

OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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Editor,

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O E N
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Scholars can assist the work of OEN by sending two offprints of articles to the Editor and two notices of books or monographs to him.

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I

1981 Annual Meeting of the MLA in New York City

The Modern Language Association has scheduled three sessions of interest to Anglo-Saxonists at the next Annual Meeting. The main meeting of the Old English Division will be:

Session No. 491: Tuesday, December 29, 3:30-4:45 p.m., Regent, Hilton

"Old English Literature and Culture"

Program Chairman: Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

Papers:

1. Stephen Glosecki (University of California-Davis)

"The Strength of Iron: With Faerstice"

2. Martin Irvine (Harvard University)

"Cynewulf's Use of Psychomachia Allegory"

3. Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

"Woden and the Pattern of Nine"

4. John Niles (University of California-Berkeley)

"Time and the Barbaric Style in Beowulf"

The Executive Council of the OE Division has also arranged a special session:

Session no. 115: Monday, December 28, 10:15-11:30 a.m., Bryant, Hilton

"Old English Bibliography: Past, Present, and Future"

Program Chairman: Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon)

Papers:

1. E.G. Stanley (Pembroke College, Oxford)

"The Past"

2. Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"The Present"

3. Carl T. Berkhout (University of Dallas)

"The Future"

The following session will also appeal to Anglo-Saxonists:

Session no. 88: Monday, December 28, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Gibson, Hilton

"Image and Message in Medieval British Poetry"

Program Chairman: Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (University of Denver)

Panelists:

John Miles Foley (University of Missouri-Columbia)

Sarah Higley (University of California-Berkeley)

Alain Renoir (University of California-Berkeley)

Stanley B. Greenfield (University of Oregon)

II

More on Copenhagen Aelfric Fragments

As reported in the last issue of OEN, Michael H. Gelting, a keeper of the National Record Office in Copenhagen, discovered fragments of an Old English manuscript of Aelfric's works. Dr. Else Fausbøll, associate professor of English at the University of Copenhagen, has sent the following second report on the discovery:

The strips of an Old English manuscript discovered last year in the bindings of volumes containing the papers of Peder Charisus, the Danish Resident at the Hague 1651-69, have now been extracted.

There are fifty-six strips of various sizes, some of them cut horizontally, some of them vertically. Fifty-four contain text, the remaining two being an upper margin with only the tops of ascenders and part of a lateral margin with prickings for ruling. The text is from the First Series of Aelfric's Catholic Homilies: (a) De Passione Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, (b) Dominica XXI. post Pentecosten, (c) Natale Omnium Sanctorum, and (d) Natale S. Clementis Martyris.

When the strips are pieced together, we have (part of) twelve leaves:

- (1): on each side seventeen complete lines of (a), ed. Thorpe pp. 380 and 380-82.
- (2): on each side four incomplete lines of (b), ed. Thorpe pp. 524 and 526.
- (3): on each side twenty-one incomplete lines of (b), ed. Thorpe pp. 530-32 and 532-34.

- (4): on each side one complete line and eleven incomplete lines of (c), ed. Thorpe pp. 538 and 540.
- (5): on each side three incomplete lines of (c), ed. Thorpe pp. 544-46 and 546.
- (6)-(7): two consecutive leaves of twenty-nine lines of (c), one partly complete, the other complete, ed. Thorpe pp. 548-50, 550, 550-52, and 552-54.
- (8)-(12): five consecutive leaves of twenty-nine lines of (d), two complete (except for a few letters), the others partly complete, with some lines missing, ed. Thorpe pp. 558-60, 560, 560-62, 562-64, 564-66, 566-68, 568(-70), 570, 570-72, 572-74.

III

Conference on Gregory the Great

The Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique has postponed its conference on Gregory the Great to 15-19 September, 1982. The conference will take place at the Centre Culturel "Les Fontaines," F-60500 Chantilly (Oise), located 40 kilometers north of Paris. The program lists at least three papers of direct interest to Anglo-Saxonists. These are:

D.H. Farmer, "Grégoire le Grand et l'Angleterre"

André Crépin, "L'Importance de la Pensée de Grégoire le Grand dans la Politique Culturelle d'Alfred, Roi de Wessex (871-899)"

Paul Meyvaert, "Le Libellus Reponsiorum à Augustin de Cantorbéry: une Oeuvre Authentique de saint Grégoire"

The general sessions will concern Gregory in his time, Gregory as theologian, and Gregory as writer, while a fourth session will survey Gregory's influence. For further information write to:

Dom Robert Gillet, OSB
 Abbaye Sainte-Marie
 3 Rue de la Source
 75016 Paris

IV

Greenfield-Robinson Continuation

Carl T. Berkhout is compiling a 1973-82 continuation of Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson's Bibliography of Old English Literature from the Beginnings to the End of 1972 for the University of Toronto Press. He would be grateful for notices or offprints of any relevant publications omitted in recent Old English Newsletter and Anglo-Saxon England bibliographies and for addenda to Greenfield and Robinson. He would especially appreciate reports of remote 1982 items that are late in publication or distribution. Address: Department of English, University of Dallas, Irving, TX 75061.

V

Fellowships at the National Humanities Center

The National Humanities Center is an institute for advanced study in history, literature, philosophy and other fields of the humanities. It is designed to foster individual research and intellectual exchange within a community of scholars. Its Fellows have the use of private studies, conference rooms, and a dining area. They are provided with library service and manuscript typing. Each year at the Center approximately 40 Fellows pursue their own research and are free to participate in interdisciplinary seminars, lectures, and conferences.

Fellowships at the Center are awarded on the basis of an open competition. The Center welcomes applications from scholars in the United States and abroad. In addition to scholars from fields traditionally associated with the humanities, representatives of the natural sciences, the social sciences and professional life may apply for fellowships.

For the academic year 1982-83 fellowships are available for:

- (1) Young Scholars--Men and women near the beginning of their scholarly careers. These Fellows are normally three to ten years beyond the doctorate.
- (2) Senior Fellows--Men and women of substantial scholarly experience, normally more than ten years beyond the doctorate, are regarded as Senior Fellows.
- (3) Special Seminars--The Center anticipates funding for the following special seminars: (a) The Charles Frankel Seminar on Citizenship--historical and philosophical inquiries on the idea, practice, and theory of citizenship from antiquity to the present. (b) Commerce and Culture--the relations between commercial life and intellectual, moral, or aesthetic concerns in art, literature, history, religion, philosophy and other fields of inquiry.

Most fellowships are awarded for the academic year, though some for shorter periods are available. The amount of a fellowship stipend is based on a scholar's usual academic salary; but since not all financial requests can be met in full, applicants are encouraged to arrange some measure of support. Fellows who have received partial funding in the form of sabbatical salaries or grants from other sources normally receive from the Center the difference between that funding and their usual salaries. Scholars who have full support from another source may apply for residence at the Center without stipend. All Fellows are given travel expenses to and from the Center for themselves and their families. The National Humanities Center admits persons of any race, color, sex, religion, or national or ethnic origin.

The deadline for 1982-83 fellowship applications is January 10, 1982. All interested scholars may obtain information and application material from the National Humanities Center, P.O. Box 12256, Research Triangle Park, North Carolina 27709.

VI

Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts

Florida Atlantic University will sponsor the Third International Conference on the Fantastic in the Arts, March 10-13, 1982, in Boca Raton. The Conference Committee welcomes submissions from medievalists generally and plans a session on "The Fantastic and the Beowulf Critics." Papers proposed for this session should apply contemporary critical approaches to the question of the fantastic, as the critics of Beowulf have engaged the issue. The deadline for the submission of abstracts is December 30, but the final schedule for the conference will take shape in mid-January. Send abstracts to:

Prof. Mary Faraci
Department of English
Florida Atlantic University
Boca Raton, FL 33431

VII

Corrections to Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition

Howell Chickering announces that correction sheets to the second edition of his Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition are available. Instructors who are using the edition in class should write him, specifying the number of sheets needed:

Prof. Howell Chickering
Department of English
Amherst College
Amherst, MA 01002

The publishers, Doubleday and Company, are unable to distribute correction sheets with the present printing. There will be a third printing, however, scheduled for the Fall of 1982, which will include all corrections. Readers of this issue may turn to p. 12 for the list of corrections.

VIII

Revision of Mitchell's Guide

Fred C. Robinson and Bruce Mitchell have prepared a new text book for the teaching of introductory courses in Old English. The book is a revision of Mitchell's highly successful Guide to Old English, which has been brought up to date and, for the first time, provided with prose texts, extensive notes, and a complete glossary. The book is designed to take students from their initiation into the language to a reading mastery sufficient to cope with poetic texts. Parallel prose and verse extracts from the Old English Boethius appear at the end of the readings to provide a transition into poetic language and form. Robinson and Mitchell see John C. Pope's Seven Old English Poems, a revised edition of which has just been published by W.W. Norton, as the logical complement to the revised Guide, providing material for a full introductory course in Old English. Blackwell's expects to publish the book with the new title, A Revised Guide to Old English with Texts, Notes, and Glossary, in time for use in Fall, 1982 courses.

IX

Short Notices on Publications

Twayne's English Authors Series has published Daniel Calder's Cynewulf. The 327th volume in the series, the book contains chapters on "The Poet and the Canon," on "Cynewulf's Style and Achievement," and on four works treated individually, viz., The Fates of the Apostles, Christ II, Juliana, and Elene. Calder had published some sections of the book earlier as articles. The price is \$13.95.

Odense University Press announces the publication of Volume II of Medieval Scandinavia Supplements. The volume, Proceedings of the Eighth Viking Congress, edited by Hans Bekker-Nielsen, Peter Foote, and Olaf Olsen, contains 24 papers read at the Viking Congress at Moesgard in 1977. The well-illustrated book contains a number of papers discussing the Danelaw and Viking traces in Great Britain. The announced price is 180 Dan. kr.

Claus-Dieter Wetzel has published his study Die Worttrennung am Zeilenende in altenglischen Handschriften (Frankfurt am Main and Bern: Peter D. Lang, 1981). Working with 168 manuscripts and some 125,000 examples, Dr. Wetzel demonstrates that division essentially follows morphological and phonetic principles; he thus sheds new light on various problems in the history of the English language. He provides examples in microfiche, which accompanies the 495-page printed Part I. The book is available at 110 sFr. from

Verlag Peter Lang AG
Jupiterstr. 15
Ch-3015 Bern

The study is volume 96 in European University Studies, Series XIV, Anglo-Saxon Language and Literature. The series gives beginning scholars an opportunity to present their work to experts as well as to the general public. Manuscripts may be submitted to the publisher at the address above.

X

Anglo-Saxon England 10 (1981)

The contents of ASE 10 are:

Rodney Thomson, "Identifiable Books from the Pre-Conquest Library of Malmesbury Abbey." Surveys the manuscripts Leland found at Malmesbury in the sixteenth century, the books used by William of Malmesbury in the twelfth and the manuscripts extant today to identify those (including copies of rare patristic works, copies of late antique works of secular literature, and early copies of English and Carolingian writings) which were, or may have been, of pre-Conquest Malmesbury provenance.

Patrick Sims-Williams, "Milred of Worcester's Collection of Latin Epigrams and its Continental Counterparts." Works out the continental affiliations of this little-known collection of native and Roman inscriptional verse, characteristic of cultured ecclesiastical circles in the eighth century and, in particular, testifying to the impact of Rome on the Anglo-Saxon imagination.

Calvin B. Kendall, "The Prefix Un- and the Metrical Grammar of Beowulf." Identifies two rules kept by the Beowulf-poet, the one concerning variation of stress on the prefix un- and the other concerning alliteration of compounds in which the second element is fully meaningful.

Elaine Tuttle Hansen, "Hrothgar's 'Sermon' in Beowulf as Parental Wisdom." Places the "sermon" in the tradition of the wise father's advice poem exemplified by the Old English Precepts and sees it accordingly in a key relationship to the Beowulf poet's traditional conception of his poem's general application.

Janet M. Bately, "Lexical Evidence for the Authorship of the Prose Psalms in the Paris Psalter." Establishes King Alfred's authorship of these psalms by exhaustively comparing their vocabulary with that of the three works which are accepted as the king's (the Pastoral Care, Boethius and Soliloquies).

Michael Lapidge, "Byrhtferth of Ramsey and the Early Sections of the Historia Regum Attributed to Symeon of Durham." Establishes Byrhtferth's authorship of these sections by demonstrating that they share many distinctive features of Latinity and thought with Byrhtferth's known works.

Peter S. Baker, "Byrhtferth's Enchiridion and the Computus in Oxford, St. John's College 17." Elucidates the seemingly bewildering arrangement of the Enchiridion (or Manual) by showing that each of the work's first three books summarizes or explicates a particular section of the computus.

A. Williams, "Princeps Merciorum Gentis: the Family, Career and Connections of Aelfhere, Ealdorman of Mercia 956-83." Elicits from many sources the participation of this powerful family in the political tensions of four reigns.

Pauline Stafford, "The Laws of Cnut and the History of Anglo-Saxon Royal Promises." Sees the codes I and II Cnut (drawn up by Wulfstan, the one religious and the other secular) as a definition of "just kingship," which consolidates a series of royal promises starting with Cnut's coronation and continuing through subsequent undertakings, and thus places these codes in a tradition which stretches back into the tenth century and forward to Magna Carta.

J.K.S. St. Joseph, "Sprouston, Roxburghshire: an Anglo-Saxon Settlement Discovered by Air Reconnaissance." Adds to Yeavinger and Milfield a third Northumbrian settlement with timber buildings of sophisticated construction.

Daniel G. Calder, "Histories and Surveys of Old English Literature: a Chronological Review." Describes the attitudes and concepts which have governed the aesthetic sense of authors of such works during the last three hundred years or so and indicates present possibilities.

Bibliography for 1980. Lists all books, articles, and significant reviews in the various branches of Anglo-Saxon studies, onomastic studies being separated into a section of their own for the first time.

Index to volumes 6-10. Provides a comprehensive index corresponding to the one for the first five volumes in ASE 5.

Peter Clemons

XI

Berkeley Symposium

On April 13-14, 1982, the Berkeley Old English Colloquium will be holding a symposium on the topic "Old English Literature: The Bases of Interpretation." Featured speaker will be Robert Kaske of Cornell. Other persons interested in presenting a paper, joining or organizing a panel, or otherwise taking part in the proceedings should write to John Niles, Department of English, University of California, Berkeley 94720. The symposium is planned for dates that will permit attendance by persons planning to attend the international congress of the New Chaucer Society to be held in San Francisco on April 15-18.

Editor's Note: the editor would like to acknowledge with thanks the special efforts of his colleagues at SUNY-Binghamton in helping him edit this issue of OEN, while he was elsewhere on research leave. These colleagues include Acting CEMERS Director Robin S. Oggins, Mediaevalia editor Bernard S. Levy, and CEMERS Secretary Dorothy Huber and her assistant Norma Dalgliesh. The last two named deserve special mention for their work on layout and design.

APPENDIX: Correction sheet for

Howell D. Chickering, ed., Beowulf: A Dual-Language Edition

Line in OE text: Error / Correction

24: lōf-dædum / lof-dædum

47: gē[] denne / gē[]denne

107: cynne / cynne--

149: sīðra / sīdra

178: hyra / hyra,

186: þō / þe

410: eþel-tyrf / eþel-tyrf

495: hroder / hroden

659: mæro, / mærpō,

698: pæt / pæt

731: þæ / þæt

827: gefeh / gefeh,

995: wāgum / wāgum,

1005: nīþða / nīþða

1064: for / fore

1149: mændon / mændon,

1353: nefne / næfne

1362: stan[]eð / stan[]eð;

1387: woroldes / worolde

1540: hēo flet / hēo on flet

1658: scylde, / scylde.

1749: gýtstað / gýtstað

1805: fūse / fūse tō

1914: Hrape / Hrape

2072: hond-ræes / hond-ræs

2239: [w]lende / [w]lende

2262: wyn / wyn,

2300: þaet / þæt

2317: nið / nið

2359: þonan-Biowulf / þonan Biowulf

2466: heado-rinc / heaðo-rinc

2468: pære / þære

2468: [sīo]þe / [sīo] þe

2557: stān, / stāne,

2564: ungleaw / ungleaw

2572: ponge / þonge

2675: geona / geonga

2681: geswac / geswāc

2732: lēode / lēode

2793: ond / on

3046: benyttod. / genyttod.

3118: nutte / nytte

3179: [hr]yre, / [hr]lyre,

Notes to OE Text:

2215a / 2215b

ADD: 2564a MS. un / gleaw:

with "e" partially erased.

Translation:

2252: hall-joys, now /

hall-joys. Now

Historical Thesaurus of English

Annual Report, July 1981

1980-81 has been an exceptionally good year for the Historical Thesaurus: substantial grants have been received from the Leverhulme Trust, the Axe-Houghton Foundation, and the Manpower Services Commission; a contract for publication has been entered into with Oxford University Press; and the number of people actively involved has increased. As a result, we are on target for our completion date for Oxford English Dictionary slips of December 1982, and are getting to grips with subsequent phases of the project, namely the addition of slips from the OED supplements, classification, and computerization.

1. Grants. In November 1980 we received the gratifying news that the Thesaurus had been awarded a grant of £17,650 by the Leverhulme Trust to enable us to complete the basic archive of slips and develop editorial procedures. Leverhulme had already made a significant contribution to the project by making the grant in 1969 which first allowed us to employ research assistants, and we would like to record our gratitude to the Trust for their continued interest in our work. In February 1981 a grant of \$5000 was received from the Axe-Houghton Foundation. This is the third grant received by the project from Axe-Houghton, and to them also we owe a considerable debt of gratitude. A further significant development came in January 1981 when a grant of £12,907, subsequently increased to £14,972, was received from the Manpower Services Commission Special Temporary Employment Programme (STEP). This grant enabled us to employ three graduates to work on a special program aimed at expediting both completion of the archive of slips and preparatory classificatory work. Prior to this, the project had benefited from the assistance of school-leavers employed under the Youth Opportunities Programme, whose efforts last summer brought the filing of our triplicate archive of slips completely up to date.
2. Oxford University Press. The University has now entered into a contract with OUP for publication of the Historical Thesaurus in volume form towards the end of the present decade. The contract stipulates that the material should be handed over in a form suitable for computer processing, and our target dates have been revised to meet this specification, with 1987 now being our completion date for all stages of the project. Consultations are going ahead with the Press and with Dr. G.K.S. Browning and his associates at the Glasgow University Computing Service on the subject of preparing the data for computer processing.
3. Slips. The considerable task of making out slips for the OED data is now approaching completion. In recent years it has been possible to combine material from the OED with material from the supplements, and the letters J and K were completed in this fashion in the course of the year. Work is in progress on the remaining OED letters, A, B, E, F and R, incorporating the supplement in all but the last case, and should be finished by December 1982. In addition, material from supplement volumes C, L and M, the parent volumes for which were completed before the supplements appeared, is being

carried out under the STEP program. Slip-making for the Old English side of the project, which has been done entirely by Dr. Jane Roberts of King's College, London, is now complete.

4. Classification. The job of working out classification techniques and preliminary schedules for trial sections of the material is gathering momentum as the material approaches completion and more people are involved in this aspect of the work. Our senior research worker, Irene Wotherspoon, drafted provisional schedules for Music and Taxation this year, and has now embarked on the major task of revising her classification of Parts of the Body in the light of data accumulated since she first tackled the topic for her M.Litt. thesis. Thomas J. Chase has selected Religion for his Ph.D. topic, and his preliminary work has already cast interesting light on certain aspects of the history of the language. There has been an encouraging increase in interest in the work from colleagues overseas, and we now have Angus Somerville of Brock University working on both slips and classification and Dr. Gunter Kötzer of Munich examining the field Meteorology. A program of preliminary classification is being carried out by compilers employed under the STEP scheme, who are making a preparatory sorting of large categories such as Food and Clothing, with a view to speeding up the final stages of classification. The overall schedule for the classification is being revised by Christian Kay in the light of the findings of the preparatory studies and the demands of typography and computerization, and in the autumn she and Jane Roberts plan to test the schedule on the Old English material.
5. Publications, etc. Short articles on the project by Christian Kay appeared in the Fall 1979 issue of the Old English Newsletter and in the December 1980 issue of FUSE Quarterly. A longer article by L.W. Collier and Christian Kay is due to appear in volume 2 of Dictionaries, journal of the Dictionary Society of North America. Jane Roberts gave two talks on the project in 1980, in March to the British Council English Literature Seminar in Amsterdam, and in May to a meeting of the London Medieval Society. The Thesaurus was recently singled out as one of the 25 projects described in Research in Universities, issued by the Committee of Vice-Chancellors and Principals. The resultant publicity included articles in both national and local press, radio interviews, and the making of a video program about the project.
6. Visitors. In the course of the year we were pleased to welcome Dr. Gunter Kötzer of Munich, who carried out preparatory studies for his classification of Meteorology; Dr. Margaret Anderson of the University of Toronto, who has interests both in Roget's scientific thinking and in computer techniques, and who helped to put together our style sheet; and Angus Somerville of Brock University, who arrived from Canada with a suitcase full of U slips and the welcome news that he hoped to spend his next sabbatical year with us. Earlier in the year, we were visited by Mr. John Cordy of Oxford University Press, and had useful discussions with him, leading eventually to the signing of our contract with the Press.

M.L. Samuels

Glasgow, July 31st, 1981

on behalf of L.W. Collier, J. Farish, C.J. Kay, J.A. Roberts, F.J. Thornton,
I.A. W. Wotherspoon.

Index to Iconographic Subjects in Anglo-Saxon Illuminated Manuscripts:
Report #1

Students, teachers, and scholars in such diverse fields as history, literature, music, philosophy, and theology may often feel the need to consult pictorial representations of persons, concepts, and themes in Anglo-Saxon art, but are frustrated by the lack of a systematic and complete guide to iconographic subjects in manuscript illustration.¹ If a literary critic were studying the physical attributes of Grendel in Beowulf, for example, he or she might want to locate quickly and easily the relevant scenes of the hostes in the two extant Anglo-Saxon Marvels of the East.² Similarly, an historian of political theory, interested in royal patronage or the comitatus, might find in illustrations corroboration of the written records. Or, the philosopher of religion, who is researching the Trinity, would certainly be fascinated by the depiction of the "Quinity" on fol. 75v of BL MS Cotton Titus D. xxvii.³

In the field of manuscript illustration, a significant step towards producing a comprehensive survey was taken with the publication of Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066 (London: Harvey Miller, 1976), compiled and edited by Dr. Elžbeta Temple. This is the second volume to be published in the proposed series of six reference works, comprising a survey of English illumination from the sixth to the fifteenth century. Temple's book consists of a catalogue of 106 illuminated and decorated manuscripts produced in the British Isles between c.890 and c.1073. Some of the notable texts include the Benedictional of St. Ethelwold, the Caedmonian Genesis, the Canterbury Psalter, and Aelfric's Hexateuch. Each catalogue entry begins with codicological information such as library, shelfmark, title of manuscript, folio size, date, and place or origin. Next follows a narrative section giving descriptions and stylistic analyses of the illumination and decoration. Finally, each entry ends with a section on the provenance of the manuscript and a select bibliography. The volume also contains a very generous selection of 370 photographs, including six in color.

As Thomas Ohlgren discussed in his review⁴, Dr. Temple's volume will no doubt be a standard reference in the field. Due to the format of the catalogue entries, however, the book does not include systematic and complete listings of all of the illustrations in each manuscript. Instead, the iconographic identifications are embedded in narrative paragraphs devoted largely to stylistic analysis. Consequently, it is often difficult for the reader to determine the precise iconographic contents and the sequence of the pictures in the manuscripts. In addition, the pictorial contents of a number of important manuscripts are omitted altogether: the Marvels of the East (T52 and 87), the Psychomachia by Prudentius (T48-51), the Herbarium Apulei and Medicina de Quadrupedibus (T63), the Canterbury Psalter (T64), the Grimbald Gospels (T68), the Bury Psalter (T84), and Aelfric's Hexateuch (T86). Another problem is the absence of an index to iconographic contents. Such an index is needed to guide researchers to specific representations of persons, scenes, and themes. It is not now possible, for example, to locate easily the five depictions of the "Disappearing Christ" in

Anglo-Saxon illumination. To find the manuscripts in which this unusual iconographic variant appears the reader must skim through the entire volume.

In order to broaden the appeal of Temple's otherwise fine work, we propose to compile a systematic inventory of and an index to some two-thousand illustrations from the 84 manuscripts listed in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts 900-1066 containing figural scenes. Those 22 manuscripts with decorated initials but no figural elements will be omitted from the inventory. The collaborative effort will result in a published reference work, which is intended as a supplement to Temple's book.

The proposed project comprises five stages.

Stage one will be to compile iconographic descriptions of the illustrations in each of the 84 manuscripts. The sources of this information are three-fold:

(1) An important source is, of course, the Temple volume itself. Reading through the narrative entries for each of the 84 manuscripts, Thomas Ohlgren compiled a preliminary inventory of the pictorial contents of 59 manuscripts. This inventory consists of a listing of the folio-by-folio iconographic contents of each illuminated manuscript. Some of the descriptions, however, will need to be verified and updated. To give but one example, Dr. Temple identified fol. 10 of BL MS Arundel 155 as "St. Benedict (?) between two adoring monks," whereas the picture probably depicts St. Pachomius teaching Easter terms with finger calculus to two monks.

(2) For those 25 or so manuscripts requiring partial or total description, we plan to consult the relevant facsimiles and scholarly studies, most of which are conveniently listed by Dr. Temple. For example, a detailed inventory, which is not included in the Temple volume, of the 500-plus illustrations in BL MS Cotton Claudius B.IV is available in C.R. Dodwell's and Peter Clemoes' facsimile, The Old English Illustrated Hexateuch, EEMF 18 (1974).

(3) For those remaining manuscripts not previously or adequately described, Thomas Ohlgren has located scholars familiar with these manuscripts and has asked for their collaboration. To date the following individuals have offered their expert services: Linda L. Brownrigg, John B. Friedman, Lister M. Matheson, Kevin Roddy and Susan Alvarez, Ann Shannon, Paul E. Szarmach, Linda E. Voigts and John C. Higgitt. Additional contributions are needed. A list of manuscripts requiring description can be obtained by writing to Ohlgren.

Once we complete the systematic iconographic inventory, we will next create the authority list, which provides uniform control of the vocabulary of the descriptions. Because we derived the iconographic identifications from many different sources, we will need to standardize them according to preferred term, syntax, spelling, and so forth. In those situations where a scene has more than one traditional descriptor, such as DEPOSITION or DESCENT FROM THE CROSS, we will choose one of the titles as the preferred term and apply it consistently to all miniatures exhibiting that subject. In addition, we will need to formulate rules for describing conjectural and multiple interpretations of images. Finally, since the index will be broadly interdisciplinary in scope, a cross-reference system, anticipating the needs and interests of scholars and

teachers in many disciplines will be constructed. Such a referential network will enable researchers, perhaps unfamiliar with specialized iconographic terminology, to locate more narrowly-defined pictorial compositions by first turning to broader generic entries. The broad term "Astronomy," for instance, will lead users to 21 drawings of personifications of the constellations in Cicero's Aratea (BL MS Harley 2506). Kevin Roddy and Susan Alvarez will coordinate the creation of the cross-references.

The third stage of the project involves the coding for computer processing of the codicological and iconographic data gathered and edited in the previous steps. Given the large amount of data and the kinds of manipulations to be made, it is only practical to use well-tested computer techniques. Once the information is entered into a computer file, it can be stored, edited, and displayed, allowing for total control of the entire data base. The coding operations consist of the creation of a structured abstract for each of the 84 manuscripts. The format for the machine-readable records is as follows:

```

*$FOLLOWING IS ABSTRACT 18
*LIBRARY BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE PARIS
*SHELFMARK BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE MS LAT 6401/ FOL 5V 18-1,
BIBLIOTHEQUE NATIONALE MS LAT 6401/ FOL 158V 18-2, BIBLIOTHEQUE
NATIONALE MS LAT 6401/ FOL 159 18-3
*TITLE DE CONSOLATIONE PHILOSOPHIAE
*AUTHOR BOETHIUS
*ORIGIN FLEURY
*DATE 10TH/ LAST QUARTER
*TEMPLE NO 32
*CONTENTS BOETHIUS IN PRISON WRITING 18-1, BOETHIUS' VISION OF
LADY PHILOSOPHY 18-1, PHILOSOPHY 18-1, THREE MUSES 18-1,
APOTHEOSIS OF BOETHIUS 18-2, INITIAL I/ TRINITY WITH KNEELING
BOETHIUS 18-3, TRINITY WITH KNEELING BOETHIUS 18-3

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Explanation of items in sample abstract:

a) The abstract and the page from the Contents index (Fig. 1) are actual samples from the preliminary computer-generated reference work. Although the book could be photographically-reproduced directly from the computer printouts, we believe it will be more desirable to typeset the catalogue and indexes to allow for more variety in format and greater readability. The extra typesetting step will also permit correction of errors, addition of accents and diacritical marks, and removal of features peculiar to computer-produced printouts.

b) Each abstract contains up to eight fields of information: library, shelfmark and folio number, title of manuscript, author, place of origin, date, Temple cross-reference, and iconographic contents.

c) The numerical code (18-1, for example) following each descriptor allows the user not only to locate the catalogue abstract describing the entire manuscript but to conduct multifield searches. The codes, in addition, could lead users to photographic reproductions of the illustrations, but the establishment of such a collection is not part of the current project.

d) The data for the codicological fields was derived from Temple's volume, but, as Linda L. Brownrigg has pointed out in her detailed review, the origins and dates of many manuscripts listed by Temple are problematic and need to be reexamined.⁵

e) The coding of the contents field to provide subject access poses the greatest challenge. After much experimentation and study of other computer-aided indexing schemes,⁶ the type of coded entry chosen for this project is the keyphrase, which is composed of keywords and enough syntactic structures to indicate semantic relations among terms: for example, NOAH WARNED BY GOD OF THE FLOOD, TOWER OF BABEL BUILT, and ABRAHAM AND HIS HOUSEHOLD APPROACH EGYPT. To continue the linguistic analogy, keyphrases indicate the minimal distinctive features of an art work. The limitations of such a reductionist procedure are obvious. Some might argue that nothing less than a comprehensive, in-depth iconographic description is needed for each illustration. Such an approach, albeit highly desirable, is beyond the scope of the proposed finding aid, whose main function is to reveal the existence and location of illustrations that otherwise might be "lost" to the researcher. If the index succeeds in guiding users to the original manuscripts or to a storehouse of photographs or slides, which they can study in much greater detail for themselves, the major goal of the project will have been achieved.

Once the data has been coded and stored in a disk unit, it will be processed by computer using the Basic Information Retrieval System (BIRS) at the Laboratory for Applications of Remote Sensing at Purdue University. For a more detailed account of the computer operations, see Thomas Ohlgren's article, "Computer Indexing of Illuminated Manuscripts for Use in Medieval Studies."⁷ These procedures will result in two types of products: (1) a listing of the 84 abstracts, constituting the catalogue of illustrated manuscripts; and (2) eight alphabetically-arranged indexes, one for each field of information in the abstracts. A typical page from the preliminary Contents index is reproduced in Fig. 1.

The final step will be the post-production editing and the preparation of the photo-ready copy for the publisher. The preface, introduction, and technical note will also be written at this time. In addition, we will select several hundred illustrations from the manuscripts to appear as photographs in the volume. The photographs will offset the visual monotony of the printed text.

If the proposed project proves to serve the needs of Anglo-Saxonists, the file of iconographic descriptors could be broadened to encompass the illuminated manuscripts listed in J.J.G. Alexander's Insular Manuscripts from the Sixth to the Ninth Century (London: Harvey Miller, 1975), resulting in an iconographic inventory of the entire Anglo-Saxon period.

For the committee:

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NOTES

- ¹ For a complete bibliographic review of late Anglo-Saxon illuminated manuscripts, see Linda L. Brownrigg, "Manuscripts Containing English Decoration 871-1066, Catalogued and Illustrated: A Review," ASE, 7 (1978), 239-66.
- ² A striking visual parallel to Grendel is the picture on fol. 81v of BL MS Cotton Tiberius B.v, which shows a giant nude figure bending to the right and biting the head of a smaller figure. This drawing is a precise visual counterpart to Grendel's attack on Hondscio in lines 740-45. A similar but much less impressive illustration of a cannibal-giant appears in the upper register of fol. 102 of BL MS Cotton Vitellius A.xv.
- ³ Temple, p. 94, fig. 245: "An unusual representation of the Trinity, surrounded by a circular Glory, shows the first two Persons seated on a fragment of the firmament with the Enemy crouching under Christ's feet and the Virgin standing on the left holding the Christ Child in her arms while the Holy Dove perches on her head."
- ⁴ Speculum, 55 (1980), 178-80.
- ⁵ Brownrigg, ASE 7, (1978), 239-66.
- ⁶ See Thomas Ohlgren, "Subject Access to Iconographic Data Bases: Theory and Practice," in Data Bases in the Humanities and Social Sciences, ed. Joseph Raben and Gregory Marks (Amsterdam and New York: North Holland Publishing Co., 1980), pp. 245-50.
- ⁷ Computers and the Humanities, 12 (1978), 189-99.

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John Albert Nist (1925-81)

John Nist, an international man, did not consider the soil of Italy foreign to him, and he might well have chosen it as the spot where "moist earth was heaped upon his private night"--to adapt a line from Love Songs for Marisa, his second volume of poetry. On June 18 he died suddenly of a heart attack, in Naples, while visiting his wife Maria's parents. He was buried in the British Cemetery there.

It is somehow appropriate that he lies not far from the tomb of his admired Vergil, for although Nist will be remembered by Anglo-Saxonists most of all for his scholarly/linguistic contributions, his perceptive and sensitive love of language was always refreshed in his poetry. Since 1966, while a professor of English at Auburn University, Nist was in fact producing some twenty to thirty poems a year for publication. Much of his work was also aired over radio in Illinois and Texas, and from coast to coast he was frequently invited to share his poetry in person. In addition to his Civil War epic "Dulce et Decorum" and numerous single poems, he published several collections of poetry--Among the Pyramids and Other Poems (1977), the 1978 collection titled affectionately for Maria ("Marisa"), and The Garden of Love (1981).

Nist was born in Chicago and received his early education in the Midwest. After serving in the Navy during World War II, he attended De Pauw University and then Indiana University, where he received his doctorate in 1952. Before coming to Auburn, he taught at Eastern Michigan University and at Austin College, Texas, where he was Chairman and Shoap Professor of English.

The respect of his colleagues came rapidly, as he was chosen "Man of the Year" in the Michigan Academy of Science, Arts, and Letters in 1960. He was later awarded a Fulbright Lectureship at the Universidade de Sao Paulo and a research fellowship at the Universidade de Brasil. In 1964 he received the Machado de Assis award from the Brazilian Academy of Letters. Nist was again Fulbright Lecturer in 1970, this time in linguistics and English at the Università di Roma, from where he travelled and lectured widely throughout Italy.

Nist was the author of eight books on linguistics, composition, and literature, among them A Structural History of English, A Linguistic Handbook of English Composition, Phonological Aspects of English, The Modernist Movement in Brazil, and The Structure and Texture of "Beowulf". He also published four monographic essays and scores of articles and reviews.

Nist the Anglo-Saxonist devoted himself mainly to studies in the difficult, controversial areas of Old English alliteration and meter. Convinced of the metrical and aesthetic importance of the harp in Old English recitation, he first set forth his theory in The Structure and Texture of "Beowulf" (1959), further developing it in "Metrical Uses of the Harp in Beowulf" (1967). In Nist's method of scansion, stresses are counted within approximately isochronous measures in each half-line. The effect is a syncopated rhythm, with the harp being used to fill in a pause-value and to compensate for a missing secondary or light stress. The theory confirms the importance of the harp, leaving little doubt of its several functional uses, particularly in maintaining the basic dipodic rhythm of Beowulf.

Even greater, more enduring than John Nist's achievements as a scholar were his abilities to inspire his students, to challenge them to their finest, all with mutual respect and esteem. I was among the last to join his longstanding comitatus, and it is all too early that I join his other students in remembering him now with gratitude and affection.

Julie Knowles
Auburn University

Exeter Book Riddle Solutions

Donald K. Fry

SUNY-Stony Brook

Proposing new solutions to the Exeter Book riddles provides seemingly endless pleasure to Anglo-Saxonists, but finding the relevant scholarship usually proves frustrating and tedious, if not impossible. Even our best source, Craig Williamson's edition (see es below), makes no attempt to display every solution or solver. This reference guide seeks to provide ready access to all scholarship proposing or discussing solutions by means of a chart keyed to a chronological bibliography. Part I arranges the riddles in order by Krapp and Dobbie numbers (see bz below). For each riddle, the chart displays the proposed solutions in chronological order, and for each solution the letter code of the relevant bibliographical entries, also chronologically arranged. Where solvers express uncertainty, I add a question mark to the coded entry. Part II contains a skeletal bibliography of works proposing or discussing solutions, partially drawn from Williamson, pp. 467-82, who gives his entries in alphabetical order by author. Part III indexes all solutions alphabetically, keyed to riddle numbers. Some entries duplicate, e.g., "Christ" and "Savior."

Since mistakes, like inflation, are inevitable, I would appreciate notice of any errors or omissions, however slight; I would also welcome notice or offprints of new entries, for a later edition of this piece. Patrizia Lendinara's "Gli Enigmi del Codice Exoniense, Una Ricerca Bibliografica," *AION*, 19 (1976), 231-329, which came into my hands after completion of this guide, gives full bibliographical data on riddle scholarship from the manuscript to 1976. I wish to thank Carl Berkhout, Paul Szarmach, Craig Williamson, and my son for their assistance.

1. Riddle Solutions (Krapp and Dobbie Numbers)

- 1 Storm: i, s, an, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh/ Wind: bf, bx, cf?, es/ Fire: cp/ Atmosphere: cw/ Power of nature: ea/ Apocalyptic storm: ei/ God: ei/ Raiding party: ej/ (1-3 as one riddle: Storm: an, bj/ Wind: bf, bx, es/ Atmosphere: cw/ Power of nature: ea/ Apocalyptic storm: ei/)
- 2 Sun: a/ Anchor: g, ej/ Storm: i, s, an, bf, bj, dh/ Submarine earthquake: bd, bx/ Wind: bf, bx, cg, es/ Atmosphere: cw/ Power of nature: ea/ Apocalyptic storm: ei/ Christ: ei/ (2-3 as one riddle: Sun: a/ Sea storm: bf/ Wind: cg/)
- 3 Sun: a/ Hurricane: g/ Storm: i, s, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh/ Wind: bf, bx, cg, es/ Atmosphere: cw/ Apocalyptic storm: ei/ Cross: ei/ Revenant: ej/ Spirit: ej/ Supernatural force: ej/ (bx divides 3: Land earthquake 1-16, Storm at sea 17-36, Thunderstorm 37-67/)
- 4 Bell: i, j, bd, dh, eu/ Millstone: p, s/ Necromancy: be/ Flail: bj, bx/ Lock: bk/ Handmill: br, cm/ Pen: dz/ Phallus: ej/
- 5 Shield: b, i, s, bd, bf, bx, dh, es, eu/ Chopping block: bj/ Guilt: ej/
- 6 Sun: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Guilt and conscience: ej/
- 7 Swan: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Soul: ej/
- 8 Nightingale: i, ab, bf, bj, dh?, es/ Pipe: i, aj/ Woodpigeon: p, s/ Bell: ad, ai, cd?/ Jay: bd, bx, bz, cg, dh?, eu/ Chough: bw/ Jackdaw: bw, bx, dh?/ Thrush: cf/ Starling: ds?/ Crying baby: ej/ Frogs: ej/ Soul: ej/ Devil as buffoon: ep/
- 9 Cuckoo: i, s, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Conception and birth: ej/ Revenant: ej/ Soul: ej/

- 10 Ocean furrow (shipwake): i/ Barnacle goose: ab, az, bd, bf, bj, bx, cj, dh, es, eu/
Bubble: ad/ Waterlily: au/ Anchor: aw, ax/ Alchemy: ej/ Baptism: ej/
- 11 Night: i, az, bd, ck/ Gold: af/ Wine: aw, ay, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Phallus: ej/
- 12 Leather: i, bd, bf, bj, dh, eu/ Oxhide: bd, bx/ Hide: bf, ej/ Skin: bf/ Ox: es/
- 13 Butterfly cocoon: d, e/ Alphabet: i/ Moth: q/ Fingers and gloves: as, az, bd/ Ten
chickens: bf, bj, bx, bz, cy, dh, ej, es, eu/ Ten pheasants: bf/
- 14 Horn: i, s, aj, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/ Bullhorn: cb/
- 15 Badger: i, s, ab, bd, bf, bj, bx, cc, dh, eu/ Porcupine: af, ba, bx/ Hedgehog: ba/
Fox: bu, es/ Vixen: ci/ Weasel: ci/ Man: ej/
- 16 Anchor: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/
- 17 Ballista: i, az, bd, bj, bx, bz, dh, eu/ Fortress: p, bf/ Oven: ad, aw, bj/ Town:
dh?/ Forge: dw/ Inkwell: dz/ Phallus: ej/
- 18 Leather bottle: i, bd?, bf, bx/ Cask: bj/ Inkhorn: dz/ Phallus: ej?/ Jug: es/
Amphora: es/
- 19 Horse man wagon hawk: e/ Falconry: x, ct/ World riddle: ar/ Horseman and hawk: bd,
bx/ Horseman servant hawk: bj/ Writing: da, dz/ Hunting: dh, di/ Ship: es/
- 20 Sword: i, bd, bf, bx, dg, dh, dw, es, eu/ Falcon: bj, bp/ Hawk: bj, dg, dj/ Phallus:
dw, ej/
- 21 Plow: c, i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Phallus: ej/
- 22 December: i, bx, eu/ Month: i, s, as, bd, bf/ Bridge: bj/ Stars: de, es, ew/ New
Year: dh?/ Rite of passage: ej/
- 23 Bow: i, bd, bf, bx, dh, es, eu/ Crossbow: bj/ Phallus: ej/
- 24 Jay: i, m, bd, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/ Magpie: i, bf, bj, bx, dh?/ Woodpecker: ah/
Mime: bb/
- 25 Hemp: f, p, as/ Leek: i, bx/ Onion: i, az, bd, bf, bj, bx, cq, dh, es, eu/ Rosehip:
ad, aw/ Mustard: af/ Phallus: ej/
- 26 Book: b, i, bd, bf, bj, dh, eu/ Bible: g, i, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es/ Hide: bj/
- 27 Whip: i/ Mead: p, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Sleep: ej?/
- 28 John Barleycorn: d, ab, bf, bx, eu/ Wine cask: i/ Beer: bd/ Ale: bd/ Harp: bj/
Stringed instrument: bw/ Tortoise lyre: df/ Malt liquor: dh/ Barrow: ej/ Trial
of soul: ej/ Yew horn: es?/ Damascened sword: et/
- 29 Sun and moon: i, az, bd, bf, bx, dh, dr, du, ej, es, eu/ Swallow and sparrow: ad/
Cloud and wind: af/ Bird and wind: aw, bj/
- 30 Rainwater: i/ Cornfield: ad/ Beam: ak, bd, bj, bz, eu/ Cross: bj, dh/ Wood: bj,
bx, es/ Snowflake: dw/ Phallus: ej/ Tree: es/
- 31 Bagpipe: i, aj, bd, bf, bx, bz, dh, ej, es, eu/ Fiddle: ad/ Musical instrument: bj/
Hurdygurdy: bn/ Harp: ej, em/
- 32 Wagon: a/ Millstone: f, j/ Ship: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, ej, es, eu/ Wheel: bf,
bs/
- 33 Iceberg: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, es, eu/ Ice: bx/ Archetypal feminine: ej/
- 34 Rake: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, es, eu/ Bee: ad/ Harrowing of hell: ej/ Phallus:
ej/
- 35 Mailshirt: h, i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, cv, dh, ej, es, eu/ (35 is the Leiden Riddle,
ASPR 6.109.)

- 36 Sow and five pigs: i/ Ship: ad, bd, bz, da, es, eu/ Man woman horse: ad, ba, bj/
Two men, woman, horses, dog, bird on ship: bx/ Waterfowl hunt: ct/ Pregnant
horse, two pregnant women: da/ Hunting: dh/
- 37 Wagon: i/ Bellows: p, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Phallus: ej/
- 38 Bullock: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, es, eu/ Man: ej/ Young ox: es/
- 39 Day: i, bf, bx, dh/ Moon: bd, bx, dh/ Time: bg, bj/ Creature death: cn, dh?, dx,
ej/ Cloud: ec, ek/ Revenant: ej/ Speech: es/ Dream: ev/
- 40 Creation: h, i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, ca, dh, ej, es, eu/ Nature: bx/ (40-41 as one
riddle: Creation: ca/)
- 41 Earth: i, bx?/ Fire: ad, bj?/ Wisdom: as/ Water: bd, bx, es/ Creation: ca/
- 42 Cock and hen: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/
- 43 Soul and body: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/ Mind: bf/
- 44 Dagger sheath: i, bz/ Key: i, as, az, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, cq, dh, es, eu/ Phallus:
ej/
- 45 Bee: i?/ Dough: w, aa, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, cq, dh, es, eu/ Phallus: ej/
- 46 Adam and Eve and family: a/ Lot and family: d, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, ej, es, eu/
- 47 Bookmoth or bookworm: g, i, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, du, eg, eq, es, eu/ Demon: ej/
- 48 Chrismal: i, p/ Pyx: i, p/ Paten: bd, bx, es, eu/ Chalice: bf, bx, dh, es, eu/
Bell: ej, ep/ Sacramental vessel: ej/
- 49 Falcon cage: i/ Bookcase: p, az, bd, bx, eu/ Oven: aw, bj, dh/ Book: cq, es?/ Pen
and ink: dz/ Barrow: ej/ Sacrificial altar: ej/
- 50 Dog: i/ Fire: aa, ad, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Phallus: ej?/
- 51 Dragon: i/ Horse and wagon: ad/ Pen and fingers: aw, az, bd, bj, bx, ex, eu/
Quillpen: aw, az, bf, dh/ Alchemy: ej/
- 52 Buckets: i, q, bf, dh?/ Broom: ad/ Flail: ae, az, bd, bj, bx, bz, dh, es?, eu/
Yoked oxen led into barn by servantress: af/
- 53 Battering ram: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, en, es, eu/ Spear: ad/ Phallus: ej/ Cross:
er/ (53-55 as a related series: en/)
- 54 Baker's boy and oven: i/ Churn: ad, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, en, es, eu/ Intercourse: ej/
Phallus: ej/
- 55 Shield: i/ Scabbard: p, bf, bx, dh?/ Harp: ad, bj/ Cross: ap, bd, bx, dh?, en/
Gallows: ap, av/ Swordrack: av, bn, bz, eu/ Tetraktys: ej/ Swordbox: es?/
- 56 Loom: i, bd, bx, bz, cv, dh, es, eu/ Lathe: p/ Flail: bf, bj/ Execution: ej/
- 57 Gnats: i, bf, bx, dh?/ Swallows: i, az, bd, bx, dh, es/ Starlings: p/ Stormclouds:
s, aw/ Hailstones: ad/ Raindrops: ae/ Bees: ak/ Midges: bf/ Swifts: bj/
Jackdaws: bu, bz, cr, dh/ Crows: bv/ Musical notes: dz/ Damned souls: ej/
Demons: ep/ House martins: eu/
- 58 Well: i, ac, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, de, dh, ej, es, eu/ Phallus: ej/
- 59 Chalice: p, bd, bf, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/ Communion cup: bd/
- 60 Reed flute: i, aj/ Rune staff: v, ad, es?/ Letter beam cut from an old jetty stump:
y/ Reed pen: bd, bj, bx, dh, dp, dv, es?/ Reed: bf, eu/ Kelp weed: by/ Reed staff:
dh/ Revenant: ej/ Spirit: ej/ (60 as part of Husband's Message: ak, dc, dm, eb/)
- 61 Shirt: i, bd, bx, cq, dh, es?, eu/ Kirtle: bd, eu/ Mailshirt: bj/ Helmet: bf, bx,
bz, em, es?, eu/ Vagina: ej, em, eu/

- 62 Gimlet: i, dh?/ Poker: bd, bx, bz, ce, dh?/ Borer: bf, es/ Burning arrow: bj/
Oven rake: ce/ Phallus: ej, eu/
- 63 Beaker: i, bd, bf, bx, dh?, es, eu/ Flute: ad/ Can: bj/ Flask: bj/
- 64 Ringtailed peacock: i/ Snake eating a bird: q/ Horseman and hawk: x, bd/ Horseman:
bf?/ Horseman hawk servant: bj, bx/ Falconry: ct/ Writing: da, dz/ Hunting: dh/
Ship: es/
- 65 Onion: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Chive: bj/ Leek: bj/ Phallus: ej/ Revenant:
ej/ Spirit: ej/
- 66 God's power: a/ Creation: i, bd, bf, bj, dh, ej, es, eu/ Nature: bx/
- 67 Bible: bd, bj, bx, es, eu/ Cross: bx/
- 68 Ice: bj?/ (68-69 as one riddle: Winter: g/ Ice: i, bd, bx/ Petrification: bf/
Christ walking on the sea: cu/ Running water: dh/ Iceberg: es/)
- 69 Ice: bj?, bz, eu/
- 70 Shepherd's pipe: i, aj, bd, bf, bx, dh, eu/ Rye flute: ad/ Harp: bj, bz, eu/
Hurdygurdy: bn/ Organistrum: bn/ Shuttle: cv/ (70 as two riddles: Lyre 1-4,
Lighthouse 5-6: dy, es/)
- 71 Cupping glass: i/ Iron helmet: ad/ Dagger: bd, bn, bx/ Sword: bd, bn, bx, dg, es/
Iron weapon: bf/ Ore: bf/ Iron shield: bi/ Bronze shield: bj/ Revenant: ej/
- 72 Axle and wheels: i, s/ Ox: j, ab, ad, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Plow ox: bj/
Slave: ej?/
- 73 Lance: i, bd, bf, dh/ Spear: bf, bx, dh, es/ Battering ram: bj, bz/ Revenant: ej/
Spirit: ej/ Cross: er/
- 74 Cuttlefish: i, p, af/ Siren: as, az, bd, bz, dh?, ej, eu?/ Water: aw, bj, dh?/ Swan:
bt/ Soul: db/ Rain: dh?/ Writing: dq/ Sea eagle: ef/ Ship's figurehead: es/
(74 not a riddle: ck'/)
- 75 Dog: g, bd, bj, bx, dh?/ Savior: bw, bx, dh?/ Boy: dt/ Groom: dt/ Servant: dt/
(75-76 as one riddle: Elk: da/ Piss: es/)
- 76 Hen: bf, bx, dh?, eu/ (76-77 as one riddle: oyster: i/)
- 77 Oyster: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/ Female genitals: ej/
- 78 Water animal: am/ Oyster: bd, bj, bx, eu/ Lamprey: es?/
- 79 Phallus: ej?/ (79-80 as one riddle: Falcon: i/ Hawk: i/ Horn: es/)
- 80 Falcon: i, s, ab/ Hawk: i, s, ab/ Horn: m, aa, aw, az, bd, bj, bx, cb, dh, es, eu/
Spear: ad, af/ Sword: af, dg/ Scabbard: dg/ Phallus: ej/
- 81 Ship: i/ Visored helmet: p/ Weathercock: ad, bd, bf, bj, bx, bz, dh, es, eu/
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- 82 Crab: bn/ Harrow: es?/
- 83 Ore: i, bd, bf, bz, dx, eu/ Metal: bf, bx, dh/ Money: bf, bj/ Gold: bx, es/
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- 84 Water: i, s, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, ej, es, eu/
- 85 Fish and river: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Body and soul: ej/
- 86 Organ: i, aj/ One-eyed garlic seller: p, bd, bf, bj?, bx, bz, dh, es, eu/
- 87 Cask and cooper: g, i/ Bellows: m, ad, bd, bf, bj?, bx, bz, dh, es, eu/ Phallus: ej/
- 88 Antler: i, bf, bx, bz, dh, eu/ Staghorn: i, bf/ Inkhorn: bd, bj, cb, dh, es/ Horn:
bx, dh, eu/ Body and soul: ej/

- 89 Bellows: bd, bj?/ Leather bottle: bd, bj?, bx/ Phallus: ej/
 90 Hops: i/ Lupus: i/ Pike: i/ Cynewulf: p, an, at/ Perch: p/ Lamb of God: y, bd?, bx/ Wulfstan's Conversion: be?/ Web and loom: es?/ (90 is in Latin/)
 91 Key: i, bd, bf, bj, bx, dh, es, eu/ Sickle: ad/ Keyhole: eh/ Phallus: ej/
 92 Beech: ad, bd, bf, bn, bq, bx, dh, es, eu/ Ash: ba/ Book: bf, bx, dh, es/ Beechwood shield: bj/ Beech battering ram: bq/
 93 Inkhorn: i, bd, bf, bj, bz, cb, dh, es, eu/ Staghorn: i, bd, bj, bz/ Antler: bf, bx/ Horn: bf, bx, ej/
 94 Creation: bd, bj?, bw, bz, ej?, es?, eu/ Nature: bw, bx/
 95 Wandering singer: i, s, x, z, ab, bf, dh?/ Riddle: t, u, be, bf, dh/ Moon: az, bd, bx, dh?, ej?/ Soul: bj/ Spirit: bj/ Thought: bt/ Quill: cs/ Prostitute: ed/ Book: es/

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Vatican Library, MS Reg. Lat. 497 fol. 71v

Among the six manuscripts in the Vatican Library known to contain Anglo-Saxon is Reg. Lat. 497. Fol. 71 of this miscellany is a palimpsest leaf, the original writing of which is a passage from the Old English Orosius, Book IV, chapter ix. The OE was erased (but not completely), and the space used to finish a Latin life of St. Gertrude. The alteration was probably made at Trier in the late eleventh century, whence the manuscript.

The publication of Janet Bately's EETS edition of The Old English Orosius (Supplementary Series 6) last year gives the page on the right its proper context; see page 109, lines 13-26. In an earlier study, however, Prof. Bately transcribed the passage with the help of ultra-violet light and commented on the vocabulary, morphology, and phonology. Her conclusion is that the Vatican fragment may give independent testimony of the OE translation. See Janet Bately, "The Vatican Fragment of the Old English Orosius," ES, 45 (1964), 224-30.

For further information on the manuscript see Dom A. Wilmart, Codices Reginenses Latini Vol. II (Vatican, 1945), pp. 710-19. For further information on OE manuscripts in the Vatican see, of course, N.R. Ker, Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon (Oxford, 1957).

Fol. 71v is reproduced with permission. The Editor would like to thank Msgr. Alfons Stickler, Prefect, for his kind assistance.

P.E.S.

Trebe ris urbs multis bellorum compta triumphis.

Cum populis fortibus subegit quibus subegorat urbes.

A quibus in mensu consuevit collere censum.

Quo lacuplorari cepit numis et dominari.

Atque seminat que cunctis d' l' ego folio.

Placuit...

Non...

Et pulit apud pravis gnu trobora regno.

It fugis insignis ma q condider urbem.

Te horis huius nom dans ob factoris amore.

Quo caput eva qe cognosce anteritate.

Filiul huius turo raris hie epigam mca pono.

Cur ad hie forat hie d' ioue m' art conlocat.

Deore congor di par e u dissocianti.

Et in uls hie a cui s pondo cadu dider auri.

Ignit huius quae adolec chion m hie d' i

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Wangia, dragona

na Agrippina.

Argentina. Basilua.

THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES - 1980

Edited by Rowland L. Collins
 Department of English
 The University of Rochester

All persons who contribute to the production of The Year's Work in Old English Studies are often keenly aware of the dangers inherent in speed. Error is the natural companion of haste. But scholars are eager to know what is being studied and thought about pre-Conquest England and the regular and prompt publication of an annual bibliography of scholarship on Old English has now for fourteen years been followed with YWOES, an analytical and sometimes critical summary of significant scholarly research which was published the previous year. And each year every care is taken to see that necessary speed causes as little damage as possible.

The essays which constitute YWOES are closely tied to the sections of the bibliography published each spring in OEN. Almost all contributors try to list as "Works not seen" those titles in the annual bibliography which have not been reviewed herein. Some reviewers, however, routinely and silently omit dissertations and popular redactions. No bibliography is absolutely complete and, from time to time, contributors to YWOES review works which are timely yet which were omitted by the bibliographer. These items are preceded by an asterisk (*).

The Alabama Research Grants Committee has for several years supported the work of Professor Marino and it is a pleasure to acknowledge its help here. For many years, the preparation of the typescript of YWOES for photo-duplication has been the work of Mrs. Helen Craven. This increasingly long and difficult typescript, often containing texts in seven to ten different languages, has been cheerfully and generously prepared against the pressure of time and in addition to many other duties. Mrs. Craven has announced her retirement from the University of Rochester in January, 1982, and consequently, this issue of YWOES will be the last which she will prepare. The general editor owes her a special debt of thanks and expresses it freely herewith.

Contributors to YWOES are independent reviewers. The editor imposes no evaluative criteria on the group. He is responsible for selecting the contributors each year, for eliminating (or attempting to eliminate) duplication (among reviewers and from one year to the next), and for preparing the text for publication. Abbreviations for the titles of journals conform, as much as possible, with the comprehensive list published at the beginning of the 1980 MLA International Bibliography. Journals which do not have standard abbreviations are either referred to with full title or with easily recognized abbreviations. The authors of each section can be identified from the initials which appear at the end of each contribution:

C.C. Colin Chase, University of Toronto
J.D.C. John David Cormican, Utica College
J.P.C. James Patrick Carley, The University of Rochester
R.T.F. Robert T. Farrell, Cornell University
M.McC.G. Milton McCormick Gatch, Union Theological Seminary
J.R.H. James R. Hall, University of Mississippi
T.G.H. Thomas G. Hahn, The University of Rochester
M.M. Matthew Marino, University of Alabama
J.B.T. Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Tennessee

Suggestions for the improvement of YWOES and review copies of articles and books should be sent directly to Mr. Collins.

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1. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Perhaps it is merely a matter of perception, but it has always seemed that Northmen, and even books on the Northmen, arrive in force. Their impressive presence, at least in the latter form, urgently conveys the strikingly mixed character of Anglo-Saxon culture, a trait indeed so fundamental and pervasive that it becomes a misnomer to label Viking studies "background material." One needs to recognize how freely the culture of northern Europe in the earlier Middle Ages ignores or defies national boundaries, and how crucial a sensitivity to this larger context is for an appreciation of the peculiarities of a single culture like that of the Anglo-Saxons. The invasion of 1980 was spear-headed by the celebrated exhibition mounted by the British and Metropolitan Museums. By all accounts, this was the most comprehensive and instructive exposition of Viking culture ever organized, and Americans in particular were fortunate to have the chance to examine the mass of artifacts on loan from a great number of Scandinavian collections. The catalogue that accompanied the exhibition, The Vikings (London and New York) by James Graham-Campbell and Dafydd Kidd, is in itself a major publication. Its value goes beyond introducing or commemorating the exposition, for the lucidity and accuracy of its prose and the astonishing beauty and clarity of its illustrations make it permanently attractive and useful.

Graham-Campbell spent several years visiting various institutions and collections, scrutinizing and selecting the objects to be included in the exhibit. The Vikings reflects the care that he exercised, and the range and excitement of the material available. Graham-Campbell and Kidd arrange their account of the culture and its artifacts into twelve chapters; rather than offer an object-by-object description, with dates, archeological details, and so on, they attempt a coherent narrative of the various features of life in the Viking age, turning frequently to items from the exhibit to illustrate their points. They write for a popular, museum-going audience, and they succeed in conveying the vigor and exhilaration of this northern culture without exaggerating or slighting details and events. In general, then, The Vikings does not much resemble the conventional exhibition catalogue, and this format reflects a brilliant strategy on the part of the organizers and authors. Among other advantages, it allows them to eschew the usual slew of documentary photographs in favor of full-page reproductions, which are the rule instead of the exception throughout the book. Only a relatively small proportion of the exhibition's five hundred forty-three items therefore are shown in the one hundred fifteen photographs; yet the arrangement of artifacts in groups for some photos certainly enhances their presentation, and the concentration of attention on a wide range of outstanding pieces, by showing them in close-up color photographs, unquestionably justifies the format. Moreover, the authors have expanded the usefulness of the catalogue and intensified the impact of the exhibit by including among the photographs a number of awesome and crucially relevant landscapes--from Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Iceland, Jutland, and elsewhere--as well as other unconventional illustrations not actually a part of the exhibit--the interior of the reconstructed Hedeby house, for example, and the exquisite ornament on the exterior of the Urnes Church. The material presented obviously holds much interest for the Anglo-Saxonist because of the general and the specific connections between the cultures. Among the illustrations are carved grave stones from York and London, coins minted in the Danelaw, and items removed from the British Isles by traders or raiders, including the stunning oak and bronze reliquary which contains a runic inscription now at Copenhagen. All who possess an interest in northern culture, from specialists to the innocent enthusiast, will be held captive, likely for great periods of time, by this

volume and its photographs.

The "real" catalogue for the Viking exhibition, it turns out, is the British Museum publication Viking Artefacts (London), also by James Graham-Campbell. As the concordance (pp. 173-176) indicates, this volume travels precisely the same ground as the exhibit, but it carries with it a much heavier freight of historical and archeological description, bibliography, and comparative commentary. Graham-Campbell presents the material as a catalogue raisonné, clearly intended for the specialist, though surprisingly not every one of the five hundred forty entries is illustrated (and not every lack of an illustration is noted: see, for example, the fascinating description of the young female's skull from the Isle of Man, no. 509). Each major division of the catalogue contains a brief introduction, followed by short commentaries on each sub-category within the division. The individual entries make up the substance of each chapter, and these are admirably clear and complete. Each offers a detailed account of the object, its provenance, its use and at least approximate date, and references to which it might be compared. Bibliographical information is provided at the end of each entry, and relevant cross-references, to other objects or publications, occur within the accounts. The extensive and specialized bibliography appears on pages 163-171, and archeologists, art historians, and, indeed, historians of all aspects of Anglo-Saxon England will profit from surveying the titles recorded here. The plates, which follow, are certainly adequate to the purpose of the catalogue, though on the score of conveying the intricacy and vivacity of Viking art, they pale in comparison to the color reproductions of The Vikings. Doubtless, however, scholars will turn to this volume not for spectacle, but for reference and comparative study. Perforce this volume displays all those objects overlooked in the exhibition catalogue: these include especially the appurtenances of everyday life--tools and pots, buckets and spindles, not merely the most attractive or unusual coins, but a large representative sampling, and not merely the Hedeby sword (with, incidentally, useful figures illustrating the hilt ornament, no. 249), but ten swords and hilts--in short, all manner of things that survive to give witness to a civilization. The volume does not presume to be encyclopedic, but Graham-Campbell clearly made good use of the years he spent organizing the exhibit, and scholars will long be in his debt for the treasure trove he has gathered on their behalf.

A special number of Scandinavian Review (68, no. 3) celebrates the British Museum-Metropolitan Museum exhibition. The volume includes translations from the Elder Edda (with commentary by Gwyn Jones) and the Laxdaela Saga, some original fiction, and excerpts from books published in 1980 by James Graham-Campbell, Peter G. Foote and David M. Wilson, and Magnus Magnusson (see below). Kate Gordon adds a short essay (pp. 53-57) on the planning, preparation, and cooperation that insured the success of the event. David M. Wilson, who provided forewords for the two volumes mentioned above and the other Graham-Campbell book reviewed below, also wrote a short supplemental piece on Viking art (Apollo III, 315-318). The book by Foote and Wilson, The Viking Achievement: the Society and Culture of Early Medieval Scandinavia, and the one by Magnusson, Vikings! (as well as last year's book by Robert Wernick, The Vikings [Alexandria, Va. 1979]) seem hard to come by, though they are popular in nature. Magnusson's volume is based upon the series of presentations he assembled for British television; a number of PBS stations broadcast these in the U.S. The excerpt from the Foote and Wilson book, "The Descendants of Thrall" (Scandinavian Rev. 68, no. 3, 35-48) discusses the status and treatment of slaves, and emphasizes a theme that is common to many of these recent publications: we should view the Vikings as traders, not raiders.

Graham-Campbell has advanced this northern invasion on still another front by editing a collaborative volume, The Viking World (New Haven and New York). This volume contains chapters by Graham-Campbell on backgrounds to the age, on the Vikings as warriors, settlers, and merchants, and on domestic life, social organization, and art and ornament. Sean McGrail contributes "Ships, Shipwrights and Seamen"; R. I. Page, "Rune-masters and Skalds" (only eight pages in length); and Christine Fell, "From Odin to Christ." This volume is clearly more commercial, flashier and occasionally more spectacular than the other two reviewed in detail above: this is the volume that most nearly approaches "coffee table" status. The text, rather meager to begin, is broken into snippets, not only by the reproductions and the many drawings, figures, and maps, but also by the use of headings at almost every opening and rubrics within the text on the page. The Viking World is, nonetheless, handsomely produced; its reproductions are attractive, though they cannot rival the photography of The Vikings for clarity, lighting, elegance, or ingenuity of presentation. Especially striking are the objects associated with the Oseberg ship burial--the wagon, the sledge, and the gripping-beasts animal-head posts (pp. 128-129, 130-135)--and the view--obviously taken with a fish-eye lens--of the runes scratched into the gallery at Hagia Sophia (p. 163). The authors are particularly impressive in their reconstruction of the patterns and realities of daily life, and in providing information on the practical aspects of shipbuilding, transport, and domestic and craft activities. This is a volume that will give pleasure to almost all readers, but that will provide little new information to those with a special interest in the subject.

Jacqueline Simpson's The Viking World (London) brings up to date her Everyday Life in the Viking Age (1967). The new title is the more appropriate one, since she aims to present a synthetic view of the culture rather than an account of quotidian realities. She succeeds well in introducing the activities and achievements of the Northmen to an interested reader. She begins with a chronological account of Scandinavian expansion, and then concentrates on a variety of broad topics--"Ships and Seafaring," "Weapons and Warriors," "Games, Arts, and Poetry," and so on. She writes with some defensiveness about the image of the Viking, and the thrust of her argument is to show by how much the permanent effects of the Northmen on the non-Scandinavian world outweigh the disruptions they caused. She repeatedly emphasizes how the Vikings accommodated themselves to other cultures, and how, in doing so, they often insured the continuation of these cultures and the preservation and enhancement of their artifacts. Simpson chooses many examples from the history of Anglo-Saxon England to demonstrate the Northmen's capacity to adapt their own values and patterns of life and to reshape the culture of the peoples they encountered. Simpson always writes with intelligence and a sound knowledge of her subject, though the book is not addressed to scholars: there are no footnotes, no attributions of quotations, and only a brief bibliography. Moreover, the illustrations are merely adequate; they serve the text, but the quality of the reproductions (nineteen out of one hundred twenty-six in color) is sometimes deficient, and she frequently relies on sketches and line drawings instead of the artifacts themselves. Nonetheless, Simpson has produced a coherent and attractive account that will satisfy most readers.

A final survey (of sorts), this time of England and not the Scandinavian countries, is The Saxon Age: Commentaries of an Era (London, 1979), edited by A.F. Scott. This is a collection of short excerpts illustrating the life of the Anglo-Saxons; the documents are taken from a variety of sources--Bede (in

several translations), Beowulf (in different translations), Geoffrey Ashe, John Morris, Sir Eglamore of Artois (ca. 1350) illustrating "Greyhounds in Saxon Times," Holinshed, and so on. The material is arranged by topic: Family, The Arts, Work and Payments, to thirteen chapters. Almost all excerpts are less than a page in length, and they are accompanied by nearly forty illustrations. The Saxon Age is seemingly intended to be a popular volume, perhaps for school libraries. There are no introductions, footnotes, or interpretative commentaries; there is an index, as well as thumbnail biographies of select writers, and a brief bibliography that cites publishers, but provides no dates or places of publication. The enjambment of certain materials makes the book delightful to page through, but The Saxon Age makes no pretense of offering new material to the scholar or serious student.

A wide variety of publications appeared during 1980 that explored particular aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, or particular approaches to that culture. Charles Thomas, in "The New Insularity: on British Protohistory" (Encounter 54, no. 5, 65-71), offers an archeologist's reaction to recent research on British protohistory, which he defines as the period from the Roman conquest to the Norman invasion. Thomas's view takes in both specialist papers--he cites a good number of British Archeological Reports--and publications intended for wider audiences, like some of the picture books on the Vikings. Thomas seems in general pleased with the amount and kind of attention given these subjects, though he sometimes complicates his reactions by suffusing them with a mixture of humor and mordancy. His chief emphasis falls on the need for scholars to recognize the nature of the work done in the last decades, and especially in the last few years: archeologists have presented not merely new physical evidence, but the basis for new theoretical approaches and a compelling rationale for seeing the civilization of this period in Britain in the wider context of the northern world. Thomas might well have moved beyond this point, and commended the attempts of archeologists who have compared British protohistory with other non-European and pre-Christian civilizations; his article is, however, convincing in urging the need for more generous outlooks and interdisciplinary study in defining the significant features of the cultural landscape in early Britain.

In Anglo-Saxon Animal Art and its Germanic Background (Oxford), George Speake presents a monograph on ornamental art from the fifth through the eighth centuries. His discussion--with a lavish number of plates and figures--makes available to English readers the pioneering work of Bernhard Salin, and the more recent contributions of W. Holmqvist; it also brings together and evaluates the scholarship of Kendrick, Leeds, Hawkes, Ellis Davison, Bruce-Mitford, and others. After a brief introductory chapter that grapples with the difficulties inherent in the notion of "style" as a historical or descriptive category, Speake considers at length the origins and development of animal depictions in Scandinavian, continental, and English art. For the most part, Speake approaches the material first as an archeologist, then as an art historian, and finally as an observer of the larger outlines of Anglo-Saxon culture; as a result, those interested in, say, literary, social, or political history, will find much of value in what he has to say, though they will not often find he speaks directly to them.

Speake takes the widest possible view of his subject's backgrounds, and he examines the evidence and the theories for the origins of animal ornament at some length. While such art reached its full development in Scandinavia, surviving examples reveal the influence of Celtic, Roman, Oriental, Scythian, and Germanic elements, and the traits that identify decoration of this sort probably

arose and coalesced in frontier territories where these diverse cultures might to some extent accommodate each other, and where exchange through trade and warfare came to pass. Speake reviews the features that distinguish such ornament--especially Salin's Style I and Style II--and he allows for some overlap in chronology and characteristic forms. While Style I emerges first, it continues in fashion, at least in some parts of England, into the seventh century, when Style II has gained a clear dominance in Kent. Although several artifacts display a mixture of the styles--particularly the drinking horn mouthpieces from the Taplow grave (Bucks.)--such work, even on a single object, may well have been executed at different periods. Style II may perhaps be dated to the grave of Queen Arnegunde at St. Dennis (ca. 570); English work in this style, with its characteristic interlace and animal forms, dates from the later sixth or early seventh century. The best known examples of Style II are certainly those from the Sutton Hoo treasure, such as the purse lid and the buckle; Speake (following Bruce-Mitford and others) considers these as representative of mature East Anglian work, produced in a workshop under royal patronage and perhaps retaining some traces of Kentish influence. The problems of dating and classification are intensified by the presence in such burials of imported artifacts, such as the shield and helmet, which seem to be Swedish products of the mid-sixth century. Having established the features and boundaries of Style II, Speake provides extended discussion of execution in this mode on buckles and brooches, and its use as ornament on helmets, shield mounts, drinking horns, and so on. He attends closely to matters of archeological categorization, as well as to evidence that a piece has been repaired or refashioned.

Perhaps the most interesting chapter, at least in promise, to the cultural historian is that on "Animal Iconography." Yet here Speake's approach is mainly anthropological, taking into account prehistoric origins, totemic values, and the ubiquity of certain motifs throughout northern Europe. He pays particular heed to several common figures: the bear serves as emblem of sacral kingship, perhaps connected with Woden; he mentions in passing the royal associations of the "eofer-cumbal" in Elene (ll. 76, 259) and Beowulf (ll. 1112, etc., and 2152 --not 2512 as Speake has, p. 80), and he discusses the "swin ofer helme" (Beowulf, l. 1286, and cf. ll. 303 and 1453), adducing related artifacts, including boar-fertility symbols from female graves. Speake differentiates the style of Scandinavian and Anglo-Saxon depictions of birds from their continental counterparts, and he notes that most portrayals appear on fighting equipment, such as the Swedish shield, or, indeed, in the avian shapes on the helmet from Sutton Hoo. He proposes, without much conviction, that the stylized ravens and eagles may derive from the Roman winged Victory, though such predators surely have connections in native traditions with the hope for glory in battle. The serpent receives by far the greatest amount of attention in this chapter. Speake surveys the various ways in which serpents were understood and depicted, especially stressing the magical, supernatural, and funerary. While serpentine forms often appear in contexts connected with death and immortality, Speake concedes that the popularity of these representations may equally depend on their capacity to accommodate a variety of surfaces and configurations. He speculates that the dragon may appear in Beowulf because of its symbolic affiliation with inhumation, cremation rituals, and the iconography of death as a fiery devourer of life. He relates the tail-in-mouth motif to the Midgard Serpent, and submits that the serpentine decoration that appears so often on buckles may have offered the wearer safeguard against death.

In his examination of the "possible explanations for the recurrent use" of such motifs (p. 92), then, Speake does not go beyond the citation of individual studies and the enumeration of particular artifacts; in taking account of various archeological, anthropological, and mythical elements, Speake attempts no coherent analysis in terms of the specific cultural context. It would seem, for example, that the traditional nature of the animal motifs, their associations--with kingship, with battle--and the practice by craftsmen of working conscious variations on set themes, might well be interpreted or illuminated through parallels with literary artifacts. The depiction of birds as warlike predators evokes poetical descriptions of the beasts of battle, and the techniques of the jewelers and metalworkers recall more broadly the artistry of the OE poets composing by themes and type-scenes, offering variations not only on traditional motifs, but on lines and phrases as well. The normative character of these themes and techniques is reinforced by such literary counterparts, while at the same time the evidence that such ornament provides may help to settle textual cruces: the serpentine decoration that prevails so widely, and that embellishes sword pommels and hilts (see, for example, plate 14b, from Crundale, Kent), makes Malone's argument for the MS reading of Deor, l.1 more plausible; wurman, rejected by Krapp and Dobbie, makes good sense as a metonymy for sword when viewed against the nest of serpents collected by Speake.

The final chapter of Anglo-Saxon Animal Art summarizes and, in some particulars, speculates. Speake emphasizes that we can in general distinguish Style II by the characteristic animal motifs and compositional schemes that unite the material. The entire book makes clear how close were the cultural ties that bound the British Isles to Scandinavia and the continent, and how artificial and difficult to maintain is any view that attempts to segregate the artifacts produced in northern Europe at this time. Scandinavian influences, models, and artifacts everywhere make their presence felt, and Anglo-Saxon craftsmen repeatedly assimilated motifs and techniques from the continent. Yet just how such art was produced remains unclear. Sixth-century items may have been imported, either by newcomers or traders, or they may have been manufactured in England by Swedish artisans, perhaps working under the patronage of the Wulfinga kings. Kentish craftsmen may have created pieces in Salin's Style II before Augustine's arrival in 597, but the greatest number of surviving examples date from the seventh century. English craftsmen also executed the most impressive items in this style, such as the gold buckle and purse lid from Sutton Hoo. The quality of this work implies the existence of a well-established center, perhaps organized under the expertise of goldsmiths from the court of King Ethelbert of Kent; itinerant workmen could hardly have produced pieces of such uniform excellence. Yet the conditions of a workshop of this sort also remain obscure: molds and dies that reveal details of procedure and technique have been recovered on Helgö, but no comparable find exists in the British Isles. What is highly provocative is the discovery of smiths' or moneychangers' scales at grave sites in Kent and elsewhere, especially since the majority of these graves contained the remains of women.

Anglo-Saxon Animal Art, in its hundreds of figures and plates, draws together the most important instances and analogues of one specialized but significant facet of OE culture. Speake's discussions are sensible and clear, and bibliographical references are generous and useful, perhaps especially for those outside the discipline. The format is handsome, if not lavish, though an unusual number of mechanical errors have slipped through: for example, at "Contents," for 76 read 77; p. 13, 4 ll. from bottom, for "perid" read "period"; p. 18, l.4, insert quotation mark after "II."; p. 33, l. 6, insert quotation mark after

"stock-in-trade,"; p. 80, l.5, for l.2512 of Beowulf, read l.2152; and so on. Through the information it provides and the questions it raises, Anglo-Saxon Animal Art should take its place as a major resource and incentive for further research.

Non-literary artifacts yield still further insight into the culture of Anglo-Saxon England in John Higgitt's intensive study, from the viewpoints of archeology, philology, comparative paleography, epigraphy, the history of style, and ecclesiastical and cultural history, of the dedication inscription at Jarrow, usually dated 685 (Antiquaries Jnl. 59 [1979], 343-374). He offers a complete survey of the recorded history of the inscription, including treatment of the stones in rebuildings and restorations of the Church. Higgitt finds few inscriptions in England or on the continent that are directly comparable in their use of language, formulas, or conventions, though this may attest the early date of the Jarrow dedication. Certain features of the inscription--the Constantinian chi rho, the liturgical character of the Latin, the shape of the letters (resembling Roman capitals with no insular forms)--lead Higgitt to theorize that the mason or monk who carved the stones relied upon a manuscript as his model; moreover, he posits that the inscription, like other artifacts associated with Monkwearmouth and Jarrow, reflects a distinctive Mediterranean or Roman style. Indeed, he proposes that in the post-Whitby era, when they entertained guests like the Archcantor John of Rome and produced manuscripts like the Codex Amiatinus, Monkwearmouth and Jarrow became centers for the dissemination of a continental and, to some extent, non-native style, one that, through Bede, had particular influence on epigraphy. He suggests that the demise of all the younger generation at Jarrow in the plague of 686 opened the way for development of a new style, and he presents as evidence for this tendency a number of examples drawn from manuscripts and Northumbrian inscriptions. He accepts the Jarrow stone as carved around 685 or a bit later, and postulates that the style that originated here reveals a gradual accommodation of insular forms. His argument is both learned and intriguing, and he demonstrates how thorough and imaginative methods may squeeze life even from a stone.

Oliver Rackham's Ancient Woodland: Its History, Vegetation and Uses in England (London) offers a highly specialized and detailed account of a feature of life that most Anglo-Saxons, and Anglo-Saxonists must have taken for granted. Basing his analysis for the OE period on pollen analysis (as preserved in bogs, ponds, archeological deposits, and so on), charters, and place names, Rackham concludes that in the sixth century, woodlands covered only one third of England. This implies that most inhabited areas--villages, arable land, wood pasture, and so on--had been cleared in Roman or pre-historic times. The evidence further indicates that the Anglo-Saxon settlers did not engage in any rapid deforestation, but gradually took over the sites already established, and then extended farmland and village at the cost of woodland. This nonetheless resulted in a reduction of wooded areas by more than one-half, to approximately fifteen percent of the entire country, by the time of the Domesday survey (1086); on average, this amounts to the "grubbing out" of some thirty-two acres of woodland each day for five hundred years, "a rate which only the twentieth century has been able to surpass" (p. 134).

Rackham argues, on the basis of charter evidence, that "the fabric of the traditional countryside--roads, footpaths, streams, ditches, weirs, hedges and hedgerow trees, pollards, ponds, thickets, gates, old posts on which gates used to hang--was already there a thousand years ago" (p. 130). He concludes

that Anglo-Saxon England had few forest villages, and that most settlements--particularly open-field villages, probably established on land already cleared--had no more than five percent woodland. Literary evidence, such as the description of the transport of timber in the Life of St. Cuthbert, demonstrates that Anglo-Saxons had early learned careful management of their woodland, chiefly because of its relative scarcity. Rackham uses charter and place-name evidence to determine which species of trees were most abundant: oak, which is over-represented in surviving artifacts, occurs half as often as the commonest variety, thorn, but there are also significant occurrences of willow, apple, elder, linden, pear, and maple. Rackham's Ancient Woodland is clearly the definitive study of its subject, and it deserves enough scholarly visibility to establish it as an obvious resource for scholars who might exploit the density of information it contains, or, indeed, imitate its methodology.

Several articles published this year treat miscellaneous though nonetheless important and intriguing subjects. Since the appeal of sex is not to be denied, especially when spoken in Anglo-Saxon words, we begin here. Pierre J. Payer, in "Early Medieval Regulations Concerning Marital Sexual Relations" (Jnl. of Medieval Hist. 6, 353-376), reviews the attitudes of the Church towards marital sexual relations, as expressed in penitential manuals, from about 590 to 850. He considers in particular commentary on the form of relations, on their frequency, and on the regulation of sex in connection with specific feasts and occasions (including, for example, menstruation and post-partum intervals). The Anglo-Saxon writers who appear among his sources are Theodore, Bede, and Egbert, though he draws also upon representative writers from Ireland (Vinnian and Cummean) and the continent. Professor Payer follows John T. Noonan's method in his monumental book, Contraception (1966), turning these unconventional sources to use for defining attitudes and, to a lesser extent, behavior, in areas that contemporaries seem otherwise reluctant to discuss. Yet even in these sources, the evidence remains meager and ambiguous, although it is certainly revealing and not any the less curious for its paucity. Many of the specific canons come from Theodore, and these treat positions for intercourse, sodomy, fellatio, contraception, and aphrodisiacs; most curious of all are the aphrodisiacs, especially that in which a woman allows a live fish to die on her genitals, then cooks it and serves it to her husband. Perhaps no less interesting is Professor Payer's remark, "I have never encountered a provision which portrays the man preparing an aphrodisiac so that his wife's love would increase towards him" (p. 361). None of the canons from the penitentials appear to have been translated to the vernacular, and the underlying theme of the learned and celebrate writers is that "sex [has] a contaminating effect, both physically and spiritually" (p. 371). All writers seem to agree that physical degradation offends less than the very idea, for they allow sexual relations for procreation, but condemn sexual desire or relations without this end in view.

Two other essays consider the position of women in Anglo-Saxon society and the kinds of evidence that bears, or might be brought to bear, upon the question of their status. Sheila C. Dietrich, in "An Introduction to Women in Anglo-Saxon Society (c. 600-1066)" (The Women of England, ed. Barbara Kanner [Hamden, Ct., 1979], pp. 32-56), surveys a wide variety of sources, and glances as well at the conclusions that have previously been drawn from these. Her response to the present state of such studies is to propose that we may establish a more accurate understanding of the potentialities and limitations for women by reassessing materials that scholars have not exploited sufficiently. She divides her evidence

into narrative, religious, legal, literary, and non-written categories, and devotes her own energies to identifying representative cases and likely sources, rather than breaking new ground. Among the examples she cites are Queens Emma and Edith, Abesses Hilda and Leoba, the testatrices Wynflaed and *Ælgifu*, and literary texts such as *Beowulf*, *Juliana*, *Judith*, *The Wife's Lament*, and *Wulf and Eadwacer*. At several points in the essay she suggests that we may in addition extrapolate from negative evidence: the failure to specify women in legal protections for the weak may attest their independence, and the relatively consequential place of peasant women in fourteenth-century England may indicate a like autonomy for the previous three hundred years or so. In such cases not only are the conclusions speculative, but so too is the evidence. Moreover, Dietrich at times overstates the implications of individual occurrences: "Anglo-Saxon society allowed women the mobility to step directly and without fuss into roles which involved ruling a kingdom or even, on occasion, leading an army" (p. 36). Even Alfred might have had trouble fitting, without fuss, into these shoes. One may agree with Dietrich on the desirability of describing more fully the range of activities open to Anglo-Saxon women without avowing that such illumination "would make aspects of even the twentieth century appear 'dark'" (p. 44).

In his essay on "Anglo-Saxon Land Charters and the Legal Position of Women," (*ibid.*, pp. 57-82), Marc A. Meyer takes a narrower view of evidence and the potential roles of women, but as a consequence the portrait he draws has more substance and freshness. Much of the material Meyer draws on will be unfamiliar to cultural historians, and his aim is, therefore, to show by what methods of interpretation these charters will yield reliable and striking evidence for the conduct of life in early England. Meyer remarks that "Any discussion of Anglo-Saxon women . . . is necessarily incomplete without reference to the land charters" (p. 57), but their contents may add more than a finishing flourish to such portrayals. They allow us to define quite precisely the power and options of individual women in obtaining and alienating land, in insuring an independent living for themselves, in controlling the transactions of their husbands, in endowing persons or institutions with their property, and in participating in litigation and other legal procedures. Moreover, the charters enable us to differentiate the roles of women by class and by status within a class: those who acquired bookright--land bequeathed directly by royal charter--enjoyed more autonomy than women who merely inherited land through their husbands; only women with royal or high aristocratic connections seem to have received bookland in their own right; only women of similarly high rank engaged in independent transactions; marital status either enhanced or inhibited the position of all women, except for queens or royal consorts, "who acted with a high degree of independence whether widowed or married" (p. 61); and women at every level who possessed land required institutional protection or the support of male kin. The testimony of these charters sheds a welcome light not only on the actual dealings of women, but more broadly on the principles and operative mechanisms on which Anglo-Saxon civilization depended; yet, if one employs the charters to illuminate the former, one must keep in mind Meyer's observation that only seven percent of these documents mention women as agents in transactions. Both Dietrich and Meyer provide bibliographies, together with extensive footnotes which amount to annotations on the booklists. Dietrich's bibliography is necessarily general in nature, Meyer's more specialized and coherent; one notable omission from the latter is Margaret Gelling's work on charters (*The Early Charters of the Thames Valley* [Leicester Univ. Press, 1979]), which contains much valuable material.

Ian Short, in "On Bilingualism in Anglo-Norman England" (RPh 33, 467-479), adduces several new pieces of evidence that illuminate linguistic habits of twelfth-century England. He concludes that, despite the affirmations of Johan Vising and Domenica Legge, not all classes were bilingual. His documents indicate that among the marginally literate, such as the local clergy, Anglo-Norman was viewed as a means to social advancement; on the other hand, well educated and well travelled scholars depreciated this Insular French (called "Gallicum Merleburgae," French after the school of Marlborough by Walter Map at the close of the century) as inferior to continental French. He believes bilingualism common among the nobility (and trilingualism not uncommon), and suggests that some bilingualism must also have existed among merchants and others at the center of the social spectrum. The great majority of those in England after the Conquest, however, including the non-literate and the literate like the ex-merchant St. Godric, spoke and read not the "Romana lingua" but in "verbis Anglicis."

Frank Barlow (EHR 95, 3-27) sorts out the various diseases designated as "the king's evil" (*morbus regius*); from the middle of the thirteenth century, the term usually meant scrofula, but earlier--as with OE cynelic adl--it might signify a variety of maladies or consuming diseases, most notably jaundice or leprosy. Barlow examines mainly the leechdoms and other medical receipts, though he also consults other documentary sources, such as saints' lives. He mentions, for example, that William of Malmesbury, quoting from Coleman's Life, describes Wulfstan as being specially tender towards those stricken with the disease, washing their feet more carefully, kissing them more lovingly, and gazing steadfastly on their sores. In his discussion of the customary cure, through the touch of the king, he draws for evidence upon the cult of Edward the Confessor and the Life of St. Edith, who, herself the daughter of a king, cured the symptoms of an abbess. In "Firy Drakes and Blazing-Bearded Light" (ES 61, 97-103), W. G. Cooke presents evidence that the "fyrenne dracan" recorded in the Chronicle for 793 were not wild flights of fancy or improbable sightings but a conventional term--equivalent to "draco volans," a phrase in use until the eighteenth or nineteenth century--for a meteor. Cooke's citations from numerous sources--including Geoffrey of Monmouth's dragon portending Arthur's career--demonstrate that early writers believed in fewer dragons, or less literal dragons, than we might have imagined. On the other hand, Cooke points out that literary dragons, such as those in Beowulf and Ælfric, were meant to be understood as monsters, albeit extraordinary or symbolical monsters.

Last year witnessed the appearance of a particularly large number of specialist studies that help to illuminate the history of scholarship on Anglo-Saxon England. Antonia Gransden (Antiquaries Jnl. 60, 75-97) undertakes to show how wide was the interest during the fifteenth century in historical research and writing. She in no way makes attention to the Anglo-Saxon past the central focus of her study, but in passing she sheds light on this subject and establishes that fifteenth-century scholars were the first to view, systematically and with curiosity, detachment, and diligence, OE texts and records. Most notable among these pioneers of Anglo-Saxon studies was Thomas Elmham (d. ca. 1440), who composed a history of St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, for the years 597 to 806. Needless to say, Elmham used Bede as a major source, but he also consulted other documents, including those in the vernacular. At one point, Elmham attributes discrepancies between versions of the same charter to "forte ex scriptorum negligentia, vel ex compilatoris legendi Saxoniam scripturam imperitia" (Rolls Series, no. 8, p. 237), though his charge here clearly concerns his predecessor's unfamiliarity with the

insular hand, not OE language. On another occasion, Elmham quotes from a charter of King Offa which includes a description of a bequest in OE (*ibid.*, p. 332); at the conclusion Elmham provides an "Interpretatio ... linguae Saxonicae" that demonstrates his basic comprehension of the vernacular. Some of the other fifteenth-century historians whom Mrs. Gransden discusses doubtless also made use of Anglo-Saxon documents and texts, though no one confined himself so intensively to the earlier period as did Elmham. The article considers a large number of works and produces a wide range of information, on the details of life as well as on historiography, so that almost every scholar interested in medieval England will find something of use or delight here.

M. S. Hetherington's privately published study, The Beginnings of Old English Lexicography (Charleston, S.C.) appears to be a slightly revised version of her doctoral dissertation; crossouts and unspecified cross-references (these are supplied on a separate sheet) indicate that the typescript was only partly redone for publication. The volume, however, is well worth having, though it unfortunately seems that because of limited production, libraries and individuals will not have easy access to it. The first chapter ostensibly covers "The Beginnings. The Sixteenth Century," but in actuality it centers upon Laurence Nowell and his Vocabularium Saxonicum; yet, in reviewing Nowell's sources and methods, she places him in the context of other pioneer scholars like Archbishop Parker and William Lambarde. In order to provide some notion of Nowell's ambitiousness in compiling the Vocabularium, Hetherington identifies sources for citations and, where possible, the particular manuscript that Nowell consulted, and she demonstrates that he did not hesitate to make use of humanist productions like Eliot's Dictionary as a model and source for his work with the vernacular. She estimates that Nowell scoured some thirty or forty OE manuscripts, and she explains his rationale for citations and entries.

The second chapter describes John Joscelyn's still unpublished Dictionary, which fills more than six hundred folios in two manuscript volumes. Joscelyn had help in his endeavors from John Parker, elder son of the Archbishop, but Hetherington makes clear that the energy and intelligence that underlie the work originated with Joscelyn. As Parker's secretary, and an intimate of the redoubtable group of antiquaries the Archbishop assembled, Joscelyn had the opportunity to examine many more OE manuscripts than Nowell, and he consequently planned his dictionary more expansively and inclusively; indeed, at some intermediate stage, he had access to Nowell's Vocabularium and added entries from it. On the basis of spelling variants and other criteria, Hetherington identifies particular manuscripts used by Joscelyn, and she concludes that in some cases he consulted a number of manuscript copies of a single text. Joscelyn had recourse not only to the OE materials amassed by Parker (and perhaps those collected by Cotton in the 1590's as well); in addition, he examined OE manuscripts in other repositories, such as the cathedral libraries at Exeter and Worcester. Joscelyn also produced an OE grammar; though it does not survive, the index compiled by John Parker shows that it must have equaled his Dictionary in bulk. Joscelyn's grammatical interests differentiate his entries from Nowell's, though information provided in the later citations of the Dictionary, recorded by Parker, decreases.

Hetherington devotes by far the greatest amount of attention--about three quarters of her text--to the successors of Nowell and Joscelyn: the unpublished glossaries compiled in the first half of the seventeenth century and their culmination in William Somner's Dictionary (1659). Hetherington provides a brief survey of the state of European philological studies up to 1600 or so, and

then mentions in passing the contributions of Camden, Verstegen (who deserves more attention), and Lisle (whose glossary, if completed, has disappeared). She describes in detail the contents of a small glossary (fifty-eight folios) apparently assembled for private use--Bodleian MS. James 42--and the two glossaries compiled by Richard James, librarian for the Cotton collection: Bodleian MS Selden Supra 62 (one hundred eighty two folios, with a partial copy in Bodleian MS Add. C.250), and Bodleian MS James 41 (the earlier collection, and about one-third the size of MS Selden Supra 62). James seems to have gathered the lists for his own use, with no thought of publication; Hetherington concludes that he consulted at least nine manuscripts not used by Nowell or Joscelyn, and he includes a number of ME citations as well. During the first decade of the century, the German antiquary Friedrich Lindenbrog collected materials for a "Glossarium Anglo-Saxonicum-Latinum"; he brought together in a manuscript destroyed in World War II a copy of Joscelyn's extensive Dictionarium together with grammatical and lexical material from other OE manuscripts and Latin-German glossaries. Abraham Wheelock [Wheloc] who, under the patronage of Sir Henry Spelman and others, became lecturer in Anglo-Saxon at the University of Cambridge in 1640, compiled a "Lexicon Saxonicum-Latinum" (B.L. MS Harley 761, with glossary to f. 88; the beginning of a different but related glossary occurs in Camb. Univ. Lib. MS Gg.2.2). Wheelock published an edition of Bede's History, with excerpts from the Chronicle, in 1643, and he seems to have worked on his glossary while preparing this text; Spelman may have urged publication of this work, though his death in 1641 precluded his financial support of it. Wheelock identified his sources (including some from ME) and appended a brief account of OE grammar to his list; he consulted at least eleven manuscripts that his predecessors had not used.

At about this time, and also with encouragement from Sir Henry Spelman, William Dugdale began to compile a "Dictionarium Saxonicum" (Bodl. MS Dugdale 29). Dugdale "finished" his work in 1644, though he never published it; he seems to have regarded this endeavor as in some ways a preliminary to his antiquarian studies. His "Dictionarium" contains three hundred thirty folios, with citations based mainly on printed works; William Somner consulted and annotated this volume, probably around 1650. In the late 30's and early 40's, Jan de Laet of the Netherlands was also at work on a "Lexicon Anglo-Saxonicum," although his interest seems to have centered upon hard words and plant names. He maintained close contact with his English counterparts, Spelman, Wheelock, and Sir Simonds D'Ewes. De Laet suffered a fatal stroke just as his "Lexicon" was ready for press; the manuscript found its way to the Royal Library in Copenhagen, but perished in the fire of 1728.

Sir Simonds D'Ewes worked intermittently at his Dictionarium from 1631 until his death in 1650; like De Laet (whom he regarded as a rival), he had time to complete almost all of his project, but not to see it through the press. D'Ewes's effort stands out as the one instance in which a compiler made full use of the resources at his disposal: he sought help from Spelman, Junius, Somner, and others; he obtained a copy of Dugdale's "Dictionarium Saxonicum," and, most importantly, he incorporated into his own dictionary a large number of citations from Joscelyn and, later, from Nowell and James. (Hetherington points out that one may still observe the points D'Ewes set beside entries in Dugdale's manuscript to indicate which citations he wished transferred to his own work.) D'Ewes prefaced his Dictionarium with a copy of Ælfric's Grammar, and he borrowed as well from the publications of Latin lexicographers and editors. So much did editing outweigh collecting citations from manuscripts that Hetherington calculates D'Ewes gathered

only about four percent of his entries on his own; we may trace his debts because D'Ewes seldom troubled to rewrite or alter borrowed citations.

The visible conclusion of these seventy five years' research is William Somner's Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-anglicum (1659). Unlike most of his predecessors, Somner was not a university man; he was largely an autodidact, a native of Canterbury whose work on the antiquities of Kent attracted some support from Archbishop Laud. His interests seem to have turned in the 40's from archeology to philology, and in the early 50's he compiled glossaries of hard words for Meric Casaubon and Sir Roger Twysden. At about this time he also added his annotations to Dugdale's "Dictionarium" and assisted D'Ewes. Somner was acquainted with Junius and Gerhard Voss; he knew the work of continental philologists, including the delightfully named Scandinavian expert in runes, Ole Worm. All of this made Somner more professional and successful as a lexicographer: he prepared his entries more fully and consistently; he rewrote borrowed citations for uniformity, and he added significant sources to the Dictionarium, in particular material from Junius' edition of the "Caedmon" manuscript. Somner methodically milked all his predecessors--Nowell, Joscelyn, Verstegen, Camden, James, Dugdale, D'Ewes, and even ME compilations like the still unpublished Medulla grammaticae. He also included, as aids, copies of Ælfric's Glossary and Grammar. Hetherington discusses at some length Somner's qualifications as a lexicographer and philologist, and in general he receives high marks. Yet, despite the show of intense interest in such a reference tool for almost a century, the Dictionarium did not at first sell vigorously; in the year following publication, Dugdale records receiving an overstock of five hundred twenty copies from the binder. On the other hand, by 1692 the industrious Wanley had to transcribe the entire Dictionarium to have a copy of his own, and in 1698 an Oxford tutor complained to Wanley, "We want Saxon lexicons. I have fifteen young students in that language, and but one Somner for them all." It would be hard to prove progress through the history of scholarly publishing.

Hetherington's book is thorough, valuable, and immensely interesting. Much work remains to be done, as her intelligent examination of these largely unpublished sources shows. Her book is not particularly well written, but it pulls together almost all the materials future scholars will need to know. Her bibliography is sound, though she somehow missed Rosemund Tuve's illuminating article (ELH 6 [1939], 165-190); her discussion and citations make clear how much more than bibliographical information alone Ker's Catalogue offers, and also that the late Professor J. A. W. Bennett's unpublished dissertation (1938) ought to see the light, even at this late date. Hetherington's work opens to view a most attractive and significant line of historical, literary, and linguistic activity. Many interesting points emerge--for example, how little reluctant these early scholars were to borrow each other's efforts wholesale--but what seems clearest is that the subject deserves more of our attention.

So large a proportion of these early works of scholarship remains unpublished that we are all the more grateful for those which reached print, and we have yet more reason for happiness when such works are reprinted, as was Richard Verstegen's A Restitution of Decayed Intelligence (Amsterdam, 1979). Verstegen was the descendant of a Dutch Catholic emigré, and he attended Oxford under the name Richard Rowlands. He did not take a degree, and eventually went into a kind of self-imposed exile, conducting during this time antiquarian investigations parallel to those of Camden. As part of the restitution he attempted,

Verstegen included in his chapter "Of the Great Antiquities of our Antient English Tongue" an OE-early modern English glossary of six hundred eighty-five items. Verstegen's work demonstrates, as Hetherington and others have pointed out, an impressive dedication to comparative philology, especially in Germanic languages, but it is also especially appealing as the one instance of antiquarian interest in the Anglo-Saxon past by a scholar not committed to the Puritan or Anglican line in ecclesiastical controversy. Verstegen, a partisan with an alternative view, offers a further complication in an already rich history of scholarship, and for this reason alone merits further study.

The history of Anglo-Saxon studies contains examples of some who served though they did not themselves write. In Sir Robert Cotton... (Oxford, 1979), Kevin Sharpe provides a life and times that supplements the record left by publishing scholars. Though Cotton's own activities as antiquarian and writer centered mainly on legal and political subjects, especially as these affected events of his own age, as a collector of manuscripts he maintained an avid interest in Anglo-Saxon writings. While we cannot settle upon a precise figure, it seems that Cotton's library did not contain more than a thousand manuscript volumes, and that his collection, with its imperial bookpresses, fit into a room about six by twenty feet. This is the more astounding when we note how large a proportion of the surviving manuscripts containing Anglo Saxon was owned by Cotton. As Sharpe suggests, during the first three decades of the seventeenth century the Library was virtually a public institution, supporting through its collections the work of D'Ewes, Lisle, Verstegen (through correspondence, though not mentioned by Sharpe), Samuel Ward and others, including Sir Julius Caesar (!). In these decades, contemporaries regarded the Library chiefly as a font of political and historical writings, and in 1629 King Charles had the Library closed because of the taint of sedition attached to publications associated with it. Yet Cotton's tastes and purposes in collecting were largely shaped by his early connection with the Society of Antiquaries. How he acquired individual manuscripts remains in most cases unclear, though Cotton seems not to have hesitated to use position, political pressure, sharp practice, and even perfidy to get what he wanted. He saw the value of owning not only source works like laws or the writings of Bede and OE poetical manuscripts, but also the importance of possessing research and commentary on such works; accordingly, he secured the papers of earlier antiquarians like Parker, Nowell, Lambarde, Joscelyn, and, later, Camden. Most of the Anglo-Saxon manuscripts seem to have been obtained during Elizabeth's reign. He acquired some of his treasures through exchanges with antiquarians like D'Ewes and Lisle; evidence recorded in the manuscripts of the library reveals the activities of these scholars--MS Julius C. III seems an especially important record of Cotton's correspondence and dealings--as well as the fact that Cotton drove a hard bargain when he wished to get hold of a particular volume. Cotton's devotion to Anglo-Saxon records makes up a small part of the life of a public man--and Sharpe sets the broad context for Cotton's activities and influence--but his efforts as an antiquarian and collector established the single most important repository of manuscripts for those who come after.

Two other studies take up the lives of nineteenth-century scholars, one familiar and one not so well known. Raymond A. Wiley offers a life of John Mitchell Kemble (ASSAH 1 [1979], 165-273), who was a student with Jacob Grimm, an acquaintance of Sir Frederic Madden, and an antagonist of Thorpe and Bosworth. Kemble produced an enormous amount of valuable work, including his six volumes of charters (1839-1848), his editions and translations of Beowulf (1833, 1837)

and the Vercelli Book (1843), his edition of Twysden (1849), and his two volume investigation of the Saxons in England (1849). Some of his contemporaries attacked him for his intellectual subservience to the Danes and Germans, but he stands as a remarkable advocate of the systematic comparative philology developed in Germany in the earlier part of the century. J. M. Gachelin's subject, "William Barnes Antiquaire" (1801-1886), (Cahiers d'Etudes Médiévales 1 [1979], 95-107), fits much more the mold of the amateur philologist of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. His curiosity led him to study archeology and etymology, though he was best known, as the "Dorsetshire Burns," for his dialect poems and eclogues, which were widely admired by his contemporaries, including Thomas Hardy. He produced a glossary of Dorsetshire English, though he was also interested in the earlier history of the language. In 1849 he published Se Gefylsta: An Anglo-Saxon Delectus (reissued 1866), and in 1861 he issued Tiw or a View of the Roots and Stems of the English as a Teutonic Tongue. Raffaella Del Pezzo Costabile, in "La filologia germanica in Italia, 1974-1978" (AION 22 [1979], 389-397), brings together more recent work with emphasis on research published by Italian scholars.

It is unfortunate, from the viewpoint of the history of scholarship and instruction in OE, that the short essays on English medieval studies in the universities of western Europe, published in Le Bulletin des Anglicistes Médiévistes 18, 226-240, have been unavailable. These essays, by five different hands, undoubtedly shed much light on the patterns of research and teaching in the modern curriculum. Robert F. Yeager brings the history of scholarship (and pedagogy) up to date, making use of responses to a recent survey of American graduate instruction in OE and of a census of dissertations written on OE from 1959 to 1977 (OEN 13.2, 9-20). He takes as early milestones in the study of OE comments by Jefferson (1798), the publication of Louis F. Klipstein's Grammar of the Anglo-Saxon Language (1848), Cook's Exercises (1895), and Krapp and Kennedy's Reader (1929). He notes in these publications a developing tendency away from philology and towards literary appreciation. The major events and trends of the last twenty-five years include the elimination of a requirement in philology or OE language by most American graduate schools, a striking increase in the critical and historical appreciation of OE texts, a notable expansion of the teaching of OE--often as literature in translation--to undergraduates, and a growing number of dissertations that provide editions of unpublished texts. Professor Yeager clearly regards the present as itself a turning point, and ends his overview with a tentative prognosis and some suggestions on what those concerned with the study of OE might do to affect the course of events.

From Bede to Alfred (London), a collection of thirteen of Dorothy Whitelock's publications, in itself makes up a fascinating and crucial chapter in the history of scholarship on Anglo-Saxon England. The contents of the volume range from her note (1939) on the old man in Beowulf (ll. 2444 ff.) to her lecture of 1977 on Alfred and the battle of Edington; it includes all of The Audience of Beowulf (2nd ed., 1958). The series in which this volume appears, Variorum Reprints, reproduces rather than resets the original publications. These are prepared for a uniform page format, and so the typeface for some (like Audience) is surprisingly enlarged, while others (e.g., the Gollanez Lecture) are somewhat reduced. The volume includes a portrait frontispiece and a brief Foreword by Professor Whitelock, as well as an Index, which cites locations by the number of the article in this volume and original page number. (The Index for Audience is reproduced with that monograph.) This makes the use of the Index awkward, but not impossibly difficult, for article numbers are added at the top

of each page in the reprint. Further, the Index is not complete, though it is assuredly helpful. A bibliography of Professor Whitelock's other writings might have been a valuable addition to this volume. From Bede to Alfred is well produced, with clearly readable text, heavy paper, and sturdy binding, and it will certainly be gratefully received by scholars, and especially by libraries that do not hold in their collections the specialized publications--journals and Festschriften--where these articles originally appeared. At the same time, one must lament the price (\$75.) charged for a volume that reprints camera-ready copy.

Notice of work on the history of OE scholarship may properly conclude with acknowledgment of the tributes by Ronald Arnold and Klaus Hansen to Martin Lehnerts (ZAA 28, 169-171), by Jiri Nosek to Bohumil Trnka (PP. 23, 168-9), of the commemorations of Bruce Dickins offered by Kenneth Cameron (Jnl. Engl. Place-Name Soc. 11 [1978-79], 1-2), and R. I. Page (PBA 64 [1980 for 1978], 34-57), and of Peter Foote's essay in honor of Gabriel Turville-Petre (PBA 64 [1980 for 1978], 467-81).

Works not seen:

- Ahrens, C., ed. Sachsen und Angelsachsen: Ausstellung des Helms-Museums, Hamburgisches Museum für Vor- und Frühgeschichte, 18. November 1978 bis 28. Februar 1979. Hamburg: Helms-Museum, 1979.
- Bergner, H. "The Role of Medieval Studies in the English Syllabus of West German Universities." BAM 18, 226-30.
- Crépin, A. "English Medieval Studies in French Universities," BAM 18, 238-40.
- Gerritsen, J. "The Position of English Medieval Studies in the Universities of Holland." BAM 18, 233-35.
- Sawyer, P.H., ed. Names, Words, and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement. Leeds: School of History, University of Leeds, 1979.
- Simon, I. "Etudes anglaises médiévales en Belgique." BAM 80, 230-33.
- Trumper, J. Filologia germanica. Padua: Cleup, 1976.
- Wernick, R. The Vikings. Alexandria, Va.: Time-Life, 1979.
- Zimmerman, G.D. "English Medieval Studies in Swiss Universities." BAM 18, 236-37.

Books designed for children are neither reviewed nor listed here.

T.G.H.

2. LANGUAGE

a. Lexicon, Glosses

O. Arngart, in "Domus Godebiete" (SN 51 [1979], 125-26), refers to a property in Winchester with that place-name which was first attested in 1052-3. He derives the name from OE begeat, a strong neuter noun, or from OE *begeate, a weak feminine noun, but he suggests that this name came about because the particular property gave a good return on the money invested in it rather than because it was a good bargain. This requires, however, that the meaning of the OE source for the name be expanded somewhat to include "earnings, income, yield." In another article, "Old English hund 'a territorial hundred'?" (NB 67 [1979], 26-33), Arngart dismisses S. Söderlind's suggestion that the earlier form hund could have been used for the OE territorial and administrative division, instead of the more common hundred, by explaining the development of the four place-names which at first appearance might have been interpreted as developing from hund in this suggested sense.

In "The Loveden Hill Runic Inscription" (OJA, pp. 24-37), B. Odenstedt transliterates the inscription on this sixth-century OE cremation urn found in Lincolnshire as follows: sipæbad þiep hlaf which he translates as "Sipæbad gets bread." Odenstedt suggests, despite other opinions, that the urn was made especially for the burial rather than being an old domestic urn used as a burial urn and associates the inscription with the pagan custom of sacrificing bread at funerals. L. A. Connolly argues extensively, in "The Rune ᚦ and the Germanic Vowel System" (ABMG 14, 3-32), that the thirteenth rune represented a Common North-West Germanic i, / ɪ / and / ɛ /, which had already merged with i and e before the first attestations in which the particular rune is used.

M. S. Boscl Coletsos, in "'Donna' 'moglie' nei principali dialetti antichi" (Aevum 54, 257-79), examines the derivatives of *k^wēnis, *k^wēnon, and *wif in OE, ON, OS, and OHG with regard to their meanings of "wife" and "woman." She concludes that the two meanings were kept distinct in the vocabulary of OHG, but that the distinction was not maintained consistently in the other Gmc languages.

In "On the Gloss to Matthew 26.8 in the Lindisfarne Gospels" (Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill [1978], III, 9-12), A. Bammesberger suggests an emendation in the gloss so that abloncgne should read abolgne, the inflected past participle of abelgan, the form in the gloss being a scribal error.

A. C. Amos, in "Dictionary of Old English: 1979 Progress Report" (OEN 13, no. 2, 21-22), reports that the collecting stage is at an end and that all the slips are ready to be filed. The very useful concomitant Microfiche Concordance to Old English, compiled by R. L. Venezky and A. DiPaolo Healey, is ready; it is accompanied by a list of texts and an index. At least one library has had some trouble ordering the concordance, but even in these hard financial times it is a very good buy. Headword lists for the project were to be completed in 1981, with the hope that entry-writing would soon be in full swing. A. J. Leavitt, J. L. Mitchell, and E. Inman, in "KIT and the Investigation of Old English Prose" (ALLCB 8, 1-14), suggest that some basic steps can be taken to deal with entering and classifying elements of OE texts in a computer. The labeling and editing capacities suggested by the "interactive tagged system" of KIT are a start. Competent editors and readers of OE texts will still be

frustrated by the limited range of activity and decision making generated by the process, but the work points in the direction of getting programs to handle texts in more useful ways. S. P. Cerasano's "The Computer in the Meadhall: Standardizing Anglo-Saxon" (ALLCB 8, 111-24) is a practical guide to how to deal with a computer's treatment of orthographic, dialectal, and inflectional variations. The introduction of specially marked instances and routines for reducing variation, linked with the preservation of the original form of the text, will make the process more compatible with the computer's strengths and more useful for the investigator. He does seem to indicate that there is now no way out of pre-editing and that any current text will produce errors that have to be edited out. Clearly the aim should be to give the machine as much of the burden as possible. The article also gives us a really creative misspelling: gemmination.

H. R. Loyn's "The Norman Conquest of the English Language" (Hist. Today 30 [April], 35-39) represents a cultural critic or historian's view of the English language in relationship to the Norman Conquest. He argues that AS England had a precocious standardized literary English which was eventually thwarted by the Norman conquerors. He suggests that a few of the contributing factors in the change of English (dialect diversity, loss of written standard) are at the center of the change from OE to ME; but in particular he finds that after the Conquest cultural genius in English was diverted into Latin. The ME reemergence of literary English is in the diverse dialects of the "countryside." O. Fischer, in "A Comparative Study of Philosophical Terms in the Alfredian and Chaucerian Boethius" (Neophil 63, 622-39), begins with the difficult task of objectifying data from three languages. She discusses the problems of slightly different originals and commentaries, her choice of limiting the study to prose, the strategy of limiting it to nouns mentioned in two dictionaries of philosophy, the differing intentions of the two translators, a propensity to shift parts of speech in translation, and a bias toward some words not in common use. Despite the acknowledged difficulties, her observation that OE had the resources for sophisticated translation is a useful reminder that writers misrepresent the socio-linguistic facts when they treat Anglo-Saxons as culturally deprived just because so many words were borrowed after the Conquest. Her comparison points out that OE had highly sophisticated resources for translation.

L. Voetz, in Komposita auf -man im Althochdeutschen, Altsächsischen und Altniederfränkischen (Heidelberg, 1977), presents data on sixty-four lexical compounds that have as their last element -man. Data from secondary sources for ON and OE are occasionally used to inform the OHG, OS, and OLFrank material that is basically found in glosses. Several chapters beyond the data lead to some generalizations about distribution, form, and meaning. The morpheme represents: object as "one who walks," "works," or "has to do with X"; membership as "one who belongs to X" or "has an X relationship"; identity as "one who is X." The morpheme forms denominal compounds as opposed to -are which yields deverbal forms. The basic meaning "person" is occasionally extended to a peripheral meaning of intensification or to an apparent marking for maleness. R. Lühr's "Das Wort 'und' im Westgermanischen" (MSS 38 [1979], 117-54) attempts to lay out the etymological field, both phonological and semantic, for and in WGmc languages. Her evidence goes beyond the WGmc languages, but the treatment of OE and and end ond and "and, but" and OE and- "opposition, negation," up- "intensifier," and ob- "away" is typical for all the languages. She postulates an intimate relationship with OIndic adverb ánti "opposite, near" and the Hittite noun ḫa-an-za "front."

She demonstrates the likely phonological changes by examining the strong and weak declensions of IE *h₁ǵont and h₁ǵnt- "tooth." She manages to capture most of the forms and meanings of the prepositions, conjunctions, and prefixes of WGmc and in the etymological field.

H. Schabram, in "Bezeichnungen für den Pflug and seine Teile im Altenglischen" (AAWG, Philol.-hist. Klasse 116, 99-125), dismisses many of the traditional definitions and connections for OE sulh "plow," which is only found in OE of all Gmc languages. While he finds that Lat sulcus "furrow" and OE sulh are etymologically related, both their semantic content and exact origin are different. He convincingly dismisses the sense "narrow ditch" for OE sulh and does a lot to raise questions about the meaning "a measure of land," which may have been reserved to OE plōh. It seems to have been the twelfth century when the words started to cross over into each other's semantic territory. The second section examines the OE terms in comparison with the Lat terms for parts of the plow, using glosses and the apparent developing English meanings. He concludes with warnings about the sparsity of appropriate references and the philologist's lack of knowledge about the implements themselves. L. R. McCord's dissertation at Missouri, "A Study of the Meanings of hliehhan and hleahtor in Old English Literature" (DAI 41A, 2101), examines OE words for laughter in their verbal, psychological, and literary contexts. She finds that while some contexts are positive, the semantic field is primarily one of "joyous scorn," often transitory in nature. V. Dolcetti Corazza, in "Le preposizioni in inglese antico: contributo all'analisi di un sistema" (Atti della Accademia delle scienze di Torino, classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche 112 [1978], 89-116), makes a fundamental argument that the system of primary OE prepositions has very limited central, somewhat abstract, meanings. Her almost phenomenological analysis contradicts the traditional supposition of a diversity of meanings attached to each preposition; such variation is laid to the syntactico-semantic context in which the prepositions occur. While the system which postulates fifteen primary prepositions would inevitably work in broad outlines, it is difficult to determine from the limited data whether it would require too much tinkering to be useful in a practical application to the semantic fields of OE prepositions.

O. Arngart, in "Middle English hogt" (NM 81, 258-59), rejects emendations for line 2119 of The Genesis and Exodus: ME sogt "sought" on the basis of context; ME logt "caught" on the basis of palaeography; and ME kogt "caught" as not necessary. One may more easily assume ME hogt "called" from a coalescence of ME (i)hoten < OE (ge)hatan (past participle) and ME heght < OE heht (preterite). J. A. Burrow's "Lafamon's Brut 10,642: wleoteð" (N&Q 27, 2-3) suggests that ME wleoteð comes from OE wlitigian "adorn" instead of being a spelling variant of ME fleoteð "float," which makes for a more plausible reading of the passage. H. Moisl's "Celts-Germanic *wātu-/wōtu- and Early Germanic Poetry" (N&Q 27, 98-99) adds some evidence to H. Wagner's argument that compounds like OE wopborā "speaker, poet, prophet, philosopher" bespeak the Sanskrit *watu- "weave" rather than IE *uāt- "spiritually evoked." For instance, Cynewulf did wordcræftum wæf in the epilogue to Elene. C.H. DeRoo's argument in "Old English sele" (Neophil 64, 113-20) that OE sele has a more general meaning of "abode" seems plausible, but it is hard to understand what he will accomplish. His paper starts with the poem-specific "hall" glosses in Wyatt-Chambers, Klaeber, and von Schaubert, but the standard dictionaries of OE already contain entries that include "hall, house, dwelling." The relatively new and simple E-OE, OE-E Dictionary doesn't even include the definition "hall," but offers only "dwelling, house" for sele.

With the aid of two documented sound changes, OE wea > wa, wæ and we > wæ, A.S.C. Ross, in "The Correspondent of West Saxon cweðan in Late Northumbrian and Rushworth One" (NM 81, 24-33), accounts for the complex of forms for OE cweðan in Rushworth One, Rushworth Two, Lindisfarne Gospels, and the Durham Ritual. While all but two forms are explained, it is interesting that the explanations for various scribes are different. He also speculates on the ability of the preterite forms to mean the present: possibly a quasi-preterite-present. G. P. Cubbin, in "A Case of Homonymic Clash in Germanic" (IF 84 [1980 for 1979], 226-36), argues that Gmc *agwi- "reptile," *ahwīō- "watery land," and IE *oky "eye" show so much homonymic clash and confusion of phonological environments in various paradigmatic alternations that their varying -g- and -w- should not be used as the basis for phonological investigation. They should rather be treated as examples of interference. Some OE forms are used as evidence for the developing problem of phonological/lexical description. E. P. Hamp's "Horst and Method" (Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl [The Hague, 1979, pp. 175-81]) claims that direct reconstruction must be tempered by the dialectal distribution of reflexes. He dismisses Pokorny's entry in Indogermanisches Etymologisches Wörterbuch: IE *kures-. OS, OHG, MLG horst, hurst and OE hyrst "tree" and various Celtic forms seem to share the etymon Gmc/Celt *k^wr(e)s-: *k^wrēs-no- > Gaul preanno- and OE hyrst; *k^wrs-tó- > OHG horst, Welsh prys and OIr crann; similar Slavic forms are borrowed from Gmc.

Works not seen:

- Cercignani, Fausto. "Tipologia e studio dell'adozione semantica nelle lingue germaniche." AION, Filologia germanica 22 (1979), 7-20.
- Ross, A.S.C., and A. Squires. "The Multiple, Altered and Alternative Glosses of the Lindisfarne and Rushworth Gospels and the Durham Ritual." N&Q 27, 489-95.
- Wagner, Norbert. "Der Name der Stellinga." BN 15, 128-33.

b. Syntax, Phonology, Other Subjects

In "The Phonological Development of Final Syllables in Germanic" (Die Sprache 26, 19-53 and 145-78), P. H. Hollifield presents an encyclopedic summary of the history of phonological changes, particularly of vowels, in final Gmc syllables and uses analogies and contrasts with their development in Baltic, Slavic, Indic and Iranian languages. While comprehensive, the article contains no surprises. B. E. Dresher, in "The Mercian Second Fronting: a Case of Rule Loss in Old English" (LingI, 11, 47-73), suggests that the phrase "Second Fronting" should refer only to the a > æ change and that the æ > e sound change in Mercian was a second sound change which Dresher calls "æ-Raising." Dresher then shows that the Second Fronting can actually be better explained as the result of the loss of an a-Restoration rule in Mercian than by the formulation of a separate Second Fronting rule to account for the a > æ change. J. T. McMillian's dissertation at Mississippi, "A Computer Assisted Study of Vowel Length in Old English" (DAI 40A, 4007) shows that vowel length can be reasonably predicted by a computer if the consonantal environment, either voiced or unvoiced, ablaut patterns, gemination, assimilation, and lengthening are included in the computer's information. McMillian claims that the procedure is as effective in analyzing prose as it is for poetry.

In "Veliarnyi umlaut v drevneanglijskom iazyke" (Lietuvos TSR Aukstųjų Mokyklų Mokslo Darbai: Kalbotyra 30, No. 3 [1979], 79-86), L. Zabulene observes that the process of velar umlaut in OE depended on both the root vowel and the following consonant, that it occurred most frequently in Anglian and Kentish dialects, and that it occurred only before liquid and labial consonants in West Saxon. In "Early 'umlaut' Phenomena in the Germanic Languages" (Language 56, 126-36), F. Cercignani argues strongly that there should be no umlaut phenomena and less strongly that there should be no compensatory lengthening of * /i a u/ posited for PGmc since the results are not the same in all Gmc languages. Instead, he suggests that these changes should be ascribed to the prehistory of the individual Gmc languages. In "The Germanic Reflex of Indo-European /ə/ in Originally Medial Syllables" (Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill, III [The Hague, 1978], 13-18), W. H. Bennett explains that IE /ə/ survives as /u/ only in originally final syllables, that it was lost consistently in originally medial syllables, and that it survives as /a/ in other positions in Gmc.

O. Armalyte, in "Vyravnivanie diftongov v zapadnomercijskom dialekte drevneanglijskogo iazyka" (Lietuvos TSR Aukstųjų Mokyklų Mokslo Darbai: Kalbotyra 30, No. 3 [1979], 7-13), suggests that the monophthongization of diphthongs in West Mercian in the eighth century came about because the position of the tongue ceased to be a distinctive feature of the velar /k/ and /ɣ/ after the palatal allophones which developed in the seventh century became /ts/ and /dz/ so that the velar /k/ and /ɣ/ could develop new palatal allophones which then absorbed the second or velar component of the preceding diphthong. G. A. J. Tops, in "The Origin of the Germanic Dental Preterite: Von Friesen Revisited" (Recent Developments in Historical Phonology, Trends in Ling. Stud. and Monographs, 4 [1978], 349-71), tries to resolve the dilemma caused by some early forms of the Gmc dental suffix deriving from IE t and others from IE dh by modifying von Friesen's theory to posit dental preterites coming from IE t being formed only when the perfect tense of *don was added to an IE noun containing the suffix -ti or -tu whereas, the others, which are later, result from the suffix being added to PGmc nouns in -anam. Subsequent changes are assumed to be the result of the combination of phonological, morphological, and analogical factors.

In "Some Considerations on Voicing with Special Reference to Spirants in English and Dutch: a Diachronic-Contrastive Approach" (Recent Developments in Historical Phonology, Trends in Ling. Stud. and Monographs, 4 [1978], 99-121), X. Dekeyser shows that the developments of /f/, /s/, and /θ/ in OE and MD were very regular in contrast to their developments in later forms of both languages and then uses acoustic phonology to argue that a supraglottal lenis configuration co-occurs with a glottal assimilation producing voicing but that devoicing is not always caused by the converse. E. Fausbøll, in "Some Examples of the Vacillation between [p] / [ɸ] and [d] in Middle English" (Essays Presented to Knud Schibbye, Copenhagen [1979], pp. 32-50), provides copious examples from ME texts to show unconvincingly that the d spellings for OE p/ɸ reflected a dialectal sound change in Northern and East Midland ME. In "Altenglische Dialekte und der Heliand" (Anglia 98, 85-94), M. Korhammer uses evidence from a new fragment (S) of the Heliand to refute the conventional wisdom that most of the dialect differences between the Angles and Saxons developed after the invasion of Britain.

In "Zum gemeingermanischen runischen Schriftsystem (Alter, Runennamen, Struktur der 24er-Reihe, kimbrische Schöpfung)" (Integrale Linguistik: Festschrift

für Helmut Gipper [Amsterdam, 1979], pp. 541-71), K. Schneider gives a history of the variations of the runic alphabet as used in different times and places. His main focus is on the connection of the runic symbols with the pre-Christian Gmc religion, and he suggests that Christianity was hostile to the continued use of runes after the Christianization of the Gmc peoples because of this connection. E. H. Antonsen, in "Linguistics and Politics in the 19th Century: the Case of the 15th Rune" (MGS 6, 1-16), provides an interesting history of how the fifteenth rune in the older fupark, the Ψ or algiz rune, was transliterated as z by German linguists and as R by Danish linguists in attempts to justify either German or Danish claims to Schleswig-Holstein. Antonsen concludes that the rune is best transliterated as z but notes that neither supports nor refutes German or Danish claims on Schleswig-Holstein since inscriptions in the older fupark from that area display no features peculiar to either Scandinavian or W Gmc. In "Giltonskriften: en omstridd engelsk runinskrift" (OUA [1979], pp. 55-68), B. Odenstedt transliterates runes 6-14 of the inscription on the silver pommel from the Gilton cemetery in Kent from around 550 AD as sigi mei (for mie) ah "Sigi owns me." He thinks runes 3-5 and 15-17 are later editions for magical purposes and symbols 1-2 and 18-23 are purely ornamental.

A. C. Amos's Linguistic Means of Determining the Dates of English Literary Texts (Cambridge) concludes that few linguistic criteria for dating can be relied on exclusively but where several linguistic tests agree, the dating should be taken seriously. Specifically, several phonological-metrical tests and lexical criteria are useful in dating texts. However, Amos argues that syntactic, stylistic, and grammatical tests are generally less reliable. In "Argumentation and Theoriebildung in der historischen Linguistik: ein Untersuchung am Beispiel des Vernerschen Gesetzes" (IF 83 [1979], 1-39), W. Kindt and J. Wierer show in detail how Verner laid the groundwork for the separation of Linguistic studies from the Arts and their conjoining with the Sciences by his rigorous following of the procedures of the "hard sciences"; they show also the subsequent necessity of other linguists to follow the same procedures.

H. F. Nielsen's De germanske sprog: baggrund og gruppering (Odense, 1979) is a standard scholarly history of the Gmc languages with an emphasis on North Germanic and Low German dialects. R. C. Bambas's text book, The English Language: Its Origin and History (Norman, Oklahoma), is very conservative in content and traditional in format. It duplicates the standard history of the language texts although it is less comprehensive than some of them, and it has no surprises. While M. V. Molinari's *La filologia germanica (Bologna) may be an appropriate book for the casually interested, Italian-speaking, reader, it will not be of any help to the scholar or even the student of OE. The postulation of a unified cultural and linguistic Germania leads to a discussion of the individual Got, OE, OHG, OFries, and ON. Rather typically, the OE history, culture, literature, external influences, graphemes, phonology, morphology, and syntax are relegated to twenty-six pages.

Despite the explicit but very slight bias toward Swedish scholarship and lack of specialized usefulness to the scholar of OE, M. Rydén's An Introduction to the Historical Study of English Syntax (Stockholm, 1979) is a handy little guide that intelligently expresses some of the current concerns in the field of historical linguistics. The study of syntactic change does seem to be going in the direction of variational theory, in which the possible effects of dialect, style, generational differences, or register create the multivalued linguistic systems that underlie the possibility of change. Studies of collocational ranges, conceptual categories, the interplay of syntax and lexicon are all cited as underinvestigated areas, but the

strongest suggestion is a return to the "erudition" of empirical study. C. Peeters, in "The Retrospective Point of View in Comparative Linguistics" (GL 20, 95-98), reminds us that comparative reconstruction involves a retrospective view and not the prospective view that the rules represent. This Saussurean vocabulary resurrects instances that are problematic for the writing of the narrative rules of language change. The questions have been raised often enough, but who would quibble with a caveat to utilize the attested forms as evidence when possible or that reconstructive postulations suffer from a certain lack of empirical verifiability and unambiguity? W. O'Neil, in "The Evolution of the Germanic Inflectional Systems: a Study in the Causes of Language Change" (Orbis 27 [1978], 248-86), seeks to clarify the processes of neutralization and simplification with idealized paradigmatic data from a number of Gmc languages. Radical neutralization or erasure of superficial aspects of languages (example of OE and ON inflectional systems in the north of England) will occur during significant or permanent contacts of two related languages when the superficial aspects are not compatible. The more conservative simplification occurs in isolated languages (example OIc), obeying very strong constraints that allow the languages to change only without significant decrease in perceptibility. The specific argument of some interest is the postulation of the ON and OE contact as the primary source of change in English from a synthetic to an analytic language.

K. Manabe's Syntax and Style in Early English: Finite and Non-Finite Clauses c. 900-1600 (Tokyo, 1979) represents a statistical analysis of the proportion of finite to non-finite clauses throughout the seven-hundred-year period. Although there is some comment on stylistic matters, there are very few conclusions about why English has shifted from a high proportion of finite clauses in OE to a relatively even balance in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries.

For most scholars of OE, the intramural issues defining Lightfoot's Extended Standard Theory and P. A. Bennett's Relational Grammar in his "English Passives: a Study in Syntactic Change and Relational Grammar" (Lingua 51, 101-14) will simply be interesting. The argument that the accusative case in OE and the domain immediately following the transitive verb in English after the decay of inflections govern the application of the passive is easily supported. However, the necessity for a distinction between lexical and transformational passive rules in both theories appears to be a weakness in the structural descriptions generated by either model. Neither camp manages to maintain its characteristic categories without some smuggled-in suggestion of the other's categories. On the other hand, A. Bliss, in "Auxiliary and Verbal in Beowulf" (ASE 9, 157-82), examines the word order of clauses in Beowulf that contain an auxiliary and a verbal without engaging the most recent theoretical discussions of word order. Auxiliary here refers to traditional auxiliary verbs and finite verbs that take a verbal complement, either a dependent infinitive or a past participle. H. Kuhn's laws governing the position of finite verbs and Bliss's observation of special metrical values for auxiliaries (non-resolvable disyllabics versus true monosyllabics, resolved disyllabics, and resolvable disyllabics) dictate the position of the category that he calls auxiliaries, either on the basis of the presence or absence of introductory particles or their quantity. The yeoman work of analysis and statistical observation leads to a labyrinth of constraints and tendencies, which are hard to envision as the structural limitation of the poet; however he responds that the poet could always have made other word choices if the strictures did not suit him.

J. Lenerz, in "Zur Beschreibung eines syntaktischen Wandels: das periphrastische do im Englischen" (Linguistische Arbeiten 76 [Sprachstruktur, Individuum und Gesellschaft. Akten des 13. Linguistischen Kolloquiums, Gent 1978. Ed. M. Van de Velde and W. Vandeweghe. Tübingen, 1979. vol. I], 93-102, presents a diachronic description of the changing domain of the periphrastic do. Instead of a rather complex reordering of rules and constituent structure memberships, he postulates a simple do-insertion rule that accrues layered complications for the conditioning factors through the history of English. The conditioning in OE occurs when the element following tense is not a verb (actually only under the condition of identical verb deletion); in ME the first condition and an optional condition, that is when the element following tense is not an auxiliary, allow the rule to operate; in ModE the second condition becomes obligatory when the sentence contains a negation, question, or emphasis marker. The lack of detail makes this of more interest to transformational-generative grammarians than to scholars of OE. M. Faraci's "The Modally Marked Form in Old English Subordinate Clauses: a Structure Signal" (NM 81, 378-84) presents a statistically persuasive argument that subjunctive forms of the verb in dependent clauses tend to mark the subordination of the clause after some verbs rather than to signal uncertainty or wish. Although the methodology does not disallow the situation that there might be an overlap of functions for the modally-marked verb, the instances of modally-marked complex subordination situations suggest the replacement of mood marking by a subordinator signal. T. Prewitt, in "Contextual and Pattern Variation of Old English Auxiliary Verbs: Implications for Documentation of Language Change Processes" (Papers of the 1978 Mid-America Linguistic Conference at Oklahoma [Norman, Oklahoma, 1979], pp. 134-43), suggests that the OE Charters supply contextualized low-frequency items in the expansion of the auxiliary component of the verb which may give more indications of "normative" spoken patterns than is usually recognized. His treatment of Traugott's AUX-expansion rule (1965) as if it were meant to account for passive constructions is misleading. His premise/conclusion that low-frequency occurrences from a variety of contexts will inform the study of change and variation "cannot be falsified easily."

B. Mitchell and A. Kingsmill offer us "Prepositions, Adverbs, Prepositional Adverbs, Postpositions, Separable Prefixes, or Inseparable Prefixes in Old English? A Supplementary Bibliography" (NM 81, 313-17). As the title suggests, this is a supplement to the bibliography of an article reviewed here in 1979. T. Fraser, in "Les Rôles du préverbe en vieil-anglais" (Linguistique et philologie: applications aux textes médiévaux. Actes du Colloque des 29 et 30 avril 1977, Université de Picardie [Paris], pp. 79-94) presents a reductive quasi-mathematical model of change, specifically indebted to G. Guillaume's theory of subduction and reminiscent of Saussure's theory of signs. A wide range of semantico-syntactic modifications on verbs are suggested by the examples given for the preverbs, but the technical vocabulary does not yield any particularly useful means of classification or representation for the determinative processes. Despite the suggestion that Lindemann's study of ge- has an insufficiently strong theoretical view of the relationship of preverbs, adverbs, and prepositions, there is no particular evidence that the means offered here will make for stronger studies. D. M. Horgan's "Patterns of Variation and Interchangeability in Some Old English Prefixes" (NM 81, 127-30) suggests that many variations of certain OE prefixes in two late manuscripts of Alfred's Pastoral Care would seem to be deliberate, perhaps stylistic. Ge- often varies with simplex forms; many compounding or prefixing elements (æt-, be-, of-, ofer-, on-, to-, under-, ymb-, a-, for-, ge-, un-, æ-, and or-) vary among themselves. The semantic load of such prefixes would seem to be much lower than is usually assumed.

J. B. Voyles, in "Reduplicating Verbs in North-West Germanic" (*Lingua* 52, 89-123), argues that the reduplication in strong seven verbs of Got can be equated with the ablaut series of NWGmc by a demonstrable set of changes. The Got stress was on the root and the prefix was perceived as a prefix; in NWGmc the stress on the prefix made the prefix vowel seem to be the root vowel. A set of six morphophonemic rules, the first demonstrating stress adjustment, describes the two-track development. The rules beyond the stress adjustment rule represent a general model of the changes, plausible in their broad scope but leaving the problems of recalcitrant individual data to another type of paper. A. Bammesberger's "Das Präteritalparadigma einiger 'reduplizierender' Verben im Urgermanischen" (*Lautgeschichte und Etymologie: Akten der VI. Fachtagung der Indogermanischen Gesellschaft, Wien, 24-29. September 1978* [Wiesbaden], pp. 1-21) postulates that forms like OE *het* and *heht* cannot have a single source and that the evidence of OE indicates that there were alternate weak and strong preterite paradigms for the reduplicating verbs in PGmc. The strong forms preserved the reduplications, and the weak forms became monosyllabic through a variety of sound changes. Such a system is compatible with a conventional ablaut system for the IE perfect paradigm, usually postulated as the source of the preterite paradigm.

J. Dishington, in "Arguments for an *ai/ja*-Paradigm in the 3rd Weak Class of Proto-Germanic" (*IF* 83 [1979-1978], 301-23), questions the apparent mixture of PGmc first *ja*- forms in the paradigm of some third weak class *ai*-verbs (e.g., OE *secgan*) in order to demonstrate the necessity of viewing the primary evidence of the languages involved rather than using a general hypothesis about IE (Jasnoff's view that a PGmc **ai/a* class exists). He finally postulates what he contends is an evidence-based **ai/ja* third weak verb for PGmc. The weight of the evidence examined seems to support the conclusion; but, as he points out, there is a lot more evidence to be considered. B. S. Phillips, in "Old English *an~on*: a New Appraisal" (*JEngL* 14, 20-23), postulates a variable phonological rule for *an~on* spellings that shows a decreasing tendency toward the higher (rounded) phone. The ranked set of conditioning factors are first, word frequency; then, word classes in descending order: adverb or function word, noun or adjective, and verb. M. Beeler, in "North-West Germanic '-um' = Gothic '-am.'" (*Linguistic Method: Essays in Honor of Herbert Penzl* [The Hague, 1979], pp. 509-14), observes the unexpected correspondence between NWGmc *-um* and Got *-am* in the dative plural of *a*-stems and the first plural present indicative. The traditional explanations involve either analogy (Prokosch) or a widely held set of phonological solutions. Beeler proposes a morphologically conditioned isogloss between the two areas, which would be marked by adding a simple rule to NWGmc at the end of the PGmc stage. Some OE forms are cited as evidence for the NWGmc.

C. L. Allen's "Movement and Deletion in Old English" (*LingI* 11, 261-323) requires an understanding of the specialized vocabulary of the current MIT grammars: gap, bridge, filter; Subjacency, Propositional Island, Tensed-S, and Specific Subject Conditions; Complex NP and *Wh*-Island Constraints; pied piping and preposition stranding. A reasonable amount of OE evidence is used to question Chomsky's "core grammar" which relegates ordering, obligatoriness, and contextual dependency to surface filters. And analysis of *ðe*- relative clauses, which involves *Wh* Movement (a construction that has a four-member complex of properties), argues for controlled unbounded deletion rules, rejected by Chomsky. While overt moved items do not allow preposition stranding in OE, those with deleted pronouns ("ghost *Wh* Movement" which involves the complex of properties plus deletion) do

allow stranding. Problems with topicalization in Wh Movement, obligatoriness, and contextual dependency are arguments against filters, which have always seemed like ad hoc complications to some linguists. Allen postulates two structures for OE hwæðer in "Whether in Old English" (LingI 11, 789-93). It is used as a yes/no complementizer which does not key subject-verb inversion, or it is a pronominal "which of two" that requires inversion. Whether one uses a sophisticated transformational model or an expository description of the behavior of OE hwæðer, there is a residuum of unexplained data that seems to belie the general statements.

S. Wyss, in "L'Anaphorique neutre en vieil-anglais" (Linguistique et philologie: applications aux textes médiévaux. Actes du Colloque des 29 et 30 avril 1977, Université de Picardie, pp. 119-133), investigates the domain of the neuter personal pronoun and neuter first and second demonstratives when they are not simple replacements of neuter nouns. A wide variety of conditions of weakly determined gender in antecedents on either side of the copula verb tends to promote the use of a neuter anaphoric pronoun. The OE verbs hatan, nemnan, and cweðan create another privileged context; the object position may be filled by "ungrammatical" occurrences of neuter pronouns. A collective or partitive sense, particularly with gender mixing, is likely to result in a neuter pronoun. Some surprising instances of contextually unspecified neuters are indicated. While Wyss admits that the natural and grammatical genders exist side-by-side in OE, she specifically argues that the concept of neuter pronouns for less determined contexts is stronger than the simple pressure for replacement caused by the random confusion of natural and grammatical gender. A Seppänen, in "Possessive Pronouns in English?" (SL 34, 7-22), seems to be straining at the gnat of terminology in a few traditional grammars of English in reference to possessive versus genitive as a designation for the appropriate pronominal forms. A superficial rehearsal of the history of the pronominal and nominal forms leads to the conclusion that one could place the so-called possessive pronouns in the larger category of genitives. Decades of grammatical analysis have already led to much more sophisticated analyses in the scholarship and continuing warnings about the pitfalls of traditional terminology regularly occur in introductory texts.

H.-B. Häselser's Die Pertinenzrelation: die Entwicklung ihrer Wiedergabe in der englischen Sprachgeschichte (Grossenlinden, 1977) is an early seventies generative representation that traces the development from OE to ModE of a strictly defined inalienable dative of possession. He proposes an abstract verb AFF which places the NP of a higher S in a pertinence relationship to a lower S that contains the surface verb and a second NP that is in an inalienable relationship to the first NP. A series of nominalization, raising, and incorporating transformations in the logico-grammatical notation of generative semantics topicalize the underlying forms to a variety of surface constituents which he has identified as the "pertinence dative," i.e., dative of possession or dativus sympatheticus. Four basic sentence patterns are produced for this dative: with inalienable part as subject, as object, and in a prepositional phrase, with or without an indirect object. The two statistical chapters on OE and ME show a steady diachronic decline of the construction, with poetry usually exhibiting more archaic characteristics than prose. The final ModE chapter describes the sparse occurrences of the construction and some of the strategies for replacing it. The generalizations about the decline of the construction are few and standard. Iu. P. Kostuchenko, in "Zamechania o 'sinkretizme' i znacheniaxh datel'nogo padezha v indoevropes'kixh

iazykakh" (Voprosy Iazykoznanii, no. 1, pp. 83-95) rejects the traditional theory that the instrumental and various cases (locative, ablative, etc.) which expressed instrument, place, and reason fell together into a Gmc dative. He believes rather that a pre-literate dative of various functions in IE languages would be most economical in accounting for the "modern" functions of the dative. The case syncretism hypothesis is specifically unnecessary for the agentive dative because that function is the natural result of the semantic considerations in a dative of direction of action where the personal object and the circumstances were merged. The Slavic and Baltic cognate material is useful, but the assumption of a sloppy functional assignment of cases in pre-literate languages seems less than compelling.

V.G. Admoni and V.N. Yartseva's Istoriko-tipologicheskaia morfologija germanskikh iazykov (Moscow, 1978) appears to be the third volume in a collective monograph prepared by the Linguistic Institute of the Soviet Academy of Sciences, the first two volumes having to do with noun paradigms and verb categories, respectively. In this current volume there are three articles and a bibliography for the monograph by A. A. Korolev. Admoni's "Mono-Inflection" suggests that certain typological shifts have created regular developments in Gmc languages where either the head component or some subordinate component of an endocentric construction carries the single marker as opposed to the poly-inflection of multiple components in an earlier time. He demonstrates the varied manifestations of mono-inflection throughout English, German, Dutch, Afrikaans, and various Scandinavian languages, particularly motivated by the historical structures of individual languages. In "Adverbs and Their Relation to Adjectives of the Same Stem," Admoni shows that the systems of adverbs are distinct categories in ModGmc languages, which have a great variety: for instance, ModE develops a strong marker -ly unlike its typical method of conversion for derivation, indicating a need to mark the highly mobile adverb. On the other hand, German shows little strong marking for qualitative adverbs as opposed to their adjective stems in the context of general marking for word groups, indicating that there is little motivation for treating them as a subcategory of adverbs. Yartseva's "Substantive Verbal Forms" represents a general survey of the historical and dialectal status of verbal substantives in relationship to other non-finite forms and the verb paradigm. He observes a drift toward the restriction of all forms.

B. D. Greim's dissertation at Illinois, "A Grammar of the Idiom: Theory Development and Its Application to Old French and Old West Germanic," will be of limited use to the scholar of OE. Based on a theory constructed for contemporary languages, a simple model of idiom structure, meaning, and comprehensibility, is applied to a very limited corpus of idioms from OF, OE, OS, and OHG. Projected transferable figurative meanings for three idioms lead to the claim that the model has historical application and that idioms are not so anomalous as we think. B. Mitchell, in "The Dangers of Disguise: Old English Texts in Modern Punctuation" (RES 31, 385-413), states that OE punctuation has not been generally understood because of its dearth and lack of direct correspondence to modern practice. After presenting a number of dangerous results of modern punctuation in OE texts, he suggests six punctuation cruces that should be marked: (,,) would be used for three types of syntactic ambiguity, adverb/conjunction, and demonstrative relatives; (—...—) would be used for possible parenthetical constructions; (←...→) would be used for apo koinou constructions; (∩) might be used for beginners' texts when there is an "enjambment of sense."

Works not seen:

- Antonsen, E.H. "Den ældre fuðark: en gudernes gave eller et hverdagsalfabet?" MM, pp. 129-43.
- Banta, F.G. "Proto-Germanic Short o." MGS 6, no. 1, 17-39.
- Horgan, D.M. "Old English Orthography: a Short Contribution." ES 61, 385-89.
- Kohonen, V. On the Development of English Word Order in Religious Prose around 1000 and 1200 A.D.: a Quantitative Study of Word Order in Context. Åbo: Åbo Akademi Foundation, 1978.
- Kuntz, M. "Considérations élémentaires sur les verbes estre et avoir de l'ancien français et beon et habban du vieil-anglais." Diss. Univ. de Paris IV. Abstract in BAM 15 (1979), 163-64.
- Mikami, T. "Studies in the Language of Beowulf." Bull. of the Faculty of Lit. of Tokai Univ. 20 (1973), 89-120; 23 (1975), 42-52; 24 (1975), 55-66; 25 (1976), 146-56; 26 (1976), 77-88.
- Wyss, S. "Sexe et genre dans la pronominalisation des noms de personne en vieil-anglais." Confluents 42 (1978), 177-98.

J.D.C.
M.M.

3. LITERATURE

a. General and Miscellaneous

Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson's A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature from the Beginnings to the End of 1972 (Toronto) illustrates what is possible within the field: because the corpus of writings is limited, because the boundaries are fairly clearly defined, because most manuscripts have been identified and most texts have been published, scholars may bring together between two covers all of the editions, research, and commentary that has seen the light. Yet, when one views the finished product, one wonders just how the task was made possible, where the editors found the energy to accumulate the raw data, and, even more dismaying, how they nerved themselves to read and recheck each entry, to decide and reconsider categories for items, to specify cross references and references to analyzed collections and comprehensive studies, to list reviews, and then to perform the final job of checking and proofreading, seemingly without error. A partial answer to these questions appears in the Preface, where the editors offer a brief history of the project. It began through the initiative of Kemp Malone, who in 1930 obtained a grant to compile a listing of publications on OE literature. Work on the project, conducted by various hands, continued for some thirty-five years; upon the death of one of the original collaborators--E. E. Ericson--Robinson agreed to take over the project and inherited the accumulated materials--twenty drawers of file cards. More overwhelming than the bulk of these records must have been the discovery that almost no entries existed for works published after 1939, and that the information contained on the cards was frequently incomplete, inconsistent, erroneous, irrelevant, or non-existent. Greenfield eventually joined Robinson as co-editor, and they completed much of the work on the Bibliography between 1973 and 1977. One can easily imagine how large a proportion of the next three years was given over to seeing so complex and detailed a volume through the press.

Entries in the bibliography are divided into three parts--general works, poetry, and prose--and within each section items are arranged by topic or individual title; the listing of works on a single subject is chronological rather than alphabetical. This system enables one, perhaps, to observe the progress of scholarship on a given topic or work, but, in imitating life, it injects a certain amount of randomness into the arrangement of materials; surely it makes it more cumbersome to locate a particular title, and it separates, in a way not always helpful, the work of individual authors. To avoid duplication, the editors provide cross-references within listings to the main entry for an article or book, although they do not, understandably, offer repeated cross-references to comprehensive studies and reference works. The first index collects all entries for each author listed in the Bibliography, and the second, "Subjects" index merely records the titles and authors of OE writings, with a few more general headings such as "folklore," "prognostics" (actually a single section in the Bibliography), "monastic rules," "wills," and so on. Users of the volume will be grateful to have these guides, though they will doubtless also feel--perhaps meanly--that these editors who have done so much for them might have done more. Specialists, in particular, will find consulting the austere index more time-consuming than they would wish; if one searches, say, for a specific article by Max Förster, one may potentially have to wade through seventy entries to find it. It is possible to make a "guestimate" of where such an item should appear on the basis of the Bibliography's arrangement, but, because there is only one main entry

for each publication, such guesses often lead frustratingly to mute cross-references. Moreover, the second index does not actually specify subjects, but essentially consists of a title listing in a book that deals mainly with anonymous works. A more generous subject index would have increased immensely the usefulness of this volume for scholars who must often apply interdisciplinary methods in their studies of Anglo-Saxon England.

It is possible to seize upon still other topics for the customary reviewers' carping about what a book is not. For example, Greenfield and Robinson had of necessity to define the limits of their subject; "Literature" is clearly the key term in the title, and they take a generous view of what this involves. Yet, for the specialist--who urgently needs as many alternate angles of vision as possible to put his subject in proper focus--the boundaries set exclude some crucial territories. Among the fields only incidentally covered are archeology, art history, cultural history through disciplines like anthropology, and so on; the names of Talbot Rice, Alexander, Hawkes, and Salin do not occur in the index, and Kendrick appears only once (except as reviewer), as co-editor of the Lindisfarne Gospels. There are two entries for Cramp--citing her writings that are explicitly literary--and a fuller representation of Ellis Davidson's historical studies that bear upon OE literature--Chadwick, Levinson, Wallace-Hadrill--appear, but general histories, like Hoskins and Stenton, as well as certain specific studies like S. J. Crawford's Anglo-Saxon Influence on Western Christendom, 600-800 (1933; rpt. Cambridge, 1966), are conspicuously absent, as, predictably, are more general but still relevant studies like the Saxl-Panofsky-Klibansky Saturn and Melancholy. Though the authors understand "Literature" to include linguistic, lexicographical, textual, and stylistic studies to some extent, they exclude glossaries; thus the many listings for Wright and Wülcker do not include the indispensable Anglo-Saxon and Old English Vocabularies (2nd edn., 2 vols., 1884; rpt. Darmstadt, 1968). A volume such as this is of central importance not only for philological investigations, but also for the study of institutions--how literature was taught and how transmitted--and for source studies, the examination of usage and specialized vocabularies, and other traditional literary concerns, like methods of translation. Such word lists have an immense bearing upon the nature of literature in a culture that is essentially bilingual, where the transmission and survival of native poetry and prose depend almost entirely upon their adaptation and transference to the forms and the very letters of a foreign language. The glossaries constitute a basic resource for our appreciation of the tensions and harmonies of this mixed culture.

Consciousness of what is missing from the Bibliography--because so little is--actually brings reassurance: if one searches with some persistence, one almost always finds what one needs or is looking for. Yet at times it takes a bit of doing. Under the prose Solomon and Saturn, for instance, the authors list two editions and five studies. Max Förster's casual but illuminating remarks in several articles do not show up here. If one checks listings for the poetic Solomon and Saturn, one is directed to Förster's article on the prose Adrian and Ritheus (item 5182); other articles by Förster that bear on the prose dialogue are buried in the entries for James and Mambres (5735), where it follows a note by M. R. James that also touches on the debate, and for the Elucidarium translated from Honorius (6142). Moreover, among those seventy publications by Förster listed in the Bibliography, no citation of another article related to Solomon and Saturn appears: "Adams Erschaffung und Namengebung: Ein lateinisches Fragment des s. g. slawischen Henoch "(Archiv für Religionswissenschaft 11 [1908], 476-529). Obscure though it is, and not explicitly on OE literature, it nevertheless discusses

a subject, with analogues, that a scholar with an interest in the prose dialogue would wish to know. And there are other publications that are worth the scholar's time, such as Walter Suchier's Das mittellateinische Gespräch Adrien und Epictetus nabst verwandten Texten (Joca Monachorum) (Tübingen, 1955), or the Altercatio Hadriani ... et Epicteti, edited by Suchier and A. W. Daly (Urbana, 1939).

Other studies worth knowing about might be totted up, but one must acknowledge that the criterion for inclusion in this Bibliography is--mercifully, sensibly--not simply what's worth knowing. Greenfield and Robinson have set for themselves a more than reasonable, indeed, a generous principle of selection, and to niggle about particular items that might have been tucked in is merely ungracious. What astonishes is how well they have succeeded in what they set out to do, how uniformly excellent their volume is in all its profusion of information and detail, and how handsomely it has been produced by the University of Toronto Press. The Bibliography will bring to scholars that peculiar joy in complex intellectual work well done that only they know; it will be immensely useful, virtually indispensable--if not a vade mecum because of its size (and price), then at the least an enchiridion with which they will fight their battles on behalf of Beowulf and Brunanburh and the Blickling Homilies.

E. G. Stanley's response to the Greenfield-Robinson Bibliography (ASE 9, 223-262) is less a review than a commentary or series of glossings. In his overview of OE scholarship, Stanley holds up as a central purpose "the struggle to recover the significance of words" (p. 233), and the attainment of "linguistic competence" (p. 235). In illuminating some of the obscurer corners in this library of writings, Stanley affirms the breadth and comprehensiveness of the Bibliography, as well as the reach of his own knowledge of scholarly publication. He offers particular help on the contributions of nineteenth-century German scholars such as Grundtvig and Schneller. In the essay, he maintains a leisurely pace, and often leaves the path marked out by Greenfield and Robinson to consider other landmarks of scholarship, or to survey the influence of Anglo-Saxon culture on later ages (fictional portrayals of King Alfred, for example, receive attention at several places). He repeatedly reminds us of the contributions by, and of our debt to, earlier scholars, such as George Hickes, Elizabeth Elstob, George Smith, Thorpe, Thomas Wright, and Kemble. He even calls to our attention quasi-scholars like Samuel Henshall (d. 1807): "The man is infuriating, as ignorant as dirt, too hasty even to copy texts accurately. But hear him more calmly: when he 'rejects the medium of Latin phraseology' and longs for greater immediacy of understanding the oldest English records he, by implicit aspiration, belongs with Grimm, Rask and Grundtvig" (p.250).

Stanley's pace allows him to take in the evidence and theories developed by those who have forged these various paths, and to record opinions that are by turns incisive, stern, and delightful; witness Henry Sweet's preference of Genesis B to Milton's "bombastic pedantry" (p. 240). Stanley's perspective enables him to pick out trends and to lay down dicta for the interpretation of OE texts: "The form of expression in legal records is not to be divorced from the form of expression of literary records" (p. 232). Stanley's approach may be too philological for some interpreters (as the phrase "literary records" implies), but he makes a number of points that will engage all scholars: "Ten times as much prose as verse survives: that the new bibliography has about 3765 entries for verse against about 1412 entries for prose reflects the interests

of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, not those of the Anglo-Saxons themselves" (p. 235). A proper caution, yet one wonders whether patterns of survival accurately reflect patterns of production and popularity, especially in view of the nature of OE poetic composition and performance.

Stanley judges that, within the scope they have set for themselves, Greenfield and Robinson have succeeded "as far as human skill is capable of treating anything in its entirety." Yet this leads him to pose--albeit engagingly--the inevitable question: "Seen in our entirety, may we not come to regret the company we keep?" (p. 261). His reply to his own query seems just, and epitomizes the reasons why this volume will be indispensable to scholars: "Those who have laboured at the Anglo-Saxon records have created over the centuries a body of scholarly endeavour relevant to ours and of interest to us even when we now think them wrong" (p. 262).

Graham D. Caie's Bibliography of Junius XI Manuscript (Copenhagen, 1979) illustrates the features that a checklist more specialized than Greenfield and Robinson's may offer; its narrower focus enables Caie to broaden his categories and his criteria for inclusion. He provides a comprehensive listing of facsimiles, editions, translations, criticism, and background material, from Junius's text of 1655 through Lucas's edition of Exodus in 1977. Annotations identify just which poems or lines publications contain; the backgrounds section ranges quite widely, and includes not only articles, books, and dissertations specifically on the poems, but also works of general importance such as Talbot Rice's English Art 871-1100 and Smalley's Study of the Bible in the Middle Ages. There are cross-references from section to section, though duplicate listings of a single publication occur. An Appendix offers related materials on Cædmon's Hymn, and the book concludes with an index of authors. Scholars who are working on Genesis, Exodus, Daniel, Christ and Satan, or Cædmon's Hymn will doubtless find this list quite useful, for it collects in one place a much larger number of titles than the Cambridge Bibliography or Robinson's OE Literature: A Select Bibliography, and serves, therefore, as a specific supplement to the essential listings contained in Greenfield and Robinson.

Among the general studies of OE literature published in 1980, clearly the most comprehensive and significant is Jeff Opland's Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry: A Study of the Traditions (New Haven). The book examines a great array of evidence, including analogues, which bear upon the techniques, function, and status of the scop or oral poet in tribal society. Opland states as his purpose the formulation of a description that best accords with "all the primary evidence available to us" (p. x), though his path in these investigations has been to a considerable extent marked out by his own field work with African oral poets. He begins his first chapter by reviewing the work of Lord and Parry, and setting his own approach against "the veritable explosion of often vacuous writing that Magoun initiated" (p. 4). He proposes, on the basis of archeological parallels, a comparative approach to oral poetry, but one which is not, like Magoun's, based on vocabulary, meter, and systems. Opland's central assumption, as a comparativist, is that "human societies similar in structure tend to produce similar literatures" (p. 11), and he suggests that, employing the criterion of social function, we may divide OE poetical writings into classes of poem and song, and OE performers into classes of improvisers and memorizers. According to this view, we may assign a more complex social and political, even sacral, function to poetry, while regarding song as primarily a traditional entertainment.

In establishing such categories, Opland argues that we must pay as much, or perhaps more, attention to verbal and descriptive evidence in prose writings, as we do to poetry, for the latter is often more ambiguous, or simply "poetic," than prose.

The following two chapters deal with the pre-Christian period, from prehistoric times to A.D. 600. Opland tries to reconstruct the activities of poets and singers from Celtic etymologies and archaic linguistic survivals, and from royal institutions that seem to have existed among Germanic tribes before the invasion of Britain. He again distinguishes between poetry and song, and argues, by analogy, for "a general agreement in structure between the Nguni and the Germanic traditions of poetry, especially in view of the similarities in the social structures" (p. 38). He extends his argument into historic times by considering at length the accounts of oral performance among the barbarians provided by Tacitus, Ammianus, Priscus (including the celebrated narrative of Atilla's funeral, so much resembling Beowulf's exequies), Sidonius, Procopius, and Jordanes. Again it seems apparent that Opland coaxes from these authors the words he wishes to hear by asking them just the right questions. He places a great deal of interpretative weight on the comments of Tacitus, concluding that taken together they likely record "a tradition of eulogistic poetry" (p. 47), and he compares the declamations of Germanic tribesmen before battle to a description of the African Xhosa from 1807. Having established his categories, Opland offers an illuminating reading of Priscus's "eyewitness account of a relaxed company of barbarians at home"--an evening with two singers, a "crazed Scythian," and the hunchback Zercon the Moor (p. 51). His further comments on the behavior of the horsemen at Attila's funeral shape up as crucial arguing points for his interpretation of poetic recital around Beowulf's pyre. The concluding section of chapter three has to do with descriptions of instruments and the relation of these to performance; he considers differences between the lyre and the harp (perhaps designated respectively "cythara anglica" and "cythara teutonica"), and then, again, differences between songs performed as entertainment, perhaps by professional singers, and poetical recitation or composition, performed by a member of a community and possessing clear social meaning. In order to reinforce the nature of this meaning, he examines the institution of kingship among the Angles and Saxons, and offers parallels from Zulu-speaking societies, concluding that "a tradition of ritual eulogy" probably existed among the Angles.

Opland's chapter on the Conversion repeats some of the material included in his most recent essay (see next items). He suggests here that "The introduction of writing had a more profound effect on the history of English literature than even the introduction of printing" (p. 74), though he goes on to propose that the medium of expression itself had less impact on the traditions of oral poetry than did the transformation of kingship--and, by extension, the fabric of society and the function of poetry--by Christianity. Opland stipulates social context as the chief difference between oral performance and written record: "Very often the performance has meaning far beyond the words employed: the performer may be dressed up for the occasion, the performance may have a ritual significance, the performer may represent the people or play the part of one of his characters" (p. 81). The evidence adduced in the first half of the chapter consists mainly of analogues from studies undertaken in the field during the past twenty-five years. In the latter section, Opland relies more on documentary evidence, and especially Wallace-Hadrill's Early Germanic Kingship, to define changes in the poet's relation to the king and to his society. He

concludes that "The place of the tribal poet ... was simply usurped by the church" (p. 89), with the result that the singer's role was reduced to that of entertainer or reciter of narrative, as opposed to the sacral function of composing eulogistic poems or songs. In the last pages of the chapter, he considers the duration of oral poetic tradition in England, and postulates that "a tradition of narrative poetry [may have] developed ... only after the seventh and eighth centuries, [although] we still have four centuries of Anglo-Saxon England left, time enough for the evolution of a traditional diction" (p. 97). Such a proposition certainly skews the dates customarily assigned to OE texts by a good deal, and this, as Opland concedes, on propositions that are "hypothetical, supposition based on comparative studies of other literary traditions or other disciplines" (p. 98).

The next chapters deal with dated allusions to poetic performance from the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. Opland first draws together a group of stray allusions from Bede's History and Life of St. Cuthbert, and from Eddius's Life of Wilfrid. The substance of the chapter, however, concerns Bede's account of Cædmon, which Opland examines in great detail and in light of his discussion up to this point. He concludes that the performances of those attending the gebeorscipe were songs, not poems, since they were intended for entertainment, accompanied by a lyre, and were almost certainly memorial in character. About Cædmon himself Opland finds the evidence harder to classify: while the Hymn seems a spontaneous creation, his other poems seem to have required time for their composition, and, Opland argues, the text of the History shows that "Bede believed Cædmon was a memorizer" (p. 114). Opland's view is that Cædmon is a "crucial transitional figure" (p. 119), an illiterate singer who does not make use of musical accompaniment, but who first adapts the traditions of eulogistic poetry to the praise of the Christian God: Cædmon is "not the praise-poet of a lord, but a praise-poet of the Lord" (p. 116). Opland cites manuscript evidence that attests to the Hymn's place in a memorial tradition--that is, the poem became a song. Moreover, Opland differentiates this performance by Cædmon from his other, narrative compositions, which, he seems to suggest, are more memorial than improvisational in developing the element of "narrative ... embryonically present in eulogy" (p. 120). This chapter also considers at some length the description of Aldhelm as oral poet in William of Malmesbury, and Opland ends by characterizing Cædmon as working "within the tradition of eulogistic poetry and Aldhelm within the tradition of popular song" (p. 126).

The chapter on evidence from the eighth and ninth centuries begins with a comparison of heroic sentiment in Christian and secular sources (saints' lives, the Seafarer, and so on), and Opland makes an implicit argument that eulogistic poetry, rather than heroic narrative, represents the genuine native tradition in England (see p. 138). He asks, less than rhetorically, "Does the heroic cast of the saints' lives derive from a tradition of poetry like Beowulf, as is commonly assumed, or does Beowulf derive from a flourishing tradition of eighth-century saints' lives?" (p. 136), and he intimates that the epics "are the product of an interaction between a tradition of (Latin) written literature and the secular tradition of eulogy," and that they "are of monastic origin" (p. 137). In the course of the chapter, he discusses in detail Bede's Death Song (probably a memorial performance), Alcuin's letter to Hygbald (797) complaining of monastic secular entertainments, and the account of a poetic performance in a life of Ethelbert, where the king requests "carmina regia";

Opland argues that in the latter instance, the king was in effect saying, "Let's leave aside for the moment these religious performances and have a good old-fashioned poem about my family" (p. 149), and accordingly he sees this as possible proof of the vitality of eulogistic poetry. Opland also treats at some length Asser's description of Alfred's fondness for "Saxonica poemata" which, though he could not yet write, he memorized. He analyzes also the story of Alfred's earning as a prize from his mother the book of Saxon poetry by virtue of his memorizing it before his brothers; he points up not only the importance of memorization, but the significance of this mid-ninth-century reference to a manuscript (apparently quite handsome) containing vernacular verse. Opland gives passing notice to the anecdote of Alfred's visiting the Danish Camp, from Athelney, in the disguise of a minstrel. The chapter ends with a consideration of the written, "isolated," and "personal" (p. 160) verse of Cynewulf, contrasted with the public, socially sanctioned performance of the thane in Beowulf (ll. 867 ff.); such written poetry signifies the disappearance of "the sacred poetry of a vatic tribal poet" (p. 160) by the end of Alfred's times.

In his chapter on "The Last 150 Years," Opland argues strongly for Scandinavian influence and from Scandinavian analogues. He gives much emphasis to reports of spontaneous oral performances and to a "tradition of memorised poetry" among the Vikings, and he also discusses the more formal tradition of skaldic verse, which he defines as eulogistic in nature. He avers that the English may often have listened to Scandinavian singers, and assumes the "mutual intelligibility of Old English and the Old Norse languages" (p. 167). He asserts that peaceful co-existence after the death of Alfred allowed the importation of Viking traditions, and by this influence he explains the poetic compositions in the Chronicle, characterized here as essentially eulogistic: "This group of poems, as far as we know without precedent in the written literature of the Anglo-Saxons, celebrates an event ... [and represents] an oral tradition of ... eulogistic poetry in imitation of the skaldic tradition" (pp. 173-174). Opland cites as his main piece of documentary evidence in support of this hypothesis a Latin poem on Ethelstan's coronation, wherein royal praises were sung. He gathers additional material from anecdotes in William of Malmesbury and Eadmer's Life of St. Dunstan, from accounts of the beot (especially in Maldon and Finnsburh), a scrap of an apparently memorized text, statutes, and, finally, the famous lyric of King Cnut.

The next chapter, the longest in the book, examines the undated poetry. Opland begins by reviewing the poetic performances in Beowulf that take place within Heorot. He remarks that all these instances (ll. 99 ff., 496 ff., and 1063 ff.) may have involved several performers: a harper, a poet, and perhaps a reciter (gleoman vs. scop). Opland contends that "the weight of external evidence tells against" identifying these two functions; besides the apparent conflation of the two descriptive terms in the Finn episode, "there is no other reference to singing or poetry in Anglo-Saxon England that compels us to equate the two" (p. 197). Opland offers a number of conjectures on why the poet may have chosen gleoman (l. 1160) to describe his singer, and he speculates that for the composer of Beowulf poetic effect may have outweighed "sociological veracity" (p. 199). He further observes that, in the absence of "incontrovertible sociological evidence" (p. 201), we may read Beowulf's account of events at the Danish court as meaning that Hrothgar himself performs the gidd (ll. 2105 ff.). He characterizes the hall performances as essentially entertainment, "tangential"

and unrelated to the specific social context in which they arise. Opland's most trenchant commentary centers on the thane's gidd (ll. 867 ff.); he observes that the difficulties surrounding this passage "arise from the desire to place the performance in a narrative tradition.... The thane is not entertaining his companions as they trot back from the lake; he is giving vent to his emotion in spontaneous poetry" (p. 204). Likewise, at the funeral of Beowulf, "the twelve retainers could be uttering spontaneous poems.... These performances in other words, are socially integrated and relevant to the situation confronting the performer at the moment of performance" (p. 207). Widsith and Deor receive close examination as well; Opland postulates that the former may record the career of a praise-poet who, by dint of historical circumstances, turned his talent to the composition and singing of narrative poems, while Deor preserves the record of a tribal poet of the Heodenings. Opland's overall purpose and method emerge clearly in a comment on the latter poem: "We are not so much concerned with the interpretation of Deor as with what it tells us about the scop" (p. 216). The rest of the chapter surveys references to poetry in Guthlac, The Phoenix, The Seafarer, Maxims I, The Riming Poem, Riddle Eight, and elsewhere, all of which lead Opland to state that "An examination of the extant poetry has not yielded very much reliable information" (p. 229).

In the penultimate chapter, Opland searches the contexts in which the words for poets and poetry occur. Scop appears in surroundings that associate it with war, and, in translations, seems almost always to refer to the production of poetry. From the glosses, Opland deduces that gleoman usually referred to entertainers (translating *mimus*, *jocista*, *circulator*) who were regarded as frivolous. The scop produces leoð, and is equivalent to leoðwyrhta (and, therefore, a composer of original poetry). Opland goes on to define this more precisely: "Insofar as the scop produced sacral eulogies (*dryhtleoð*) or poetry to incite the warriors in battle, or elegies in praise of a departed member of the community, he was a leoðwyrhta" (p. 249); he then offers yet a further distinction: "The wopbora was a bearer of wisdom and eloquence granted him as an agent of Wodan; the leoðwyrhta created and performed ceremonial songs and poems; the gleoman was an entertainer" (p. 253). Scop seems an alternative for the first two terms, though Opland emphasizes above all that he differed in function from the gleoman, and, at least before the ninth century, used no musical accompaniment. This view naturally leads Opland to prefer Cable's theory of a melodic base for the meter of Beowulf to those that are bound to musical accompaniment, like Pope's. In his brief conclusion, Opland consigns the harp (and musical accompaniment in general) to the function of entertainment at feasts and meals; it had no role in what might be called "serious" literature. Such poetry was produced by a poet who enjoyed a special status in his society; harpers and performers of others' poems were likely itinerant professionals, paid for their work.

Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry is an impressive book, first of all for its thoroughness in drawing together a wide and diverse body of material, and rendering this collection of descriptions and allusions accessible. Opland achieves this by framing these accounts with his own interpretation. His approach will not muster the allegiance of all scholars, but his command of Lord and Parry's theory, his use of his own fieldwork, his familiarity with other traditions--historical, literary, anthropological--and the erudition and flexibility with which he applies his method--all these are bound to summon respect. The evidence and arguments are presented clearly and cogently, and with deference to other possible interpretations. Yet there are some off-putting or quirky features to the book.

Opland chooses a number of conventions that will annoy or inconvenience a reader: he uses no footnotes, merely general bibliographical references that are sometimes hard to trace or define with precision. He treats all names that begin with "Æ" as beginning with "A", ignoring custom: thus Athelbert and so on. He sometimes, irritatingly and confusingly, quotes verse as if it were prose, without indicating line stops. Because his purpose, on the first level, is to document the traditions of Anglo-Saxon oral poetry, he often fills his text with quotation or with great numbers of examples; whatever the illustrative benefit, this certainly has the effect of slowing the argument down and rendering it peculiarly cumbersome. This aspect is aggravated by a habit of repeating documentary evidence from chapter to chapter, or even within the same chapter; again, however much this may convince, it probably serves still more to wear a reader down. (There are also a few typographical errors: for "happ" read "harp" [p. 166, l. 24]; insert "be" or another auxiliary [p. 239, l. 22].) Despite the volume's thoroughness, Opland occasionally does overlook a reference: he omits, for example, C. L. Wrenn's sensitive and illuminating discussion of *Cædmon*, which in fact complements what Opland himself has to say. Yet such an omission indicates as clearly as anything else that Opland has, finally, little interest in literary understandings. His book is, in the first place, a survey of poetic method and of the role of the poet in society, as these are described in surviving documents from early England and, for comparison's sake, from other, better known cultures that possess an oral tradition. Opland refuses to engage critical issues, and neglects--quite deliberately--the literary character and the particular meaning of the poems he discusses. He pays little attention to the use or impact of type-scenes, kennings, structural strategies, or, for example, the characteristic qualities of the mixed culture--oral-written, pagan-Christian, OE-Latin--he describes. This lack of attention seems perhaps most striking in the realization that, while Opland often cites African oral poetry to illustrate the nature or technique of OE poetry, he never turns to the question of why it is worth going to all this trouble to understand OE poetry: How is it distinctively different from the performances recorded in Southern Africa or Yugoslavia? What traits make it more than a social phenomenon, remove its study from the category of mere historical curiosity, and render it so worth this concentrated attention from post-medieval readers? Occasionally his discussions implicitly address such questions, but in general he studiously avoids interpretative or evaluative commentary. This is perhaps to blame the author for neglecting what he never intended to do, and it is clear that Opland merits much more praise than blame for succeeding so well with such a complex, substantial, and controversial subject. Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry will certainly furnish the starting point and basis for a great deal of further scholarship and criticism.

Opland's work on his book clearly led as well to the parallel article-length studies he published at the same time. In "Southeastern Bantu Eulogy and Early Indo-European Poetry" (Res. in African Lits. 11, 295-307), Opland urges a clearer definition of the genre of eulogy as it exists in popular, oral poetry. The evidence and research he examines here chiefly concern African singers, though he argues that these definitions illuminate such works as Maldon, Brunanburh, Finnsburh, Beowulf, and Cædmon's Hymn, and that further work along these lines--as conducted in his book, surely--will clarify the intentions and the social position of the OE scop. In his essay "From Horseback to Monastic Cell: The Impact on English Literature of the Introduction of Writing" (OE Literature in Context, ed. J. D. Niles [Cambridge] pp. 30-43), Opland ostensibly celebrates one of the OE "firsts," though the substance of the piece considers the distinctive features of oral versus written poetry. He examines, as his representative examples,

the Sigemund-Heremod lay in Beowulf and the runic signatures of Cynewulf (especially in Elene), and at the conclusion of the essay he offers some general reflections on the nature of the poetry in Cædmon's Hymn and Beowulf. The contrasts set up here, which differ slightly in method and emphasis from his book, produce a number of valuable insights, but his procedures raise some questions as well. He seems, for example, to consider the Beowulf passage as an entirely accurate account of an oral performance; indeed, his comments suggest that he regards it as an historical occurrence. Moreover, the barriers between the oral and written traditions are perhaps not so high, and the territories not so separate, as he indicates. His description of Hrothgar's thane "on horseback" hunching his shoulders, miming the wrestling match, incorporating "gestures, facial expressions or vocal inflexions" (p. 37) into his performance recalls the dramatic readings of the Canterbury Tales, in which inspired performers played to their audience over the clip-clopping of thirty or so horses. His comments on the nature of oral performances illuminate the context of OE literature, but the divisions between oral and written audiences appear likewise exaggerated. He argues that, unlike Cynewulf, "The thane could depend upon the experience he shared with his audience, the suggestive qualities of words common to his social group"; further, the "thane's poem is an emanation of a particular set of circumstances and is directed towards a known audience" (p. 38). To say that the success of Cynewulf's poetry depends on similarly shared values and verbal nuances, and arises from a context no less particular, does not stretch the truth, nor does it distort the function of the oral performer to say that his audience, no less than Cynewulf's and no matter how familiar, was a fiction. If the thane performs, among other reasons, because "he simply wants to express his emotion" (p. 40), this too does not separate him from Cynewulf, at least at the level where we begin to specify the elements of moving or profound poetry. Similarly, to say that the singer differs from the literate poet because he has no chance to revise neglects the fact that repeated performances in fact constitute revisions through which the singer doubtless improved his technique and refined the presentation of his themes. Towards the end of the essay, Opland offers two intriguing conjectures: first, that Cædmon's efforts at narrative scriptural poetry, mentioned by Bede, may have been the direct outcome of his contact with the literate monks at Whitby (an argument developed in Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry); and, second, that Beowulf may likewise arise from the intersection of oral and written traditions. Throughout the essay, Opland provides a great deal of fascinating and often convincing evidence from other oral traditions, particularly those still vital in Africa; the instance he cites to support his final conjecture is especially striking. The ease with which Opland moves among various disciplines and methodologies must again impress, for it yields exciting and compelling results. His work furthermore commends efforts to apply yet other new methodologies to OE studies--for example, the use of semiotics in helping to measure the shared values and verbal nuances in a poet like Cynewulf.

Fred C. Robinson's "OE Literature in Its Most Immediate Context" appears as the first essay in Niles's volume, Old English Literature in Context (cited above), (pp. 11-29). Robinson's study offers an extended consideration of the ten-line metrical epilogue that occurs in MS C.C.C.C. 41 of Bede's Ecclesiastical History. Professor Robinson argues that even in a production of this sort we must carefully consider purpose and execution, and not dismiss it as a mere appendage. In making his case, he points out how many inaccuracies have crept into previous descriptions and comments. His method in this examination is first to set the epilogue in its proper generic context by comparing it to other colophons, both Latin and OE. Beyond this, the argument of the article is that we must attend to the poem's place in its MS: "verbal and syntactic [and visual] linkages" integrate this poem with the two preceding petitions and the

text of the History, and so modify its genre from colophon to "that of the Cynewulfian signatures" (p. 22). Robinson points out the high regard in which the work of the scribe was held in monastic culture, and in Anglo-Saxon England; he suggests, consequently, that the author intended to blend his voice with Bede's to attract powerful, perhaps even royal, support for the History. The reasoning is complex and dense, but, in the end, not entirely convincing. Surely, for example, Dobbie had warrant to print the poem by itself--"out of context"--because it is so clearly a colophon, participating, as Robinson shows, quite clearly in many of the conventions that mark the thirty thousand or so colophons that survive from the period before printing. Moreover, scholars accept the two preceding petitions as genuinely Bedan compositions, and in traditions that differ from the Corpus text they are taken over into the Latin text of the History. Professor Robinson's specific cautions, his general principles, and his method will prove helpful in achieving a fuller understanding of OE texts, as he himself shows in his comments on the metrical epilogue, and in his discussion of Maxims II, which occupies the last pages of the article. And yet it seems that even the light shed by illumination of historical context may at times be turned up too brightly.

In two shorter articles, John Miles Foley argues for a comparative method in the study of the oral character of OE poetry; like Opland, he urges that scholars must use analogues and definitions with more resourcefulness, subtlety, and precision. In the more general of the two essays, "The Viability of the Comparative Method in Oral Literature Research" (The Comparatist 4, 47-56), Foley designates "tradition-dependence" and "genre-dependence" as two important criteria for characterizing oral poetry. He suggests that while Attic Greek and Serbo-Croatian participate in a similar tradition of quantitative verse, OE poetry does not: "the alliterative line is by comparison a much more 'permeable' metrical filter, one which does not constrain and preserve phraseology in the same way" (p. 49). Foley proposes that while "There exists a non-verbal, purely metrical level of formula and system in Beowulf," there also exists "a level of linguistic redundancy which does not depend upon the metrical shape of any particular line, but rather on the generic structure shared by all lines" (pp. 49-50). Through an analysis of ll.833 to 852 he tries to demonstrate this characteristic redundancy, which he terms *responson* and considers a significant formal factor in the tradition of OE oral poetry. In the latter section of the article, Foley presents a comparison of an OE charm and a Serbo-Croatian spell in illustration of the principle that "we must choose analogs which match as closely as possible the object poem(s) in genre" (p. 51). His purpose clearly is to "obtain new insights by widening our perspective while still striving for one-to-one generic fidelity," but his conclusion--that "both traditions use ordered sound to accomplish their purposes"--does not startle by its novelty. Foley's second article, "Hybrid Prosody and Single Half-Lines in Old English and Serbo-Croatian Poetry" (Neophil 64, 284-289), draws upon analogues from Serbo-Croatian poetry in order to suggest the legitimacy and intentional effect of half-lines in OE. He argues that the significant number of examples that survive should not be emended or deleted; their integrity is justified not only by prosodic practice, but by echoic patterns (*responson*) and nearby alliteration as well. In another article on verse, "Old English Verse and Modern Poetry," (Allegorica 5.1, 141-148), Raymond Oliver discusses the continuity of OE poetical traditions, in a way offering a modern supplement to Wrenn's lecture on the same subject. In the course of this short essay, he mentions the translations of Alexander and Pound, the imitative poetry of Wilbur, Auden, and others, "thematic" verse by Gunn, and analogous poems by Hopkins, W. C. Williams, Marianne Moore, and Winters. His central argument is the

worth to the modern poet of knowing OE poetry.

Kommentarar til Oldengelsk Poesi by Henning Ørum, Graham Caie, Else Fausbøll, and others (Dept. of English, Univ. of Copenhagen, 1979) is a collection of literary and philological commentaries on seven OE poems: The Finnsburh Episode from Beowulf, The Wanderer, The Seafarer, Brunanburh, Deor, The Phoenix (ll. 1-59), and The Dream of the Rood. Format, and even selection, remind one of J. C. Pope's Seven Old English Poems, though both sorts of commentaries in this volume are longer; the literary introductions each run about five pages, and the philological comments range from eleven to forty-one pages (the latter on Brunanburh). The front matter includes a brief foreword, a short bibliography, abbreviations, and a comparative listing of philological terms in Danish, German, and English; there is no glossary at the end, and so the book lacks one of the features that makes Pope's edition so useful for beginners. And the authors clearly intend their book for beginners: the philological commentaries are all in Danish and all by separate hands, except for Deor and Rood, which are by Else Fausbøll. Graham Caie has composed, in English, all the literary commentaries. The book's utilitarian purpose is clear in the manner of publication: pages are mimeographed (one side only), and the commentaries have been produced on a variety of typewriters. Doubtless the book came into being in the first place for OE students at Copenhagen, and then for those elsewhere who can manage the Danish.

Caie seems deliberately to avoid controversy or breaking new ground in his introductory remarks to each poem; he obviously imagines his reader as a neophyte in the study of OE language and culture, and provides the literary and historical information essential for a proper understanding of each work. These commentaries for the most part present their information clearly and unpretentiously, though occasionally signs of haste occur. "Finnsburh" is spelled four different ways in the course of several pages; syntax receives rough handling at times-- "it might be difficult to grasp the essential points of the [Finn] legend by only reading the Episode, consequently there follows a brief reconstruction of the story, pieced together as best as possible" (p. 2)--, and there are egregious typographical errors ("Cyrewulfian," p. 77).

The philological commentaries on each poem are quite thorough. Each author uses lemmatic glosses to parse difficult words, to remark upon cruces or emendations, and to offer equivalents for the OE poetic vocabulary. Several of the commentaries provide modern English definitions, either by themselves or alongside the Danish, although the others provide only Danish equivalents; in such notes, the authors often stress cognates and derivatives, again apparently holding the beginning student in mind. While this volume will undoubtedly have little use as a textual companion for students in America and Britain, scholars will nonetheless find it useful as a source for alternative or supplemental interpretations of these poems, and for readings of individual lines. Though distribution may offer some problems, the price (\$5.60) is certainly attractive.

In "The Good Fields of Grief: Remnants of Christian Conversion" (Psychocultural Rev. 2 [1978], 27-43), John M. Hill attempts an experiment in criticism that, while intriguing, will hardly bear repeating too often. He offers, in effect, conventional readings of The Wanderer, The Seafarer, The Dream of the Rood, and The Battle of Maldon, but he transposes his readings into the idiom of psychoanalytic criticism, especially as this defines bereavement and resolution of grief. Hill presents interpretations that are provocative and readable, though he insists on defining the actions of the poems according to established analytic categories.

Accordingly, the Cross, in The Dream of the Rood, manifests a "fusion fantasy," and the behavior of the retainers in Maldon, "given a general psychology of mourning, might indicate an inverted love-hate relationship to Byrhtnoth," who is himself described as a case of "suicidal heroism leading to transfigured existence." In this garb, the poems appear strangely (if predictably) modern, though the method may finally take away more than it confers on them. Hill's assessment that "These poets were drawn to, and made themselves masters of, a narrow range of human experience" may reflect not the scop's lack of breadth and complexity, but the limitations of the method. Moreover, in the course of the essay, Hill raises several nettlesome issues. He chooses to argue, for example, that in such writings, "the Church employs a weapon that consummately ties converts to itself"; the implication of calculated, manipulative strategy on an institutional level would be difficult to sustain. Further, he argues that the loyalty of Byrhtnoth's men, because it involves "a reversal of ordinary responses" (i.e., self-preservation), must be un-Germanic and Christian. Not only is this dubious on its face, it is additionally undercut by the suggestion that the cowardice of Beowulf's retainers represents a norm of behavior for Anglo-Saxon culture. Beyond objections of this sort with specific readings, the dimensions of Hill's discussion make one wish he had developed related issues, such as how Christian redefinitions removed the self from tribal norms and kin obligations and began to impose upon it new degrees of personal moral autonomy. Scholars and teachers may wish to read this essay as much for what it suggests as for what it defines.

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b. Individual Poems

In a textual essay of major importance, John C. Pope examines "The Text of a Damaged Passage in the Exeter Book: Advent (Christ I), 18-32" (ASE 9, 137-56), utilizing photographic, metrical, and syntactic evidence in an attempt to approach "a complete recovery of the passage as it stood before it was so nearly obliterated." Beginning with a desire to correct an error that was first discovered by S. K. Das and overlooked by later editors, Pope traces the history of the editorial treatment of the damaged passage and adds his own vast learning to what surely will now stand as the definitive edition of these fifteen lines of text. A reduced print of the Andrade photograph of fol. 8r and a larger print of lines 11-21 of that folio (from the same photograph) accompany the text. In a good critical essay on the same poem, "The Speech Boundaries in Advent Lyric VII" (Neophil 63 [1979], 611-18), Earl R. Anderson reexamines the problem of who says what in the light of recent findings by John Miles Foley (Neophil 59 [1975]) and earlier critics. Noting that Foley depends on verbal echoes without recourse to specific details of interpretation, Anderson proposes "to consider anew the problem of speech boundaries, using as the most important criterion the question of which verses are most appropriate variously to Joseph or Mary." After summarizing his arguments for assigning the verses, Anderson offers a translation of the disputed portions of the lyric, attributing ll. 164-68 to Mary, 169-72a to Joseph, 172b-75a to Mary, and 175b-95a to Joseph.

Stanley B. Greenfield, in "Sylf, Seasons, Structure and Genre in The Seafarer" (ASE 9, 199-211), continues an enlightening and productive dialogue in print with John C. Pope over the interpretation of The Seafarer. The essay begins with an account of Pope's rejection (in ASE 3, 1974) of Greenfield's interpretation of sylf (Seafarer 35b) as meaning "of my own accord" and Pope's argument that it means "alone, unaccompanied." Greenfield, with a good deal of lexical evidence, proceeds to reject Pope's interpretation of sylf and proposes yet another meaning, "for myself." In the process of defending it, he makes some highly useful comparisons between Seafarer and Exhortation to Christian Living and finds additional support for his thesis in the Exeter and Vercelli Soul and Body poems and in Resignation. Near the end of the essay, Greenfield expands the scope of his essay to relate his thesis concerning the function of sylf to the seasonal imagery of the poem, which he examines from both a structural and a psychological perspective, with good results. He concludes with a warning to critics of OE poems "not to abjure genre but also not to limit themselves to identifying poems as belonging to one or even two genres; and ... ultimately to move ... beyond genre." The generic approach is put to intelligent use in John C. Shields's "The Seafarer as a Meditatio" (Studia Mystica 3, no. 1, 29-41), an attractive attempt to demonstrate that the poem "may profitably be understood as a meditatio, that is as a literary spiritual exercise whose author aspires to perfection of the soul." Drawing on historians of the meditative tradition and upon primary sources such as Pomerius's De Vita Contemplativa and Alcuin's De Rhetorica, Shields demonstrates that The Seafarer fits very nicely the adaptation of the construct of the meditatio to poetry as it is described by Louis Martz. Shields's close reading of the poem illustrates how "a perilous journey is reconstructed by the memory and is then compared to the life of earthly comforts and joys" and how "the mind, having recognized that all mortal life has its vainglorious end, urges the power of the will over the body to prepare for salvation both by careful practice of the virtue of temperantia and by concentrated meditation upon the assurance of a heavenly home." Sherry Chaplin, in "Pound's

'Seafarer': An Assessment of Value" (JES 15, no. 2 [1977], 42-45), examines the OE Seafarer and the translations of Gavin Bantock and Ezra Pound with an eye toward explaining some of Pound's "semantic wanderings." Concentrating on lines 44-64a, she concludes that "if the word is not seen as vital to the argument, Pound readily offers another, often remotely different, which will yet carry the mood and vision of the original and, importantly, sustain rhythm and the allusive image. And this, perhaps, is accuracy after all."

Robert E. Boenig's "Andreas, The Eucharist, and Vercelli" (JEGP 79, 313-31) is both a fascinating study of poetic imagery in the Vercelli Book poem and an important contribution to the literature on the question of how and when the manuscript got to Vercelli. The major part of the essay is devoted to an examination of those scenes in Andreas which he believes establish a connection between the imagery of cannibalism in the poem and the ninth-century controversy over the nature of the eucharist. He points to eucharistic overtones in the meal during the sea journey and to what he sees as a theological parody-- "an odd inversion of a Radbertian Eucharist"--in the account, which differs markedly from the prose versions, of the old man who excuses himself from slaughter by the substitution of his son. Having established the poem as one which in doctrine and imagery is Radbertian rather than Ratramnian in its attitude toward the eucharist, Boenig goes on to suggest that it might indeed have come to Vercelli in the hands of one of the bishops sent to Italy for the Council of 1060 (though probably not the wily Ulf, as suggested by other scholars), the subject of which was the disciplining of one Berengarius for teaching Ratramnan's position that the bread and wine were sacramental and not real. This complex and stimulating article cannot be well served in summary; and while it is not convincing on all points, it is sure to occupy an important place in the continuing study both of Andreas and of the Vercelli Book. James W. Earl's "The Typological Structure of Andreas," in Old English Literature in Context: Ten Essays, ed. John D. Niles (Cambridge and Totowa, N.J.), 66-89 and 167-70, attempts to provide an analysis of the allegory in Andreas in its hagiographic context, focusing on "the typological relationships among the three major portions of the narrative: the captivity and liberation of Matthew from prison ..., Andrew's conversation with Christ ..., and Andrew's passion and the conversion of the Mermedonians." This essay, also, is too complex for adequate summary here; but among its many insights one could number the persuasive discussion of the motive for eliminating the account of the disappearance of Matthew and the prisoners, the association between the conversion of the Mermedonians and the conversion of the Jews, and the eucharistic associations of the imagery dealing with hunger and nourishment.

Christopher L. Chase, in "'Christ III,' 'The Dream of the Rood,' and Early Christian Passion Piety" (Viator 11, 11-33), offers an informative and highly stimulating essay which discusses the two poems as Christian judgment narratives in a manner which sheds considerable light upon them both. It attempts to trace the history of the Christian judgment narrative from its beginnings and to demonstrate as well the role of Christ's sufferings (a theme common to both poems) in the pietistic thought of the first millenium; and it will become an essential article for the future study of two poems which illuminate one another in ways that have not heretofore been recognized.

Several essays address specific aspects of three of the poems of Cynewulf. Thomas D. Hill's "Bethania, the House of Obedience: The Old English Christ II,

456-67" (N&Q 27, 290-92) offers a convincing explanation of Cynewulf's brief excursus on Bethania and the ready obedience of the disciples of Christ which does not occur in the homiletic source of the poem. Citing Bede's commentary on Luke 24:50, the Biblical text upon which the passage in the poem is based, Hill notes the etymological meaning of the city, domus obedientiae, and suggests that Cynewulf could have drawn further on Bede's commentary for his emphasis on the fact "that the disciples' stay on Bethania was a time of mystical revelation." He concludes by noting Bede's association of Bethania with the Mount of Olives and the consequent association "with the wound in the side of 'that high mountain which is Christ,'" concluding that Cynewulf, like Bede, thought that Bethania, "the 'house of obedience' was also a place where obedience was rewarded with inner and mysterious knowledge." A second article by Hill, "Bread and Stone, Again: Elene 611-18" (NM 81, 252-57), is a response to E. Gordon Whateley's suggestion that Judas's speech on a choice between bread and stone alludes to the parable of the bread and stone in Matthew 7 rather than to Christ's temptation in the desert, as Hill had suggested earlier. Hill reasserts here his conviction that the thematic significance of the elements of hunger, the wilderness, and a choice between bread and stone, paralleled in the various accounts of Christ's temptation in the desert, make it more likely that Cynewulf is alluding to this event. The last part of the paper attempts to demonstrate that the speech by Judas anticipates Elene's imprisonment of him in the dry pit without food and water, which is reminiscent of Joseph's imprisonment by his brothers in a pit, which in turn is associated typologically with baptism. In "Elene 610a: 'rexgeniölan'" (PQ 58 [1979], 237-40), A. N. Doane, after raising legitimate objections to previous attempts to solve the problems of the difficult form, suggests that the word rex is in fact an intruder, required neither by the meaning or the meter, and might be the "remnant of a gloss rixa, 'strife,' 'quarrel,' on the lemma geniölan, 'hate,' 'enmity,' carried over from the margin or interline of a previous copy into the text of this one." Of the earlier solutions, Doane prefers Cook's suggestion that rex was a miswriting of Latin nex, 'violence,' 'murder,' but his new suggestion is a more attractive one. In "Anglo-Saxon Historiography and Saints' Lives: Cynewulf's Elene" (Indiana Social Studies Quarterly 33, no. 1, 49-59), William A. Kretzschmar, Jr., mounts some attractive arguments against modern perceptions of the distinction between medieval history and medieval hagiography. Taking as his point of departure William J. Brandt's The Shape of Medieval History, Kretzschmar notes that a medieval history "was formed as a series of 'events,' each event having a characteristic triadic shape: a ground of stasis, an action intruding upon the static ground, and a consequence." He then attempts to show that a number of apparent historical inaccuracies in Elene which were not the result of inaccuracies in Cynewulf's sources might indeed be the result of his following such a structure, yet still remaining "literally as well as spiritually true in the medieval perspective."

In "Juliana 559-563a" (N&Q, 27, 100-01), Donald G. Bzdyl offers an attractive solution to the problem of interpreting those lines which follow the missing leaf after 558b. He suggests adding a comma after the fragmentary line 559 georne ær "so that the phrase need not be construed with heredon." This, according to Bzdyl "allows us to keep the lines as a report of the converts' acclamation of God by suggesting that Cynewulf, in this section, is contrasting the current behaviour of the converts with their past actions." In "The Cosmic Dimensions of Cynewulf's Juliana" (Neophil 64, 134-9), Raymond C. St.-Jacques examines the poem "as a view of universal history understood as a conflict between the forces of good and evil where, at certain times, evil seemingly engulfs the earth but where ultimately it is overcome by good." The essay examines closely the

opening and closing lines of the poem (the description of Maximian's kingdom and Cynewulf's prayer) to point out the poet's "presentation of the conflict between good and evil in microcosm and macrocosm, his depiction of his involvement and that of all men in this conflict." Judith A. Weise, in "Ambiguity in Old English Poetry" (Neophil 63 [1979], 588-91), explores what she considers "calculated ambiguity" in the first two lines of Juliana. She takes eahtian to mean "persecute" and views dædhwate as parallel to Cristne men in line 5, translating "lo, we have heard this, a warrior persecuted and judged those bold of deeds."

David Yerkes, in "The Full Text of the Metrical Preface to Wærferth's Translation of Gregory" (Speculum 55, 505-13), presents important new evidence on that poem based on a reexamination of the manuscript, unpublished notes by Henry Krebs, one of the poem's earliest editors, and a transcript made by Henry Johnson in 1882. The essay consists of thirteen textual notes, all of which clarify the text at various points. The major contribution is the first note, in which Yerkes demonstrates convincingly, on the basis of an examination of the verso of the leaf on which the poem appears and the Middle English glosses to the large capital letters which begin the poem, that a line of capitals is missing from the original text. Using the glosses þencō teonō mid rihtū teo to restore the second of three rows of capitals, he offers the following revised text of the first two verse lines of the metrical preface:

Se ðe me rædan ðencō teonō mid rihtum geðance.

He in me findan mæg gif hine feola liste

Yerkes translates the first line "he who thinks to read me troubles himself with a good intention."

Joseph A. Dane, in "The Structure of the Old English Solomon and Saturn II" (Neophil 64, 592-603), considers lines 179-506 of Solomon and Saturn apart from the earlier verse dialogue and the prose one which comes between the two in the manuscript. He attempts, with considerable success, to display a logical framework within which the interrelated riddles and philosophical discussions function. As he sees it, there are two main sections in the poem: lines 179-301, consisting of "an introduction and four interrelated riddles comprised of three static tableaux and one concluding riddle"; and lines 302-506, "which elaborate themes presented in section 1 in a more linear, dialectic form." Dane demonstrates convincingly that the movement in section one of the poem is not strictly linear--that "various planes of interpretation are established and the relation between the two speakers and their respective interpretations is hierarchical." The section "functions to establish a conflict between the two speakers--a conflict defined as an opposition between two points on a polar or hierarchical scale, with Saturn's worldly-physical view opposed to Solomon's spiritual-abstract view." The second section "elaborates the same conflict under a different organizational pattern: the argument progresses dialectically with coherent linear development arising from variations on the basic conflicts presented in each succeeding question and answer frame." This highly informative article builds sensibly on the best of the historical and source studies by Hill, Whitbread, Hermann, and others, and extends that learning into a larger examination of the structure, style, and ultimate meaning of the dialogue in a way that no previous attempt has managed to do for this perplexing poem.

Robert D. Stevick's "Mathematical Proportions and Symbolism in 'The Phoenix'" (Viator 11, 95-121) follows upon his studies of arithmetical and geometric design in Andreas, only this time with a poem that is not fragmentary. Stevick begins with an examination of the eight sectional divisions of the poem in the manuscript, noting that various combinations of sections in the first seven groups have 84 as a common factor, while the eighth section cannot be combined in any way with the other consecutive sections to produce lengths incorporating the same module. From this point, Stevick proceeds to try to demonstrate that the design of The Phoenix was also essentially geometric in conception, concluding that the poet appears to have utilized numerical processes to contribute the poem's spiritual and aesthetic appeal, but modestly leaving to others the task of pondering the implications of the form.

Maria Grimaldi's "Precetti per i Christiani" (AION, Filologia germanica 22 [1979], 59-78) is a re-edition of the poem Instructions for Christians found in Cambridge University Library MS II.I.33, first edited by Rosier in Anglia, 82 (1964). Grimaldi's edition includes a translation of the poem into Italian, some commentary on phonology, and notes which incorporate contributions from articles which have appeared since Rosier's edition and from June Feiker's unpublished Master's Thesis from Columbia University (1944).

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, in "Guthlac on the Beach" (Neophil 64, 290-96), suggests that the theme of the hero on the beach, identified by Crowne and reformulated by Fry, appears doubled in the poem, "and that its double appearance provides overlapping Orosian cycles of Fall and Redemption." In its first appearance, Guthlac is the hero, she argues; and the theme is repeated after Guthlac's death when his servant remains behind on an "ealond," near a moored boat, in the company of a troop of angels and a heavenly light.

In "Another Solution to the Critics' Riddle: Wulf and Eadwacer Revisited" (Neophil 64, 140-43), Johan Kerling takes issue with a number of assumptions in an article by John M. Fanagan in Neophil 60 (1976), concluding that hine of line 2 is Eadwacer, that the beaducafa of line 11 is Wulf, and that apecgan should have a positive meaning akin to "support." Since the essay does not deal with interpretations other than Fanagan's, there is no attempt to justify the present interpretation against objections raised to a number of these points in earlier essays. It appears that the meaning of this attractive little poem will continue to elude us.

Daniel F. Marsteller's "An Old English Poem: The Ruin--A Study in Exegesis and Reappraisal" (Bulletin of the West Virginia Association of College English Teachers, N.S. 5 [1979], 33-39) reviews scholarship on the site of the poem, discussions of its genre, and studies of its form, concluding that its author had "an unusually cosmopolitan sensitivity to his environment and the ability to express his cultural awareness meaningfully." All of the discussion of Ruin and the poems to which it is compared is based on modern English translations.

The scholarship accorded the poetry of the Junius Manuscript includes four essays on Exodus, two on Genesis A, and one each on Genesis B, Daniel, and Christ and Satan. John F. Vickrey's essay, "Concerning Exodus Lines 144-45" (ELN 17, 241-49), takes issue with the reading offered by Peter J. Lucas in his edition. First, Vickrey contends that MS ymb an twig (145b) complements grame (144b), not, as Lucas would have it, forgeton (144a); second, Vickrey attacks Lucas's emendation of the MS to *antwigōa. Vickrey's two-fold argument is persuasive, as is his contention that cyn (145a) should be construed as a nominative plural (for which, see also Alfred Bammesberger, Anglia 93, 141, n. 11). What remains questionable, however, is Vickrey's original argument (Traditio 31, 25-54), here reasserted, that the MS should be emended to ymb anfeald twig, in literal and figural reference to the bunch of hyssop of Ex. 12:22. In "The virga of Moses and the Old English Exodus" (Old English Literature in Context, ed. John D. Niles, Cambridge and Totowa, NJ, 57-65 and 165-67), Thomas D. Hill first considers the grene tacen with which Moses strikes the sea (281b). Unlike previous scholars, Hill neither emends MS tacne, "sign," to tane, "branch," nor--though admitting that the phrase is figurally suggestive--does he urge a typological reading; instead, Hill points out that the Latin word for Moses's rod, virga, denotes a green branch and that the virga functioned as "a common symbol of authority throughout the ancient world." (For a similar explanation of the rod's color, see Paul F. Ferguson's dissertation, 1977, pp. 111-12; Ferguson contends, however, that tacen does have a figural sense.) Hill discusses related passages as well: he associates Moses's gyrdwite, "rod-punishment," of the Egyptians (15b) with similar imagery in Origen; he suggests, as more in keeping with the poet's perspective, that rodor swipode / meredeaða mæst (464b-65a) be construed as "heaven lashed, greatest of sea-deaths," instead of "the greatest of sea-deaths lashed the heaven"; he proposes that the much-disputed MS reading, witrod (492b), be retained with the sense "rod of punishment" in reference to the sea's assault upon the Egyptians; and he finds in these images support for Edward B. Irving's notion that lines 499-500a depict the sea as scourging the enemy. At the end of the paper, Hill speculates that the verbal difficulty of the poem reflects the same sensibility that gave rise to hermeneutic Latin verse. (Cf. Israel Gollancz's association of Exodus with the school of Aldhelm: The Caedmon Manuscript, pp. lxxviii-ix.) In "Why Moses' Rod Is Green" (ELN 17, 161-63), Maxwell Luria, seeking to improve upon John P. Hermann's typological argument, proposes an explanation different from Hill's. For Luria, the phrase is typological whether read tacne or tane: Pseudo-Bede understands Moses's rod as a symbol of the cross; green wood is specifically linked with Christ and his followers in Luke 23:31 (viride lignum); green crosses are frequently found in medieval art. (For a similar interpretation, using some of the same evidence, see Lucas's edition, 114; and Ferguson, cited above, 112.) Luria goes on to remark that the first seven lines of Exodus, in which the poet implicitly presents Moses as a type of Christ, should predispose us to such symbolism. Here Luria touches upon what I take to be the central issue of the controversy: how one deals with MS tacne depends upon one's overall view of the poem. Zacharias P. Thundy discusses another crux in "Afrisc meowle and the Old English Exodus" (Neophil 64, 297-306). Accepting the MS form, Thundy proposes that the African maidens are to be identified as Egyptian women who, according to Philo's De Vita Mosis, had earlier married Israelites; allegorically, the women, adorned with gold, represent "pagan wisdom and eloquence espoused by the Israelites" (i.e., Christians). Moreover, the figure of the Afrisc meowle, coupled with the Israelites' act of despoiling the Egyptian dead on the shore (580-90), is an analogue for the perspective of the Exodus poet, who appropriates secular Germanic literary traditions (pagan treasure) for the purpose of conveying Christian truth. Despite the lack of hard evidence for knowledge of Philo's De Vita Mosis in Anglo-Saxon England,

Thundy provides the best justification on the literal level so far advanced for retaining Afrisc meowle. On the other hand, the literal reading need not entail the allegory, nor the allegory the literal reading (as witness Stanley R. Hauer, who, in his dissertation of 1978, pp. 306-16, cautiously proposes a similar view of the despoiling scene but emends meowle to neowle).

In "Divisions: Theme and Structure of Genesis A" (NM 81, 243-51), Constance B. Heatt partly remedies a major shortcoming in scholarship on the poem to date--the lack of study accorded the poet's use of dictional linkage to help unify the work. (Cf. the review of A. N. Doane's edition in YWOES - 1978.) The unifying image most stressed by Heatt is the employment throughout Genesis A of verbs meaning "to divide," a theme which the poet firmly establishes in his first three sections. In analyzing the third section, e.g., Heatt observes that, "Just as God sundered light from dark [sect. II], He now sundered the water from the land.... The verb 'gesundrode,' picked up from Section II, is used for the central dividing actions in both these sections (141a and 162b). The verb 'dælan,' echoed from Section I [on the revolt of the wicked angels], is also used twice here: we find the waves 'dælde' in 146b and the ocean 'adæled' in 150b." Besides images of division, Heatt perceptively notes other verbal echoes in the poem, yet her analysis is sometimes over-hasty. It is inaccurate to say, e.g., that the poet's identification of the "sons of God" as the offspring of Seth (an identification found in Augustine, Bede, Pseudo-Bede, et al.) marks "a notable departure from the usual interpretation of Genesis 6:2"; and she devotes but one sentence to the tale of Sodom and Gomorrah (2399-2590), perhaps the most carefully constructed episode in Genesis A and one in which the poet employs verbal echoes to maximum effect. An approach similar to Heatt's is taken by L. N. McKill in "The Offering of Isaac and the Artistry of Old English Genesis A" (The Practical Vision: Essays in English Literature in Honour of Flora Roy, ed. Jane Campbell and James Doyle, Waterloo, Ont. [1978], 1-11). After reviewing (like Heatt) the now-familiar arguments to show that the Isaac episode provides a suitable ending to the poem, McKill closely examines the scene: the poet prepares the audience for Abraham's deed by linking it through diction to Abraham's earlier expulsion of his other son, Ishmael; the poet augments the drama of the sacrifice by repeating words or ideas denoting ownership or haste; he implicitly depicts the episode as a test of heroic courage and even as a battle (cf. The Dream of the Rood); and he omits certain elements from the biblical source or adds new ones to intensify and maintain the mood. Although sometimes merely expanding upon Robert P. Creed's observations, McKill does enhance our understanding of the poet's craft.

Anne L. Klinck, in "Female Characterisation in Old English Poetry and the Growth of Psychological Realism: Genesis B and Christ I" (Neophil 63 [1979], 597-610), finds that "Women characters, confined to domestic roles, are the natural vehicle for the presentation of personal relationships, as opposed to the public relationships traditionally described by Old English poetry. Because the poets are treating an area not provided for in the poetic conventions, they are forced back upon observation and intuition instead of literary precedent." The Eve of Genesis B achieves psychological dominance over Adam precisely because, as his wife, she is completely devoted to his welfare; in division VII of Christ I, Mary, whose submission to male authority paradoxically imbues her with strength, initiates the enlightenment of her confused and troubled husband. In Christ I (here dated in the late ninth century) and Genesis B (about 900), Klinck sees the culmination of a chronological development, beginning with Beowulf, in which poets

learn to exploit the socially passive role of women for "a more searching and more realistic portrayal of human thoughts and feelings." This conclusion, as stated, is too sweeping for the available evidence: the psychological realism of the Eve/Adam and Mary/Joseph scenes differs in context but not in kind from that evinced elsewhere in OE literature. Yet in analyzing the "pattern" of female characterization, Klinck illuminates an interesting aspect of the Anglo-Saxons' general concern with human psychology.

Robert E. Bjork's "Oppressed Hebrews and the Song of Azarias in the Old English Daniel" (SP 77, 213-26) addresses a major problem for students of the poem: that Azarias's song for deliverance and the subsequent arrival of an angel (279-356a) occurs after an angel has already appeared to save the three young men (268-78). After arguing at length that the theme of covenant is of paramount importance in Daniel, Bjork points out that the song of Azarias serves not simply as a plea for immediate safety but as a communal prayer for the deliverance of Israel as a nation. In this context the appearance of the second angel can best be understood: "The descent of the second angel and the dispersal of the flames fulfills the symbolic action initiated by Azarias' prayer. The covenant is renewed, and the OE poet establishes that fact through a significant addition to his Old Testament source: Nabuchodonosor gives 'him [God] þa his leoda lafe / þe þær gelædde wæron // on æht ealdfeondum, / þæt hie are hæfdon'... (ll. 452-3). The Hebrew nation is favored once more." Bjork's discussion of the covenant as a major motif is defensible (though I do not see why he need minimize the more obviously important theme of destructive pride), and he makes a reasonable case that, esthetically, the song of Azarias is an integral part of Daniel. The essay would be more satisfying, however, had Bjork not lavished almost all his attention upon justifying the appearance of the second angel, whose appearance, unlike that of the first, claims scriptural authority (Dan. 3:49-50); one wonders if or how the arrival of the first angel relates to the themes discussed by Bjork.

Giovanni Mirarchi's essay, "Osservazioni sul poema anglosassone Cristo e Satana" (AION, Filologia germanica 22 [1979], 79-106), ranges over the entire poem. Stressing that Satan's Lament takes place not in time but in eternity, Mirarchi challenges Robert Emmett Finnegan's conviction that this part of the poem begins with the devil "newly arrived in Hell" and Finnegan's remark that the poet is chronologically inconsistent in placing men in heaven before the fall of the angels has even occurred (242b-44). Mirarchi is correct to emphasize that the Lament is thematically structured, but I am unable to see that any such purpose is served by the oddity of placing men in heaven before the rebellion. (Cf. ll. 472-78, where the poet seems to be saying that Adam and Eve, before their fall, had forty children.) Mirarchi proceeds to a study of diction, pointing out that the poet, speaking both in propria persona and in the voice of his characters, repeatedly employs terms to underscore the contrast between Christ and Satan, and between heaven and hell. The author also gives much attention to "spiritual senses" in the poem, of which the tropological predominates. Mirarchi's most significant contribution here, I think, is his noting that the poet uses secondary exempla (e.g., the story of Adam and Eve) to reinforce the main lesson of the disobedient Satan's threefold defeat.

The scholarship on other biblical poetry includes papers on Judith, the Exeter Descent, and Judgment Day II. Constance B. Heatt, investigating "Judith and the Literary Function of Old English Hypermetric Lines" (SN 52, 251-57), presents most of her evidence in two tables. In Table I, she places in one column

the text of the hypermetric passage ending Judith (338b-49) and in the other the same or similar words or phrases from earlier in the poem. Her point is that "... there is some echoing of words or concepts (such as God as Lord of Hosts) in every line here. Furthermore, at least two thirds of these echoes take us back to earlier hypermetric passages" In Table II, Heatt places in eight groups several words or phrases appearing in hypermetric passages "to set out some of the envelope patterns which occur within, or connect, groups of hypermetric lines"; she then discusses each group. The argument for the poet's artistic use of repetition and linkage is not wholly convincing. At the beginning of Table I, e.g., Heatt shows that in lines 338b-40 the poet uses five words or phrases also found in the first 58 extant lines of Judith (e.g., baldor 338b / 9b [hypermetric], 49b [normal]). I suppose that one may call this "verbal repetition": given, however, the generally repetitive nature of OE diction, the fact that the earlier citations are scattered over so many lines, and the absence of discernible patterns here (as opposed to those in, say, Genesis A), the repetition does not seem significant. "That these emphases are hardly fortuitous," says Heatt, anticipating the sort of objection just raised, "is suggested by echoes which frame or connect one or more of the earlier hypermetric passages." She is referring here to the evidence summarized in Table II, the first entry of which reads: "mæran beodne / hehstan deman / hehstan brogan / rican beodne (abba); God, 3a / God, 4a / Holofernes, 4b / Holofernes, 11b: aabb?" The use of hehstan in line 4 to refer to both God and Holofernes is notable (for which, see also Bernard F. Huppé's Web of Words, 158). But to say, as Heatt does, that beodne (3a) and beodne (11b) -- which have different referents, different contexts, and do not quite begin or end the hypermetric passage -- constitute an "envelope pattern" is to use A. C. Bartlett's term so loosely as to render it useless. All this is not to deny that Heatt makes some excellent points (see her observation on the echo lines, 30b and 106b, in fit X): she weakens her argument, however, by frequently admitting questionable evidence.

In "The Liturgy and the Old English 'Descent into Hell'" (JEGP 79, 179-91), Patrick W. Conner contends that the poem is "a conflation of materials from the Mass and Divine Office of Holy Saturday." The most enlightening parts of the essay are Conner's discussion of lines 1-16 as a reflection of antiphonal structure, his explanation of the narrative voice at the poem's conclusion (133-37), his use of the Vidi aquam antiphon to show the baptismal significance of the third and fourth apostrophes, and his analysis of lines 118-32 as dependent upon the Holy Saturday litany in form and content. Despite the general excellence of his argument, Conner sometimes claims too much. The broad parallel he posits between lines 17-55 and the Light Service of Holy Saturday is suggestive; it appears obvious, however, that the passage relies for its general narrative situation and most of its imagery upon the Gospel of Nicodemus tradition, the influence of which Connor unconvincingly denies. Again, he seems to believe that the Descent was actually practiced as a kind of "vernacular liturgy" (185) -- a usage which is unlikely and for which he offers no evidence. Finally, a minor point: Connor alludes to Hartker's Antiphonary as the earliest antiphonary known, but the Liber Responsalis (PL 78, 725-850) pre-dates this book by some two centuries (René-Jean Hesbert, Corpus Antiphonarium Officii, I, xvii, and II, vi).

Graham D. Caie, in "The Source Manuscript for the Old English Judgment Day II" (Essays Presented to Knud Schibbye, ed. Michael Chesnutt, et al., Copenhagen [1979], 27-31), supports L. Whitbread's finding that the text of Bede's De Die Iudicii as preserved in Cotton Domitian A i is closer to the source-version

used by the Judgment Day II poet than is the text printed in PL 94, 633-38. The Cotton MS reads quassatos ... animos at line 25 of Bede's poem, while most of the other MSS have quassatos ... calamos. Since here Bede is paraphrasing Matt. 12:20, with its reference to a reed, Caie concludes that calamos is Bede's original word and that animos is either a scribe's moral interpretation of the image or a scribe's attempt to make sense of a line he did not understand. The importance of the variant reading for the OE text is that the poet translates the phrase in his source as wanhydige mod, "the weak/careless mind/soul" (50a: MS wan hydig gemod), evidence that he was using a MS of Bede's poem in the animos tradition, of which the Cotton is one of the two earliest.

The first of three essays on heroic poetry to be reviewed is "'Artificial Poetry' and Sea Eagles: A Note on þane hasupadan / earn æftan hwit, Lines 62b and 63a of The Battle of Brunanburh" (NM 81, 390-94), by Bernard Van't Hul and Dennis S. Mitchell. The authors observe that the description of the "dark-coated eagle, white behind" -- found in an otherwise conventional beasts-of-battle scene -- is "unique to the poem and sharply descriptive rather than allusive, so much so that ornithologists and literary scholars alike have readily identified it with the White-tailed Sea Eagle still found on the north-west fringes of the European continent. The Brunanburh poet thus seems capable of evoking other than purely literary responses, and ought therefore to be considered a rather more original literary artist than much of previous criticism has allowed." It is good to have this rare bird cited once more in print, but the last sentence quoted above raises more questions than the essay addresses. One wonders whether the poet would have distinguished between literary and non-literary responses, and whether he or his audience would have recognized any difference in kind or source between the description of the white-tailed sea eagle and the accompanying descriptions of the "dark, horn-beaked raven," the "greedy war-hawk," and the "gray wolf," all of which, though conventional in literature, were also observable in nature. As for the poet's originality, the sea eagle image is less audacious than his apparent statement in lines 12b-13a that "the field resounded with the blood of men" (Carl T. Berkhout, ELN 11, 161-62).

Fritz W. Schulze comments on the style of Widsith in "Germanischen Bindungen verglichene compositio in Tacitus Germania" (SzEP: Edgar Mertner zum 70. Geburtstag, ed. Herbert Mainusch and Dietrich Rolle, Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and Cirencester [1979], 11-25). Schulze devotes most of his effort to analyzing and classifying such devices as rhyme, alliteration, parallelism, wordplay, and anaphora in the Germania, to which, not surprisingly, Widsith suffers by comparison. Although employing in Widsith's speech and in the narrative frame some of the same binding methods as Tacitus, the OE poet evidences much less restraint and balance. The nine-line poetic ending matches the nine-line poetic beginning, but degenerates into "rhetorische Chaos," its author unable to construct smooth transitions and maintain congruity with the rest of the poem. Clearly, Schulze is more at home with classical eloquence than with the gnarled esthetic of OE verse. To her question, "Was Widsið a scop?" (Neophil 64, 583-91), Ida Masters Hollowell returns a negative answer. First, she reviews literary texts to explain the nature of the Anglo-Saxon woðbora as a combined seer, speaker, sage, and poet. Second, she argues that certain aspects of the poem -- notably the thulas and the references to wandering -- comprise evidence "sufficient to support a strong contention that Widsið is a woðbora. It is patently sufficient to serve as a warning against the comfortable assumption that Widsið is a scop." The first part of the conclusion is plausible, and the second part is well-taken. Hollowell's general argument is also indirectly

supported by Jeff Opland's excellent discussion of related matters in his Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry (Yale, 1980). While not identifying Widsith as a woðbora, Opland does distinguish woðbora from scop in a discussion similar to Hollowell's, and considers gleoman (as at Widsith 136a) "a generic term referring to various kinds of public performers" (p. 243).

The first of three new essays on the charms is Anna Giraudo's "La formula anglosassone delle 9 erbe" (Aevum 54, 383-86). After reviewing the textual inconsistencies and previous attempts to resolve them, Giraudo contends that everything after line 35 -- except for lines 59-63 -- is an interpolation. (I here convert Giraudo's citation of folio-lines into the line-numbers of ASPR VI.) The new arrangement attractively streamlines the confusing MS text, but, given the editorial latitude assumed by Giraudo, one could construct equally appealing alternatives; moreover, to get the number of herbs in the charm back up to nine, she is obliged to regard lines 3-6 and 18-20, usually taken to describe the herbs immediately preceding them, as referring to separate herbs. At the end of the paper, Giraudo suggests that the first element Regenmelde (2b), a word commonly understood as the "Great Proclamation," is to be associated with Reginn, a nickname for Woden, later in the poem described as wielding nine wuldortanas (32). A different way of looking at these problems is offered by Willy L. Braekman, who, in "Notes on Old English Charms" (Neophil 64, 461-69), regards the Nine Herbs Charm as ending at line 30 but accepts the notion that the two missing herbs that now result "may be supplied from the charm that in the manuscript immediately follows, the Lay of the Nine Twigs of Woden." Braekman also turns to the lay, with its apparent reference to Christ's creating the herbs at his crucifixion (þa wyrte gesceop witig drihten, / halig on heofonum, þa he hungode), to explain the meaning of Regenmelde as the "Great Proclamation": "Indeed, it was an old and widespread belief that the origin or the virtues of specific herbs were connected with an action of Our Lord shortly before his death or his ascension." For support, Braekman cites a ninth- or tenth-century Latin pervinca charm: "Pervinca ... when the Lord ascended to heaven, remember what he said" (my translation). Compare the first two lines of the Nine Herbs Charm: "Remember, Mugwort, what you made known, / What you arranged at the Great Proclamation." The similarities are tantalizing, but the differences are substantial, too: Braekman concedes that Regenmelde may have had a pagan as well as Christian connotation. His second note is on Una (3a), which he takes, unlike Giraudo, as a reference to mugwort (1-2). Braekman would explain the term either as resulting from a mistranslation of some Latin charm similar to the text of a second pervinca charm he quotes, or as deriving from the notion that the mugwort is the yldost wyrta (3b) and the first listed in the poem. Braekman's final note is directed to item No. CLXI in Grattan and Singer, a charm for curing lameness in a horse. The problem lies in understanding the first word in the sentence, "Naborrede unde uenisti," which the officiant is to recite thrice. After analyzing the word as a Germanic compound meaning "a fever caused by voracity," Braekman discusses more than is pleasant to ponder about equine illness, and then explains, with the help of a twelfth-century German charm, that the purpose of the sentence is to ask the sickness whence it came so that it can be banished there again: an ingenious and convincing solution. In concluding his paper, Braekman remarks that, "The charm for a sprained horse is a good example of the mingling of pagan and Christian elements. The true character of the pagan formula was successfully hidden till now by its being partially translated into the language of the Church." It is precisely such a view of another charm, the land-remedy rite of Cotton Caligula A vii, that John D. Niles seeks to counteract in "The Æcerbot Ritual in Context" (Old English Literature in Context, cited above, 44-56 and 163-64). Although admitting that

it may have "pagan substrata," Niles urges that scholars accept the ritual as it stands: as an unorthodox but nonetheless thoroughly Christian communal ceremony asking God to sanctify the earth for an abundant harvest. Niles reaches these conclusions concerning specifics of the ritual: it was performed on the first day of ploughing, probably after the fall harvest or in early winter, and perhaps, like comparable rites of later times, on "Plough Monday" (first Monday after the Epiphany); the celebrant, who had to be someone familiar with Latin liturgical prayers, was probably a priest; hardwood trees were excluded from the rite because they were not part of the food cycle, not because they were held sacred in pagan belief; the purpose of burying the four crosses was not to reenact a heathen resurrection myth but to draw upon the power of the cross as a symbol of fertility; seed is exchanged with beggars as a symbolic transference of "bad" seed (the farmers') for "good" (the beggars'); and the "Crescite" prayer was directed to God not simply as the creator but also as the keeper of the covenant with man that the seasons would maintain their accustomed order (Gen. 8:21). Although scholars will probably continue to probe the rite for pagan foundations (n.b., the symbolic transference of seed), Niles has convincingly shown that his is a fruitful approach for understanding the æcerbot ritual in context.

Marijane Osborn and Stella Longland solve a perennial puzzle in their note, "A Celtic Intruder in the Old English Rune Poem" (NM 81, 385-87). When gear (ger) replaced iar (ior) in the middle of the runic alphabet to represent [j], gear nonetheless apparently retained the definition given iar. (Evidently iar once meant "abundance," an idea found in the Rune Poem poet's description of gear.) That meant that iar -- still preserved in the alphabet but now located toward the end and representing [ia] or [io] -- lacked a meaning. Confronted with this problem, the poet of the Rune Poem, according to Osborn and Langland, decided to borrow the sense of Celtic iar (Irish iaru, Gaelic iarag) and attach it to Germanic iar. All this seems relatively straightforward until one considers that Celtic iar means "a small brown animal" but that the poet characterizes his iar as an eafix, a "riverfish." The ingenuity of the authors' solution lies in their pointing out that the beaver, certainly a small brown animal, was considered a "fish" by the Church for purposes of Lenten abstinence (the evidence cited by the authors for this idea is late, however). As Osborn and Longland note, the beaver neatly fits the poet's description of the iar as an eafix who "though he always partakes / of food on the land, has a fair dwelling / lapped round by water, where he lives happily." To the authors' observations, one need add only that this solution provides further evidence of the Rune Poem poet's resourcefulness and his tendency to construct descriptions in a riddling manner. More evidence of the poet's allusive method comes in another stanza discussed by Osborn (writing alone this time but under the inspiration of a star -- see n. 11) in "Old English Ing and His Wain" (NM 81, 388-89). Noting that the constellation Boötes was sometimes imagined as a hunter chasing the Wain across the sky (a.k.a. the Big Dipper, Ursa Major, or the Plough), Osborn proposes that the Rune Poem poet in lines 67-70 -- (Ing) ... wæn æfter-ran -- is alluding to an otherwise unknown Germanic tradition that identified the hunter as Ing. "There is an easy way to check this identification of Ing with Boötes. Using a traditional star chart showing Boötes, simply redraw the lines. Draw one line from δ Boötis to σ/p [sic] Boötis to π Boötis, and another from γ Boötis to ε Boötis to α Boötis (Arcturus), and you will have the rune Ing." I have followed these directions and find that a shape similar to the rune does emerge (X). I also find, however, that to arrive at the shape one must omit between two and twelve stars of the constellation. With such freedom, one could construct from Boötes not only the Ing rune but a quarter of the rune-shapes in the OE fubarc. In short, Osborn's understanding of wæn

in the Ing stanza seems reasonable, but her astrological proof is hardly so conclusive as she asserts. In the second part of the paper, she discusses a detail in riddle 22. Although endorsing L. Blakeley's solution, the Wain, Osborn rejects his idea that the image of the sixty horsemen (1-2) is simply a good round number signifying a multitude of stars. The image represents, rather, the sixty days after the winter solstice when the Wain begins to make its ascent in the sky.

Stanley B. Greenfield proposes the new solution, dream, in "Old English Riddle 39 Clear and Visible" (Anglia 98, 95-100). This answer nicely fits several elements in the riddle-master's description: a dream lives though it lacks bodily parts and a soul, visits each person separately, and goes on its way after being experienced. Yet Greenfield wisely does not claim that his is the definitive solution, for other elements in the riddle require further explanation for dream to be a fully acceptable answer. For example, the poet's statement that the creature does not return a second night appears questionable in reference to dreams in view of the fact that people sometimes have the same dream more than once. The "Eight Old English Riddles" translated by Michael Alexander (Agenda 18, no. 2, 66-69) -- numbers 28, 33, 34, 54, 60, 65, 71, and 76 -- are excerpted from his Old English Riddles from the Exeter Book. The most attractive feature of Alexander's rendering is its graceful lucidity, which he usually manages to achieve without doing violence to the original sense. His four-stress line, though rhythmically lighter than the OE, carries noticeable but unobtrusive alliteration and a caesura.

J.R.H.

Alexander's book presents translations of fifty-five of the riddles of the Exeter book, twenty of which were published in 1966 in his The Earliest English Poems. The text from which he works is that established by W.S. Mackie in the edition of the Exeter Book which was published by the Early English Text Society in 1934, although some debt is also expressed to A. J. Wyatt's edition (1912) and to volume III of the Anglo-Saxon Poetic Records. The introduction and notes are accurate and appropriate. Although Alexander says that "the present little book is not intended as a contribution to current scholarship," it gives continued support to his rank as one of the most accomplished living translators of OE poetry.

R.L.C.

Helga Göbel divides her Studien zu den altenglischen Schriftwesensrätseln (Epistemata: Würzburger wissenschaftliche Schriften, Reihe Literaturwissenschaft, 7; Würzburg) into two parts, each with two sections of its own, to which she adds a bibliography, authorial index, and glossary. In A1 (pp. 1-26), Göbel discusses the literary background of the scribal riddles, giving special attention to Latin antecedents; section A2 (pp. 27-119), a review of scholarship on the Exeter Book, includes discussion of the MS editions, translations, solutions to all the riddles over the years, sources, authorship, and dating. With part B, Göbel begins to narrow her focus: B1 (pp. 120-78) treats of book-making and scribal culture in the Middle Ages, especially in Anglo-Saxon England; and, finally, B2 (pp. 179-606) houses her edition of the OE scribal riddles -- 26, 47, 49, 51, 60 (with discussion of the Husband's Message), 67, 74, 88, 92, 93, and 95 -- complete with historical collation, translation into German, sources and parallels, miscellaneous notes, and commentary. As the pagination suggests, this a hefty tome, both exhaustive and exhausting. Part A is highly derivative yet useful as an overview and summary of previous scholarship. Göbel's edition of the scribal riddles is quite competent, and she offers a new solution, understanding the answer to 95 as "writing, a

written text" (p. 551) or "holy text" (p. 591). (As luck would have it, Craig Williamson independently proposed a similar solution, "book," in his edition of 1977, the year that the present work was completed as a dissertation.) The strength of Göbel's analysis lies in her careful interpretation of details, often from a new perspective, to confirm previous solutions, and in her decisive refutation of competing alternatives.

J.R.H.

Works not seen:

- Bundi, Ada. "Per la ricostruzione dei passi frammentari dell'iscrizione unica della Croce di Ruthwell." AION, *Filologia germanica* 22 (1979), 21-58.
- Ellis, Deborah. "The Wife's Lament in the Context of Early English Literature: the Paralysis of Desertion." JWSL 1 (1979), 220-32.
- Goldman, Stephen H. "The Use of Christian Belief in Old English Poems of Exile." Res Publica Litterarum 2 (1979), 69-80.
- Letson, D.R. "The Homiletic Nature of Cynewulf's Ascension Poem." Florilegium 2, 192-216.
- Ortoleva, Grazia. "Waldere II, 21b: bonne ha[n]d wereo." AION, *Filologia germanica* 22 (1979), 117-80.
- Schneider, Karl. "The Husband's Message -- eine Analyse." Studien zur englischen Philologie: Edgar Mertner zum 70. Geburtstag. Ed. Herbert Mainusch and Dietrich Rolle. Frankfurt am Main, Bern, and Cirencester, 1979. Pp. 27-49.

J.R.H. and J.B.T.

c. Beowulf

This was a productive year in Beowulf scholarship, a banner year in fact for bibliographical publication, and a very good year for shorter structural and textual commentary. Discussion below focuses in turn on studies dealing with the poem in general, on articles treating brief sections or incidents, on lexical and textual notes, and finally on the wealth of bibliographical help made available to us in 1980.

Five articles in Old English Literature in Context, ed. John D. Niles (Cambridge, England, and Totowa, N.J.) concern Beowulf and conveniently may be reviewed together since, unlike many such collections, the book does what its title suggests, placing the works considered into a variety of appropriate contexts. Thus, Theodore M. Andersson ("Tradition and Design in Beowulf," pp. 90-106) places the poem in an Anglo-Latin context with interesting results. To Andersson, "Beowulf is a kind of memento mori...analogous to the verse epistle of consolation addressed by...Alcuin to the afflicted brethren of Lindisfarne after the Viking raid of 793" (p. 104). The distinguishing feature of this poem, as of much OE literature, is for Andersson "a persistent cultivation of mood and emotional resonance" (p. 94). The series of accompanying diagrams are not very convincing--as, for example, when "Beowulf's arrival" (ll. 189-702) is given apparently equal weight with "Hondscioh's demise" (ll. 740-45)--but the overall point that the poet has substituted a more complex view for that of earlier heroic literature, pitting "a scale of emotions against a scale of conditions" (p. 106) is both challenging and thought provoking. An even broader literary context is invoked by Phillip Damon ("The Middle of Things: Narrative Patterns in the Iliad, Roland, and Beowulf," pp. 107-16) to suggest that the OE epic, like Roland and unlike the Iliad, maintains a deliberate moral ambiguity between the hero's oferhygd expressed in his decision to face the dragon ana mid ecge (2876a) and his function as an agent of divine providence. John Miles Foley ("Beowulf and Traditional Narrative Song: the Potential and Limits of Comparison," pp. 117-36) looks to Serbo-Croatian oral poetry for his contextual background. On the hypothesis that an oral poet will display significant but limited differences when performing similar material a number of times, Foley examines five versions of two closely related poems by a single Yugoslav poet and then applies the results to the two descriptions of sea voyages in Beowulf (ll. 205-303a, 1880-1919). The conclusion is that while the poets employ comparable devices for varying narrative sequence, Yugoslav practice differs significantly from OE in the matter of "verbal correspondence" and "responion." For those confused by such terminology, Foley wonderfully illuminates ignotum per obscurum with the definition "tradition-dependent, local resonance of morphs" (p. 132). Jeff Opland, in Anglo-Saxon Oral Poetry (New Haven) also examines the evidence of modern oral song for what it has to tell us about the OE tradition. Though the book is reviewed in another section, students of Beowulf will be interested to know that his discussion of the poem (pp. 191-207) is a useful reworking of material published earlier ("Beowulf on the Poet," MS 38 [1976], 442-67) and leading to the conclusion that poetic performances outside the hall are generically different from those inside and that there is no indisputable evidence in Beowulf for musical accompaniment. The final pair of essays in the Niles volume consider the poem in relation to Indo-European mythology. Albert B. Lord ("Interlocking Mythic Patterns in Beowulf," pp. 137-42) identifies two narrative patterns characteristic of several poems of Indo-European origin. The first pattern, involving a powerful leader's absence or enforced impotence which causes

devastation and death for many of his friends and only ends when he either comes home or regains power, describes Beowulf accurately enough, except that Beowulf himself, as Lord points out, may be a vestigial reflection of the absent leader, complementing Hrothgar's powerlessness. The second pattern, which requires conflicts between the hero and first a male, then a female monster, also fits, though Grendel's mother is scarcely the temptress Circe was. Michael Nagler's mythic background in "Beowulf in the Context of Myth" (pp. 143-56) is even broader, since he is seeking out connections with "Indo-European or more universal mythology" (p. 143), and his conclusions more vast. The strategy is, first, to demonstrate the way in which mythic tradition has given shape to Beowulf at all levels and then to go on and "speculate a bit about its psychological rather than cosmogonic significance" (p. 143). Because there is no real reason given for Hrunting's failure, which causes Beowulf to use her own weapon against Grendel's dam--as Odysseus had done against Polyphemus--Nagler is able to conclude that the story has mythic significance and that the light in the cave at lines 1563-72a reflects the universal battle myth of the sky-god against the forces of chaos. Then, yet more speculatively, he suggests that the light represents a treasure of psychic energy being guarded by "nothing more nor less than human will" (p. 154) and that for us the poem points to a boundless source of energy if we are willing not to hoard but to share our vitality. For Martin Puhvel, examining Beowulf and Celtic Tradition (Waterloo, Ontario, 1979), the light has a similar resonance, an instance for him of the mythic theme of the slaying of a sun-god with his own lightning sword, exemplified in such incidents in Celtic literature as Cúchulainn's killing of Fer Diad in The Cattle Raid of Cooley. Similar analyses are applied to such other themes as "The Melting of the Giant-Wrought Sword," "Beowulf and Irish Battle Rage," and "Beowulf's Fights with Water Monsters," in each of which Puhvel seeks to demonstrate that analogues in Germanic literatures are either rare or nonexistent but plentiful in Celtic. The most important chapter, and the longest, is the concluding one, in which Puhvel expands material published in an article also appearing this year ("A Scottish Analogue to the Grendel Story," NM 81, 395-8) to make essentially the same point: that the Celtic tale of "The Hand and the Child" is a more plausible source for the Grendel story than the more commonly noted "Bear's Son Tale." Ruth Mellinkoff also seeks to establish a background for the Grendel story in "Cain's Monstrous Progeny in Beowulf: Part II, Post-Diluvian Survival" (ASE 9, 183-97). After examining a wide range of apocryphal material, including early rabbinic, Muslim, ME metrical, and modern Mormon, her conclusion is that no source for the notion that some of Cain's progeny survived the flood can be positively linked to Beowulf. Few will be surprised at Rolf H. Bremner's conclusion, in "The Importance of Kinship: Uncle and Nephew in 'Beowulf'" (AB&G 15, 21-38), that "the relation MoBr-SiSo plays a significant role in 'Beowulf'," though the dark implications of the reverse relationship (FaBr-BrSo) exemplified in Hrothgar-Hrothulf and Onela-Eanmund and Eadgils are less frequently noticed.

A pair of articles concerned with Beowulf in general but not with matters of interpretation or background, literary or otherwise, are Adelaide Hardy's "Historical Perspective and the 'Beowulf' Poet" (Neophil 63 [1979], 430-49) and Jerzy Kuryłowicz's "Linguistic Fundamentals of the Meter of Beowulf" (Linguistic and Literary Studies in Honor of Archibald A. Hill IV, ed. Mohammad Ali Jazayery et al. Trends in Linguistics, Studies and Monographs, 10 [The Hague, Paris, and New York, 1979], 111-19). Many disparate points are attempted in the first article mentioned, of which the most important is Hardy's skepticism that

Hrothgar can really have been deliberately drawn after the model of an Old Testament patriarch. Such an implicit conflation would to her have been impossible, since an Anglo-Saxon "monastic poet would automatically include Christ in the act of Creation" (p. 436) and would consider him to have been implicitly worshipped by the patriarchs of the Old Testament. At the same time, one has the feeling that "historical sense" had a different meaning for Tolkien and other scholars who have applied the concept to the Beowulf poet than it does to the author. The stated interest of Jerzy Kuryłowicz, in the article cited above, is in "phonetic (phonemic, morpho-phonemic) aspects of the language exploited and transformed to serve metrical functions" (p. 111). After considering in turn metrical equivalence, alliteration, and the system of metrical stress, he comes to the surprising conclusion that "there is, against Sievers, no difference of pattern, e.g., between subtype A₁ (as in scéaðena præatum) and subtype A₂ (as in wisfæst wordum = wisfæst wordum)" (p. 115), but that at the same time there is a "hierarchy of arses" (p. 118) such that in line 1b gear is stronger than dagum.

Several suggested approaches to teaching Beowulf appeared in print, among the most intriguing being Richard W. Bridges's experiment in "Teaching Leadership through Beowulf" (MSE 7, no. 2 [1979], 1-6). Somehow, the author's belief that Beowulf "illustrates what can happen when the leader abandons his role and reacts to the situation directly rather than delegating responsibility for mission accomplishment to a member or members of the group" (p. 2) elicits the reader's sympathy for the 15 West Point cadets who were subjects of the experiment, as does the rather heavy-handed way in which the message was driven home. Also directed to a military clientele, but less military in intent, is James R. Aubrey's approach to Beowulf at the Air Force Academy, described in Joseph Tuso, et al., "The Teaching of Beowulf" (OEN 13, no. 2, 23-7). Aubrey uses the monsters and emphasizes the way in which each is a distortion of human characteristics: Grendel the perverse warrior, his mother the hostess manqué, and the dragon the antithesis of "gold-friend." In the same overview of current approaches to teaching the poem is Ann Hernandez's report that virtually unnoticed by an uncaring administration at Berkeley, Beowulf is being slipped into reading lists alongside more staple fare, such as Animal Farm, Alice in Wonderland, and Robert Burns's "To a Mouse." In contrast with these approaches is the contribution to the Tuso article of Jon J. Pollock, who sees Grendel as a symbol of sexual neurosis, including our "collective fear of castration." The fight with Grendel's mother, on the other hand, represents the attempt of the anima to assert itself, while her defeat releases the Jungian "shadow" in the form of the dragon. Essentially more serious is Lee A. Warren's "Real Monsters Please: the Importance of Undergraduate Teaching" (Jnl of General Education 31 [1979], 23-33), which describes a comparative study of Camus's The Plague and Beowulf in an introductory humanities course. Particular attention is paid to the ways in which the problem of evil is embodied in the monsters of Beowulf and the plague of Camus's novel. Such comparisons seem to Warren, with some justification, to provide an effective means of illuminating the meaning of earlier works and of leading the beginning student "to challenge his own ideas and perspectives" (33). Finally, some experience of English pub life (and of British humor) is helpful for understanding Paul Edwards's "Art and Alcoholism in Beowulf" (DUJ 72, 127-31). To Edwards the hero's name might well be Beorwulf, while Heorot is conceivably "an early form of The White Hart or The Antlers" (131) changed in the course of the poem to The Grendel Arms.

Articles treating shorter sections will be discussed in the order set by the poem's sequence. Accordingly, Robert P. Creed's fascinating, though highly

speculative, attempt to relate the beginning of the poem to remote origins in the experience of the Neolithic revolution ("Is There an Ancient Gnome in Beowulf Line 4?," FForum 13, 109-26) must be mentioned first. The argument is that the collocation "scyld scefing sceaþe[na]" reflects a specific alliterative pattern shared by all branches of primitive Indo-European language and might, therefore, reflect a mode of thought characteristic of the group at about the time it began to sow fields and keep crops but before it began to migrate broadly. Creed thinks that line 4 might mask an ancient gnome something like "Sheaves beget scathers and need sciolds," reflecting early agricultural man's growing awareness that possessions make one vulnerable to attack and therefore create the need for someone to protect the group. As the interrogative character of his title suggests, Creed nowhere presents these reflections as anything more than fitting speculation, though the danger remains that some will receive them as in some sense tested and proved.

Three articles appearing this year seek to improve Unferth's sometimes blackened reputation. The most thoroughly supported and convincing of them is Carol J. Clover's "The Germanic Context of the Unferþ Episode" (Speculum 55, 444-68). The thesis is that the flyting is a well-known conventional form in early literature with definable characteristics which show that "the Beowulf flyting is not an extreme or deviant case, but an eminently typical one" (p. 467). Important conclusions are that Unferth is performing an expected function and for that reason does not incur the hostility of Hrothgar or even, ultimately, of Beowulf; that the flyting itself is not an exchange of lies and exaggerations but rather a contest in offering alternative interpretations of the same, essentially true, facts; and that the meaning of byle and the possible significance of Unferth's name are not crucial to an understanding of his role. This last may be true but some scholars have argued otherwise and Robert E. Bjork takes one of them to task for misusing the evidence in "Unferth in the Hermeneutic Circle: A Reappraisal of James L. Rosier's 'Design for Treachery: the Unferth Intrigue'" (PLL 16, 133-41). Principally, Bjork points out that Herbert D. Meritt's interpretation of the gloss histriones: fæþelas analyzed the first element as accusative plural of the adjective fah, "wicked, guilty," and that Rosier is wrong to suggest that Meritt equates byle with fæþele. His contention is that Rosier has been misled here and elsewhere by the tendency of words to embrace semantic fields which overlap, the likelihood of error increasing when Latin is the intermediary between two other languages. In a shorter note, "Old English UN- 'Very' and Unferth" (ES 61, 289-92), Jane Roberts suggests that Unferth's name may have very positive connotations if the prefix is taken as an intensifier and not as a privative element.

A pair of papers focus on the banquet in Heorot between the first two fights in relation to other elements in the poem, though T.E. Hart is, as previously, concerned more with numerical relations than with interpretation in "Tectonic Methodology and an Application to Beowulf" (Essays in the Numerical Criticism of Medieval Literature, ed. Caroline D. Eckhardt [London and Lewisburg, Pa.], 185-210). Hart notes that lines 1162 and 2173 (just before Beowulf's return home) are both hypermetrical, use many of the same words, share similar contexts (two banquets), and display similar chiasmic patterning. Further, the two lines are separated from each other by 1010 lines in modern printed editions, while the second passage is 1010 lines from the end of the poem. Still more, lines 1010 and 2020 appear to be similarly related to each other and form an interlocking design with the first two passages noted. Hart explains that a "highly suggestive feature of this pattern, for example, is the explicit comparison it makes between

the two uncle-nephew relationships (Hrothgar-Hrothulf and Hygelac-Beowulf)" (p. 202), though this is offered with the methodological caveat that tectonic patterns must be kept rigidly separate from interpretive ones. E. R. Anderson, in "Formulaic Typescene Survival: Finn, Ingeld and the Nibelungenlied" (ES 61, 293-301), argues that lines 1142-59a represent a formulaic typescene because 1) two potentially hostile people share a hall, 2) they exchange insults, 3) a provocative weapon appears, and 4) fighting leads to the destruction of the hall. The central motif of the provocative weapon, along with the other elements, is repeated in Beowulf's narrative of the Ingeld episode on his return to Hygelac and shows up again when Hagen unsceathes Siegfried's sword in the Nibelungenlied.

Jane C. Nitzsche is concerned in "The Structural Unity of Beowulf -- the Problem of Grendel's Mother" (TSL 22, 287-303) to correlate our understanding of that figure with interpretation of Grendel and the dragon as anti-thane and mock "gold-king," respectively. Thus, Nitzsche sees the wif as antitype of the feminine ideal, implicitly contrasted with Wealhtheow, Hildeburh, Hygd, and Freawaru and attempting a kind of savage intercourse in her battle with her sele gyst beneath the mere. S. Viswanathan's article, "On the Melting of the Sword: wæl-rapas and the Engraving on the Sword-Hilt in Beowulf" (PQ 58 [1979], 360-3), suggests that the poet's comparison of the melting of the sword to the melting of ice "ðonne forstes bend Fæder onlæteð, / onwindeð wælrapas" (1609-10) could refer to the deluge and that, therefore, God unbinds or releases his subjects "through and from the bondage of 'wyrd'" (p. 362). Connections which appear, at least to me, similarly forced are suggested by Lewis E. Nicholson in "The Art of Interlace in Beowulf" (SN 52, 237-49). On the basis of an associative pattern joining words for "body" with those for "house" together with some widely spaced repetition of references to "feathers," Nicholson urges a connection between Hrothgar's sermon at line 1744 ("bona swiðe neah / se þe of flanbogan fyrenum sceoteð") and lines from Wiglaf's elegiac description of his dead lord at 3119 ("...fæðergearwum fus flane fullode"), joining Beowulf's external battle to his internal one.

Two articles which deal with Beowulf's return to his home defend traditional positions sensibly enough but with little that has not been said before. Bruce Moore, in "The Thryth-Offa Digression in Beowulf" (Neophil 64, 127-33), identifies Thryth (l. 1931) as wife of Offa I and defends the interpretation with the argument that sudden shifts of this kind are stylistically and thematically characteristic of the poem. Beowulf's arrival at Hygelac's court provides the focus for Samuel M. Riley's "The Contrast Between Beowulf and Hygelac" (JNT 10, 186-97). The argument is that the passage (1963-2199) is arranged so as to suggest contrasts in Beowulf's favor. To Riley, Hygelac's greeting amounts to a series of charges against Beowulf for undertaking an ill-advised and dangerous enterprise--an enterprise, however, whose success casts doubt on Hygelac's judgment. Further, mention of the great collar to be lost on the Frisian raid and of Hygelac's earlier low estimate of Beowulf makes the uncle appear rash and the nephew suited to be king.

Alan K. Brown's tightly packed article on "The Firedrake in Beowulf" (Neophil 64, 439-60) presents a great deal of evidence to illustrate the complex meaning of dragons for the early Middle Ages. On the one hand, according to the fifth-century commentary of Phillipus the Priest, a work Brown claims was as popular in England as Gregory's Moralia, the dragon's fiery breath is associated with sacrilege and blasphemy and even those armed with "the breastplate of righteousness" cannot prevail against them (pp. 440 and 446). On the other hand,

there is much evidence of direct association between the idea of the dragon and the appearance of the meteor, leading Brown to remark that "if learned men of the twelfth, the fourteenth and later centuries could distinguish between a folk belief involving meteors and the use of the picturesque term, fire-drake, perhaps some of the eighth-century public could do so too" (p. 450). Such material cannot be applied directly or obviously to interpreting Beowulf's conclusion, but the article will have to be taken into account in any serious attempt to do so.

Ten articles on lexical and textual matters appeared this year. Louise Corso offers "Some Considerations of the Concept 'nið' in Beowulf" (Neophil 64, 121-6) in the hope that the ambiguity of the word, which to her can indicate either extrinsic action or an interior moral disposition (as at lines 2738 and 3067), will no longer be obscured as it is in Klaeber's glossary. Barbara Nolan and Morton Bloomfield, commenting on "Beotword, Gilpcwidas, and the Gilphlæden Scop of Beowulf" (JEGP 79, 499-516), discern a socially important ritual behind the terms, a "particular kind of formal speech" amounting to a "publicly declared self-definition" (p. 504). Thus, the poet described as "gilphlæden" (l. 868) "must be in essence a praise poet strictly following the patterns set by the hero's words and deeds" (p. 510) and the phrase "gilp ofersitte" does not mean "refrain from boasting" but rather "to take up or fulfill the boast" (pp. 512-13). Arnold V. Talentino examines terms for armor in "Fitting Guðgewæde: Use of Compounds in Beowulf" (Neophil 63 [1979], 592-6) and uncovers a process of "contextual overlap" in the poem, according to which "if the Beowulf poet wished to reuse a compound, he first had to take into consideration whether the second or subsequent situations he might be considering bore contextual overlap with that of the word's first appearance" (p. 596), though this seems an unlikely way to account for the correlation noted. Stephen Morrison looks at "Beowulf 698a, 1273a: 'frofor ond fultum'" (N&Q 27, 193-6) and argues that the phrase repeated in these two lines is an alliterating pair influenced by biblical phraseology, since the verbs "adiuvisti me, et consolatus es me" from Psalm 85:17 are regularly glossed by forms of fultumian and frefran. To Morrison this gives a distinctly spiritual cast to Beowulf's victory over Grendel.

Textual suggestions, arranged again according to the order of the poem, begin with Norman E. Eliason's alternative emendation of line 84 in "The Burning of Heorot" (Speculum 55, 75-83). For Klaeber's reading, Eliason would substitute "þæt se [þe] secg-hete [op]swerian [dorste]," to be translated--in conjunction with 83b and 85: "It was by no means a long time until one who dared to abjure sword-hostility was to rouse the murderous onslaught," a reading which balances textual boldness by its conformity with what we know from the rest of the poem. In a very quick reply to Eliason's suggestion, Raymond P. Tripp, Jr.'s "Hate and Heat in the Restoration of Beowulf 84: þæt se secg hete apum swerian" (ELN 18, 81-6) defends the MS version, reproduced in his title, translating the lines, "Nor was it very long then, that that man hate with oaths should swear" (p. 85), in which hete is the object of the expression swerian...scolde. Both agree that the reference is not to the Danish-Heathobard feud. Commenting on "Beowulf 431-2 and the Hero's Civility in Denmark" (N&Q 27, 99-100), John D. Niles suggests the reading "þæt ic mote ana [mid] minra eorla gedryht / ond þes heardra heap Heorot fælsian" (the printed version fælsian I take to be an error), interpreting the eorla gedryht as Geats and the heardra heap as Danes. The reading makes the scribe slightly less careless and Beowulf more courteous. Roger Dahood's "A Note on Beowulf 1104-8a" (ME 49, 1-4) points out that the ninth line of script

on f. 157r does not in fact conclude with scolde (p. 1). Following that word there is another whose first letter has a long left-leaning descender, yielding perhaps fon or byn, though either of these would be metrically unusual. Alfred Bammesberger offers "Three Beowulf Notes" (ES 61, 481-4) as follows: 2297b-2299a he translates "The treasure had through (the action of) each brought about the end of the transient life," eliminating the common emendation of MS æghwæðre to æghwæðer; 3126a-3129a he translates, "There was no lot-casting as to who should rob the treasure (which was) from then on without a guardian. The man saw a certain amount (of the treasure) remaining in the hall, lying in a perishable way" (p. 484), placing a full stop or semicolon at the end of 3127a and glossing orweard as "without a guardian." Raymond P. Tripp defends "The Restoration of Beowulf 2781a: Hat ne forhogode ('Did Not Despise Heat')" (MP 78, 153-8) on the principle that the MS correction of hogode to horde may not have scribal authority. To Tripp, the phrase also has the look of the poet's characteristic understatement.

Louise E. Wright's "merewioingas and the Dating of Beowulf: A Reconsideration" (NMS 24, 1-6) concludes that the word (at l. 2921) traditionally considered to establish a terminus ad quem of ca. 752 for the poem actually supports a terminus a quo "after the downfall of the Merovingian kings, possibly as late as the early ninth century" (p. 5). The burden of the argument is that the term derives from the patronymic Merovech, a dynastic founder identified only by Fredegar, whose work became known in England after 751 and was popular there in Carolingian times. (Cf. p. 5) In conjunction with other work currently being pursued, this evidence could be very important indeed. The article of Dionisia Tejera on the "Date and Provenance of Beowulf" (Letras de Deusto 9, no. 18 [1979], 165-76) contains nothing not elsewhere available in the early commonplaces of Beowulf scholarship.

If only for the appearance of the new Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972 by Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson (Toronto), 1980 would have to be marked out as a very special year in Beowulf studies. The book is reviewed elsewhere in this issue, of course, but to leave unnoticed here the authors' careful topical arrangement, impressively comprehensive coverage and modig attempt to include even all reviews, might appear unseemly and ungrateful to Beowulf students. At the same time, I hope the reviewer's cavil will not convict me of ingratitude if I remark that students of Beowulf might have welcomed further subdivision in the long section (under Beowulf) entitled "Cultural and Historical Studies and Questions of Authorship and Date" (pp. 137-63), listing around 600 items exclusive of reviews and cross references. At first glance one might wonder if Douglas D. Short's publication of Beowulf Scholarship: An Annotated Bibliography (New York) might not indicate an unusual combination of bad luck and ofermod on the author's part, given the near simultaneous appearance of the Greenfield-Robinson Bibliography, but the chronological arrangement, the full and accurate annotation for recent work, and the fact that coverage extends to 1978, make it a very useful companion to the more general OE bibliography (as well as to Donald K. Fry's alphabetically arranged Beowulf and the Fight at Finnsburh: A Bibliography [Charlottesville, Va., 1969]). Short also published a wonderfully clear and well-organized bibliographical essay, entitled "Beowulf and Modern Critical Tradition" (A Fair Day in the Affections: Literary Essays in Honor of Robert B. White, Jr., ed. Jack D. Durant and M.T. Hester [Raleigh, N.C.], 1-23). Short's repeatedly expressed disagreement with and even distaste for most modern Beowulf scholarship, excepting only oral-formulaic theory (see page 14),

might discourage frailer spirits but does not limit the article's overall accuracy or utility. Finally, Friedrich Schubel's detailed review of scholarship between 1960 and 1975 (Probleme der Beowulf-Forschung [Darmstadt, 1979]) is a welcome addition to the list of publications, though English readers will find the material more accessible elsewhere. The book's accuracy and broad coverage of the period will be very helpful to students in Germany who are attempting to sort out a bibliography growing so rapidly from year to year. Moreover, Schubel's habit of quoting frequently in English and then paraphrasing in clear, concise German is oddly reminiscent of Ælfric's way of teaching Latin in his Grammar and Glossary. One can warmly recommend the book to North American graduate English specialists who need to improve their academic German.

Works not seen:

- Smirnitskaia, O.A. "Sinonimicheskie sistemy v Beovul'fe." Vestnik Moskovskogo Universiteta 1980, ser. 9, filologiya 5, pp. 44-57.
- Stanley, E.G. "The Narrative Art of Beowulf." Medieval Narrative: a Symposium. Ed. Hans Bekker-Nielsen, et al. Odense, 1979. pp. 58-81.

d. Prose

Janet Bately's edition of The Old English Orosius (Early English Text Society, S.S.6) must clearly be the most important scholarly publication on OE prose this year. The text for almost all of the edition is drawn from MS B.L. Add. 47967 (Ker 133), known as the Lauderdale or Tollemache manuscript, which was used by Sweet in his edition of 1883 and reproduced by A. Campbell in his facsimile edition of 1953. The copy-text of one part is drawn from MS B.L. Cot. Tib. B.I (Ker 191). Bately establishes that neither of these manuscripts is a copy of the other but that both derive from a common ancestor. Other fragmentary manuscripts and lost manuscripts, as well as a version in Old French, are also intelligently accounted for. The Introduction contains detailed accounts of the language, the sources (including a good summary of what is really known about *Ohthere* and *Wulfstan*), authorship, the date, and the literary style. The case for multiple authorship is discussed and left "unproved" and "the possibility of a single translator ... is not contradicted by the vocabulary." The text, from its references to Alfred as King, can be conclusively dated only to his reign, i.e., 871-899; all other definitive criteria fail. Other evidence points to the period between 889 and 899, and the years 890-91 and a link with Alfred's cultural program are likely. Bately's comparison with sources shows that the text is more of a paraphrase than a translation and that the art of the translator appears to be much more complex and much more effective than previously noticed. The text itself is presented clearly with full reference to the manuscript leaves and with complete collation to both extended manuscripts and all fragments. The Commentary is extensive and helpful; two glossaries are provided: one for general words, the second for proper names.

Two other OE texts have been presented in 1980. An OE life of St. Machutus in MS B.L. Cot. Otho A. VIII (Ker 168) has been edited by Gwenaél Le Duc as part of Vie de Saint-Malo, évêque d'Alet. Version écrite par le diacre Bili (fin du IX^e siècle: textes latin et anglo-saxon avec traductions françaises) (Rennes: Centre Régional Archéologique d' Alet, 1979). The OE text, derived from the manuscript which was much damaged by the Cotton fire, is juxtaposed with a Latin text derived from two manuscripts: B.L. Royal 13 A.X and Bodl. Lib. Lat. 535. Both the OE and the Latin are translated into modern French. While one must remain grateful for any legible and well-ordered transcription of the brutally damaged MS Cot. Otho A.VIII, there are some apparently confused analytical remarks about aspects of the hand which make the awesome enterprise seem to be something less than a total victory.

Joseph Henry Hamilton presented "A Critical Edition of the Blickling Homily on St. Martin of Tours" (Homily XVII) as a Ph.D. dissertation at Bowling Green State University in 1979; it is available through University Microfilms. While comparisons of the Blickling text with Vercelli homily XVIII and MS Bodl. Jun. 86, fols. 62-81, are recorded, none of the manuscripts seems to have been examined first-hand. The introduction provides a summary of information about St. Martin.

On 10 May 1978, Janet Bately gave the Sir Israel Gollancz Memorial Lecture, "The Compilation of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, 60 BC to AD 890: Vocabulary as Evidence" (PBA 64 [1980 for 1978], 93-129), a thoughtful consideration not only of general critical methods but also of their application to

studies of the Chronicle. Rarely does a scholar face negative evidence so squarely; Bately concludes that "the most we can say of the vocabulary of the extant manuscripts is that by and large it is that associated with West-Saxon" (125). Anglian words are noticeable more by their absence than presence. The language can be clearly associated neither with the king, nor with his advisers. "The evidence ... merely suggests that in Alfred's reign at least two chroniclers may have been at work, either simultaneously or separately, one apparently having contributed, rewritten, or revised some of the material relating to the period before Alfred's accession, and that though the 890 Chronicle appears to be a West Saxon compilation, there is nothing in the vocabulary to support the theory of a particularly close connection between the compilers and either King Alfred or the author of the Old English Orosius" (129).

In an apparently modest note, "The Latin Texts Underlying the Old English Gregory's Dialogues and Pastoral Care" (*N&Q* N.S. 27.6, 483-8), C. D. Jeffery presents some interesting evidence and raises some important questions which affect widely held attitudes about the origin of OE texts which are derived from Latin works. Although most recent scholars who have written on Wærferth's OE Dialogues "have generally accepted the text of Moricca as a fair representation of that used by Wærferth," Jeffery cites twenty-seven places in Book I alone where the OE is closer to Migne's text than to Moricca's. He goes on, however, to cite seventeen places where the OE is clearly closer to Moricca's than to Migne's, five where the OE corresponds to neither version, and ten which seem to point to still another Latin text lying behind the OE. This evidence underlines the need to know "just what Latin text [Wærferth] was translating" (487). Jeffrey goes on to point out that the situation is not really different with the OE Pastoral Care. He concludes that "if it is worth studying and assessing the translations made by King Alfred, or by his helpers, it must also be worth asking what exactly they were translating" (488).

Brigitte Langefeld, in "Die lateinische Vorlage der altenglischen Chrodegang-Regel" (*Anglia* 98, 403-16), discusses some eight manuscripts of the original Latin text from which the OE text is derived. She groups them into two main categories with significant sub-groups. All are in continental libraries except MS CCC 191 (Ker 46), the base text for Napier's bilingual edition in 1916.

Hans Sauer, in "Zwei spätaltenglische Beichtermahnungen aus Hs. Cotton Tiberius A. III" (*Anglia* 98, 1-33), presents, with full apparatus, the texts of two interesting confessional pieces. The first (Ker 186, 9h), is an exhortation and the second, which follows immediately in the manuscript, is a confessional text itself. A facsimile of fol. 53V of the manuscript illustrates the judicious commentary.

The Blickling Homilies have attracted four commentaries in 1980, in addition to the edition of the St. Martin homily mentioned above. Laura R. McCord, in "Morris's Translation of Hleahtras in Blickling Homily IV" (*N&Q*, N.S. 27.6, 488-9), argues convincingly that Morris should have translated hleahtras as "laughter," not as "vices." The correction is not only more faithful to the unmistakable sense of the OE word, but also much more sensitive to the literary context.

In another of her sensitive commentaries on sections of the Blickling book, Marcia A. Dalbey, in "'Soul's Medicine': Religious Psychology in the Blickling Rogation Homilies" (Neophil 64, 470-77), demonstrates that the thematic materials of all three homilies for Rogationtide (or at least of the parts which survive) -- Homilies VIII, IX, and X -- are carefully unified to "entice the sinners from their sins with promises of the eternal rewards of heaven" (474). But heavenly reward is supplemented with concrete examples for correct living on earth and "the eschatological and the psychological" (476) are joined to move the listener effectively.

Julia Dietrich, in "The Liturgical Context of Blickling Homily X" (AN&Q 18, 138-39), connects two details of the homily for Rogation Wednesday -- details which might have been thought to be somewhat "random" and "idiosyncratic" -- with the principal theological themes of the homily.

The most difficult homily in the Blickling book is number XIII on the Assumption of the Virgin Mary. Its confusions have long been recognized and explanations have been attempted. In "Misplaced Passages in Blickling Homily XIII" (NM 81, 399-402), M. Kay Nellis, by careful study of two particularly troublesome passages and their sources, confirms, with news of previously unimagined complications, Rudolph Willard's theory that Homily XIII is a combination of two different narratives. Nellis contends that the "original" homilist may well have left gaps in his adaptation of his source at these points -- gaps which were filled later by previously discarded fragments of the two Assumption narratives. The argument is well supported by close study of the sources, but must necessarily remain a learned hypothesis.

All students of Ælfric will welcome the reprint of Peter Clemons's extremely useful article, "The Chronology of Ælfric's Works," originally published in 1959 as part of the festschrift for Bruce Dickins, The Anglo-Saxons: Studies in Some Aspects of their History and Culture. Six typographical errors are now corrected, and a note of reference is added to John Collins Pope's edition of Homilies of Ælfric: A Supplementary Collection. The reprint is available through the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at Binghamton as Subsidia, volume 5, of OEN.

M. R. Godden's important essay, "Ælfric's Changing Vocabulary" (ES 61, 206-23), examines in detail some of the words which Ælfric stopped using in the course of his career and some of those he began to use. "The shifts in Ælfric's vocabulary are not the vagaries of a novice writer struggling to find an acceptable mode of expression" (219). Instead, "the evidence suggests ... that ... his grammar and style [and his vocabulary] ... changed gradually, in response to stylistic experiment and external influences" (222). If this sort of evidence can be demonstrated in the works of Ælfric, for whom the chronology of his texts is so well established, how necessary it is to bring caution, Godden suggests, to any dating of anonymous texts by vocabulary alone.

Further evidence for Ælfric's care for his texts comes, curiously enough, in Jerome Oetgen's essay, "A Proposed Correction in Ælfric's Homily 'In Natale Unius Confessoris' (CH II, 43)" (Neophil 63 [1979], 619-21). While much evidence for Ælfric's attention to his sources and diligence with his prose is adduced, Oetgen contends that it is likely that he did err in the choice of one OE word.

Sr. Mary Jerome Roman's essay, "St. Basil the Great and Ælfric in the Light of the Hexaemeron" (Analecta Ordinis S. Basilii Magni 10 [1979], 39-49), compares St. Basil's version of the six days of Creation (in nine sermons) to the OE version of Ælfric. She contends (and so contended in a 1950 M.A. thesis at Fordham), that Ælfric used Basil as a source, by way of Bede and other possible influences. The influence of Basil "is evident not so much from a direct borrowing of exact quotations or phrases, but rather from the adaptations of particular thoughts and expressions, or combinations of patterns of thought which show signs of the influence of St. Basil's work" (48-9).

Micheline Larès deals with a known problem in "Les Eléments Antijuifs dans les sermons anglais d'Ælfric d'Eynsham (Xème siècle)" (Annales du Centres d'études supérieures et de recherches sur les relations ethniques et le racisme européens 1 [1978], 5-24). She cites some fifteen passages in ten separate texts. Ælfric's attitude, it seems, is rather much typical of his times. The Jew is clearly a part of the Old Testament context but, in view of the New Testament, Jews announce Christ, but are parts of a lost world.

In a detailed catalogue of one stylistic feature, "Paired Opposites in Wulfstan's Sermo Lupi ad Anglos" (RJO 50, 233-43), Michael Cummings studies a well-known text with new thoroughness. With references to and comparison with other Wulfstan texts, Cummings exposes the variety of Wulfstan's pairing of words with opposed meanings and suggests that this habit of mind reflects his vision of the world.

Since the names of Old English authors are relatively rare, any known name tends to attract a bibliography. Accepted lists are then subject to challenge. Byrhtferth of Ramsey has long been recognized as the author of a rhetorical Manual as well as of a Latin preface to an anthology; he signed both. Other Latin works have been ascribed to him, as early as 1874 and as recently as 1974 with Peter Clemons's brilliant theory that Byrhtferth translated parts of the Hexateuch into OE. The role of Byrhtferth in several works is challenged by Peter S. Baker in "The Old English Canon of Byrhtferth of Ramsey" (Speculum 55, 22-37). After careful examination of vocabulary and various stylistic features, Baker rejects Byrhtferth's translation of the Hexateuch and the OE version of Halitgar's Penitential. He allows his authorship of lives of Oswald and Egwin and, of course, the Manual; he acknowledges that Byrhtferth was probably "responsible for the compilation of the computistical miscellany ... to which he provided a Preface" (37). Baker's case is strong but, almost certainly, other arguments will be advanced before the Byrhtferth canon becomes a "standard" part of OE literary history.

Works not seen:

- Bately, J.M. The Literary Prose of Alfred's Reign: Translation or Transformation? Inaugural Lecture, Chair of English Language and Medieval Literature, 4 March 1980. London. 26 pp.
- Jessup, S.S.M. Remembrance in Good Works: A Study of the Prose Translations of King Alfred. Folkestone, 1979. 65 pp.
- Kuster, J. "L'Ordre des éléments et ses implications stylistiques dans la phrase des homélies d'Ælfric comparée à celle des sermons de Wulfstan." Diss., Univ. of Paris. Abstract: BAM 15 (1979), 165; EA 33, 494-5.

Vassallo, A.M., ed. and trans. Be gescēadwisan gerēfan. With
appendix by Patrizia Lendinara. Palermo. 74 pp.

R.L.C.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL WORKS

Since there is no single work of such scope or depth that it must be singled out for attention, the review of the publications of 1980 begins with a group of publications on Bede. C. W. Jones continues his work on the Bedan Opera Didascalia in volume 123C of the Corpus Christianorum, series latina. The chief text edited here is De Temporibus, to accompany which Jones has reconstructed a Bedan Circulus Paschalis and Kalendarium siue Martyrologium. The volume also contains three Bedan letters on related subjects (ad Pleguinam, ad Helmuualdum, ad Vvichthedum), two pieces of questionable authenticity, and other early medieval computistical writings, some roughly contemporary with Bede. In "Bede's Vera Lex Historiae" (Speculum 55, 1-21), Roger Ray studies the meaning of an expression that occurs both in the epistolary preface of the Historia Ecclesiastica and in the commentary In Lucam at 2:33-34, Jerome used the phrase in a highly rhetorical passage in which he heaped scorn upon Helvidius for arguing that the Evangelist endorsed the common opinion about the relationship of Jesus and Joseph. In Bede on Luke the Hieronimian phrase is used to express the minor rule that Biblical writers occasionally (as in Luke 2:33-34) departed from fact to express mistaken common opinion. This lex historiae is a minor one which could not become a major premise of Bede's great history; and, indeed, in HE the phrase simply evokes "a rule" which justifies the use of oral report, the accuracy of which the historian cannot himself verify. In this argument, Bede was perhaps refuting Isidore's assertion that "oral sources are all but illegitimate" (p. 16). Ray's is a learned and elegant argument based on sensitive and rhetorically perceptive reading of Latin sources. The treatment of Caedmon in HE is discussed by Richard J. Schrader in "Caedmon and the Monks, the Beowulf-Poet and Literary Continuity in the Early Middle Ages" (ABR 31, 39-69), in which it is argued that Latin rhetorical traditions had much to do with OE oral composition of verse. Elena Malaspina's contribution to the Studi di Poesia Latina in onore di Antonio Traglia (1979; vol. 2, pp. 973-87) is a discussion of "Tre meditazioni salmiche di Beda il Venerabile" in which she compares the technique of the ruminations on Psalms 41, 83, and 112 with the principles set out in De Arte Metrica. The works are characterized as verse soliloquies, which for Bede become interior colloquies with God.

The relationship of Bede and another Northumbrian author is studied by Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe in "The Use of Bede's Writings on Genesis in Alcuin's Interrogationes" (Sacris Erudiri 23 [1978-79], 463-83). The Bedan works in question are De Natura Rerum and Libri Quattuor in Principium Genesis. A note on Alcuin's work, "Mundissuma Vinea Sorehc chez Alcuin," by François Chatillon (Revue du Moyen Age Latin 35 [1979], 140) points to another reference to Sorec or Soreth, which Chatillon thinks was probably usually found by medieval writers in secondary rather than scriptural contexts. In "Alcuin's Poetic Style and the Authenticity of 'O mea cella'" (SM, ser. 3, 20 [1979], 555-83), Peter Godman studies at length the style of this disputed poem and assigns it firmly to Alcuin. It was, Godman believes, written about the time of Alcuin's move from Aachen to Tours and reflects his literary relation to Angilbert.

Michael Lapidge's publications in 1980 included articles on neglected occasional verse by Anglo-Saxons. "Some Latin Poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan" (ASE 9, 61-98) is an important contribution to our knowledge of Latin poetry composed in England in the reign of Athelstan (924-39). Lapidge first establishes that William of Malmesbury referred disapprovingly to but did not quote a hermeneutic composition on Athelstan. The verse William quoted

(often taken to be the poem roughly contemporary with Athelstan which William also mentioned) was actually work of the twelfth century, probably composed at Malmesbury by a speaker of French. Three short poems can, however, be taken as more closely contemporary evidence. The first, an acrostic by one John to Athelstan as a prince, Lapidge suggests was written by John the Old Saxon, the chaplain of Athelstan's grandfather, Alfred; and he ascribes to John the reintroduction to England of the hermeneutic style. Furthermore, Lapidge suggests, two other acrostics of similar style but addressed to Alfred himself may also be by John the Old Saxon. The second verse, as reconstructed here, reports Constantine's submission to Athelstan at Eatmotum to the royal burh at Winchester. The last poem was entered (in the hand of a continental scribe) in a Gospel book, now Cotton Tiberius A.ii, to commemorate its gift by the king to Christ Church, Canterbury. Thus, although Lapidge deprives us of one supposedly contemporary poem on the career of Athelstan, he adds three occasional poems in Latin which can take their place as monuments to the reign of this grandson of Alfred alongside the more famous vernacular poem on the Battle of Brunanburh in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle. In 1975, Lapidge established that two poems are genuine verse works of St. Dunstan. Helmut Gneuss has since shown that one of these, a distich, is based on Hrabanus Maurus and betrays familiarity with earlier Latin verse ("Dunstan und Hrabanus Maurus; zur Hs. Bodleian Auctarium F.4.32," Anglia 96 [1978], 136-48, not heretofore noticed in YWOES). Lapidge now demonstrates that three more distichs were preserved by Faricius in his Vita S. Aldhelmi, c. 1080. Two of these were also preserved by William of Malmesbury, who also alluded to but did not quote in entirety Dunstan's verses incised on the tomb built for Aldhelm's remains in 986. In his note on "St. Dunstan's Latin Poetry" (Anglia 98, 101-106), Lapidge concludes that these small remains of occasional verse allow us to regard Dunstan as the "harbinger" of writers of Latin verse in the closing years of the tenth century.

A first modern edition of "The Digby-Gotha Recension of the Life of St. Ecgwine" has been published by Lapidge in the Vale of Evesham Historical Society Research Papers for 1979 (7, 39-55). This text is a redaction of a redaction: Digby-Gotha is an adaptation of Dominic of Evesham's revision (c. 1100) of the Vita of Ecgwine by Byrhtferth of Ramsey. Lapidge localizes this text at Evesham in the context of the controversy over investiture between Anselm and Henry I in the first years of the twelfth century. Two articles of Robert Folz noted in section 6 of the Bibliography for 1980 are more properly reviewed elsewhere in YWOES, but it may be noted here that they are important studies of royal hagiography as a genre.

Three publications on the Anglo-Saxon apostle of Germany appeared in 1980. The most important -- and the one not intended to mark the 1300th anniversary of the birth of Boniface -- is the edition by George John Gebauer and Bengt Löfstedt, Bonifatii (Vynfreth) Ars Grammatica, accedit Ars Metrica (Corpus Christianorum, series latina, 133B). It is the first edition to bring together the verse and prose prefaces with a full text of the Ars Grammatica, and it is the first truly critical edition of either of the artes. Löfstedt has worked assiduously on Boniface's sources and shows that the Grammar is firmly based in the work of three ancient grammarians: Charisius, Donatus, and Phocas. Biographers of Boniface and historians of education can now take fuller account of his place as a grammarian and teacher. The letters and verse, as well as these school texts, ought probably now to be studied in light of Michael Lapidge's recent discussions of the hermeneutic style and the influence of Aldhelm. Two general volumes on Boniface, published in 1980 by the same press

at Exeter, do not speak extensively of his writings other than the letters, nor do they advance the scholarly appreciation of Boniface beyond the standard set by Schieffer's study, Winfried-Bonifatius und die christliche Grundlegung Europas (1954; rev. ed. 1972) or the Festschrift published at Fulda in 1954 to mark the twelfth centenary of his death. The first of these books, five popular lectures by members of the faculty of history at the University of Exeter to observe the thirteenth centenary of the traditional date of Boniface's birth (a peculiarly modern conceit), is The Greatest Englishman: Essays on St. Boniface and the Church at Crediton, edited by Timothy Reuter. Both Christopher Holdsworth ("Saint Boniface the Monk," pp. 47-67) and George Greenaway ("Saint Boniface as a Man of Letters," pp. 31-46) treat the letters extensively. The second general volume, Boniface of Devon, Apostle of Germany, by John Cyril Sladden, is an example of that increasingly rare phenomenon: vicarage scholarship. It is a useful but limited summary of scholarship and does not break new ground.

Roger Reynolds's monograph, The Ordinals of Christ from their Origins to the Twelfth Century (Beiträge zur Geschichte und Quellenkunde des Mittelalters, 7; Berlin and New York, 1978) surveys the history of an interesting and persistent, if minor, genre of documents that relates the several orders of the clergy to the life of Christ, implying thereby dominical sanction for the grades of ministry. In this history, Hibernian texts play a pivotal role, influencing in turn the Carolingian development of the genre. More to our present point, however, are the English Ordinals of the tenth and eleventh centuries. Chief among these is the version contained in an allocution to ordinands in the pontificals. But there is also an OE tract on orders related to Wulfstan which contains an ordinal and a commentary thereupon which has an ancestry different from that of the ordinal. Reynolds has greatly illuminated a minor but intriguing and illuminating tradition related to medieval liturgics and clerical spirituality. Allusion may be made in this context to several other liturgical studies. "The 'Abbreviatio Amalarii' of William of Malmesbury" is discussed at length by Richard W. Pfaff in an article that appears in RTAM 7, 77-113, and an edition of the work will appear in a forthcoming issue of the same journal. William is, of course, beyond our period, but his remarkably independent adaptation of the Liber Officialis will be read with great interest by anyone interested in the textual history of Amalarius's work in England. "Liturgical Materials for the Medieval Priory of St. Neots, Huntingdonshire" are discussed by Mary P. Richards (in RB 90, 301-306), and two brief sermons for the translation of St. Neot are printed for the first time. The MS in question (B.L. Add. 38130) is from the twelfth century, when the house was a subsidiary of Bec, although the translation of the relics from Cornwall to Huntingdonshire is to be dated about 985.

Fittingly, volume 54 (1979) of the Fordham University quarterly, Thought, was devoted to the memory of the great scholar of early Irish Latin learning, Robert McNally, S.J. Several of the articles offered in memory of Father McNally touch upon Anglo-Latin writings. Joseph F. Kelly's "Books, Learning and Sanctity in Early Christian Ireland" (pp. 253-61) is covered in section 6, below. Martin McNamara studies "Ireland and Northumbria as Illustrated by a Vatican Manuscript" [Pat. lat. 68] (pp. 274-90). The manuscript, probably copied in Northumbria in the early eighth century, contains a fragmentary commentary on the Vulgate text of the Psalter. McNamara believes it reflects the exegetical activities of the seventh-century Irish monastic schools and, because of its later dissemination, may have contributed in ways hitherto unrecognized to exegesis outside of Ireland in the Middle Ages. "Reference to the Ecclesia Primitiva in

Eighth Century Irish Gospel Exegesis" is Glenn W. Olsen's related contribution to the McNally memorial (pp. 303-12). Olsen discusses several continental Irish exegetical texts. Thomas D. O'Sullivan's study of The De Excidio of Gildas: Its Authenticity and Date (Leiden, 1978) is a defense of the Gildas against a now-discredited group of Welsh debunkers. A monograph in English on Gildas is needed, but O'Sullivan's work does not address the questions either historians or literary students are asking about Gildas nowadays.

Most Anglo-Saxonists are surely well acquainted with Pierre Riché's classic study, Education et Culture dans l'Occident Barbare (1962) -- a work which covers the sixth through the eighth centuries and includes significant chapters on the monastic schools in England. Riché has now published a work that goes to the end of our period: Les Ecoles et l'Enseignement dans l'Occident Chrétien de la Fin du V^e Siècle au Milieu du XI^e Siècle (1979). More concerned, as the title indicates, with educational practice than with larger cultural issues, the newer volume seems also to this reader more dependent on secondary literature -- especially in the frequent and substantial passages dealing with education among the Anglo-Saxons. Yet it is chiefly perhaps because it is truly pan-European in scope that this volume is to be valued, and Riché has on the whole chosen his secondary sources well. The discussion of lay education at the end of the period covered in this survey is especially unusual in books of this sort and is extremely useful.

Works not seen:

- Campbell, James. "Bede's Words for Places." Names, Words and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement. Ed. P. H. Sawyer. Leeds, 1979, pp. 34-54.
- Crehan, J. H. "The Theology of Eucharistic Consecration: Role of the Priest in the Celtic Liturgy." Theological Studies 40 (1979), 334-43.

M.McC.G.

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

Although much of our knowledge of civilization before the advent of the printing press comes from a detailed study of manuscripts in their chronological context, there has been, as far as this reviewer knows, no modern survey of the history of palaeography. Bernhard Bischoff's Paläographie des römischen Altertums und des abendländischen Mittelalters (Berlin, 1979) is, therefore, a particularly useful book. Bischoff's qualifications for the undertaking are ideal. His view is broad but without a corresponding blurring of detail. The arrangement is historical; the book divided into three major categories: (a) Handschriften Kunde; (b) Geschichte der lateinischen Schrift; (c) Die Handschrift in der Kulturgeschichte. In each category, Bischoff's discussions seem comprehensive without becoming oppressive and he marshals his facts with an impressive clarity and ease. Not least in importance is the long and detailed bibliography which covers all aspects of the field. Bischoff's book will be especially welcome to teachers of palaeography and will, almost certainly, soon be available in translation.

The question of what was read in Anglo-Saxon England is an important one and two articles deal with this issue. Helmut Gneuss has drawn up "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100" (ASE 9, 1-60). Gneuss' list is a working copy, published at this stage in order to solicit information from other scholars. So far, Gneuss has listed 947 items. This inventory, however, is not a complete list of what was read in England during the period, since Gneuss only specifies the main item in each entry and since he does not list twelfth century copies of texts. We know, moreover, that much material has been irrevocably lost. Gneuss includes information on whether the text is written in Old English, Latin, etc., and discusses the dating, origin, and provenance of the manuscript. The scope of his task is clearly enunciated; his arrangement, logical. A brief spot check, too, suggests that his accuracy is unquestionable. F. A. Rella's "Continental Manuscripts Acquired for English Centers in the Tenth and Early Eleventh Centuries: a Preliminary Checklist" (Anglia 98, 107-116) nicely complements Gneuss' work. It is known that there were many links between England and the Continent during the period of the Benedictine revival and afterwards. Since many works had been destroyed in England during the ninth century wars, moreover, there was a need to replace them from Continental copies. Rella gives a check list of 34 manuscripts acquired during the period. This list is conservative, however, since Rella has eliminated any item whose claim is founded on assumption rather than fact.

In his article, Gneuss notes the close association between manuscripts and the church; that the known places of origin or provenance "are almost exclusively cathedrals, cathedral priories and Benedictine abbeys and nunneries." In "Glastonbury, Dunstan, Monasticism and Manuscripts" (Art Hist. 2, 275-90), John Higgitt looks at the products of one of these centers. Glastonbury, he suggests, had a flourishing school for manuscript writing and illumination, particularly during the period of the tenth-century monastic reform movement. The importance of this school, however, has been underestimated by modern scholars because there seem to be few survivors. Higgitt makes use of the survivors to posit the existence of many other now lost texts. He suggests, too, that a number of manuscripts with doubtful attributions may, in fact, come from Glastonbury. St. Dunstan was an important figure at Glastonbury and Higgitt examines the famous drawing of him in Oxford, Bodley MS Auct. F. 4. 32. He argues that this drawing

was adapted from a picture of Rabanus Maurus adoring the cross in De Laudibus Sanctae Crucis and that there must, therefore, have been a copy of this latter work in the library. He also attributes the illustration to Dunstan himself and suggests that it is symbolic of the reform movement itself, with its strong alliance of king and monks. The First Style, then, should be linked with Glastonbury, which also continued to exercise a strong influence over Canterbury after Dunstan became archbishop. Mary Catherine Bodden also makes "A Study of the Anglo-Saxon Classbook Bodley MS Auct. F. 4. 32" (DAI 40A, 6265-66). Her dissertation is divided into two sections. In the first, Bodden gives a detailed description of the four booklets which make up the volume and discusses the importance of each. In the second she makes a close examination of the second item, the Old English homily, the oldest vernacular homily on the finding of the Cross. This, surprisingly, has hitherto never been done, in spite of the valuable evidence it furnishes as a specimen of both the inherited and native culture of England.

Oxford, Bodleian MS Junius 11 also forms the subject of two pieces. H. R. Broderick III examines "The Iconographic and Compositional Sources of the Drawings in Oxford, Bodleian Library, MS Junius 11" (DAI 41A, 439). Broderick first gives a discussion of the manuscript and then an analysis of each of the 48 drawings in it. He suggests that the model for the Genesis illustrations shared characteristics with an essential variant on the Cotton Genesis tradition found in the ivory plaques of the so-called Salerno "antependium" and in the drawings after the lost fifth-century fresco cycle of the Basilica of San Paolo Fucri-Temura in Rome. He concludes that the Genesis illustrations represent "a unique survival of a lapsed endeavor to provide a dramatic vernacular text with a rich cycle of pictures and ... a powerful witness to the status and integrity of literary art in Anglo-Saxon England." In contrast to Broderick, P. J. Lucas looks at part of what was not illustrated in Junius 11: he writes "On the Blank Daniel-Cycle in Ms Junius 11" (JWCI 42, 207-13). Using known Biblical cycles (most completed Daniel-cycles are Spanish) it is possible to speculate about planned illustrations, of which there may have been as many as 38. Lucas gives a table showing parallel treatments for 36 possible illustrations. The illustrator must have had some model in mind, perhaps a now lost text which could also have been a source for the Catalan Roda Bible. If so, the lost exemplar may have originated in Northern France. In any case, the Daniel illustrations were planned in highly ambitious fullness and would have involved an unusual separate treatment of each of the various narrative elements and much improvization.

Hans Sauer gives a full and useful discussion of the Handbook associated with Wulfstan in "Zur Überlieferung und Anlage von Erzbischof Wulfstans 'Handbuch'" (DAEM 36, 341-84). This includes a catalogue of the 11 manuscripts--whose contents vary from manuscript to manuscript--and a detailed study of two of these manuscripts. From this examination, Sauer posits a format for the earliest versions of Wulfstan's Handbook. He then demonstrates the extent to which Wulfstan used this material as sources for his own writing. Sauer concludes that the Handbook existed from the beginning in a number of copies with varied but overlapping contents. Some excerpts, however, are found only in single manuscripts. He concludes that further work needs to be done on the relationships among the various manuscripts.

Dorothy M. Horgan examines "The Lexical and Syntactic Variants Shared by Two of the Later Manuscripts of King Aldred's Translation of Gregory's Cura

Pastoralis" (ASE 9, 213-21). She first establishes that Cambridge, Trinity College MS R. 5. 22 and Cambridge, University Library MS Ii. 2. 4 must have shared a common ancestor of great authority. The traditions they share from this ancestor are then contrasted with readings from a manuscript dating from the earliest traditions. The variants are divided into lexical and syntactic categories and many examples are given. Particularly interesting are the syntactic variants which result from chronological change. These show clearly a breaking down of case endings, a more modern word order and system of verb usage. The stylistic variants, too, are analyzed and show the development of a more formal "literary" tone. What all this suggests is that the ancestor was edited "not only with considerable care, but with a distinct sense of scholarship and 'literary' style." This pattern stands in contrast with the more conservative method shown in many other tenth-century treatments of this text and may have emanated, Horgan thinks, from Canterbury.

Two articles re-examine questions of provenance. K. D. Hartzell challenges Dom René-Jean Hesbert's conclusions concerning Rouen Bibliothèque Municipale MS 26 (A. 292) in "An English Antiphoner of the Ninth Century?" (RB 90, 234-48). Hartzell establishes that this manuscript "is not a palimpsest antiphoner but a well-organized and executed miscellany containing a practically unique ordering of texts related to the CURSUS ROMANUS, some of which were intended from the outset to be part of the book, the bulk added." It almost certainly came from Northern France and seems to be associated with a highly organized and substantial writing establishment. An examination of the texts for the Divine Office indicates that the emendations at the end of different sections are jottings by a student. In the texts for the Sunday of Advent and for the Offices of St. John the Baptist we seem to be dealing with a carefully considered liturgy, prepared perhaps at a different institution. Daphne I. Stroud gives a clearly articulated summary of the internal facts which can help establish "The Provenance of the Salisbury Psalter" (Library, 6th ser., 1, 225-35). The Psalter can be dated between 969-87, and was probably used at a nunnery in South West England. Stroud suggests that the strongest arguments can be put forward for Wilton, and that the Northern French influences in the text may well be attributed to the two Lorrainer priests associated with this establishment. Moreover, if the Psalter comes from Wilton, it may have belonged to St. Edith herself, who was a patron of the arts of her day and who owned a handbook of private prayer. Indeed, "It is tempting to think that the Salisbury Psalter may have been a companion volume and may once have been owned and treasured by this charming and spirited saint."

In 1974 Françoise Henry provided a long introduction and commentary for Thames and Hudson's very elegant, very expensive edition of the illustrations of The Book of Kells. Peter Brown has now edited a less grand, less technical (and considerably less expensive) version: The Book of Kells: Forty-eight Pages and Details in Color from the Manuscript in Trinity College, Dublin (New York, 1980). As Brown himself points out, his discussion is not thorough; it attempts to do no more than provide a framework. And in this it is successful. The history of the manuscript, in particular, is dealt with in an interesting manner. Brown also reminds his readers that "Although the great paintings are the pages that are the most immediately striking in the manuscript, it is the profusion and variation in the decoration of the text pages that single out the Book of Kells from the other Insular manuscripts."

In recent years, scholars have become more and more aware of the importance of charters in the analysis of Anglo-Saxon culture and society. Simon

Keynes makes detailed use of diploma evidence to draw fairly startling conclusions in The Diplomas of King Æthelred 'The Unready' 978-1016: a Study in Their Use as Historical Evidence (Cambridge, 1980). Texts (mostly copies) of over 100 diplomas have been preserved and Keynes discusses the information the charters (and their witness lists as well) give about the reign. Hitherto, accounts of the reign of King Æthelred have focused on the last disastrous years and have been based primarily on the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle and Wulfstan's Sermo ad Anglos, colored by William of Malmesbury's later rhetorical analysis of the reign; thus, a distorted view has been produced. The diplomas, however, show the continuation of a royal secretariat in Æthelred's reign and indicate impressive achievements in other areas of royal government--legislation, for example, and the organization of coinage. Especially at the end of the tenth century, Æthelred and his council created social conditions for a remarkable flowering of intellectual activity and material culture. The present study provides the preliminary framework for the biographical work which Keynes now plans to write. It is an impressive piece of scholarship, judicious and sharply reasoned throughout. Marc A. Meyer also uses charter material as evidence in "Land Charters and the Legal Position of Anglo-Saxon Women" in The Women of England from Anglo-Saxon Times to the Present: Interpretive Bibliographical Essays, ed. Barbara Kenner (Hamden, CT, 1979), pp. 57-82. In this essay, Meyer gives serious scholarly treatment to what might otherwise be a rather trendy subject (although his leaps back and forth from century to century are sometimes confusing). His bibliography, especially, is helpful. Basically, his argument focuses upon the question of bookright (or its equivalents such as the morning gift late in the period). Meyer points out that it is very important that women--or at least some aristocratic women--could own estates in bookright and therefore were no longer bound by the customary law governing family lands. Laws of succession, moreover, were designed to keep property within the bounds of the nuclear family and female inheritance was, therefore, respected. The rights of widows and children, it seems, were being protected when land was given to the church reserving usufruct for stipulated lifetimes. Late in the period, it became standard practice to place a widow's guardianship of land under the king or bishop. What is true, then, is that generally actual control of real property came to a woman only after the death of her husband and even then it was often restricted. During the husband's lifetime the woman may have owned property but the husband administered it.

This year, one article deals with the later history of Old English manuscripts. Colin G. C. Tite discusses "The Early Catalogues of the Cottonian Library" (Brit. Lib. Jnl. 6, 144-57). Tite points out that in spite of the importance of the Cottonian library, we know little about its early organization and development. There exists, however, a very revealing series of about fifteen manuscript catalogues which were written before Thomas Smith's catalogue, published in 1696. These can be divided into three chronological groups. Three lists date from Sir Robert's lifetime. There are five later catalogues, two of which were completed shortly after his death in 1631 and which may be connected with the closure of the library in 1629. One of these also shows the beginning of the Emperor system of cataloguing which must, then, have begun earlier than has hitherto been suggested. There is a third group comprising six closely related lists, three dated to 1674. What becomes clear with this group "is that in the late seventeenth century closely similar catalogues of the libraries' contents were being prepared, to provide bibliophiles other than its owners with a record of its riches."

Works not seen:

- Clemons, Peter. Liturgical Influence on Punctuation in Late Old English and Early Middle English Manuscripts. OEN Subsidia 4. Binghamton, NY.
- Gamber, Klaus. "Fragmentblätter eines Regensburger Evangeliars aus dem Ende des 8. Jahrhunderts." Scriptorium 34, 72-77.
- Gelling, Margaret. The Early Charters of the Thames Valley. Leicester, 1979.
- Korhammer, Michael. "Mittelalterliche Konstruktionshilfen und altenglische Wortstellung." Scriptorium 34, 18-58.
- Padel, O. L. "Two New Pre-Conquest Charters for Cornwall." Cornish Stud. 6, 20-27.

J.P.C.

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

a. General Works and Earlier Germanic and Saxon

The Council of Europe has provided a guide to *Monument Protection in Europe (The Netherlands and London: Kluwer) which outlines and compares the code of preservation of member countries. Only Cyprus has a clear and specific list of protected monuments appended to legislation. While the United Kingdom gives greatest powers and discretion to its officers, the law specifically excludes churches and inhabited dwellings. This has led in some cases to serious problems and abuses. The Council has also put forward *Resolutions and Proceedings of the European Architectural Heritage Congress (Strasbourg). The Resolution is sweeping, high-minded, and inclusive, with the clear goal that "Europe's priceless and irreplaceable heritage can and must be preserved"-- but it remains to be seen what teeth piety will be given by the various bodies that control funds.

A very useful record of an important international meeting is found in *Archaeologische Beiträge Zur Chronologie der Völkerwanderungszeit (Antiquitas, Reihe 3, Band 20, Herausgegeben von G. Kossack and J. Reichstein. Bonn, 1977). The congress was convened to set a more precise chronology on the material evidence linking England, Scandinavia, and the Continent in the earlier part of the first millennium. More questions are posed than answers provided, though the complex relationships among the members of what may well be called an early North Atlantic community are more clearly defined in many cases.

A long review article on Medieval Settlement: The Interdisciplinary Approach (1976) is in itself a contribution to knowledge, and is thus appropriately dealt with here. John Insley carefully evaluates each of the sections and articles of the book in "Medieval Settlement . . ." (Journal of the English Place-Name Society 11 [1978-9], 54-73), but his most significant contribution is an indication of what is not present in the larger picture. No numismatic evidence is included, despite rapid progress in the field in the past twenty years; the effect of urbanization on settlement is only touched on, and there is "no examination of the problems associated with land colonization which have loomed so largely in recent Continental accounts is the social structure of the early Middle Ages."

G. Osten surveys "Die Frühgeschichte der Langobarden und die Bildung eines Gross-stammes der Angeln seit dem Ende des zweiten nachchristlichen Jahrhunderts" (Niedersächsisches Jahrbuch für Landesgeschichte 51 [1979], 77-136), and concludes:

Bei der Untersuchung der ethnischen Verhältnisse auf der britischen Insel stellt sich heraus, daß die englischen Teilgruppen einen erheblich größeren Raum einnahmen als die Sachsen und die Jüten. Bereits in der zweiten Hälfte des 6. Jahrhunderts werden die germanischen Bewohner der Insel allgemein Angli, Anglorum gens u. ä. genannt (für die Zeit davor fehlt es an Quellen). Auch wegen des eindeutigen Dominierens des Begriffes Angeln zu so früher Zeit drängt sich der Schluß auf, daß der Stamm ein ungewöhnlich starkes Übergewicht im Bevölkerungspotential besessen haben muß. Bei der Beurteilung dieses Problems ist ferner zu berücksichtigen, daß die Angeln einen beträchtlichen Anteil bei der Bildung des Stammes der Thüringer stellten. Aus diesen Gründen sprechen

mehrere Kriterien dafür, daß es bereits vor Beginn der Übersiedlung auf die britische Insel zur Bildung eines Großstammes der Angeln gekommen ist. Vermutlich umfaßte er den gesamten Raum der anglich-ostholsteinischen Mischgruppe, deren Kulturgut eindeutig die stärkste Ähnlichkeit mit den Relikten im Siedlungsgebiet der Angeln auf der Insel aufweist. Andererseits belegt jedoch jeweils eine Passage in Bedas Kirchengeschichte sowie bei Widukind von Corvey, daß die Sachsen innerhalb des sich neu bildenden, als Angeln bezeichneten Gesamtvolkes der Insel zunächst eine gewisse ethnokulturelle Eigenart bewahren konnten.

Patrick Périn's *La Datation des Tombes Mérovingiennes: Historique-Méthod -- Applications (Geneva) is a massive attempt to gain a new sort of precision on the dating of a supremely important series of monuments. The first ninety-three pages provide a survey of scholarship; the various methods of dating, relative and absolute, are outlined in the second part, and the final section provides examples of methodology in dating two Merovingian cemeteries, these at Bulles (Oise), and of the Ardeno-Meusienne region. In general, Périn's researches tend to the conclusion that there was a serious demographic decline from the third century crusades with often complete breakdowns in the fourth and fifth centuries, so that the Franks in some cases started over anew.

Flemming, Andersen et al. have edited *Medieval Iconography and Narrative -- A Symposium (Odense). Two papers are of particular importance for early medievalists, Heinrich Beck's study of the Wayland Smith image and its evolution, and Sue Margeson's account of *"The Volsung Legend in Medieval Art" (183-211). In *Der Kunstfertige Schmied -- Ein Ikonographisches Und Narratives Thema Des Fruhen Mittelalters, Beck holds that a combination of literary and iconographical material, and of cultural contact through story types found in classical literature, are formative to an image. This piece surveys a wide range of interesting material, and Beck speculates that the form and connotation of the smith-figure was influenced by a fusion with other, classical legends about such as Apelles and Daedalus. Since so much of the evidence is late, and the earliest examples, the Frank's Casket and the Gotlandic picture stone Ardre VIII, are much earlier than any literary source, the bringing together of material into logical order is not entirely successful. All in all, fascinating as Beck's thesis is, one is uneasy about such an interpretation's being imposed upon materials which differ so widely in date and in medium. In the light of the connections that are now seen between England and pre-Viking Scandinavia, the relation between Gotland and England through the Wayland-figure is particularly tantalizing.

Margeson's delightfully destructive account of the Volsung legend militates against any firm interpretation of early medieval iconographies. As a prelude to her excision of unlikely figures from the commonly-accepted corpus, she destroys with a single blow the "Odin Figure" on the Sutton Hoo purse lid, and the twelfth-century tapestry from Skog, Sweden. The identification of Odin-figures was put forward because one-eyed figures are found in both contexts. No so, proves Margeson. The one-eyed figure at Sutton Hoo came into being "due to a [misplaced] blob of conservator's resin," and from the loss of overlay material on the tapestry (the needle-holes of the original over-stitching are still there!). Margeson accepts no such figures on the fifth-to seventh-

century bracteates, and sees the Oseberg Cart figures grasping snakes as of a totally different kind. The Gotlandic stone representations are rejected for similar reasons. The earliest representation Margeson accepts are those of the tenth-century Manx Crosses. Most refreshing of all is the reading she gives us of the interpretation of Volsung material in church architecture:

The iconography of the Volsung legend was obviously acceptable to the church authorities. It does not appear to have had any allegorical significance, however. It is advisable to remember at this stage that the present distribution of Sigurðr iconography is only the result of accidents of survival and that virtually nothing remains in the secular context, such as house-furnishings and vessels, the very area where literary references lead us to suppose a widespread pictorial tradition existed, but which of course is more subject to damage and wear and tear. The Mo drinking-horn is the only secular object to have survived decorated with this story. We must beware of giving an exaggerated significance to the appearance of heroic material on church doorways and furnishings.

In a brief but weighty piece, Glenn Olsen comments on "St. Boniface and the Vita Apostolica" (ABR 31, 6-19). Olsen holds that Boniface, on his own initiative became a missionary with papal authority, like Augustine, though Augustine was ordered into the field, rather than electing it. In doing so, Boniface achieved a higher and more primitive understanding of the apostolic life:

The apostolic life had been more than any of its traditional imitations, and in some sense Boniface had gone through a state of spiritual development when he added apostolic activities to his already existing understanding of his life as a perpetual exile and journey. Not only was the solitary life reconciled with preaching, because both were seen as forms of exile, but both were also seen as part of a full imitation of the apostolic life of the primitive Church. One could retain the monastic themes of exile, poverty and humility while engaged in the conversion of souls. Although the monastic life was not to be defined in terms of apostolic activities, neither, in Boniface's use, were these activities foreign to monastic profession. A kind of synthesis had taken place in which all apostolic activities were again brought together into one living community, as it had once been at Jerusalem.

Kurt-Ulrich Jäschke, in a long review article, finds evidence to dispute the claim of the Frankish character that Boniface presided at the coronation of Pippin; Jäschke holds that perhaps this event took place without Boniface present ("Bonifatius und die Königssalbung Pippins des Jüngeren" Archiv für Diplomatik...23 [1977] 25-54).

Robert Folz provides a detailed study of the way in which the royal Saint Oswald of Northumbria became a cult figure not only in and for immediately succeeding generations, but throughout Europe into the late Middle Ages. ("Saint Oswald roi de Northumbrie: Étude d'hagiographie royale," An Bol 98 49-74).

Two volumes of Dorothy Whitelock's works have appeared in the series of Variorum Reprints (London). *From Bede to Alfred, and *History, Law and

Literature in Tenth- and Eleventh-Century England. It is interesting to see another series added to those already in progress, all having as their primary purpose the resuscitation of valuable pieces of scholarship which are otherwise quite hard to come by. But there are less and more effective ways to accomplish these ends. To charge around \$50.00 for a volume in which old publications are reprinted from stats without even adding a run of page numbers for the volume seems a bit out of order. Instead we have a Roman numeral for each piece printed on each page: e.g., III, 1-19, etc. In the Bede to Alfred volume the Audience of Beowulf piece, originally quite small in format, has been enlarged to such a size that it can be read across the room quite easily, while the "new prefaces, indices, new notes and additions" are in photo-offset of typescript. I must say that we are very scantily provided for in the way of new additions in these volumes; new prefaces are not present, and the Addenda for both volumes total some five hundred words.

Christopher Dyer has produced an extremely lucid and informative account of Lords and Peasants in a Changing Society: The Estates of the Bishropic of Worcester, 680-1540 (Cambridge). Dyer manages to produce an information-filled survey of the Anglo-Saxon period in a short span. First of all, even by the Anglo-Saxon period, lands had been inhabited and cultivated for hundreds, and in some cases, thousands of years. Secondly, Worcester was enormously rich, exceeded only by thirty other estates included in Domesday. Third, there are indications that population density was high, for marginal land seems to have been occupied as early as the eighth century. Interestingly, bishops of Worcester had trading connections; as early as 743-45, Bishop Mildred received a grant of bill exemption on two ships at London. By the reign of Wulfstan I, who held York and Worcester in plurality, the bishop held "Sake and Soke, and toll and team, over his land, and over his men."

Richard Humble's The Saxon Kings, in the Kings and Queens of England series, is an extremely handsome book, and one can find in it the most lurid kind of picture possible. Period, medium, and tonality are cheerfully inconsistent. Turner-esque depictions of Canute and the sea, sepia prints of nasty Vikings taunting a white-robed Alfheah, are provided with almost equally purple prose to match. Alfred "stands out as an unusually bright boy who suffered from indifferent teaching" (42), and the re-evaluations of the character of Ethelred are given no place. The book is lively, but I think a bit dangerous in the way of dramatic and perhaps simplistic accounts.

David Pelteret provides a detailed account of who did what to whom, and when, in "Slave Raiding and Slave Trading in England" (ASE 9, 99-114). The entire scope of information available at present is reviewed by P. J. Fowler in "Farming in the Anglo-Saxon Landscape: an Archaeologist's View" (ASE 9, 263-280).

In P. H. Sawyer, ed., *Names, Words, and Graves: Early Medieval Settlement (Leeds, 1979), three lengthy and important essays deal with the native and implications of place-name evidence in a wide variety of contexts. J. Kousgård Sørensen deals with *"Place-Names and Settlement History" largely in the Scandinavian context (1-33). Since linguistic evidence in Scandinavian contexts is somewhat more dependable than elsewhere, largely because Scandinavia never was settled by alien peoples, it can the more readily be depended on. One of the more fascinating criteria for termini of place-name dates in Scandinavia is seal level change. In Ostergötland, there is a place -- a farm -- named Ekeby. "The farm stands

8.9 metres above sea-level on a ridge which was originally reached by the fjord known as Braviken. The land falls steeply to both sides of the farm. 200 metres further down the height is six metres above sea level, and further 100 metres down, the height is only 4 metres above sea level. It was not until the Migration period that there would have been sufficient land available to support a farm...."

James Campbell writes on *"Bede's Words for Places," and finds some extremely telling evidence for method in the great historian's use of, inter alia, urbs and civitas. His argument is complex, and the word is neither exclusive nor fully inclusive, but it would appear that roughly speaking civitas is collocated with caester, urbs with burg. All the places Bede usually calls civitas had a significant Roman past.

Other words and collocations are addressed, and a hopeful conclusion is reached: "What and where were the Metropolises, avitates, urbes, villae/vici and portus? are not questions which hold forth the hope of complete or unambiguous answers. But they are in large measure answerable." Edward Jones deals with the very vexing question of *"Cemeteries and the Problem of Frankish Settlement in Gaul." He starts with the thesis that "The fate of Gallo-Roman or Romano-British settlements has rarely been determined." The picture of life in the period has been rather darkly drawn, both by archaeologists, and by historians. The one published Merovingian site, Brebières, was seen as a kind of sty by Professor Wallace-Hadrill; James points out that they ate a good deal of meat there, and that the fragments of glass show that the villagers purchased a fair amount of imported material. The evidence discussed is complex, the argument inferential, but the conclusion is that there was no terrible decline in the fourth and fifth centuries; instead, a Frankish aristocracy was established in northern Gaul by Clovis: "The appearance of a new and well-ordered cemetery coincides with the reorganization of Roman estates under new Frankish ownership; the appearance of new habits of inhumation is the result of the adoption by the dependents and tenants of the fashions of their Frankish lord. These dependents could as well be Gallo-Roman as Frankish by ancestry: it was the Roman town dweller and Roman senator who clung tenaciously to Roman habits, which meant little to the Roman countryman" (84-75).

Della Hooke's survey of *"Anglo-Saxon Landscapes of the West Midlands" (Journal of the English Place-Name Society, 11 [1978-9], 3-23) is useful for several reasons. Firstly, the use of such names as hlaew, dun and haga shows that the landscape, even in the early medieval period, was "a long way removed from primeval forest. With its woodlands and undrained marshes it was also a long way from the tamed landscape we know today, but it was obviously a man-made landscape" The number of hlaew-words and their locations throw some light perhaps on Saxon settlement, for hlaew seems to mean "Anglo-Saxon burial site," and the distribution of the form "would suggest much further penetration by the pagan Anglo-Saxons into the West Midlands." Finally, haga forms -- cognate to hedge and which provide perhaps a further explication of anhaga in Wanderer -- indicate a site fortified or fenced as a measure of defense, or as a place into which deer can be driven.

Sir Eric Fletcher's account of *"The Influence of Merovingian Gaul on Northumbria in the Seventh Century" (Med. Arch., 24, 69-86) is a lucid and useful survey of the kind of spirituality and, more particularly, the architectural and cultural contexts in which such spirituality would have flourished in seventh-century Gaul. Working both from texts and archaeological evidence,

Fletcher provides an account of what such notable English ecclesiastical travellers as Benedict Biscop and Wilfrid would have encountered. Most important of all is the island center of Lerins off modern Cannes, which, amazing to recall, has not been excavated in modern times, despite its absolutely central position for fifth- and sixth-century Christianity, and the close knowledge English ecclesiastics of the seventh century had of it. Fletcher makes two central points in his study:

Because of the former tendency among historians of Saxon architecture to turn to Italy for prototypes one must stress that whereas both Biscop and Wilfrid went to Rome to collect books, pictures, manuscripts, relics and ornaments and to study Roman liturgy and Canon law, they turned to Merovingian Gaul for architects, stonemasons and craftsmen to build their churches. Furthermore, when Monkwearmouth was nearing completion Biscop sent to Gaul for glass makers to glaze the windows of the church, the cloisters and the refectories. (p. 83)

On the central importance of Merovingian influence, Fletcher holds:

It might not be too much to argue that Wilfrid and Biscop by their introduction into Northumbria of Merovingian architects and craftsmen brought about a revolution in British methods of church and monastic architecture. Nothing of the size of Monkwearmouth-Jarrow, nothing of the elaborate structure of Hexham had been attempted before. One must of course enter a caveat about Brixworth, which, if it is to be regarded as a seventh-century building, is more likely to owe its inspiration and foundation to Wilfrid than to anybody else.

If this general thesis is accepted, one must conclude that the best examples of Northumbrian architecture in the seventh century were the result of Merovingian experience and influence.

Those who wish to have a better knowledge of Medieval Monasteries of Great Britain -- the splendors of Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Hexham, Brixworth and others -- will not gain much from the volume issued with this title under the joint authorship of Lionel Butler and Chris Given-Wilson (London, 1979). Monasticism, from its beginnings to the end of the Old English period, is treated in the first 29 of 416 pages. Bede is mentioned, but the following centers, inter alia, are not treated in the text: Deerhurst, Jarrow, Monkwearmouth, Ramsey, and Hexham. It is a bit astonishing to discover that Jarrow was founded in 1074; Monkwearmouth in 1083. It would appear that the learned authors of this work have the gift of looking at the early Christian period in an idiosyncratic manner, as Mark Twain said of James Fenimore Cooper, "as through a glass eye, darkly."

b. Celtic

Nennius: British History and the Welsh Annals, edited and translated by John Morris but completed by R. B. White, as the eighth part of Arthurian Period Sources (London and Totowa, N.J.), is a handy little volume which presents a concise account, a text, and a translation of what Morris delightfully describes as "a single and invaluable guide to learning, letters and Latinity in an age and a region of which nothing else is known" (p. 6). Morris sees Nennius's method as

"original, and startlingly modern," in that he did not create a new structure by interpretation, but rather made a compilation of all he found (= coacervari omne quod inveni ...). It is a shame that the edition of the Latin text was not printed parallel to the translation; though the entries are nicely spaced and numbered, it is difficult to work by constantly flipping pages. Still, it is very good indeed to have a convenient version of the delightfully acerbic early Celtic historian, who opens his account with a round castigation of the British and their scholars "who had no skill, and set down no record in books."

In a warm, witty, and informal account, Gerald Bonner provides a picture of "The Holy Spirit Within: St. Cuthbert as a Western Orthodox Saint" (Sobornost n.s.1, no. 1 [1979], 7-22). Most illuminating is the parallel account Bonner provides of the lives of Seraphim of Sarov; though separated by more than a millennium, their lives -- and their spirituality -- are remarkably similar in kind. Bonner's casual use of detail makes his depth of learning show as lightly worn, as lightly as the Cuthbert Bonner shows us wears his spirituality. When asked by a servant whether he might drink from the episcopal cup, Cuthbert answers, "Yes, why not?" This is a first-rate piece to introduce Cuthbert to an enthusiastic group of undergraduates; though its parallel with Seraphim is interesting, it is by no means fully developed.

R. R. Davies chose "Historical Perception: Celts and Saxons" as the title of his inaugural lecture as Professor of History in University College, Wales (1979). He holds that "the study of the interactions of Saxons and Celts on each other and on their perceptions of the development of human organization and society is a fascinating but strangely neglected field of study." He points out one of the "oddities, even absurdities, of academic history courses in Britain [is] that they have generally chosen to ignore the peoples of Scotland, Ireland and Wales except at those moments when they have impinged, often unpleasantly and obstreperously in the history of England."

Molly Miller starts a study of "Consular Years in the Historia Brittonum" (Bulletin of the Board of Celtic Studies, 29, 7-34) with the trenchant remark: "By the time that the reader of [H.B.] has reached Chapter 65, his critical faculties are numbered, and almost exhausted." The article is a very involved piece, but the conclusion is quite important. Though we have hints of the historical validity of HB, particularly in Gloucester,

The interest and value of the date-list, however, is not historical, but historiographic, showing first the ideological, chronographic, and synthesizing procedures possible to insular high learning at the end of the eighth century, and second, the even less familiar or expected procedures of criticism and censorship used in Welsh learning in the ninth and tenth centuries.

The volume of Thought dedicated to the memory of Robert E. McNally, S.J., is a fitting tribute to a distinguished scholar-priest whose teaching at Fordham University was a source of amazement to students in several disciplines, while the depth and range of his scholarship gained the admiration of his colleagues. Robert I. Burns provides an account and review of "Muslim-Christian Conflict and Contact in Medieval Spain: Context and Methodology" (238-252). Spain has been conceived of as a "quirky appendage to Christendom" in medieval Europe, and, particularly by Spanish scholars, a haven for a quasi-genetic "Spanishness" which kept itself distinct from Islamic and Semitic influence. Recent work makes

it clear that "covert and continual acculturation in the three ill-documented centuries before the year 1,000 was more significant than the direct contact and borrowing of the central Middle Ages" (italics mine). Since Irish culture looked to the East, and since there almost certainly were contacts between Ireland and Spain in our period, there is a possible interface for a great deal of influence from Islamic culture in Spain. Joseph F. Kelly uses an apparently odd anecdote in Bede as a starting point in a brief but very valuable survey of "Books, Learning and Sanctity in Early Christian Ireland" (253-61). Bede, in H.E. I, i, records that the scraping of Irish books put into water and drunk heals snakebite. Henry Mayer-Harting saw this as "a witty parody" of Isidore; despite Mayer-Harting's great contributions to scholarship, he is in error, Kelly holds: "There is a large store of book-miracles and wonders in Irish tradition being echoed in Bede; in this anecdote, Bede was true to his standards." Wonder-working books were known to the Irish, who exported it [sic] to the Northumbrians. Bede was passing on a tradition which was revered by the former and becoming popular with the latter. He knew and appreciated the tradition and the people who produced it" (260-61). The anecdote is all the more remarkable because Bede is, in general, hardly pro-Irish. Martin McNamara offers exciting insights on *"Ireland and Northumbria as Illustrated by a Vatican Manuscript" (274-290). Codex 68 of the Latin Palatine Collection is an incomplete commentary on the Psalms, for which the scribe is identified in a colophon as Edelberict filius Berictfridi, a "true-blooded Northumbrian." The text is, in the main, Old Irish, but five glosses are in Old Northumbrian. The commentary is early; it originates either in Ireland or Irish circles in Northumbria; it is, therefore, "witness to two nations, not one, and to the close cooperation between the Irish and Northumbrian Church and calling" (p. 275). McNamara's conclusion is justified -- and exciting -- in that the need and nature of future work is outlined:

This brief analysis shows that it is of no small importance for an understanding of a hidden facet of the ecclesiastical culture of early Christian Ireland and Northumbria. It seems to show that during the seventh century there was an active and creative exegetical activity in the monastic schools, one that in some ways ceased in later centuries. It invites us to go beyond the evidence of later texts and try to reconstruct the intellectual life of earlier ages that created them and see this within the context of that creative period of the early Northumbrian Church.

Those who wish to know more about the hronfisc would be well advised to consult the gloss to Ps. 118, 164, where we are told it takes 7 of them to fill a whale.

Though the book originally was published in 1979, it was impossible to get hold of K. Hughes's and A. Hamlin's *Celtic Monasticism: The Modern Traveler to the Early Irish Church until this year. As a guidebook, it is hard to fault; it offers a list of sites, discussion of every aspect of them, and an entirely up-to-date bibliography. But it is much more than a guidebook, because the easy-to-read text is based on the enormous store of learning of two recognized experts in the field, an historian who is also a textual and literary critic, and an archeologist. The book is a first-rate addition to an elementary course in medieval studies. An interesting and handsome parallel publication is Celtic Prayer (Seabury Press, N.Y.), a series of texts first taken down by Alexander Carmichael at the turn of the century. It is illustrated in Celtic style by Laurel Casazza.

An absolutely fascinating "back door" approach to Irish Art is found in the corpus of artist's trial pieces dating from the fifth to twelfth centuries found in U. O'Meadhra's *Early Christian, Viking and Romanesque Art: Motif Pieces from Ireland (Theses and Papers in North European Archaeology 7 [Humanities Press, 1979]). Some 160 pieces from 27 localities are extant; they were discovered between 1830 and 1973. The book is first-rate, for not only are the pieces in the main well photographed, but an illustrated glossary makes it possible to follow the necessarily complex and precise vocabulary the author employs.

D. O'Corráin provides an extensive review of "High Kings, Vikings and Other Kings" (Irish Historical Studies 21 [1979], 265-323), in which he closely examines the theses put forward by A. P. Smyth. Smyth's thesis is straightforward; he holds that Dagnarr Loðbrók was a real person. O'Corráin provides not only a review of Smyth per se, but also some useful notions on how to use early historical sources. As has become traditional in negative reviews of Smyth's works (and he has had many a negative review of various levels of acerbity), R. W. McTurk's study "Dagnarr Loðbrók and the Irish Annals" (Proceedings of the Seventh Viking Congress, ed. Bo Almqvist and David Greene [Dublin, 1976], 93-124) is referred to as a classic statement of the "anti-historical" view. Smyth is a "slipshod scholarly accountant, turning assets into liabilities" who offers a "flimsy construction of hypotheses" about the Irish material, and has a "poor grasp of ninth-century Irish institutions and of the political struggles in which Irish kings are embroiled." It is O'Corráin's firm belief that "Dagnarr Loðbrók must remain a legendary hero." This may well be; but Dr. Smyth is one of very few who have attempted to deal with a mass of material which covers many peoples and languages in the early Middle Ages; though he may slip in the welter of detail, the attempt he has made is bold and courageous, and is deserving of careful attention.

Alexander Boyle, in a brief and lucid study, places the origin of "St. Cadroe in Scotland" (Innes Review 31, no. 1, 3-5). Cadroe rose to the abbacy of Metz circa 950; he probably came from Gaelic Scotland, possibly via Strathclyde. As Boyle says in a tone of regret, "one would have liked to know more about one who seems to have been the earliest Scotch-born churchman to make a name for himself on the Continent."

John D. Cormican provides a brief review of "Asceticism in Medieval Irish Monasticism" (NDQ 48 [53-61]), based in the main on secondary sources. Though the account is full, it could have done with better distinctions between deprivations practised, those legislated, and those which are simply improbable; I for one find it hard to accept the account of a monk (unnamed) who had "two maidens with pointed breasts lie with him every night that the battle with the devil might be greater for him" (p. 61).

Ian Fidlay, in Columba (London, 1979) offers a "very personal interpretation of the life and times" of the Saint, with the avowed intention of throwing "a little light into the darkness of the age of this particular Saint." It is a work of interest, for the author has a style sometimes florid, sometimes journalistic, and he certainly has a close and detailed knowledge of the modern places. It is a "pro Celtic" account. But in the final analysis, the personal element -- and fanciful interpretations of scenes from "history" -- make the book most vivid where it is most creative, and unverifiable.

Joseph W. Kelly's study of "The Decline of Irish Monasticism in the face of Benedictinism in the early Middle Ages" (ABR 31, 70-87) is of the first importance for those who wish to understand the cultural climate of early Ireland and England. John Ryan's classic study Irish Monasticism: Origins and Development cited three reasons for the shift to Benedictine rule:

- 1) The repression of organizational qualities of the Rule, and
- 2) the support it had from the Pope;
- 3) the mildness of the rule, compared with the Irish.

Kelly finds a 4th reason -- heterodoxy, or even suspected heresy, among the Irish. Their stiff-necked stand on Easter is famous through Bede; their use of Pelagius was frequent; and they were prone to using apocryphal works. (Martin McNamara finds 108 such works are used in early Irish material). Furthermore, the Irish looked to the East, and "tried to revive primitive Egyptian monasticism, not occasionally, but consciously and deliberately. Egyptian artistic motifs, hagiographical motifs and austerity all received new life" (p. 86). It is my belief that Kelly's conclusions are important not only for the religious aspects of early medieval society, but also for the "heroic":

The decline of Irish monasticism in the face of Benedictinism should be treated as a cultural conflict. Ireland was the first European nation to be converted to Christianity outside a Roman framework. Culturally, the Irish developed a particular form of Christianity, one which served them well and lasted in many ways into the twelfth century. But they did not recognize how dependent their Christianity was on an Irish, or at least a Celtic, environment.

The products of an heroic society in which the individual played the greatest role ... [was] certainly a factor in the enormous popularity the ascetics enjoyed -- they did not appreciate the importance of organization for Romanized Christians, such as those in Gaul (p. 87).

David Dumville has edited for us six studies by the late Kathleen Hughes, under the title *Celtic Britain in the Early Middle Ages: Studies in Welsh and Scottish Sources (Studies in Celtic History II, Woodbridge, Suffolk). Three of the papers had been previously published; it is good to have readily available her Jarrow Lecture for 1970, "Early Christianity in Pictland," the survey of the text of Annales Cambriae originally given to the British Academy in 1973, and her account of the Vitae Sanctorum Wallensium. Dr. Dumville has provided further material and minor corrections. Two essays were given shortly before Dr. Hughes's death as the Hunt Marshall Lectures for 1977, "Where are the Writings of Early Scotland?" and "The Book of Deer." The conclusion of the first paper sums up both her views, and that of earlier scholars. The little we have has resulted from Irish and English stimulus; as for what we do not have,

I think we have to conclude that some mediaeval manuscripts were lost in the seventeenth century, some liturgical books destroyed by the reformers, that Edward removed (mainly administrative) records of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, that the initial impact of the Scandinavians on the Church was destructive, that

some Gaelic manuscripts disappeared through neglect in the later twelfth and thirteenth centuries; but when all this has been admitted my conclusion would still be that comparatively little history was written down in the early Scottish Church, that history and literature must have been largely oral and vernacular, and that the concept of history was quite different from our own. The Picts were strongly interested in their origins and the antiquity of their royal line; as early as the eighth century they had a fictitious king-list which went back some nine hundred and forty-three years before Bruide son of Maelchon, a contemporary of St. Columba. But their attitude to history is one which we find hard to understand. They did not want contemporary history, a year-by-year chronicle recording a few events which actually happened; the technique of a historian-like Bede who critically examined his sources was incomprehensible. Legend and history were indistinguishable (p. 20).

The Book of Deer is a pocket-gospel, so lacking in artistic merit that Françoise Henry does not even list it in her index. It is late, after the second half of the ninth century; it has fairly regular gatherings of twelve. At least two and perhaps three of the Gospels were left unfinished. Only John is complete. The hand is clear and fine, but the scribe's knowledge of Latin not very good at all. In art, the book belongs to the Echternach, Durrow, and Litchfield tradition, but it is "very degenerate." After a full and fascinating study, Hughes concludes that it is best placed in a provincial scriptorium -- perhaps in Scotland, and that it

was written by an experienced scribe who had seen an illuminated gospel-book and was familiar with carved stones, but that the models for drawings which were circulating in his monastery and which he used were certainly not finished manuscript-illuminations but possibly sketch-books. The scriptorium he worked in was a provincial one, not one which already had a finely illuminated book for him to copy. It was not used to illuminating, and had little paint for the pictures.

It is by the very crudeness of a work such as this that one comes to appreciate the accomplishment of scriptoria like Lindisfarne or Jarrow.

E. A. Thompson gives a new account of "Procopius on Brittia and Brittonia" (Classical Quarterly 30, 498-507) in which he clarifies a good deal, and questions some long-held beliefs. One key to Procopius's understanding in Thompson's view is that in the main Brittina=Britain, and Brittonia=Armorica, though he is not consistent in the use. Thompson further holds that any idea of Rückwandefung of Germanic peoples to the Continent ought to be taken magno cum grano salis, for reasons he addresses in his study, and summarizes well in his conclusion:

What Procopius knows of Britain in the middle of the sixth century, apart from its geographical situation, is an extraordinary mixture of half-truths and wild exaggerations. He knows that three peoples inhabit the island: he does not know that two of the three were relative newcomers. He knows of the emigration to the Continent

from Britain: he does not know that it was restricted to one of the three peoples, who fled in fear of the other two. It is true that Hadrian's Wall divided civilization from barbarism: according to Procopius, it all but marked off life from death. The invaders of Britain will hardly have been able to transport many horses with them to the island: according to the historian, the Britons did not even know what a horse was, nor was there a single horse in the whole of the island. And yet when do we next meet a Byzantine historian who knows as much about Britain as Procopius?

c. Later Anglo-Saxon

There are a series of useful pieces in Proceedings of the Battle Conference I held at Battle, Sussex, 29 July and 3 August, edited by R. Allen Brown (Totowa, N.J., 1979). Nicholas Hooper provides "Anglo-Saxon Warfare on the Eve of the Conquest: A Brief Survey" (83-93 and 211-213), which throws a great deal of light on The Battle of Maldon and the tactics employed in it. The highest level of warrior was well armed and well disciplined, as the account of Godwin's gift of a ship with eighty warriors makes clear: each had shield, helmet, sword, axe, and spear. While the battles in which they fought were relatively simple, "this simplicity was not, however, a result of any lack of military skill on the behalf of Old English commanders, but rather all that could be attempted with the military instrument of the time, and in the final analysis, victory depended on numbers, fighting spirit and morale, not on elaborate tactics." The loser's lot -- at least the lot of very adventuresome Saxons -- is described in John Godfrey's "The Defeated Anglo-Saxons Take Service with the Eastern Emperor" (63-74 and 207-209). Drawing on the extensive recent research on the subject, the important place Anglo-Saxons (along with Scandinavians) had in the retinue of Alexius Comnenus is described, as well as what appears to have been late Saxon secondary settlements in the Black Sea area.

Ann Williams provides "Some Notes and Considerations on Problems Connected with the English Royal Succession, 860-1066" (144-167 and 225-233). Under this modest title, we are given much-needed information not only on the immediate problems surrounding William, but a great deal about regal succession in Alfred's time. Of the earlier period, Williams concludes:

From the evidence reviewed so far, some tentative conclusions can be drawn. By the tenth century, at the latest, the kingdom of the English was indivisible and only one member of the royal kin held the office and title of king at any one time, though it is possible that the custom of appointing the next heir as subregulus may have been followed from time to time. Also, by this time, succession was hereditary in the West Saxon royal line, and even primogenitive, given that sons who were minors were passed over in favour of brothers of full age. Lastly, the custom governing the succession arose out of a series of family agreements within the West Saxon royal kin, and was made effective by the wills of successive rulers -- Æðelwulf, Alfred, and Edward the Elder.

The notion that the first-born male descendant should succeed the father appears to have arisen in the Byzantine kingdom. An elective element was important both in English and Continental kingship, and the elective tendency would seem to have become more important in an England that had been twice conquered. But this is not the case, Williams holds; Cnut's succession was defended on the basis of his regency's having been approved by the now-dead king, and Harold came to the throne by decree of Edward. William concludes:

Two things emerge from an examination of the English succession in the eleventh century. First, the kingship was still heritable; but instead of being treated as family property, held by the kin of Cerdic, title came to depend on the testamentary dispositions of the previous king. Thus the problem of accommodating a heritable kingship to the realities of competing dynasties was resolved. But the possession of a valid title was useless without the ability to acquire -- or compel -- allegiance. The essential point about the conflicting claims of Harold and William in 1066 is not that one or the other (or both) were true or false. Both were accepted as valid at the time; Harold's on 6 January when he was 'chosen' and consecrated, and William's at Berkhamsted in November, when he in his turn was 'chosen' by the English magnates (what was left of them) as their king and lord. The troubles of the eleventh century had turned Aelfric's dictum on its head: the people chose as their king the man who demonstrably exercised power over them. It was a pragmatic acceptance of the realities of power that made William I 'full king over England.'

Other note-worthy essays in the Battle Proceedings include work by Marjorie Chibnall, John Le Patourel, H.R. Loyn, and George Zarnecki.

Zarnecki, whose essay is not listed in the 1980 bibliography, writes on "Romanesque Sculpture in Normandy and England in the Eleventh Century" (168-169), in which he defends the quality of sculpture in the duchy against such attacks as those by Sir Alfred Clapham. Zarnecki also points out some of the exchanges between England and Normandy at the time, such as the close parallel sculpture of the Loire valley being found only in the north of England. He points out how much work still needs to be done, and comments on how prejudice affects judgment:

In England, the study of eleventh-century sculptures has been made difficult by the prejudice of scholars, some of whom declared themselves the champions of Anglo-Saxon values, and who regard anything Norman as second-rate. In France, the attitude towards Norman art is fortunately becoming less prejudiced. It is to be hoped that, before long, a comprehensive study of both Norman and English eleventh-century sculpture will be made to determine to what extent each contributed to the other.

N. P. Brooks and the late H. E. Walker present a lengthy and lucid account of "The Authority and Interpretation of the Bayeux Tapestry" (1-34 and 191-199), in which a number of important points are made. The authors see its English provenance as proven:

It is remarkable to find the Bayeux Tapestry departing at all from the straightforward Norman version of these events. Since the Tapestry's inscriptions are so studiously non-committal for these scenes, it is unlikely that the divergence would be apparent to a Norman audience. But there can be no doubt that the artist who designed the scenes of Harold reporting back to Edward from Normandy and of Edward's death-bed was familiar with, and was hinting at, English versions of these events, versions moreover that are extant only in Eadmer's Historia Novorum and in the Vita Eadwardi, works that are closely connected with Canterbury.

Also, the representation of Odo at table is virtually identical to the Last Supper in the Augustine Gospels, a sixth-century book which was kept on the altar of St. Augustine, Canterbury. For a number of reasons, it is proposed that the Bayeux tapestry was produced at that very monastery. The conclusion presented on the artistic and historic value of the tapestry deserves to be recorded in full:

When care is taken to understand the conventions and limitations of design and technique and to distinguish the nineteenth-century restorations from the original work, the Tapestry can take its place as a major authority for the events of the Norman conquest. It is an early and well-placed source with access both to English and Norman traditions, and its information is presented to us through the eyes of an artist of outstanding accomplishment. This does not mean that its account is in any way objective or even free from error. Its depiction of Conan at Dol, of English byrnies on Norman knights, perhaps of English bows in the hands of the Norman archers, and of the problematic oath scene at Bayeux warn us to use its evidence with caution. But when we have narrowed down its provenance and date and understood its design, we can interpret individual scenes and assess their historical value with greater confidence.

Richard David Wissolik proposes that there is a kind of underlying "Saxon Statement: Code in the Bayeux Tapestry" (AnM 19 [1979], 69-97). He sees the "hidden" messages as "items of protest" (p. 71). In the course of his study, Wissolik proposes that we evaluate Eadmer's Historia Novorum in Anglia as a credible source. The "mysterious" Ælfgifa scene, we are told, shows Harold's daughter being betrothed at Rouen not to a Norman lord, but an "English" one, probably Hakon, son of Harold's brother Swegen. By a logic I for one find hard to follow, Wissolik identifies one of the figures in the scene as Hakon because:

- 1) he has different clothes, hands and beard than other (Norman) members of the group;
- 2) In the decorative border below the scene, a nude man hews a timber with a broad ax;
- 3) "The association of beard and ax is attested in the Indo-European family, and indeed, in Germanic languages the words for beard and ax are the same";
- 4) "the ax tells the observer that Harold is choosing an Englishman, for the ax was to the Anglo-Saxon warrior what the short sword was to the Roman legionary ...";

- 5) "hacking," OE haccian, is close enough to Hakon to identify the figure;
- 6) a second border-figure, "mildly erotic," with penis exposed, is a "pun" on Hakon, because in some A-S circumstances Hagan = genitalia.

I do not dispute that this is a possible line of reasoning; I do hold that it is an extraordinary exercise to propose for an eleventh-century viewer.

Frank Barlow has added greatly to our understanding of the later Anglo-Saxon church in his The English Church 1000-1066, which first appeared in 1963. The revised volume (London and New York, 1979) has minor changes in detail in text and documentation, but a splendid new appendix on the monasteries is very important reading indeed, as a clear statement on a complex phenomenon is provided in twenty-seven pages. His companion volume, The English Church 1066-1154, also came out last year (London and New York, 1979). In the new book, Barlow has a very high opinion indeed of what has been called elsewhere its twelfth century Renaissance, "one of the most religious periods of all time ..." during which the church was "radically reformed" (p. 2). His view of the early medieval period is very dark indeed. In the first millennium after Christ the western world "decomposed"; "The few epochs of artistic activity, such as the Northumbrian in the seventh century, and the Carolingian in the ninth, did no more than recover a small part of what was lost" (p. 1).

In "Some Latin poems as Evidence for the Reign of Athelstan" (ASE 9, 61-98), Michael Lapidge offers both a studied dismissal of a long-accepted source, and exciting prospects for new information about Athelstan. The Latin poem quoted by William of Malmesbury can "no longer be accepted as a contemporary witness to the reign of Athelstan" (p. 97). Certain short poems in Latin are discussed, one of which may well be the work of John the Old Saxon. We can look forward to a time in which "England and the Continent in the Tenth Century," one of the unwritten works of medieval historiography, can be written, and the reign of Athelstan properly understood.

Two further counties in the Domesday Book are now newly available in the History from the Sources series, *Rutland, ed. Frank Thorn (Phillimore, £2.50 paper) and *Somerset (idem, £7.00). Both are in fact reprints of the 1783 edition, translated and corrected.

Harold Kleinschmidt offers Untersuchen über das englische Königtum im 10. Jahrhundert (Göttinger Bausteine zur Geschichtswissenschaft 49 [Frankfurt, 1979]). It is his contention that "die sog 'Angelsächsische' Zeit nicht blosse Vorgeschichte der normannischen Eroberung ist, sondern dass in der 'angelsächsischen' Zeit die Grundlage für politisch - geographische Strukturen gelegt wurde, die noch heute bestehen." The study deals with the period across a broad range of perspectives, and even has interesting comments on the cult of kings in the tenth century, and on the tenth-century chronicle poems.

Eric John provides us with "The Encomium Emmae Reginae: A Riddle and a Solution" (BJRL 63, 58-94). What we are in fact given is a spirited and judicious survey of the complex political and social situation as a new Anglo-Scandinavian England emerged. John makes a very good case for seeing the encomist as an "intelligent, as well as a learned man" who could not have made a better case for Emma." He concludes: "Emma was no fool and her case was not without its

strong points. We do the man who made the case an injustice if we consider him a liar and a deceiver on the scale scholars have been accustomed to do. If we remember that he is a man writing for contemporaries in a political crisis that would take another generation to resolve, then he still has things to teach students of its last generation of England before the conquest."

In "The 'Farm of One Night' and the Organization of King Edward's Estates in Domesday" (Economic History Review 33, 491-502), Pauline A. Stafford surveys the nature of late Anglo-Saxon land-holding, particularly those farms in theory expected to provide supplies for one night for the ruler and court. She holds firstly that these are regions in Domesday that accord well with "the emerging picture of the dynamic management of royal resources in late Anglo-Saxon England." As one might expect, evidence for good management is fullest in Wessex, and the shires surrounding it: "In Dorset, Wilshire, Somerset and Gloucestershire there is evidence for a fully functioning system of food-rent provision in 1066. It is strange to find that in Hampshire, commonly considered the heartland of West Saxon Royal Power, the system had been organized but was showing some features of decay by 1066, a decay which had already overtaken some of the manors of Devon and perhaps to a lesser extent Sussex. Since these periodic organizations may have been relatively frequent, there is no reason to argue that Hampshire was less important as an area of royal activity. The shire may have been ripe for reorganization in 1066."

An unusual and interesting perspective on societal structure of late Roman and medieval communities is found in W. Groeman-van Waaterenge's tentative study of "Shoe Sizes and Paleodemography?" (Helinium 18 [1978], 184-89). Haithap (Hedeby) for example has "too few children and nearly twice as many men as women," which suits rather nicely the idea of the place as a trading town, a place in which "either all year or during one or two seasons a small permanent population -- of probably normal composition -- was supplemented by traders from elsewhere" (188).

The Reverend Archer Torrey, Head of the Anglican St. Michael's Theological College, Sosa, Kyunggi Do, Korea, provides us with his reflections on "The Gregorian Missionary Methods" (Missiology 8, 99-104). His account may be uplifting to fellow workers in the field; it certainly provides interesting -- even startling -- perspectives for students of the period. Of the Augustinian mission he states: "masons and farmers were included, for this team proposed to support itself by its own labor while teaching the natives the art of making mortar, erecting buildings of masonry as well as the latest scientific farming methods for which the land of Kent has been famous ever since. The sight of this band of cultured foreigners -- laboring with their own hands to support themselves and doing works which its proud native warriors considered fit only women in order that they might learn of Jesus -- had a moving effect on the brutal Saxon" (p. 102). Of the missionary effort as a whole, and the Celtic contribution to it, we have the following convenient summary: "There have been few nations at any time which have been converted more quickly or strongly or which have produced more saints than the nation of Kent along with its neighbors -- Essex, Sussex, and with the help of the Irish and Scottish missionaries, the North of England" (p. 102). These comments might well cause the ancient feud to flare once again between the Celtic and Roman churches.

Finally, for those interested in the para-normal, James F. McHarg provides an account of "a vision of the aftermath of the Battle of Nechtansmere

A.D. 685" (Journal of the Society for Psychical Research, 49 [1978], 938-948). In 1950 a mature woman, in good physical and mental health, saw at 2 a.m. a group of figures searching among the dead by torchlight, dressed in "dark tights, the whole way up ... a sort of coverall, with a roll-collar" The author cites dress on a carved Pictish stone at Galspie as a parallel for the garments described. The crux of the dream (a vision?) was the way in which the figures seen skirted a long way around a field, rather than across it; the line they followed was that established by Wainwright, who located the boundaries of the now-disappeared body of water on the site. He did this in a paper that was not known to the woman who had the vision. McHarg cites Cuthbert's vision of the battle as a precedent, and accounting for the vision as perhaps a "mere general psi-hypnothesis, in terms of retrocognition, and of some kind of collective knowledge and memory which, under certain circumstances, can be drawn upon." Nocturnal walks, anyone?

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7. NAMES

B. Selten's The Anglo-Saxon Heritage in Middle English Personal Names: East Anglia 1100-1399, II (Lund, 1979) is a name dictionary in which ME names are arranged in three categories: font-names, personal names preceded or followed by filius or filia, and font-names used as by-names. Within the three categories, the names are listed alphabetically under head words in West Saxon form, with Anglian variants provided, despite the fact that the ME forms are from Norfolk and Suffolk. The book is a continuation of Selten's 1972 study. J. Jönsjö's Studies in Middle English Nicknames, I: Compounds (Lund, 1979), although based only on data from the Lay Subsidy Rolls from the six northern counties and Lincolnshire between 1100-1400, provides an interesting classification into semantic categories of the nicknames, both by-names and surnames, of that time and place. Three-fourths of the book consists of a list of nicknames along with their first occurrences and probable OE or OF etymologies.

In The Place-Names of Roman Britain (Princeton, 1979), A.L.F. Rivet and C. Smith provide a three hundred page alphabetical list of British place-names from the earliest times up to 410 with some later references by sources who themselves were using earlier materials. Each place-name is identified with the sources which mention it, its derivation, and its geographical identification (if possible). Earlier chapters identify the literary sources of the names, Ptolemy's geography of Britain, military itineraries, the Ravenna Cosmography, and the Notitia Dignitatum. Smith calls, in "The Survival of Romano-British Toponymy" (Nomina 4, 27-40), for more openmindedness about possible Romano-British survivals in place-names and cites examples of Romano-British names which would have been interpreted as A-S names if their history were unknown. In "Aspects of Place Name Evidence for Early Medieval Settlement in England" (Viator 11, 149-64), B. Cox summarizes much of the previously published information on reconstructing settlement history by using place-name types. Using place-name evidence in OE documents to 730, he supports most of the generally-accepted hypotheses, but he does take issue with M. Gelling's contention that place-names in wīc -hām are necessarily older than those in -hām since they are similar in their association with Roman roads and other Romano-British archaeological remains.

In "Elmet and Deira -- Forest Names in Yorkshire?" (BBCS 26, 541-52), J. G. F. Hind shows that the name Elmet which survives in village names east of Leeds probably does mean "elm-grove" as previously suggested but that it derives from a late Roman or Celtic form such as * Ulmētum or * Lemētum whose first element was changed by the speakers of OE because of the Gmc cognates. Similarly, Hind suggests that Deira originally meant "oak-forest" rather than "land of waters," which he also derives from Celtic. In "Hamtun alias Hamwic (Saxon Southampton): the Place-Name Traditions and Their Significance" (Excavations at Melbourne Street, Southampton, 1971-76. Southampton Archaeol. Research Committee Report, 1; CBA Research Report, 33, 7-20), A. Rumble takes archaeologists to task for their use of the name Hamwih (based on a late eighth- or early ninth-century Continental Gmc spelling) to refer to excavation sites in the St. Mary's area of Southampton instead of using the more common and historically appropriate Hamtun. He cites the linguistic evidence for the historical form, but admits that there was some alternation between the two forms during the period between 973 and 1015. The article ends with an appendix of spellings of the place-name in chronological

order. G. Fellows Jensen, in "Hungate: Some Observations on a Common Street-Name" (OUÅ [1979], pp. 44-51), examines the ten instances of the street-name in England as well as Continental cognates but reaches no conclusions about its popularity or general meaning. Fellows Jensen suggests that four examples may derive from dogs of value having been kept there, some of the rural examples may represent Scandinavianized forms of an English name referring to a gate through which only dogs could pass, and four of the rural names may be names transferred from the city, perhaps in a derogatory sense.

Scandinavian Settlement Names in the East Midlands (Copenhagen, 1978) by G. Fellows Jensen follows the format used in Scandinavian Settlement Names in Yorkshire and continues the readable and thorough work of the earlier volume. Individual chapters concentrate on names in -bý, names in -þorp, names other than those in -bý and þorp, names in -tūn with a Scandinavian specific, Scandinavian and hybridized names, distribution of the various names, and age of names and settlements. The book also contains fourteen full-page maps showing distribution of place-names or showing geological structure and settlements. In "The Scandinavian Settlement of Eastern England: the Place-Name Evidence" (OUÅ [1978], pp. 7-17), K. Cameron summarizes the conclusions reached between 1965 and 1977 concerning the Scandinavian settlement of eastern England as shown by place-names. He concludes that a large number of Danes came as settlers to eastern England after the relatively small "Great Army of the Danes" had conquered the area, that the earliest Danish place-names are hybrids in tūn which represent OE villages taken over and partially re-named by Danes, that the earliest new Danish settlements formed names in by, and that later new Danish settlements formed names in þorp. Cameron also suggests that scholars should re-examine the personal name hybrids to see if any of the Danish personal names are manorial rather than occupational. In "Scandinavian Place-Names and Appellatives in Norfolk: a Study of the Medieval Field Names of Flitcham" (NB 67 [1979], 98-122), K. I. Sandred demonstrates with medieval field-names and appellatives in the western part of Norfolk that there was a large Scandinavian influence in the area despite that fact that there are no traces of Scandinavian influence in the major names of Flitcham. He cites copious examples in beck, kirk, gate, wong, brig, crake, mikill, whin, how, dike, sike, and sty. K.I. Sandred and B. Lindstrom report, in "Vad säger oss staden Norwichts Ortnamn? En interimrapport fran projektet Ortnamnen i Norfolk" (OUÅ [1979], pp. 5-26), on their research and planned research using the materials in the archive of the place-names of Norfolk recently established at Uppsala. The material will be published under Sandred's direction and will include a separate volume on the place-names of the city of Norwich. That Norwich was an important trade center is reflected in numerous names containing words for trades and occupations; this article discusses seventeen street names and includes a map showing eighth- and ninth-century settlement and a map of Norwich in 1348. In "Nordic tveit-/tved-Names and Settlement History" (Onoma 22 [1978], 47-83), T. L. Markey argues that thwaite-names which first appeared in ME usually identified uninhabited areas, fields, or areas enclosed for cultivation but later were used as major habitative names. The thwaite-names generally demarcate Norwegian settlement in Northern England, although some are of Danish origin. They are concentrated north of the limit for A-S burial sites in areas which were open to clearing at the beginning of the Scandinavian settlement and were probably introduced by Irish-Norwegian settlers. Since thwaite-names are often compounded with terms which indicate clearing by burning, just as the Saxon names in -hurst (-horst), they are associated with slash-and-burn agriculture. Markey also provides five helpful maps. In "Gertre, Gartree, Garstang" (SOÅ [1979], pp. 50-53), O. Arngart connects the E. Scand. Gertre, the Danelaw Gartree, and and the W. Scand. Garstang names and the Langobardic gairerthinx with the spear-tree meeting site of the "thing."

In Ortsnamenstudien zur angelsächsischen Wanderung: ein Vergleich von -ingas, -inga- Namen in England mit ihren Entsprechungen auf dem europäischen Festland (Frankfurter historische Abhandlungen, 18. Wiesbaden, 1979), W. Piroth provides a thorough list of OE place-names in -ingas, -inga- with their corresponding place-names on the Continent to suggest possible places of origin of the various groups of A-S settlers in England. The book also shows these correspondences with forty pages of full-page maps and two larger maps in a pocket inside the back cover. H. T. J. Miedema cites linguistic data and historical references in "Anglo-Frisian Relations and the Map of Breg and (H)reg, especially in English, Dutch, and Frisian Place Names" (Nomina 3 [1979], 78-80) to document the close relations and continued contacts between OE (particularly Southeastern OE) and Old Frisian. His map shows the linguistic closeness of the two languages as evidenced by the e-forms in place-names as the result of umlaut.

In "En ny tidsskrift för namnforskning i Storbritannien" (OUA, pp. 58-63), K. I. Sandred reviews volume 3 of Nomina which contains papers read at the Eleventh Conference of the Council of Name Studies at the University of Nottingham in April 1979 (such as the preceding and following). In "Clark's First Three Laws of Applied Anthroponymics" (Nomina 3 [1979], 13-19), C. Clark postulates, tentatively but interestingly, that in a homogeneous community, personal names will remain constant unless disturbed by external forces, that reactions to a uniform external influence on naming-behavior will also be uniform, and that the variations of the effect of external influence on personal name assignments will be proportional to the strength of the external influence. She uses the much higher percentage of Scandinavian names for men than for women in Anglo-Norman women to support her third point.

T. Kisbye, in "Osgod/Osgot on Early Anglo-Danish Coins: the Provenance of Some Names in -god Reassessed in Light of Numismatic Evidence" (Essays Presented to Knud Schibbye, Copenhagen, 1979, pp. 12-26), concludes that the -t/-d interchange in the title is the result of OE sound developments (in Osgot/Osgod, Durgot/Durgod, and Algot/Algod) rather than the result of Anglo-Norman influence; however, the -t/-d in other names is later and the result of this Anglo-Norman influence. He also suggests that the homogeneity in -god names before the Conquest is probably the result of association with OE god, but that the name element -god is not OE in origin but from Scandinavian or Continental Gmc. R. Coates, in "A Phonological Problem in Sussex Placenames" (BN 15, 299-318), notes that a number of place-names in Sussex, primarily in the High Weald area, which consist historically of a modifier plus a head such as OE leah, hamm, denu, and cumb, are stressed on the head by the local residents rather than on the modifier as they are according to regular stress patterns in English. He dates this practice of maintaining at least secondary stress on this element from about 1500, and he observes that it is used by local residents as a mark of in-group status.

N. Wagner's "Ang(i)li(i), Var(i)ni, Vandili(i)" (BN 15, 393-403) examines the various forms of these names used by early writers in Latin, Greek, and Gmc languages. He explains the different forms as being results of the influence of the writers of Latin and the syncopation of the mid-vowel i in OE.

In "The Earliest Anglian Names in Durham" (Nomina 2 [1978], 30-33), E. V. Watts takes exception to the recent practice of associating place-names with the drift geology of a region. For instance, he concludes that 41 percent of the Anglian habitative names and 39 percent of the Anglian topographical

names other than those in -leah are on good sites; thus, there is no significant difference in the distribution of two types of names. He grants that his analysis based on the 1" Ordnance Survey sheets might be changed if soil classification maps were available and personal examinations of the sites were made.

Works not seen:

- Faull, M.L. "Place-Names and the Kingdom of Elmet." Nomina 4, 21-23.
- Fellows Jensen, G. "Common Gaelic áirge, Old Scandinavian áergi or erg?" Nomina 4, 67-74.
- Field, J. "Rutland Field-Names: Some Comparisons and Contrasts." Rutland Record 1, 19-24.
- Forster, K. "Reflections on a Reverse Dictionary of English Place-Names." Nomina 4, 78.
- Hellberg, S. "Vikingatidens vikingar." ANF 95, 25-88.
- Insley, J. "Regional Variation in Scandinavian Personal Nomenclature in England." Nomina 3 (1979), 52-60.
- Kisbye, T. "A Thousand Years of English Influence on Danish Masculine Nomenclature." Nomina 3 (1979), 61-77.
- Sandred, K. In "Weybourne: ett namn på en socken och ett vattendrag i Norfolk." OUA, 1978, pp. 18-26.
- Unwin, Tim. "Some Perspectives on the Place-Name Evidence for Nottinghamshire's Early Settlement." Nomina 3 (1979), 22-25.

J.D.C.
M.M.

8. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

a. General Works and Selected Sites

In *"Excavation and Publication: Some Comments" (Proc. Soc. Antiq. Scot. 109 [1977-78], 1-6), Leslie Alcock reviews procedures of archaeological publication and suggests changes. Since Pitt River's publication of Cranborne Chase in 1887-88, it has been assumed that archaeological publication should be presented with total illustration and total documentation. Alcock's proposal is interesting, and in the opinion of the present reviewer extremely valid. One hopes that the methodology proposed here should be extended to several other disciplines:

there should be a primary report, comprehensive in both analysis and discussion of the site evidence, which would be deposited in an archive, and made available on payment, probably in micro-form. This exhaustive primary write-up would then be distilled into an illustrated summary account, which would itself be published in the conventional manner, in book or journal form.

A handy new booklet, published by the Wessex Archaeological Committee, provides a guide to *Fieldwalking for Archaeologists. Fieldwalking is perhaps best defined as the close examination of large areas within the landscape, without excavation. Though the technique has been used since the eighteenth century, it has had very great advances over the past quarter century. As Colin Renfrew remarks in the Foreword to the useful little book, together with air photography, fieldwalking is "the only way of responding to the now widespread destruction of archaeological evidence."

F. H. Thompson has edited a volume on *Archaeology and Coastal Change, the felicitous combined product of two independently-planned conferences which took place in the fall of 1977 in London and Manchester (Occasional Paper [N.S.I] Soc. of Antiquaries of London). In view of the inundations, sea level changes, and subsidence which affected almost all of England's coastline over the past fifteen hundred years, and which are now just becoming properly understood, any monument or settlement near the coast in the present day should be dealt with cautiously, and with careful reflection. Two examples will suffice. According to the research of Professor Cunliffe and others, the Roman shoreline at Lympne is 6 feet below the present level of the marsh. The several figures which show the interface of land and water at 300 A.D., 600 A.D., and 1000 A.D. clearly demonstrate how radical were the changes over even a few hundred years. In the opinion of the present reviewer, possibilities such as this invalidate any study of the supposed site of the Battle of Maldon not carried out in association with geomorphologists and geoarchaeologists.

In the northwest, around the Solway Firth, there is clear evidence that the old Roman coastline is now quite a ways inland, and that flood incursions during or after the Roman period had the greatest height of storm-driven high tide 4-8 M (16 feet!) above current spring tides!

Substantial work on the Anglo-Saxon period is contained in D. G. Buckley, ed., *Archaeology in Essex to A.D. 1500 (London, Brit. Archaeol. Res. Rep. 34). The Roman and Saxon occupation of Colchester is dealt with by P. Crummy, who remarks on 5-8 century occupation, and perhaps abandonment 750-900, with subsequent Viking settlement. M. V. Jones reviews the important Romano-Saxon site at Mucking, and W. Rodnell deals with ecclesiastical sites from the Anglo-Saxon period on. It is valuable to have the full time span represented, as a means of avoiding a totally Saxon-oriented interpretation.

Tim Tatton-Brown, of the Canterbury Archaeological Trust, appears to be at the center of a veritable industry of archaeological research there. He writes on *"St. Martin's Church in the 6th and 9th Centuries," and *"The Font at St. Martin's" (in The Parish of St. Martin and St. Paul, Canterbury, ed. Margaret Sparke) and has provided an excellent series of interim reports for 1977, 1978, and 1979 (*"Some Minor Excavations in 1977-78" [Arch. Cantiana 94 (1978), 149-196] "Interim Report on 1978 Excavations" [ibid., 270-78], and "Interim Report on 1979 Excavations" [Arch. Cantiana 95 (1979), 265-278]. Tatton-Brown's picture of post-Roman Canterbury is a dark one; "The roofs of the Roman buildings had fallen in, and the walls were beginning to collapse. On top of these destruction levels a black soil was beginning to form which must indicate the growth of weeds and wild plants and trees everywhere (The Parish of St. Martin ..., p. 13). The nave of the church is made of "Roman" pink mortar and re-used Roman bricks. Tatton-Brown concludes that "the Church Bede mentions was substantially the St. Martin's we see today, ... it is possible to speak of St. Martin's as the oldest church still in use in England, having been used continually for about 1,400 years" (p. 14).

P. Rahtz, T. Dickinson, and L. Watts have edited a weighty volume on *"Anglo-Saxon Cemeteries, 1979" (BAR British Series 82, Oxford). It is the outcome of the fourth Oxford Anglo-Saxon Symposium, 9-11 November 1979. The hope expressed by the editors is that "the 1980's will see the end of unthinking use of Anglo-Saxon cemeteries for circumscribed goals and the beginning of their treatment within a broadly-based framework" (p. 3). The first two sections cover the present state of the art, and the potential for application to Anglo-Saxon studies of the "new approach to mortuary evidence now current among prehistorians and anthropologists" (p. 4). Sections D, E, and F deal with particular applications. There is no doubt but that the fifty pages of opinion and commentary on Sutton Hoo will be the section of primary interest to students of Anglo-Saxon literature, as it is the recorded version of the "first opportunity for public debate of current plans to commence a new campaign of excavations." Rahtz's paper surveys a number of opinions; his basic summary reads:

...an interdisciplinary programme of field and other studies, with or without further excavation at Sutton Hoo, should have as

its ultimate objective nothing less than what Paul Ashbee calls 'an archaeological and historical profile of Raedwald's kingdom', its dynastic, ethnic, political, social, economic and religious basis. (p. 319)

He further holds that two substantial seasons of work by a small team would, at a cost of circa \$250,000, yield a great deal--but that such funding is probably not available. The views of the Conference as a whole, and of the British Museum, supported either a more modest plan of excavation, or better, a time for full publication, digestion, and discussion of what we have before any new work was undertaken. Warwick Rodwell, in a lengthy response to the majority view, was "utterly dismayed" at a "distinguished audience of Anglo-Saxonists running away from the problem." As he puts it, "it would be typically British of us to argue about the pros and cons of excavation for the next ten years while treasure hunters move in and loot the place." Valerie Fenwick holds that for ships, further excavation now is a good idea, but Hayu Vierk holds, with the majority, for delay. Vierk once again proposes that we have here a cremation, citing Beowulf 3110-82 (in my view an inappropriate collocation of a poem recorded only circa 1000 and a burial circa 625), and attempts to confute Evison's discovery of a large burial-chamber or coffin in the ship. Mansel Spratling studies "The Sutton Hoo Purse: Analyzing the Weights of its Contents," and indicates that metrological correlations among all the gold objects are so close that "the hoard and the rest of the jewelry, together with the harness for the sword and its scabbard, were assembled and manufactured in one and the same workshop at the same moment of time; and that the hoard may have been included in the purse ever since the day of the latter's manufacture" (p. 366).

The final papers in this volume deal with late, Christian-period burials. James Graham-Campbell remarks on "The Scandinavian Viking-Age Burials of England--some Problems of Interpretation" and stresses "the necessity of calibrating the quality of our evidence, and for caution in the manner in which we interpret burials with Scandinavian grave goods found in English churchyards."

The Reviews, in YWOES, have often dealt with the question of underwater archaeology and its potential for medieval studies; a new study *"On the Problem of the Preservation of Human Bone in Sea Water" (G. Arnand and S. Arnand, et al., Jnl. of Human Evolution [1978], 409-420) is an important addendum. The crux of the matter is that skeletal remains reveal a great deal about the native of a society, but are not often well-preserved, particularly in acid soil. If a body did get buried at Sutton Hoo, for example, the only trace of it is a high concentration of phosphorus in the soil. Three skeletons served as objects of study in this article. They appear to have been on an Arabian vessel, lost during the tenth century on the Mediterranean coast of France. In general, the bones were well preserved, but more than that, the histological and histochemical properties were like that of fresh bone.

Under the general editorship of the late Keith Muckelroy, a handsome volume *Archaeology Under Water: An Atlas of the World's Submerged Sites has been given us (New York and London). The chapter on "European Shipwrecks over three thousand years," by Muckelroy and others, gives us even more cause to miss his skills in the profession. The Sutton Hoo, Oseberg, Gostad and Skudelev ships are treated in well-illustrated but concise accounts, and are given a full context as well. Of equally great interest is the chapter on "Structures underwater," to

which Ian Morrison contributes a fascinating study of "Man-made Islands in Scottish Lochs," which indicate how much remains to be learned about early Scotland. Lochs Aire and Tay proved to have at least 40 such features, and Morrison expects that we may have to contend with a thousand or more such sites.

The latest in the series The Archaeology of York, under the general editorship of Peter Addyman, is AY 12/1, *The Medieval Cemeteries, The Cemetery of St.-Helen-On-The-Walls, Aldwark. From detailed analyses of the skeletal remains, and through comparison with seven other grave groups, it would appear that there was "a change in average physical type about the time of the Norman Conquest: skull-types changed, but it is hard to tell why. But life expectation was very low; 27 percent of the sample groups were children; only 9 percent lived beyond sixty.

In *"The Norwich Saxon Throne" (Arch. Jnl. [1980 for 1979], 60-68), A. B. Whittingham dates the punched and pecked Pictish decoration to before 871, and suggests that the piece was originally located at Dummoc Cathedral in Suffolk, possibly by the mid sixth century. It probably reached Norwich in 1094 or 1101.

F. Williams, et al., in *"Excavations on Marefaire, Northampton, 1977" (Northamptonshire Arch. 14 [1979], 38-79), adds to our knowledge of Saxon settlement in an important urban context. Valuable indications of early Middle Saxon metalworking were found.

For prospective visitors to Orkney with interests in archaeology, R. G. Lamb has produced *An Archaeological Survey of Sanday and North Ronaldsay which lists many sites of importance for our period (Royal Commission on the Ancient and Historical Monuments of Scotland, Edinburgh).

Under the general editorship of N.J. Higham, the University of Manchester Press has produced an extremely important little volume on *The Changing Past: Some Recent Work in the Archaeology of Northern England (1979). To my mind the essays which deal with the North West, an area little explored by archaeologists of our period, are the most important. D. C. A. Shatter deals with a difficult small corpus in *"The Evidence of coin loss and the Roman Occupation of North West England" (1-15), but even on a scant base comes up with some very interesting indications. The latest coins from northern sites seem to indicate very late abandonment -- in many cases late fifth century; with particularly strong indications -- even late strengthening -- in the latest Roman period. The pottery evidence supports quite a different view, P. Webster concludes, "In general --... the pattern is one of declining economic fortune for producers in the North West and a gradually increasing reliance on suppliers from outside the region, whether in Southern Britain or just across the Pennines" (p. 19). N. J. Higham's essay in *"Continent in North West England in the First Millennium A.D." (43-51), deals both with Celtic and Anglian survival as the respective waves of immigrants swept through the area. His survey is sufficiently important to cite in full, as it properly explodes many myths:

A substantial rural population was present in the North West in the Roman period, and we can infer, from the strength and resolution of the kingdom of Rheged in the late sixth century, that a considerable peasant community survived to the threshold of Anglian conquest. Positive evidence for genocide by the Anglians is insubstantial,

and the place-name evidence, on which the case for a large scale peasant colonisation has rested, is far less consistent with a genocidal interpretation than has been thought. Celtic place-names and those derived from *walas* and *brettas*, provide positive evidence for Celtic survival, and this is consistent with the post-conquest evidence for the existence of estates in the North West which appear to derive in their structure from a period of Celtic control. While a certain amount of low status, rural settlement by incoming ethnically distinct groups occurred, the Anglian and Scandinavian colonisation of North West England was probably to a large degree an aristocratic, high status phenomenon. The onus of proof should now more properly be taken up by those arguing for a Celtic population collapse, under the impact of Anglian competition, to demonstrate what is in any case inherently unlikely -- namely, that the conquerors squandered the existing supply of servile labour which should have been one of their most valuable assets.

John W. Collis's **Winchester Excavations*, Vol. II, 1949-60 (City of Winchester, 1978), deals with some thirty-six outlying areas, "varying from large-scale excavations to a single sondage, from systematic collection to casual observation," reveals some hitherto unknown information about the early medieval period. But summary discussion and analysis is left to a later volume. This current effort is to provide "contexts which can be quoted in all future work." Readers are reminded that there are two series of publication arising from Winchester, the first the 61-71 excavations of Mr. Biddle under the several titles Winchester Studies, and the Winchester Excavations group. In due course, the dual series should stand as a monument to a city which took archaeology to heart for quite a time, and to the countless scientists and volunteers who contributed to the excavations.

The port of Hamwih, new Southhamton, has long been considered an important site; some have seen it as identical with Southampton, since they are in close proximity. But in **"The Dating Of Hamwih: Saxon Southampton Reconsidered"* (Antiquaries Jnl. LVIII [1979], 299-309), J. Cherry and R. Hodges hold that on the basis of close analysis of numismatic and ceramic evidence, Hamwih declined in the ninth century. Moreover, "there was no temporal link between Hamwih and Southampton, which was a new foundation in the second half of the tenth century, and to the south-west of the Middle Saxon settlement" (p. 307). The authors hold that while Hamwih may have been part of a pre-urban settlement pattern serving a large area, Southampton "was founded as part of the tenth-century process of urbanization and developed with the expansion of trade guided by its pre-eminent citizens" (p. 307). The two sites are compared on the basis of **"Town Life and Animal Husbandry in the Southampton Area as Suggested by the Excavated Bones"* (Proc. Hampshire... Arch. Soc. 36 [1980 for 1979], 181-191). I. Bourdillian holds that Hamwih had a good countryside upon which to draw, and thus had a good deal of meat, while Southampton had rather less, though their butchering was somewhat better, and more wild game was taken, perhaps in sport.

Peter Sheppard has produced a very handsome and easy to use book in **The Historic Towns of Cornwall: An Archaeological Survey* (Cornwall Committee for Rescue Archaeology, 1980). The plan of the volume is admirable, with

detailed plans, and numbered and keyed paragraphs of discussion. The book will be immensely useful to those who wish to place any Cornish settlement of importance in history, and is a remarkable value in today's book market.

J. Haslam, et al., in *'A Middle Saxon Iron Smelting Site at Ramsbury, Wiltshire' (Med. Arch. 24 [1980], 1-68), survey an important new excavation. Ramsbury, once the seat of a bishop, has until this excavation had no evidence of iron smelting at all. Iron smelting began in the late eighth century, and in the early ninth a more complex "developed bowl" furnace, with facilities for slag-tapping was in use, a technological advance of great importance. This advanced process may have been a rediscovery of a Roman technique, but the excavators propose that "Since Ramsbury is the first site to produce evidence of any early ninth-century developed tradition of iron smelting in England, it might even be that this was a new discovery at the time, worked out by an intelligent appreciation of new possibilities always inherent in basic techniques" (p. 30). Iron ore was transported to the site, often from considerable distances, probably on horseback, for loose bones in the site are numerous, and show "a higher instance [than at Saxon Southampton] of pathological alterations indicating that the animals had been subject to heavy strain" (p. 56). Haslam proposes that Ramsbury may have been a villa regalis: the long established head of an extensive estate, like Bedwyn and Kintbury, which had their origins in the Roman period, if not earlier. The implications of such a development in the ninth century are of the greatest importance:

... Perhaps therefore the origin of many of the later Saxon urban centres lies not in the deliberate foundation by royal authority of new 'towns' on virgin sites where no trade had existed before, but rather in the gradual development, perhaps by royal encouragement, of functions which had already been characteristic in one form or another of settlements at the centre of large royal estates for several centuries (p. 64).

Anne Stine Ingstad, in *"'Frisisk klæde'? En diskusjon omkring noen fine tekstiler fra yngre jernalder," has found some striking textile evidence which illuminate the trade of the early Middle Ages. So valued was Pallium Fresonicum that Charlemagne sent some as a gift to Harun al Rashid. Scholars have proposed that the actual cloth was made in Syria, in England, or in various local workshops. Such cloth is found in rich graves in western, coastal Norway, and in Swedish contents at Birka (40 graves) and Valsgårde, often in association with Anglo-Irish bronzes. Ingstad takes these textiles as the so called "Frisian cloth," but holds that the British Isles was the place of production.

Two items deal with Romano-British matters. John Wacker, in *The Coming of Rome (New York) provides the latest in the series, Britain Before the Conquest, a refreshing and useful addition to our knowledge of the early British Isles. The photographs and illustrations are of high quality and the layout is attractive and intelligently done. The aerial photography is of particular interest. Wacker makes good use of other Roman colonial resources to project more information about England than we actually have from documentary or archaeological evidence. An interesting addition to the common approach to the material is Wacker's chapter eight, "The Benefit for Rome." In addition to the quite heavy cost in manpower, Wacker estimates that the cost per year of maintaining Britain was some 20 million denarii (=90,000 kg. of silver), some 13 million for the army alone. On balance, it would appear that though Britain seceded under various rebels on three occasions, she was each time reclaimed; "We should therefore conclude that Rome could not do without Britain and that,

considered as a whole, there was greater profit than loss." A feature that is both useful and charming is "The Best of Early Roman Britain," rather like the Good Food Guide, with starred sites, and brief commentary on the most outstanding monuments.

Lincoln has what is perhaps the "most impressive and substantial remnant of any Roman town gateway in Britain." Its full context is discussed in *The Defence of the Upper Roman Enclosure, by M. J. Jones, et al. (Archaeology of Lincoln, vol. 8, fasc. 1), a first-rate discussion of the Roman enclosure and the way it served the town, even through the Middle Ages.

b. Sutton Hoo

Rupert Bruce-Mitford has produced a third edition of the universally and deservedly successful *Sutton Hoo Ship Burial Handbook (London, British Museum, 1979). The new replica of the helmet, the reconstruction of the drinking horns and the correction of the lines of the ship are all stressed in a Preface. It is unfortunate that Dr. Bruce-Mitford has not changed some of the details of his discussions of the relations between Sutton Hoo and Beowulf; the general view of scholars of the poem, insofar as I know it, is not that "Beowulf ... was written down about the year 700 or somewhat later," as Bruce-Mitford maintains. But it is unfair to carp on such points, when the publication is clearly of great use and importance, particularly to the general public.

Norman Scarfe has a novel suggestion dealing with *"Rædwald's 'Queen and the Sutton Hoo Coins'" (Proc. Suff. Inst. Arch. 34, 251-4). Rædwald's powerful yet un-named consort, Scarfe holds, is admired by Bede because she was firmly in favor of loyalty to friends, and despised the notion of betraying them for gold. By a process I find hard to follow, Scarfe proposes that the Sutton Hoo coins were actually bribe money, paid by Æthelfith, as a reward for Rædwald's promise to kill or destroy Edwin, a guest at his court, 615-16.

In *The Kings Whetstone" (Antiquity 53 [1979], 96-101), J. Simpson cites passages dealing with whetstones in four places in the Prose Edda, Viga-Glums Saga and Gautreks Saga, all of which are thirteenth- and fourteenth-century sources. In these sources there are indications that a whetstone represented the thunderbolt of the sky god and was thus an appropriate royal symbol. To my mind, such a drawing together is not productive; Beowulf, written down in the late tenth or early eleventh century, is often used and over-used to comment on Sutton Hoo, but to extend the search for "parallels" to the fourteenth century is to stretch connections transparently thin.

c. The Vikings

It is extremely useful to have a re-issue of David Wilson and Ole Klindt-Jensen's Viking Art as volume six in the University of Minnesota's Nordic Series. At \$12.95 in paper, the book is an excellent value, when compared with the range of re-issues at enormous prices that are available in the various reprint series. It is still a standard work on the subject, despite the many revisions of terminology and chronology.

Signe Horn Fuglesang provides both an essential reference tool and an extremely useful catalogue in *Some Aspects of the Ringerike Style: a Phase of 11th Century Scandinavian Art (Odense). Not only does she re-define and greatly clarify the relationship between the various schools of Scandinavian art,

but she also provides an interesting perspective on its origins and development. The relationship among Scandinavian, English, and Irish art are exceedingly complex and vexed questions, and Fuglesang does much to clarify perceptions of these problems. Of the Ringerike style in England, she says: "The Ringerike style of grave slabs and honework from London, the Ringerike elements in the Cambridge Psalter, and the atypical features of the Ringerike style designs on the metalworks of English provenance, all suggest that artisans trained in the Scandinavian Ringerike style were working in Southern England" (pp. 76-7). But Fuglesang does not come down in favor of a strong English influence on late Scandinavian art. Instead, she proposes:

- 1) Both late Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian Art were built on the foundation of a common Carolingian heritage, and there also appears to have been a constant interchange of artistic interchange between the two areas (pp. 118-9).
- 2) ...The Ringerike style appears to result from Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian influences which had been grafted onto and merged with a Scandinavian tradition such a merger could not have taken place anywhere but in Scandinavia itself (p. 119).

The merging of Ottonian, Anglo-Saxon, and Scandinavian features, Fuglesang hypothesizes, arose because of the influence of the Anglo-Saxon missionaries, with a central point -- or see -- being located logically, if hypothetically, in Denmark, "with its comparatively advanced Church organization and its crossing of Anglo-Saxon and Ottonian interlude" (p. 123). Fuglesang believes:

...most of the significant artistic innovations of this period are intimately connected with the personal aspirations and cultural interests of a bishop or an abbot, for example Ethelwold in England, Egbert in Trier, Everger in Köln, Bernward in Hildesheim ..., hardly anybody but a bishop would have been in the possession of or had the contacts to procure the manuscripts or drawn models that must have been necessary for the shaping of the Ringerike style.

It is a safe bet to say that Fuglesang's excellent book will be the cause of much fruitful discussion in the next few years.

*Scandinavian Shetland: An Ongoing Tradition is the title of a collection of essays edited by John R. Baldwin, the result of the third annual meeting of the Scottish Society for Northern Study in Lenwick in 1975 (SSWS, 1978). The closeness of the relationship is best shown in an anecdote by Tom Henderson, Curator of the Lenwick Museum. In 1969, to mark the quincentenary of Scottish rule in Shetland, an exhibit of crofting, seafaring, and household artifacts was held, with items both from Shetland and Norwegian sources on display: "Unless one carefully read the attached labels, it was hard to distinguish the native Shetland object from its Norwegian counterpart." This is particularly true in maritime contexts; a boat-bailer of the Viking period in the Shetland museum is identical to one available in the Shetlands today, and both types are identical with one used on Viking ships. Ian Morrison's article throws light on probable sailing practices of Viking craft by looking at current Shetland practice, and A. G. Osler offers a fascinating review of "Boatbuilding by the Duncan of Hamnavoe, Burra Isle" -- almost certainly one of the last in which Viking-style boats are still built by hand and eye. There are two studies of sheep-rearing

and farming which are beyond my competence to judge, but seem to indicate the same kind of continuity.

The debate on the development of style in Germanic art, particularly the relations between Scandinavian and English traditions, is eternal. Lennart Karlsson once again firmly rejects what he describes as W. Holmqvist's "well-known thesis concerning the total dependence of Scandinavian art on English prototypes during the late Viking Period" *Debatt: Skandinavien - Brittiska Öarna " (Fornvannen 73 [1978], 242-251). Karlsson holds instead "In the eleventh century, Scandinavian artists were still formed in and stamped by their native, rigorously formalized, animal style. They had not the prerequisite for making use of the English acanthus, whose exuberant and organically detailed realism and classical form was quite unfamiliar to them" (p. 251).

In another contribution, *Nordisk dyrestil-bakgrunn og opphav (Arkeologisk Museum, Stavanger Skrifter 3 [1979]), Arne B. Johansen enters the arena with some new ideas on the origin and spread of animal ornament. He sees such elements as more intensive and more varied in heartland Scandinavia than it is along the Limes: he attempts a sociological explanation of the spread of animal ornament, in which the Romans in fact borrowed the base from Scandinavia. In the larger perspective:

- a) There is an ancient and wide spread tradition of employing animal figures and geometric patterns for ornamentation in northern Europe.
- b) The Nordic animal style therefore does not originate in Roman times, it just becomes more visible.
- c) The reason for this is particularly that economic conditions at that time made it favourable to show the style in public (p.155).

To my mind, this conclusion is at least as valid as those based on typological analysis.

Richard Bailey's Viking Age Sculpture in Northern England (London), the first volume in the Collins Archaeology series, is an admirable work in many respects. It is the fruit of a decade of intensive research, but the author's learning is worn lightly, so that the reader new to the subject will be neither distanced nor intimidated. Bailey makes important contributions to the chronology of the sculptures, and their relevance to cultural history in general, for he disagrees with some generally-held views. This is a book that will aid the novice a great deal, while providing important perspectives for the mature scholar.

The reports of the great Helgö excavation continue apace, with V:1 (Workshop, Part II) published this year. The volume deals with locks, keys, tools, and iron currency ware from the sites. More than twice the number of locks and padlocks known from the entire rest of Sweden were found at Helgö, with some examples of very complex kinds of locks present. As for tools, Jan-Erik Torntlund holds that they reflect the extraordinary economic base of the community, in which one can see "the almost industrialized production of luxury and consumer goods both for use there, and for resale" (p. 15).

A chatty and informal but well informed essay on *Helgö a Pre-Viking Trading Center" by A. Lundström in Archaeology (31 [1978], 25-29) is an ideal introduction for an undergraduate course in the history and commerce and manufacture of early Scandinavia.

Under the general title *Vendeltid (Stockholm, Statens Historiska Museum), a series of fifteen papers in modern Swedish plus translations of parts of Beowulf were used in association with the great Stockholm exhibit of Vendel, Valsgärde and Sutton Hoo material. The papers are short, and quite pointed. David Wilson, Bjorn Ambrosiani, Angela Evans and Catherine Hills are among the distinguished contributors.

Morten Stenberger, whose classic work Det forntide Sverige stands as a first-rate account of the early history of the country, has had his more expansive thoughts brought to fruition in a monumental volume, *Vorgeschichte Schwedens (Nordische Vorzeit Band 4 [Neuminster, 1977], edited by Karl Kersten, et al. English readers who, like the present reviewer, have difficulty with Swedish will find this German account very useful indeed as a far-ranging and fuller account than Sternberger's Sweden (Ancient Peoples and Places 30 (N.Y., 1962). This great work is a singular mark of respect for a great scholar, lost to us in 1973.

Egil Bakka gives the reader a great deal to ponder in an article modestly titled *Two Aurars of Gold: Contributions to the Weight History of the Migration Period" (Ant. Jnl. LVIII [1979], 272-298). He studies the set of rings found at Rosland, Rogaland, and concludes that they were in fact weights, for they are easily related to the Old Norse weight system, itself derived from the Roman-Byzantine system of weights and measures. Studied in the context of similar finds, Bakka finds that accuracy of weight is so fine-tuned that it is best described as "consistent and astonishing, almost breathtaking" (p. 287), with a deviation -- in grams -- of +/- 0.035! Bakka holds that this Roman-derived system is general in Germanic Europe, and further suggests that "it was introduced soon after the Constantinian coin reform" of the early 4th century. This is, of course, important as a further indication of close relations between Scandinavian, Germanic Europe and the Roman Empire.

Charlotte Blindheim commemorates the seventy-fifth anniversary of the excavation of the Oseberg ship in *Da Osebergfunnel ble gravel" (Viking 43 [1980 for 1979], 5-19). She illustrates the discussion with excellent photographs of the excavations and the excavators, samples from a traveling exhibit of a large number of pictures, all enlarged to 60 x 90 cm.

Those interested in the relationship between pyres and burials will find A. Gräslund's *Branning på platsen eller särskild bålplats? Några Notiser om ett branningsförsök" (Tor 17 [1975-77], 363-373) worth reading. A practical experiment in pyre construction and burning was carried out, which demonstrated that "when fire lay on turf, the ground was affected to a minor degree. The thin grey layer beneath the area of the fire looked like the layer that on a number of occasions has been observed in the Summerston graves at the point dividing the cremation layer from the sterile sand" (p. 372).

W. Sealy and Dave Woodfield, in *Viking Stirrups from England and their Background" (Med. Arch. 24, 87-122), provide an illuminating survey of an important

technological innovation. The work is clearly a labor of love, for Mr. Sealy began it in the late 1940's, and Mr. Woodfield has continued into the present. The authors wisely refrain from entering into the hot controversy about the origin of stirrups, although they do provide a brief historical sketch of their use. The Scandinavians had stirrups as early as the eighth century (in Vendel culture), reflexes of which appear in England. Viking-type stirrups have been found near Neuchatel in Switzerland, in France as far west as the Loire, and in "East Prussia, where they seem to have persisted into the 12th century in the pagan graves at Polkheim" (p. 84). Of the 36 known stirrups, a fair number are decorated, the decoration having a connection with Anglo-Danish vine-scroll patterns, particularly "Anglian crosses and grave monuments of Yorkshire and the North Midlands" (p. 101). The authors proposed that they were introduced in Sweyn and Olaf's army in 994, a raid re-counted in the Chronicle. Further, "whether or not the Danes brought their smiths with them from Europe, it seems probable that many of the riders were drawn from the settled Anglo-Scandinavian population whose equipment would at least be of the same ancestry as those of the Danes themselves" (pp. 103-104). The tactical importance of the stirrup is summed up as follows:

The introduction of the stirrup, it would seem, also marked an important stage in the art of fighting from horseback, for now for the first time a man could 'stand on his horse' and be able to couch his spear firmly under his arm (instead of wielding it loosely in his hand), thereby gaining the full value of the weight and momentum of the horse and rider behind the thrust. A similar advantage would be had for the use of the battle-axe. Indeed, it seems likely that such tactical advance would have been fully appreciated by horseborne Viking invaders at least by the mid 10th century, and that the developed English form of stirrup represents the fulfillment of that need.

d. The Celts

G. F. Mitchell calls for sweeping changes in *"Planning for Irish Archaeology in the Eighties" (Irish Arch. Res. Forum 5 [1980 for 1978], 1-14). He makes additions to current programs, including a complete "re-animation" of the National Museum and a new interest in and higher priority for archaeology in governmental circles. A series of essays edited by N. Maxwell under the title Digging Up Dublin: A Future for our Past (Dublin, O'Brien Press) seeks a permanent archaeological unit for the capital. In *"Dendrochronology: the Irish View" (Curr. Arch. 7, 61-3), M. Baillie reviews evidence that indicates how Ireland can be viewed as a "single tree ring area"; many sites -- particularly mills -- have been dated from the seventh to the ninth centuries. In a brief account of *"Wood Quay, Dublin" (Curr. Arch. 7, 209-11), T. Barry reveals the importance of the excavations now in progress in Dublin and elsewhere for an understanding of medieval Ireland, and the amazing insensitivity of the Irish government with respect to these excavations. Dublin Corporation wants office blocks on the site -- it took a court injunction to stop their work. Within hours of their successful appeal against a second injunction, earth-moving equipment sped to the site.

S. C. Stanford, *"Archaeology of the Welsh Marches" (Seminar Press), a handsome book, and the latest in the series of Collins Archaeology, does not give us a great deal on the Anglo-Saxon period. Firstly, the evidence recorded is scant -- of all the border towns, only Wroxeter has had extensive excavations aimed at past Roman materials. There has been no modern detailed publication of the place-name

evidence, though Cheshire has been done brilliantly by Dodgson. The Viking impact seems not to have been either heavy or sudden, particularly on the Wirrol peninsula:

It seems there was a gradual increase of Irish and then Norse influence as a result of trading and missionary activities over a long period, rather than a sudden displacement of the native population by large-scale Viking invasion. Most of the finds have come from along the coast where marine erosion has bitten into old settlements and redistributed the land-spits which until the nineteenth century defined the Hoyle Lake lagoon. Hitherto this had served as a harbour at the seaward end of the peninsula.

Katherine Barker offers a brief account of "The Early Christian Topography of Sherborne" (Antiquity 54, 229-31), in which there is a strange D-shaped area (best seen in a 1733 estate map of the town). It is probably the remains of an early British monastic site, and is quite similar to a Celtic monastic site seen in crop marks in County Down. This site may be the place in which Aldhelm received his instruction from the otherwise unknown Maeldub. At any rate, the Sherborne site is probably to be counted as one of the fifty monastic centers founded before 800 throughout Europe, in which Irish influence was a dominant force.

There is also a brief but terribly exciting report on the Derrynaflan hoard (Antiquity 54, 216-17). A silver chalice, a large silver paten together with its stand, and a gilt bronze strainer and bronze basin were buried in a bog. Since those who buried the objects were so brilliant as to invert the bronze basin over the other objects, the hoard is well-preserved. Private communications with scholars who have seen this treasure reveal that it will turn out to be as important, and perhaps even more beautiful than the Ardagh chalice.

Stone sculptures with inscriptions offer notorious difficulties in interpretation, and a new interpretation of *"The Inscriptions on the Cross of the Scriptures at Clanmacnoise, County Offaly" by P. B. Harrison shows how vital these inscriptions can be (Proc. Royal Irish Academy 79, no. 7 [1979], 177-88). The crucial point is the name-form on one face which survives only as NAW today. Traditionally, this name has been expanded to "Colman," an early tenth-century abbot, but Harrison proposes a reading of "Ronan," i.e., the name of an abbot who died c. 844. This interpretation is not without its own set of problems, but it permits the Clanmacnoise cross to be more readily associated with the stylistically close Cross of Muirdach at Monsterboice, which can be dated with some security to 837-46.

e. The Picts

Ian and Alexandra Shepherd report on *"An Incised Pictish figure and a new symbol stone from Barflat, Rhyvie, Gordon District" (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 109 [1978-9], 211-222). The first depiction is that of a bearded man in profile, carrying an object over his shoulder, and the symbol stone has what appears to be a dragon-like figure. These finds add to an already established group of six from this area which have unusual iconographies. They can date anywhere from

the fifth to the ninth centuries. These pieces and the discussion of them point out yet again the extraordinary difficulty of dealing with the conundrums of British material. Initial work on a site of "great potential" for Early Christian Scotland is reported by Rosemary Cramp and Caroline Douglas-Home in "New Discoveries at the Hirsell, Coldstream, Berwickshire" (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 109 [1978-9], 223-232). A series of stones were turned up in the course of ploughing in June, 1977. A resistivity survey of the area was undertaken, after the documentary evidence had been surveyed. The implications of these investigations are of very great interest. It is probable that continuous use of a church-site can be established back to the Early Christian period. Excavation is in progress under Cramp, and will continue for several years; the 79 excavations revealed early medieval graves, and Neolithic and medieval occupation.

A series of important papers by Leslie Alcock address, by a combination of excavation, literary and historical evidence, the notorious problems of the Picts. Small-scale excavations in 1974-5 provide a basis for "A Multi-Disciplinary Chronology for Alt Clut, Castle Mock Dumbarton" (Proc. Soc. Ant. Scot. 107 [1975-76], 103-13). Both the fortifications implied by Bede and the destruction of the site, apparently that attributed to the Viking Olaf and Ivarr in 870. "Excavations at Durdurn, St. Fillan's, Perthshire, 1975-6" (Department of Archaeology, Glasgow, 1979), seem to substantiate Pictish use of the site which had in its first (post 650) stage a "dun-like structure, about 20 x 15 M internally, defended by a nailed timber-laced wall"; in the second period, after the dun's destruction by fire, the summit and the terraces below it were fortified. Small finds, though scanty, are "consistent with an aristocratic occupation in the early, historic Pictish period.

Finally, we turn to Leslie Alcock's "Populi Bestiales Pictorum Feroci Animo: A Survey of Pictish Settlement Archaeology" (in Roman Frontier Studies, ed., W. S. Hanson and L.J.F. Keppie, BAR International Series 71 [Oxford], 61-95). There is no better review of the subject extant. Alcock makes a case that the Picts were the "most formidable people in northern Britain . . . it was the aggression of the Picts, and of the Picts alone, which led to the large employment by the southern Britons of Germanic mercenaries, with massive consequences for the emergence of the English nation" (p. 61). It is possible to cite only the conclusion of this very important piece. Rather than to talk in terms of the "Problems of the Picts," it is better to pose the paradox they present: "In the early period of the Historic Picts, we must wonder how a people who appeared in the archaeology of their homeland, as simple peaceful farmers, could offer to the outside world so much resistance, and later so much aggression, with such fateful consequences. But in the later period, we have the reverse paradox. How could a prolific nation, with such a rich economic base, and with strong fortifications to defend it, fall under the sway of invaders coming across difficult mountain passes from the barren crags and peat-bogs of the west?"

f. Glass

In her Collins Archaeology volume on Glass (Humanities Press), Ruth Hurst Vose surveys--very briefly--early medieval glass. Curiously, she says very little about late and sub-Roman and early medieval continental glass in her chapter on continental glass to 1700, but in her treatment of English glass she holds that much of it was probably continental! She seems to be unaware that many archaeologists maintain that certain glass vessels in Scandinavia seem to have been imported from

and were made in England. Further, although the Monkwearmouth stained glass found by Professor Cramp is mentioned, Vose does not cover the magnificent Jarrow discoveries which are far more spectacular. Still the very compression and incompleteness of her account give it a certain kind of import, for conclusions are necessarily given in a summary fashion. First of all, there is a very great deal of glass in early medieval English contexts. Second, much of this glass originated in important centers elsewhere, and was of very high quality indeed.

g. Coins

Under the general editorship of Martin Jessop Price, *Coins: An Illustrated Survey 650 B.C. to the Present Day has been produced (Methuen and British Museum Publications). John Porteus provides an elegant and informative survey of "The Nature of Coinage," but to those interested in things Anglo-Saxon two chapters have the greatest relevance: John Kent's "From the Classical to the Medieval World 330-700," and Sir Philip Grierson's "Western Christendom 700-1450." This bi-partite presentation of the coins of the Anglo-Saxon period is particularly valuable, for it links the early medieval material with both the classical origins and later descendants of Anglo-Saxon coins. Offa, Alfred, and many other Saxon rulers had coins that were not only well-valued and varied in design, as compared to Continental coins, but also quite beautiful. This book provides their full context, and a rich sampling of examples, often given at several magnifications to make study easy. All in all, Coins is a first-rate production at fifty dollars, a book with splendid and profuse illustrations, plus an attractive and durable casing to preserve it. It is a rarity when more pedestrian productions rise in price to approach and break the three-figure barrier.

James Stewart provides a useful and informative review of "Anglo-Saxon Gold Coins" (Scripta Nummaria Romana: Essays Presented to Humphrey Sutherland [London, 1978], 143-172). A list of addenda for the past thirty years and a bibliography are included. The currency is interesting, for of circa 160 recorded specimens, all but seven are of the seventh century. Offa apparently had an independently developed gold coinage, but since so little is known about any of the coins, it is hard to generalize. Since the Sutton Hoo and Crondale hoard coins constitute together the vast majority of Anglo-Saxon gold coins, Stewart's piece is valuable on Sutton Hoo as a whole.

h. Coda

A very interesting account of important archaeological work being carried on by an industry is found in P.D. Catherall's *"Archaeology and Gas Pipelines" (Gas Engineering and Management 20, 471-76). Not only has British gas gained an award for the best industrial contribution to archaeology for 1978, but, they have actually relocated routes to suit archaeological sites.



