto the art of mid 6th century Vivarium" (82), Henderson looks for new explanations of the design influences behind Cassiodorus' work and that of Eadfrith in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*. He adopts Corsano's idea that the Ezra portrait is a Northumbrian recasting of literary information in the *Institutiones*, but adapts it also by considering possible 6th century exemplars for Eadfrith's style instead of eliminating ties between Eadfrith and the Vivarium. Henderson looks at an inscription from Pope Agapetus' family house and notes Cassiodorus' connections with him, citing O'Donnell's translation and comment (1979) that the description may accurately preserve details of a mural or fresco. Henderson extends this comment to consider whether *opus sectile* (intarsia or marble jigsaws) might not be an influence on the lines and curves of Eadfrith's evangelists: "The difference between the soft *Amiatinus* Ezra and the hard *Lindisfarne* Matthew and his fellow Evangelists need not signify Antique versus Insular. It may simply be a shift further towards an alternative Antique idiom, known and admired in Bede's Northumbria" (87). He also comments that Bailey's templates for sculpture and manuscripts (1978) might derive from an older sectile art which Cassiodorus knew and admired. Here one might add that such an influence need not come merely from stone work, but might also come from figured glass windows, if Cramp's debated reconstruction of the Jarrow window preserves a tradition of fitted pieces in another medium.

The next two papers were brief but pointed. *Jacques Guilmain writes "An Analysis of some Ornamental Patterns in Hiberno-Saxon Manuscript Illumination in Relation to the Mediterranean Origins" (92–103), looking at the development, not just the origin, of interlace motifs. He analyzes a Merovingian Corbie manuscript as based on compass-drawn circles, noting it as distinctly Italian; the cross carpet page of *Durrow* as showing the influence of Romano-British mosaics and Celtic spirals; the *Lindisfarne Gospels* folio 139r as based on a grid and also a plait of knots; and *Lindisfarne* 210v as again showing the influence of mosaics, but also of the Mediterranean fret. He concludes, "I suspect that much of the Hiberno-Saxon decorative vocabulary in manuscript illumination cannot be explained with any single set of models or rules" (94), refuting in turn claims by Allen (1903 and 1904), Bain (1951) and even himself (1987) for general rules followed in constructing interlace pages. His illustrations are especially well done and clearly show his analyses of form and construction. Continuing in the line of refutation, *Lawrence Nees publishes a note version of "Ultan the Scribe," publishing a fuller argument elsewhere (in ASE 22) (104–5). He pointedly urges a rereading of Ultan's inflated reputation by returning to the text of Aedilulf's *De abbatibus*, noting that the poem is part of a genre in which praise is the central feature. He refutes Ultan's reputation as illuminator, though not of course as scribe, by emphasizing Campbell's choice of *pictorem* as emendation for the manuscript readings of *rectorem/vectorem/pectorem*, thus making Ultan an illuminator cited happily by

art historians ever since. As Nees says, the argument is entirely circular; Ultan as scribe is quite enough.

*Jennifer O'Reilly completes the manuscript section with "The Book of Kells, Folio 114r: a Mystery Revealed yet Concealed" (106–14). Her reading is heavily patristic, using the term mystery in its theological sense and working therefore with the paradox of seeing what is not there to see. Folio 114r is the "Arrest of Christ" page, which O'Reilly parallels with the *Durham Gospels* crucifixion while noting the *Bradfer-Lawrence Gospels* arrest scene and the chiasmic structure of folio 124r in *Kells*. The iconographic spheres which allow her to read the scene include the orans pose as suggesting the Crucifixion, the exalted body of the Second Coming (a theophany) as suggested by the cross or chi rho, and the same two symbols, sometimes with Jesus, approached or touched by two flanking figures drawn to it/him. Citing Farr's work on this page, O'Reilly builds on the detail of plant forms by examining the context of reading and imagining. Through *ruminatio* on images of the Tree of Life and the Name of Christ, she argues for cross-fertilization of images "where the two figures grafted in Christ are closely associated with the plant forms overhead, presumably olive trees, but . . . also flanked by entwined vinescrolls" (111). The vine and branches of John's gospel link with Romans 11.16–24, where wild olives graft onto good olive trees, and with oil as used in anointing and the Anointed One, as well as the Song of Songs reference to "thy name is as oil poured out." The last reference also contains the image of the faithful drawn to the sweet smell of ointments. Pulling all of this together, O'Reilly's exegesis sees the olive plants cascading from vessels over the faithful (oil poured out), with the odd movement of their legs suggesting the running towards the name of Christ in his Chi pose, both priest and victim: this "mystery, beyond all words and images, demands the language of paradox which conceals as it reveals" (114).

c. Metalwork

Nancy L. Wicker's "On the Trail of the Elusive Goldsmith: Tracing Individual Style and Workshop Characteristics in Migration Period Metalwork," *Gesta* XXXIII/1 (1994), 65–70, raises a number of important questions. The subject of the paper is a group of Scandinavian gold bracteates of the 5th and 6th centuries which provide evidence of having been produced with some of the same punch tools. If these bracteates were produced in the same workshop (which seems likely) or by the same artist (also possible), the evidence provided by the punch marks promises to lead to a significant revision of the traditional classification of bracteates, which is currently based almost exclusively on stylistic considerations. Wicker raises such questions as: Can we identify individual style or practice? Workshop style or practice? Can we differentiate one from the other? What of masters who travelled from one workshop or site to another? Were tools ever exchanged between artists, or handed down from one generation to another? She suggests that the *manner* in which a tool is used

might help us in identifying the "hands" of individual artists, but she does not go into detail about similarities or differences in the way tools were used to produce the bracteates discussed here. She also, quite rightly, states that "we need to develop models for the mechanisms of craft product distribution," (70) but she does not suggest how this might best be achieved. Her conclusion is simply that "technical details may be more helpful for establishing provenance than typological details of the central picture stamp," (70) but surely both must be taken into consideration if we are to reach a full understanding of workshop practices and the processes of production.

In "The Gold Bracteate from Undley, Suffolk: Some Further Thoughts" (*Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 7: 145–51), Catherine Hills reviews the evidence for date and geographical source. The Undley piece is a gold A-bracteate, depicting "a helmeted bust with wolf-and-twins, a runic inscription, an applied spiral, two stars and a circle, within a stamped border. It has a beaded rim and a loop with broad rounded central ridge, narrower ridges at the sides" (145). Previous studies by Hines and Odenstedt argued for a late-5th century date and a source in southern Scandinavia or Schleswig-Holstein. Hills carefully reviews the evidence for relative typological chronologies, and concludes with a caution that precise dating here is not possible; a late-5th century date could move backwards or forwards on current evidence. As for geographical source, she argues for reconsideration of whether the bracteate was produced in England, and reconsiders various details of design in sequence. While all motifs need not be summarized here, some are of note for her conclusion. Hills notes that while the triangular stamps on the bracteate in general have a southern Scandinavian distribution, they can be matched precisely on cremation pots from the site she has excavated in East Anglia for years, Spong Hill. The supposed model for the bracteate, an URBS ROMA issue of coins or medallions, was difficult to find in Scandinavia, but easily found in England. She comments also on the wolf-and-twins motif in 8th century England and the use of coins as ornaments by Germanic peoples. She concludes that while a good case can be made for the bracteate being made in southern Scandinavia, "there are also some counter indications, and an alternative English origin must be regarded as quite possible," though she sees it as "premature to rewrite runological and linguistic history on the basis of this one find" (150).

David Haldenby reports in a third installment on the "Further Saxon Finds from the Yorkshire Wolds" (*Yorkshire Archaeological Journal* 66: 51–6, illus.), continuing reports published in the same journal in 1990 and 1992. Finds are from metal detection, as the Anglian site is unexcavated. Only major new finds are included, with illustration, but they suggest a "high status settlement" to Haldenby, and in themselves argue in favor of excavation. Quite a few disc-headed, globular and faceted pins were found, as were many strap-ends, most with a Trewiddle or debased Trewiddle style decoration. A second small bell decorated with ring dots was found, and

by analogy with finds from Freswick in Caithness and a Viking period female grave in Iceland, Haldenby suggests they were female adornments. A scutcheon to suspend a small hanging bowl and a copper alloy ring were paralleled by finds from Whitby, and a scale balance beam fragment and piece of rolled gold sheet suggest possible trade. Lastly, a "classic Anglo Saxon form" of scythe was found, an uncommon find for the Yorkshire region though a hoard of four was found early this century in County Durham.

Peter Huggins describes "An Anglo-Saxon Fastener from Waltham Abbey," in *London Archaeologist* 7.6 (1994): 163–7, illus. The gilt copper-alloy fastener was discovered during excavations at Waltham Abbey. It is a cast piece of 7th century date, and is decorated with Style II animal ornament. The original provenance of the fastener is not certain, but its stylistic connections are clearly with Kentish metalwork. Huggins reports on the piece in advance of the publication of the excavations because he believes that it may have important implications for the date of the christianization of the area north of London. The fastener is decorated with a fish between two stylized eagles. The fish is, as Huggins notes, a common symbol of Christ, while the eagles, he suggests, may be associated either with John the Evangelist, or with the more general symbolism of spiritual endeavor. He concludes: "The dating comparanda suggest that the clasp could well be from as early in the 7th century as the bishopric of Mellitus. Thus it may have been through the actions of [King] Sabert and Mellitus that the first church was built at Waltham, and the clasp found its way there nearly fourteen centuries ago" (167).

Susan Tyler writes "A note on three Saxon brooches from Pishiobury, near Harlow" (*Essex Archaeology and History* 25: 263–5, illus.) which were found by metal detectors. The three are roughly contemporary and may come from a cemetery disturbed by gravel extraction near the river Stort. A simple cruciform brooch fits Æberg's Group I and probably dates to mid-5th century, paralleled by similar types from Suffolk and Cambridgeshire. A slightly later small-long brooch is termed "abnormal" by Tyler, who thinks it may be a derivative form of a late fifth century equal-arm brooch, though it has a triangular head. Its decoration is simple, horizontally incised lines, and she dates it to the late 5th or first half of the 6th century. The third example is also a small-long brooch, with a trefoil head and "a large flattened ovoid footplate facilitating ring-and-dot decoration (as on the headplate; this characteristic is found on a number of small-long brooches from Surrey, Kent and Essex)" (264). She dates it to the mid 6th century and sees it as an elaboration of earlier examples.

Catherine Mortimer examines "Lead-Alloy Models for Three Early Anglo-Saxon Brooches," *ASSAH* 7 (1994), 27–33. The three pieces discussed in this paper consist of two cruciform and a third possibly cruciform brooch models. Mortimer feels that, based on our current knowledge of Anglo-Saxon brooch and mould production, the pieces can be identified as models over which clay moulds would have been made,

rather than as trial castings of actual items of jewelry. The lead pieces are unusually complex and decorative for models, but this, she believes, could be explained by their being secondary models (cast from primary moulds), to which decorative details and refinements were added before a second mould was created around them. There are flaws with this argument; the production process she outlines is, for example, very time-consuming. Moreover, as she herself notes, the most logical reason to make a lead model is because it can be replicated more than once, yet there are few brooches similar enough to have been based on the same model. In the end, she believes that while her interpretation of the pieces as models is likely, it is also possible that they functioned as exemplars carried by itinerant craftsmen, or even that they are unfinished lead brooches.

*The metalwork section of *The Age of Migrating Ideas* (see previous sections above) contains ten papers, beginning with a short note by *James Graham-Campbell on "The Norrie's Law Hoard and the Dating of Pictish Art" (115–17)—a full version was published in *PSAS* 1991. He concludes that the hoard contained a mixture of Late Roman and native Pictish silver, noting a newly identified fragment of a Hiberno-Viking armring of the 9th–10th century from the same Largo estate on which the hoard was found. Deposited sometime during the second half of the 7th century, it may have been left there as early as the Northumbrian conquest of Fife (655) or possibly during the early 8th century Pictish-Northumbrian wars.

*Niamh Whitfield's article on "The Filigree of the Hunterston and 'Tara' Brooches" is yet another excellent piece by the expert, which manages to convey a wealth of technical detail in a clear, accessible style and organization. Her illustrations of types of beading and wire, drawn by Nick Griffiths, are especially useful in indentifying aspects of her well chosen photographs. She begins with the ancient heritage of filigree, but focuses on more immediate inspiration from Germanic and especially AS settings. If Insular goldsmiths learned from such sources, then examples closest to Germanic and AS examples are likely to be earlier. Whitfield tests this theory with the two famous brooches of the title. They have much in common, and are closely related to foreign models, but she feels each has a different origin. Examination of similarities and differences with German prototypes also yields points of possible Insular innovation, and suggest that these two works belong not to the first phase of Celtic/Germanic contact, but to the time when foreign ideas had taken root. Both in filigree variations and in animal and serpentine ornament, Tara is more developed, but both are far more sophisticated and elaborate than any parallels. They may be contemporary, with Hunterston being from a conservative and Tara from an innovative workshop, but Whitfield feels they may also be products of different generations. With characteristic forthrightness, she gives a range of dates from the late 7th or perhaps even early 8th century, but specifies her personal preference for the former.

*Margaret R. Nicke considers the ways in which brooches may have been used in the negotiation of power and position in "Penannular and Related Brooches: Secular Ornament or Symbol in Action?" (128–34). She looks at the adoption of brooches as "a medium through which important statements about social position and religious affiliation were being made" (128), where borrowing of traditions from Romans, for example, attempted to draw on Roman social organization and power as well. Nicke briefly reviews Irish laws which seem to indicate brooches as royal insignia, Roman sumptuary law, the theory that production of items such as brooches was controlled, and physical evidence on Pictish stones. The last is most suggestive, as only two figures wear brooches, and both are female; yet Nicke sees this as indicating "that their [the brooches'] use crossed the gender divide" (129), ignoring the fact that *only* women are depicted this way in this medium (but see evidence that one such brooch on a Pictish stone is nothing of the sort: Trench-Jellicoe, under Sculpture section). She proceeds from secular to religious meanings, following the lead of Stephenson in seeing Christian iconography in many examples. Though at times it seems she could see Christian symbolism everywhere, she does raise the interesting question of why this iconography appears, and how or whether it was "read." Many examples are hardly visible unless one were very close, not perhaps possible with people of high status. In other cases, if the brooches were worn with terminals down, only the wearer could read the symbolism, as many inverted animals and designs exist. The symbolism then is private, perhaps even amuletic; she cites Kitlinger's paper from this volume as support. Nicke concludes that the church uses brooches as a way to appropriate power and adapt a secular tradition to its own ends; she notes the depiction of brooches in this context on sculptured crosses such as Monasterboice, where Christ wears one, and the Delg Aidechta, the testamentary brooch of abbots of Iona. She concludes that brooches were active in negotiations of power: "Without some role in these developing relationships these artefacts would not have been produced in the first place" (133).

*R. Michael Spearman publishes in detail for the first time "The Mounts from Crieff, Perthshire, and their Wider Context" (135–42). The mounts were donated to the National Museum in 1889 and 1891, and are of uncertain provenance aside from the Crieff area. Spearman notes the high proportion of high quality 8th–9th century Insular metalwork from west Perthshire, which "no doubt reflects the strategic significance of the route-ways linking the Scots and Britons of the west with the Picts of Fortriu on the east" (135). The ecclesiastical center of Dunkeld, with its Columban relics, and the royal center of Forteviot may account for such finds. The two mounts are fine examples of interlocking "mushroom" mounts, made from the same batch of high quality bronze and gilded. The larger has a human mask uncharacteristically smiling broadly, with hair straight back, and indications of a beard. The head is framed by birds (in imitation

of an arch?) and a clear glass and possible amber pieces were set in the mount as well. The smaller mount has fine interlace decoration, as did the larger, but no head, just a crescentic recess. The function of the mounts is not established, and while there is evidence for attachments on the back, they were sawn off and the pieces later riveted on. The mounts may have begun as book mounts, thus depicting Christian iconography, but they seem to have been used subsequently as horse harness mounts, though with little wear at the flexing joints. The basal arcs suggest they were originally arranged around two different medallions, perhaps as "planes of cruciform or related decoration" (140), and Spearman speculates that it might even have been part of one of the treasures of Columba brought to the area by Kenneth MacAlpin. In an appendix, he also makes an interesting case for seeing the arch and architectural fragments from Forteviot as from an "outstanding royal chapel" for Columban relics (141).

*Susan Youngs writes about an early 20th century find from north Essex in "The Steeple Bumpstead Boss" (143–50), calling for a fuller treatment but offering new material from scientific analyses and new comparative material meanwhile. The central setting is now missing, but three tiers of decoration survive and examples of each are drawn with admirable clarity for the article (fig. 17.3). Two features in particular are unique: the boss "boasts the extravagant use of black inlay, itself inlaid with silver," and four beasts in the round, which Youngs identifies as lions with stylized curls and crouched posture (147). She states that the boss was probably part of a set to decorate a religious object such as a reliquary, not part of a chalice, as Ryan (1991) thought; its closest parallel is first published here, a smaller boss found in the 1880s in western Norway in a grave at Sunnsjord. The Norwegian piece retained some amber, which is considered likely to have filled the 25 settings on the Steeple Bumpstead boss. Youngs also gives details on the manufacture of the boss, noting that the position of the lions "determined the detail of all the low-relief cast ornament" and that the work was a combination of prefabricated and custom detail. She dates the piece to the first half of the 8th century, and considers it Irish in origin.

*Michael Ryan looks at more animals in metalwork in "The Menagerie of the Derrynaflan Chalice" (151–61); the piece dates to the early to mid 9th century. Drawings of 31 panels of filigree, some quite small, accompany detailed descriptions of the animals found. The posture is subordinate to pattern, allowing the motifs to fit into panels of varying shapes. Nevertheless, Ryan argues that the animals depicted, and the human masks, are suitable for a liturgical object; most panels depict mammals, "whether lions, sheep or dogs, we cannot say" (151), and three show birds, while Ryan describes 14 beasts as wingless griffins due to their beaked heads. Noting Burgundian buckles as proof of the association of griffins with Eucharistic iconography, he goes on to say, "The association of Christ with the beasts, the lenten cycle, which was a recapitulation of the forty days in the desert, the prefigura-

tions of the Redemption in Daniel and Habakkuk and the apotropaic nature of Psalm 90(91) all combine to make the themes appropriate to liturgical metalwork or to secular objects which the owner wished to embody a devotional statement or invoke a protective power" (158). He adds that the birds on the chalice may be eagles, linked to the evangelist because this is a chalice, while the human heads may hark back to Daniel or "head-between-two-beasts" scenes. In conclusion, returning to griffins and the tree of life, he argues for an early use of fabulous beasts in Christian iconography, with "the Derrynaflan beasts . . . plausibly . . . accepted as originating in the common iconographical traditions of early medieval western Europe" (160). While there is no reason to argue against some of the beasts having religious symbolism, the overall effect of Ryan's article is of a grab bag assortment of possible connections and the omission of problematic or merely mammalian creatures, those animals he cannot identify as lions or dogs early on. He admits the skill of the work here is less than on the Derrynaflan paten, yet does not concede that a similar lack of skill or knowledge may be present in the use of decoration. Picture the smith or designer hoping those smart monks would make more of his piece than he knew how to.

*Michelle P. Brown considers "'Paten and Purpose': the Derrynaflan Paten Inscriptions" (162–7) and their role in assisting assembly. She distinguished three stages in the marking-up process. Abstract symbols were scratched onto the frame surfaces, "presumably by a craftsman." Then a scribe scratched manuscript quality letters with a stylus over the symbols, and finally the letters were traced by a craftsman again (162). The paten provides evidence for this practice, which had not been recognized as occurring before the 12th century, and Brown produces additional evidence from other artefacts, such as the Ardagh chalice, to show this was not an isolated occurrence. In fact, the Ardagh and Derrynaflan pieces are so close in general style and technique, as well as being close in the concept of assembly, that they may even be from the same milieu or a common workshop (164). Because the system indicates interaction of craftsmen and literate supervisor or patron, the design must have been crucial, or an abstract code would have sufficed. Brown therefore looks more closely at the decorative scheme. She uncovers multiple Physiologan scenes for interpretation, and the arrangement of studs in groups of three, suggesting Trinitarian implications. The studs may also play a part in the function of the paten, where they might indicate placement of the eucharistic fractions or pieces of bread in patterns such as the human body, or a cross, or a special number of fractions in parts of the cross for certain feasts. Brown also reports on a minute inscription, only c. 1 mm high, with the wedge marks of scribal training evident even though the "scribe must, presumably, have been working blind at that scale" (165); she suggests either a dedication or a protective anathema (the translation is broken and difficult), and cites the *Lacnunga* text in which a paten is used. The script dates most probably to the second half of the 8th

century. A second set of letters for assembly suggest a contemporary or near-contemporary reconstruction, perhaps linked to a change in the *fractio panis*.

*Eamonn P. Kelly looks at "The Lough Kinale Book-Shrine" (168–74), found near a small crannog in 1986, dated to the 8th century. Originally a wooden box with attached metal plates, the shrine was incomplete when found and is still not cleaned of corrosion, so a complete description will come only when conservation is complete. Kelly ably describes what can be seen, and the detail and ornament are impressive, as is the construction, though individual components differ in quality, "particularly in their finish and they have been assembled roughly" (173). A central cross with five bosses is surrounded by four circular mounts and elaborate strips. The cross arms are all different, with a variety of animal ornament. The joinings of the corners are covered with diagonal oval studs of amber. The sides seem to have had three medallions each, and at the center of each end is a bronze ring with four projecting animal heads and a flange recessed to hold the fittings for the carrying strap; the fittings also survive, and take the form of a ring bitten by an animal. The shrine was bound along the sides with tubular strips of tinned bronze. This shrine is the earliest, largest example, and comparable in design to "carpet" pages of cross form. Kelly very briefly links the decoration to such iconographies as inhabited vines, and the human between two beasts (here, the arms of the cross carry birds), and notes affinities with the Moylough belt shrine. He also provocatively notes that recent discoveries raise interesting questions "about the relationship of church and state in early medieval Ireland. The recent indications are that crannogs were aristocratic dwellings and it is possible that objects such as the Lough Kinale book-shrine were kept, normally, at such places. It is also possible that important church valuables were removed to safe locations, such as crannogs" (174). It is a spectacular find, as are the Derrynaflan pieces found in the same decade, guaranteed to make one return, if only momentarily, to the days of artefact fixation now eschewed by archaeologists who fear losing the contextual forest for the trees.

*Cormac Bourke looks at "The Chronology of Irish Crucifixion Plaques" (175–81) with an eye to description and comparison, in particular to question the date of c. 1100 for the group and to look closely at new evidence from examples at Armagh. Bourke looks at seven examples, with the seventh published here for the first time in an appendix; an eighth discovered after the paper was completed is noted in an addendum, and another may be either one of the known unlocalized pieces or a ninth, now in private hands. One plaque is a solid piece and the rest are openwork. All have Christ with angels over each arm, and the sponge bearer and spear bearers below; stone crosses have more variety in the figures depicted. He shows arguments for late dating as "demonstrably weak," and turns to a stone sculptured cross in Armagh cathedral, much damaged, for new evidence. It has the two angels and two bearers as do the metal plaques, but more

importantly "the lower limit of the field is a raised band which connects the lower edges of their garments. Close parallels are the plaques found near Tynan and its unlocalized analogue . . . in which garments are similarly linked, for structural reasons, and the five figures have almost identical positions and poses. Was the sculptor copying a metal plaque?" (179). If so, it matches dependence on such models at Clonmacnoise and Kells as argued by Harbison and Kelly. Bourke leaves the chronological question open for the moment, as independent dating from, for example, inscriptions is not possible.

The final paper in the metalwork section is *Perette Michelli's "Migrating Ideas or Migrating Craftsmen? The Case of the Bossed Penannular Brooches" (182–7). Noting that most see bossed penannular brooches as either made by the Irish for Irish, or by Irish under Scandinavian influence, Michelli asks whether the Scandinavians really brought no craftsmen along with them. Beginning with methodology, she analyzes the "grammar" of an artefact: type, material, possibly iconography and style tell us about the patron; technique, style and internal structures of decoration tell about the craftsman's professional origin; decoration detail gives information about the craftsman's professional history; and the artefact therefore gives us information about the environment in which it appeared (182–3). Turning to the 40 examples of this type, Michelli finds that the best parallel for their main decorative techniques are Scandinavian models, specifically stamping and double shelling. In addition, internal structures of the decoration such as a three-fingered gripping paw or a snake occupying more than one panel are Scandinavian structures. She notes motifs with a similar Scandinavian occurrence, as well as elements derived directly from Insular traditions. In fact, Michelli, in noting the survival of penannular brooches as common well into the 9th century in Pictish areas, sees the type and much of the iconography based on Pictish models, and ends by proposing that bossed penannular brooches were made for Pictish contexts, not the Irish. She suggests craftsmen trained in Broa/Borre Jellinge methods, and a second group trained in Mammen methods. By using her methodology, she finds that concepts are exchanged, but techniques are not, a striking conclusion and one which invites others to test her proposed method in their own areas of art historical expertise.

d. Sculpture

David A. Walsh considers "Ryedale Zoomorphic Ornament and Tenth-Century Anglo-Scandinavian Art" in the *Jnl. of the Brit. Archaeol. Assoc.* 147 (1994), 35–48. Walsh analyzes the style and motifs of a group of sculpted crosses from Ryedale, Yorkshire and compares them with contemporary monuments from Skail in the Orkneys, and Kirk Bradden on the Isle of Man. He also sets the Ryedale monuments firmly within the broader context of Insular and Scandinavian art. Ryedale is located on the edge of the N. Yorkshire moors, an area rich in Anglian monastic sites and pre-viking age sculpture. The core

material of the paper is the sculpture from Sinnington and Levisham “characterized by a vegetal bound beast motif” here referred to as the “Sinnington beast” (11). He identifies two groups of sculpture defined by similarities of style and motif: 1) A Sinnington Group consisting of Sinnington 3, 4 and 5, and Levisham 2; 2) A more dispersed and slightly later Middleton Group made up of Middleton 1 and 2, Ellerburn 1, Pickering 1, Nunnington 1, and Kirby Moorside 1. Walsh concludes that the crosses reflect political events within the area—displaying influence from the art of Scandinavia and the Irish Sea Province at the time when the general area had a strong Scandinavian presence, but becoming “provincial” with a return to predominately insular influences after the decline of Viking power in 954. Walsh is careful to include a preliminary explanation of his methodology and, for those without an art historical or archaeological background, he provides a thorough definition of his terms, including “style” and “motif.” This is an excellent and close study of the styles and motifs used to decorate a select group of works, but the author fails to consider possible differences between sites, or media that may have affected the meaning and function of the zoomorphic ornament (e.g. the different *functions* of and possibly different types of patron for the brooches and crosses discussed).

*Ross Trench-Jellicoe focuses on the “Hilton of Cadboll’s Female Rider and Her Gear,” in the *Pictish Art Society Journal* 5 (Spring 1994), 1–7. The late-7th/early-8th century (?) Hilton of Cadboll slab is unusual in depicting a female rider. In this article Ross Trench-Jellicoe points out that there are two other important images of female riders in insular sculpture with which the Hilton of Cadboll image should be compared. The first is the image of Mary in the entry into/exit from Egypt panel on the 8th-century Ruthwell cross; the second, the viking-age cross slab at Kirk Andreas on the Isle of Man. But, as Trench-Jellicoe notes, on neither of these latter monuments is the focus on the woman as it is on the Hilton of Cadboll slab. A bird of prey perched on or near the Hilton of Cadboll rider’s hand identifies the scene as an image of the hunt. Trench-Jellicoe convincingly argues that an object near the woman’s waist, previously identified as a torc, is better understood as a perch for her bird.

In “Hilton of Cadboll’s Female Rider and Her Gear Part II: The Hunt Continues.” *Pictish Arts Society Journal* 7 (Spring 1995), 3–9, Trench-Jellicoe identifies the perch carved on the Hilton of Cadboll slab as a portable bow-perch, and provides further evidence that the object cannot be read as either a torc or a brooch, as suggested by previous scholars.

*The ten papers in *The Age of Migrating Ideas* on sculpture (see previous sections above) begin with Michael Herity’s examination of “The Forms of the Tomb-Shrine of the Founder Saint in Ireland” (189–95). Founder saints are much revered in Ireland, not least because only one “red” martyr exists. Herity examines a typology which starts with ogham stones and cross-decorated pillars of the 5th and 6th centuries and continues with upright cross-slabs of the 7th cen-

tury, though some are conjectural; his use of the Fahan Mura cross-slab may be compared to Richardson’s use of the same monument in her previously discussed article on liturgical fans (31). A-roofed tombs and box shrines with decorated stones appear at the end of the 7th century, and include designs resembling roundels or medallions in the *Book of Durrow* and contemporary metalwork, especially house-shaped reliquaries which may imitate these forms. Herity also reconstructs a tomb-shrine form, found at Kilnaruan, Cork, and Kildrenagh, Valencia Island, with four corner pillars slotted to receive walls and also a bar to lock the walls into position before the roof slabs were added (fig. 23.5.a). The latest form, of the 9th century and after, consists of small buildings separate from the church or oratory to house a founder’s grave, a fundamental change which allows pilgrims to enter the shrine itself. Herity’s survey allows him to show that Irish founder tombs are overwhelmingly sited in the open, regardless of date. He traces this trait to their use in *an turas*, the pilgrimage round at such sites, in contrast to English and continental practice. Only Scotland, especially in the west, has comparable forms. He also notes that increasing use of metal reliquaries after 700 may explain why fewer stone shrines appear after that date, and raises the interesting point that some sites retain more than one form of shrine: “What happened to the remains or relics of the Founder when a new tomb-shrine replaced an older?” (195).

*Carola Hicks provides another survey, this time of “The Pictish Class I Animals” (197–202), noting the imbalance in frequency of the 14 animals incised in stone. Five occur only once, four more four or fewer times; the most prevalent are the “Pictish beast” at 24 occurrences, the fish at 14, the snake at 14, the eagle at 10, and the bull/bovine figures at 9, though 6 of the 9 occur at a single site, Burghead. Hicks questions whether these are truly symbols, as they seem interchangeable and have resisted numerous attempts to translate or interpret them. To see them as symbols is to assume that someone devised them as a system in a single place and time; this theory has been justified by the consistency of the designs, “but the impression of a unity of style is enhanced by the simplifying medium of outline drawing on stone. When the animal designs are looked at numerically or individually, the idea of a coherent symbolic language is hard to sustain—the animals themselves may represent individual variants selected for particular purposes” (199). Hicks goes on to discuss the “Pictish beast,” which she sees as closest to representing a dolphin, and see Roman carvings as a potential source of models for the animals represented. Animals on altars, tombstones and distance slabs were numerous, and may even explain why of all the animals, the snake is the one likely to appear with a symbol (the Z rod), since the staff of Aesculapius shows a similar pairing. She rejects the claims by Ross and Green that the symbols represent Celtic belief, as these animals are not those frequently depicted in Celtic art and iconography. She also rejects derivations for the animals from evangelist symbols and ornament in manuscripts and metal-

work, due to distributional and chronological problems; more likely than a widespread adoption of a symbol from a single manuscript page is the copying of and experimentation with established conventions by a single artist. She concludes that if some animals have Christian inspiration, the source could be depictions on Irish cross-slabs, an area she recommends for further research. She notes that Class I monuments are erected in places of ritual significance, both pre- and post-Christian. Arguing for contextualization, Hicks notes that "all other animals on carved monuments in Britain and the rest of Northwestern Europe are there because of their religious symbolic values; there is no good reason why the Pictish animals should be regarded differently" (201). She recommends considering the symbols as especially selected for this medium and a specific purpose. Hicks' approach is extremely persuasive and well reasoned, and one hopes other scholars will accept her challenge.

"Pictish Cave Art at East Wemyss, Fife" by J. N. Graham Ritchie and John N. Stevenson (203-8) continues the interest in Scottish carvings. Modern drawings are added to the Victorian illustrations and set in the context of cave carvings generally. The main difficulty is identifying which symbols and scenes are ancient; carvings deepen over time, or in some cases the surface has flaked away and reduced scenes to a fraction of the original. Yet the authors stress the authenticity of the carvings, warning only about "the more imaginative markings recorded in the past" (205). New discoveries at Westfield Farm, Flakland and at Strathmiglo have shown the Wemyss symbols to be less isolated than thought, and the authors remind us that caves could be used for religious, social and industrial activities. The latter provides a final thought, that the motifs of the caves may come from encampments of silver workers, as the work of Henderson (1979) and Shepherd (1983) has suggested links between cave art and metalwork.

Isabel Henderson writes on "The Shape and Decoration of the Cross on Pictish Cross-Slabs Carved in Relief" (209-18), arguing that a system of symbols was central to Pictish society, and so a cross shape and its attendant symbolism were readily assimilated. Her usual dense and wide-ranging evidence cannot be reproduced here, but her main conclusions rest on "the interdependence of the art in Ireland and Britain in all media in this period" (215). Unusual as the Pictish cross-slabs seem, Henderson traces them from Iona and Columban models, through the dissemination of such models to Lindisfarne, as shown in the dated cross on Cuthbert's coffin, and to Northumbria, as shown in the Herebericht slab of Monkwearmouth. Preference for the decorated cross stems from an acknowledgement of the symbolic depth such a motif can involve, especially the conflation of crucifixion and resurrection, and the variety of internal decorations for the cross confirms a broad workshop repertoire from several crafts. Some crosses, such as the Cossins cross, may have brought the two media of metalwork and stone sculpture in direct contact, as the center may have held "a metal enrichment" at the cross-

ing. Henderson concludes that "the Picts were fully aware of the cross as the unique sign of spiritual salvation, and like their neighbours, were fully committed to using art as a means of intensifying devotion" (216).

*Dorothy Kelly looks at a local west Scottish form in "The Relationships of the Crosses of Argyll: the Evidence of Form" (219-29), where remains of at least 19 free-standing crosses survive. She surveys coverage of Irish and AS crosses, and argues for looking at the overall form without being distracted by optional details such as rings. This method produces a clear difference: the Irish form is a tall Latin cross, the AS an equal-armed cross elevated on a pillar, with a distinction made (a break in the stone or in the ornament) between the cross head and the pillar below it. Kelly then proceeds to re-evaluate the Argyll crosses in light of this distinction, noting that all western Scottish crosses are of the Irish type, with a tall Latin cross. This idea counters the Royal Commission's argument that crosses in western Scotland are an experimental group, and Kelly further notes that Pictish monuments regularly follow the AS tradition of pillar and cross rather than the Irish, in contrast to the western Scottish examples. The Argyll crosses represent all of the classes of cross represented in Ireland, and details of ornament and structure are most closely matched in Irish examples. A brief survey of some ornamental motifs concludes the article and reinforces Kelly's contention that the Scottish examples participate in the Irish tradition, so much so that she urges us "to envisage an enlarged province, comprising Ireland and the southwest of Scotland . . . where one particular concept of the monumental cross was dominant at the time when the tradition of erecting free-standing stone crosses was emerging" (227), and a map at the end certainly makes this point succinctly (fig. 27.10).

We return to Pictland with *Leslie Alcock's look at "Image and Icon in Pictish Sculpture" (231-6), where, as Shapiro argued, the animals and people carved in stone capture naturalistic detail and represent the daily life of royals and nobles. Alcock sees naturalism in the bovine and bull images (though the incorrect placement of legs on some receives no comment from him as unnatural), and adds the humor of the Invergowrie carving as a further sign of naturalism, affectionately depicting the bald, drunken warrior. He also notes that Pictish stones rarely make the mistake of showing horses with "false gallops" where the legs are fully extended to front and back simultaneously, instead showing them ambling or trotting at most. In this context, Alcock turns to the Hilton of Cadboll stone, terming the central figure a queen, accompanied by male groom while she delights in watching her husband (lower left) hunting the stag. He discusses another form of hunting, the Elgin, Moray, stone depiction of falconry, dated to the 8th century, and sees such depictions as oblique or allusive, but reinforcing social standing and reminding an audience of wealth and privileges. He then turns to the Christian symbolism of the hunt, attempting to extend Cummins' work back several centuries. He focuses on the Aberlemno stone and its battle, often considered to depict Nechtansmere.

Alcock notes difficulties of chronology, where the stone would have been carved some 15 to 30 years after the battle. He wonders instead if a Christian reading, given its placement on the back of a cross, indicates the triumph of the cross over sin and death. Alternatively, drawing on Bede's condemnation of Ecgfrith for destroying churches and his divine punishment in losing his life in Pictland, he sees it as possibly a "vivid warning of the death of an unrighteous king" (234), though he does not explain who would commission such a monument. Alcock may well be right to see a merging of realistic and allusive scenery here; the development of his argument, however, sometimes lacks coherence. He says no one would speculate that a hunting scene is a specific one, yet speculates that the battle scene most probably is, while arguing for a generic Christian import. In fact, why couldn't each scene be specific, but also representative of a common pursuit? They could, for example, be scenes which show how specific people commemorated died, in a hunt, or in a battle, and allusive references to Christianity would give such a death scene more resonance.

*Catherine Karkov examines the combination of "The Chalice and Cross in Insular Art" (237-44). She briefly surveys as background 5th and 6th century gravestones from Vienne and Grenoble with their chalices and doves, including one depicting the host above the chalice, as well as 6th to 7th century Burgundian belt buckles with beasts on either side of a figure molded into a chalice shape. Karkov reads this as Christ rather than, as Kühn argued, "Daniel als Vase." Turning then to Insular forms, she notes the number of crosses found on the great Irish chalices of Ardagh and Derrynaflan as specifically an Insular feature. Another unique feature substitutes the chalice for the sponge on Irish sculptured crosses, and the emphasis on the chalice continues in manuscripts such as the *Book of Kells*, occurring in frames and as interlinear devices. For example, Christ Enthroned (fol. 32v) shows two peacocks above him on vines growing from chalices; circled crosses on the birds may depict hosts. The "Arrest of Christ" also depicts two chalices with vines, which Karkov reads as a reference to the eucharist, with Christ himself as a cross in the center. In contrast, AS depictions of chalice and cross are rare and not as early as the Irish examples, with the AS preferring cross symbolism such as the blood-covered cross. While the *Sherborne Pontifical* and the *Arenberg Gospels* show a chalice at the foot of the cross, the illustrations are not as closely associated with the texts as in Irish examples, being frontispieces. Continental works also connect chalice and cross more literally, with the *Utrecht Psalter* depicting a man with paten and chalice catching the blood of Christ (Psalm 115[116]) and the popular image of Ecclesia holding a chalice to catch blood in Byzantine and Carolingian art. Returning to her starting point of funerary contexts, Karkov notes a type of Irish cross occurring at 25 different sites centering on Clonmacnoise and the Shannon valley; a slab from Gallen Priory, Co. Offaly, has terminals of chalice shape, and it is matched in Northumbrian name-stones of the 8th century. But the chalices are not cop-

ies of Insular chalice forms, and should be read as "signs" rather than as "skeumorphs." Karkov looks at a variety of crosses built up from individual images such as interlaced humans or animals, or arms whose hands form the terminals, reminding readers of her earlier Burgundian buckle example of the chalice-shaped human. The chalice promises both final communion and rebirth, and its proliferation "is likely to be the result of the importance of the chalice within the liturgy of the early Irish church" (242). In addition, the chalice may imply social status as well; Karkov presents somewhat weaker evidence linking mead cups, drinking horns, and the cup on the Franks casket as evidence for such a context, but strengthens and supports her point by discussing the link of the blood of Christ as King, kingly blood, and the phrase *fin fuil*, "wine blood," to indicate noble or royal heritage; Aldfrith in exile from Northumbria was given the name "blood of wine," *fland fina*. The result of following these two images of chalice and cross is a multiplication which "is used to heighten symbolic content, opening these monuments to a number of different but interrelated meanings" (243).

*Douglas Mac Lean examines "Snake-Bosses and Redemption at Iona and in Pictland" (245-53) to refute the long-held tradition of Pictish origin for this ornament, developed by Curle, Henry, Stevenson and I. Henderson over the last 50 years. He argues that "new technical and iconographical stimuli must have prompted the higher relief and the fusion of previously separate elements," and that "Successive waves of Northumbrian technical expertise may have affected the developmental phases of Pictish relief sculpture, although one must allow for an appropriate time lapse at each stage" (247). Noting Stevenson's attention to Northumbrian aspects on Iona crosses, Mac Lean describes the two types of snake-boss at Iona as based on the circle and on the rectangle, with very little relation with interlace. Such bosses are generally combined with spiral ornament at Iona, and arguing that interlace has claimed too much attention, he notes that Iona creates crosses from snake-bosses and spirals, while the Picts fill spaces around crosses with these elements. Mac Lean turns to iconography next, citing Stevenson's observation that snake-bosses may have been replacements for the symbolism of vine scroll, of death and resurrection, extended by Henderson's demonstration of snake ornament highlighting the text of the Passion in *Kells*, linking with the brazen serpent and Christ crucified of John 3.14. He continues with three Hiberno-Latin texts (the hymn *Altus Prosator*, the poem "A maccucáin, sruith in tiag," and *The Annals of Ulster*) supporting the link between snakes, death and resurrection. To conclude his refutation of Pictish origin, he notes a basic difference between snakes on Ionan and Pictish monuments: "Iona snakes threaten not only each other, but also represent the evil that the Cross was erected to overcome. With a single toothless exception at Tarbat, the more decorous serpents of Pictland keep their prim mouths closed and their delicately inquisitive tongues are at one remove from the original purpose of the motif: to demonstrate the stark contrast between the beacon of victory

and the darkness of its defeated enemy" (252).

*Jane Hawkes describes one of the few AS pieces represented in the volume in "Mary and the Cycle of Resurrection: the Iconography of the Hovingham Panel" (254–60). She divides the panel into three by observing the direction of the feet on the figures in the 8 panels. Figures A and B represent an Annunciation with a rare form emphasizing the delivery of the message rather than the angel greeting Mary; here the figure is static and "conversational." Unusual too is the depiction of a tall basket containing wool drawn up for a spindle, which Hawkes considers not as part of the "handmaiden of the Lord" imagery but items which, by the 8th century, had "become traditional attributes of Mary, being indicative only of her feminine occupations—hence their reduced position" (255). She concludes that the model or models for the scene were derived from 5th or 6th century Italian or Byzantine prototypes, adapted to exalt the Virgin with accessories such as a footrest, cushion and curtains. Figures C and D represent the Visitation of Mary and Elizabeth, conversing rather than embracing, in part due to the arches under which all 8 figures stand. The scene is extremely weathered, obliterating detail, but Elizabeth is probably on the right with hands open and raised, while Mary extends a hand to her; the iconographic source would be the same as for the first panel. The final panels of E, F, G and H show three figures to the left turned to the far right figure, an angel, all the most damaged of the panel. Hawkes rejects Lang's reading of these 4 panels as two scenes, citing the feet and also disagreeing with his identifications. She sought a scene which completed the salvation promised at the Annunciation, and concurs with Goldie (1849) that this is the Three Women at the Sepulchre. Thus the first figure raises a hand to her face, the second holds a mantle to its head, and the third sits with elbow on knee supporting her head, a traditional posture of bereavement. Parallels exist on a 5th century Roman ivory in the BM, and on the 9th century Quedlinburg Casket. While the addition of the angel is rare, the desire to balance the panels by putting an angel at each end might have determined the choice. Hawkes notes that the greatest obstacle to her Resurrection interpretation is the absence of a sepulchre, though this too has parallels. Alternatively, paint might have indicated a sepulchre now lost, or "the monument itself may have been symbolic of the tomb, functioning physically as the sepulchre omitted pictorially" (258), an ingenious and attractive solution. She considers dependence on early models the most likely reason for omitting the tomb. With her usual thoroughness, Hawkes does not stop here, however, proceeding to consider the strong indication that the early types chosen at Hovingham were "to convey the importance of Mary's role as the Mother of God" (258). The sequence depicted emphasizes Mary's part in man's redemption, with the angels mirroring each other as do the two women seated at either end. The seated figure in the Resurrection scene might even be Mary, identified in some traditions, such as that of Ambrose, as "the other Mary" at the tomb. Hawkes con-

cludes that the "rather specific manipulation of the iconography may well provide some indication of the original context of the panel; its emphasis on Mary might for instance, indicate its possible production within, or for a nunnery or double monastery, although reverence for the Virgin was not limited to such female centres" (259). If the panel was part of a shrine, however, it might be most appropriate for a female saint. The paper is a succinct and entirely persuasive argument in keeping with Hawkes' usual care and clarity.

The final paper of this extremely important volume is James Lang's "Survival and Revival in Insular Art: Northumbrian Sculpture of the 8th to 10th Centuries" (261–7). He asserts that Northumbrian art is "Janus-headed," moving between Celtic West and Classical East, and tries to document instances of revived tradition alongside surviving monuments which may serve as models or reminders. His two examples of the Western influence are key frets which recur in the Allertonshire district in the 10th century, where they had not been current for 200 years in any medium, and the profile animal on Sockburn 8 copied by a 10th century Northumbrian from Moone and Castledermot. The bulk of the article, however, documents the more widespread Mediterranean influence, especially noting the "assertively classical monuments at Easby, Masham and Otley" as part of a general interest in embellishment in the antique style across Europe. The Church at York, Charlemagne's appropriation of classical spolia, and the basilica on Murano in the lagoon of Venice all participated in acquiring surviving pieces and in creating "revival" monuments: "No Carolingian vehicle is necessary for the implementation of classical revivalism, either in Northern Italy or West Yorkshire" (264). Lang especially considers the role of Roman memorials and monuments, with their bust and inscriptions, showing their relation to works at Otley, the Easby cross and a piece at Little Ouseburn which seems to respond to female hairstyles on such memorials. He notes that a straight revival piece, Oedilburga's image on Hackness 1, inspired no "eclectic response," while the Otley figures "seem to have affected styles along the river at Ilkley and Collingham" (265). By the late 9th and 10th centuries, stylization had distanced imitation from its classical sources; the Leeds Cross shows "Insular taste eventually dominating a classically derived motif, a latterday echo of the process seen centuries earlier in the Evangelists' portraits in the *Lindisfarne Gospels*" (266). Yet even Anglo-Scandinavian pieces of the 10th century show the Janus dimension Lang notes at the beginning: he shows that a shaft fragment from York Minster and the Newgate shaft illustrate not a fusion of styles but the introduction of a new style with survival of the older classical one. He concludes, "It was a time when long-established roots should be expressed through long-established artistic conventions: what more rooted in the past than the art of Rome, and what more identifiable when there were so any English revivals of it so close at hand to serve as the model?" (267).

Caroline Richardson. "A Late Pre-Conquest Carving from Corbridge (Roman Site)." *Archaeologia Aeliana* 5th ser. 22

(1994), 79–84. Richardson discusses a reused fragment of a Roman plinth base now in Corbridge stone park. One face of the stone is carved with a seated bearded figure which she dates to the late-9th or 10th century on stylistic grounds. The identity of the figure remains a mystery (there are no iconographic clues), and the function of the fragment is also difficult to establish. The size, shape and quality of the stone suggest that it may be the work of an apprentice, and/or that it may have been carved *in situ*, presumably in an architectural setting. Richardson believes that the stone comes from an Anglo-Saxon settlement known to have existed from the 8th century near the town of Corbridge.

e. Iconography

See papers from **The Age of Migrating Ideas* under the headings of manuscripts and sculpture.

f. Numismatics

Mark Blackburn's review of "Stenton and Anglo-Saxon Numismatics," in *Stenton's Anglo-Saxon England 50 Years On*, ed. E. Matthew (Reading: Department of History, University of Reading, 1994, 61–81) was published as part of the Stenton celebrations of 1993. Sir Frank Stenton's contributions to the study of Anglo-Saxon England have been of inestimable value. Less well-known, but no less important than his contributions to the fields of Anglo-Saxon history and place-name studies are his contributions to the study of numismatics. Blackburn discusses the history of Stenton's interest in numismatics and its impact on his scholarship, particularly his book *Anglo-Saxon England*, pointing out both the strengths and weaknesses of Stenton's understanding of the material. Of equal if not greater value to Stenton's scholarship was his support of contemporary numismatists, including Christopher Brook and Michael Dolley, as well as his role in the creation of the *Sylloge of Coins in the British Isles*, and the majority of this paper focuses on the details and documentation of that support. Blackburn concludes with a brief consideration of the ways in which the field of Anglo-Saxon numismatics has changed since the publication of *Anglo-Saxon England*, and the directions that it might take in future.

The purpose of Kenneth Jonsson's "The Coinage of Cnut," in *The Reign of Cnut: King of England, Denmark and Norway*, ed. Alexander Rumble (London & Cranberry, NJ, 1994, 193–230), is to present the current state of research, "with some additional comments" (194). This is literally what Jonsson does. No new theories are put forward, but he supplies a nice presentation of the material evidence to date, and an excellent consideration of the strengths and weaknesses of its various interpretations. A comprehensive analysis of the coins of Cnut is left for the future. Jonsson opens by setting the historical, administrative, and typological background to Cnut's coinage. He points out that while only three types of coin (Quatrefoil, Pointed Helmet, and Short Cross were struck in England during Cnut's reign, the differences between the three are not great, and the dates of the issues are problem-

atic. He offers a good summary of the numismatic evidence and the debate that surrounds it, as well as a discussion of the composition and distribution of coin hoards (largely outside of Britain), and what that evidence has to tell us about the economic and political history of Cnut's England, and its relations with Denmark, Sweden and Norway.

In the same volume (pp. 231–82) is Michael Dennis O'Hara's "An Iron Reverse Die of the Reign of Cnut," written in collaboration with Peter Thornton-Pitt, and with a contribution by Elizabeth Pirie. The subject of the paper is a reverse die (short cross type) minted in Norwich and found in spoil from the Thames Exchange site. The coin is currently in O'Hara's private collection. No coins struck from the die have been traced, and the moneyer's name ÐrufD (Old Norse Thurulfr) is otherwise unattested in Norwich—although moneyers of that name are known at both Leicester and Stamford. Elizabeth Pirie considers the possibility that the die was made in error, with the wrong mint signature, and hence never used. O'Hara discusses the important new evidence for the manufacturing process of dies that the find provides. The paper includes much information on mints and minting not directly relevant to the die in question, and it is therefore very easy to lose track of O'Hara's central argument, particularly as the different areas of discussion are not all brought together in the paper's conclusion. Nevertheless, the sections of the paper that do focus on the London die are strong, and the paper includes useful appendices on moneyers, the name Thurulfer, mints, and terminology.

g. Inscriptions

Elizabeth Okasha looks at "The Commissioners, Makers and Owners of Anglo-Saxon Inscriptions." *ASSAH* 7 (1994), 71–77. Okasha examines fifty-eight names (all listed in an appendix), six of which are incomplete. Her particular interest is in trying to determine the motivation behind the inclusion of personal names in inscribed texts. Verbs are used to determine whether a name is that of an owner, maker, or commissioner, and whether commissioners had an object made for themselves or for someone else. For obvious reasons texts consisting of single names only are excluded. The names Okasha does include end up dividing roughly equally between her three categories, although a number of objects fall into more than one category. Some of her results are surprising, others not so. It is not surprising, for example, that the names in all categories are predominantly male, but it is startling to find that only one of the commissioners is clearly female, and that while only one female seal owner is attested, there are four female owners of objects other than shields—a number equal to that of male owners in this category. Only one commissioner and one owner can be positively identified with known historical figures. Okasha divides the motives of commissioners into two groups, stated and unstated, although she notes that the two are not mutually exclusive. Stated motives are limited to commemoration and piety; unstated motives include: statement of wealth, status, generosity, or

skill; concern for one's soul; pride. She states that we can be fairly certain that the commissioners, and probably the owners, of inscribed objects were relatively well-off, but she could push her analysis of the class and status of commissioners and owners further. Do the longer, more complex, or more carefully laid-out inscriptions occur on the higher quality or more costly objects? Are there differences in the locations of inscriptions either between types of object or between the objects associated with the names in her three groups? All in all this is an interesting paper that opens a number of avenues for future research.

h. Textiles

Lise Bender Jørgensen discusses "The Textiles of the Saxons, Anglo-Saxons and Franks" in *Studien zur Sachsenforschung* 7 (1991): 11–23, summarizing the findings of a major research project on North and Central European textiles. Over 90 museums were visited in 16 countries, and Jørgensen has established differences between the textiles of various areas in the period from 4000 BC to 1000 AD. Because her article is a summary, it relies heavily on statistics and pie-charts, making a condensed version here difficult. Also, she uses Scandinavian or German place references for many types of cloth, with explanations of the weave scattered throughout the article, making it difficult to recall the weave type. For example, the Hessens/Elisenhof C-type is a diamond twill with z-spun warp and s-spun weft, not an easy description to retain in either form. The bias for placename tags is understandable, however, given the preponderance of textile survival in such areas. A reference table would have been helpful, or a single paragraph with the equivalents noted. Her general points remain exciting in their potential, however. She notes that "the textile remains of northwest Europe fall into a number of mutually interlinked [sic] regional groups" (23). Scandinavia relates to Saxon Germany and AS England, except for Kent, which falls into an English Channel group including the southern Netherlands, Belgium and Normandy. The northern Netherlands/Frisia link Saxon and AS areas and those of the Franks; Jørgensen thinks she has identified the Frisian cloth or *pallium fresonicum*, the Hessens/Elisenhof C-type mentioned earlier (13). She also discusses rarer weaves, such as the *Rippenkörper* of south Germany, honeycomb weave, coptic tapestry, and silk. She finishes with a plea that textiles may become more central to archaeology and less the realm of the specialist.

i. Wales, Ireland, Scotland and the North

Discovery by Design: the identification of secular elite settlements in western Britain A.D. 400–700 by Kenneth Rainsbury Dark (Oxford: Tempvs Reparvm, BAR British Series 237, 1994) attempts to create a theory which could help identify a type of site before excavation, and that theoretical model in itself holds potential for adaptation to Anglo-Saxon studies. The book is based on Dark's Ph.D. dissertation; in fact, though this reviewer has not read the dissertation, the book's flaws

imply too close a resemblance. It reads far too often as an annotated catalog of the sites surveyed, what would have been, in a book, more usefully presented as appendices, with more extensive coverage of the results of such surveys and their implications in the text itself. Illustrations are numerous but mainly schematic outlines of site shapes and earthworks from a variety of sources, giving a sketchy, even unreliable feel to the collected plates, though clearly to gather so many illustrations together was laborious. Unfortunately, often the plans of others are simply reproduced, regardless of style and even accuracy; the most obvious error is in reproducing a penned field drawing with the specific label from the RCHME, "this in NOT an illustration prepared for publication but a reproduction of the archive drawing" (85). Given the huge number of sites surveyed and discussed in scant, very general thumbnail sketches, the lack of an index for the volume is inexcusable.

But having listed major flaws in organization and presentation, it must be added that the concepts modelled here are often worth wading through the dense material collected. He begins with an interesting discussion of the use of texts by archaeologist, calling texts crucial middle-range contextual evidence, which must be used by archaeologists as archaeologists, not part-time historians. At times, he seems to have a naive trust in texts, as when implying that Irish sources describing the size of a king's house should be used to survey houses found in excavation, though at other times he is properly cautious; we have no idea if these texts are prescriptive, generally descriptive, or idealized. But his examination of texts as sources for behavior of a political-military elite, as well as for evidence of wealth and ceremonials, demonstrates the methods he suggests; in fact, Dark is especially honest about seriously trying to create and test models for every aspect of his larger model to find secular elite settlements before excavation. The strength of the book rests in his careful building up of definitions, types of evidence which accurately indicate such sites, how to recognize such sites without excavation. In his final section, he is able to test a prediction from the model by excavating in Wales the first new hillfort site dug in 20 years, at Brawdy, and the first ever to be correctly recognized before excavation without specific textual or artefactual evidence. An immense amount of detail must be omitted in this review, and at times the detail overwhelms the argument of the book; but the method described deserves serious consideration, doubtless with adaptations as it is further tested, but certainly with recognition of the potential for modelling site types before money is invested in excavation.

C.K.
K.W.-C.

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- Trench-Jellicoe, Ross. "Hilton of Cadboll's Female Rider and Her Gear." *Pictish Arts Society Journal* 5 (Spring 1994), 1-7.
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Appendix: History and Culture, 1993

a. Bibliographical and Reference Works

The issue of a second edition of Simon Keynes's *Anglo-Saxon History: A Select Bibliography* (OEN Subsidia 13) is greatly to be welcomed. First published in 1987, the Bibliography has been updated to be current to 1993 and includes listings of several forthcoming publications (a few of which have now appeared). Some section-headings have been re-titled, and there are new sections on "Anglo-Saxon Scholarship" and "Collections of Papers." About half as long again as the original, the new edition also includes an increased number of helpful annotations drawing attention to the key aspects of certain sources and to the quality and strengths of some studies. The Bibliography makes no claim to be comprehensive—indeed the preface describes it, over-modestly, as "an informal and ephemeral document"—and inevitably there are some omissions: for example, the "Hagiography" subsection of "Primary Source Material" does not include Werner Jaeger's 1935 edition of Bede's verse life of St. Cuthbert, and in the list of "Scientific' and 'Medical' Writings" there is no place for Godfrid Storms's *Anglo-Saxon Magic* (1948) or for the fascinating set of minor texts gathered together by Heinrich Henel in three articles published in the 1930s. Nonetheless, the Bibliography provides a superb reference tool that greatly reduces the labor of bibliographical research for those within the field, and is a monument to the purposeful industry of one of the most productive and insightful of practicing Anglo-Saxon historians. If in the future a third edition is planned, the work could be made yet more serviceable to students and researchers by the addition of an Index of Authors that would simplify the process of working through the different sections in search of a specific title. Readers of the *Old English Newsletter* will be interested to know that an on-line version of the Bibliography is now available for consultation at the website of the Richard Rawlinson Center at Western Michigan University (<http://www.wmich.edu/medieval/rawl/keynest/index.html>).

The *Dictionary of National Biography* was one of those heroic nineteenth-century enterprises that so characterize that

era of supreme European self-confidence. Between 1885 and 1900 sixty-three volumes recounting 29,120 lives appeared. Now another 1,086 persons "from the beginnings to 1985" have been added in *The Dictionary of National Biography: Missing Persons*, ed. C.S. Nicholls (Oxford and New York: Clarendon Press). It is a mark of the strength of British medieval studies a century ago that only ninety-five "missing persons" from before 1500 have been found—and only four of these are from the Anglo-Saxon period. M.K. Lawson writes on three of them: Cenwulf, king of Mercia (fl. 796-821) (124-5); Ealdred, bishop of Worcester, Hereford, and Ramsbury, and archbishop of York (fl. 1046-1069) (199-200); and Edward Atheling (d. 1057) (203). J.R. Maddicott contributes an entry on Ecgfrith (ca. 645-685), king of Northumbria (201-2). There is much else here of interest and entertainment. For instance, the volume concludes with the "merchant of death" and bigamist, Sir Basil Zaharoff, and Zosimus, an early-nineteenth-century balladeer and street entertainer (741). A new *DNB* is in gestation and the first of a series of newsletters on the project has recently appeared. It will be interesting to see how long the new enterprise will take—and how much it will cost!

b. Collected Studies

David N. Dumville's *Britons and Anglo-Saxons in the Early Middle Ages*, Collected Studies Series, 379 (Aldershot, Hants., and Brookfield, VT: Variorum; xiv, 323 pp.) is a collection of sixteen articles of which fifteen were published between 1977 and 1989, while one appears here for the first time. As noted in the preface, "[t]he principal issue with which these essays are concerned is the nature of relations between the English and the British in the period from the collapse of Roman authority in Britain to the end of the First Viking-Age" (p. ix). The articles are grouped thematically under six headings: "The End of Celtic Britain," "Heroic Poetry and the Historian," "Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms," "Brittany and its Neighbours," "Scribes and Books: Anglo-British Interaction," and "Britons and English in the Viking-Age." A strong emphasis

that binds these various sections together is Dumville's reiterated, and rightful, insistence on the need for historians to evaluate the status and credibility of their sources before using them as evidence. Two articles on Gildas—"Gildas and Maelgwn: Problems of Dating" and "The Chronology of *De Excidio Britanniae*, Book I"—wisely note that the generally accepted date of ca. 540 for the composition of *De excidio* remains no more than probable, that Gildas should be treated as a primary witness only for his own time and place, and that the historian should never overlook Gildas's strong literary powers and the religious purpose that shaped his writing. Similarly, the essay "Textual Archaeology and Northumbrian History Subsequent to Bede" observes that the primary evidence for Northumbrian history between 731 and 867 is exiguous and that the several twelfth-century accounts (largely emanating from Durham) of eighth- and ninth-century Northumbrian history must not be taken at face value. A special strength of the whole collection is Dumville's ability to span both the Celtic and the Anglo-Saxon spheres, and to detect cultural interaction. Thus the paper on "Beowulf" and the Celtic World: The Uses of Evidence" both applauds the new light that has been thrown on Old English literature through closer study of its Latin context and indicates that further illumination will come through fuller exploration of Celtic influences. Welcome also is Dumville's inclusion of Brittany within his field of view and in "On the Dating of the Early Breton Lawcodes"—one of the most clearly structured papers in the collection—he supports and refines Léon Fleuriot's attribution to Brittany of the so-called *Canones Wallici*, while demonstrating that textual and other evidence does not justify Fleuriot's narrowing down of the date of composition to the period ca. 520 x ca. 560. Unsurprisingly, paleographical analysis is a recurrent theme of the collection, and the paper on "Beowulf Come Lately: Some Notes on the Palaeography of the Nowell Codex" persuasively argues that the character of the hand of Scribe B of the Beowulf manuscript rules out the possibility that the manuscript could have originated as late as the reign of King Cnut (as was suggested by Kevin Kiernan). The one previously unpublished item in the collection is "The English Element in Tenth-Century Breton Book-Production." Based on a conference paper delivered in Brittany in 1985, the essay is primarily a paleographical and codicological study of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS. 192, a copy made at Landévennec in 952 of the *Retractatio prima* of the *Liber officialis* of Amalarius of Metz. CCC 192 is one of a group of four related manuscripts—two Breton, two Anglo-Saxon—of the *Retractatio prima*. Certain Insular characteristics of CCC 192 led Dumville to propose that it derives from an Insular exemplar, whereas the other three manuscripts he believes derive ultimately from a ninth-century manuscript that in the early tenth century was exported from Brittany to England. Such passage of a manuscript across the Channel would accord well with Dumville's view that, following the Viking wars and before the arrival of Benedictine Reform, there was a revival of English learning

and ecclesiastical life partly encouraged by Breton contacts. However, in the course of his exposition, he demonstrates his curious ability—paradoxical given his strictures on the use of evidence—to support an argument with insufficient or flawed evidence: one of his reasons for proposing that the Paris, Boulogne, and Trinity College, Cambridge, manuscripts of the *Retractatio prima* "reflect an ultimate model rather accurately" is that they "are constant in devoting about 118 folios to the text" (XIV: 8), but here he overlooks that the Paris manuscript is now incomplete and would originally have had substantially more leaves than it currently retains. Nonetheless, Dumville's emphasis on the Breton-Anglo-Saxon links suggested by this group of manuscripts and his underscoring of the historical evidence for Breton contacts in this period are salutary. In this article, as in the collection as a whole, he reveals the fruitfulness for the Anglo-Saxon historian of never losing sight of Celtic contexts.

c. Narrative Histories

A general, but agendized, survey is offered by Peter Berresford Ellis's *Celt and Saxon: The Struggle for Britain AD 410-937* (London: Constable; 288 pp. + plates). The book provides an outline of the history of the British Isles, and of the interaction between Celt and Saxon, from the end of the Roman occupation to the Battle of Brunanburh, which in Ellis's view finally killed off the "Celtic dream of driving the Saxons out of Britain and regaining their lost territories" (266). Self-professedly written for the general reader, the book is somewhat marred by the author's purpose, announced in the introduction, of exploring this period in order to demonstrate that the British Empire was in reality an English empire and was a logical corollary of the dynamics of Anglo-Saxon history. Frequent comparisons between Celts and Saxons display a bias in favor of the Celts, whose spirituality and altruism are contrasted with aggressive Anglo-Saxon expansionism. There are occasional gaffes, as when a passage quoted from King Alfred's preface to the Old-English *Pastoral Care* is said to come from a preface to the Old-English Bede (196) or when it is remarked that *Beowulf* "only survives in 8th-century copies" (258). Although the book provides a readable introduction to the period, it will not satisfy the rigorous scholar (there are no footnotes), and it must be treated with caution on points of detail.

Leonard Dutton's *The Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms: The Power Struggles from Hengist to Ecgberht* (Hanley Swan, Worcs.: SPA, in conjunction with the author; 290 pp.) is evidently the work of an amateur historian aiming at providing a narrative history of the Anglo-Saxon kingdoms up to the reign of the West-Saxon king Ecgberht. Unfortunately this kind of historical writing will just not withstand current scholarly scrutiny. One looks in vain for the names of Dumville, Kirby or Yorke in the bibliography. Bassett's book is there but it does not seem to have had a discernible impact. And so one finds the old cast of characters: Hengest, Horsa, and Arthur; the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* is regarded as a reliable contemporary

source; and so on. In short, this book is unlikely to interest readers of this journal.

d. Roman Britain and the Romano-British Period

The late Roman coastal forts in south-eastern Britain have traditionally been regarded as a defensive system designed to keep Saxon raiders at bay. More recently Ian Wood, amongst others, has suggested that they really were trans-shipment centers. John Cotterill in an important review of the evidence in "Saxon Raiding and the Role of the Late Roman Coastal Forts of Britain" (*Britannia* 24, 227–39) finds that the Saxon shire forts actually represent the military architecture of the third century and were not constructed to defend fourth-century Britain against putative Saxon raiders. He argues that their main function was to support the Roman fleet in its duty to provide supplies and to exploit the resources of the country. The Welsh forts and the harbors of Caerleon and Chester were important in the transportation of *annona* and other taxes in kind from the north and west of Britain, as Michael Fulford has observed. Taxation in kind became important following the fiscal collapse of the mid third century but it required greater supervision, "so it is no mere coincidence that, as these changes took place, a series of forts was constructed on the sites of major ports in the south and east" (238). The *maritimus tractus* under a *comes* was thus a logistical command, not a military one. The decline in the strength of the garrisons in the latter half of the fourth century should thus be interpreted as the result of reorganization of frontier supplies. He suggests that the *litus Saxonicum* may have been a late development dating from ca. 390–408. Though he does not deal with later history, Cotterill's explanation combined with Fulford's observations about the route of the northern and western *annona* provides a context that explains the presence of fourth- to sixth-century Gallic and Mediterranean pottery in the Scillies, on the western side of the Irish Sea, and in western Scotland, which Charles Thomas has discussed in several publications (most recently in the First Whithorn Lecture delivered on 19 September 1992, entitled *Whithorn's Christian Beginnings [Whithorn: Friends of the Whithorn Trust, 1992]). Even after the Roman military forces had withdrawn from Britain, there may have been sufficient demand for wine, luxury goods and pottery amongst local petty rulers and ecclesiastical foundations for it to be worthwhile for Gallic traders to make the occasional trading voyage following the old Roman western military supply routes, especially since there is accumulating evidence for the preservation of Latin in the western regions of Britain in those centuries, thus easing verbal communication between trader and purchaser.

Maurizio Muraglia's "I valori guida proposti da Gilda nel *De excidio et conquestu Britanniae*" (*Schede Medievali* 22–3 [1993 for 1992], 19–42), stresses the importance of Gildas's *De excidio* as a unique source for the reconstruction of the course of fifth- and sixth-century British history following the withdrawal of the Romans. Analyzing the structure of the work,

Muraglia notes that it comprises two principal parts, respectively focused on the British past (chs. 2–26) and on Gildas's own era (chs. 27–109). The second part, homiletic in tone, subdivides into sections in which Gildas criticizes first kings (chs. 27–63) and then priests (chs. 66–109): their misdemeanors have led to the downfall of Britain in the face of the Saxon invaders. In Muraglia's view Gildas's work is structured on the premise that a healthy society must adhere to four virtues to which Gildas alludes in a crucial passage in ch. 4: the fear of God, charity towards one's fellows, respect for those holding legitimate power, and faith. The narrative of the *De excidio* can be seen as a demonstration of how deviation from these values draws down divine punishment. Gildas himself assumes the role of prophet admonishing the British people (which in one revealing passage he terms "praesens Israel").

e. From the Settlement until the Ninth Century

Barbara Yorke points out in "Fact or Fiction? The Written Evidence for the Fifth and Sixth Centuries AD," in *ASSAH* 6, 45–50, that our corpus of written material has not increased in size, unlike the archaeological evidence, but we now know more about societies analogous to Anglo-Saxon England and how those societies viewed their past. This has led to greater reservations about how far we can rely on Anglo-Saxon written material for this early period, since the Anglo-Saxons were not then literate. We should thus not assume that they responded in the same way as those creating records who followed a Christian literate tradition. She notes that "a historical sensibility, as we would understand it, does not tend to exist without permanent written records" (46): present concerns are likely to shape memories of the past. She claims that "the early annals of the *Chronicle* read as a seamless whole" (47) and thus do not appear to preserve earlier stages of compilation (though I should have liked to have seen this impressionistic claim tested against individual entries). She points to the work of Sisam and Dumville on the elaboration of royal genealogies and the redrafting by the end of the ninth century of sixth-century West-Saxon history in the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* as examples of the complexity of the early documentary sources. This is why "many historians are now preferring to work back from what can be learnt from the more secure basis of the seventh century" (48), which has enabled them to draw some conclusions about sixth-century political history.

Y Gododdin, a heroic poem allegedly composed by Aneirin in the sixth century, claims that in the latter part of that century the Britons rode to a place called *Catraeth* to attack the northern Anglo-Saxons. Amongst scholars who accept the historicity of this event, most associate the battle with modern Catterick in Yorkshire but Ifor Williams questioned this and suggested that the battle site was a few miles away at (the later Norman) Richmond Castle. T.J. Clarkson in "Richmond and Catraeth" (*Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, no. 26 [Winter], 15–20) argues that the balance of current evidence goes against Williams's identification, but pleads for

a program of excavation which might elucidate the early history of the castle and also the linear earthworks known as Scots Dyke, which lie a mile from the castle. (Readers should note that *CMCS* has cleverly transmogrified with this issue from *Cambridge* to *Cambrian Medieval Celtic Studies*, marking the migration of its editor, Patrick Sims-Williams, to the Principality of Wales to take a chair at Aberystwyth, where the journal now makes its home in the Department of Welsh. In all other respects nothing has changed: neither its high standards of production and accuracy nor its remarkably stable price. No. 26 also contains indexes for nos. 1–25 of the authors of articles, books reviewed, and the names of reviewers.)

The seventh century was a time of intense Christological controversy and more could be done to link the views of English prelates with the debates that took place in Mediterranean centers. Which is precisely what Henry Chadwick does in "Theodore of Tarsus and Monothelism," his contribution to a *Festschrift* for Luise Abramowski edited by H.C. Brennecke, E.L. Grasmuck, and C. Marksches entitled *Logos* (Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die neutestamentliche Wissenschaft und die Kunde der älteren Kirche, 67 [Berlin and New York: Walter de Gruyter]), pp. 534–44. Bede records that Theodore had held a council at Hatfield, probably in 679, to enable the English church to affirm the decisions made at the five ecumenical synods held between 325 (Nicea) and 649 (the Lateran Council in Rome). Pope Agatho had hoped, in fact, that Theodore would be present at his own council held in Rome in 680 which declared that Christ both had two natures (human and divine) and two wills; instead only Bishop Wilfrid was present—and that was because he was in Rome to fight his deposition from the see of York by none other than Theodore. The Council opposed Monothelism, a doctrine that argued for Christ's having two natures but one will in an attempt to reconcile Chalcedonian dualism with the Monophysite belief in the single nature of Christ, a view that had strong adherents in the East. Henry Chadwick gives a succinct summary of this debate. (Those with more time and energy can read the texts of the 649 and 680 synods in R. Riedinger's recent monumental editions.) Hatfield also affirmed the notorious addition of "Filioque" to the creed, something not sanctioned in Rome until the eleventh century: it had been opposed by the Byzantine monothelites and so Pope Martin had cannily avoided the word in the 649 synod that had reaffirmed Chalcedon. Chadwick speculates that Theodore, a Cilician Greek, may have included the "Filioque" (which would not have helped Agatho in his dealings with Constantinople) because he was seeking to fend off any claims Wilfrid might make in Rome against his orthodoxy. Wilfrid's activities in Rome may also explain why the pope sent John the Precursor to England to verify the orthodoxy of the English Church. Theology and politics were so inextricably bound up together in the seventh century that those like Chadwick with a taste for the theology can find much to advance our understanding of English ecclesiastical history in

that period.

One must trust that Ciba-Geigy, who sponsored the St. Hilda's College Centenary Symposium book entitled *A Celebration of the Education of Women*, edited by Jane Mellanby (Oxford), are more careful in creating their pharmaceutical confections than the editor has been in assembling at least one chapter of her book: Patrick Wormald has kindly forwarded a corrected copy of his paper, "St Hilda, Saint and Scholar (614–80)" (pp. 93–103), which reveals that he wanted a very different paragraphing structure and a somewhat different text. He thus has restored Æthelthryth's father to being an Anglian rather than an Anglican king (94), a correction which would have disappointed Archbishop Parker. Hilda presided over the Council of Whitby (though Bede denied her a say in the proceedings) and opposed the formidable Wilfrid; five bishops emanated from her monastery and one notable poet, Caedmon. A person one would like to have met. Wormald stresses, however, not her singularity but her example as "a type of early English feminine sanctity" that was so important in the early history of the English Church (94). A third of the chapters in Bede's fourth book of the *Ecclesiastical History* are devoted to nuns like Hild and their houses. Other historical sources enlarge the number of such women; land charters from Kent, Mercia, and the West Midlands increase their number yet further, although the charters become rare in the latter part of the eighth century and virtually cease in the tenth and eleventh centuries. One sixth of the letters collected in St. Boniface's correspondence are to or from women, again a number not paralleled in late letter collections. The early religious communities in which these women lived were double monasteries. In a warrior culture where women often outlived their menfolk, family property became highly vulnerable were these women to (re)marry. By booking land by charter to a nunnery, property could remain within a family's control—and a family's spiritual well-being could be assured through the prayers of the female religious. Aldhelm's treatise on virginity implies that these religious women did not always reject their aristocratic style of living, an implication reified by the ear-rings and costume jewelry (not "imitation jewels" as recorded in the text [100]) found in the excavations at Whitby. But there was also much learning in these houses, both in England and in Frankish Gaul. Wormald reiterates his earlier suggestion that a warrior aristocracy was ambivalent about learning: "for men it was . . . in competition with a warrior ethos . . . [b]ut warrior priorities were not of course shared by women" (101). Later the prominence of such women went into decline because, he argues, "the Carolingian age and its late Anglo-Saxon offshoot were ages of reform. Reform was on the whole a very male-dominated activity in the Middle Ages" (102). In correspondence Wormald described this paper as a *jeu d'esprit* but it contains much sound observation and many stimulating ideas. Like his other papers it merits re-publication, duly corrected and annotated, in a volume of *kleine Schriften*.

C. Cessford brings forward in "Cavalry in Early Bernicia:

A Reply" in *Northern History* 29, 185–7, iconographic evidence from the Aberlemno Stone, the literary example from Bede of the priest Coifi hurling a spear from horseback, and archaeological evidence of horsegear to counter Nicholas Higham's view that cavalry was not used in early Bernicia. (The Aberlemno Stone illustrates in "strip-cartoon" format Ecgfrith's defeat by the Picts at *Nechtansmere* in 685.) He suggests that "Northumbria was more 'horse orientated' than the southern Anglo-Saxon kingdoms" (187). Nicholas Hooper also enters the debate in the same journal (188–96) with "The Aberlemno Stone and Cavalry in Anglo-Saxon England." He rejects Higham's view that spears and swords in Bernician graves were simply infantry weapons or that the evidence of the *Gododdin* for spear-throwing from horseback should be set aside. Like Cessford, he points to the Aberlemno Stone; both of them note the similarity between the helmets portrayed on the stone and the eighth-century Coppergate helmet as proof of the stone's validity as evidence. He suggests that the stone, and the literary evidence from the *Brunanburh* poem and the *Chronicle*, s.a. 1016 indicate that the Anglo-Saxons did not always dismount to fight, though "[w]hen the English fought on horseback it will have been as mounted infantry rather than as specialized cavalry" (195), which seems a sensible conclusion.

Huguette Taviani-Carozzi's article, "De l'histoire au mythe: la généalogie royale anglo-saxonne" in *Cahiers de civilisation médiévale* 36, 355–73, notes the growing role played by myths of origin and by royal genealogies in national histories or chronicles composed between the seventh century and the tenth. She focuses on the genealogies of the Anglo-Saxon kings, and in particular, of the houses of Kent and Wessex, in three sources: the *Historia Brittonum*, the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and Asser's *Gesta Alfredi*. She handles with particular forcefulness the issue of the combination of pagan heroes and gods and biblical patriarchs in the genealogy of Britto (eponymous founder of Britain) in the *Historia Brittonum*, and that of Alfred's father, Æthelwulf, within the *Chronicle's* entry for 855–8. The completion of the line of descent with biblical patriarchs from Adam to Noah represents more than the simple placing of a Christian veneer on a pagan tradition. Especially in the case of Alfred's genealogy, there seems to be definite intent to show Alfred as the legatee of a dual heritage, that of the *gens* to which he belongs, and that of the Christian tradition. The same message is given by Asser's description of Alfred's love of both the Psalms and vernacular poetry. The combination within the genealogy of pagan and Christian elements should thus be seen not as the awkward grafting of one tradition upon another, but as the product of coherent thought.

One of the most notable features of ninth-century English political history is the collapse of Mercian dominion over Kent in the 820s, and the subsequent success of the West Saxons in maintaining control over it. Simon Keynes, in "The Control of Kent in the Ninth Century" (*Early Medieval Europe* 2, 111–31), draws on the evidence of charters and coinage

to show that fundamentally different methods of rule were used by the Mercian and West-Saxon regimes in Kent; the differences help to explain the greater success of the West Saxons. Starting his analysis with King Cenwulf (796–821), Keynes argues that the Mercian rulers tended to keep their distance from the sub-kingdom of Kent. Further, from 810 onwards, the names of native Kentish noblemen are conspicuously absent from the witness-lists of charters, "as if they no longer had a role to play in their own affairs" (117). Mercian interest in Kent appears to have been focused primarily on creaming off its wealth, notably through control of the royal minsters. Following the defeat of King Beornwulf of Mercia by King Ecgberht of the West Saxons at *Ellandun* in 825, the West Saxons made themselves rulers of Kent. In contrast to their Mercian predecessors, the West-Saxon rulers maintained a direct presence there, and were far more concerned to promote the interests of the local Kentish nobility; they appointed members of that nobility to the office of ealdorman. They also took measures to secure the loyalty of the archbishop of Canterbury, and adopted an attitude toward the minsters that was calculated to respect common interests. These characteristics can be observed during the reigns of Ecgberht (802–39) and Æthelwulf (839–58). The witness-lists of their charters indicate that when in Kent these kings acted with a small West-Saxon entourage but otherwise relied upon local nobility. The West-Saxon kings also developed the habit of appointing one of their sons as "king" of Kent, thereby mimicking, and utilizing more effectively, a tactic used by the Mercian Cenwulf when he appointed his brother Cuthred king of Kent. With the reign of King Æthelberht (860–65) came yet a further development, a new concern to integrate the western and eastern parts of the West-Saxon realm, a concern deducible from a Kentish charter (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 327) issued in the first year of Æthelberht's reign, and remarkable for the number and geographical spread of its witnesses. When Alfred assumed the kingship, it still remained for him to earn the support of the Mercian people, but where the south-east was concerned, "he could reap the rewards of the skilful manner in which his predecessors had handled their interests in Kent" (131).

Janet L. Nelson, in "The Political Ideas of Alfred of Wessex" (*Kings and Kingship in Medieval Europe*, ed. Anne J. Duggan, King's College London Medieval Studies 10 [London], pp. 125–58), notes that the ninth century was unusual in witnessing several rulers who were self-professedly lovers of wisdom. On the Continent, however, the rulers in question wrote very little themselves, although they were successful patrons of learning. Among ninth-century rulers only the Anglo-Saxon Alfred has been credited with the authorship of significant literary works. Following a preliminary consideration of aspects of Alfred's laws, notably his introduction of a law of treason, Nelson analyzes the king's literary works for what they reveal about his political ideas. She accepts that four works—the Old-English translations of the *Pastoral Care*, the *Consolation of Philosophy*, the *Soliloquies* of Augustine,

and the first fifty Psalms—manifest a single authorial voice that is plausibly identified as that of Alfred himself. She then examines certain passages of the Old-English versions that represent additions to the original Latin texts and other passages that significantly modify the original, and finds that such passages provide insight into Alfred's views of rulership and the state. For example, into his translation of the *Consolation of Philosophy*, II.vii, Alfred introduced the idea of three orders of society, "praying men, fighting men, and working men." Yet, as Nelson demonstrates, although the three specified orders are peculiarly Alfredian, the idea of a threefold division of society may well have been transmitted to Alfred through texts composed at Auxerre and mediated through Saint-Bertin, with which Alfredian England is known to have been in contact. What is particularly characteristic of the Alfredian translations is the revaluation of worldly goods (*woruldsælda*) and of worldly life as a whole. Alfred converts Boethius's message of world-rejection into one of "clear, if conditional, acceptance" (146), and also modifies Augustine's view of the pilgrimage of earthly life. Notable too is Alfred's introduction into the Boethius of the notion that resistance to a ruler can be justified if the ruler is unrighteous. As Nelson perceptively notes, Alfred's ideas are markedly different from those of the churchmen who wrote mirrors of princes for Carolingian rulers. The latter texts stressed the authoritative role of bishops in directing royal power, but Alfred, in contrast, says nothing of the institutional church in any of his Boethian interpolations; and even in the Old-English *Pastoral Care* there is a tendency to shift Gregory's original sense of *rector* ("bishop") to those in secular authority, and kings in particular. Nelson aptly comments that if Alfred had had more authoritative bishops "breathing down his neck," he "could never have framed his distinctive idea of the realm as a territory within which the king wielded unique authority over resources and over men" (148). Nelson ends her study with a consideration of Alfred's taking of London, which modern interpretations of numismatic evidence indicate could have occurred as early as 882 or 883. She suggests that Alfred may for a time have planned to make London the metropolitan seat in preference to Canterbury, and that it could have been this intention that prompted his despatch of an embassy to Pope Marinus (882-4).

f. From the Tenth Century to the Conquest

Nicholas Brooks first brought the importance of Wulfred of Canterbury to our attention. Now his namesake, Sister Beda Brooks, has re-examined the evidence in "Archbishop Wulfred (805-32) and the Lordship of Minster-in-Thanet in the Early Ninth Century" (*Downside Review* 111, 211-27). Wulfred's desire to have control over the church's lands—and notably those of Minster-in-Thanet—brought him into conflict with King Coenwulf of Mercia, and Sister Brooks sees his trip to Rome in 814 as part of an attempt to regain lordship over his diocesan monasteries, an attempt that took shape at the Synod of Chelsea, which sanctioned episcopal rule over monasteries

whose regular life was under threat. After the death of Abbess Selehryth of Minster conflict between Wulfred and Coenwulf came out into the open and Wulfred was suspended between 817 and 821. The archbishop's documentary claims were weak, so the cathedral community provided the necessary evidence, written in the very poor Latin that characterized Wulfred's scriptorium. In 821 Coenwulf and Wulfred reached a settlement: the latter was reinstated and gained Minster-in-Thanet and Reculver but in return had to surrender an estate that almost equalled what Canterbury held in Kent at the time of Domesday Book—and he had to pay a king's wergeld to boot. When Coenwulf's successor was deposed, Wulfred successfully claimed the minster at the Council of *Clovesho* in 825. After his death, however, the claims of the West Saxons and then the attacks of the Vikings meant that his gains were short-lived. This paper cannot be said to add materially to what Nicholas Brooks has written but it provides a convenient résumé of the evidence.

The Battle of Maldon stimulated more than one millennial conference. It will be convenient to treat here several papers from one such gathering that were subsequently published in *The Battle of Maldon: Fiction and Fact*, ed. Janet Cooper (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambledon; xii, 265 pp.).

James Campbell brings alive "England c. 991" (pp. 1-17), a customarily lucid account based on a wide range of primary sources and up-to-date contemporary scholarship. He begins by recalling the celebration with musical accompaniment at Ramsey Abbey on 8 November that year, when the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy was at its apogee. Shortly thereafter the magnificent funeral of ealdorman Æthelwine took place. Drawing on Kennedy's suggestion, he asserts, "The possibility that the Maldon poem was a funeral song to be sung at such a ceremony has to be considered" (2). The ceremony was able to call on tremendous wealth and he observes that all evidence suggests that "something like a major economic revolution was in progress" in the tenth and eleventh centuries in England (4). His paper explores something of the aristocratic life-style of the time, where there is "the considerable likelihood of there having been aristocrats who were literate in Latin and military monks" (8). At this time there was great emphasis on political and social order. He notes that the sources say little about people of the middling sort, the gentry and yeomanry of later days, and he stresses that our assessment of the nature of Anglo-Saxon society will go badly awry if we ignore this group. The most original aspect of this paper arises out of the possible literary connections between France and England, derived from his examination of the writing by Adalbero of Laon on the three orders of society (see Nelson above). He suggests that aristocratic culture, lay and ecclesiastical, had contacts abroad as well as with each other, contacts that extended into the realm of quite complex (and licentious!) Latin. These aristocratic interests also embraced craftsmanship (including embroidery) and the writing of history. But it was an aristocracy about to crumble: by A.D. 1000 some leading men had been blinded as a punish-

ment and dispossessed. Campbell concludes his paper, which as ever contains flashes of insight and points to ponder, by exploring two contexts in which the poem could have been written: in ca. 1000, at something like the establishment of the abbey of Eynsham, and in the 990s, when the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy still felt secure.

The lamented Karl Leyser discussed "Early Medieval Warfare" (pp. 87–108) at the colloquium, a paper which has now been helpfully annotated by Tim Reuter (no small task as Leyser ranged widely over the sources and 120 notes have resulted). Leyser stresses the almost annual, relentless nature of warfare in Carolingian Europe and how from the mid ninth to the early eleventh century "a process of mobilisation and militarisation inescapably became part of the church's experience" (90). Much warfare was about "rule and lordship," though what underlay this "was a simple quest for wealth in all its forms: booty, treasure held by enemy kings, labour services, manufacturing corvées and last, but not least, tribute" (91). Plunder could be had in plenty because great men carried much wealth with them on campaign as a mark of their standing. It was difficult for commanders to coordinate operations between different groups; he stresses "the enormous importance and the central role of leaders in holding together the little universes of their followings" (97). Leyser mentions many of the realities of medieval warfare: the cunning of the participants and their boasting; and the hazards of disease and famine while campaigning and besieging (the Saxons depended on meat, unlike the Byzantines, perhaps because their heavy weaponry required a protein-rich diet). The most original part of his article is where he draws attention to the Northmen's methods of land warfare, which greatly discommoded the Franks: "They could and frequently did use ground which Frankish armies always avoided if possible. They massed, hid and then emerged from woods" (106). (One may suggest that perhaps Alfred's success as a military leader lay in his observance of this tactic and his adoption of it himself in territory that was well-known to him.) The Northmen also retreated into buildings that they then fortified (one thinks of the church at Repton); they occasionally attacked at night; and, like Uncle Toby's corporal, were adept at raising fortifications. Today things have changed: now we engage in warfare on the roads.

Niels Lund adds to our understanding of the Battle of Maldon by examining "Danish Military Organisation" (pp. 109–26). He questions the widespread belief that the armies of Swein Forkbeard and Cnut were large. He explores how far the armies of the Scandinavians were dependent on the landed wealth of the free peasantry, a system called (with some phonological variations) *leipangr* in the twelfth century and later. He sees this system as one that evolved, the degree of evolution being related to how far the various Scandinavian countries were unified and centralized. Norway had the greatest claim to the antiquity of the *leipangr* organization, going back to the tenth century, but Lund shows that this interpretation must be rejected. He systematically demolishes other Scandi-

navian (especially skaldic) and Anglo-Saxon "evidence" for the early development of the *leipangr* system. Lund believes that the first attempt to introduce it was under St. Knut in 1080; it first really came into being in the reign of King Niels (1104–34). Its creation was a consequence of the fragmentation in the eleventh and twelfth centuries of the larger estates, which formerly would have had the resources to provide men for an army.

The twelfth-century histories dealing with Scandinavia in the period of the Battle of Maldon are not very reliable. Archaeological evidence making use of dendrochronology has, however, provided some fairly precise dates for specific remains; numismatics, runic inscriptions, and skaldic poetry can provide some smidgens of further information, but as Peter Sawyer ruefully concludes in "The Scandinavian Background" (pp. 33–42), "It is hardly possible, on the basis of the evidence briefly mentioned here, to trace developments in Scandinavia before the battle of Maldon, or for some time after it, in any detail" (37). He notes two general features of interest, however. First, power was shared by a variety of rulers, a feature of governance that was exported from Norway to Iceland. Second, Scandinavia was dominated by the Danes—and remained so until the seventeenth century. He traces the vicissitudes of those holding or seeking power in the region from the ninth century on, a discussion notable for his rehabilitation of Svein "Forkbeard," who received a bad press in German sources but not in the *Encomium Emmae reginae*. He suggests that Svein led the Maldon campaign after having won the Danish throne from his father, thus providing the unfortunate Byrhtnoth with a worthy opponent.

Essex is one of the three counties recorded in the so-called Little Domesday. Cyril Hart shows in "Essex in the Late Tenth Century" (pp. 170–204) that the main administrative and economic lineaments of the county were already largely in place by the time of the Battle of Maldon and that its population level was also about the same as in 1086. Little Domesday, unlike its larger counterpart, preserves figures for both 1066 and 1086—yet, Hart notes, scholars such as Round, Finn, and Darby have focused on the later rather than the earlier statistics, thus ignoring information about Anglo-Saxon England in favor of the Norman successor. He publishes for the first time the hidation and population of the county at the two dates, broken down according to hundred and vill (175–6). What he finds is that "[a]t all levels, there was far more change in the structure of rural society during the two decades following the Norman Conquest than in the whole of the previous century" (179). Hart argues that half the Domesday settlements were certainly in existence by the year 1000 and probably as many as two-thirds. He also shows how fundamentally stable Essex remained in later centuries: a map of 1777 proves that the main, and even minor, roads were largely in place by 1086. Hart also provides a useful excursus on the economy of the region, which was based on sheep and cheese-making, the latter industry requiring the substantial production of salt. Dr. Hart knows his county well and his paper

contains useful additional information on woodlands, field systems, churches, boroughs (notably Colchester and Maldon) and even the rearing of domestic poultry, supplemented by a series of detailed maps drawn by himself.

A quarter of a century after Maldon in 1016 Cnut defeated the Anglo-Saxon king, Edmund Ironside, at *Assandun*, variously identified as Ashdon and Ashingdon, which happen to be at opposite ends of Essex. Warwick Rodwell weighs up the merits of these and other sites and brings new evidence to bear in "The Battle of *Assandun* and its Memorial Church: A Reappraisal" (pp. 127–58). The place-name evidence favors Ashdon and a detailed review of the geography also suggests that this is the most likely site, with the Danish fleet possibly being beached on the south bank of the Stour near Harwich. Unfortunately archaeological evidence is lacking but a careful review of the parish boundaries of four churches is more helpful. St. Andrew's, Ashingdon, appears to have been a proprietary church attached to a small Essex manor; certainly it was not a minster foundation. Canewdon parish, another possible contender, appears also to have been of proprietary origin. Ashdon is a large parish with extensive glebe land, which was, however, totally detached from the church; this is consistent in form with a proprietary origin. Another contender is Hadstock, which appears to have been a minster or monastery in origin but is associated with the cult of St. Botolph and Ely rather than with Cnut. Unfortunately, all this ecclesiastical evidence still does not point to the site of Cnut's church that he built after the battle, as Rodwell frankly admits. In his view Ashdon is the most likely site for the battle but is "less certainly" (154) the location of the minster church. He suggests, however, that Cnut's church may have been a collegiate foundation that subsequently failed in the Middle Ages; other examples are known. Further investigation of field and local names here might prove to be informative: there are a number of names in Hadstock parish with a Danish element, but the most interesting, which "may hold the clue to this whole enquiry" (156), is Old Church Field in Ashdon, near the rectory and next to its manorial lands. This could be the site of Cnut's church, though only archaeological evidence will provide the answer. This is an intriguing paper displaying good sleuthing and containing excellent maps to help the reader follow the arguments. It is very admirable that the author is willing to end his paper with a question rather than force an answer from inadequate evidence: of Old Church Field he asks, "If this was not *Assandun* minster, what was it?" (158).

M.K. Lawson's *Cnut: The Danes in England in the Early Eleventh Century*, *The Medieval World* (London and New York: Longman; xiv, 290 pp.) is the first full-length study of Cnut since L.M. Larson's *Canute the Great* of 1912. Lawson ably surveys Cnut's reign in England while taking full account of the broader northern European context within which Cnut's English activities must be seen. He emphasizes that the period of Danish supremacy in England had behind it a history not only of conflict, but also of longstanding contacts

and exchanges between England and Scandinavia, evidenced by trading relations, by settlement, and in literature. The historical sources, both English and Scandinavian, for Cnut's reign are scanty and problematic. Lawson's survey of the sources in his chapter II draws attention to their potential pitfalls, while showing how, when used with due caution, they can establish an informative picture of the reign. The sources include the law codes drawn up by Wulfstan, which Lawson wisely notes are "something of a quicksand in which their compiler and his motives can never be forgotten" (63). The thoroughness of Lawson's account of Cnut's dealings with the church reflects the fullness of the documentation in this area, and Lawson shows how Cnut's cultivation of good relations with several ecclesiastical centers, notably Canterbury and Winchester, resulted from a combination of piety and sound political sense. A special strength of the book is Lawson's use of numismatic and charter evidence. His survey of landholding during the reign establishes that there was no great influx of Danish landholders and no large-scale replacement of native landowners by colonists. Here there is a clear contrast with the Norman Conquest that was to come and a clue as to why the Danish conquest of 1016 was so much more limited in its long-term effect.

Henry Loyn's "*De Iure Domini Regis: A Comment on Royal Authority in Eleventh-Century England*" in *England in the Eleventh Century: Proceedings of the 1990 Harlaxton Symposium*, ed. Carola Hicks, Harlaxton Medieval Studies, 2 (Stamford: Paul Watkins, 1992), pp. 17–24, considers the growth in the nature and extent of the king's jurisdiction in eleventh-century England by comparing the law codes of Cnut (in particular II Cnut), largely put together by Wulfstan, with the so-called *Leges Henrici primi*, compiled in ca. 1118 partly from Anglo-Saxon and Continental codes by a legal expert from the Winchester area. In Cnut's laws a homiletic tone blends with a businesslike concern for detail. There is specific and practical formulation of royal rights of jurisdiction under such heads as *mundbryce*, *hamsoen*, *forsteal*, *flymena fyrmdæ*, and *fyrdwite*. A close association is established between royal authority and the preservation of peace, and "[o]nce this was firmly established in men's minds the capacity for growth in royal institutions calculated to preserve the peace was virtually unlimited, and the king's positive functions in the art of government could be extended and deepened in response to more sophisticated ideas of what truly constituted social peace" (19). The *Leges Henrici primi* include a much larger number of specific areas over which the king had jurisdiction, but the beginnings of the process of extending the royal jurisdiction are clear to see in the eleventh-century codes. "The legal position was clear-cut, ripe for refinements brought in by Norman bishops but secure on an Anglo-Saxon base" (22).

Several other papers in 1993 dealt with the upper levels of society. In "Rural Elites and Urban Communities in Late-Saxon England" (*Past and Present*, no 141 [November], 3–37) Robin Fleming links the history of late Anglo-Saxon

England's earls and thegns with its urban history, a connection she notes that has been strangely ignored by most historians. From her deep knowledge of Domesday Book she cites many examples of urban property of all kinds held by the thegnly class, as well as fiscal and judicial privileges. Many of the bourgeoisie also attached themselves to such men, thereby increasing their power. The Godwines were notable for their avaricious acquisition of urban holdings. Some were responsible for encouraging markets on their estates; successful ones led to the formation of such towns as Newport Pagnell (Bucks.) and Newbury (Berks.). She also rightly points to the symbiotic relationship between rural estates and towns: "The surplus raised or manufactured on country estates needed to be sold in local market towns in order to transform it into cash" (18–19); urban-manufactured goods in turn were traded back to the rural areas. The consequence was "a more cohesive and unified England" (22). The well-to-do maintained urban halls and sought burial in urban cemeteries; they attended urban religious festivals and annual markets; they visited notable relic collections at such places as Exeter, Canterbury and Winchester; they built churches. Fleming has done an excellent job in this paper of showing the inextricable links between town and country for the ruling élite. I suppose it is in the nature of such a paper that the rural peasantry, whose labor produced most of the surpluses that fueled the town economies and provided the élites with much of their wealth, receives scarcely a mention.

Still on an élite theme, we might now turn to the third of a series of studies on images of women in Anglo-Saxon art that Carol Neuman de Vegvar has been conducting. In *OEN* 26.1 (Fall 1992), 56–8 she discusses the portrait of Queen Emma in London, British Library, Additional MS. 33241 in a paper entitled, "A Paean for a Queen: The Frontispiece to the 'Encomium Emmae Reginae.'" She shows that the portrait (which is reproduced in the paper) merges two Carolingian representations, the "enthroned and acclaimed ruler, and the book donor presentation scene" (57). The depiction of Emma as a consecrated queen being observed by Harthacnut and Edward the Confessor, then joint kings of England, shows that the portrait dates from between 1040 and 1043. It served to celebrate her as the architect of a peaceful succession.

Nicholas Rogers's article, "The Waltham Abbey Relic-List" (*England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 157–81), provides an edition of the list of relics owned by the abbey that was founded by King Harold while he was still Earl of Wessex. The list, which occurs on fols. 31r–35v of the fourteenth-century manuscript, London, British Library, Harley 3776, appears to have been compiled in the early thirteenth century. The portion describing the relics given by Waltham's two pre-Conquest donors, Harold and Ealdred, archbishop of York, is written in hexameters, and may go back to the time of Adelard, Harold's physician from Liège, who became *Magister scholarum* at Waltham. The metrical portion may have been intended for reading aloud when the relics were displayed. Rogers's learned introductory comments to the

edition link the fifty-nine relics given by Harold and the twenty-six given by Ealdred with those individuals' known contacts with different parts of England and with France, Flanders, Germany, Rome and the Holy Land. Rogers also discusses lucidly the issue of the "miraculous" discovery at Montacute of the objects—rood, bell, and Gospel book—that prompted Harold's foundation, and suggests that these objects could originally have belonged to the Montacute estate of *Logworesbeorh* owned by Glastonbury Abbey and may have been buried during a Viking invasion.

Élites cannot exist without an economy to support them. S.R.H. Jones in "Transaction Costs, Institutional Change, and the Emergence of a Market Economy in Later Anglo-Saxon England" (*Economic History Review* 46, 658–78) notes that by the eleventh century the Anglo-Saxon economy had become one of the richest and most progressive in Europe. While this partly reflected the quality and extent of England's natural resources, it also resulted from a shift from "an allocative system based largely on gift exchange and institutional redistribution" to a system "in which commodities were increasingly exchanged for money in price-making markets" (658). The key period for this shift was the late ninth and early tenth centuries, the key factor the reaction to the Viking threat. The Anglo-Saxons were obliged either to pay geld to buy off the invaders, or to combine politically and militarily to defeat them. Both courses of action required that much larger surpluses be realized than hitherto, and this led to more systematic exploitation and monetization of resources, which entailed the greater use of markets. Further, the establishment of some fifty fortified burhs by Kings Alfred and Edward the Elder and by the Lady Æthelflæd of the Mercians provided a protected environment for merchants. The systematization of the administration of justice from the time of Alfred onwards also impacted on the economy by establishing tolls, fines, rents, and taxes that were increasingly levied in a liquid form, and the growing monetization of the economy was reflected in the establishment of mints in at least sixty locations by the end of the tenth century. In the early eleventh century, the Anglo-Saxons were able to pay huge sums in geld to the new wave of Viking attackers, something that would not have been possible unless the economy had been able, through its network of markets, to produce significant monetized surpluses. As Jones concludes, "[B]y the early eleventh century, production for sale in the local market town had become relatively commonplace. By then Aelfric was able to write, 'he who has pennies or silver can get anything he pleases'" (675).

g. Post-Conquest Studies

Matthew Strickland asks whether "the concepts of knight-hood and the behavioural usages in war adopted and developed by the Norman nobility and recognisable from the early eleventh century [were] essentially similar to those in operation among the late Saxon aristocracy" (41) in "Slaughter, Slavery or Ransom: The Impact of the Conquest on Con-

duct in Warfare" (*England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 41–59). The question is an important one, for the answer might help explain a significant change in late-eleventh-century England: the disappearance of slavery. Strickland points to an ethos different from that of Saxon and Viking warriors, one that suggests a warrior élite. This ethos reveals itself in such incidents as the compensation paid to the citizens of Dover when undisciplined troops set fire to their town, though they were seeking to surrender, and also when captured warriors were ransomed rather than slaughtered by Duke William in 1050. Strickland does, however, note that "frequently the dictates of animosity and vendetta outweighed the financial advantages of ransom" (43). In contrast, "even the most cursory reading of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* conveys a strong impression of the frequency with which considerable numbers of high ranking men were slain in battle" (45): both Vikings and Anglo-Saxons were inclined to kill rather than capture warriors and both peoples tended to enslave rather than ransom those whom they did capture. Particularly significant to this reviewer's mind is Robert of Rhuddlan, who after the Conquest enslaved his Welsh captives. Ordericus Vitalis strongly condemned him for this. Strickland points out that Robert had been in England prior to the Conquest and his attitudes thus might reflect the values of those amongst whom he lived rather than those of his homeland. Ransoming did occur among the Vikings but in general slaughter was more common. The blood feud, the conflict between pagan and Christian, and the desire of the Anglo-Saxons to defend their homeland he sees as factors explaining the sanguinary nature of pre-Conquest warfare. He believes that the difference between the Saxon and Norman attitudes lay "in the nature and context of the warfare itself" (56). Anglo-Saxon warfare was largely directed at external threats rather than against neighbors, whereas in Normandy "[p]rivate war was endemic" (56) but was directed against fellow Christians rather than pagans. Above all else, Norman warfare came to be based on the warhorse (unlike the ship-based Scandinavians), resulting in a martial aristocracy. Warfare amongst the Normans was between settled neighbors who might be, or might become, kinsmen: to destroy them or depopulate their lands made little long-term sense. Ironically the Battle of Hastings was thus "for many Normans to be the largest and most bloody engagement they would ever experience" (59). This difference in outlook between Anglo-Saxon and Norman must surely provide a partial explanation for the virtual disappearance of slavery from England by the end of the eleventh century.

The Battle of Hastings received a graphic depiction in the form of the Bayeux Tapestry. In "The Borders of the Bayeux Tapestry" (*England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 251–65 + plates 24–39) Carola Hicks considers the Tapestry's animals and birds and the question of whether they should be seen as pure ornament or as relating to, and commenting on, the main action of the Tapestry. Within the borders Hicks distinguishes between narrative scenes and or-

namental depictions. The narrative border scenes include some that illustrate Æsopian fables, although scholarly calculation of the number of fables portrayed has varied from eight to forty-two. Other narrative pictures include genre scenes that appear to derive from calendar and natural history illustrations. One or two depictions appear to represent bestiary animals, as Yapp suggested, but Hicks notes that there is no surviving illustrated bestiary from this period. The purely ornamental depictions generally show pairs of confronted or addorsed creatures, often exotic ones. Frequently it is possible to relate these illustrations to Sassanian or Byzantine silks, but the immediate source is most likely to have been an illuminated manuscript. Hicks notes that David Bernstein, in his *The Mystery of the Bayeux Tapestry* (1986), saw the borders of the Tapestry as presenting a pro-Anglo-Saxon subtext. She rejects his interpretation, pointing out that his desire to see a link between William the Conqueror and the border depictions of the winged lion—which in the Book of Daniel represents Babylon—fails because the winged lion, i.e. griffin, also occurs in conjunction with Anglo-Saxons. For Hicks the borders are decorative and do not contribute to the message of "the central text" of the Tapestry. In the course of her study she observes that the stylistic differences between the border portions of the eight strips that make up the Tapestry may suggest that it is the work of different groups working concurrently to a master design for the central portion but with some discretion as to the border details.

With the Normans came new ecclesiastical foundations. As Jane Martindale notes in "Monasteries and Castles: The Priors of St-Florent de Saumur in England after 1066" (*England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 135–56 + plates 6a–b), one of the policies adopted by the Normans in their colonization of England after the Conquest was to found priories affiliated to Continental mother-houses and to populate them with monks brought from across the Channel. Frequently the mother-houses were not in Normandy but were abbeys with which the Conqueror's followers had personal connections. Basing her study on careful research conducted in departmental archives at Angers, Martindale traces the early history of four priories founded in the late eleventh century and affiliated to the abbey of St-Florent de Saumur in Anjou. Located at Bramber (Sussex), Monmouth (Herefordshire), Sporle (Norfolk), and Andover (Hampshire), the four priories each had a different lay founder. The priories of Bramber and Monmouth were centered on their founders' castles. Such a link with feudal power was alien to the Anglo-Saxons, but there were Norman precedents for it. Martindale concludes that "the early history of the priories founded for St-Florent in England follows the pattern of settlement which has been described as the 'complex' of 'castle-bourg-monastery', and judged to be an important 'instrument of colonisation' in England after the victory of 1066" (155–6).

In a fascinating and painstakingly researched article, George T. Beech ("Queen Mathilda of England (1066–1083) and the Abbey of La Chaise-Dieu in the Auvergne", *Früh-*

mittelalterliche Studien 27, 350–74) investigates the sources of the belief still current in France that Queen Edith (d. 1075), the wife of Edward the Confessor, was buried at the abbey church of La Chaise-Dieu in south-eastern France. The French legend cannot be true, for there is evidence that Edith was buried next to her husband in Westminster Abbey. The ultimate source of the legend was evidently a twelfth-century *vita* of St. Adelelm (d. 1097), monk and third abbot of La Chaise-Dieu: the *vita* records that an (unnamed) English queen was cured of illness after despatching messengers to the saint and receiving bread that he had blessed; in recompense the queen sent Adelelm a “precious priestly vestment.” Further, according to a medieval prayer now lost but copied in the seventeenth century—a prayer recited at the abbey’s annual ceremony commemorating dead benefactors—an English queen had provided funds for building the abbey’s dormitory. Beech concludes that the information in the prayer is probably authentic, and that the queen commemorated must have been the same queen as had been miraculously cured. By the seventeenth century, the community at La Chaise-Dieu believed that this queen actually lay buried at the abbey. Almost certainly this belief was erroneous; it may have resulted from a misunderstanding of the cause of her annual commemoration. It was apparently only in the nineteenth century that it was suggested, by a local historian, that the queen was the Confessor’s wife. Beech points out that, given the span of St. Adelelm’s career, any one of four women could be the “queen” whom Adelelm healed: Edith the Confessor’s wife; Edith Swansneck, who was Harold Godwinson’s concubine or wife while he was the Duke of Wessex, although she was never actually queen; Edith of Mercia, whom Harold married around the time of his coronation early in 1066; and Mathilda, the Conqueror’s wife. Beech’s analysis of the historical records of the activities of these four strongly suggests that, although the other three cannot be ruled out completely, the most likely candidate is Mathilda (d. 1083), whose husband William had been present at the foundation of La Chaise-Dieu in 1052 and who is known to have presented precious vestments to Continental houses.

Two incisive studies consider the establishment of a Benedictine community at Durham in 1083 and the preceding history of the community of St. Cuthbert which had settled at Durham in the late tenth century after departing from Lindisfarne in the ninth. Ted Johnson-South (“The Norman Conquest of Durham: Norman Historians and the Anglo-Saxon Community of St. Cuthbert”, *Haskins Society Journal* 4, 85–95) treats with skepticism the account of the pre-1083 community that is presented in the early twelfth-century *Historia Dunelmensis Ecclesiae* attributed to Symeon of Durham. According to that account, when the Vikings attacked Lindisfarne in 875, they slaughtered the monks, and those who departed with the relics of St. Cuthbert largely consisted of children who had been educated by the monks but who had taken no monastic vows and who later broke the discipline they had learned, married, and produced children;

by the late eleventh century their successors lived corruptly and the religious life of the community had declined sadly. Symeon thus justifies the replacement of this community by Benedictines introduced by Bishop William of St. Calais. Johnson-South uses two late Saxon sources, the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* and the *Annales Lindisfarnenses*—sources which, however, are known only from post-Conquest witnesses, a fact that Johnson-South omits to mention—to cast doubt on several key points of Symeon’s account. These two sources, while chronicling the Viking attack of 875, do not record the slaughter of the monks, which for Symeon was the principal factor that caused the disintegration of monastic discipline. The evidence of the *Historia de Sancto Cuthberto* suggests that the relocation of the Lindisfarne community may have been premeditated rather than a reaction of panic. The community’s seven years of travel before settling at Chester-le-Street in 883, far from being the erratic flight portrayed by Symeon, was apparently an orderly progression through estates owned by the community, which during and after this period shifted southwards the center of gravity of its considerable territorial holdings. Further, if members of the tenth- and eleventh-century community did indeed marry, this need not mean that the community no longer considered itself monastic. Eric John has shown that in southern English houses before the tenth-century Benedictine reforms monks were apparently able to marry, and it is possible that the pre-Conquest monastic tradition in Northumbria may have allowed marriage. Johnson-South’s study suggests that the pre-1083 Durham community may have been well connected with powerful local families and that it may therefore have been political as well as pious motives that resulted in the replacement of this community under William of Saint-Calais.

David Rollason reaches a similar conclusion in “Symeon of Durham and the Community of Durham in the Eleventh Century” (*England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 183–98), although Rollason accepts the traditional view that, after the departure from Lindisfarne, the community of St. Cuthbert was transformed from a monastic body to one of secular clerks. Noting Symeon’s emphasis on the lax condition of the pre-1083 clerks, Rollason underlines Symeon’s propagandistic tendencies, ascertainable, for example, from his glossing over Bishop William’s exile in Normandy in 1088–91. Rollason cites evidence showing that the pre-1083 community was to a degree both literate and devout, and then explores in detail the possibility that the real motivation for the replacement of that community was ecclesio-political. Post-Conquest Northumbria was politically unstable. In 1080 Walcher, the first Norman bishop of Durham, whom the Conqueror had also appointed earl of Northumbria, was murdered by a member of the house of Bamburgh, which had traditionally furnished the earls. The secular community of Durham had intimate links with the house of Bamburgh. On Rollason’s persuasive analysis, the introduction of Benedictine monks at Durham formed part of a conscious Norman policy

of breaking the influence of the traditional holders of power and extending Norman control over the North.

As ever Domesday studies loomed large in the period under review. William E. Kapelle ("The Purpose of Domesday Book: A Quandary," *Essays in Medieval Studies: Proceedings of the Illinois Medieval Association* 9 [1992], 55-68) presents a concise summary of scholarly theories concerning the origin of Domesday Book and draws attention to neglected aspects of the Domesday survey that may throw further light on its purpose. All assessments of Domesday Book have to account for the structuring of the book's information by landholder rather than by hundred (the administrative unit below the shire). J.H. Round proposed in the late nineteenth century that Domesday was fiscal in purpose; that it was the direct result of a geld inquest; and that an early draft of Domesday for Cambridgeshire indicated that the original returns on which Domesday was based were organized by the hundred, which was the traditional unit for geld collection. This view was challenged by V.H. Galbraith, who, beginning with a study published in 1942, used the evidence of the Exon Domesday to show that the structuring of the survey was from the first on the basis of the new honorial feudal framework and that Domesday Book was planned as a feudal assessment to assist the Conqueror in exercising his rights as a feudal overlord. Subsequent scholarship has clustered around these two competing theories and has refined upon them, so that, for example, Sally Harvey, an adherent of the geld theory, has shown persuasively that Domesday stood at the end of a tradition of surveys that stretched back to Anglo-Saxon times; her evidence combines with that revealed by the researches of James Campbell to suggest that the late Anglo-Saxon state was more centralized and sophisticated than has generally been assumed. Kapelle's own view is that both the geld and the feudal administration theories display weaknesses on questions of detail, and he suggests, albeit tentatively, that difficulties encountered by attempts to explain Domesday could result from a misunderstanding of the chronological relationship between the survey and the Norman settlement of England. That settlement has normally been dated to the late 1060s or early 1070s. Had that indeed been the main period of settlement, one would expect much more evidence in Domesday for Norman landholders who had died by the date of the survey. Kapelle proposes the alternative hypothesis that initially settlement was light, and that a major wave of settlement followed later, after the mid-1070s. If this were so, Domesday Book would be explicable as "part of the process of creating the Norman honors in England" (63), and would have had an immediate practical usefulness. Kapelle acknowledges that "more evidence is desirable before we embrace such a radical readjustment of the chronology of the Norman settlement" (65).

N.J. Higham proposes an innovative interpretation of the aims of Domesday in "The Domesday Survey: Context and Purpose" (*History* 78, 7-21). Higham draws attention to the grave threat of a Danish invasion of England in 1085, a threat

that according to MS. E of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle* caused King William to recruit "a larger force of men and infantry from France and Brittany than had ever come to this country." William was obliged to billet these soldiers on his vassals in England. In the event, the Danish attack did not take place. Nonetheless, the expense of billeting the troops, coupled with heavy taxation imposed by William from 1083 onwards, must have aroused considerable grievances among the lesser baronage and others on whom the principal burden fell. In Higham's view, the Domesday survey was aimed at alleviating these grievances by creating a register that would result in a fairer allocation of the burden than had been possible by using existing geld-lists: Domesday included the nearly geld-free *terra regis* and all those estates of the great vassals that had enjoyed beneficial hidation. "By commissioning the Domesday Book, William was conceding an equality of misery to his baronage and agreeing to shoulder an equivalent share of that misery himself. The new system was demonstrably fairer than the geld lists as a basis for the quartering of troops" (17-18). Time will tell whether Higham's interpretation of the purpose of Domesday gains acceptance; meanwhile, his study performs the service of highlighting the strength of the fear of Danish invasion as late as the 1080s and the complex political circumstances at the close of the Conqueror's reign.

Consideration of the purpose of Domesday also informs Patrick Wormald's "Domesday Lawsuits: A Provisional List and Preliminary Comment" (*England in the Eleventh Century*, ed. Hicks, pp. 61-102). Wormald tabulates the 339 disputes over landholding that are recorded in Domesday as having been heard or generated by the 1086 survey. In the penetrating analysis with which he prefaces the table, he notes the imbalance in the number of lawsuits recorded for the seven different circuits into which the Domesday commissioners divided England: thus no disputes at all are listed for Circuit IV (the Midlands), whereas 55 per cent of all the listed lawsuits are for Circuit VI (the North). It is also striking that not infrequently when Domesday Book records the settlement of a dispute in favor of the plaintiff it nonetheless lists the land concerned under the name of the defendant. Thus, "the Book is itself an inefficient guide to the outcome of the lawsuits it incorporates" (74). As Wormald observes, this should qualify J. C. Holt's conclusion that, while the primary motivation of Domesday was the Conqueror's concern to make manorial ownership yield fiscal dividends, it was also intended to provide William's barons with a formal title to their lands and thereby secure their loyalty. The failure to list disputed lands under their legally proven holders suggests a lack of concern for this issue and reinforces the essential correctness of Maitland's conclusion that Domesday Book was "no register of title."

The Domesday survey presented information that had been attested by sworn jurors in every hundred covered by the survey. While for most of England the names of the jurors are not recorded, two of the so-called Domesday satellites, the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and the *Inquisitio*

Eliensis, provide the names of the jurors for the fifteen hundreds of Cambridgeshire and for three hundreds in Hertfordshire. C.P. Lewis's "The Domesday Jurors" (*Haskins Society Journal* 5, 17-44) offers a detailed analysis and illuminating interpretation of these jury lists, leading to significant conclusions about patterns of landholding in 1086. Each of the Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire hundreds had eight jurors, and, of the total of 158 different names listed, 80 were Englishmen and 78 Frenchmen. Far fewer than half of these jurors are listed as landholders in Domesday, a point that requires explanation. Onomastic analysis suggests that both the French and English jurors came from the middle ranks of society. Of those jurors whose lands are listed in Domesday, the French jurors were somewhat more prosperous than the English, although basically both groups fell within the same class. As for the jurors whose lands are not listed in Domesday, many can be presumed to have belonged to tenurial level three; that is, they were tenants of the undertenants of tenants-in-chief. Apart from Cheshire and Shropshire, Domesday systematically omitted this third tenurial level; hence those jurors' failure to be listed. Other jurors may have been the holders of fragments of manors that were not separately mentioned in Domesday; and yet others may have been unrecorded lessees of manors (Ely Abbey in particular is known to have favored leasing). Lewis concludes that the Domesday jurors in general, both French and English, were occupiers of land rather than peasants or unbeneficed knights. This means that "the jury lists for Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire are a highly significant corrective to any picture of the landed settlement of England derived from Domesday Book alone" (32). The jury lists add a substantial number to the landowners ascertainable in Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire in 1086; and they suggest that the number of native English landowners at this time was much higher than has previously been recognized, although admittedly these English landowners probably held land only at a restricted local level. The jury lists thus provide information that impacts significantly on the debate over the extent of the "tenurial revolution" reflected in Domesday Book. Lewis rounds off his study with a useful appendix listing all the jurors named in the *Inquisitio Comitatus Cantabrigiensis* and *Inquisitio Eliensis*.

Domesday has frequently been cited as providing evidence for the devastating effect of the Conqueror's ravaging of the North of England in 1069-70, as D.M. Palliser notes ("Domesday Book and the 'Harrying of the North,'" *North-ern History* 29, 1-23). The survey describes numerous Yorkshire vills simply as "waste," and scholars have tended to conclude that this indicates that at the time of Domesday large tracts of land had failed to recover from the Conqueror's campaign of seventeen years earlier. However, Palliser underlines that it is frequently unclear what the term "waste" implied. No entry in the Yorkshire section of Domesday specifically identifies William's campaign as the cause for land lying waste, and some land described as waste is nonetheless listed as having certain resources. Moreover, significant portions of the

Yorkshire section, notably leaves that list large numbers of lesser manors but provide little information about them, may have been seriously misinterpreted. The failure to provide detailed information need not imply that the manors in question were depopulated and valueless, as has been believed. As Palliser notes, D. Roffe's recent codicological and diplomatic analysis of Domesday Book proposes that, while the Yorkshire section now comes at the end of Great Domesday, that section was probably prepared before any other part, for its scribe experimented extensively with formulae for presenting his information before he arrived at a format that then became standard. The Yorkshire section appears to reflect haste and changes of plan, and the occurrence of abbreviated information about Yorkshire lands has too readily been assumed to mean that the lands lay waste. While there can be no doubt of the severe effect of the Conqueror's punitive campaign in the North, "Domesday Book for Yorkshire cannot be used straightforwardly as a simple index of land still lying waste seventeen years after a recorded devastation and lying waste as a result of that devastation" (21).

What determined the value recorded for a manor in Domesday Book? Carl R. Jackson, Jr. ("How the Normans Determined *Domesday Book* Manorial Values for Essex County," *Albion* 25, 1-21) notes that scholars have variously identified the key factor as the number of a manor's sheep, its annual income, the amount of its tax units, or the number of its plowlands. The wealth of information contained in Domesday Book makes it eminently suitable for computer-based statistical analysis. Such an analysis was undertaken by John McDonald and G.D. Snooks in their *Domesday Economy* (1986) (see *OEN* 21.1 [1987] 148-50) and their conclusion was that the value of a manor was strongly related to its total agriculture and its population. However, Jackson observes that the Normans, lacking sophisticated techniques of calculation, would have been unlikely to have used such a complex combination of components as was proposed by McDonald and Snooks in order to establish manorial value. Jackson's own computer-based analysis of the Domesday returns for a single county, Essex, indicates that the unit on which manorial value was based was the plowland or carucate, defined as the amount of land that could be plowed in one year by one plow and a team of eight oxen. To support this conclusion, Jackson presents a set of eight tables based on advanced statistical techniques. He expresses the hope that similar statistical studies will be conducted for other counties, for only when this has been done "will the question of how manorial value was determined in 1086 England, be put to rest" (11).

Anthony W. Fox's "Non-Monastic Priests in Domesday Essex" (*Essex Journal* 28.2, 50-1) examines this, the largest group of persons in the Essex Domesday with an unusual occupation, some ten of them in all. Their holdings were akin to those of villeins. All but one of the rural priests were dispossessed after 1066 but the five who were also Colchester burgesses managed to retain their properties. He provides a useful table of the priests' names and their lands in 1066 as

recorded in Little Domesday.

h. Regional and Urban Studies

Rather in the manner of John Leland we shall undertake an itinerary of England, though following a somewhat different route, beginning in Cornwall, moving northwards and eastwards, then straying south again, and finally ending in Wessex.

Peter Herring and Della Hooke engage in "Interrogating Anglo-Saxons in St Dennis" in *Cornish Archaeology*, no 32, 67-75, by paying close attention to Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 1020, a document of 1019 granting part of Trevice in St. Dennis, Cornwall. This research is the historical and geographical equivalent of a "rescue dig" because the western third of the charter boundary falls within the "Winning and Working Area" of the St. Austell China Clay region. All who feel a pang for what has been lost of the Anglo-Saxon past whenever they drive past Breedon-on-the-Hill, teetering on the brink of a vast quarry that has gobbled up much of its hill, will be thankful for their industry. The document mentions a "highway," a "lane," and a "way." They note: "A fragment of this highway survives as a very deep and un-metalled hollow-way. . . . Unfortunately this rare survival of an early medieval road, continuously used for well over 900 years and still essentially in its original form, is to be finally cut and partially destroyed by the Fraddon/Indian Queens by-pass" (70). How sad, when the overall conclusion is that this charter shows "how stable this part of the Cornish countryside has been since 1049" (73). Lexicographers should note Della Hooke's discussion of the term *ut-blyp*, which she defines as an "out-lying common pasture over which stock roamed freely" (74).

"Patrick appears to be one of those saints who died repeatedly, in different places, and at different times." So begins Lesley Abrams's exercise in skepticism, "St Patrick and Glastonbury Abbey: *Nihil ex nihilo fit?*" in *Saint Patrick, A.D. 493-1993* by David Dumville *et al.* (Woodbridge and Rochester, NY: Boydell), pp. 233-42. Not that she dictates what we should think about the founder and founding of Glastonbury Abbey. After all, one eminent scholar has incautiously committed himself in print to the view that the elder Patrick was the founder of Glastonbury Abbey, though unfortunately, if one believes this, one is not relieved of decisions, since there are two candidates for the title of *Patrick Senior*. In point of fact, Abrams observes that the genesis of the Patrician cult at Glastonbury can be traced back no earlier than the tenth century—but then, given the nature of the sources a "[c]onfirmed sceptic" would note that "the clustering of sources in the tenth century is inevitable" (242), so the belief *could* be older. A teasing problem for anyone writing a history of marketing in Western culture, a skill long practiced at Glastonbury. . . .

The Revd. Canon Eric Gethyn-Jones observes in "The Church in Berkeley" (*Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucester Archaeological Society* 110 [1992], 59-60) that references to the abbot, abbey or *familia* of Berkeley are surprisingly frequent between the eighth and tenth centuries. The abbey may have been destroyed when the Danes landed in 910 in Sharpness

(which may have been the site of the abbey, although this has been the subject of debate). The parish church was "the mother church of the parochia in the Berkeley Herness" (60); whether the latter housed a community or was of collegiate status is uncertain.

Christopher Cox aims at correcting translations and "some topographical distortions" made by C.E. Watson and G.B. Grundy in the early 1930s in their examination of the bounds of two charters, Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos. 103 (A.D. 716x745) and 1441 (A.D. 896). His paper, "The Woodlands of Woodchester—the Charters Reconsidered," is published in the same journal as the previous article (61-76). Even with his new contributions, the bounds are still not unambiguously identified in all respects; there is scope here for further work based on a re-edition of the texts.

Patrick Wormald in *How Do We Know So Much About Anglo-Saxon Deerhurst?* (Deerhurst Lecture 1991 [Deerhurst, Gloucs.]) notes that the church of Deerhurst is mentioned in more historical documents and narratives than most other Anglo-Saxon buildings, although the number of mentions is still small. Deerhurst first appears in a document of 804 (known only from eleventh-century Worcester sources) in which it is granted land by Æthelric, son of Æthelmund, this Æthelric having evidently been its lay patron. The document leads Wormald into an illuminating discussion of the practice of bestowing land by charter and of the types of dispute that might arise therefrom. Secondly, Deerhurst is mentioned in Osbern of Canterbury's late eleventh-century *Life of St. Ælfheah* as the place where Ælfheah began his monastic career before taking up the hermit's life at Bath. Osbern indicates that Deerhurst was then a reformed monastery, but Wormald casts doubt on whether that was really so. Thirdly, in MS. D of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, and in the related Latin chronicle of John of Worcester, Deerhurst is mentioned in the annals for 1016, 1053, and 1056. Wormald takes this as a cue for a significant discussion of the likely origin of MS. D. The manuscript was certainly in Worcester in the sixteenth century, when it was seen there by John Joscelyn, and probably in the twelfth century, when it seems to have been used as a source by John of Worcester. But it need not have originated there, and its failure to say anything about St. Wulfstan, bishop of Worcester (1062-95), suggests that it did not. Wormald notes the prominence given by D to Ealdred, bishop of Worcester (1047-62) and archbishop of York (1061-69), and suggests that D was compiled somewhere in the North of England (although not at York itself), largely from sources closely associated with Ealdred. A link with Ealdred would serve to explain the several mentions of Deerhurst in D, for Ealdred had connections in Deerhurst, having dedicated Earl Odda's chapel there in April 1056 and, later in the same year, bestowed monastic orders there on the dying Odda. Wormald concludes his lecture by commenting that the reason why Deerhurst has survived as an Anglo-Saxon church, and was not rebuilt in early Anglo-Norman times as might have been expected, may be because Edward the Confessor granted the

church to the abbey of Saint-Denis in France: the church's absentee landlord appears to have treated it with benign neglect.

Because of the chance survival of primary material—and the current geographical location of contemporary scholars—some English counties receive rather more attention from Anglo-Saxonists than others. Apart from Burton, Tamworth, and Lichfield, Staffordshire tends to be rather neglected. The new journal, *Staffordshire Studies*, might help rectify our ignorance of this geographically diverse county, best known today (now that its potteries have languished) for its beer and the Abbots Bromley horn dance, both of which probably had Anglo-Saxon origins (for the latter, see *OEN* 17.1 [1983], 136).

None of the twenty Newcastles in the British Isles feature in standard tourist itineraries. Newcastle-under-Lyme in northern Staffordshire is no different from the others but its ancestry may be more venerable than some, as Robin Studd argues in "Medieval Newcastle-under-Lyme: A Hidden Domesday Borough?" (*Staffordshire Studies* 3 [1990–1], 1–21). Hitherto the town has been deemed to be a twelfth-century foundation that became the wealthiest and perhaps the most populous town in thirteenth-century Staffordshire (5). Studd looks for earlier evidence of its presence in the Domesday entry describing the manor of Trentham, in which the later Newcastle was to be found. He points out that much of northern Staffordshire is difficult terrain, which would thus be of little interest to William's commissioners as a source of revenue, and, in any case, the survey was better geared to the assessment of rural manors than of towns. He draws attention to a double entry for the population of Trentham and a rise in its manorial valuation between Edward's death and 1086. Studd suggests that this may indicate an incipient town in existence before the Conquest. The evidence is slight and would be more convincing if he could point to analogous entries in other counties. The title of his article is certainly misleading as the term "borough" changed over time: in 1086 it could be said neither to have been an Alfredian *burh* nor the Newcastle that received a borough charter in 1173.

John Hunt's "Land Tenure and Lordship in Tenth and Eleventh Century Staffordshire" (*Staffordshire Studies* 4 [1991–2], 1–20) examines the relationship between lordship and land tenure in the county (and the slightly more extensive honor of Dudley) and what that tenure entailed for many thegns. He specifically explores how far dependent tenure involved the expectation of military service, termed by him "feudalism", which Susan Reynolds for one would like to see banished from the historian's lexicon. He believes that in Staffordshire there was a link "between tenure, military service, and effective lordship since at least the middle of the tenth century" (10). Much of this is speculation, however. Hunt rightly points to the fragmentation of larger estates in the tenth century and suggests that the evidence often records landholders rather than landowners. He also takes issue with Robin Fleming's suggestion that consolidated territorial fees were a secondary proof of change under the Conqueror, which fol-

lowed the granting of land to William's followers based on the holdings of the antecessor under the Confessor: Hunt's claim that such fees were a primary phase in Staffordshire that followed the fall of Earl Edwin in 1071 has rather more cogency. However, phrases such as "one might postulate" (10), "it is improbable that," "One can speculate that," and "it is probable that" (11), "The cumulative impression" (13), "it is quite likely that" (14), "The impression created" (15), "links . . . are arguable" (17), "there is a strong impression" and "The impression is given" (18) cumulatively do not give an impression of a strong case.

N.J. Higham's *The Origins of Cheshire*, *Origins of the Shire* (Manchester: Manchester University Press; xvi, 241 pp., ill.) is an excellently illustrated book with numerous maps which promises rather more than it can deliver. Written evidence from and about pre-Conquest Cheshire is exiguous and archaeology still does not have a great deal to offer. As he frankly observes of the late Roman period, "[I]t will always be possible for scholars to approach the very limited body of source materials from different perspectives or with different value judgements, and then offer hypotheses which differ dramatically one from another" (64).

He begins his volume with a topographical description of the county and a brief discussion of its prehistory. From a modern popular perspective its leading early figure is the unfortunate Lindow Man, whose garrotted body was found in a bog in 1983, where it had lain since at least the post-Roman period but perhaps even for several centuries longer. After a chapter devoted to the Roman period, he turns to the Romano-British era. His examination of an important early document, the *Tribal Hidage*, leads him to the interesting suggestion that the hitherto unlocated *Westerne* of the text referred to British kings living west of Wroxeter, e.g., the kings of Anglesey or Gwynedd (70, 72). He identifies "very tentatively" (75) the *Wrocen sete* of the *Hidage* with the *Cornovii* of Roman Britain and believes their territory included Cheshire, much of Shropshire, and western Staffordshire (74). He believes this was a British court based in sub-Roman Wroxeter (77). Place-names suggest that Christianity survived up until the conversion of the Anglo-Saxons and that Cheshire formed "part of a comparatively large sub-Roman British kingdom within which Christianity had survived the collapse of Empire as the official religion" (84). He suggests that Chester was the venue for the famous meeting Augustine of Canterbury had with the British bishops, though this reviewer does not find his arguments persuasive.

A substantial portion of the book is devoted to a detailed investigation of all the Cheshire regions by reconstructing early estates, primarily using a combination of information derived from parochial structure and tenurial patterns as enshrined in Domesday Book. Middlewich Hundred may be taken as an example. He suggests that Sandbach (known for its extant Saxon stone crosses, whose iconography he discusses on pp. 167–8) was the mother-church of what are now four parishes in the west of the hundred, with Astbury ("East

burh") being another on the eastern side. He notes that this bipartite organization is found in many Cheshire hundreds. Sandbach, he suggests, may have been an episcopal residence in the late pre-Viking period, though by the end of the Anglo-Saxon era it had lost its status and its *parochia* had begun to fragment. His penultimate chapter, "Saxon Cheshire and the Normans," notes how little property Anglo-Saxon kings possessed in Cheshire in the eleventh century; before the extensive Viking ravages of 980 the situation had been far different. In this late period Cheshire, Shropshire and Staffordshire seem to have formed a single ealdormanry. Earl Leofric (ca. 1030–57) was a powerful figure. His earldom "highlights the tendency in late Anglo-Saxon England for royal offices to become heritable. In many respects the earldom of Leofric approximated to the heritable and dynastically oriented counties of contemporary France" (186–7). The area was a focus for Mercian rebellion in 1069–70 and was wasted by William. Domesday Book reveals how little power Edward the Confessor had wielded in Cheshire: apart from Earl Leofric the only other substantial landowner was the Bishop of Lichfield. A postscript briefly treats of the county's uneasy relationship with neighboring Wales and discusses the definition of its boundaries, which in the west were settled only in 1284 by Edward I under the Statute of Rhuddlan.

N.J. Higham in 1993 also provided a guide to the north-east of England in *The Kingdom of Northumbria, AD 350–1100* (Dover, NH: Alan Sutton; ix, 296 pp., ill.), a large book whose colour plates alone should attract. But this is no mere coffee-table book: it provides a detailed survey of the historical and archaeological evidence for this large region. The first Anglo-Saxons were to be found there before the mid-fifth century: Sancton, one of forty-two cemeteries found east of the Pennines dates from the third quarter of that century (66–8). Wharram Percy and West Heslerton illustrate the continuity of cemetery sites. Of the various early kingdoms he suggests that the Deirans were the "people of the Derwent Valley" (81), with its principal shrine at Goodmanham and the (now-lost) royal residence in the vicinity of Sancton. Bernicia's likeliest origin is in Cleveland, with the capture of Bamburgh being a late development. The boundaries of Rheged are less easy to define. Other territories were Strathclyde, Craven, Elmet, and Hatfield, whose locations he discusses in detail. Out of these kingships Northumbria came into being between A.D. 550 and 640. Even though native place-names were probably supplanted by Anglo-Saxon ones between the sixth and eighth centuries, "to suggest that the peoples of the tribal British kingdoms could have been replaced wholesale by waves of settlers in their tens of thousands from the core of Deira or Bernicia is to create problems of demography which are insurmountable" (99).

In discussing the shift from paganism to Christianity, Higham, who is well-informed about matter archaeological as well as historical, makes the important observation: "While it seems probable that many of the more important early medieval churches replaced pagan shrines or temples (as at

Goodmanham, perhaps), in no instance has this yet been demonstrated archaeologically" (108). His account of the brief ascendancy of Æthelfrith, "the true founding father of Bernicia and Northumbria" (113), rings true in anthropological terms: in that discipline specialists have argued that chiefdoms tend to incorporate weaker tribes, which, however, themselves often prove to be short-lived. What is intriguing is why Bede allowed this pagan king to have such prominence in his *Historia ecclesiastica*. It is too early to say how far Higham's account of such "overkings" will gain general acceptance and the detailed defence of his claim that the *Tribal Hidage* was "written by Paulinus on behalf of King Edwin" (115) has only recently appeared in print in his book, *An English Empire: Bede and the Early Anglo-Saxon Kings* (Manchester and New York: Manchester University Press, 1995), pp. 74–111, especially pp. 96–7. There is much meat in his section of Edwin. Bede and Stephen of Ripon's *Life of Saint Wilfrid* enables him to give a full account of the period up to the death of Ecgrith in 685, much of it drawing on his own interpretations which he has published elsewhere. Less can be said as the eighth century progresses, but even here he has valuable observations to make about "a deep, defensive frontier system to the south against their [*sc.* the Northumbrian kings'] powerful Mercian neighbours" (142), which probably dates from the late-eighth or early-ninth century (see maps and pictures on pp. 142–3). The weakness of later Northumbrian kings he ascribes to their inability to retain control over lands in the hands of ecclesiasts who were not necessarily supporters of the incumbents in power. He compensates for the paucity of surviving historical material by discussing some of the manuscripts of the Northumbrian renaissance and economic deductions that can be made from the numismatic evidence.

His chapter on the Viking Age moves counter to the more positive response to the Scandinavians encouraged by Peter Sawyer; this may mark another swing in the pendulum of historical interpretation. "To argue that the skills shown by Scandinavians in trading, manufacturing and colonization in any respect compensated for their aggression, terrorism and looting is little short of offensive, irrespective of the scale on which that occurred" (177).

Only with the fall of the last Viking king of York in 954 is it "possible to start speaking of England, in place of the West Saxons, Mercians and Northumbrians, and it must be significant that the term emerges within the half-century following this event" (211). The later tenth century and the eleventh saw considerable church building in Northumbria, extant examples of which Higham describes. He relates the troubled political history of the north in the century before the Conquest, which will enable literary scholars to learn something of the history of Macbeth that is rather closer to the documentary evidence than Shakespeare's play. Higham's penultimate chapter is poignant: "By 1075 . . . Northumbria had ceased to exist in any unitary sense, York was burnt and pauperized, its population decimated, and the members of Northumbria's several regional aristocracies were dead or had

fled" (233). Here he reviews the twists and turns of political fortunes that led to Northumbria's demise.

His final chapter reviews the changes that have occurred since collapse of Northumbria. In addition to the more obvious ways whereby the historical landscape has been destroyed—"[l]arge-scale industrial development, urbanization and dereliction, extractive industries and power generation, spoil tips, land-drainage, deep ploughing and much more" (252)—the growth of enclosures between the fifteenth and the nineteenth centuries have more subtly destroyed the past. The photographs here provide particularly graphic evidence of what survives. As elsewhere in the book he notes that the peasantry does not appear in archaeological contexts until the nucleation of the central Middle Ages. "The Dark Age farmer remains one of the greatest enigmas of British history and archaeology" (269); excavated villages such as West Heslerton should be seen as "centres of consumption" (266) rather than settlements of farmers.

Readers who wish to pursue in more detail themes discussed in the various chapters are presented with an extensive bibliography. Altogether this is a delightful book, learned, stimulating, and visually appealing.

Philip Lyth and Gerald Davies present a revised map and translation of the boundaries of Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, no. 659, in "The Southwell Charter of A.D. 956: A New Appraisal of the Boundaries" in *Transactions of the Thoroton Society of Nottinghamshire* 96 (1992), 125–9, first published by Lyth in *ibid.*, 86 (1982), 49–61. The revision was undertaken after an examination of the fourteenth-century manuscript in which the charter appears and in consultation with the place-name scholar, Kenneth Cameron. A notable new interpretation is for the word *dilhalle*, which they suggest may mean "a corner (*bealh*) where vetch grows" (126, 128); for the puzzling *esete* they suggest some compound of (*ge*)*sete*, "dwelling," "stable," "fold" (126).

**Pre-Viking Lindsey*, ed. Alan Vince, inaugurates a new series, Lincoln Archaeological Studies, published by the City of Lincoln Archaeological Unit (Charlotte House, The Lawn, Union Road, Lincoln LN1 3BL). There is much to interest Anglo-Saxonists here, as might be expected from an area settled so early by the Anglo-Saxons but about which little documentary evidence survives. Two papers in particular will be noticed here.

Sarah Foot poses the question as to whether Lindsey had any separate existence as a kingdom in the pre-Viking period in "Kingdom of Lindsey" (pp. 128–40). She decides that "the preservation of a genealogy for a Lindsey royal line does strongly suggest that the memory of the royal authority of such a dynasty was preserved well into the historical period" (138); that Bede called it a *provincia* and that it had a bishopric is in her view compelling supplementary evidence. She notes that the *Lindesfarona* are mentioned in the Tribal Hidage, suggesting that in the final third of the seventh century Lindsey fell within the Mercians' ambit. Its size in the Hidage rivalled Essex and Sussex and exceeded that of the Hwicce.

The best argument for its former independence is the Lindsey royal genealogy in London, British Library, MS. Cotton Vespasian B. vi, fol. 109r, which is conveniently reproduced on p. 130 and which she subjects to a close examination. I must say that the almost abecedarian sequence of names of the ancestors of Aldfrith ending with Godulf Geoting (A-E-B-C-W-F-G) smacks to me of a highly artificial construct; I am not surprised that it proves "impossible to assign any of the Lindsey kings to any specific historical period" (133).

Barbara Yorke accepts the existence of Lindsey as a kingdom in her paper, "Lindsey: The Lost Kingdom Found?" (pp. 141–50). She notes that Lindsey takes its name (< British **Lindo*, "a pool") from Lincoln, the only "kingdom" (which, of course, begs the question) in eastern England to take its name from a former Roman town. She observes that Deira and Bernicia to the north may have derived their names from British tribal names; Elmet and Craven to the northwest were British territories; and "similarities in the internal organisation of Lindsey, Deira and Elmet in the 7th century . . . could suggest continuity with Roman systems of administration" (141). A recent model proposed for Elmet of "several distinct phases linked with different settlement zones" (142) may fit Lindsey: a change from regional to local pagan cemeteries perhaps associated with new settlers from Scandinavia in the late fifth century and a move from cremation to inhumation may have been one such phase. There is uncertainty as to Lindsey's early boundaries and also as to specifically what its name referred to. She suggests that the known ecclesiastical links between Lindsey and Bernicia may point to unrecorded secular ones as well; ties with Northumbria continued after Wulfhere and Æthelred, kings of Mercia, conquered Lindsey. Aside from Aldfrith, known from the genealogy discussed by Sarah Foot, the only place where a Lindsey dynasty might appear is in the Church, since members of a royal family would be likely to found proprietary minsters, an astute suggestion. In this regard she points to the family of Bishop Æthelwine. There are mysteries even about the Church in Lindsey, however, such as the location of its bishoprics: "[a]t the moment nowhere has a better claim than Lincoln" (146). The recent discovery of a hitherto unknown Middle-Saxon monastic site at Flixborough shows how much we have still to learn. The coin evidence from Lindsey belies its apparent status as a backwater. So far, however, no evidence of a trading centre or *wic* has been found, but one or even several North Sea littoral ports might be expected. As for its administration, Lindsey had three ridings: she suggests that these might relate to pre-Viking settlement patterns; "[i]t seems likely that it will one day be possible to reconstruct much more of the territorial arrangements of pre-Viking Lindsey" (148). This is a thoughtful and wide-ranging essay, which acknowledges how little we currently know, yet which also prepares the way for further insights. These are likely to be provided by well-planned archaeological excavations, numismatic and place-name analysis, and painstaking topographical examinations linked (I suspect) to such extant information as ecclesiastical boundaries.

A pair of charters from A.D. 944 and 1021x1033 plus an undated set of bounds (Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos. 495, 977, and 1565) relating to Badby and Newnham (Northants.) are the subject of "The Details of the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: Badby Revisited" by A.E. Brown, Margaret Gelling, and Christine Orr (*Northamptonshire Past and Present* 8.2 [1990-1], 95-103). A detailed translation of the pair of vernacular bounds using our increased knowledge of Anglo-Saxon topographical terminology is a major purpose of the paper; both lexicographers and those who aspire to "solve" other Anglo-Saxon charter bounds will want to consult the paper. But the lamentable story of the Trecice charter recounted above is repeated here: the text aims at showing how much still survives but also "how at the present time those remains, which are known from the documents to go as far back as the tenth century at least, are being destroyed through piecemeal changes in the countryside" (95). The authors speculate that the bounds were used by Evesham in a dispute over Badby that arose in the eleventh century. They note how old parish earth banks such as those at Badby have little economic relevance now and are slowly being obliterated. Ruefully one realizes that papers like this one may eventually be their only memorial. It is commendable, therefore, that it is illustrated by four maps and a photograph.

Cyril Hart's "Oundle: Its Province and Eight Hundreds," in *Northamptonshire Past and Present* 8.1 (1989-90), 3-23, was subjected to a rather ungracious drubbing by Glenn Foard in "The Saxon Bounds of Oundle" in *ibid.*, 8.3 (1991-2), 179-89. (Foard's methodology used in interpreting Northamptonshire's administrative structure in another paper has in turn been obliquely questioned by D.M. Hadley in the *Journal of Historical Geography* 22.1 [1996], p. 15, n. 70.) Since Hart has, to use his own words, "radically revised" this paper in his admirable monograph, *The Danelaw* (London and Rio Grande, OH: Hambleton, 1992), where it forms Chapter 4, there seems to be little value in rehearsing arguments that he has subsequently modified.

Clifford Offer, in *King Offa in Hitchin* (Hitchin: by the author, 1992; [iv], 41 pp., ill.), investigates the claim, made in fourteenth-century sources that were destroyed in the nineteenth century, that Hitchin (Hertfordshire) had been a flourishing town under King Offa of Mercia (757-96), and that in 792 Offa founded a religious house there. Noting that Hitchin was held by William the Conqueror at the time of Domesday Book, Offer adduces evidence suggesting that the town may have been royal demesne in the time of Cnut. He goes on to demonstrate the strategic importance of Hitchin in the Mercian era and concludes that Offa, having defeated his predecessor Beornred, annexed Hitchin and the surrounding area to create a royal estate. Offer presents an interesting study, although in places there is insufficient distinction between statements based on historical evidence, and conjecture; as a local historian writing on the 1200th anniversary of Offa's reputed foundation of a monastery at Hitchin, he has a strong interest in reaching a positive conclusion to his study.

This reviewer recalls with pleasure a ramble in the Oxfordshire countryside one Sunday afternoon six years ago with a number of congenial companions led by John Blair in pursuit of an Anglo-Saxon charter boundary. In a green lane between the fields a man out walking his dog volunteered the name of the lane which pointed to its antiquity. The experience showed that however much one can learn from Ordnance Survey maps (as Grundy did seventy-five years ago) nothing can replace detailed on-site topographical investigation in order to elucidate charter bounds. The fruit of such an exploration is evident in the paper co-authored by John Blair and Andrew Millard, "An Anglo-Saxon Landmark Rediscovered: The *Stanford/Stan Brige* of the Ducklington and Witney Charters" (*Oxonienisia* 57 [1992], 342-8). Sawyer, *Anglo-Saxon Charters*, nos. 678 and 771, dating from the mid-tenth century, mention a "stone ford" and a "stone bridge." A concentrated section of rubble noticed in the course of their search and partially excavated enables them with confidence to identify the site of the stone ford/bridge crossing the present watercourse, which in the tenth century must have been three to four times wider than the present streambed. They suggest that "bridge" and "ford" are here synonymous, having the same meaning as they bear in the *Battle of Maldon*, viz. "causeway" (348). They suggest that such rubble-built causeways may have been a familiar sight in the Upper Thames area in late Anglo-Saxon England.

One of the glories of British scholarship is the large number of town, county and regional archaeological, historical, architectural, and antiquarian societies that have been spawned over the past two centuries with their attendant journals containing what an earlier age would have described as a wealth of curious learning. These are now being supplemented by annual and occasional lectures (the Brixworth, Chadwick, Deerhurst, Dorothea Coke, Jarrow, Quiggin, Stenton, Toller, and Whithorn lectures are steadily filling up the library boxes on this reviewer's shelves with the insights of leading scholars that one ignores at one's peril). But outside a few libraries such as the Widener, the Ashmolean and London's Institute of Historical Research, it can be very hard to lay one's hands on local periodicals: even the British Library and the Bodleian have taken to banishing newer journals to outlying warehouses, whence it can take twenty-four hours for them to be brought to home base. *Lookback at Andover: The Journal of the Andover History and Archaeology Society* (ISSN 0960-5738) reached the fourth number of its first volume in September 1993 and Simon Keynes must be thanked for despatching to North America an offprint of his brief paper, "Andover 994," which would otherwise have eluded this review. He provides a context for the baptism of Olaf Tryggvason at Andover, where his confirmation was sponsored by Æthelred in 994. It was not Andover's first entrance into Anglo-Saxon history (Keynes mentions its earlier appearances) nor was 994 the first of the Viking raids: these had been continuing since 991, as he explains and illustrates with a useful map of Viking raids between 991 and 1005. Sponsorship symbolized political

superiority, as he shows from the examples of Alfred and Edmund in their dealings with the Scandinavians. With the addition of attractive *douceurs* in the form of gifts Olaf ceased to be a menace to the English and instead betook himself back to Norway, where the wealth he had acquired in England must have helped him gain the throne. He thereupon enjoined his people to accept Christianity, having learned from his English experience that this religion "was a powerful force which could be deployed to the political advantage of a king" (61).

Many parish churches in England are slowly revealing themselves to be of great antiquity, though often frustratingly little historical information survives from the Anglo-Saxon period. This is the case with the subject of Patricia H. Coulstock's book, *The Collegiate Church of Wimborne Minster*, Studies in the History of Medieval Religion, 5 (Woodbridge, Suffolk, and Rochester, NY: Boydell; xii, 267 pp., ill.) The *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*, s.a. 718, tells us that Ine's sister, Cuthburga, founded Wimborne, which is located in Dorset; an ostensibly earlier deed of A.D. 705 of Aldhelm, preserved first in the early-twelfth-century life of the saint, also mentions the nunnery there. Boniface chose a nun from the house, Lioba, to manage his German nunneries. Alfred the Great's elder brother, Æthelred, was buried at the minster in 871 as was an otherwise unknown king, Sigferth, in 962; earlier its founder, Cuthburga, and her sister, Cwenburga, had also found repose there. Alfred's nephew, Æthelwold, rebelled against Edward the Elder following Alfred's death, seized a royal residence there and abducted one of the nuns (97). Both the *Chronicle* and Asser are the first to mention its status as a minster in connection with Æthelred's death; there are later references to a "monasterium clericorum" and to "Wimburnan mynstre" (see p. 66). It is also mentioned in Domesday. Reliable archaeological evidence is minimal: the one seemingly sound piece of information, an 1857 newspaper report of a "perfect tessellated Roman pavement" (16), proves to have been exaggerated. What survived "could be accepted as Romano-British" (17) but it is "even possible that the Wimborne tessera might be Saxon" (18), which does not get us very far. Ms Coulstock expands the Anglo-Saxon evidence to nearly one hundred pages by placing it in a wider context. Thus her second chapter, "The Influence of Gaul on the Foundation of Early Anglo-Saxon Nunneries" (22–33), does not really deal with Wimborne. It provides a useful conspectus of the evidence on double monasteries, though she was unlucky in that a major specialist work on the subject appeared probably too late for her to be able to consult it: *Doppelklöster und andere Formen der Symbiose männlicher und weiblicher Religiösen im Mittelalter*, ed. Kaspar Elm and Michel Parisse, Berliner historische Studien 18, Ordensstudien 8 (Berlin, 1992). In her next chapter, on the foundation of the nunnery, she makes somewhat heavy weather of the deed of 705. She acknowledges that its authenticity has been doubted from Wharton through to Lapidge and Herren but claims, "There is no reason why the transaction that the 705 deed professes

to record could not be authentic history" (37)—though, if authentic, she thinks it must date to 706 (40). The only way of convincing a skeptic, however, would have been if she had subjected the text to a close linguistic analysis and pointed to stylistic or verbal links with Aldhelm's accepted writings. This she does not do. Her lengthy fourth chapter is devoted to the background to the establishment of royal nunneries and their landed base. Buried in this chapter is a brief report that in the Kingston Lacy area "the probable site of the king's tun at Wimborne was discovered in 1985," which, if it has been correctly identified, should be further investigated (64 and n. 109). The following chapter draws on the ninth-century *Life of Lioba* by a monk of Fulda and Aldhelm's *De Virginitate* to explore how Wimborne was governed by royal abbesses. Unfortunately, like all other religious houses in eighth-century England, its rule has been lost. It disappears from view as a nunnery after 962, allegedly being refounded for secular canons by Edward the Confessor. The latter part of the book examines the post-Conquest period, especially the three perpetual chantries, for which there is rather more direct evidence. The work draws on a wide range of sources and is a survey that students should find useful.

i. The Viking World

Published to coincide with the 1200th anniversary of the Viking raid on Lindisfarne in 793, John Marsden's *The Fury of the Northmen: Saints, Shrines and Sea-Raiders in the Viking Age AD 793–878* (London: Kyle Cathie; xv, 194 pp. + plates) sketches the history of Scandinavian attacks on England, Scotland, and Ireland in the late eighth and ninth centuries and charts the evolution of the Northmen from raiders into traders and settlers. There is a special focus on the fate of monastic and ecclesiastical centers like Lindisfarne, Iona, and, on the Irish mainland, Clonfert, Clonmacnois, and Kildare. This is a work of popular history not intended for an academic audience. The narrative is compelling, but does not embody new research, and contentious issues are not recognized as such, as when the Book of Durrow and the Echternach Gospels are attributed to Lindisfarne without further comment (51). There are no footnotes, and, while there is a refreshingly large number of quotations from Latin, Old-English and Old-Irish sources, the quotations are always in English translation only, and are not accorded precise identifications of where they occur within their source texts. Marsden's book would provide a good introduction to the subject for a non-academic reader, but those of more scholarly inclinations will turn in preference to existing works by Donald Logan, Peter Sawyer, and others.

The largest hoard of Viking silver yet found was discovered at Cuerdale in Lancashire in 1840. James Graham-Campbell has edited a handsome volume of papers delivered at the conference celebrating the sesquicentennial of the discovery under the title *Viking Treasure from the North West: The Cuerdale Hoard in its Context* (National Museums and Galleries on Merseyside, Occasional Papers, Liverpool Mu-

scum No. 5 [Liverpool, 1992]). It contains two papers relevant to this section.

In the first of these, "Northumbria, Mercia and the Irish Sea Norse, 893-926" (pp. 21-30), N.J. Higham tries to assemble what historical information there is for an area for which no ninth- and tenth-century literary information survives. He concludes that when the hoard was deposited ca. 905 this was done within the boundaries of Northumbria, not Mercia, in the lower Ribble valley; where the hoard was buried appears to have been a region with a longstanding focal role. The effect of the Danish seizure of York was to destroy irreparably the unity of northern England, detaching the western lands of the Northumbrians, who were based in Bamburgh. The Mercians, however, were little affected. When Æthelflæd of Mercia died in 918 without a male successor, Edward the Elder gained the submission of the Mercians. The Irish Norse under Ragnald then seized York, seemingly in response to this turn of events. In turn Edward protected the Mersey frontier by building new defenses there; he also reinforced Nottingham and Bakewell in the Danelaw. Ragnald was unable to foment a rebellion in the Southumbrian Danelaw and had to be content with being recognized as king of York. Higham suggests that in ca. 902-14 Ragnald's base had been Preston, near the Ribble estuary. The Cuerdale hoard, which contains Hiberno-Viking silver and freshly minted coins from York, was buried "only yards upstream from the fords where two major routeways passed within hailing distance of the best anchorage in western Northumbria" (29). He suggests, therefore, that the hoard is indicative of the contact at this period between the Irish Norse and the Danes of York.

In the second contribution to the conference David Griffiths in "The Coastal Trading Ports of the Irish Sea" (pp. 63-72) discussed "maritime contact in the Irish Sea region before and during the Viking Age" (63). A number of Irish Sea ports became urbanized during the Viking period. There has been a tendency to skim over "urban-rural dependency and the relationships between markets and their regions" when discussing urban origins (63). For the purposes of this paper he narrows the field of vision down from the Irish Sea as a whole to the area of the Lower Dee and Mersey Rivers, and notably Chester and Meols. There is evidence of exchange in the Irish Sea region in the centuries after the Roman period; some decline took place in the late ninth century to be replaced in the tenth by a different sort of trading port: for instance, refortified Chester with an official Anglo-Saxon presence and the refoundation of Dublin by the Scandinavians. In general there was a "change towards permanency" (65). These Viking-Age ports increasingly were oriented southwards rather than towards Northumbria or Ulster, with their positions located upriver rather than on islands or beaches, pointing to their control of, and dependency on, a hinterland. The Chester-Meols area was what Karl Polanyi called a "traffic region": the Mersey led into the heart of Mercia and a network of Roman roads converged on Chester. Meols was a trading area from the sub-Roman period onwards, gaining a

new lease of life as a port with the revival of Chester. A review of the numismatic and archaeological evidence for Chester reveals its long-distance trading contacts. Griffiths suggests that Meols had a geo-political role separate from that of Chester: the latter was valuable to the Mercians whereas Meols, fifteen miles away in the northern Wirral, served the needs of the local Anglo-Scandinavian territory.

Judith Jesch examines the evidence for Anglo-Orcadian contacts in the late tenth and the eleventh century in "England and *Orkneyinga Saga*" (*The Viking Age in Caithness, Orkney and the North Atlantic*, ed. Colleen E. Batey, Judith Jesch, and Christopher D. Morris [Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1993], pp. 222-39; now available in paperback). The *Saga* contains eight references to England; English references to Orkney at this time are even fewer. Therefore, indirect evidence must be used: legendary, archaeological (which provides supporting evidence for an east coast sea-route from England to Orkney), and literary. The material is refractory and yields only what Jesch terms "historical contours," but in her view it suggests "the possibility that there were extensive, frequent and direct contacts of a largely political nature between Orkney and England throughout the 11th century" (235).

Moving further afield, Geraldine Barnes looks at English rulership from a Scandinavian perspective in "The Medieval Anglophile: England and its Rulers in Old Norse History and Saga" (*Parergon*, n.s. 10.2 [December 1992], 11-25). She notes that following Olaf Tryggvason's confirmation at Andover (see Simon Keynes's article on Andover above), the Church was the most notable component in Anglo-Norwegian relationships for the next three centuries, with, for instance, Nicholas Brekespear (subsequently Pope Adrian IV) travelling to Norway in 1152 to found the archdiocese of Nidaros and Matthew Paris going there on a visit in 1248-9. England was "almost certainly the source of the manuscripts of French epic and romance" that lay behind the Norse *riddarasögur* ("sagas of knights") (15). Though English knowledge of Iceland was sketchy, reigns of English kings and notable English events were used as chronological markers for Icelandic history, as can be seen in Ari's *Íslendingabók* and in the *Heimskringla*: the latter's "unequivocally positive portrayal of Æthelred . . . is notably at variance with the *Chronicle's* lack of enthusiasm for, and the downright condemnation of, the king in later English tradition" (18), possibly because of Æthelred's successful alliance with the sainted Olaf Haraldsson against Cnut. England is seen in the saga sources as a good source of desirable consumer items and a place where Icelanders such as Egill could win honors. In the fourteenth century the shift from "historical" to "romance" mode in the sagas transformed the portrayal of England. Some of these may contain kernels of truth, though Ian McDougall will question whether this includes the rite of the "blood-eagle" (24; see further below); *Göngu-Hrólfs saga* contains genuine English personal and place names. Barnes concludes "that writers of Old Norse history, 'family' saga, and romance shared

a common perception of England's cultural and commercial significance for Norway and Iceland . . . which has its parallels with contemporary English attitudes towards France" (25).

j. Hagiography

Abbo of Fleury in his *Passio S. Eadmundi* graphically describes the death in 869 of King Edmund at the hands of the Vikings in terms strikingly like those of St. Sebastian, to whose similar agony Abbo draws attention. Recalling the martyrdom of Archbishop Ælfheah in 1012, Dorothy Whitelock was disposed to accept Abbo's account as factual. Ian McDougall in "Serious Entertainments: An Examination of a Peculiar Type of Viking Atrocity" (*ASE* 22, 201–25) views both accounts with more skeptical eyes. Ælfheah's murder was likened by his hagiographer, Osbern, to the death of St. Stephen. Two other early accounts of Ælfheah's death are extant: one by Thietmar of Merseburg (ca. 975–1018), who claimed to draw on an English informant, and the second in four versions of the *Anglo-Saxon Chronicle*. Both reveal that the saint's cult was already in existence. Thietmar suggests, however, that Ælfheah did try to buy himself out of his predicament and that one of the Danes himself also tried to buy him off. McDougall cites a number of examples from later Scandinavian literature to show that bone-throwing (which was what Ælfheah was subjected to) was something of a literary motif

and even manages to find a twelfth-century Latin redaction of a purported law of Cnut that legitimizes it as a punishment. He is thus more hesitant than Dorothy Whitelock was to accept as factual death through being the butt of others' target practice.

It seems appropriate to conclude this section with a brief review of a review. Catherine Cubitt's "The Cult of the Saints in Anglo-Saxon England" in *Heythrop Journal* 34, 65–9, is an extended examination of Mary Clayton's *Cult of the Virgin Mary in Anglo-Saxon England*, David Rollason's *Saints and Relics in Anglo-Saxon England*, and Susan Ridyard's *The Royal Saints of Anglo-Saxon England*. Cubitt does not believe the research in this field is exhausted but suggests that now closer attention might be given to the theology behind these cults to determine "the relations between the Anglo-Saxons and their holy dead" (69).

T.C.G. and D.A.E.P.

T.C.G. reviewed books and papers by (in order of mention) Keynes (Bibliography), Dumville, Berresford Ellis, Muraglia, Taviani-Carozzi, Keynes (Kent), Nelson, Lawson, Loyn, Rogers, Jones, Hicks, Martindale, Beech, Johnson-South, Rollason, Kapelle, Higham (Domesday), Wormald (Law Suits), Lewis, Palliser, Jackson, Wormald (Deerhurst), Offer, and Marsden; D.A.E.P. reviewed the remainder and co-ordinated the material.



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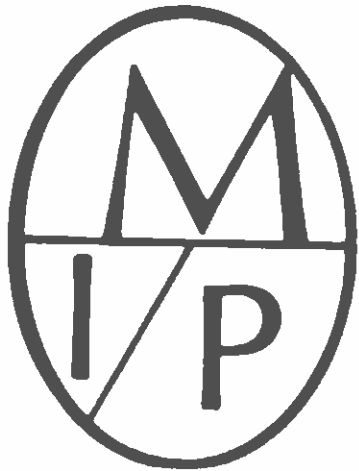
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