OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

Associate Editors:

    Rowland L. Collins   Carl T. Berkhout
    Department of English   The Medieval Institute
    University of Rochester   University of Notre Dame
    Rochester, New York 14627   Notre Dame, Indiana 46556

Publications Assistant for Volume XI:

    Marcia Borkowsky

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General correspondence regarding OEN should be addressed to the Editor. Correspondence regarding Year's Work in Old English Studies and the annual Bibliography should be sent to Professor Collins and Dr. Berkhout respectively.

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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A Guide to the Contents of This Issue

I

1977 Annual Meeting of the MLA in Chicago

In addition to the three sessions announced in the previous number of OEN, there will be a fourth session on an OE topic:

Session no. 418: Thursday, December 29, 10:15-11:30 a.m., Palmer House, PDR 8

"A Reassessment of Old English Poetry and Oral-Formulaic Theory"

Program Chairman: Loren C. Gruber (Simpson College)

Papers:

1. Donald K. Fry: "Old English Formulaic Studies: State of the Art" (15 minutes)
2. John Miles Foley: "Some New Directions in Oral Formulaic Studies" (10 minutes)
3. John D. Niles: "Poetic Diction and the Oral Style: The Greek Connection" (10 minutes)
4. Loren C. Gruber: "Thoughts on Old English Oral Formula: Ectoskeleton or Deep Structure?" (5 minutes)
5. Alexandra Hennessey Olsen: "Type Scene and Interpretation: The Poetic Guthlac" (5 minutes)

Additional information on the scheduling of the other sessions is now available:

Session no. 228: Wednesday, December 28, 2:45-4:00 p.m., Palmer House PDR 14

"Studies in Old English Poetry and Prose" (OE Division Meeting)

Program Chairman: Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton)

Session no. 282: Wednesday, December 28, 4:30-5:45 p.m., Palmer House, Room 786

"The Exeter Book"

Program Chairman: Tim D.P. Lally (Bowling Green State University)

Session no. 362: Thursday, December 29, 8:30-9:45 a.m., Palmer House

"Old English Studies of the Last Decade, 1967-77"

Program Chairman: Rowland L. Collins (University of Rochester)

Session no. 228 will include a few minutes devoted to the business of the Old English Division. Below are the abstracts for the papers scheduled for Session no. 228:

Thomas Cable (University of Texas, Austin)

"Caedmonian Melodies and Gregorian Chant"

Only in its most superficial aspects is the meter of Old English poetry similar to the meters of Old Norse, Old Saxon, or Old High German, or to the alliterative meter of Middle English. If the crucial technical features are considered, Old English meter has closer affinities with the melodic structure of certain forms of Gregorian Chant, especially the melodies and intonation formulas of the Preface, the Pater noster, the Glorias, the Credos, and the Te Deum. The affinities between reconstructed Caedmonian melodies and the liturgical melodies, notated in neumes from the tenth century, are especially clear in the Old English Benedictine Office. Here the Old English verses paraphrase and expand intermittent lines of Latin from the Gloria Patri, the Pater noster, and the Credo in Deum. The assumption that the Latin served not only as a thematic model but also as a melodic model is historically plausible. A common method of musical composition in the vernaculars during the Middle Ages was the adaptation of melodic formulas from the Latin chant (as in one of the earliest notated English songs, St. Godric's Crist and Sainte Marie, an elaboration of a preceding and following Kyrie eleison). The miracle of Caedmon, by this view, was not simply that he set liturgical themes to a Germanic meter preserved intact, but that he radically transformed the meter itself.

Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"The Art of Bede: Edwin's Council"

The unnamed counselor's sparrow simile, Bede's most famous passage, turns on "the life of man" viewed by a dramatic audience exactly parallelling the real audience of Edwin and his wise men. The point of view in the simile is dual, both the sparrow's perceiving life inside the hall and the watchers' perceiving his perception. The fictional hall represents human time, human lifespan, and space in the created world.

Psalm 83 ("How lovely is Thy dwelling-place") includes the same imagery and points of view, but reversed. I believe Bede meant the memory of this psalm's imagery to echo in the simile, especially the sparrow's finding its home (83.4). Bede most likely used the Roman Psalter, and some echoes in the diction appear there. Patristic exegesis of Psalm 83 (with Augustine and Jerome selected as typical and known to Bede) takes the sparrow variously as the mind and the soul seeking the Church, Heaven, escape from the body, etc.

But this identification raises problems of historiography. Did Bede report the actual speech of an actual counselor, did he embroider a known speech with

Psalter imagery, or did he simply make up the simile? We could see the sparrow simile as his idea of the inverted but virtuous thinking of a proto-Christian, whose clouded mind had the right picture but applied it to known human time rather than anticipated eternity.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keeffe (Texas A and M University)

"Allegory, the Fathers, and Genesis A"

This paper sets out to examine afresh the possibility of allegorical interpretation in Genesis A by asking a deliberately naive question: what evidence does Genesis A give for the way it should be interpreted? The assumption this study is based on is that the poet, aware of the capabilities of his audience, provides that audience with the information necessary to understand his text. Thus if the poet of Genesis A meant his audience to understand his poem allegorically (or tropologically, or anagogically for that matter), in terms of the commentaries on Genesis, then we should expect him to have worked into his text the key concepts and phrases around which the commentators fashioned their delicate web of ideas.

The method which informs this study takes into account several possible Anglo-Saxon audiences by evaluating the poem against the commentaries of three Anglo-Saxon exegetes, Bede, Alcuin, and Aelfric, since the intended audiences for these commentaries are identified by their writers. Because Genesis A is so long, this paper only examines two events crucial to the exegesis of Genesis: the Fall and the Covenant with Abraham. The paper demonstrates that the poet consistently avoids using the charged words in Genesis which give rise to higher interpretations in the commentaries, for example, the words pellicias and versatilis. In his handling of the story of Abraham, the poet's obvious delight in traditional composition about battle, his failure to refer to the crucial elements of Melchisedech's offering, and his apparent lack of knowledge of the standard commentary on Abraham and Sara indicate that he was not pointing his audience to allegorical reading.

Thomas D. Hill (Cornell University)

"The virga of Moses and the Old English Exodus"

In the Old English Exodus Moses' rod is at one point called a "grene tacne." One editor has recently emended this phrase out of existence and even more recently a critic has provided an allegorical explanation. I would suggest that the phrase is most readily understood in terms of the meanings of the Latin term virga (which Moses' rod is always called in the Vulgate). A virga is a green branch and also a sign of authority and thus quite literally a grene tacne. A clearer sense of the meaning of the term virga permits us to understand more exactly a series of images in Exodus in which Moses is described as "flogging" the Egyptians with his rod. I conclude the paper with some general reflections on the character of the art of the Exodus-poet, suggesting that this poetry which is so difficult in some ways and so simple in others reflects a particularly "barbaric" sensibility and is thus essentially similar in character to the Hisperic or Hermeneutic Latin poetry of the period.

II

The Campbell Collection

With the financial support of the Canada Council, the Macdonald-Stewart Foundation, and the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies, the University of Toronto was able to acquire the library of the late Alistair Campbell, Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon at Oxford University. Most of the four thousand books and pamphlets are now catalogued and housed in the Library of the Pontifical Institute of Mediaeval Studies. The several hundred remaining titles, mainly texts and reference works, along with Professor Campbell's personal papers: notebooks, correspondence and lecture notes, are displayed or filed in the offices of the Dictionary of Old English located in the Robarts Research Library.

As might be expected, there are great strengths in Old English texts and philological studies. Of particular interest to the editors of the D.O.E. is the file of correspondence and notes that Professor Campbell gathered for his work on the Addenda to the Bosworth-Toller which appeared in 1972. When the Dictionary goes to press in the mid 1980's, this file, with the remaining volumes belonging to the Campbell Collection, and all the D.O.E. files, texts, manuscript facsimiles, etc. collected and used by the Dictionary editors will go across the campus to the Pontifical Institute Library.

The variety of Professor Campbell's academic interests is reflected in the subject headings under which his collection has been listed:

English texts; English language and literature;
Anglo-Saxon and English history; Latin - classical
and medieval; paleography; texts and philological
commentaries or histories in Irish, Welsh, Highland
Gaelic, Old Norse, Dutch and Frisian, Old High
German, Old Saxon, Middle Low German, Gothic,
French, Lithuanian, Greek, Russian, Slavic,
Sanskrit, Indo-European, Hebrew and linguistics.

Typed copies of a bibliography of the Campbell Collection have been bound in book form and are available in the D.O.E. offices for scholars who wish to consult these materials.

Many individuals participated in the transfer of Professor Campbell's library to the University of Toronto. In Oxford, Professor Norman Davis and Dr. Bruce Mitchell advised and assisted Mrs. Campbell. In Toronto, Professors John Leyerle and Angus Cameron, former students of Professor Campbell, prepared the way for the permanent placement of the Collection in the Pontifical Institute Library.

The Campbell Collection is an important addition to the reference materials available on the Toronto Campus. Its acquisition was an acknowledgment of the importance of Professor Campbell's work and an opportunity to keep intact the library of a major Old English scholar.

A.B. Kingsmill
Centre for Medieval Studies
University of Toronto

III

International Society for the History of Rhetoric

The new International Society for the History of Rhetoric was formally established at a meeting held at the Eidgenossische Technische Hochschule, Zurich, Switzerland, June 29 - July 2, 1977. The inaugural meeting was attended by 120 scholars from nine countries.

As stated in the Constitution adopted at the meeting, "The purpose of this Society is to promote the study of both the theory and practice of rhetoric in all periods and languages and its relationships with poetics, philosophy, politics, religion, law and other aspects of the cultural context. The Society is not concerned with the furthering of practical rhetorical skills as such."

The Society will meet biennially, with the 1979 conference planned for a site in Europe yet to be chosen.

President is Brian Vickers, Zurich. First Vice President is James J. Murphy, University of California at Davis. Secretary-General is Heinrich Plett, Essen.

The Council includes: Marc Fumaroli, Paris-Sorbonne; George Kennedy, North Carolina; A. Kibedi-Varga, Amsterdam; Anton Leeman, Amsterdam; Jean-Claude Margolin, Paris; Alain Michel, Paris-Sorbonne; Walter J. Ong, S.J., St. Louis; Chaim Perelman, Brussels; Heinrich Plett, Essen; Cesare Vasoli, Florence, and Michael Winterbottom, Oxford.

Publications being planned include the _Acta_ of each biennial conference, a continuing international bibliography, and a retrospective bibliography. The Editorial Committee consists of Heinrich Plett, Essen (chairman); Gianfranco Folena, Padua; Marc Fumaroli, Paris-Sorbonne; Ernesto Grassi, Munich; and James J. Murphy, University of California at Davis. The Society will also circulate a Newsletter to its members listing works-in-progress, conferences of interest, and the like.

Membership is open to any individual or institution subscribing to the aims of the Society. Dues are: Regular membership, $10.00 per year ($20.00 for two years); Student Membership, $4.00 (or $8.00 for two years). Dues may be sent to the American Treasurer, Professor Lloyd Bitzer, 6142 Vilas Hall, University of Wisconsin, Madison, Wisconsin 53706.

IV

NEH Summer Seminars for College Teachers

Approximately 100 eight-week Summer Seminars for College Teachers will
be offered by the National Endowment for the Humanities during the summer
of 1978. These seminars will cover the various disciplines of the humanities
and humanistic social sciences and will be located at major universities and
research centers in all regions of the country. Twelve college teachers will
be selected to attend each seminar, and each participant will receive a
stipend of $2,000 for a two-month tenure period plus a travel allowance of
up to $400.

The purpose of the program is to provide opportunities for faculty
members of undergraduate and two-year colleges to work with distinguished
scholars in their fields at intitutions with library collections suitable
for advanced study. Through research, reflection, and discussion with the
seminar director and their colleagues in the seminar, participating college
teachers will sharpen their understandings of the subjects they teach and
improve their ability to convey these understandings to their students.

Some of the seminars will be broadly gauged, extending in many cases
across traditional disciplinary lines; others will focus upon more special-
ized topics within a single discipline. A large number of seminars will be
of particular interest to teachers of introductory courses, whether at
two-year or four-year institutions.

Specific information concerning seminar topics, directors, and loca-
tions will be available upon request in early December. Prospective
applicants should write to the Division of Fellowships, National Endowment
for the Humanities, 806 15th Street, N W., Washington, D.C. 20506, or call
Mitchell Schneider at (202) 724-0377. The application deadline will be
March 13, 1978.

V

Anglo-Saxon England 6 (1977)

The contents of ASE 6 are:

Margaret Gelling, "Latin loan-words in Old English place-names." Reconsiders the distribution and historical bearing of these place-name elements.

Philip Rahtz and Donald Bullough, "The parts of an Anglo-Saxon mill." The physical evidence of the probably eight-century watermill excavated at Tamworth is set against a survey of early medieval and Old English mill terminology.

Michael Winterbottom, "Aldhelm's prose style and its origins." A major study arguing against the supposed "Irishness" of Aldhelm's prose style, and placing it firmly in the main tradition of rhetorical amplification coming through from ancient times.

Vivien Law, "The Latin and Old English glosses in the ars Tatuini." Explores the interest of these glosses as lexicographical items and as evidence for the study of Latin in early-eighth-century England.

John F. Vickrey, "The narrative structure of Hengest's revenge in Beowulf." Challenges illogicality in current interpretation of unhlitme, Beowulf 1129a.

Robert C. Rice, "The penitential motif in Cynewulf's Fates of the Apostles and in his epilogues." Emphasizes the penitential concern of Cynewulf's poetry.

David Yerkes, "The text of the Canterbury fragment of Werferth's translation of Gregory's Dialogues and its relation to the other manuscripts." Makes this significant piece of textual evidence available for the first time.

Eric E. Barker, "Two lost documents of King Athelstan." Analyzes two lists of names in the Durham Liber Vitae and infers that the one derives from the witness-list of a charter drawn up shortly before 929 and that the other consists of the names of those members of Athelstan's retinue on his expedition to the north in 934 who became benefactors of St. Cuthbert's.

Robert Deshman, "The Leofric Missal and tenth-century English art." Provides the first thorough consideration of the style, technique, and ornament of drawings and an initial in this missal as major evidence for the course of the artistic renaissance in the second half of the tenth-century.

Stephanie Hollis, "The thematic structure of the Sermo Lupi." A detailed stylistic ahalysis which is the first to deal with the whole of this homily as a single highly organized expression of several closely related themes.

D.G. Scragg, "Napier's 'Wulfstan' homily XXX: its sources, its relationship to the Vercelli Book and its style." Shows that this homily was compiled from extensive vernacular sources, including a homiliary similar to the Vercelli Book, by an eleventh-century imitator of Wulfstan's style.

Thomas D. Hill, "The æcerbot charm and its Christian user." Asks and answers the question "what practical purpose would an eleventh-century Christian farmer have had in using this charm?"

Christine Fell, "English history and Norman legend in the Icelandic saga of Edward the Confessor." The sources of the fourteenth-century saga writer's knowledge of late Anglo-Saxon history are further delineated in this third, concluding article.

Milton McC. Gatch, "Old English literature and the liturgy: problems and potential." Examines the state of liturgical studies as an adjunct to other forms of research, especially the investigation of vernacular literature.

Martin Biddle, Alan Binns, J.M. Cameron, D.M. Metcalf, R.I. Page, Charles Sparrow and F.L. Warren, "Sutton Hoo published: a review." A team review of the recently published volume.

Bibliography for 1976. A fifty-page bibliography of all books, articles and significant reviews in the various branches of Anglo-Saxon studies.

P.A.M. Clemoes

Learning Old English - An Experiment Continued

O.D. Macrae-Gibson

University of Aberdeen

The original "experiment" [described in Old English Newsletter V (1972), 7-20] established, subject to experimental cautions, that students who had begun the study of Old English with a fairly concentrated three weeks' course, "programmed" in a loose sense of that word, based on a systematic progression through the grammar, and with language laboratory support (1), performed markedly better in a test of unseen translation than students taught for the same three weeks, with equal concentration, by several other methods. The evidence was accumulated over some years, after which, as explained at the end of my previous article, the experiment in its original form came to an end. This was for two reasons. First, our experience led us to drop some of the methods we had been trying: in the continued experiment now described the concentrated three weeks of initial teaching was retained, but the "programmed" course as before (P) was opposed simply to tutorial methods, with sequence of instruction controlled by the tutor, and without use of the language laboratory (T). Second, the three weeks now came at the beginning instead of the end of a term, and the immediately following test could no longer be given.

Instead, a test now came after six further weeks. During these weeks both P and T students received further Old English teaching without discrimination, by the usual lecture-and-tutorial methods, so that the test was now of longer-term, not immediate, effects of the different initial methods. It unfortunately also had to serve other purposes than those of the experiment, and among the consequences of that was that the unseen translation was no longer a compulsory question. However, a substantial (and similar) proportion of both P and T students regularly chose to answer it, and in each of the five years during which this regime continued P students gained, on average, higher marks on it than T students, though the difference between them was, unsurprisingly, less than in the test which had immediately followed the three weeks of contrasted teaching (2).

Thus the support of the original experiment for P was confirmed, but as teachers we were dissatisfied with the quality of performance in the test, which suggested to us that too much of the impetus of the initial three weeks' course was still being lost in the following weeks, even though not as much as when these weeks began with a vacation. In the third of the five years, therefore, we introduced with a few students a new course Pii (3), designed as a follow-up to P, and covering the same texts on which other students were receiving lecture-and-tutorial teaching, but with a "programmed" approach like that of P. It showed promise, its use was extended in the following, fourth, year, and in the fifth year the majority of P students continued with Pii. Thus a third group of students was created (P + Pii), whose marks could be compared with those of the simple P group (which as noted were running steadily above those of the T group). In each of these three years P + Pii students scored on average better than simple P students (4). In the next, sixth, year all P students continued with Pii, so this year added nothing to the evidence already cited, but a sizeable sample was now available for comparison between

students who had used tutorial and lecture methods throughout their first nine weeks of learning Old English (TL), and those who had used "programmed" methods throughout (P + Pii). The difference between their performances was quite marked, and statistical examination of the evidence shows it as unlikely that this was a matter of chance (5).

I was not able in this continued experiment to take as much pains as in the original one to exclude the possibility that differences of performance were caused by differences of tutorial skill rather than differences of method. Opinions in the department had settled, and there was little shuffling of method between tutors. All one can say is that the tutors were largely the same as in the original experiment, in which I did examine and reject the "tutorial skill" hypothesis, and they included for all methods both experienced and novice university teachers. With reasonable assurance, then the whole experiment seems to demonstrate that for university students beginning the study of Old English, a course pedagogically conceived, and presented on "programmed" lines, genuinely leads to a better understanding of the language than the traditional approach in which the material is presented in grammars and texts, with teaching methods the responsibility of lecturers and tutors.

The test of "better understanding" adopted throughout has been one of unprepared translation. We have in fact tested other aspects also, with results in general parallel, but as the material in these tests was more directly related to material in the actual P courses they offer less convincing evidence. For the second phase of the teaching we could not compare other 'programmed' courses with Pii, since as far as I know no other is available. I realize that an experimenter concluding in favor of his own course is to be viewed skeptically; if any other experimenter is able to take such investigations further, that will be much to be desired. In this university, however, we have been sufficiently convinced by the results here presented to adopt P + Pii for all our future students of Old English, so I shall have no further differential findings to put forward.

Endnotes

1) 'Method B' of the original experiment, using O.D. Macrae-Gibson, <u>Learning Old English</u>.

2) Overall average mark for P students 61%, for T 54%. Such crude averages, however, covering different years in which mark range and level, and proportions of P and T students, varied, are not satisfactory figures, and as before I have reduced the marks to "z-scores," a device which evens out level and range between years. Zero represents always the average for the year, and the range is so adjusted that the "standard deviation" from this average is always 1. On this basis the average scores become: P, plus 0.08; T, minus 0.23. For groups of the size now available (reduced of course because the question was optional; overall 62% of both P and T students chose to do it), and given the amount of variation within groups, this difference is not statistically striking. Nevertheless one of the tests I have regularly applied, which proves the more sensitive on these results, indicates odds against its being due to chance of longer than ten to one, and since it is in the same direction as the highly significant differences demonstrated in the original experiment it can safely be taken as confirmatory evidence. Once again I owe grateful thanks to Mr. Derek Shanks, of the Department of Education here, for help with statistical calculations, though once again responsibility for the figures I give is entirely my own.

3) Titled <u>Reading Old English</u>: this is the Part II mentioned in the Preface to <u>Learning Old English</u>.

4) Average z-scores: P + Pii, plus 0.41; P, minus 0.01. Again, on the same basis as in note 2, the odds against chance are indicated as a little longer than ten to one (the difference between the scores is bigger, but the number of students concerned was smaller). The evidence is not conclusive, but it is suggestive.

5) Average z-scores: P + Pii, plus 0.28; TL, minus 0.28. This time both the tests I have regularly applied (see my original article) indicate clear statistical significance. On the basis of proportions above and below the median, the odds against chance indicated by the "chi-square" test are well above twenty to one. On the basis of average scores, with due allowance for variation within the groups, the "t-test" indicates odds of above a hundred to one. The reduced z-score for P + Pii compared with that in the note above does not indicate any fall-off in performance; it arises simply because of the addition of the final year, in which a large proportion of the field had followed this method, so that inevitably the average for the method could not get very far from the average for the year (z-score, by definition, zero). The significance lies in the difference between the scores for different methods.

Junius 85 f. 3^r

Bodleian MS Junius 85, containing eight whole and incomplete articles, is
the remnant of a larger mid-eleventh century collection. Leaves have been
lost, and the manuscript has been misbound. Thus, the fourth item in the
manuscript, which is the Old English version of the Visio Pauli, begins on
f. 3^r, produced here on the right. The size of the original is 160 x 115mm.
The hand looks unsightly because a later corrector has retouched faded writing.
Those puzzled by various readings should consult Antoninette DiPaolo Healey's
forthcoming study, The Old English Vision of St. Paul, which will be the
second volume in the Speculum Anniversary Monographs. For further information
on the manuscript see N.R. Ker, A Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-
Saxon (Oxford, 1957) no. 336.

In the Catholic Homilies, Second Series (ed. B. Thorpe, p. 332) Aelfric
objects to the doctrinal content of the Visio Pauli: "Humeta raedaþ sume men
þa leasan gesetnysse, þe hi hataþ Paulus gesihþe, nu he sylfe saede þaet he
þa digelan word gehyrde, þe nan eorþlic mann sprecan ne mot?" (spelling normal-
ized slightly) Aelfric follows Augustine in this displeasure (PL 35, 1885),
but he has no qualms about devoting the rest of his Rogationtide sermon to the
visionary experiences of Furseus, with an addendum on Dryhthelm. The later
compiler of the Junius manuscript, if he knew of Aelfric's displeasure, did
not share it. As a result, scholars have another witness to the lively
tradition of Anglo-Saxon translation and adaptation from Latin.

I acknowledge with thanks the generosity of the Keeper of Western Manu-
scripts, Bodleian Library, in granting me permission to reproduce this page. I
must also thank Ms. Judith Williman for making a photograph from the photostat.

P.E.S.

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THE YEAR'S WORK IN OLD ENGLISH STUDIES - 1976

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

The structure of the Old English Bibliography was changed in 1976 to make it analogous to the organization of the bibliography which is published annually in Anglo-Saxon England. Although the schedules of these two bibliographies are considerably different, their general purposes are similar and all the compilers advised a uniform organization of bibliographic entries. Consequently, the structure and order of The Year's Work in Old English Studies is, this year, considerably different from the past. The plan, as usual, follows the Bibliography as closely as possible. The contributors have managed this with a very few exceptions. Miscellaneous language studies are reviewed under 2.a., with Lexicon and Names, not under 2.b., as in the Bibliography; in actuality, however, this shift involves the regrouping of only eight entries. Under section 3., the review of work on Beowulf is separated from work on other individual poems and offered as a separate essay.

The return to Fall publication has been difficult for almost all contributors and many have regretted the number of "works not seen." Books and articles in these lists which prove to be important will, as in the past, be included in YWOES - 1977. Our gratitude is due Professor Verne Snyder of the Department of German at the State University College of New York at Geneseo for his help with some of the articles on Old English linguistics. And my special appreciation goes to Mrs. Helen Craven at the University of Rochester for the preparation of a long and difficult manuscript for photo-duplication.

The contributors to YWOES are, in all important ways, independent reviewers. They are asked to summarize and to evaluate the scholarly works which they consider significant, but they are not expected to conform to any special set of evaluative criteria. The general editor selects the contributors, tries to eliminate duplication of effort, and prepares the texts for publication. The authors can be identified from the initials which appear at the end of each section:

C.C.	Colin Chase, University of Toronto
J.C.	James Carley, University of Rochester
J.D.C.	John David Cormican, Utica College
R.T.F.	Robert T. Farrell, Cornell University (assisted by Sheila Bonde, Harvard University; Susan Kruse, Durham University; and Susan Romilly Straight, Cornell University)
M.McC.G.	Milton McCormick Gatch, University of Missouri - Columbia
J.R.H.	James R. Hall, Terre Haute, Indiana
T.G.H.	Thomas G. Hahn, University of Rochester
M.M.	Matthew Marino, University of Alabama
J.B.T.	Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., University of Illinois
M.C.W.	Marjorie Curry Woods, University of Rochester

Suggestions for the improvement of YWOES and copies of material to be reviewed should be addressed to Mr. Collins.

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      c. _Beowulf_
      d. Prose

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL TEXTS

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

7. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

1.   GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS SUBJECTS

Despite its rather specialized title, Peter Hunter Blair's
Northumbria in the Days of Bede (New York) is meant as an introductory study,
albeit for serious-minded readers. Professor Hunter Blair does not use
footnotes or provide extensive references, though he does offer some biblio-
graphical suggestions in a concluding chapter, "Advice to a Pilgrim." The
volume witnesses a distinguished scholar's professional interest and personal
enthusiasm for the early history of northern England. In his narrative,
Professor Hunter Blair takes into account topography, local history and local
rivalry, the conflict of pagan and Christian outlooks, personal intentions and
ambitions, and he makes of all these a unified and particular portrait. His
major source and reference point is Bede's Ecclesiastical History; indeed,
his book might be thought of as an extended historical and geographical com-
mentary on the History. Like Bede, he attempts to use the details of the past
to explain the essential structure, the larger meaning of the society that
came before. He succeeds in this purpose, and in writing a pleasant and fast-
paced narrative. Northumbria in the Days of Bede should provide a pleasant
introduction for beginners, and it will contain unusual enjoyment and instruction
for those who already know the general subject.

Several scholars have published comparative cultural and linguistic
studies. Professor H. R. Ellis Davidson (in Ancient Cosmologies, edd. Blacker
and Loewe, [1975], pp. 172-97) emphasizes how closely Scandinavian beliefs
conform to those of other pagan cultures, and she makes passing reference to
Beowulf, The Seafarer, and the Gosforth Cross in her anthropological survey.
Two other studies examine pagan survivals in names: Udo Strutynski (in JIES 3,
[1975], 363-84) speculates on the connections between quotidian names and the
gods of the Germanic pantheon. Paul C. Bauschatz (ibid, pp. 53-86) suggests
that Urth's Well in the Poetic and Prose Edda takes its name from a cognate of
OE wyrd. He examines the mythological associations of fate, and the cultural
assumptions it implies. Though there are only a few illustrations from OE, the
essay makes a worthwhile contribution to our understanding, and to Anglo-Saxon
understanding, of wyrd. Finally, in Untersuchungen zu Inhalt, Stil und Technik
angelsächsischer Gesetze und Rechtsbücher des 6. bis 12. Jahrhunderts, Archiv
für vergleichende Kulturwissenschaft 10 (Meisenheim am Glan, 1974), Dirk Korte
deals with a wide variety of legal questions -- sources, the organization of the
laws and the format of law books, enforcement, due process, and sentencing.
The discussion includes the Laws of Alfred and Knut, the Leges Edwardi Confessoris
and Leges Henrici Primi. Though he makes extensive reference to Holdsworth, to
Pollock and Maitland, and to German scholarship, his close comparative study of
the texts yields some new insights. In a more particularized study, Rowland L.
Collins investigates the significance of Anglo-Saxon wills for legal, social, and
religious history, and he connects the composition, form, and purpose of the
OE documents with that of their modern successors (Trusts & Estates 115, 816-19
and 842-44). He takes special notice of the wills of Wolgith and Æþelgifu;
the latter, also discussed by Professor Fleming (see below) and by Professor
Collins in his catalogue for the Pierpont Morgan exhibition (section 5), is
now part of the Scheide collection at Princeton and the only OE will in the
United States.

A number of articles described specific features of OE culture. Gérard
Le Coat (in Gazette des Beaux-Arts 87, 1-6, ill.) argues that the troped kyries

and alleluias from St. Gall reflect an interlace structure, through repetition in narrative movement and symmetrical grouping. He contends that tropes are arranged as interlace to help with the proselytizing of pagans, and that there is not only a thematic, but a syntactic and stanzaic interlace in the tropes as well. John V. Fleming (PULC 37, 126-38) discusses the manuscripts from the Scheide Library, which will remain permanently at Princeton. He briefly comments upon the will of Æþelgifu, and then discusses the history of the Blickling MS, the use of the homilies in the Anglo-Saxon church, their content, and their literary value. Patricia E. Hampton's essay on oral interpretation (Studies in Interpretation, edd. Doyle and Floyd, Amsterdam, 1972) offers a general outline of OE monastic and educational practices, drawn primarily from secondary sources. In his article on "The Anglo-Saxon Elf " (SN 48, 313-20), H. Stuart concludes that elves may be good -- as avengers of God -- as well as evil, and he argues that in general elves are amoral. The author takes a comparative approach, and bases the conclusions on a disparate body of evidence.

Several investigators have made additional contributions to the history of scholarship on Anglo-Saxon England. Reginald Horsman's "Origins of Racial Anglo-Saxonism in Great Britain before 1850" (JHI 37, 387-410) may take its place as a detailed and informative companion piece to E. G. Stanley's Search for Anglo-Saxon Paganism. The essay fills in the intellectual backgrounds of romantic, nationalistic, and racial presuppositions that enjoyed wide popularity in the earlier nineteenth century. Mr. Horsman provides a coherent narrative of scholarly investigation, chiefly in anthropology and linguistics, all the time calling attention to the predispositions and external circumstances that influenced ideas of Caucasian, Teutonic, and Anglo-Saxon superiority. The essay furnishes historical insight into the early stages of OE scholarship, and it offers a further demonstration of the way in which all writing is bound to its own culture and -- at least to some extent -- oblivious of its own assumptions. Retha M. Warnicke (ELN 11 [1974], 250-56) presents evidence to refute the identification of the Anglo-Saxon scholar Laurence Nowell with the Dean of Lichfield of the same name. She shows that Dean Nowell was in England after the antiquarian's departure in 1567, and she cites a petition of 1571 that asks that Nowell be declared legally dead because he was last heard from in 1569 through the correspondence of William Lambarde. David Yerkes (ELN 14, 110-12) takes note of the debt of William Somner's Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum (1659) to William Dugdale's manuscript dictionary, compiled by 1644. He offers evidence from three separate entries, and indicates that there are "many others." Lastly, Robert C. Steensma (NM 77, 95-107) attempts, very briefly, to place Sir William Temple's treatment of Anglo-Saxon England in its proper historial context.

In a final category we may group three publications that have general interest for the OE specialist. Medieval Studies: an Introduction, ed. James M. Powell (Syracuse), contains ten essays by separate contributors, on paleography, diplomatics, numismatics, computer studies, chronology, philosophy, art, music, prosopography (biography and intellectual history), and medieval English literature. Each essay attempts to guide the serious beginner to primary sources, offers reliable evaluations of the most important secondary sources, and ends with a bibliography. Some -- like Professor James John's on paleography -- bring together material that is conveniently available nowhere else; most are stimulating, and all are comprehensive and informative. English Essays, Literary and Linguistic (Grand Prairie, TX, 1975) reprints a score of essays by Norman E.

Eliason, more than half of which hold interest for students of OE literature. The first offers an overview of Professor Hunter Blair's subject, "The Age of Bede"; half a dozen discuss Beowulf, and the remainder deal with Deor and other short poems. The book also contains a curriculum vitae and a bibliography of Professor Eliason's publications. We may also mention here Francis Godwin James's The Pageant of Medieval England (Gretna, LA, 1975), which is an anthology of previously translated sources intended for classroom use; it contains selections from Bede, Genesis B, and The Battle of Maldon.

We may perhaps conclude with an acknowledgement of the memorials and bibliographies that have appeared as tributes to scholars engaged in the study of OE culture. Kathleen Edwards, Françoise Henry, David Knowles, Albert Marckwardt, J. R. R. Tolkien, Francis Utley, and Francis Wormald are among those whose contributions have been taken into account as part of the history of OE scholarship.

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T.G.H.

2. LANGUAGE

a. Lexicon, Names, Other Subjects

M. Gelling's <u>The Place-Names of Berkshire, Part III</u> (Cambridge) has two parts: I dealing with seventy-four OE charter boundaries in Berkshire, and II dealing with introductory material and analyses of material in <u>Part I</u> and <u>Part II</u>. <u>Part III</u> provides a list of OE words in the boundary-marks in the charters, a list of personal names in the boundary marks, a short section on the phonology of Berkshire place-names, a list of elements in place-names and field-names, a list of personal names in place-names and field-names, and notes on the distribution and usage of some of the elements. Thirteen maps accompany the volume. D. Mills's <u>The Place-Names of Lancashire</u> (London) is confessedly for interested laymen and is derived from Ekwall's <u>Place-Names of Lancashire</u> and other studies, including unpublished theses of the University of Liverpool. It omits much from Ekwall's work but includes modern names only briefly mentioned or omitted entirely by Ekwall. The book consists of two parts: an introductory section explaining the principles involved in selecting and arranging material in the second section and a longer second section consisting of an alphabetical directory of the place-names with only the first form, <u>some</u> representative later forms, and the modern form given.

G. Kristensson in "Personal Names or Topographical Terms in Place-Names" (<u>Onoma</u> 19, 459-67) points out that many of the first elements in compound place-names which have previously been identified as personal names are really topographical names. Kristensson cites Zachrisson's reaction to past practices as extreme, however, in that he had to invent too many hypothetical topographical terms to replace personal names. One such example, which has been accepted by Fellows Jensen, is OE * <u>lill(e)</u> or * <u>lull(e)</u> meaning "slope, valley with a river." Kristensson shows that OE *<u>lil-</u>, * <u>lal</u>, * <u>lul-</u> meaning "murmuring (brook)" or "swamp" are more likely topographical terms and adds that other topographical terms may be found in local by-names recorded in medieval documents and that when there is a choice between a personal name and a topographical name, the topographical one is preferable if the etymology suggested suits the topography of the place. The article ends with a call for an inventory of topographical terms appearing in medieval local by-names. G. Fellows Jensen,in "Personal Name or Appellative? A New Look at Some Danelaw Place-Names" (<u>Onoma</u> 19, 445-58), revises downward the percentage of place-names in -<u>by</u> which have personal names as their first element from Yorkshire and the East Midlands. Fellows Jensen suggests that many place-names whose first elements have been considered Scandinavian by-names or personal names really have appellatives as their first elements and points out that the fact that a place-name is a genitival compound gives no indication whether the first element is a personal name or an appellative. N. Lund,in "Personal Names and Place-Names: the Persons and the Places" (<u>Onoma</u> 19, 468-85),attacks the hypothesis that the name by which a settlement is now known is generally its original name and that the date of the name establishes the settlement date. He proposes as an alternative hypothesis that the personal names found in OE place-names are often not those of the founders of settlements but of sometime owners or tenants, i.e., <u>tenurial</u>, <u>seignorial</u>, or <u>manorial</u> and that the settlements are often older than the names they are known by because of changes in the personal element of place-names as the owners or tenants changed. His focus is particularly on Danish place-names in OE and especially those in -<u>thorp</u> and -<u>by</u>. He suggests the changing of a place-name is often stopped once a

particular name gets recorded in writing but gives examples of some place-names that changed with a change of ownership even though an older name had been recorded in writing.

In "The Element <u>hamm</u> in English Place-Names: A Linguistic Investigation" (<u>NB</u> 64, 69-87), K. I. Sandred concludes that a great many place-names in -<u>ham</u> come from masculine OE <u>hamm</u> "enclosure" and that whether the feminine OE <u>hamm</u> "bend of the knee" is involved in any names is uncertain. He explains the meaning of "land in a river-bend" suggested by Gelling as a secondary development from <u>hamm</u> "enclosure" because enclosed meadow land was often situated in river-bends.

C. Clark has two articles on Canterbury names. "Some Early Canterbury Surnames" (<u>ESts</u> 57, 294-309) provides lists of surnames in four categories from mid-twelfth- to early thirteenth-century published Canterbury materials. The longest list, occupational terms, has proposed etymologies and is preceded by a caveat that not all the names may have been current as surnames because some may have been "supplied by the scribes as formal specifiers." The second longest list, patronymics, also has suggested etymologies, but again Clark qualifies her patronymic label by saying there is some confusion on whether items in the list are actually personal names or common nouns. The shorter third and fourth lists are, respectively, difficult forms, for which she proposes possible etymologies, and enigmatic forms, for which she makes tentative partial interpretations or none at all. "People and Languages in Post-Conquest Canterbury" (<u>Jnl of Med Hist</u> 2, 1-33) examines the relationship between English and French in Canterbury in the late eleventh and twelfth centuries by looking at their use in the cathedral priory of Christ Church, St. Augustine's abbey, and in the town of Canterbury. Clark shows through glosses such as occur in <u>Eadwine's Psalter</u> and other mss and through the scripts used by the monks at the priory and abbey that OE co-existed with French as a vernacular in both places throughout most of the twelfth century; she also discusses the origins of many of the people at both places to support her thesis. The strongest support for her thesis, however, is onomastic. She examines and illustrates the nicknames in recorded documents such as rentals and concludes from the predominance of nicknames of English origin, particularly compound epithets, phrase-names, and topographical names, that English was clearly the dominant language in the city.

B. Seltén's <u>Early East-Anglican Nicknames: Bahuvrihi Names</u> (Lund, 1975) deals with Norfolk and Suffolk nicknames between the years 1100 and 1400 that fit the formula: "one who has ... " which Seltén extends to include "one who has ... for sale." He includes a long list of such names, a shorter list of nicknames which became font-names, classifications of the names on the basis of the type of information conveyed in second elements, and grammatical information about some of the formative elements.·

H. Voitl has edited <u>The Study of the Personal Names of the British Isles: Proceedings of a Working Conference at Erlangen, 21-24 September 1975</u> (Erlangen) which consists of papers read at the conference and discussions of the papers. The volume contains a paper by the late O. von Feilitzen, "Planning a New Old English Onomasticon" (pp. 16-42), in which he points out the problems inherent in Searle's <u>Onomasticon Anglo-Saxonicum</u> and calls for a new <u>Onomasticon</u> while discussing the possible chronological limits, the names to be included, and the sources from which the names should be gathered. <u>The Study</u> also includes

a paper by G. Fellows Jensen who discusses problems encountered in work on personal names in "Some Problems of a Maverick Anthroponymist." Fellows Jensen discusses the problem of seeing too many otherwise-unattested personal names as the first element of place-names, the problem of determining whether the personal name in a place-name is a proper name or a by-name, the problem of whether the personal name in a place-name represents the founder, a later tenant, or only a person who received income from an estate, the problem of determining whether a Scandinavian personal name in a place-name represents a person of Scandinavian birth or only one of Scandinavian descent, and the problem of lack of standardization and overlapping of onomastic terms: forename, Christian name, font name, given name; surname, hereditary name, family name; by-name, nickname; occupational name, local name, and locative name. G. Kristensson's "Computer-Processing of Middle English Personal-Name Materials" appears in the same volume (pp. 62-74). Kristensson discusses the Lund University project, English Name-Studies, which it is hoped will make an inventory of English Christian names and by-names up to 1400 to be stored on magnetic tapes after it is processed by computer and thus made available to students. The project is expected to produce A Dictionary of Middle English Personal Names: A. Christian Names, B. By-Names; A Dictionary of English Personal Names; A Dictionary of English Place-Name Elements; and A Survey of Middle English Dialects 1290-1350. The information stored on the computer punch-cards includes: the catchword (by-name in modern form), group (type), sub-group, language of origin, county, Christian name, language of origin of Christian name, preposition and/or article in the name, juxtaposition, by-name as it appears in the manuscript, grammatical morphemes, position of the morphemes, year, source, page, and printed edition of the source.

A. P. Campbell has edited The Tiberius Psalter, Edited from British Museum MS Cotton Tiberius C VI (Ottawa, 1974), the last of the OE glossed psalters to be edited. The ms dates from the middle of the eleventh century and follows the traditions of the Winchester school. In "A New Collation of MS. Hatton 76, Part 'A'" (Anglia 94, 163-65), D. Yerkes publishes a list of corrections in the revision of Wærferth's OE translation of Gregory the Great's Dialogues printed by Hecht in 1900 and Ælfric's translation of the Admonitio printed by Norman in 1849 from this ms.

C. A. Mastrelli, in "Sull'iscrizione Runica Della Fuseruola di Letcani" (AGI 60, 93-103), discusses a Gothic runic inscription on a spindle from the second half of the fourth century found in the ruins of Letcani in 1969. Mastrelli suggests that Rano is a mistake for Ragno, that uft is a mistake for wift, that the lack of a final -s on wift may be another error or indicate a late development in Gothic, and that he may be considered a nominative singular masculine form of the demonstrative adjective.

E. Haugen's The Scandinavian Languages (London) provides an excellent history of the Scandinavian languages with a large number of illustrative maps and texts. While section A deals with the modern languages, the much longer section B provides a very detailed historical background. Chapters 8 and 9 will be of greatest interest to OE scholars, particularly those sections dealing with the periods of Scandinavian expansion and with runes. In "The Position of Proto-Scandinavian in the Germanic Language Group" (APS 30, 1-16), K. M. Nielson, after reviewing the conflicting hypotheses of the last 110 years, identifies the language of the oldest Scandinavian runic inscriptions as Northwest Gmc from which

a number of Proto-Scandinavian elements can be deduced and its development and relationship to Gothic can be determined.

In _Languages of the British Isles Past and Present_ (London, 1975), W. B. Lockwood presents short histories and grammatical "sketches" of the various languages which have been spoken in the British Isles. Over half of the book deals with Celtic languages, of course, and English earns only twenty-two pages. Nevertheless, the book is interesting in its argument that Pictish was not Celtic, its discussion of Norn (the development of ON spoken on Orkney and Shetland into the eighteenth century), its inclusion of Flemish introduced in the twelfth century in West Wales, and its inclusion of Romany as one of the languages of the British Isles. M. F. Wakelin's _Language and History of_ Cornwall (Leicester, 1975) deals primarily with the MnE dialects of Cornwall and uses information from the _Survey of English Dialects_. However, the historical backgrounds and the discussions of place-names may be of interest to OE scholars.

R. L. Venezky, in "Notes on the History of English Spelling (_VLang_ 10, 351-65), an article admittedly designed to introduce non-specialists to the influences which have shaped MnE spelling, rehashes what all linguists already know about the historical reasons for the various pronunciations of <c> , the scribal changes brought about by the possible confusion of minims in sequence, and Renaissance respellings.

J. M. Williams's textbook, _Origins of the English Language: A Social and Linguistic History_ (New York, 1975), is both comprehensive and comprehensible. The book provides much more social history and relates it more closely to language change than do most texts. Williams uses a conservative transformational-generative model to explain syntactic change but does not employ a generative phonology. J. E. Milosh, Jr.,in _Teaching the History of the English Language in the Secondary Classroom_ (Urbana, 1972), addresses high school English teachers to encourage them to teach the history of the English language in their classes. The monograph provides reasons why the topic should be taught and reviews some prepared materials which might be used to help teach it; however, the discussion always deals in general principles rather than in language specifics. It is of no interest to scholars.

General inquiries into the art of OE lexicography have become more frequent since the advent of the Toronto dictionary project. P. Bratley and S. Lusignan present the makers of dictionaries, using the _Dictionary of Old English_, for example, with some of the techniques for using the computer in "Information Processing in Dictionary Making: Some Technical Guidelines" (_CHum_ 10, 133-43). The article seeks to inform editors how to deal with the clerical problem of handling large amounts of archival information. They discuss the processes of alphabetic sorting, lemmatization, and homographic separation; computer-controlled photo-composition is made to sound like a lexicographer's delight; lastly, a tentative system design that will facilitate the long process of dictionary making is proposed. J. P. Wild's "Loanwords and Roman Expansion in North-West Europe" (_World Archeol_ 8, 57-64) will stand as a general article for OE scholars because it is written from a culturalist's point of view. He examines the evidence that loanwords supply for the character of cultural contact in the area. The significance of particular Latin words in British Celtic and Gmc languages, and more unusually some Gmc and Celtic loanwords in Latin, is discussed in their historical contexts to determine

economic, social, political, and administrative conditions.

In anticipation of his new edition of the Liber Scintillarum for
the EETS to replace E. W. Rhodes's inferior edition, J. Verdonck investigates
some problematic ghost-words and some necessary redefinitions in "Notes on
Some Problematic Glosses in Liber Scintillarum Interlineation (Ms. London,
BM Royal 7 C. IV)" (ESts 57, 97-102). Careful manuscript readings of the
glosses will help to eliminate the errors based on Rhodes's edition in Bosworth-
Toller, the Toller supplement, and the Campbell supplement for OE onæht,
bepæcan, ceafu, cneatian, cnosl, dreccincg, floggettan, foregyrnan, gebrydness,
geomerian, geswincful, (ge)weredian, hreman, leastunge, ofertæl, onbecyme,
onbefeallan, slipur, spornan, and tobædan. M. J. Swanton, in "Eine wenig
bekannte Fassung von Ælfrics Glossar" (ASNSL 213, 104-7), offers John Leland's
copy (Bodleian Library HS. Top. Gen. C. i-iv) from the early sixteenth century
of Ælfric's glosses as being based on a third lost manuscript; the text is
included.

P. Bierbaumer's Der botanische Wortschatz des Altenglischen II
(Frankfurt am Main) extends his lexical working paper on the botanical vocabulary
of OE from the Læcboc, reviewed here last year as Part I, to the Lacnunga,
Herbarium Apuleii, and the Peri Didaxeon. A page of new lemmata, words, mean-
ings, and etymological information is the most important result. Part III, which
will handle the botanical vocabulary of OE glosses, is forthcoming. Work on
the Læcboc is extended in another direction by H. Stuart in "Some Old English
Medical Terms" (Parergon 13 [1975], 21-35). The OE terms læcecræft and læcedom
as they occur in the Leechbooks, the flyleaf leechdoms printed by Cockayne,
Lacnunga, Herbarium Apuleii, Dioscorides' Herbarium, Medicinia de Quadrupedibus,
and Peri Didaxeon are found to stand in slightly different semantic relationships
in each text; the terms are used flexibly, and neither the modern sense nor the
Bosworth-Toller definitions completely represent the complexity of the meanings
of the two terms. Related to both Bierbaumer's and Stuart's studies are the
explanations by J. R. Stracke of the transitional language glosses in his
edition of The Laud Herbal Glossary (Amsterdam, 1974). The total indexing of
the text for Latin, OE, and OF words, along with substantial but not excessive
notes, makes the edition useful for its limited purposes.

It is difficult to determine whether W. C. Johnson, Jr., in "Pushing
and Shoving in Beowulf: a Semantic Inquiry" (ELN 14, 81-7), has simply based
his reading of the poem on a semantic continuum for OE scufan (Gan, cuman,
drifan are purported to be of the same character), or whether he has discovered
the semantic field for continuative motion, which is transformative, for the OE
culture. His certainty about the non-metaphoric quality of OE scufan in Beowulf,
as opposed to how it might be used in ModE, is not shared by these reviewers. His
use of Chaucer's description of Pandarus as a confirmation is made suspect by
the humor that might well surround the use of ME shof in the context. E. Okasha's
"Beacen in Old English Poetry" (N&Q 23, 200-7) is an odd mixture of arbitrary
quantitative limitations and a certitude about collocations that are established
by their proximity. The quantitative limitations for context could be replaced
by an intelligent conceptual apprehension of the contexts; the three proximal
occurrences to establish the category of collocation, in the British linguistic
sense, are hard to understand as anything but an arbitrary convenience. The
four groups of referents as "sign," "sun" or "moon," "monument" or "banner,"
and "cross" are shown to represent the overlapping ranges of OE beacen by using

twenty-seven collocated terms and eleven related ones.

LeedsSE gives us two lexical working papers on OE words: C. E. Fell's "Old English beor" (8, 76-95) and M. L. Faull's "The Semantic Development of Old English Wealh" (8, 20-44). Fell argues that "beer" is neither etymologically nor by translation justified as the rendering of OE beor and ON bjórr; OHG bior might be by historical accident. The modern "beer" is basically a post-medieval borrowing from German. Faull claims that OE wealh has a tremendous range from an ethnic term for a Celt to a secondary sense as a status term that meant "slave," with some disputable examples. After commentary on the term in personal and place names and in derived forms, she concludes that in its occurrences as "slave" it developed pejoratively, but that sense died out at the end of the OE period, leaving only the original neutral ethnic sense.

Two German dissertations add to the current attempts to establish OE semantic fields. K. Grinda's Arbeit und Muhe: Untersuchung zur Bedeutungsgeschichte altenglischer Wörter (Munich, 1975) defines the field for OE weorc, gewinn, geswinc, gedeorf, earfoþ (earfoþness), broc, bisgn (bisgung), and tilþ (tilung). Etymological, comparative, and social and literary contextual evidence is offered to place the eleven expressions in relationship to the concepts of "production," "effort," and "difficulty." Some effort is made to establish the social worth of activities, and some opinion about the ameliorative or pejorative changes in the words is offered. There is little in the way of theoretical or systematic force in the work. K. Barnickel's Farbe, Helligkeit und Glanz im Mittelenglischen: Bedeutungsstruktur und literarische Erscheinungsform eines Wortschatzbereiches (Düsseldorf, 1975) is basically a structural analysis of color terms, with some emphasis on connotations, symbolic meanings, and emotive factors in ModE. He attempts to apply the methods back to ME, but only with moderate success. He believes the problem stems from the limited types of texts, but his conclusions about the ME lexicon are suspect because of his methodologies. Application back to OE would probably be worse; we already have responsible attempts such as N. F. Barley's work on OE colors.

J. K. Franson, in "An Anglo-Saxon Etymology for Milton's Haemony" (AN&Q 14, 18-9), suggests that the sense of sexuality in OE hæman, hæmed, and hæmeööing be added to derivations from Gk Haemonia (Thessaly), aiua, and aiuwr by J. M. Steadman for the magic herb in Comus. B. Moore's "Eacen in Beowulf and other Old English Poetry" (ELN 13, 161-5) argues that OE eacen and eacencræftig in Beowulf and other poetry connote supernatural power. M. L. Huffines in "OE agalaeca: Magic and Moral Decline of Monsters and Men" (Semasia 1 [1974], 71-81) similarily argues that Beowulf's contexts define the OE agalæc as a being which inspires fear by magical powers, but is thereby contaminated by them into a moral decline. While the article cites appropriate lexical sources, it does fail to mention most of the textual notes around the term, particularly D. Sillan's study in SGG 3, 145-169. A. Bammesberger, in "Altenglisch agetan" (ASNSL 212, 313-6) and "Altenglisch gamban 'Tribut'" (Die Sprache 22, 55-54), offers brief arguments on the etymologies of the two items: OE agetan does not come from a weak verb, Gmc *-gautija-, and OE gamban might be from a highly speculative neuter composite Gmc *gam-bann-a-. K. Malone still adds to our store of etymologies in "Some English Etymologies" (Word 26 [1974 for 1970], 305-8) by offering solutions to the problems surrounding eldritch, elf (elfin), spurtle, squinny, wreath (wreathen and wreathe), and stoit (stoiter and stot).

Items that only touch lightly on OE are: C. Peeter's "Nederlands
spade, Oergermaans *spado(n)" (Spel van Zinnen, Brussels [1975], 241-2), which
mentions OE spada(-u), hana, dæg, and beodan in the analysis of Gmc *spado(n)
becoming Ned spade; C. Peeters's "*Aftro/ *aftra in den germanischen Sprachen"
(SL 29 [1975], 59-61), which mentions OE æfter, word, dæg, beran, eorþe, fugol,
wiþer as he argues for a Gmc alternation of *aftro and *aftra; A. Bammesberger's
"Gotisch aweþi" (MSzS 34, 5-7), which mentions that OE eowde would come from Gmc
awidija- along with its OHG and Got cognates, and his "Gotisch hnasqus und
altenglisch hnesce" (Die Sprache 21 [1975], 188-91) accepts Gmc *hnaskuz but
rejects *hnesk as an ablauted source of OE hnesce (OE enge, æsc, ligræsc,
dwæscan, and dwinan mentioned). R. Lühr's "Die Wörter fur 'odor' in den
germanischen   Sprachen" (MSzS 34, 77-94) investigates a wide range of forms
that includes OE eðða, oðða, oððan, oððer, ofþe, eahta, hwæðer-oððe, but which
utilizes very little OE for the complex of proto-forms and "contaminating"
influences.

b. Syntax, Phonology

In A Diachronic Phonology From Proto-Germanic to Old English Stressing
West Saxon Conditions (The Hague, 1975), C. M. Barrack begins with distinctive
feature matrices underlying the "quasi-phonemes" of PGmc and writes transformational-
generative rules to account for all of the changes in the feature matrices which
lead to the distinctive feature matrices underlying the late West Saxon OE "quasi-
phonemes." His discussion of free variation under the section "Diachronic Change"
is worth reading. P. Kiparsky and W. O'Neil, in "The Phonology of Old English
Inflections" (LingI 7, 527-57), present twenty generative phonological rules
which are designed to explain "much" of the OE inflectional system. The article
is in response to S. J. Keyser's "Metathesis and Old English Phonology," reviewed
here last year, and does away with Keyser's Metathesis and Vowel Deletion rules
as well as making other changes in rules proposed by Keyser.

In "Opacity and Rule Loss: A Case From English" (PCP 9 [1974], 31-36),
M. Cooley supports Kiparsky's suggestion that one of the factors in historical
loss of phonological rules is opacity and uses OE evidence. She points out that
the Final Devoicing rule which devoices final fricatives and the later Medial Voicing
rule which voices medial fricatives cause identical surface alternations between
final voiceless and medial voiced fricatives. The Final Devoicing rule was the
more opaque of the two rules, so, except for velars, it was lost in ME prior to the
subsequent relative loss of the Medial Voicing rule which itself became opaque
because of later sound changes. R. D. King and M. Cooley, in "An Ordering Problem
in Early Middle English" (Glossa 9 [1975], 3-12), posit two epenthesis rules,
one occurring before the Trisyllabic Shortening and one occurring after the Open
Syllable Lengthening rule which itself follows the Trisyllabic Shortening Rule.
Their solution is in response to Anderson's suggestion that disjunctive ordering
be imposed upon the Trisyllabic Shortening and the Open Syllable Lengthening rules.
King and Cooley point out that their first Epenthesis rule in a slightly different
form (but not their second Epenthesis rule) also existed in OE. They also suggest
that exceptionality and diachronic origin are two criteria for not collapsing
similar phonological rules into one rule. R. M. Hogg, in "The Status of Rule
Reordering" (JL 12, 103-23), argues against rule reordering in grammars largely
by attacking King's arguments for it concerning OE devoicing and palatalization,
Gmc occlusion and devoicing, WGmc gemination and OE breaking, and OE umlaut and
palatalization. Hogg suggests that restructuring the grammar can solve the problems

that other linguists have attempted to solve by rule reordering and that the "via" rules or nongenerative phoneme correspondences suggested by Venneman may be the key. Hogg also feels that many of the innovations of generative phonology are "theoretically unsound and unhelpful."

A. Fox argues in "Problems with Phonological Chains" (JL 12, 289-310) that it should be possible to generalize the individual rules for each part of a chain such as A→B and B→C to a more general rule or rule schema. He says that such a schema can be established by means of ∝ - rules which use variables for features rather than + or -. However, he points out that problems result from this schema because of the criterion of naturalness, recurrent features in chains, and notational inability to allow changes in the number of segments to be combined in one rule with changes in feature specification. He also shows that markedness offers no solution because some rules are best formulated in terms of markedness while others are not. In "Mercian Second Fronting and Ordering Theories" (Neophil 60, 280-96), W. F. Koopman discusses the ordering of phonological rules to account for the dialect of the Vespasian Psalter. He supports the order: Anglo-Frisian Brightening, Breaking/Retraction, Restoration of a, Second Fronting, Umlaut, Back Mutation, and Smoothing. He also writes two separate rules to account for the changes involved in the second fronting.

D. L. Goyvaerts and G.K. Pullum have edited a series of reviews, discussions, and criticisms of Chomsky and Halle's work in a collection called Essays on the Sound Pattern of English (Ghent, 1975). While most of the essays are relevant to OE only in a general way since their focus is on MnE with occasional references to earlier periods, the selection by R. Lass entitled "How Intrinsic Is Content? Markedness, Sound Change, and 'Family Universals'" does deal specifically with OE phonology.

G. A. J. Tops's dissertation, The Origin of the Germanic Dental Preterit: A Critical Research History Since 1912 (Leiden, 1974), has been published as a book. He summarizes the various scholarly explanations which he has grouped together as dh- theories and t- theories, with a passing reference to a laryngeal origin, for most of the book. The last few pages are devoted to Tops's own theory which is a modification of that suggested by von Friesen. In "Reduplication and Ablaut in the Germanic Strong Verbs" (GL and L 29 [1975], 48-59), M. Durrell rejects the assumption that reduplicated preterites represent the original Gmc preterites for the seventh class of strong verbs from which the ablauting forms of NWGmc later developed. He suggests that Gothic and NWGmc regularized the anomalous seventh class in different ways, using the two major possible devices provided by IE.

G. L. Fullerton, in "Grimm's Law and the WGmc. 2 sg. Verb Ending -s" (Linguistics 145 [1975], 87-102), explains Grimm's Law using a generative phonological model and referring to underlying phonological representations rather than just to surface phonemes. He supports the traditional explanation that the -s results from an enclitic þu attached to the verb by positing a WGmc sequence -zþu, a rule unvoicing z to s before þ, a rule changing þ to t after s, alternation of Ø and s after the loss of R, and the eventual loss of the rule deleting 2 sg -s in final position. C. Jones, in "Some Constraints on Medial Consonant Clusters" (Language 52, 121-30), shows that, in words more than one syllable long, the composition of medial consonant clusters reflects the language constraints of initial and final consonant clusters and that they often overlap by having simultaneous membership in both the preceding and following

syllable segments. He argues that the syllable is a phonological prime and uses a bracketing convention to assign syllable boundaries.

H. H. Hock, in "On the Phonemic Status of Germanic e and i" (Issues in Linguistics: Papers in Honor of Henry and Renée Kahane [Urbana,1973]), deals only with taxonomic phonemes and not the underlying phonemes of generative phonology. After examining the literature extensively, Hock establishes five sound laws for pre-NWGmc and arranges them chronologically as they relate to the levelling of the two phonemes in question. He concludes, however, that there were always some environments in which they remained in contrast. K.-G. Ek uses personal and place names from 1100 to 1400 in The Development of OE æ (i-Mutated a) before Nasals and OE æ in South-Eastern Middle English to show that OE æ before a nasal remained æ into the early 12th Century in the southern part of Essex, London, and Middlesex, east of London, after which it became a until it was replaced in the 14th Century by the non-dialectal e. Ek says OE æ became a, which was pronounced as more of a front vowel than the a which became o, and was then replaced by the nondialectal e in the 14th Century in Essex, Middlesex and London, Hertfordshire, the eastern half of Bedfordshire, most of Huntingdonshire, and the south-western half of Cambridgeshire. In "A Theory of Exceptions to the Germanic and High German Consonant Shifts" (ALH 16, 45-56) N. Davidsen-Neilsen argues that the consonants which did not shift according to these laws did not do so because they had become archiphonemes at the time of the shifts as the result of neutralization of voiceless and voiced stops after obstruents. G. R. Dimler, in "Notes on the Phonetic Status of the Initial Consonant Cluster /sk/ in Old English Alliterative Verse" (SIL 24 [1974], 21-29), says on the basis of alliteration in OE poetry that the sequence /sk/ was palatalized before both front and back vowels around the year 800. G. Kristensson, in "A Note on Palatalization of Germanic k in English" (SN 48, 321-24), uses place-name evidence to refute A. H. Smith and G. Fellows Jensen's suggestion that Gmc /k/ was palatalized before OE æ from an i-umlauted a.

S. Cosmos, in "Kuhn's Law and the Unstressed Verbs in Beowulf" (TSLL 18, 306-28), modifies H. Kuhn's work by differentiating between lexical and nonlexical, i.e., auxiliary, finite verbs. He shows that lexical finite verbs receive stress except when they are the second lexical item within a single syntactic constituent or when, because of "communicative dynamism," they are not the semantic centers of the clauses but only complete noun phrases in which the verb and the noun together express a single notion. Nonlexical finite verbs, on the other hand, are always unstressed except when they are displaced by following their lexical adjuncts or separated from their adjuncts by an intervening phrase or a phrasal juncture.

M. Gysseling, in "De nominatief masculinum van de a - Stammen in het Westgermaans" (Spel van Zinnen, Brussels [1975]), points out that many Latin loanwords of the feminine a-class were interpreted as Gmc masculine a-stems in WGmc. In "Italiano -ino, Germanico * -ina-" (AGI 60 [1975], 104-27) G. Mazzuoli Porru traces the Italian diminutive to the Gmc * -ina- which replaced the Latin diminutives in -l- in the speech of the common people of the Italian peninsula after the Gmc conquest of the peninsula.

W. Awedyk, in "Middle English she" (SAP 6 [1975], 125-7), suggests that the /š/ in she results from a phonemic process rather than a phonetic one as is commonly supposed. He says that the /š/ was introduced "to preserve a distinction in a vital place of the language system, i.e., the distinction between the masculine and the feminine prounouns" in Northern and East Midland ME. He

argues that because of other words beginning with the consonants except
/k,g,č,ǰ,š,l,r/ before /ē/, these excepted consonants were the only options
to maintain the gender differences. He feels that /š/ was picked because
/k,g/ rarely occurred before front vowels in native words; /č,ǰ/ were of low
frequency, and /š/ required less articulatory effort and was less complex
in terms of its distinctive features than /l,r/.

A wide range of articles can be juxtaposed this year in order to
suggest both the vices and the virtues of the variety of theoretical stands
that one can now take in investigating OE. M. J. Cummings presents a neo-
Firthian analysis of the expansions of the OE verb (CJL 20 [1975], 23-58).
His work makes for easy comparison to the early work of Halliday, but the
concluding comparison of OE to ModE seems to gain little because it is so
easily paraphrased in many other systems. T. Kageyama utilizes OE examples in
"Relational Grammar and the History of Subject Raising" (Glossa 9 [1975],
165-81) first to attack the Relational Succession Law (any NP that is promoted
by a raising rule assumes the grammatical relation borne by its host) by
observing that there is no subject raising in OE. He later shows that the
absence of sentential subjects in OE is the cause of the lack, demonstrating
not the validity of the law as he states, but rather that the "law" remains a
possible explanation of certain phenomena. T. Retelewska's "On the Performative
Analysis of Imperatives" (SAP 6 [1975], 83-90) presents an illocutionary analysis
of the imperative in some OE verbs from the Vespasian Psalter. The piece suffers
from scant evidence, few examples, insufficient consideration of scholarship;
e.g., Speech Acts is unmentioned; more sophisticated analyses of the imperative
already exist.

J. M. Penhallurick, in "Old English Case and Grammatical Theory"
(Lingua 36 [1975], 1-29), manages to reject traditional, transformational, and
deep case analyses of OE case data. He claims that he shows the theories to
have fundamental weaknesses, but it is hard to tell when it is his particular
application of the theories or the theories themselves that are at fault. We
will have to await his forthcoming A Form-Content Analysis of Old English Case
to see whether this oil calms or pollutes the seas of linguistic theory. "A Note
on Case Conflation in the Old English Nominal Declension" (PIL 8 [1975], 165-76)
by A. H. Stewart presents a simplified structural analysis of the case marking
system for OE. An essential feature system from Jakobson codifies the case
description, but there seems to be some confusion about the theoretical reper-
cussions of using Fillmore's conceptional framework. While one could be joined
with the other, the use of deep case for such a surface feature analysis is not
consonant with contemporary scholarship on the subject. His evidence of dia-
chronic case syncretism is certainly not in any doubt.

We have two doctoral dissertations that have been turned into books
by Mouton. Each has some elements of interest. P. J. Hopper in The Syntax of
the Simple Sentence in Proto-Germanic (The Hague, 1975) attempts to reconstruct
the basic sentence types. His primary postulation is that Gmc languages were
SOV in character and are undergoing the radical change to SVO. While it is
a reasonably informed structural study of simple word order in reconstructed
Gmc, emphasizing typology, it hardly takes part in the contemporary controversy
about the deep structure order of languages. J. A. Johnson's A Transformational
Analysis of the Syntax of Ælfric's "Lives of Saints" utilizes a modified MIT

transformational-generative grammar to establish a partial grammar of OE and a partial grammar of ModE. The changes in rules are a type of index of language change, but the assumption of the particular rules in the main determines what changes and correlations will be observed. The structuring of the model suits the purpose of the study; yet, it is not surprising that few syntactic changes would be found when using such a model.

R. Waterhouse's analysis in "The Two-to-one Construction in Ælfric's Lives of Saints" (Working Papers of the Speech and Lang Res Centre 1 [Macquarie Univ], 173-200) is based on the taxonomic parameters of A Grammar of Contemporary English. When a superordinate clause stands in relationship to two subordinate clauses, a tight and limited triangular association (contrary to the almost non-predictable gradient sequences) is formed that might cast some light on various stylistic matters. The types and positioning of subordinate clauses are considered to be primary classifications. Ælfric is compared with equivalents in Bede, the Blickling Homilies, the Catholic Homilies, and Chaucer's Second Nun's Tale. There is tentative and somewhat ambiguous interpretative evidence that each writer in a given context selects the relationships of subordinate two-to-one constructions for stylistic reasons. V. Styro's "Predicative Structures of Multi-Clause Sentences Containing One-Member or Multi-Member Coordination Clauses in OE (Based on Anglo-Saxon Chronicle)" (Lietuvos TSR Aukštuju Mokyklu Mokslo Darbai: Kalbotyra 26, no. 3 [1975], 35-44) is summarized as follows: Predicative structure of multi-clause sentences consisting of one-member or multi-member coordinate clauses is described. Coordination patterns and quantitative distribution of variant patterns are defined.

A working paper by S. G. Geoghegan, "Relative Clauses in Old, Middle, and New English" (WPL 18 [1975], 30-71), attempts to establish a Klima-like argument that the so-called relative pronoun that is not a pronoun equivalent to who or which, but is a complementizer. Neither scholars of OE nor people working on contemporary pronoun analyses should be surprised that such a formulation is quite possible. The argument that OE þe is considered by OE grammarians to be the ModE relative pronoun that seems unwarranted. The attempt to trace the construction historically is plausible and would seem to be even more compelling for the traditional OE scholar than for the modern anti-transformationalist. D. Carkeet, in "Old English Correlatives: an Exercise in Internal Syntactic Reconstruction" (Glossa 10, 44-63), argues that the fairly strong stylistic avoidance of relative clauses between the main-clause constituents leads to a rather repetitive copying of constituents in complex constructions in order to keep them united. Internal reconstruction from the OE is used to map the diachronic development of the correlative system; the lack of comparative evidence makes it difficult to trace the actual occurrences of the changes in the pre-history. D. L. Malsch, in "Clauses and Quasi-Clauses: VO Order in Old English" (Glossa 10, 28-43), argues the evidence of the effect of two contrary verb-movement rules in full clauses and quasi-clauses, where there might be an unnatural restraint. He supports the currently unpopular view that OE has an underlying VO order.

W. P. Lehmann introduces the idea that Gmc languages have developed VO patterns of complementation from their putative OV sources in his lead essay "On Complementation in the Early Germanic Languages" (Jnl of the Ling Assn of the SW 1, 1-7). The hypothesis is tested by M. C. Butler in "Verb Complementation in the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to 891" (ibid. 1, 53-67). He observes that the A and E texts of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle to 891 contain two main types of complements:

þæt +finite clause and infinitive complements, including simple infinitives, accusative with infinitive constructions, and pseudo-active infinitives. The information is a reassurance of what many have believed, but he utilizes the transformational concepts of raising and equi-NP rules. The only oddity comes in his classifications of OE modals by their modern semantic content. The same two complement constructions are examined by L. Nydam in "On Two Types of Verb Complements in Old Saxon" (ibid, 1, 82-93). There is a cursory comparison to OE at the end. The whole double issue of this journal is devoted to the practical task of examining complementation in Gmc languages. The results are not startling, but there is a good consideration of the tradition of scholarship with some eye to contemporary linguistics.

A. H. Stewart argues, in "The Development of the Verb-Phrase Complement with Verbs of Physical Perception in English: Historical Linguistics as a Source of Deep Structure" (JEngL 10, 34-53), that the diachronic view, starting with OE, of the infinitive and -ing forms of complements to verbs of perception supports the concept that the constructions are VP complements. Further, the diachronic view supports the movement from a neutral aspectual character to a later unequivocal representation of [+Perfect] infinitival and [+Progressive] gerundive complementations. The OE verbs witan and cunnan are shown to be the major verbs of knowing in S. Ono's "The Old English Verbs of Knowing" (SELit [1975], 33-60). The examination of their complementations show that cunnan was on the way to becoming an auxiliary verb and witan was the more general verb of knowing; OE gecnawan and oncnawan were not frequent enough to rival witan.

Y. Terasawa, in "Some Notes on ME gan Periphrasis" (Poetica [Tokyo] 1 [1974], 89-105), argues that ME gan periphrasis arises out of OE onginnan (beginnan) + infinitive, which has an ingressive and perfective character and an intensive-descriptive function. The ME gan, perhaps the aphetic form of OE onginnan, takes over these functions and develops in two special ways in ME. ME gan periphrasis is used for metrical convenience and is limited to poetry. Rather undisciplined statistical representations of the occurrences in some (the better?) ME poems is presented. X. Dekeyser, in "On the Diachronic Expansion of BE + PrP" (LB 64 [1975], 151-66), explores the mechanical aspects of the development of the construction from OE to ModE, ignoring the relationship of -ende to -ing and in general the semantics of the construction. He plays down the role of Latin influence on OE in favoring the construction, but refers to the close analogy to the predicate adjective, the appositive participle, and the Nomina Agentis in -end. On the other hand, B. Mitchell, in "Some Problems Involving Old English Periphrases with beon/wesan" (NM 77, 478-91) and "No 'House Is Building' in Old English" (ESTs 57, 385-9), attempts to restrain the free range of speculation about the significance of such constructions. Because the use of the construction in OE shows little uniformity, he warns that the construction of systems of explanation as in Mossé, Wattie, and Åkerlund, Curme, Visser, and Raith must be dismissed. The note attacking Visser's twenty-six examples of "The house is building" rejects the construction in three categories: careless glosses, scribal errors, and where the passive is actually active. We must await Mitchell's Old English Syntax for the truth.

S. M. Ingersoll's "The Comparative Absolute in Old English" (NM 77, 177-89) is an attempt to establish the existence of the comparative absolute in OE as a means for intensification. Its high frequency in Beowulf may indicate that it is a Gmc feature, which is, however, later supported by Latin influence. B. Mitchell, in "The Expression of Extent and Degree in Old English" (NM 77, 25-31), hardly discusses, but does catalogue eleven methods for expressing variations

in extent or degree, exclusive of adverbs (taken from Borst, Most, and Peltola): intensifying adjectives; compounding; affixing; comparison; repetition; understatement; negation; stylistic intensification; variations in structure; suprasegmental variation; interjections, exclamations, and structural questions. W. Wissman's _Die altnordischen und westgermanischen Nomina postverbalia_ (Heidelberg, 1975), concerning the derivation of ON and WGmc nouns from verbs, is put forth as a modest monument to Wissman. The fifty-five year old project has been little touched by contemporary scholarship, but the listing and annotation of deverbal (some deadjectival) nouns for ON, OE, OFris, OHG, and OS is a useful basis for further work. The commentaries on the significance of the processes in both simplex and complex words are interesting but unsystematic: the processes go on under favorable conditions, but they are not clearly defined.

J. M. de la Cruz, in "Old English Pure Prefixes: Structure and Function" (_Linguistics_ 145 [1975], 47-91), defines pure prefixes as having no etymologically related prepositions (OE to-, a-, on-, ge-) or as having developed specific non-preposition functions (OE for-, of-, be-). OE ge-, for-, and of- clearly lose their locative sense. OE to-, a-, and be- have some occurrences with the literal sense alongside the grammaticalized uses. Only OE on- retains some specialized value under the influence of the negative OE un-. F. Parker, in "Inflectional Endings of Old English Past Participles" (_Linguistics_ 162 [1975], 5-14), shows that, although they appear on the surface to be adjectives, inflected past participles which function primarily as verbs are inflected early during a transformational cycle to agree with the subject of the clause which contains them. He utilizes a slightly modified version of the sixties MIT grammar, which is now somewhat out of date, but his analysis is certainly possible.

J. Erickson, in "The Deor Genitives" (_ArL_ 6, 77-84), argues that genitives which appear to be verbal objects actually stem from the deletion of an accusative or dative that stood in nominal relationship to the genitive. The alternation of genitive with the other oblique cases in some instances is explained by an object raising rule which apparently applies optionally. The limited data used are odd for such a strong hypothesis, but it is obvious that a sufficient level of abstraction permits such a formulation. D. E. Baron's work, reviewed here two years ago, would have informed this approach just as it would have been fundamental to T. Kageyama's "The Old English Genitive and Role Transposition Phenomena" (_SELit_ [1974], 89-113). Kageyama's reduction of the disparate functions of the genitive to Source and Location is based on J. M. Anderson's localistic grammar of case. The transpositions for individual speakers purport to be abrupt syntactic changes that occur in the semantic component, presumably a deeper level than the transformational component.

K. Kondo's "The Indefinite Article Derived from the Inflectional Ending" (_SELit_ 51 [1974], 105-17) argues like Abbott that in the phrases many a, such a, like a, and others, the indefinite articles cannot be from of, but must, in the main, be derived from a variety of reduced inflectional endings; the evidence is from OE up through early ModE. Y. Niwa, in "On the Collective Meaning of OE Preverb ge-" (_SELit_ 51 [1974], 155-67), attempts to correct the impression left by Lindemann's work that the collective sense of ge- exists in neither OE nor older Gmc forms. In fact, both Lindemann and Kondo suffer from the problem that while one may be able to establish the meaning "collective" for particular words with ge-, it is very difficult to establish that the ge- carries the meaning in either live or primary ways. However, Niwa's examples are reasonable evidence for the arguments. A. Bammesberger, in "Die Flexion der altenglischen Abstrakta auf - (ðu)"

(<u>ZVS</u> 89 [1975], 283-90), offers examples to show that the Gmc *-<u>iþó</u> suffix
for producing abstract adjectives forms paradigms in OE with -<u>ðu</u> as the formative.
A. S. C. Ross generalizes his particular information in "Notes on the Accidence
of Rushworth 1" (<u>NM</u> 77, 492-509) by claiming that Rushworth is different from the
Lindisfarne Gospels and the Durham Ritual, by dint of the loss of a gender-system,
but also very similar in the genitive singular in -<u>as</u> in o-stems, a weak flexion
of "day," and the declension of "earth." Rushworth <u>is</u> of interest for nominative-
accusative <u>sune</u> and the r-stems.

Three pieces deal rather indirectly with the linguistic matters of OE.
L.-K. Ahlsson's "Die altsächsische Bedahomilie" (<u>NdM</u> 29 [1973], 30-41) tentatively
places an OS version of the Bede homily that occurs on the opposite side of the
Essener Heberegister, in the eleventh century. H. Pollack argues in "Zur
altsächsischen epischen Sprache" (<u>ZDA</u> 104, 259-73) that there are characteristic
uses for the past indicative forms and the OS <u>sîn</u> in the OS <u>Genesis</u> and <u>Heliand</u>,
particularly when compared to ModG. N. F. Blake's somewhat general lecture on
the value of keeping the study of language and the study of medieval literature
together, "The English Language in Medieval Literature" (<u>SN</u> 48, 59-75), displays
no ideas or evidence that would inform the specialist.

K. Matzel's "Zu den germanischen Verbaladjektiven auf -<u>i</u>/ -<u>ja</u>"
(<u>Wurzburger Prosastudien II</u>, Munich [1975], pp. 9-17), and <u>Kritische Bewahrung...</u>
<u>Festschrift für Werner Schröder</u>, Berlin [1974], pp. 88-117) argues that the
diachronic rules for the -<u>i</u>/ -<u>ja</u>-adjectives derived from strong verbs established
a category for a set of ModG adjectives that would not otherwise be perceived.
Since the -<u>i</u>-forms are only clear in OE and Got, they are of particular interest;
the -<u>ja</u>-forms have a wider but scattered occurrence. The work is a fundamental
exercise in comparative reconstruction that leads to an indication of synchronic
structures. J. Dishington, in "Functions of the Germanic <u>e</u>-Verbs: a Clue to Their
Formal Prehistory" (<u>Language</u> 52, 851-65), extrapolates justification for PIE class
structures by examining mainly Got but some OE evidence. The formal integration
of *<u>o-ye/o</u>-factitives into the originally stative class III verbs argues for *-<u>ai</u>-
in the <u>e</u>-verbs of class III in some prehistoric stage. Both pieces indicate the
inescapable, refound conclusion that diachronic and synchronic matters inform
each other, one regressively and one progressively.

J.D.C. and M.M.

3. LITERATURE

    a. General and Miscellaneous

        David C. Fowler's The Bible in Early English Literature (Seattle)
somewhat resembles Peter Hunter Blair's Northumbria in the Days of Bede (1,
above) in being an account of a rather specialized topic which is nonetheless
intended as an introductory or elementary study. Fowler views his book as a
preliminary survey for a follow-up investigation of the literary uses of
scripture in later medieval English writings. He offers what amounts to an
outline for students of literature of the material contained in standard works
such as the Cambridge History of the Bible, and in more specialized works like
those of Danielou, deLubac, Smalley, and others. But Fowler adds a great deal
from his own learning, and, when he moves away from the generalizing and
summarizing that necessarily make up a large part of such a work, he often
casts revealing sidelights on particular points. Frequently these have less to
do with the Bible than with the medieval use and understanding of scripture and
scriptural imagery. The book begins with an overview, and chapters on Pope
Gregory, OE literature, ME translations, the Cursor Mundi, and Higden's
Polychronicon follow. The last chapter is the longest, and in some ways the
most interesting, extended in part by Fowler's special interest in Higden's
translator, John of Trevisa. In the OE chapter, Fowler takes a broad view of
scriptural literature, and he touches upon many poems, including Beowulf and the
elegies. Nonetheless, the initial part of the chapter, on the OE translations,
may well offer more in the way of new understandings and information.

        Two additional volumes of general importance have been published by
D. S. Brewer, Ltd.   Daniel Calder and Michael J. B. Allen have compiled an
anthology of Sources and Analogues of Old English Poetry: The Major Latin Texts
in Translation, which researchers -- and beginners -- will find exceptionally
convenient. It contains not only translations of various originals printed
elsewhere, but in addition it offers general assessments, references to essential
studies, and an updating of scholarship for most of the poems it covers. Taken
together, the introductory essays form a survey of the cultural context of Anglo-
Saxon literature. Unfortunately, there is no index to guide the reader to the
editors' frequent cross-references, to the connections between the poems, to
the relations of the poems and their direct sources and more distant analogues,
or to the recurring themes and subjects. The body of OE poetry ranges widely
in style, intention, and origin, and so a volume such as this lacks the natural
unity of a collection that deals with only one author, like Chaucer; it is
unquestionably useful, but inevitably one questions the presence, or absence,
of particular selections. An index might have given this hearty gallimaufry
more consistency and a more uniform flavor, and it might also have been better
if the originals had appeared alongside the translations. Whatever the possible
improvements, however, Calder and Allen have surely provided us with a worthwhile
volume, and readers will long continue to turn to it as a basic handbook. In
Poems of Wisdom and Learning in Old English, T. A. Shippey has attempted to
establish connections in content, outlook, and style within a group of texts
that have received relatively little criticism. He has re-edited the texts and
provided facing translations for Salomon and Saturn II, The Descent into Hell,
Judgment Day I, Soul and Body I, and a number of other gnomic and didactic poems.
The texts and renderings contain some new and suggestive readings, and the notes
and bibliography are quite useful, but I think the most stimulating and valuable
part of the book is the somewhat long introduction. Here, in his discussion of

each poem, Shippey makes his case for a common poetic context, for similarities and "connectivity," and most importantly, for reading these poems intently. His commentaries on individual poems take full account of earlier scholarship, and on the whole these are superb. His criticisms -- e.g., of Salomon and Saturn or the Maxims -- demonstrate imagination, learning, and sound common sense, and we may well expect that his treatment will elicit from his readers the attention he asks for. A number of his points are expanded from his Old English Verse (1972). One of the few apparent shortcomings of the introduction is its failure to consider M. W. Bloomfield's enlightening discussion of wisdom literature in "Understanding OE Poetry," Essays and Explorations (1970).

A group of articles on oral and formulaic verse has touched upon a variety of issues in the criticism of OE poetry. Albert B. Lord's review essay (FMLS 10 [1974], 187-210) is concerned first of all with the "analysis of living oral traditions," and with the work of his own and Parry's students at Harvard University. In a separate section, Lord discusses OE verse, and it is clear that scholarship in this area has raised the most complex and perplexing questions, primarily because here more often than elsewhere scholars have directed their attention to the aesthetic implications of oral composition for traditional literary theory and values. Professor Lord distinguishes between the formulas of an oral text and the "repeated phrases" of a written text, and associates these with a wish "to compose rapidly in writing." His main concern is the question of literacy raised by Larry Benson, and the aesthetic issue of thematic organization brought out by D. K. Fry's discussions of "type-scenes." Professor Lord's designation of Anglo-Saxon poetry as "mixed" or "transitional" seems accurate, but it does not solve the problems of precise distinctions about "orality," as he himself states them. John S. Miletich (MP 74, 111-23) has contributed a second review article that contains extensive bibliography and comprehensive evaluation of the scholarship of the last quarter century. The main emphasis falls upon the definition of "formula" and its distinction from "formulaic expression." Most examples are taken from romance literature. Mr. Miletich suggests stress and syntax as the defining traits of formula, and asks for "accurate and exhaustive analyses of entire poems meticulously recorded from oral tradition." These will be used as standards against which OE texts, for example, might be compared. Two other essays apply theory to specific texts. Edward R. Haymes (RUS 62, 47-54) begins with a review of fundamental points, and then divides oral poetry into two categories: improvisational and memorial. He then briefly analyzes the Hildebrandslied according to his categories, and concludes that it is improvisational. In his discussion, he makes only passing reference to OE verse and Waldere. James P. Holoka (Neophil 60, 570-76) brings forth additional, and perhaps superfluous, evidence for a caution against the use of formulas to prove oral composition of OE verse, specifically The Wife's Lament and The Husband's Message.

Another group of articles has taken up questions about the meter and form of OE verse. In his discussion of the dependence of the rules for OHG alliterative verse upon analogies from OE and OS, D. R. McLintock (MLR 71, 565-76) distinguishes between meter -- competence in poet, performer, and audience governed by rules -- and rhythm -- the performance, governed by taste. He compares this metrical tolerance to "Hakenreim" or chiming alliteration, where one letter is continued through several verses (see MLR 31 [1936] and TSLL 16 [1975]), and he connects rhythmic intensity and variety with meaning. McLintock's conclusion on modern editorial emendations metri causa bears repeating: "Supplying supposedly missing verses or lines is a harmless but futile exercise

which has demonstrated only that no modern academic could have found gainful employment as a scop." Barbara L. Silver-Beck (NM 77, 510-25) puts forth another argument against John C. Pope's The Rhythm of "Beowulf." She suggests that isochronous poetry did not exist in the Middle Ages, and that Pope falsely attempts to create a sense of order that is merely modern. The article does not cite any other scholarship on OE metrics, though much of the material resembles that brought together by J. Luecke (Lang & S 8 [1975] -- an essay that also contains suggestions on meter and rhythm that foreshadow those of McLintock). Finally, David Marsden Wells (YES 6, 1-4) presents a case for the literary character of OE verse in the late MSS. He maintains that the uniformity of size in the marked sections, in various MSS over a long period of time, implies that such sectioning must have been purposeful. He removes objections to their "inappropriateness" by suggesting suspense as a motive, or by noting that MS breaks have been varied to insure that a decorated initial would not come out an eth or a thorn.

Another series of essays attempts to examine the critical principles that underlay Anglo-Saxon literature. O. B. Hardison (M&H 7, 1-12) urges the need for a history of medieval literary criticism, and he states that such a work must start with a more comprehensive and more particular examination of medieval texts. In his brief outline, Professor Hardison has time only to mention Bede and Alcuin; he does not consider vernacular authors, and in fact argues that such a history "would have to be a history of Latin criticism." Three other studies derive their conclusions from a comparison of OE and ME verse. Hoyt N. Duggan (SB 29, 265-88) puts forth an extended discussion of literary composition within an oral tradition, and of the accumulation of performers' variants in ME MSS. Duggan's evidence and conclusions, though chiefly concerned with later literature, clarify a number of points that have arisen persistently in considerations of the oral and literate character of OE poetry. Joan Turville-Petre (ESts 57, 310-28), in an examination of the meter of Sir Gawain and the Green Knight and more generally of the alliterative revival, suggests that we regard "fourteenth-century alliterative metre as a new formation, in terms of the language of the time." She begins with a summary of OE metrics, and the comparisons and contrasts are enlightening. In a short note, Alain Renoir (Neophil 60, 455-59) points up an instance of the beasts of battle motif in Lydgate's Life of Saint Alban and Saint Amphibal. As Renoir affirms, its value for literary history is more intriguing than decisive, for it occurs "presumably unwittingly and possibly by sheer coincidence."

Several scholars have investigated specific ideas and themes that appear in OE poetry. J. R. Hall (Traditio 32, 185-208) argues that the poems of MS Junius 11 are actually one poem that deals with a single theme, redemption. Genesis, Exodus, and Daniel are to be taken as "Liber I," according to the MS designation, and Christ and Satan becomes "Liber II" -- this arrangement and the meticulously executed pointing in the MS indicate that the compilation was carefully organized as a Biblical epic. Hall employs a good deal of dense argumentation in setting up a comparison with St. Augustine's "On Teaching the Simple," which he takes as his rationale for the organization of the MS, and he makes numerous comparisons of structure and content with Wulfstan's sixth sermon. Despite Hall's affirmation that theological tract, sermon, and poem differ in nature, he concentrates much of his energy in showing they are the same. Joyce M. Hill (Leeds SE 8 [1975], 5-19) demonstrates how OE writers have recourse to a fundamental pattern in delineating figures of evil, and she shows how they work with and vary this pattern in Satan, Adam and Eve, Cain, and Grendel.

Hill's central point is well taken and widely applicable, but her article also reveals how Anglo-Saxon writers assimilated the sanctions of exile and the consolations of comitatus into Christian conceptions of evil and good. A. P. Campbell (Revue de l'Université d'Ottawa 45 [1975], 382-91) emphasizes how frequently, in literary accounts of transformation from pagan to Christian, the change or cleansing is depicted in physical as well as figurative terms. The essay examines Guthlac A, Andreas, and Beowulf, and makes reference to The Phoenix.

Bernard F. Huppé (in Concepts of the Hero in the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, ed. Burns and Reagan [1975], 1-26) offers a general consideration of heroic ideals, according to the virtues extolled by the Fathers. In the course of the essay he deals with Maldon and Beowulf, and places them in the context of early medieval spirituality and renunciation. Kathryn Hume (Anglia 94, 339-60) surveys OE fondness for descriptions of ruins, and concludes that no ruin motif exists in OE; instead, these passages depend upon the "image-clusters" generated by the notion of the hall. Hume's survey makes for a convenient gathering of related passages and scholarship on an important issue, but by the end we have not sharpened the definitions of "motif" and "image-cluster" as useful or dependable terms for criticism. Kenneth Florey (Conn R 9, 82-9), in another motif essay, identifies chaos and uncertainty -- opposed by warmth, constancy, and security -- as the major theme of OE poetry. Florey discusses The Wanderer and The Seafarer, The Dream of the Rood, and Beowulf, and he produces some revealing insights along the way, but one wonders if theme, defined in this way, does not approach, say, the One and the Many in its general applicability to literature. Finally, Carl R. Mills (Lang & S 9, 164-70) calls attention to the conspicuous lack of color descriptions in OE, and discusses the aesthetic implications of this lack, and of the descriptions that occur. He reviews some of the early scholarship, but takes no notice of more recent work, such as the essays that have appeared in ASE.

Two reference works of general importance may be taken together. Walter M. Beale, Old and Middle English Poetry to 1500: a Guide to Information Sources appears in the Gale Information Guide Library. Beale has compiled a selective but comprehensive, annotated bibliography that in many ways amounts to an updating of Stanley Greenfield's bibliography in D. M. Zesmer's Guide (1961). The compiler takes care to set each critic's work in context, to suggest how it advances or modifies what has gone before, and to evaluate its relative importance. Beale's judgments are generally just and reliable, and up to date. He includes full indices for works and authors, for subjects, and for modern writers. The book is a useful reference tool, and should become a stand-by for students reviewing for qualifying examinations. Paul Theiner's "Medieval English Literature" is the literary chapter of Medieval Studies: An Introduction, ed. James M. Powell (1, above). Professor Theiner has written an enjoyable and informative survey that devotes almost as much space to OE as to ME. Within the limits of the chapter, Professor Theiner is comprehensive, and he manages as well to direct special attention to controversial and new approaches to cultural and literary history.

Works not seen:

Caie, Graham D.   The Judgment Day Theme in Old English Poetry. Publ. of the Dept. of Eng., Univ. of Copenhagen, 2. Copenhagen.

Clemoes, Peter. "Late Old English Literature." Tenth-Century Studies.
    Ed. David Parsons. London & Chichester, 1975.
Ortoleva, Grazia. La Teoria orale formulistica e la sua applicazione alla
    poesia anglosassone. Massina, 1973.
Pàroli, Teresa. "Gli elementi formulari nelle introduzioni metriche a
    discorso diretto dell'antica poesia germanica," Ricerche Linguistiche 6
    (1974), 87-230.
Schulze, Fritz W. "Bindungen von Versfolgen im Altenglischen und Althochdeutschen."
    Kritische Bewahrung . . . Festschrift für Werner Schröder. Ed. Ernst-Joachim
    Schmidt. Berlin, c. 1974. pp. 185-212.
Schwab, Ute. "Eva reicht den Todesbecher. Zur Trinkmetaphorik in altenglischen
    Darstellungen des Sündenfalles." Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana, Classe
    di lettere, filosofia e belle arti, 51 (1973/74), 7-108.
Stanley, E. G. "The Oldest English Poetry Now Extant." Poetica (Tokyo) 2
    [1974], 1-24).

T.G.H.

b. Individual Poems

In addition to the reprint of E. V. Gordon's edition of The Battle of Maldon (with supplement and updated bibliography by D. G. Scragg, Manchester and New York), seven new critical studies of the poem appeared. In "The Battle of Maldon 89: Byrhtnoð's ofermod Once Again" (SP 73, 117-37), Helmut Gneuss, despite frequent assertions that his remarks are tentative, comes as close as one can, I think, to demonstrating that ofermod in Maldon means "pride." At the same time, Gneuss is unwilling to assume that Byrhtnoð's prideful act demonstrates a traditional heroic fault, but he suggests, rather, that Byrhtnoð "was employing the right tactics but did not, or not yet, have a fighting force sufficiently strong to carry through his plan." Whether or not this explanation suffices (and Gneuss suggests that a treatment of the issue should be left to a professional historian), the article presents the fullest and most sensible treatment yet of the perplexing ofermod, and any subsequent attempt at a different definition will have much to answer to. Byrhtnoð's ofermod is also the subject of one of ten notes by Fred C. Robinson on "Some Aspects of the Maldon Poet's Artistry" (JEGP 75, 25-40). Robinson states that Gneuss has established beyond serious doubt "that ofermod means 'pride' and concedes a flaw in Byrhtnoth's judgment"; but he suggests that the island might have been inhabited by English (why else the causeway?) and that the probability of English civilians being trapped there by marauders might extenuate somewhat the chieftan's proud and fatal rashness. There are too many notes to summarize, but all are useful and many extremely so. One suggests that ll. 29-41 may contain the first literary use of dialect in English; two raise the possibility of missing matter in the text; others aid in arriving at the proper connotations of difficult words, explore the possibility of latent irony, and defend the transmitted text against emendation. George R. Petty, Jr., and Susan Petty, in "Geology and The Battle of Maldon" (Speculum 51, 435-46, ill.), report the results of an "on-site study based on probes of the alluvial deposits around the causeway . . . carried on by an interdisciplinary team of a geologist and a student of Old English literature, who floundered in the muck of the Blackwater at the causeway for a month in the summer of 1973 to make the measurements." The essay contains a fascinating reconstruction of the topography of the Northey Island site in 991. It is inconclusive on the precise location of the battle, but notes that the site identified by Laborde "was even more appropriate to the poem 1,000 years ago than it is now." In "The Battle of Maldon and Popular Tradition: Some Rhymed Formulas" (PQ 54 [1975], 409-18), Elizabeth S. Sklar concentrates upon the broðor...oðer and stunde...wunde formulas of lines 272 and 282 to advance the interesting thesis that the technical peculiarities of Maldon "are not mere aberrations, indicating a lack of skill on the part of the poet, but stem, rather, from the encroachment of the popular tradition upon the classical." The supporting evidence from Middle English popular verse is highly persuasive. Rosemary Woolf's "The Ideal of Men Dying with their Lord in the Germania and in The Battle of Maldon" (ASE 5, 63-82), surveys the heroic behavior described in the title from before Tacitus to the time of the composition of Maldon to demonstrate the lack of historical or literary-historical continuity between the Germania and Maldon and at the same time to seek an explanation for the remarkable resemblance. The former aim is nicely accomplished through the thorough and perceptive survey; the explanation for the resemblance rests upon a suggestion, offered many years ago by Bertha Philpotts, that the Maldon poet may have learned of the motif from the Bjarkamal. But more important than the source for the ideal, Woolf asserts, is the knowledge "that this idea was not an ancient and traditional commonplace of Old English heroic poetry but was new

and strange, so that the poet had to use contrivance to make it seem familiar."
N. F. Blake, in "The Flyting in The Battle of Maldon" (ELN 13, 242-45), examines
the exchange between Byrhtnoð and the Viking messenger, with emphasis on the
personal pronouns, to comment on the use of rhetorical contrast in the poem.
In "The Battle of Maldon: A Christian Heroic Poem" (HUSL 3 [1975], 101-34),
Zacharias Thundyil, after a lengthy survey of earlier scholarship and several
examples of the behavior of Christian heroes, asserts that the proper appre-
ciation of Maldon necessitates "the gothic ability of the poet who maintains
contrary viewpoints, by sincerely admiring and just as sincerely rejecting the
values of the heroic society, and redeems its weakness and its values by
sublimating and integrating them within the framework of his Christian religion."

John Bugge, in "The Virgin Phoenix" (MS 38, 332-50), attempts to
demonstrate the presence in the poem of a vocabulary and symbolism which is
specifically monastic in its spirituality -- a situation similar to that
described by Fleming for The Dream of the Rood in Traditio 22. Bugge points to
the poet's emphasis on the bird as dryhtnes cempa (miles Christi), the parallels
between the bird's exile and the comparable passage in Guthlac on the monks who
fight in the waste in a strikingly similar fashion, and finally, and most fully,
the emphasis on the asexuality of the bird to make interesting and persuasive
arguments for the distinctive sort of spirituality which pervades the poem.
There are, of course, some alternative explanations of some of the same passages
in J.E. Cross's essay on fourfold allegory in the poem (in Old English Poetry:
Fifteen Essays, ed. Creed, Providence, 1967), which Bugge does not cite and may
not have seen. This is, however, a sensitive explication which merits a careful
reading. Thomas D. Hill, "The 'Syrwarena Lond' and the Itinerary of the Phoenix:
a Note on Typological Allusion in the Old English 'Phoenix'" (N&Q 23, 482-84),
suggests, with evidence from Isidore, that "Syria" for an Anglo-Saxon audience
is a generic term for the Holy Land and that the bird's itinerary therefore
accords both with the itinerary of Adam and his descendants and Christ. Hill
goes on to suggest that the homage done to the phoenix by the other birds is an
echo of the theme in Genesis involving Adam's naming and receiving authority
over the animals. This scene, he asserts, is not simply an anticipation of
Christ's rule over the blessed but also a reflection of the typological theme
of the rule of the first and second Adam over the beasts.

In "Hebrews, Israelites, and Wicked Jews: An Onomastic Crux in 'Andreas'
161-67" (Traditio 32, 358-61), Thomas D. Hill points to a patristic practice
(discussed in detail by Salvian and followed by Leo I, Peter Chrysologus and
others) of referring to "Hebrews" and "Israelites" when the Jews are discussed
as the people of God, but to "Jews" when the negative aspect of Jewish history
is at issue. He suggests, convincingly, that the Andreas poet is following
this practice in the lines in question, and notes that its absence in the known
source and analogues of Andreas reinforces the idea that the work is the product
of "a relatively learned author, who was aware of the 'spiritual' significance
not only of the broad outline of his narrative, but even of such relatively minor
details as the names of his protagonists." Constance B. Hieatt's "The Harrowing
of Mermedonia: Typological Pattern in the Old English 'Andreas'" (NM 77, 49-62),
suggests that the central concern of the poem is Andrew's reenactment of the role
of Christ, "the three-day sojourn in Mermedonia, which symbolizes hell and from
which he rescues Matthew and others, corresponding to the patriarchs, in an
action parallel to the Harrowing of Hell." She sees the content of the sea
voyage as the symbolic death preceding the descent, and discusses a number of

significant parallels in the conversation with Christ the Helmsman in lines
595-810. The arguments are too detailed to summarize effectively, but most
of them are highly attractive. R. Barton Palmer, in "Characterization in
the Old English 'Juliana'"(SAB 41, 10-21), attempts to show that Cynewulf has
displaced the literal details of the Latin vita in favor of imagery that bears
the weight of a higher meaning alone, with emphasis upon the collision of good
and evil. The essay is an interesting one, though it is regrettable that
Joseph Wittig's excellent study of figural narrative in the poem (ASE 4) was
unavailable to Palmer at the time of writing. J. Richard Stracke's "Eþelboda:
Guthlac B, 1003" (MP 74, 194-95) points to the related word æboda in line 937
and suggests that eþelboda ought to mean "homeland-announcer" rather than
"native-preacher" or "land's apostle." Noting that eþelboda is in apposition
to lareow, Stracke suggests that the lar which the lareow teaches is the eðel --
the heavenly patria of the righteous.

In "Voice and Vision in the Old English Christ III" (PLL 12, 227-45),
Lois R. Kuznets and Martin Green discuss the interplay of voice and imagery in
the poem, dividing it into three major sections in terms of narrative voice and
discussing the poet's concern with Judgment not only as the future confrontation
of man and God but also as "a process of this world, a process of self-scrutiny
and inner vision, a coming to terms with the thoughts of the heart, one's inner
'treasure', here in this world...!' This is an important close reading of a
much neglected poem. R. E. Kaske's "The Conclusion of the Old English 'Descent
into Hell'" (Parádosis: Studies in Memory of Edwin A. Quain, ed. Harry George
Fletcher, III, and Mary Beatrice Schulte, New York, pp. 47-59, ill.), addresses
the perplexing problem of git Johannis at l. 135 -- a passage in which John
himself appears to be speaking, thereby making what appears to be a classical
elliptical dual construction unlikely. Kaske suggests that Johannis is a
genitive dependent upon fullwihte in the following line -- a reference to the
"baptism of John" as opposed to the "baptism of Christ" and that the two com-
ponents of git are Christ and the baptismal water. The supporting evidence is
too extensive to summarize here, and Kaske states with commendable caution that
"no one would care to press such arguments if there were a plausible alternative
allowing git Johannis to function as an elliptical dual construction." But
despite the possible objections to Kaske's argument, it is especially worthy of
attention given the equally strong objections which can be made to theories which
attempt to assign the speech to anyone other than John. Joyce Hill's "A Sequence
of Associations in the Composition of Christ 275-347"(RES 27, 296-99), offers an
attractive demonstration of the poet's possible use of the Ambrosian hymn "Veni,
Redemptor gentium," which contains phraseology similar to the antiphon in Advent
Lyric IX for the imagery of Mary as temple and citadel of virginity. Through
the process of association of the immediate antiphon with the recollected hymn,
she suggests that the poet moved naturally from the bridal imagery of the
antiphon to that of the locked gates. In "The Structure of Cynewulf's Christ II"
(SMC 4 [1973]), Sister Jean Milhaupt posits a tripartite structure for the poem,
containing different thematic and emotional emphases from those in Gregory's
Ascension Homily.

The "Two English Encomia" of D. R. Howlett's essay (ESts 57, 289-93)
are Durham and The Ruin. Building upon Margaret Schlauch's excellent article
on Durham as an encomium urbis (JEGP 40), Howlett points to recurrent parallel
diction in the poem and the use of capital letters in the second part to intro-
duce sentences which echo the statements of the first part, in the same order.
He notes, moreover, that the poem's formulaic and mechanical structure is like

those which conform to the Golden section (a topic Howlett has pursued successfully
with reference to other Old English poems). Howlett then turns to phrasal
and thematic parallels in The Ruin to argue persuasively that it, too, belongs to
the genre of the encomium urbis rather than the elegy. L. Whitbread's essay on
"The Old English Poem Aldhelm" (ESts 57, 193-97) deals effectively with the
Greek words in the macaronic poem, suggesting as well that the difficult geanoðe
of line 7 may also be Greek -- perhaps a corrupted geneðle ("birth, origin,
cause") or genete ("birth"). He notes that only euthenia of the Greek words
does not occur in New Testament Greek and proposes tentatively euphemia ("good
reputation, good report") instead. In conclusion, Whitbread offers a translation
which brings together the renderings he advocates for various passages in the
poem.

Alan Bliss and Allen J. Frantzen, "The Integrity of Resignation" (RES
27, 385-402), points to evidence of matter missing at the end of gathering XV of
the Exeter Book, which Förster noted but rejected because there appeared to be
no discontinuity in Resignation. Bliss and Frantzen argue that there is dis-
continuity at lines 69-70 and conclude that the last part of the work is not in
the penitential tradition, but rather a fragment of another poem -- "a dramatic
monologue by the kind of man who never succeeds in any of his enterprises and
who blames everyone but himself for his failure." The evidence for lack of
integrity is attractively and persuasively presented, and will no doubt provoke
further study of the two alleged fragments produced thereby. Douglas D. Short's
"Aesthetics and Unpleasantness: Classical Rhetoric in the Medieval English Lyric
The Grave" (SN 48, 291-99) offers an excellent and useful analysis of the classi-
cal rhetorical devices utilized effectively by the poet to produce a grimly
dramatic impact.

John M. Fanagan's "Wulf and Eadwacer: A Solution to the Critics' Riddle"
(Neophil 60, 130-37) surveys criticism and offers his own interesting interpre-
tation of the poem, the most notable features of which are: (1) the assertion that
him of l. 1 is singular, not plural, and the same person as the hine of the refrain;
(2) the beaducafa becomes an eadwacer by virtue of the gift to him of the woman's
body, now his property, whether or not the latter OE word is a proper or common
noun; (3) the hwelp, with its metaphorical overtones of sexual union, represents
her alliance with Eadwacer, which can be destroyed either by her present thoughts
of Wulf or by the prospect of reunion. A translation which concludes the essay
knits together the threads of Fanagan's argument. The poem remains perplexing,
but this is another earnest effort to confront its principal difficulties.
Terrence Keough's "The Tension of Separation in Wulf and Eadwacer" (NM 77, 552-60)
asserts that the basic theme of the poem is "the underriding tension of separation
in the mind of the female narrator." He suggests that eadwacer is a common noun,
"property watcher" -- a collective noun referring to society as a whole, to the
leodum minum of line 1, and therefore the antithesis of Wulf, the outlaw. The
poem, he argues, is "a giedd on the personal and social effects of the separation
of the outlaw from the society as a whole."

John P. Hermann's "The Pater Noster Battle Sequence in Solomon and
Saturn and the Psychomachia of Prudentius" (NM 77, 206-10) asserts that the
behavior of the warrior letters in the Pater Noster suggest the influence of
Prudentius -- particularly the letter T, which shows influence of the Fides/
Discordia and Operatio/Avaritia conflicts, and the letter S, which appears to
depend on Sobrietas/Luxuria. Hermann points out that Prudentian influence can
be seen both in particular images and in the overall design of the conflict, and

suggests that the illustrated Prudentius manuscripts may have been influential as well. Kjell Meling's "A Proposed Reconstruction of Runic Line 108a of Solomon and Saturn" (NM 77, 358-59) suggests that the remains of the defective line 108a of the poem be reconstructed as "n ⟨ samod," rather than "n and o samod," as Dobbie suggests. He argues that the letter and its cruciform runic equivalent are more satisfactory as ða cirican getuinnas than are "n" and a non-extant runic or Roman "o." Meling admits that the reconstruction does violence to the normal practice in the text of preceding Roman letters by runes. He does not address what would seem to me to be an unsurmountable metrical difficulty if his reading were accepted, nor the fact that the Roman and runic symbols "together" (somod) make sense visually but not orally.

In "The Old English Gifts of Men and the Pedagogic Theory of the Pastoral Care" (ESts 57, 497-501), Douglas D. Short asserts that lines 8-26 of the OE poem demonstrate not only thematic relationships to Gregory's commentary on Job, as Gollancz had noted, but that their use of antithesis and rhetorical parallelism and their overall function in the poem appear to have been modeled on chapters 32 and 23 of the Pastoral Care. In "Unity and Artistry in The Fortunes of Men" (ABR 27, 461-69), Richard H. Dammers attempts to discuss the "complex artistry" of the poem, with emphasis on metrics and symbolism. The metrical discussion is unsatisfactory because of some confusion about the Sievers types, especially type D; the remainder of the essay is interesting, though it hardly makes its case for Fortunes as "one of the most undervalued poems in Old English literature." Minna Doskow's "Poetic Structure and the Problem of the Smiths in 'Wið Færstice'" (PLL 12, 321-26) suggests that the single smith of lines 13-14, like the six later ones and the witches, is a hostile force whose work is exorcized along with that of the others. If this is the case, she argues, then the consistent structural unity of the charm and the competence of the exorcist emerge -- the first section delineates the possible sources of evil, while the second shows these overcome through the efforts of the exorcist, aided by God. W. G. East, in "A Note on Maxims II" (NM 77, 205), notes that the poem begins with four hypermetrical lines and that another series of hypermetrical lines begins at line 42, producing two sections of 41 and 25 lines each, and that the proportion between the lengths of these strophes is that of the Golden Section.

Bruce Moore's "The Wife's Lament, 27-32a (Explicator 34, no. 9, item 65) discusses the "complex interaction of emotions and environment" in the poem, with emphasis on eorðsele and burgtunas. A new translation of that poem by Harriet Spiegel appears in OEN 9, 62. In "The Sanskrit Meghaduta and the Old English Husband's Message" (Michigan Academician 8, 457-67), Zacharias Thundyil discusses a poem by the 5th-century Indian poet Kalisada in which a cloud carries a message from a husband to his wife announcing his love and his intended return. Thundyil attempts to show that the Sanskrit poem was known to the author of the Husband's Message, chiefly on the ground that the Western World knew Indian and that 9th-century Anglo-Saxons traveled there. The parallels between the two poems do not appear to me to be particularly close, nor does there appear to be any really persuasive evidence of influence of one poem on the other, though readers who are not acquainted with the Sanskrit poem will be glad to experience it.

J.B.T.

Among the several studies recently devoted to the Exeter riddles
are two that independently reach the same solution for riddle 39. Either essay
is convincing in itself; together, they render the solution virtually certain.
In "Old English Riddle No. 39" (ELN 13 [1975], 81-85), Christopher B. Kennedy,
working solely from the poet's description, ingeniously solves for "cloud."
The chief clue for Kennedy is the poet's emphasis on what the creature lacks:
"...her mode of existence is such a nebulous one that she has few describable
features." Nebulous, indeed. Paul Meyvaert, "The Solution to Old English
Riddle 39" (Speculum 51, 195-201), corroborates Kennedy's answer by demonstrat-
ing that the source of the riddle appears to be the third aenigma of Aldhelm,
the solution to which is nubes. Meyvaert also observes that the OE poet may
have borrowed further details from Aldhelm's aenigma 71 (fish). The discovery
of the riddle's apparent source not only leads to the proper solution but also
enables one to appreciate the poet's amplificatio, his expansion of the
aenigma into a poem seven times longer -- and seven times better. Drawing
upon bird riddles in the Exeter Book, medieval animal lore, and patristic
thought, K. S. Kiernan, in "The Mysteries of the Sea-eagle in Exeter Riddle 74"
(PQ 54 [1975], 518-22), compounds a resourceful solution to another vexing
riddle. Although the author does not explain all the details with equal
cogency, Kiernan's answer, "Sea-eagle" (or perhaps another diving bird), is
the most convincing so far offered and can adequately account for what appear
to be Christian overtones throughout the description. In "E se ᛒ stesse
per bana? Una nuova interpretazione dell'enigma n. 17 del Codice Exoniense"
(AION 18, sez. germanica, Filologia germanica [1975], 161-81, ill.), Patrizia
Lendinara speculates that a faint runic B above the first MS line of riddle 17
stands for bana, a cryptic hint at the devil's putative role in the poem.
This suggestion, similar in principle to earlier ones, is doubtful for several
reasons, among them the good chance that the letter is not a runic B at all
(so Max Förster). Lendinara interprets the riddle itself as describing, at
one level, a fortress withstanding an enemy and, at another, the soul com-
batting the devil. The allegorical interpretation would be more persuasive if
the literal reading (not original with Lendinara but one of a handful proposed
over the years) could firmly be established. As it is, the author's case is
strong enough to command serious consideration but too weak to compel assent.
The same scholar, in "Poculum mortis: una nota" (AION 18, sez. germanica,
Filologia germanica [1975], 131-41), illuminates the imagery of death in riddle
23. Lendinara suggests, with support from Guthlac B (990b-91a), that MS full
wer should read full weg, a reference to death as a cup filled with mandrinc
(13-14). The author also takes up two supplementary images in the passage,
contrasting the metaphoric purchase of the cup (13) with the metaphoric payment
for mead in Finnsburh (39), and comparing the impossibility of the cup's
contents passing away without harm from any person who has drunk (10-11) with
the cup that did not pass from Christ without his dying (Matt. 26:39-42). In
"Time in the Exeter Book Riddles" (PQ 54 [1975], 511-18), Marie Nelson
plausibly, though somewhat subjectively, describes how anaphora, variation,
and the envelope pattern function to convey a sense of the future, of present
duration, of a continuous present, and of time arrested. Nelson's title is
rather misleading, however; she examines in detail only riddles 3, 72, and 5.
And the scope of her study is quite arbitrary: as she admits, the use of the
three devices for the stated purposes is not restricted to the riddle genre.
The issue of pagan/Christian influence arises in three works on the riddles.
John Miles Foley opens his essay, "'Riddle I' of the Exeter Book: The
Apocalyptical Storm" (NM 77, 347-57), with a brief, competent edition of the

poem. (But without explanation he reads þa þa at line 15b, where other editors, presumably following the MS, have þe þa.) Foley then argues that the poet, invoking mythology familiar to the audience as a basis for introducing a relatively new concept, presents the apocalyptic coming of Christ in terms of the ancient pagan figure of the Storm-giant. A bold thesis but creditably handled. Yet one hesitates to accord the reading a full endorsement because the author, while making a strong, detailed argument for the Christian aspect, takes the pagan element largely for granted. In contrast to Foley, Edith Whitehurst Williams, in "The Relation Between Pagan Survivals and Diction in Two Old English Riddles" (PQ 54 [1975], 664-70), sees no intricate fusion of Christian and pagan elements but rather contends that in riddles 1-3 (here regarded as one work) "...the diction is entirely non-Christian and the vivid images which flash through are in keeping with Norse myth"; riddle 84 is similarly suspect. Thus, e.g., the forceful personification in these and other riddles reveals a pagan belief in animism; in riddle 3, soð meotud (54b) refers to a pagan deity or fate, not (as elsewhere) to the Christian God; and lines 9b-20 in riddle 84, an explicitly Christian passage (where legible), are a contrived interpolation with no significant bearing on the rest of the poem. Such atavistic scholarship is likely to convince no one but an enthusiast for OE paganism. In the same spirit, however, Gregory K. Jember, in his preface to The Old English Riddles: A New Translation (Denver: Soc. for New Lang. Study), exclaims that "... ten references to Jesus Christ do not make a poem Christian!" The author assumes that the riddles are the product of a culture neither predominantly pagan nor Christian but pagan-Christian. This view is, of course, debatable, yet it is hard to disagree with most of Jember's other remarks on the nature of OE riddles and on the limitations of modern conceptual habits in understanding the genre. He carries the latter point to an extreme, though, when he apparently rejects the solutions of earlier scholars to over half the riddles; in turn, Jember submits sexual answers for almost half his new solutions. Since the new solutions comprise the most distinctive feature of his work, and since his giving only sexual answers to many riddles amounts to a denial that such riddles typically have an innocent answer as well, it is disappointing that Jember offers no critical discussion to justify his readings. Anyone wishing to peruse (another) literal translation of the riddles, however, should be satisfied with the accuracy of Jember's.

Closely related to the question of pagan/Christian influence is the issue of Germanic social-martial concepts in explicitly Christian poetry. That they are fundamental to The Dream of the Rood is the conviction of M. L. del Mastro who, in "The Dream of the Rood and the Militia Christi: Perspective in Paradox" (ABR 27, 171-86), sets out "to develop the ramifications of the poet's reversal of signification of his comitatus imagery, and to establish, if possible, his doctrinal intentions in creating this paradox." Christ, the Father's retainer, seeks victory by letting Himself be killed; the Cross, Christ's retainer, is obliged not to fight for his lord but to help Him die; the Dreamer, the Cross's retainer, must live a life of comitatus not among friends but in solitude and exile. Readers who distinctly hear in such terms as frean, hæleð, strang, stiðmod, modig, dream the music of the Germanic warrior band will listen with pleasure to del Mastro's orchestration. In "The Structure of The Dream of the Rood"(SN 48, 301-06), David R. Howlett offers another of his provocative, abstract structural studies. Searching for balance and symmetry in the poem to determine how the poet or a redactor wished it to appear on the written page, Howlett examines scribal punctuation, thematic and semantic correspondences,

the ratio of normal to hypermetric lines, and -- most intriguing -- serial
arrangement of sections. Although Howlett's case for the poem's written
appearance takes too much for granted, his conclusion that The Dream of the
Rood is the work of a "literate numerist" is neatly supported by the fact that
aspects of its structure are analyzable as conforming to the Fibonacci series
and (once more for Howlett) the Golden Section. The most significant study of
the poem in 1976 is Richard C. Payne's "Convention and Originality in the Vision
Framework of The Dream of the Rood" (MP 73, 329-41). He begins by remarking
that the previously-noted similarity between the description of the Cross in
Christ III (1061-68, 1083-89) and its portrayal in The Dream of the Rood (1-23)
is probably best explained by the hypothesis that either poet borrowed details
from a conventional scene. The scene, as Payne demonstrates in a survey of
biblical passages, homiletic literature, and visual arts is (as in Christ III)
the Last Judgment, a conclusion that leads him to a new way of viewing the poem.
After evoking the Last Judgment in the opening lines, the poet manipulates the
Dreamer's, and the audience's, expectations by introducing -- not Christ the
Judge -- but the Cross. The Cross's surprise appearance "signifies the inter-
vention of grace ... to save the sinner from an otherwise certain destruction.
It signifies at once the divinity to which man aspires and the penitential path
that he must travel in order to attain it. Finally, it signifies the immediacy
of Judgment for Christians living in the sixth age of the world and the need
for them to live their lives accordingly." The comparative simplicity of Payne's
argument lends it considerable force and provides a ready way of grasping the
poem, but many readers will feel that he overrates the explanatory power of
his thesis and underrates the poet's originality. "Another Look at the engel
dryhtnes in The Dream of the Rood" (NM 77, 565-68) is one of two notes on the
poem by T. E. Pickford. The author understands the gimmas (7b) at the foot of
the Cross as saints upon earth, a referent carried over in subsequent lines
(9b-12). Ealle beheld the engel dryhtnes means that all the saints, and all
creation, looked upon the Cross, Christ's messenger. The interpretation would
be more plausible had Pickford adduced evidence that jewels, the literal sense
of which seems sufficient here, elsewhere function as a metaphor for saints,
and that "angel of the Lord," a phrase with good precedent as an epithet for
Christ (as recently noted by Willem Helder, MP 73, 148-50), is elsewhere used
to refer to the Cross. Pickford also proposes, in "Holmwudu in The Dream of the
Rood" (NM 77, 561-64), that the word, whatever its primary sense, may be a pun
by the poet or a scribe on *helmwudu "directing tree/protecting tree." To
undergird the reading, the author argues at length for similar wordplay in two
other Vercelli poems, Andreas (359b, 396a) and Elene (230a). Pickford urges
only that the pun in The Dream of the Rood be acknowledged as a possibility.
Granted. But granted, too, the questionable sense the pun yields in its
immediate context -- the Cross states that the Lord "has honoured me above
[every] 'sign-post' (or 'tree of refuge')" -- the possibility should not be
regarded as anything more than that. The Dream of the Rood, together with The
Husband's Message and Catullus's Poem IV, figures in Alain Renoir's "Oral Theme
and Written Texts" (NM 77, 337-46). Noting that each poem, presumably composed
in writing, mentions a wooden object's prior existence as a tree, Renoir asserts
(to quote from the summary preceding his essay) that "all three poems rely on the
same oral-formulaic type-scene." But the author offers no evidence to think that
the theme is oral; the expression of the theme is certainly not formulaic in the
usual sense; and it is misleading to call the theme, so dissimilar in context
and treatment in the three poems, a type-scene. Take away what is tenuous in
Renoir's main discussion, and one is left largely with the observation that
over several centuries three poets employed, probably independently, a similar

concept. Such taxonomy of literary motifs is useful, but here it is
accompanied by some ill-conceived critical assumptions. The author surmises
that, since Catullus's use of the theme lacks the "fateful tension" established
by the two OE poets, " ... he is less aware than the others of the circumstances
in which [the theme] should normally appear, and this lack of awareness is the
price which a poet may expect to pay for literacy." In his valuable essay,
"A Reconstruction of the Ruthwell Crucifixion Poem" (SN 48, 54-58), David R.
Howlett is able to supply more than sixty runes to the poetic text by collating
the readings (not always in agreement) of the six oldest drawings of the Cross.
(Range of dates: 1703-1867; one drawing undated.) To fill the gaps remaining in
the poem, the author speculatively restores another thirty runes by modifying,
in length and often linguistic form, lines from The Dream of the Rood. Finally,
Howlett presents a transliterated text of the Ruthwell poem as restored, briefly
comments on structure, and translates.

Of the three essays under review which focus exclusively on The
Wanderer, Ellen Spolsky's "The Semantic Structure of the Wanderer" (JLS 3
[1974], 101-19) is the most ambitious and merits the most attention. The author
makes a valiant and painstaking effort to furnish literary scholars with a tool,
"semantic componential analysis," which "can insure that we give equal attention
to all the information in the text, not just the phrases which strike us as
initially important." Shorn of its theoretical underpinnings, Spolsky's method
comes down to categorizing, according to theme, the semantic burden of each
half-line in a poem. Applying this approach to The Wanderer leads to the con-
clusion, nicely displayed on a seven-page chart, that the poem has nine major
themes, with "passivity, patience" the most frequent (77 references, marked either
plus or minus). Although she used a computer as an aid in classifying, Spolsky
admits that the role of subjective interpretation in her mode of analysis is
immense: one must interpret the poem to establish a working set of main themes
(subject to revision), interpret each half-line to determine under which theme(s)
to make an entry, and finally interpret the results of this quantitative analysis
to describe the poem's meaning. It happens that Spolsky's resulting sketch of
the argument in The Wanderer -- the dilemma of a man hungering for security
against the ravages of time but locked into inaction -- is both coherent and
perceptive, yet one suspects that she could have reached the same conclusions
had she spent as much effort in close traditional analysis as she evidently did
in formulating her elegant methodology. Despite its many theoretical and
practical encumbrances, the semantic-componential approach can, as here, yield
fruitful results. Like other attempts to render the art of criticism more
scientific, however, Spolsky's method works only as well as the art behind it;
anyone capable of mastering that art does not need the science. In "The
Twilight Kingdom: Structure and Meaning in The Wanderer" (Neophil 60, 442-51),
B. K. Green contends that the "main function of the poem's imagistic structure"
is to convey the analogy that "the sea is a 'hall' in which Wyrd is 'lord.'"
Such is the metaphoric setting for the spiritual tale of a warrior who, having
experienced the insufficiency of heroic values as a basis for life, now sees
the acceptance of God's will in the present "twilight kingdom" -- a world which
permits only occasional moments of spiritual consolation -- as the highest wisdom
for mortal man. Caveat lector: reading -- and re-reading -- Green's essay to
grasp even the main points is a demanding task. The several aspects of the
argument do not readily cohere; nor does it help that the author relegates the
vital question of speaking-parts to a footnote, arguing that lines 8-14 and 112-15
belong to separate "dramatic characters," with the rest of the poem spoken by
the poet "in his own voice." A quite different arrangement for voices is followed

in the stimulating essay, "Classical Meditation in The Wanderer" (Comparison [Univ. of Warwick] 1, [1975], 67-101), by Marijane Osborn, who (after W. F. Bolton) ascribes lines 8-29a, 56-63, 92-110 to the wanderer and the remaining lines to the narrator. Corresponding to the distinction in speakers is the classical distinction between practical and theoretical knowledge, conceived in Christian thought as the rule of reason for the active life and the grace of illumination for the contemplative. The wanderer learns by applying reason to his experience that nothing in the world commands permanent stability: true but not the whole truth. The narrator signifies Christian spirituality, which, while knowing all that the wanderer/reason knows, also possesses the deeper wisdom that God is the transcendental reality in Whom alone can be satisfied the longing for immutable love and security. Another study treats The Wanderer in conjunction with The Seafarer. Martin Green's "Man, Time, and Apocalypse in The Wanderer, The Seafarer, and Beowulf" (JEGP 74 [1975], 502-18) is an illuminating investigation which sees the sense of time in the poems as charged with "an apocalyptic moment, a moment in which the past and the future are felt to impinge relentlessly" and when the end of time, with its dissolution and desolation of the world, is regarded as "fulfilled in the present." Green supports his interpretation by examining central images in the poems -- nature and heroic society in The Seafarer; the ruined wall in The Wanderer; treasure, monsters, halls, and social and natural disasters in Beowulf -- against the backdrop of OE doomsday writings, apocryphal and canonical Scripture, and contemporary studies of myth. Although the imagery cannot of course be explained solely by reference to apocalyptic traditions and motifs, Green's analysis does seem to pinpoint "'the sense of an ending' that readers of the poems have always felt but have not been fully able to articulate."

Jerome Mandel, with a sure eye for revealing details and subtle patterns, presents a very attractive account of structure and point of view in "The Seafarer" (NM 77, 538-51). In lines 1-57 the narrator progressively establishes his credentials as a man wiser than his audience: he has experienced both physical and spiritual hardship, and knows the limit of a lord in affording solace. The movement is from the then-and-there to the here-and-now, from the self to mankind. Lines 58-66a, in which the searching soul confirms the speaker's judgment and urges him onward, add vision to his experience and prepare the audience for the homily proper. Lines 66b-124 contrast human with divine realities, with the whole poem pointing to the final passage, in which the speaker, now one with his audience, concludes with forceful logic that dwelling with God should be the goal and desire of every man. In "The Seafarer 11. 1-8a" (Explicator 35, no. 1, 11-12), Bruce Moore relates the description of the ship and the sea to the narrator's emotional state. As the ship encloses his physical presence, so his own breast encloses his sorrows; as the sea batters the ship, so sorrows batter his heart. "The natural world operates on the consciousness of the Seafarer, and also serves to reflect it." Anna Maria Luiselli Fadda, "L'influsso dell'Ecclesiastico e dei Proverbi sui versi 111-116 dell'elegia anglosassone Seafarer" (Vetera Christianorum 12 [1975], 383-89), restores line 112 as wiþ leofne and wiδ laþne [lufan ond] bealo, and regards the principle of contrast (friend/foe, man/God) as the key to the passage: A man should be moderate in friendship and in hostility, for, though he wish hell-fire for his enemy and (honorable) funeral fire for his lord, it is God's will, not man's, that shall be done. The interpretation is decidedly reasonable yet receives only slight support from the biblical books displayed in the title but barely mentioned in the essay.

Defending Ezra Pound's 1911 translation of The Seafarer has recently been the independent concern of three scholars, each intimately familiar with Pound's poetry and conversant with OE. Closely similar are the analytic methods and the conclusions of Stephen J. Adams, "A Case for Pound's Seafarer" (Mosaic 9, no. 2, 127-46), and of Dianella Savoia, "Traduzione e poesia nel Seafarer di Ezra Pound" (Contributi dell'Instituto di Filologia Moderna, ser. inglese, 1 [1974], 210-38). Both scholars compare several passages of the OE poem with Pound's version and demonstrate that, although Pound, out of ignorance, may have misconstrued some words and lines, his typical divergence from the original was deliberate, motivated by an attempt, largely successful, to capture the sound and rhythm of the OE. The third essay, "Ezra Pound's Seafarer" (Agenda 13, no. 4 / 14, no. 1, 110-26), by Michael Alexander, is a masterful study, one that makes many of the same points as the other two but generally with more discrimination. While also praising his achievement in recreating OE poetic elements, Alexander observes that Pound's treatment is scarcely defensible "as a translation of the 'Seafarer' -- if the word translation is to bear its normal sense -- but only as a translation of the experience of reading a 'Seafarer.'" Especially perceptive is Alexander's discussion of the personality and convictions of the early Pound when he confronted the poem. Of the three essays, Adams's is the best for a detailed comparison of the two poems; Savoia's, for a survey of Pound's critical doctrines as they bear on his translation; and Alexander's, for a discussion of Pound's handling of The Seafarer in the larger context of translation as an artistic problem. Although the three studies do not, to my mind, resolve the question whether Pound's recreation of the poem is, as a whole, effective poetry, or the question whether his method of translating, with its reliance on intuition and style at the cost of accuracy and sense, merits approval, they do show that a condescending attitute towards Pound's venture into OE is hard to justify.

The volume of scholarship accorded the poetry of the Junius Manuscript in 1976 was appreciably smaller than that of the preceding year. At least one study, however, was published on each of the five poems. J. R. Hall admits, in "Friðgedal: Genesis A 1142" (N&Q 23, 207-08), that the primary meaning of the word, referring to Seth's death, is probably "life-parting," with frið a metathesized form of ferhð. The author suggests, however, that frið should also be taken here in its usual sense, which would yield "peace-parting" as a secondary meaning of the unique compound: an allusion to the leave-taking of Christ ("Peace I leave to you ..."), Whose death is prefigured by Seth's. In "Genesis B 318-20 Again" (ELN 13, 241-42), David Yerkes, pointing out that the recently offered emendation of MS woruld to werod introduces a grammatical problem greater than the one to be remedied, sensibly argues that the MS form should be retained. One need add only that the feature in the original lines occasioning the difficulty -- the momentary interruption of a thought by an intervening statement -- is explainable by a widely recognized figure in medieval rhetoric: parenthesis. It is the contention of Robert Emmett Finnegan, "Eve and 'Vincible Ignorance' in Genesis B" (TSLL 18, 329-39), that the poet depicts Eve as guilty of sin but not the sin of pride. Her culpability resides in the fact that, although ignorant of evil and of demonic craft, she possesses the intellectual power to discern the temptation for what it is but fails to do so. Interestingly, this view contrasts not only with the reading in which Eve is seen to sin through pride but also with the interpretation (not cited by Finnegan) advanced by John F. Vickrey and, more recently, by Thomas D. Hill, according to which the poet employs the allegory that associates Adam with reason and Eve with bodily sense.

Like <u>Genesis</u> <u>B</u>, <u>Exodus</u> was also the subject of both a note and a longer study in 1976. In "The Selection of Warriors in the Old English <u>Exodus</u>, Lines 233-240A" (<u>ELN</u> 14, 1-5), John P. Hermann, acknowledging that the passage makes sense on the literal level and has biblical precedent, goes on to explain that the poet's diction, the theme of spiritual warfare elsewhere in the poem, and patristic commentary point to an allegorical dimension in which the Israelite warriors are <u>milites</u> <u>Dei</u>, chosen according to their qualifications in battling the Egyptian foe, the devil's army. Peter J. Lucas, "Old English Christian Poetry: The Cross in <u>Exodus</u>" (<u>Famulus</u> <u>Christi</u>, ed. Gerald Bonner, 193-209), concentrates on the mosaic of imagery in lines 71a-97, in which the poet, fusing a description of the pillar guarding the Israelites with a description of the cloud over the tabernacle, further complicates the passage by introducing nautical metaphor. Lucas finds that the various sets of images reinforce and complement one another, achieving unity on the allegorical plane: the pillar/mast and sail-rood/central beam supporting the tabernacle veil all represent the Cross; the land-pilgrimage/ship/tabernacle all symbolize the Church. The author also examines other passages describing the pillar, noting unmistakable liturgical influence on some of the poet's diction. Meticulously considered and persuasively argued, Lucas's essay impresses this reviewer as the most penetrating analysis of any passage in the poem published to date. The same author rekindles an ancient crux in "<u>Daniel</u> 276" (<u>N&Q</u> 23, 390-91). The poet says that inside the fiery furnace it was like the time in summer when the sun shines <u>and</u> <u>deaw</u> <u>drias</u> <u>on</u> <u>dæge</u> <u>weorðeð</u>,/<u>winde</u> <u>geondsawen</u>. Lucas observes that reading MS <u>deaw</u> <u>drias</u> as a compound with the sense "dew-fall" (so R. T. Farrell in his recent edition) is objectionable on linguistic and metrical grounds. He would emend to <u>deawdryre</u>, translating " ... and dewfall comes at that time, spread about by the wind." Perhaps Lucas is correct; but he takes <u>on</u> <u>dæge</u> in an unusual sense ("at that time"), and his interpretation is not obviously superior to that proposed by Krapp (and accepted by Francis Costello Brennan in his 1966 diss., p. 92), who reads <u>deaw</u> <u>dryge</u>, a reference to dew drying in the early time of day. Hugh T. Keenan's purpose in "<u>Christ</u> <u>and</u> <u>Satan</u>: Some Vagaries of Old English Poetic Composition" (<u>SMC</u> 5 [1975], 25-32) is to show that a number of "supposed vagaries" in the poem are not the product of the composer's whim but are "in accord with literary practices of the period." Nearly all of Keenan's original comments are related to his view that <u>Christ</u> <u>and</u> <u>Satan</u> is essentially a Judgment Day poem. This odd thesis leads Keenan into some valuable observations, most notable of which is his point that Satan's measuring hell contrasts ironically with the frequent biblical image of measuring the Holy City. Just as often, however, the thesis misleads Keenan into vagaries of his own, such as reading lines 19-21, which appear after an account of Creation and before the story of Lucifer's Fall, as concerned with "the reward at Judgment."

Last, a medley of articles on dissimilar poems from varying points of view. Donald W. Fritz argues,in "Chronological Impossibilities in <u>Widsith</u>" (<u>GN</u> 6 [1975], 50-52),that " ... the narrator's ranging back through some three centuries in time and over wide spatial boundaries reflects the primitive phenomenon of the corporate personality. Such a personality in the primitive society represented at the same time the individual in the collective and the collective in the individual." Fritz believes "Widsith" to have been a real person, not an idealized scop (so R. W. Chambers) nor a literary personification (cf. Robert P. Creed's reading, reviewed in last year's <u>YWOES</u>). A tantalizing thesis: attractive, but, in the present state of knowledge at least, beyond reach of proof. In "Andreas Heuslers Heldensagenmodell: Prämissen, Kritik und

Gegenentwurf" (ZDA 104 [1975], 273-92), Walter Haug contends that Heusler's doctrines on the nature and development of the Germanic heroic epic are inadequate largely because he failed to see that the genre and its evolution are inextricably grounded in history and historical consciousness. The chief interest of this essay for students of OE lies in Haug's reference to Waldere in discussing the Latin Waltharius as a stage in the development of the full-scale heroic epics of the later German Middle Ages. "Some Contexts for Bede's Death-Song" (PMLA 91, 91-100), by Howell D. Chickering, Jr., is a most enlightening study of the poem from three perspectives -- the psychological, theological, and literary -- against its setting within the Epistola Cuthberti de Obitu Bedae. In his psychological analysis Chickering stresses that Cuthbert, by reporting on Bede's fear and sorrow during his last days as well as his joyful hope, varies from the typical hagiographic pattern, which portrays a holy man as facing death with unwavering composure. Correspondingly, the Death Song, its stylistic assurance played off against its theme of uncertainty, captures Bede's ambivalence towards dying. Theologically, the poem functions in a context in which Cuthbert, through the use of scriptural references and echoes, associates Bede's death with St. Paul's and even with Christ's; implicit in this context is the lesson that faith can transform human loss into a divine triumph. Finally, Chickering considers the Death Song from an explicit literary viewpoint, taking five passages of OE poetry on the same theme as Bede's poem as the principal context, not Cuthbert's letter. This background affords Chickering a basis for examining ambiguity, wordplay, and artistic approach in the Death Song. In "Caesarius, Chrodegang, and the Old English Vainglory" (Gesellschaft, Kultur, Literatur ... Beiträge Luitpold Wallach gewidmet, ed. Karl Bosl [1975], 167-78), Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., shows that the probable source of the poem is a sermon by Caesarius of Arles. Because, however, the poet's two most apparent borrowings from Caesarius are also found in Chrodegang's Rule, Trahern notes that the immediate source of Vainglory may have been Chrodegang. The identification of the source enables Trahern -- with supplementary assistance from other sermons by Caesarius, other OE poems, and the Fourth Vercelli Homily -- to accomplish much: obviate at one place any need of emending, discern some highly functional wordplay, determine an otherwise uncertain biblical allusion, and elucidate the poem's structure as well as several ambiguous passages.

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

Works not seen:

Gruber, Loren C. "Old English Maxims and Narnian Gnomes." Man's 'Natural Powers': Essays for and about C. S. Lewis. Ed. Raymond P. Tripp, Jr. Denver, 1975. Pp. 59-63.

Fiocco, Teresa. "Osservazioni preliminari ad un commento su Order of the World." Atti dell'Academia Peloritana, Classe di lettere, filosofia e belle arti, 52 (1974/75), 153-66.

Ortoleva, Grazia, ed. Gen. 1, 1-2, 14 nella parafrasi poetica anglosassone del Ms. Junius 11. Messina: Peloritana, 1974.

Schwab, Ute. "Ansätze zu einer Interpretation der altsächsischen Genesis-dichtung." AION 17, sez. germanica, Filologia germanica (1974), 111-86; 18 (1975), 7-88. [Conclusion to follow]

<div align="right">J.B.T. and J.R.H.</div>

c. <u>Beowulf</u>

Perhaps the leading feature of current <u>Beowulf</u> scholarship is not to be found in any of the items which appear below, but in the passing of yet another year without a full-length study devoted to the poem. This is especially surprising in view of the extensive publication in other areas of Old English studies and is scarcely to be explained by our having reached a state of peaceful consensus, as the wide variety of interpretations described here will indicate.

The year's most serious attempt at neutralizing some of these polarities is Stanley Greenfield's thoughtful essay, "The Authenticating Voice in <u>Beowulf</u>" (<u>ASE</u> 5, 51-62). Beginning with his "key concept" announced in the title -- to be distinguished carefully both from the <u>persona</u> of later medieval literature and from the more personal "poet" -- Greenfield goes on to identify four ways in which this "voice" functions: 1) to distance the narrative from the immediate audience's own time ("Hwæt, we Gardena in geardagum,/þeodcyninga þrym gefrunon," 1-2), 2) to suggest modes of continuity between past and present ("Metod eallum weold / gumena cynnes, swa he nu git deð," 1057b-8), 3) to comment on the moral implications of an action ("Swa sceal [geong g]uma gode gewyrcean," 20), and 4) to suggest the limitations of human knowledge ("Men ne cunnon / ... / hwa þæm hlæste onfeng," 50b-52). Though Greenfield sees some connection between these functions and the traditional four levels of Christian exegesis, he concludes that they are not the same because "the voice of the poem authenticates a <u>literalness</u> of meaning" and "does not invite symbolic or typological or allegorical value adding" (p. 61). The similarity is to be explained on "the hypothesis that the patristic exegetical mode of thought and analysis is but a sub-species of a more universal way of viewing human experience" (p. 61). Others might feel that the kind of "literalness" and absence of "value adding" which Greenfield sees as distinguishing <u>Beowulf</u> from patristic exegesis is also what distinguishes much exegetical criticism from the thought of the church fathers, to whom the end of time was nothing if not the literal and historical fulfillment of earlier promises, present hopes, and each man's spiritual destiny. Oddly, Stephen Bandy ("Christliche Eschatologie und altenglische Dichtung, dargestellt am Beispiel des <u>Beowulf</u>," <u>GRM</u> 26, 14-25) gives much the same emphasis to the literal sense of the <u>Beowulf</u> text, but he works from very different premises to a different conclusion. In this article, originally an English address given at Tübingen in 1974 and now translated into German by Wolfgang Heuss, Bandy is as much concerned to identify the essential nature of a Christian-Old English sense of mutability as he is to provide an interpretation of the poem, which he does with the help of patristic commentary. The poem itself is neither the eulogy nor the elegy of other interpretations but "vielmehr eine scharfe Kritik der an heroisch-egoistischen Werten orientierten Gesellschaft" (p. 20). The fight under the mere both reflects Noah's flood and participates in a sacramental typology, while at the same time, like the first flood, it anticipates the ultimate destruction of the world in the fire of the Last Judgment, expressed in the poem through Beowulf's final fight and the concluding funeral pyre. In this article, however, the qualifications are at least as important as the pronouncements. Beowulf is not Christ, and, even more importantly, the characters and events are not simply counters to express other meanings: "Solange unser Epos in der wirklichen Welt spielt und nicht in einem imaginären Irgendwo, sind wir verpflichtet, die Geschichte als Realität zu respektieren" (p. 23). A third publication dealing with the meaning of the whole poem is the first part of James Smith's longish essay, published posthumously

now but first written in 1957 ("<u>Beowulf</u>--I," ed. Martin Dodsworth, <u>English</u> 25, 203-29). A full summary of this reading will have to await publication of the remainder of the essay, but some things may be noted here. Smith's view was that "the poem is concerned to challenge a supposed all-sufficiency of manly virtue" (p. 219). To establish this he examined the three fights. The first and last define the lower and upper limits of manly virtue, Grendel standing as an illustration "of the extent to which a mind may surrender its autonomy," the dragon "of a mind's insistence on its own autonomy" (p. 211). Because she is defending and avenging what is her own, Grendel's mother discredits the hero, though only "to a degree," since "she displays an excellence of which he, as a warrior, fails to take account" (p. 213). Though much of what Smith has to say about such subjects as the digressions is seriously out of date today, he was surprisingly in advance of his time (or at least out of step with it) in his insistence on a real though qualified censure of Beowulf in the poem. "These are revolutionary conclusions," he says at one point (p. 228), and he is right. In some of their more extreme expressions (e.g., where he speculates that the young Beowulf may be "little if anything more than a Herculean fool," p. 228), they still seem revolutionary. In 1957 they would have appeared positively subversive. John Simpson ("Comparative Structural Analysis of Three Ethical Questions in <u>Beowulf</u>, the <u>Nibelungenlied</u>, and the <u>Chanson de Roland</u>," <u>JIES</u> 3 [1975], 239-54) would not agree with Smith. To Simpson, Beowulf's decisions throughout the poem, and especially at the end, are thoroughly validated by the ethic obtaining in the poem's culture and time. His methodology is an application of Georges Dumézil's comparative Indo-European mythology. In Dumézil's analysis, Indo-European culture generally participates in a tripartite morality, providing a hierarchical structure of ethical systems: an ethic of sovereignty, an ethic of physical force, especially military, and an ethic of fertility. According to Simpson, the warrior ethic is that by which Beowulf's activity is to be judged, even in the final part of the poem, when one would think an ethic of sovereignty would obtain, for according to Dumézil "in the Germanic world ... the second level has boldly spilled over into the first with the result that the principal sovereign god, the Scandinavian Othinn, finds himself at the same time one of the gods most preoccupied with war" (p. 246). Hence, Beowulf's fighting the dragon alone is not an act of irresponsibility but perfectly consistent with the warrior ethic according to which even Germanic sovereigns are to be judged. There is, of course, a circularity in the argument. One might reason that in eighth-century England the Germanic ethic was being subjected to interference from the Indo-European mythology obtaining in other cultures, such as the Italic or Celtic systems, and that <u>Beowulf</u> represents precisely the tension that arose as Anglo-Saxons began to appreciate the inconsistency of their inherited culture.

One of two articles which examine in detail shorter sections of the poem is R. Barton Palmer's "In his End is his Beginning: <u>Beowulf</u> 2177-2199 and the Question of Unity" (<u>AnM</u> 17, 5-21). Palmer interprets his chosen passage, which deals in retrospect with Beowulf's whole career and concludes with the description of Hygelac's generous gifts to his thane, as "a vital link between the two parts of the poem" (p. 6). The scene described both fulfills the expectation of earlier gift-giving scenes in Denmark and looks ahead to Beowulf's assumption of power in his homeland. Thus, the formal unity of the poem is based not so much on a "balancing" or a "juxtposition" as on a "superimposition" of one moment on another, in which "[t]he present ... has full meaning only insofar as it completes the past" and "the past likewise has no significance <u>per se</u>,

but only as it prefigures the future" (p. 15). A second article concentrating on a shorter passage in the poem is Bruce Moore's analysis of the story of Finn and Hengest ("The Relevance of the Finnsburgh Episode," JEGP 75, 317-29). The conclusion which Moore reaches is in line with much current speculation on the poem: "Between the defeat of Grendel and the fight with Grendel's Dam, a significant change of perspective occurs: disorder is located within the human world as much as in the world of monsters" (p. 329), and the bloody episode in Frisia is a major sign and cause of this change. While Moore analyzes both the text and the context of the incident, the latter is more convincing than the former. When, for example, he suggests that there is a meaning in the fact that "the hie of line 1095a breaks up into the twa healfa of the b line" (p. 319), he seems to strain the text, and moral dilemma is scarcely the only reason Hengest hesitates to avenge Hnæf (shades of Amlethus), since an ice-bound harbor kept Hengest from sailing and immediate revenge would have been, therefore, both difficult and dangerous.

The greatest number of articles appearing this year deal with one or other of the individual characters in the poem, an unusually large proportion of them with Unferð. John McNamara's intent in "Beowulf and Hygelac: Problems for Fiction in History" (RUS 62, 55-63) is to exonerate Beowulf from a charge of disloyalty or slackness in defending or avenging Hygelac in the Frisian raid. Dissatisfied with the explanation that Beowulf's slaying of Dæghrefn represented adequate revenge or that he was elsewhere on the battlefield at the time, McNamara asks why the poet did not give these explanations himself, if the moral status of his hero depends on one or both of them. The solution suggested is that the details of Hygelac's death were known to both poet and audience, probably more fully than they are to us. Therefore, even though Beowulf is a fictional, legendary figure, the poet's freedom to ascribe a fully heroic response to him on the Frisian raid is limited by the known facts of history. Thus, though at every point the poet suggests heroic behavior for Beowulf, he cannot describe a defense of Hygelac because he was not free to change the facts of history. John Golden, in "A Typological Approach to the gifstol of Beowulf 168" (NM 77, 190-204) both discusses the character and function of Grendel and suggests a solution for the famous crux mentioned in his title. Just as Grendel is descended from Cain, so is he associated with the curse of Cain, according to which he was to be "vagus et profugus super terram" (Gen. 4: 11-16). To Jerome, who was followed by both Isidore and Alcuin, this meant that Cain could never have a home or fixed place of residence, and Grendel, because he carries the same curse, could only attack Heorot but never possess it, "could never sit on his throne as the lawful possessor of a lawful kingdom" (p. 203). Only indirectly pertinent to Beowulf criticism, but probably worth mentioning, is Jay Ruud's comment in "Gardner's Grendel and Beowulf: Humanizing the Monster" (Thoth 14 [1974], 3-17) that while in Beowulf Grendel is ogre, devil, and exiled warrior, Gardner concentrated on this third characteristic to create a figure compatible with twentieth-century literature of the absurd.

A. P. Campbell's "Decline and Fall of Hrothgar and his Danes" (RUO 45 [1975], 417-29) is a lively discussion of the declining reputation of Denmark and its king at the hands of Robert Kaske, Margaret Goldsmith, John Leyerle, Edward Irving, Jerome Mandel, Stephen Bandy, Harry Berger and H.M. Leicester, and Robert Hanning. The drive to find "deeper and more secret meanings" in a poem which was once "a lively, entertaining tale of ancient Germanic times" (p.417) has led critics to characterize Hrothgar alternately as weak (lacking fortitudo), proud and greedy, "simmering in impotent rage"(p.442), and vain, while

his people are habitually drunk or blinded by pagan ignorance. The article is a plea for "a genuine return to the poem itself"(p.429), written with engaging humor; but, while Campbell does fulfill his promise "to map the course of this (Hroþgar's) decline," he does not attain his second, more important announced objective, "to restore Hrothgar and his Danes to their proper place of esteem" (p.417).

In the first of the series of articles dealing with the figure of Unferð, Robert S. Gingher ("The Unferth Perplex," Thoth 14 [1974], 19-28) attempts first to identify Unferð's status at Hroþgar's court and then, on this basis, further to clarify his relationship to Beowulf. Working from Celtic sources, chiefly Bricriu in Fled Bricrenn and other sources indicating the function of the Irish filid, Gingher argues for a formal, satirical function for Unferð, and goes on to conclude that Unferð's "skeptical attitude and dark pessimism undermine in himself and at Heorot the fighting qualities of the true warrior" (p. 27). Unfortunately, the first part of the argument is entirely speculative and the conclusion is not supported in the body of the essay, appearing in fact to depend more on a close reading of John Gardner's Grendel than of Beowulf. Ida Masters Hollowell ("Unferð the þyle in Beowulf," SP 73, 239-65) has only the first of Gingher's objectives in mind and is much more thorough in her approach. Her contention is that Unferþ as þyle at Hroþgar's court is explicitly a pagan official -- either priest or wizard -- and that to an Anglo-Saxon his role at the court would have been "as obvious as that of the Coastguard or the Queen" (p. 239). The evidence is drawn from runes, Norse analogues, pagan survivals in England, and glosses on þyle and variations of þyle, and it is both ponderous and impressive, but its purpose is not wholly clear. Has there ever been any doubt that Unferð, like everyone else at Heorot, was a pagan? If, on the other hand, the point is that he exercised magical powers as wizard or priest, why does the poet not allude to these things, at least in passing? Finally, does his status as a pagan priest really help to e x p l a i n his attack on Beowulf, unless we can somehow see that the testing of foreign visitors was the province of the sacral figure in pagan times. A final essay on the subject of Unferð by M. F. Vaughan ("A Reconsideration of 'Unferð,'" NM 77, 32-48) mounts a very solid argument for retention of MS Hunferð as the proper form for the name, on the basis of palæographic, onomastic, and phonological evidence. Vaughan points out that the name Hunferð was well attested in both eighth- and tenth-century England, while Unferð is not; Anglo-Saxon poets did alliterate vowels with names beginning, at least graphically, with h (e.g., Holofernes in Judith, Heliseus in Juliana, Herodes and Habrahame in Andreas); conservative scribal treatment of names may mask a change in pronunciation which would permit alliteration with vowels but prevent our understanding Hunferð to mean "unfrið." In many ways an Unferð without a descriptive name might be an easier person to deal with.

In chapter 4 of his Early Epic Scenery: Homer, Virgil, and the Medieval Legacy (Cornell), Theodore M. Andersson reexamines the possibility of Virgilian influence in Beowulf, particularly in two passages: Beowulf's initial sea crossing to Denmark (210-33) and the approach of the Geats to Grendel's mere (1408-17). Elements appearing to exhibit Virgil's touch are, among others, the way visual point of view is established, multiplication of details of physical description, the careful marking of time and space both physically and emotionally, and the setting of mood by relating events as seen through the eyes of onlookers. Andersson readily admits that none of these connections taken by itself is overwhelming (cf. pp. 148, 150, 156), but taken together they do have a suasive force,

particularly in view of the paucity of scenic detail in the alternative biblical or northern sources. A further addition to our understanding of the literary context from which Beowulf was produced is Corrado Bologna's "La tradizione manoscritta del Liber monstrorum de diversis generibus (appunti per l'edizione critica)" (CN 34, 337-46) with its full description of the five extant manuscripts and the promise of a critical edition of this important text.

A fresh approach to the treatment of Beowulf analogues is to be found in Thomas Pettitt's "The Mark of the Beast and the Balance of Frenzy" (NM 77, 526-35). Pettitt's strategy is to examine several well-known analogues -- Grettissaga, Bjarkarimur, Fáfnismál, etc. -- not to attempt a reconstruction of a prototype but "rather to examine what effect such knowledge as we have about them has on our appreciation of the poem"(p.527). The results are interesting. The hero's initial exploits are seen against the background of the "Bear's Son" story and become the deeds of "a strange, unnatural being, with powers beyond those of an ordinary warrior ... as much beast as man"(p.530) and at the same time in the context of berserk frenzy, so that additional emphasis is given to Beowulf's invincible rage, yrre, bolgenmod, hreoh ond heoro-grim (708-9, 769-70, 1563-5). This heightens the contrast with his attitude in the final fight of the poem, when "the mark of the beast" has been transferred to the dragon and Beowulf becomes the steadfast warrior standing resolute against his frenzied opponent.

Jeff Opland's "Beowulf on the Poet" (MS 38, 442-67) is a responsible and interesting examination of all the passages in Beowulf which describe poets and the way they produce their poetry. The portrait which emerges, like the argument which supports it, is complex and multiform. Indications in the poem that a professional court poet, an undifferentiated thane, perhaps King Hroþgar himself, a group of twelve nobles, or a solitary keening woman may all be thought of as composing or repeating poetry suggest a tradition less uniform than we have ordinarily been led to accept. To Opland, the poetic tradition of the Xhosa, a Bantu people of South Africa with whom he has worked extensively, provides a more convenient model for understanding all the kinds of poetic activity mentioned in Beowulf than does the Southslavic tradition investigated by Parry and Lord. An especially interesting observation distinguishes the kind of poetry produced inside the hall from that uttered (or sung?) outside. Outside, the poems seem to relate more immediately to a specific situation. Inside, they have the look of set pieces which might be repeated in a number of situations. Another comment on the OE poet's method of composition is that of Francis P. Magoun, Jr., on the existence of place names containing reminiscences of Finn or Grendel ("Scraps of OE Heroic Legend in London Without the City and in Beowulf" [NM 77, 536-7]). To Magoun the place names contain no necessary allusion to the poem we know, since the stories must have circulated rather freely and could be introduced whenever the poet thought of them. In his opinion, this is what the Beowulf poet is doing when he mentions Breca, Sigemund, Heremod, Offa's wife (Thryth?), and Hygelac on his Rhineland raid.

This year's account of Beowulf scholarship can end as it began, with Stanley Greenfield, who contributed the only wholly textual-editorial comment in this brief survey ("Three Beowulf Notes; Lines 736b ff., 1331b ff., 1341-1344," in Medieval Studies in Honor of Lillian Herlands Hornstein, ed. Jess B. Bessinger and Robert P. Raymo [New York], pp. 169-72). The first note provides us with a more probable reading of the passage by removing the full stop at 738 and interpreting aglæca to refer to Beowulf rather than Grendel. Beowulf, then, intended to move swiftly, but Grendel seized Hondscioh

before the hero could manage it. The other two notes deal with Hroþgar's speech
lamenting the death of Æschere. At 1331b Greenfield retains MS hwæþer, and
suggests that Hroþgar is uncertain "whether" Grendel's mother has eaten up
his favorite counsellor, not "whither" she has taken him. At 1342a he prefers
to understand "æfter sincgyfan" in the sense "along with me (the treasure giver),"
so that Hroþgar is not describing Æschere as a "treasure giver" but referring
to himself.

Several articles listed below, some of them apparently of substantial
importance for the year's work in Beowulf, will be included in next year's survey.

Works not seen:

Clark, Roy Peter. "A New Kenning in Beowulf: ealuscerwen." Scholia
Satyrica 2, 35-6.

Feldman, Thalia Phillies. "Terminology for 'Kingship and God' in Beowulf."
LOS 2 (1975), 100-15.

Grant, Raymond J.S. "Beowulf and the World of Heroic Elegy." Leeds SE 8,
45-75.

Oshitari, Kinshiro. "The Shift of Viewpoint in Beowulf." Poetica
(Tokyo) 1 (1974), 106-13.

Rosenburg, Bruce A. "Folklore Methodology and Medieval Literature."
JFI 13, 311-25.

Stanley, E.G. "Did Beowulf Commit feaxfeng against Grendel's Mother?"
N&Q 23, 339-40.

C.C.

d.   Prose

The new arrangement of <u>YWOES</u> emphasizes that comparatively little
work is being done on OE prose. Readers should note, however, that closely
related studies are reviewed in sections 1. and 2. (above) and in 5. (below).

We may begin the review of prose studies with two source studies,
each of which draws this most basic aspect of the discipline towards significant
and unusual new emphases. Joseph B. Trahern, Jr., offers a source study,
"Caesarius of Arles and Old English Literature: Some Contributions and a
Recapitulation" (<u>ASE</u> 5, 105-19), that attempts to draw together all that is
presently known about the adaptations in OE of an important Latin sermon writer.
He adds five new items to the list of OE prose works that draw in part on
Caesarius: Ælfric's <u>De virginitate</u> (Pope XXX), Blickling III, Vercelli VIII,
Assmann XI, and a chapter of the OE version of the Rule of Chrodegang. To this
is appended a full list of OE texts known to derive in part or entirely from
Caesarius. Trahern believes the Anglo-Saxons were attracted to the sermons of
the bishop of Arles by his gift for making his material rhetorically vivid and
that they were led by him in the better of their adaptations to "a rhetorical
level which was rarely exceeded in the Old English homilies except by Ælfric"
(p. 119). This is so, I should add, despite the fact that many of these texts
came pseudonymously to English hands or under the name of Augustine. Trahern
concludes with a hope we may echo: that this list of known borrowings from
Caesarius in OE will not be taken as a frozen canon but as an invitation to
further discovery. The second major source study shows we can sometimes identify
not only the author but also the textual tradition known to Anglo-Saxon adapters.
Karl Jost, in the <u>Wulfstanstudien</u> (1950), suggested that there must have been a
common source for passages in Ælfric's sermon for Quadragesima in the Second
Series and for Napier's XLIX (which seems to be associated with Rogation Tuesday)
and Vercelli X (which comes just before a series of Rogationtide sermons). In
"The Latin Manuscript Sources of the Old English Translations of the Sermon
<u>Remedia Peccatorum</u>" (<u>MÆ</u> 45, 145-52), Wolfgang Becker shows that a sermon,
circulated in one of the collections assembled by Caesarius and often ascribed
to Augustine, was the source for the OE passages. Becker demonstrates, moreover,
that the English writers' source is most closely related to versions of the Latin
sermon, the incipit of which is <u>Remedia peccatorum</u> ..., in a Regensburg MS now
at Munich and a Salzburg MS at Vienna. He further suggests these manuscripts
represent an Anglo-Saxon textual tradition brought to Bavaria during the mission
of Boniface. Becker rightly argues that we must look not only for the Latin
sources of OE homilies but also for the specific textual traditions to which the
sources belong. One wishes, however, for further precise details on the
calendrical designation (if any) of the Latin piece within the Caesarian collection.
One might also note that this sermon collection of Caesarius was called <u>Collectio
Quadraginta</u>, a fact that (if it was so designated in England) provides precedent
beyond the famous one in Gregory's Gospel Homilies for the number of items in
Ælfric's two series.

Three articles address aspects of the style of Ælfric of Eynsham. In
his carefully argued essay on "Some Stylistic Consequences of Ælfric's Theory
of Translation" (<u>SP</u> 73, 29-41), Harvey Minkoff shows that one can go rather beyond
Ann Eljenholm Nichols's articles on the problem of <u>awendan</u> to discern three kinds
of practice in Ælfric's treatment of sources: "non-biblical" or the "personal
style" of the sermons, "biblical faithfulness" or the incorporation of translations
in the sermons that are at the same time fairly free and faithful to the meaning

of the biblical source, and "biblical literalness." The latter phenomenon
occurs only in the portions of Genesis which Ælfric translated. In this work
he follows the dictates of Jerome, who felt that in ordinary translation one
rendered "non verbum e verbo, sed sensum exprimere de sensu" but that in
dealing with Scripture one must be literal, for "et verborum ordo mysterium
est." Whereas earlier students have taken "ordo" as referring to the meaning
or nature of words, Minkoff believes it means word order; and he adduces
instances in which both Jerome and Ælfric produce essentially meaningless phrases
because of their adherence to the vocabulary and syntax of the biblical text.
"Endebyrdnysse" in the Genesis Preface is to be read, therefore, as equivalent
to "ordo" in Jerome. Genesis adaptations incorporated in sermons show far
greater freedom than the parallel passages in the literal translation of Genesis.
For this argument and for the suggestion that Alfred and probably also other
Anglo-Saxons similarly reflect Jerome's theory of translation (Ep. 57), Minkoff's
essay is to be pondered carefully by all concerned with translation and style
in OE prose. Anne Middleton, in "Ælfric's Answerable Style: The Rhetoric of
the Alliterative Prose" (SMC 4, no. 1 [1973], 83-91), seeks to explain why the
abbot invented his remarkable rhythmical and alliterative prose style. Unlike
OE verse which, with its elaborations, appositives, and digressiveness, "halt[s]
the main clauses of the sentences for static elaboration," this prose "maintain[s]
a single level of narrative which combines fact and interpretation flowing in
a single smooth line" (p. 88). Put another way, Ælfric manages in sermons
composed in this style to combine exposition and interpretation in a harmonious
unity. This paper is under-documented and sometimes loses its points in its
own rhetorical elaboration, but the thesis is interesting. One hopes to see it
spelled out elsewhere in greater detail and with fuller reference to the critical
tradition. Finally, in a quite elaborate investigation of "Ælfric's Use of Discourse
in Some Saints' Lives" (ASE 5, 83-103), Ruth Waterhouse demonstrates that, often
departing from his sources, Ælfric tends to assign direct discourse to "the
'good' characters," especially the subject saint, and indirect discourse to the
antagonists. The indirect discourse is often couched in "terms which the speakers
themselves would not have used, to convey a moral judgment of the characters
that are 'bad'" (p. 103). The author's purpose in this stylistic trait is,
Waterhouse believes, to enhance the saint by keeping him or her central to the
action of the narrative and by holding his adversaries at some distance.

Two studies from Germany address lesser OE prose texts that have been
neglected. As the author himself remarks in the preface, Michael Korhammer's
Die monastischen Cantica im Mittelalter und ihre altenglischen Interlinearversionen
(Münchener Universitäts-Schriften: Texte und Untersuchungen zur Englischen Philologie,
6) is a supplement and continuation to Helmut Gneuss's Hymnar und Hymnen im
englischen Mittelalter. The fact Korhammer's work depends on that of his professor
may mask its importance. There has been very little comment in medieval or in
later liturgical studies about these canticles from the Old Testament, usually
collected in the hymnals and destined for use in the third Nocturn of the Night
Office on Sundays and Holy Days. Thus, Korhammer's first section, "Die Tradition
der monastischen Cantica," is basic research in a neglected aspect of liturgical
history. The oldest English "canticularies" (Type I), are late-tenth- and eleventh-
century; these are related to the early continental type, probably developed in
France and Germany on the basis of Italian archetypes. After the Norman Conquest,
a new type (II) appeared; this probably emanated from Cluny. Type II tended in
the later Middle Ages to replace I; but some communities retained I (e.g., Bury
St. Edmunds), and elsewhere one of several mixed versions was employed. Korhammer

edits the OE interlinear translations of the canticles, giving the texts of two independent versions on facing pages. This is a complex and detailed study; so far as I have been able to check, it seems a worthy continuation and completion of Gneuss's groundbreaking study of these important monastic texts and their vernacular adaptations. A second article addresses medical texts from MS Cotton Otho B.xi, which contained in article 11 a number of medical recipes, most of which are duplicated in the Leechbook manuscript (Royal 12 D.xvii). Otho was severely damaged in the Ashburnham House fire of 1731, but a copy by Nowell of some of its contents survives in British Library MS Addit. 43703. The relationship of Otho to Royal is discussed by Roland Torkar in "Zu den ae. Medizinaltexten in Otho B.xi und Royal 12 D.xvii, mit einer Edition der Unica (Ker, No. 180 art 11a-d)" (Anglia 94, 319-38). Torkar shows that Otho and Royal derive independently from a common exemplar of the text, and he adduces further evidence that the original text was pre-Alfredian and Anglian. He also re-edits with extensive commentary four remedies against diarrhoea and bowel stoppage, inadequately treated by Braekmann in 1966, which (owing to a lacuna) do not appear in Royal and, hence, in the editions of Leechbook.

The author of the present section of YWOES contributed to ASE 5, 225-43, a survey of scholarship in this field: "Beginnings Continued: A Decade of Studies in Old English Prose." The essay attempts at least to allude to the major contributions of recent scholarship and to discern trends. Despite the widened range of interest in prose studies in recent years, much remains to be done with both texts and contexts. Although relatively little appears each year, the range of topics under scholarly review has broadened in the last decade.

Works not seen:

Hagenlocher, Albrecht. Schicksal im Heliand.... Niederdeutsche
    Studien 21. Cologne and Vienna, 1975.
Heninger, S. K., Jr. English Prose, Prose Fiction, and Criticism to 1660:
    a Guide to Information Sources. Detroit, c.1975.
Miles-Cadman, Margaret. "Ælfric and Education," A Festschrift for Edgar
    Ronald Seary. St. John's, Newfoundland, 1975. Pp. 27-39.
Mitchell, Bruce. "Bede's Account of the Poet Cædmon: Two Notes,"
    Iceland and the Medieval World, ed. G. Turville-Petre and John Stanley
    Martin. Melbourne, 1974. Pp. 126-31.
Turville-Petre, Joan. "The Narrative Style in Old English," Iceland and
    the Mediaeval World, ed. G. Turville-Petre and J. S. Martin.
    Melbourne, 1974. Pp. 116-25.
Yerkes, David. "The Place of Composition of the Opening of Napier Homily I,"
    Neophil 60, 452-4.

M.McC.G.

4. ANGLO-LATIN AND ECCLESIASTICAL TEXTS

The thirteenth centenary of the birth of Bede was observed by a symposium at Hatfield College, Durham, in September, 1973, and from that occasion issues a volume edited by Gerald Bonner to which much of this review must be devoted. Appropriately entitled _Famulus Christi_, the acta of the conference unfortunately do not rise to the level of comprehensiveness of the volume they aspire to supersede, _Bede: His Life, Times and Writings_, edited by A. Hamilton Thompson in 1935 and published to commemorate the twelfth centenary of Bede's other birthday. It is perhaps a sign of our times that in 1973 Bede's celebrity prompted a conference and the publication of papers offered by some of those in attendance, whereas four decades earlier it evoked a balanced volume of essays assigned by the editor to distinguished scholars to provide a survey of the achievement of the remarkable Northumbrian scholar who became a chief doctor of the medieval church. This carping in no way denigrates the distinction of many of the essays in _Famulus Christi_, some of which are reviewed in other sections of _YWOES_. It only serves notice that there is here no synoptic study of Bede in what he surely regarded as his chief métier, as exegete, and that, however interesting the essays may be individually, they do not cumulatively serve as a complete introduction to Bede's range of work such as one finds in Thompson's symposium.

Looking into the background of "the appearance of a scholar of Bede's calibre in a remote corner of Christendom," in a paper entitled "Bede and his Teachers and Friends" (pp. 19-39), Dorothy Whitelock sets out what can be learned about "personal influences" on Bede's development. Although she characterizes such a pursuit as possibly "sentimental," she also believes Bede's achievement was not absolutely without the support of learned friendship and scholarly conversation. As one would expect, Miss Whitelock gives a detailed review of the evidence which, however scanty, demonstrates Bede was not without the kinds of intercourse which supported, though they cannot account for, his scholarly achievement. Paul Meyvaert's contribution, "Bede the Scholar" (pp. 40-69), turns from the monk of Jarrow's personal associations to his "love of books" and his use of them. Meyvaert seeks to assess Bede's status as a scholar and to correct the note of condescension or even scorn that is sometimes to be noted in discussions of Bede's derivativeness or dependence on authority. Thus, one who examines Bede's use of authority, his willingness to contradict, and his rearrangement and reassessment of his sources must be impressed with the finished product and its frequent originality. One notes, _inter alia_, a growing appreciation of the principles of the most sophisticated aspect of literary-historical studies, textual criticism. Although it cannot be denied Bede believed in miracle, he reports miracles only on good authority and (save perhaps one instance) never from personal experience. In scholarly controversy, he could always cite authority for portions of his work that came under attack. Yet he was willing to recognize error in the works of earlier fathers, especially Isidore, one of whose works he was correcting on his deathbed. Finally, over the course of his career, he developed a fine sense ("a hierarchy of _auctoritates_") of the relative reliability of the fathers. This is the best general assessment in many years of the scholar Bede, whom Meyvaert, quoting William of Malmesbury, characterizes finally as _vir maxime doctus et minime superbus_.

A number of articles in _Famulus Christi_ take up in greater detail (but never with greater perspicacity) points raised in the Meyvaert piece. Benedicta Ward, for example, addresses herself to "Miracles and History: A

Reconsideration of the Miracle Stories Used by Bede" (pp. 70-6), noting that
Bede shapes his miracle accounts in order to suit the context in which he uses
them. Thomas W. Mackay, who is editing Bede's early Vita sancti Felicis, con-
tributed "Bede's Hagiographical Method: His Knowledge and Use of Paulinus of
Nola" (pp. 77-92). Paulinus's verse life, the Natalicia, had probably been
brought to England by Hadrian. Bede, adapting its rhetorical convolutions to
the prose genre, shows a thorough knowledge of his source but the ability while
following it to reshape it to his own literary purposes.

Two articles deal with Bede as historian. L. W. Barnard compares
"Bede and Eusebius as Church Historians" (pp. 106-24). Eusebius's work is
colored by its apologetic and polemical biases, but it is of great value both
as the first comprehensive attempt to deal with the church as an historical
institution and for its use of primary documents, many of which are preserved
only in the History. Bede is a far more appealing figure, but his very modesty
tends to mask his biases. Barnard points, by way of example, to his "seriously
distorted" view of the Britons and those who held out for the non-Roman dating
of Easter (and the tonsure, one might add). He has also interesting observations
about Bede's treatment of Wilfrid. There are no serious objections to the general
line of the argument of this paper, but one wonders whether the conclusions
might not better be incorporated in the framework of a consideration of the
view of Anglo-British history that informs the Bedan History: viz., that the
Britons, separated from the Roman Empire, also fell away from the universal
church. The main purpose of the Historia is to recount the process by which
Christianity in Britain came back into the mainstream. The Saxons were converted
by the Roman side or by representatives of the Celtic church who eventually came
around, and the British remained for the most part intransigent. All Bede's
judgments seem to me to be related to this overweening issue, and his personal
feelings on the likes of Wilfrid and a number of Irish churchmen are filtered
through this ideological lens. The second essay on Bede's historiography in
Famulus Christi is also, surprisingly, the only major consideration of exegesis,
the primary element in the Northumbrian monk's oeuvre. Roger D. Ray's "Bede,
the Exegete, as Historian" (pp. 125-40) argues that the mos sacrae scripturae of
or "mores of Scripture" inform Bede's history as well as his exegetical writing
and that he brought to the latter from the former his basic structure, his
rhetorical devices and strategies, and the sermo humilis of the sacred page,
in addition to the vision of the history of his people within the larger frame
of sacred history and his concerns with chronological problems and the peda-
gogical needs of his church. Of particular help and interest is Ray's discussion
of the exemplary influence of Augustine's De consensu Evangelistarum. In time,
it may be concluded there is some overstatement in the argument of this paper,
but it seems to me the most stimulating and original contribution to the volume
and one that all future students of Bede's historiography and exegesis will
need to ponder carefully and at length.

The history of Northumbrian culture in the six decades between Bede
and the coming of the Northmen is the subject of Peter Hunter Blair's essay
"From Bede to Alcuin" (pp. 239-60). Hunter Blair argues, iconoclastically but
convincingly, that Bede did not know Virgil save at second hand in quotations
by the grammarians and Augustine and that he lacked first-hand knowledge of a
number of classical poets and of Boethius, whose works were, on Alcuin's testimony,
later available at York. It is suggested that these important additions to the
bibliography of Northumbrian monastic scholars were the result of the efforts of

Archbishop Egbert of York or (more likely) his successor Æthelbert. This
paper will be extremely important to students of Northumbrian cultural history,
and the argument on Bede's knowledge of Virgil will require major revision of
the apparatus of works cited in editions of Bedan writings. André Crépin's
"Bede and the Vernacular" (pp. 170-92) ranges very widely. After an introduction
touching on ruminatio in early medieval monastic practice (with a note listing
treatments of the subject in Bede's work), M. Crépin turns to his main inquiry:
"Can Bede's Latin tell us anything about his English?" Among the matters touched
on are Bede's awareness of the linguistic problems of mission, his estimate of
the relative values of languages, and his creation of an atmosphere that at
least opened the way for the later creation and preservation of literature in
English. "Bede's De Templo and the Commentary on Samuel and Kings by Claudius
of Turin" are examined by Iain M. Douglas (pp. 325-33) with an eye to establishing
the priority of a longer version of Claudius's work (once attributed to Eucherius)
over a shorter. The longer contains almost the whole of Bede's De Templo, which
Douglas believes was later deleted by a scribe copying Claudius into a manuscript
that already included a copy of the Bedan text. In another influence study,
"Bede in the Uppermost North" (pp. 334-43), Benedikt S. Benedikz discusses the
influence of Bede on early Icelandic historiography.

In a stimulating essay concerned with the whole of the Western or
Latin Church in the Middle Ages, "Kommunikationsprobleme im lateinischen
Mittelalter" (HZ 222, 43-80) Michael Richter touches only occasionally and
superficially on the Anglo-Saxons. Yet this paper, the subject of which is the
importance of the vernacular languages in the mission and life of the medieval
church, will be of great interest to anyone concerned with the early appearance
in England of OE texts related to catechetical teaching and the liturgy. "Es
wird sich ergeben," Richter concludes, "dass das Mittelalter viel weniger
'lateinisch' war, als man auf Grund seiner schriftlichen Zeugnisse annehmen
würde" (p. 80). This paper may be contrasted with Christine Mohrmann's "Die
Kontinuität des Lateins vom 6. bis zum 13. Jahrhundert" (Wiener Studien 89,
239-55), a useful and sometimes original survey of the problem of how Latin was
maintained as the literary language in the Middle Ages. Mohrmann offers interest-
ing observations on the development of national cultures in the ninth and tenth
centuries with Latin "als Sprache einer universalen antikchristlichen Oberkultur"
(p. 251). In an essay on theological history dealing primarily with authors of
a later period, "Refreshment of the Saints: The Time after Antichrist as a Station
for Earthly Progress in Medieval Thought" (Traditio 32, 97-144), Robert E.
Lerner traces the rise of medieval "chiliasm -- that is to say the hope for
impending, supernaturally inspired, dramatic betterment on earth before the End"
(p. 98). Jerome and Bede both figure in this development, as also do Adso and
Haimo of Auxerre, both of whom may have influenced writers in OE. None of the
Anglo-Saxon vernacular writings on Antichrist is mentioned, but there is reference
to the Old Saxon Genesis.

Several years ago Bernhard Bischoff called attention to a large and
largely unstudied Irish exegetical literature, and R. E. McNally (one of several
scholars who have taken up the study of these works) has since characterized
Irish exegetical writing as marked by unbridled exercise of the allegorical
imagination. Clare Stancliffe argues for more caution in "Early 'Irish' Biblical
Exegesis" (Studia Patristica 12 [1975], 361-70). It is difficult, it is argued,
to know just how strictly these works can be assigned Irish provenance; and,
furthermore, they all depend heavily on earlier authorities. Although "Irish
imagination did indeed play havoc with sober fact" (p. 369), this phenomenon,

Stancliffe feels, is more characteristic of Irish literature and hagiography
than of biblical exegesis. No less an authority on early medieval Ireland than
Ludwig Bieler is, however, inclined to support Bischoff's findings on Irish
exegesis in "Christian Ireland's Greco-Latin Heritage" (ibid., 13 [1975], 3-8).
This paper surveys the evidence for classicism in the Irish intellectual milieu.
It concludes there was indeed a strong classical strain. Against those who would
claim that the classicism of Irish scholars was picked up only after they went
abroad, Bieler argues that, although, under the new stimuli of foreign environs,
the peregrini broadened their classical knowledge and put it to new uses, they
were building on a base acquired at home. In an issue of Sacris Erudiri to
observe the centenary of the death of the Abbé Migne (21.1 [1974-5] 75-84),
Professor Bieler contributed a graceful and useful summary essay, "La Transmission
des Pères Latins en Irlande et en Angleterre à l'Époque préscolastique." He
stresses particularly the Anglo-Irish interest in exegetical literature and the
apparent avoidance of the more speculative theological writings of the fathers.

Several contributions add to our knowledge of the early insular liturgy.
Among interesting insular manuscript fragments found in Louvain in 1975 by Michael
McCormick is a leaf of parchment (Fragmenta H. Omont No. 1) which is discussed
and edited by McCormick in "Un Fragment inédit du lectionnaire du VIIIe Siècle"
(RB 86, 75-82). The fragment seems to be from an Ambrosian lectionary written
in an Irish hand in the early eighth century; and McCormick cites Colomban's
sojourn at Milan before the foundation of Bobbio as pointing to the possible
context for the writing of an Irish-Ambrosian liturgical book. Klaus Gamber
reports on the discovery of another liturgical fragment -- this of a Mass book
brought by Boniface and his missionaries to Bavaria and still at Regensburg -- in
"Das Regensburger Fragment eines Bonifatius-Sakramentars: ein neuer Zeuge des
vorgregorianischen Messkanons" (RB 85 [1975],266-302). The text, close also to
Alcuin's, testifies to liturgical usage in England in the eighth century and is,
Gamber believes, important evidence for pre-Gregorian Roman use. Msgr. Gamber
has contributed further to knowledge of the Ratisbonnian liturgy and its Anglo-
Saxon connections in a discussion with facsimiles, Das Bonifatius-Sakramentar
und weitere frühe Liturgiebücher aus Regensburg (Textus Patristici et Liturgici,
12; Regensburg, 1975), and in another article "Liturgiebücher der Regensburger
Kirche aus der Agilolfinger- und Karolingerzeit" (Scriptorium 30, 3-25).

"The Reading of William of Malmesbury" is the subject of a study by
Rodney M. Thomson (RB 85 [1975], 362-402; 86, 327-35). Although William lived
beyond our period, his comments on Anglo-Saxon and Anglo-Latin texts are of great
importance to students of pre-Conquest England, and this discussion (with an index
to the list of works cited) is a handy reference tool. The second installment of
the article offers corrections to and amplifications of the first.

In "Drawing the Demon's Sting: A Note on a Traditional Motif in Felix's
'Vita sancti Guthlaci'" (N&Q 23, 388-90) Thomas D. Hill traces to the Latin
version of Origen's homilies on Joshua a notion found in Felix: viz., that the
prayers of the ascetic break the power of the demons who tempt him, rendering
those demons "henceforth powerless against him." Hill believes this notion is
implicit in the OE Guthlac A and may help to explain certain peculiarities in
Juliana of the protagonist's confrontation of the tempting demon.

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Works not seen:

Airoldi, Norberto. "Sulle fonti della Genesi antico-sassone,"
    Augustinianum 16, 573-83.
Arnstrom, Robin Ann. "Recovering Hucarius: a Historiographical Study
    in Early English Canon Law," Bull. of Med. Canon Law 5 (1975),
    117-22.
Brunhölzl, Franz. Geschichte der lateinischen Literatur des Mittelalters,
    I. Munich, 1975.
Christe, Yves. "Ap. IV-VIII, 1: de Bède à Bruno de Segni," Études de
    Civilisation Médiévale (IXe- XIIe siècles): mélanges offerts à
    Edmond-René Labande. Poitiers (1974), 145-51.
Frank, Hieronymus, "Die Bezeugung eines Karsamstagsresponsoriums durch
    Beda Venerabilis," Archiv für Liturgiewissenschaft 16 (1974), 150-3.
Lozito, Vito. "Il simbolismo della luna nella concezione liturgica di
    Colombano," Vetera Christianorum 12 (1975), 47-60.
Nelson, Janet L. "Ritual and Reality in the Early Medieval Ordines,"
    The Materials, Sources, and Methods of Ecclesiastical History.
    Ed. Derek Baker. Studies in Church History 11. Oxford, 1975. Pp. 41-51.
Reynolds, Roger E. "Excerpta from the Collectio Hibernensis in Three
    Vatican Manuscripts," Bull. of Med. Canon Law 5 (1975), 1-9.
Sheerin, Daniel J. "Turpilus and St. Jerome in Anglo-Saxon England,"
    Classical World 70, 183-5.
Trovato, Mario. "La Historia ecclesiastica di Bede e il contrapasso
    dell'ottava bolgia," L'Alighieri 17, 68-70.

M.McC.G.

5. MANUSCRIPTS AND ILLUMINATION

Probably the most useful work in this year's collection is a short, introductory article on "Describing Medieval Bookbindings" by Graham Pollard in Medieval Learning and Literature: Essays Presented to Richard William Hunt (Oxford), pp. 50-65. Pollard describes how a medieval binding should be examined, and tentatively lists a series of specific characteristics by which bindings can be dated. This is a much-needed and welcome essay.

In another article in Medieval Learning and Literature, one of two this year by N.R. Ker, "The Beginnings of Salisbury Cathedral Library" (pp. 23-49, ill.), the author analyses the extant manuscripts from the early cathedral library and concludes that there was probably an active scriptorium there during the 1080's and 1090's, and that "it consisted of one principal scribe . . . and a director," perhaps St. Osmund. Ker adds an exhaustive description of the style and list of the "work done by eight scribes who appear to have written more than one extant book."

Ker's second article is the "Supplement to Catalogue of Manuscripts Containing Anglo-Saxon" (ASE 5, 121-31). In the first part of the supplement Ker lists additional leaves of six manuscripts (12, 73, 79, 81, 139, 332). Changes of location or pressmark are noted for numbers 1, 7*, 97, 98, 240, 284, 285, 382, 384, 390, 402, 411, Appendix 32. Ker describes in the second part fifteen additional manuscripts, of which one is "principal," a fragment of Exodus (New York, Pierpont Morgan Library, G. 63).

This last manuscript was part of the exhibition of all known Old English manuscripts in America held at the Pierpont Morgan Library last spring and described in Rowland L. Collins's catalogue, Anglo-Saxon Vernacular Manuscripts in America (New York). Most of the manuscripts are fragments and all are in prose; the collection includes the Blickling Homilies and Psalter, and the will of Æþelgifu. Each of the thirteen manuscripts (as well as two now lost) is described in detail and the extant items are illustrated. The text of the catalogue is informative and its appearance elegant. (Ker notes [following Clemoes] in his "Supplement" that the attribution of the translation of Exodus to Ælfric [following Sisam] is incorrect.)

Treasures from the Bodleian Library by A. G. and W. O. Hassal (New York) is a sumptuous collection of illustrations from thirty-six of the Bodleian's most beautiful manuscripts. The manuscripts date from the ninth to the sixteenth centuries, and all but two are European. St. Dunstan's Classbook, the Cædmon Genesis, and St. Margaret's Gospels are of particular interest to Anglo-Saxon scholars. Each manuscript is represented by a single illustration, beautifully reproduced in color and scale, and accompanied by clearly-labeled paragraphs of explanatory material. The text, which seems to be written for a general audience, is informative and interesting, but Anglo-Saxonists will be disappointed by the authors' growing enthusiasm for naturalistic detail in the illustrations from the later medieval period, and their disparaging remarks about remnants from earlier periods (e.g., "the old barbaric interlace," "the old childlike way"). R. W. Hunt gives a succinct history of the Bodleian Library in his "Introduction."

The illustrations in Junius 11 are the subject of two articles this year. Barbara Raw, in "The Probable Derivation of Most of the Illustrations in Junius 11 from an Illustrated Old Saxon Genesis" (ASE 5, 133-48, ill.), argues that the illustrations in the manuscript portray Genesis B even when they accompany the text of Genesis A. "The likelihood is therefore that the main body of illustrations (and perhaps the creation scenes too) belonged originally to the Old Saxon Genesis, and that the Old Saxon text and the illustrations came to England together." Moreover, Raw suggests that the manuscript may have contained the Heliand as well, and that it may have been a gift at the marriage in 856 of Judith, daughter of Charles the Bald, to Æþelwulf of Wessex.

In "The Cryptic Creation Cycle in MS Junius XI" (Gesta 15, 211-26, ill.), Pamela Blum makes a thorough study of the iconography of the creation miniatures and suggests that they may have been influenced by the lost archetype of the twelfth-century Optateuch tradition. Blum offers an important new reconstruction of one of the incomplete marginal notes in the manuscript. She concludes by saying that the Creation miniatures are both "precocious augurs of the developed 'Genesis' initial" and also a very early example of Creation miniatures with salvation symbolism.

Two articles in Tenth-Century Studies (London, 1975) are of great interest. In "Charters of the Reform Movement: The Worcester Archive" (pp. 84-93, 228), P. H. Sawyer uses charters as a major source of information for an examination of the tenth-century English monastic reform movement. Taking Worcester as an example, by tabulating and analyzing the names of witnesses to leases, Sawyer establishes that change at Worcester during the reform period must have been gradual and orderly rather than violent, even during what has been considered the most turbulent periods.

J. J. G. Alexander, in his well-organized and precise article, "The Benedictional of St. Æþelwold and Anglo-Saxon Illumination of the Reform Period" (pp. 169-183, 241-45, ill.), suggests that the manuscript illuminations of this period show a strong Carolingian influence and a movement away from insular models. Moreover, this use of Carolingian models may represent a conscious effort on the part of the reformers to encourage a new art to represent their new movement. Alexander uses the illustration of St. Dunstan in St. Dunstan's Classbook, the Leofric Missal, and the Benedictional of St. Æþelwold to show the growth of this influence.

Several important palæographical studies focus on individual manuscripts. Malcolm Parkes, in "The Palæography of the Parker Manuscript of the Chronicle, Laws, and Sedulius, and Historiography at Winchester in the late Ninth and Tenth Centuries" (ASE 5, 149-71, ill.), offers important theories about the composition and origins of Cambridge, Corpus Christi College, MS 173, based on a careful analysis of the booklets of which the manuscript is composed and the characteristics of the work of its scribes. By comparing the manuscript with others containing work by the same scribes or illustrators, Parkes concludes that they are the products of a single scriptorium which showed continental influence while still following insular models. Parkes suggests that the scriptorium was located at Winchester, that Grimbald of St. Bertin may have been the man responsible for reviving it, and that the Parker manuscript shows two stages of his influence. Finally Parkes issues a caveat regarding

the notion of a "library" at Winchester, and argues that the Parker manuscript may even have been "the bishop's copy." "[T]his would explain why it is a copy and as such removed at least one stage from the originals, whilst at the same time reflecting in such a striking way the exemplars on which it is based."

In "Scissors and Paste: Corpus Christi Cambridge, MS 139 Again" (The Materials, Sources and Methods of Ecclesiastical History, Studies in Church History 11, Oxford, 1975, pp. 83-123), Derek Baker argues that this very important and much-examined manuscript warrants even further attention. Using antiquarian references, Baker establishes that the manuscript can certainly be proved to have existed in roughly the form we know it in Leland's time. He also establishes, however, that it originally existed as a number of separately-compiled booklets which were brought together very early. Baker also suggests that the last booklets in the manuscript were compiled at Fountains rather than Sawley and were moved to Sawley slightly later. This, however, solves only one problem: "Much remains to be done in the elucidation of MS 139 and related manuscripts, and problems which arise from them."

Helmut Gneuss's "Die Handschrift Cotton Otho A. XII" (Anglia 94, 289-318) is the first thorough description of the remnants of the manuscript, which was badly burned in the fire of 1731 and considered lost in the 1802 catalogue. On the basis of careful research, Gneuss offers a plausible reconstruction of the lost parts, and a very full description of the fragments which remain.

We have two notes on new manuscripts of previously-edited texts. In "Bede's De orthographia in Codex Vat. Ottob. Lat. 687" (Classical Philol 70 [1975], 206-08), Valerie M. Lagorio describes in full this sizeable fragment of the De orthographia. After comparing this manuscript (0) with the three manuscripts used by Keil in his edition, she shows that 0 comes from the same archetype as the others but is not a copy of any of them. In a significant number of cases 0 provides readings superior to those of the other manuscripts, and its relatively early date and general accuracy make it an important witness to the manuscript tradition. David Yerkes examines "Two Early Manuscripts of Gregory's Dialogues" (Manuscripta 19 [1975], 171-3), Wroclaw, Biblioteka Uniwersytecka Akc. 1955/2 and 1969/430 (= W_1) and Würzenburg, Universitäts-biblothek MS M. P. Th. F. 19 (= W_2). Yerkes establishes that W_2 descends from W_1, and that "two errors in W_2 perhaps are to be explained by the intervention of at least one manuscript in miniscule." W_2 can now be used to reconstruct the missing portions of W_1, a manuscript written in Northumbria at the time of Bede. The relationship between them shows that W_1 or a copy travelled "from Northumbria to the continent sometime in the eighth century."

There are three studies of the illustrations in individual manuscripts and their possible sources. William M. Hinkle's "The Gospels of Cysoing: The Anglo-Saxon and Norman Sources of the Miniatures" (Art Bull. 58, 484-510, ill.), is a rich and complex article in which Hinkle concludes that the Cysoing artist studied "a number of Anglo-Saxon manuscripts of both the earlier and later periods," and that he "devoted a considerable period of study among the manuscripts of Normandy." Hinkle notes in some detail the artist's selective use of manuscript sources and the aesthetic sensibility thus implied. He includes in his article two important secondary issues, the iconography of the portrait of St. John in the Cysoing Gospels, and the relationship between the Sées Gospel Book and the frescoes in the apse of the Chapel of St. Gabriel in the crypt of

Canterbury Cathedral.

In "Some Leaves of a Franco-Saxon Atelier at Trier and Echternach: an Addendum to 'Ivories from Trier'" (Art Bull. 58, 2780-80, ill.), Warren Sanderson compares the acanthus decoration on the ivories from Trier with the decorated initials of Paris, Bibl. Nat. 9443. Accepting Carl Nordenfalk's premise that this manuscript "must have been written and decorated by a single hand between A.D. 895 and 910 at the Monastery of St. Willibrordus at Echternach," Sanderson concludes that "under the patronage of Archbishop Radbod of Trier, a Franco-Saxon atelier produced manuscripts, ivory carvings for bookcovers, and ivory and metal reliquaries in two monasteries near Trier," and he calls the articles discussed the "first full flowering of a Trier-Echternach School of the early Middle Ages."

Linda Ehrsam Voigts, in "A New Look at a Manuscript Containing the Old English Translation of the Herbarium Apulei" (Manuscripta 20, 40-60, ill.), offers further evidence for the dating of MS Brit. Lib. Cot. Vit. C. III in the mid-eleventh century. In a close study of the dedication page she argues that the page was definitely painted for the codex with which it is bound, and notes its similarity to continental rather than Anglo-Saxon examples. She points out that the iconography of the central figure "most closely resembles, in English art at least, tomb sculpture of the following centuries." Voigts concludes that the manuscript was probably illustrated in an atelier closely aligned "with that which produced Tiberius C. vi," that "further investigations of the origin of the manuscript would do well to consider the claims of such East Anglian monasteries as Thorney, Peterborough, Croyden, Ramsey or Ely," and finally that "it is necessary to date this codex as late as possible, at the very least, a century later than the 1050 [an error for 950?] date some historians of medicine would assign it."

In "The Handwriting of St. Boniface: A Reassessment of the Problems" (BGDSL 98, 161-79, ill.), Malcolm Parkes offers a cogent argument for the identification of the handwriting of St. Boniface. First, after examining the six eighth-century manuscripts "which have been assigned to the circle of St. Boniface on the basis of the handwriting," Parkes concludes that "three can be identified as the work of a single scribe, 'Glossator A.'" Secondly, Parkes identifies this scribe as "an Anglo-Saxon who worked both in south-western England and on the continent." Finally, Parkes concludes that "the sense of personal authority which underlies his interpretations of the text, the 'apostolic' quality of this authority, and the way in which his literary personality accords with what we know about Boniface have convinced me that Glossator A . . . is to be identified with St. Boniface himself."

The last work to be considered in this review is Celia Sisam's facsimile edition of The Vercelli Book (Early Eng. MSS in Facsimile 19, Copenhagen). Sisam has made a thorough examination of the manuscript, and her introduction is clear and detailed. She offers new evidence and conclusions about the "genesis and history of the book," and adds two useful appendices of the erasures and the correspondence between folio numbers and verse lines. The Vercelli Book is "the only manuscript of purely Old English writings on the Continent to have escaped dismemberment or total destruction." It is also the only one of the "great Anglo-Saxon codices containing substantial amounts of Old English Poetry" which has not been available heretofore in a full-size facsimile edition. For these reasons Sisam's excellent edition will be especially valuable.

Note: Elzbieta Temple's <u>Anglo-Saxon</u> <u>Manuscripts</u>, 910-1066 (London, 1976) and George Henderson's "The Programme of Illustrations in Bodleian MS Junius XI," <u>Studies</u> <u>in</u> <u>Memory</u> <u>of</u> <u>David</u> <u>Talbot</u> <u>Rice</u> (Edinburgh, 1975), are important studies listed in this year's bibliography but reviewed in <u>YWOES</u> 1975.

<u>Works not seen</u>:

Gollob, Hedwig. "Mayakunst und irische Buchmalerei." <u>Gutenberg-Jahrbuch</u> 1975, 250-52, ill.

Kadar, Zoltán. "Some Notes on the Common Archetypes of Parmaco-zoological Illustrations in the Mss. (<u>sic</u>) Cotton Vitellius C., III. and the Greek Theriaca." <u>Communicationes</u> <u>de</u> <u>Historia</u> <u>Artis</u> <u>Medicinae</u> (Budapest) suppl. 6 (1972), 85-95, ill.

J.C. and M.C.W.

6. HISTORY AND CULTURE

A group of important new essays on Bede have been edited by Gerald
Bonner with the title Famulus Christi (London). Many are discussed in 4,
above; one is reviewed in 7, below. Another, C. W. Jones's "Bede's Place in
Medieval Schools," should be mentioned here. Professor Jones draws a startling
but real comparison when he draws together John the Archchanter's teaching in
England with the example of Goldwin Smith, Regius Professor of modern history at
Oxford who migrated to Ezra Cornell's cornfield in 1868. Jones's survey is rich,
for it considers the tradition of education before Bede, his vast enrichment of
it, which served as a basis of Carolingian learning, and the late re-establishment
of the force of St. Bede's computational texts in eleventh- and twelfth-century
England by Abbo of Fleury and Robert de Lotharingia.

Another shorter study dealing with Bede is also of interest: in "Bede's
Roman Dates" (Classica et Medievalia 31 [1976 for 1975], 239-52), M. Miller
shows that Bede often contradicts or changes dates in his accounts of Roman
history. Miller examines the reasons for this variation and concludes that it
largely results from a multitude of conflicting sources. The problem is, Miller
states, that of "too much information rather than too little, and that of dis-
parate kinds." Miller also points to Bede's relation to Pictish, Irish, and
Welsh computational sources.

In London 800-1216: The Shaping of a City (Volume II in the History of
London series [1975]), Christopher Brooke and Gillian Keir hold that, in
unravelling London's history in this period, "a greater effort, in ordinary
historical terms, yields a greater reward than any city . . . save Cordova and
Rome." It is further contended that London became the commercial capital not
only of England, but of a large part of Europe at this time. The authors cite
Bede for London's importance in the seventh century, and they also think that
"London was a place to be reckoned with" in 601, when Gregory sent his mission
there; Alfred's splendid Burhs, we are told, are "an astonishing and indeed
highly improbable act of creation," which may have had their base in Italian
cities.

Dorothy Whitelock, in her account of Some Anglo-Saxon Bishops of London
(Chambers Memorial Lecture, delivered at University College, London, 1974,
published 1975), deals with the incumbents of a See, the records of which are not
easy to trace. Eorcenwald, a seventh-century incumbent, famous for his miracles,
was brilliant as a fund-raiser, and gained much land for the foundations in his
protection. Theodred, bishop in the first half of the tenth century, was
apparently a German, but he succeeded in giving strong support for his See
in an important and difficult period.

Richard Humble writes about The Fall of Saxon England (New York) in a
brief and lively account which covers the ground well. Chapter one covers the
earliest days to the reign of Offa in a succinct twenty-five pages, and ends with
Churchill's comment on the period, "England was ripe for the sickle." Humble's
assessment of Alfred is perceptive and pleasing: "Nothing can decry his modest
and realistic approach to the most depressing problem, his deep awareness of his
own shortcomings, his constant willingness to learn from any man and pass on his
knowledge for the benefit of his subjects. With all this, he can be described
as the most human character ever to wear a crown." It is refreshing to have a
popular work in the best sense, written by one skilled in military history (his

previous major work, an eight-volume history of World War II) and with great enthusiasm for his subject. I think the text an easy and very useful introduction for the student just encountering Anglo-Saxon culture.

Kenneth Harrison tackles a most difficult subject in The Framework of Anglo-Saxon History to A.D. 900 (Cambridge). He gives us a careful study of the question of dating in the Anglo-Saxon period and writes clearly of the kind of technical problems that give most people (including scholars) a sick headache. He is owed a debt of gratitude for throwing light not only on the complex question itself, but on Bede and on the Chronicle.

There are several papers of interest to students of the early medieval period in Church, Society and Politics (Studies in Church History 12, ed. Derek Baker, Oxford, 1975); Geoffrey de Ste. Croix writes on "Early Christian Attitudes to Property and Slavery." In this entertaining, witty, and yet chilling essay, Ste. Croix shows that while Christians were perhaps slightly less property conscious because of Christ, still they attached little blame to wealth. Christian views toward the slave came from the simple country Jewish ethos in which Christ lived, and "helped to rivet the shackles more firmly [than in the pagan dispensation] to the slave's feet," by equating the master-slave to the God-man relationship. "Baptism seems to have been refused to a slave at least by some churches without the consent of his master," Ste. Croix shows; where is Charitas here? The record is not good, and the only explanation in defense that Ste. Croix can give us is that the early Christians were apparently completely indifferent to the world in which they lived, and concentrated on matters of relations not between man and man, but between God and man. Rosalind M. T. Hill surveys Bede, and speculates on "Holy Kings: The Bane of Seventh-Century Society" (ibid., 39-43). She concludes, quite rightly, that "A king who was holy without also being stern (and possibly rather ruthless) might be an admirable man, but Bede realized that from the point of view of his kingdom, he was apt to prove a disaster."

Robert S. Lopez makes a startling claim for The Commercial Revolution of the Middle Ages, 950-1350, that here, "for the first time in history, an undeveloped society succeeded in developing itself, mostly by its own efforts." Unfortunately, the view presented of the "Dark Ages" is bleak indeed, and it is clearly Lopez's view that nothing much of common interest happened there; whatever did happen, we are told, was of such a low quality that it holds no interest. On the basis of the evidence presented in Geoffrey de Ste. Croix's article reviewed above, Professor Lopez's view that one of the major suppressive elements was the disapproval of the Western church for wealth is simply unacceptable. His evaluation that in the early medieval period "The visitations of trade tended to be as unexpected as famines, plagues, and invasions . . ." is also rather strange. Alfred did not seem especially taken aback when Ohthere and Wulfstan gave accounts of trade at his court, and the gem stones and other precious materials (including the silks which adorned Cuthbert) clearly were not local stuff. Birka, Dorestadt, and the whole Scandinavian trading community are hard to ignore.

Professor J. M. Wallace-Hadrill surveys "War and Peace in the Earlier Middle Ages" (Trans. Royal Hist. Soc. 25 [1975], 157-74), covering Roman, Christian, and Germanic justifications for war. Roman wars needed a just cause; Christian wars needed to be more formidable, because they professed to be a working out of God's will. As for the Germanic peoples, life was war; not by choice, or by desire, but rather by situation and, in a sense, profession. The author's conclusions

are aphoristic: "chances of a peaceful life in the year 900 were somewhat less
than in the year 500. The investment in war was greater, and its reach
commonly more extensive. The Church had not entirely let Wodan out of the
bottle, but it had certainly not secured the stopper. Warfare had been canalized
in directions suitable to the Church, but not very efficiently."

Philip Dixon has produced a handy and helpful, well illustrated
account of Barbarian Europe (London). It is marvelously useful because of the
variety of illustrative materials presented, maps, plans, and first-rate
drawings, and for the range of cultures covered. It is a pity that the Celtic
peoples could not have had more attention, but the final chapter covers Vikings
and, in a broadly based way, extends into later history. Since the book is
published at £ 4.50, its price is a welcome relief.

Kenneth A. Fennell surveys the evidence for "Pagan Saxon Lincolnshire"
(ArchJ 131 [1974], 283-293). He cites evidence to show that "there was at least
a century during which Roman-British communities existed side by side with Anglo-
Saxon settlements," and that pagans still were being buried according to their
old customs in the seventh century.

D. J. Smith provides an illustrated Introduction to the Museum of
Antiquities at Newcastle-upon-Tyne (1974). Some extremely beautiful pieces from
the Saxon period are illustrated, plus a wealth of materials from the sub-Roman
culture which preceded them. This is a handsome little publication about an important
collection.

Two new books on the tribes of England in the Roman period have come
out in the Ducksworth Peoples of Roman Britain series: Graham Webster's account
of The Cornovii (London, 1975) and Rosalind Dunnett's of The Trinovantes (London,
1975). The Trinovantes, living on the East coast of England, were engaged in
salt manufacture, and also suffered greatly from sea raids in the fourth and
fifth centuries. It is in the territory of the Trinovantes that the well-known
site at Mucking is being excavated, and we are faced with Dunnett's conclusion
that though there were many settlements from the continent in the canton, "the
available evidence suggests that the early Germanic settlers absorbed little or
nothing of the culture of Roman Britain." On the other hand, there is "hardly
any evidence of violence or destruction." The Cornovii lived inland, in what is
now northeastern Wales, and Shropshire. Wroxeter has a most extraordinary structure,
from the transitional period, which is of a Romano-British type, but, according
to Webster, this structure represents "a wide gap between the sophisticated
Norman way of life and that of the barbarian. . . a shadowy world retaining some
of the elements of the past which are not appropriate to the situation, but ideas
which are new and forward-looking."

Steven Johnson's The Roman Forts of the Saxon Shore (London), is an
important book for Anglo-Saxon studies, for Johnson does something radical in
considering all of the major forts, Continental as well as English, as "a Roman
frontier, guarding the north-eastern reaches of the empire, including parts of
northern Gaul. The defense of these areas and of Britain were hand in hand."
England was not Ultima Thule, but rather a prized part of the empire for its
mineral resources. The cross-channel nature of a complex defensive system
reflects later patterns of cross influence in the church; and late classical
views of the Saxons so closely prefigure the general European concept of the
Vikings that one may be applied to the other, as in the injunction of Sedonius to

Rutilius (on service in Gaul) with which this rich and well-written book ends. "Saxons are the most brutal of enemies. They'll only attack if they have the advantage of surprise -- if you see them first, they'll slink away. They avoid defended cites, but hit hardest at the unprepared. If they hunt, they'll catch, but if you pursue them, they'll escape ... ." Finally, at least three Saxon missionaries established themselves at old forts: St. Felix at Dumnoc, the chapel of St. Chad at Bradwell, and St. Augustine at Richborough.

John Wacher, in a careful study of The Towns of Roman Britain (London, 1975), comes up with interesting, startling and essentially simple conclusions about the end of Roman occupation. He argues for loss, in one sense, as he says of the fifth to sixth centuries, "One of the most surprising aspects of this whole period is the almost complete disappearance of what may be called the Roman-British culture, in contrast to other provinces in the western Empire, which, in many ways, p r e s erved far more in the face of similar odds." He holds that graffiti show that Latin was widespread, and he holds that this was so because "The cosmopolitan nature of many British towns and villages, where inscriptions attest the presence of Gauls, Germans, Greeks and Syrians would of necessity require some common language." Finally, he holds that plague probably played a major part in the decline of Roman Britain, a contention independently supported by J. C. Russell in "The Earlier Medieval Plague in the British Isles" (Viator 7, 65-78). Russell investigates three main areas of information about the plague: written accounts, a greater proportion of deaths in men aged 20-40 and children, as well as a preponderance of graves oriented toward the position of the rising sun in the warmer summer months which favored the plague.

Rosemary Cramp provides a fitting tribute to Eric Birley, recently retired as Professor of Archaeology in Durham, in her account of "The Anglo-Saxons and Rome " (Trans. of the Architectural and Archaeol. Soc. of Durham and Northumberland 3 [1974], 23-37). She deals with Romanitas as a cultural, political, and archaeological reality, and treats relations with Rome from its earliest times to late in the Saxon period. Her conclusion only provides the barest indication of the weight of the piece, which provides speculations on many aspects of Anglo-Saxon culture, including Sutton Hoo: "In carrying out kingdoms for themselves in the once flourishing German province of Britain, the Anglo-Saxons indeed combined to destroy much that they later wished to recreate. Nevertheless, once they had become Christian and had been educated into feeling linked to the ancient structure of Rome, both kings and clerics strove to obliterate their past and to live as befitted their heritage. In the period of decadence of the Merovingian and Langobard kings they preserved in some measure both learning and art on the continent. Charlemagne's conception of a new Roman Empire and his severed contacts with the East in some ways broke the thread which bound the continental Germans to the Old Norman World. No English king aimed at an Imperium of the west like Charlemagne or his Ottoman successors -- England like Britain was still at the extremity of the habitable world. However, kings such as Alfred and Cnut were made sensible of the dignities and responsibilities of their role by the honour paid to them by the Pope in Rome. This city, not the more remote Constantinople, remained for them the supreme incarnation of the Roman achievement unsurpassed and unsurpassable in scope and scale."

P. A. B. Llewellyn provides a fascinating study of the distaste the seventh-century hierarchy at Rome had for Pope St. Gregory, known to the English as best of all proper popes, in "The Roman Church in the Seventh Century" (Jnl. Eccl. Hist. 25 [1974], 363-380). By forwarding the monastic spirit and by his

approach to spirituality and the liturgy, Gregory undercut Roman church institutions which were linked with the imperial past; his successors in the See sought to restore this, by affecting imperial pomp.

Robin Ann Aronstam gives an account of "Penitential Pilgrimages to Rome in the Early Middle Ages" (Archivum Historiæ Pontificial 13 [1975], 65-83). The journal's own summary is both accurate and succinct:

> Exposita ratione pænitentiali peregrinationum tempore medii ævi prioris, ex collectione anglica 10 epistolarum fere ignota quæ a Wulfstan, episcopo Londinensi, postea Yorcensi, vel a Romanis pontificibus sæculo 10° exeunte et sæc. 11° conscriptæ sunt et in appendice eduntur, indicantur modalitates et condiciones talium peregrinationum. Apparet evolutio quasi parallela a minore ad maiorem consideratione auctoritatis Sedis Romanæ in tali re et a maiore ad minorem severitatem poenarum quæ peregrinis iniungebantur.

There is much material this year on societies which strongly influenced Anglo-Saxon England. On the Celtic side, we start with Dr. John Bannerman's Studies in the History of Dalriada (Edinburgh and London, 1974), which deals with several important aspects of the people who provide a very close link between Northern Ireland and Scotland in the sixth and seventh centuries. Most significant is Bannerman's edition, commentary, and discussion of the Senchus Fer nAlban, an account of the people, the condition, the social and military organization in the seventh century. Of particular interest is the clear evidence the Senchus provides on a highly competent and large naval force as part of the military establishment of the peoples. It is extremely significant that both the Iona Chronicle and Adomnan's Life of St. Columba support this aspect of culture; Adomnan's Life alone records or implies fifty-five separate voyages. The Irish Sea was "not an obstacle -- in fact, water transport was almost the sole means of communication in this difficult terrain." In his account of Scottish entries in the early Irish annals, Bannerman reviews recent scholarship, carrying it further himself, to conclude that chronicles of Iona and then English Dalriadic material naturally reached an Ulster annalist circa 740, when the English branch of the Kingdom was smashed by the Picts. Dr. Bannerman concludes this piece with a weighted question for which strong evidence is provided for a positive answer: "Were all or some of the contents of the Iona scriptorium taken to Ireland for safety about this time?" Surely more strong evidence for the continuous exchange between "Dark Age" peoples. We look for exciting further research on this interesting aspect of Celtic cultural exchange. Lloyd Laing has produced a massive survey of Late Celtic Britain and Ireland, c. 400-1200 A.D. (London). He intends it primarily as a survey of the material culture, as an accompanying volume to C. Thomas's The Early Christianity of North Britain and Leslie Alcock's Arthur's Britain, both published in 1971. While the book is full of material, it is almost unreadable. A bewildering array of types, sites, objects, and materials is covered, and the illustrations are far too often of postage-stamp size. The accounts of Scandinavian influence are perhaps somewhat better, but even determined efforts left this reader confused. While of some use as a work of reference, this book is not going to be useful to most students in America.

D. N. Dumville studies closely "Some Aspects of the Chronology of the Historia Brittonum" (Bull. of the Board of Celtic Studies 25 [1974], 439-45) and

does much to validate the historical sense of the writer of the text. It is
internally consistent; many apparent errors are caused by an improper under-
standing of the author's dating base, others arise from his sources. It is
clear from the text that "original historiographical and chronographical
activity" was accomplished in Wales in the ninth century, with, for example,
a clear need to calculate (possibly for the first time) a date for the Adventus
Saxonum in Brittanniam.

Nora Chadwick gives us a book which is richly rewarding, for it is
an attempt at a reconstruction of The British Heroic Age: The Welsh and The Men
of the North (Cardiff). She contends, quite rightly in my view, that both the
Roman period and the adventus of the Saxons are far better known, and that the
Celtic influence was equally important, but more subtle, "Transforming our
island below the surface, and almost without the conscious knowledge of its
people." The work is divided into two parts, the first an account of the British
Heroic Age per se, the second entitled "The Welsh and the Men of the North." Her
work is represented, not unfairly I think, in her comparison of "The Ruin" with
a work from the Celtic tradition. "There is a vast gulf between the background of
this little Saxon poem, with its sense of mystery and uncomprehending wonder at
the Roman ruins, and the clear-sighted, 'educated' and familiar attitude to the
superior craftsmanship of the Roman architects and masons expressed in the work
of the Celtic monks of Melrose. Such precious details as he has preserved for
us suggest an unbroken continuity of culture transmitted from Roman to Saxon
through the British." A thesis too little examined, I think, by those who work
primarily with Saxon materials.

A. A. M. Duncan, in Scotland: The Making of the Kingdom (The Edinburgh
History of Scotland, I) provides a rich and full account of the Norman Period and
the Age of Migration and a third brief chapter on the age of Scandinavian attacks.
The work deserves particular respect because of the clear style with which complex
phenomena are treated. Can one offer better praise than to say that Duncan has
done much to give a clear account of the Picts?

John T. McNeill has given us a first rate and brief study of The Celtic
Churches: A History A.D. 200 to 1200 (Chicago, 1974). It is usual for such a
book to have at least a brief excursus on the arts, but McNeill is remarkable
for his sensitivity on a range of topics in culture and context; this is no dry
theological text, but a deep and far ranging study of many aspects of an intellectual
phenomenon. His well-chosen words on the place of art within that church are the
only sample I can offer of a thoroughly excellent book: Celtic Christian art
"is the work of well-taught and disciplined minds, of men who could adopt without
prejudice a legacy from more primitive ages. Even strange creatures are embraced
with the artist's love, and they lend the symbolum, the world of the Physiologus
and the Bestiaries, without the sacrifice of unity and composure."

M. Barry Cottam and Alan Small's article, "The Distribution of
Settlement in Southern Pictland" (MA 18 [1974], 43-65), demonstrates the use of
modern methods of statistical analysis in an investigation of Pictish monuments
and place names within a certain geographical setting. The authors also
consider ecological aspects of settlement during the Pictish period. Because of
the nature of the study, their conclusions are largely problematic and theoretical
and thus are of limited use in further generalization. Nevertheless, it is an
interesting example of how techniques of analysis can provide hypotheses that

could not be reached through conventional approaches.

T. M. Charles-Edwards's article, "The Social Background to Irish Peregrination" (Celtica 11, 43-59), examines the Irish peregrinus, not in terms of his impact on Anglo-Saxon England or Gaul, but instead in terms of his relationship to the society from which he came. It is evident from Bede and other sources that in Britain a man has not been a peregrinus unless he has journeyed abroad. This was not the case for the Irish peregrinus. Charles-Edwards also points out that for the Irish the term peregrinus could be used "for an exile or alien even though the exile is not a fulfillment of an ascetic Ideal." Thus, the Irish term, unlike the English, remained attached to the vernacular word for exile. Charles-Edwards traces the status of the peregrinus in society, examining not only the legal status of the peregrinus but also the rights of his wife and children. By the mid-seventh century the ascetic peregrinus was known in Irish law as the deorad Dei (exile of God). Such a peregrinus enjoyed considerable power. "Like the bishop or the chief poet, the deorad Dei has a legal status equal to that of the normal Irish king."

Although L. Fleuriot's article, "Old Breton Genealogies and Early British Traditions" (The Bull. of the Board of Celtic Studies 36, 1-6), deals mainly with certain specific genealogies, it nonetheless provides several bits of information of more general interest. In Brittany genealogies of every important family were preserved not only through oral tradition, but also through written records. There were, in fact, professional genealogy keepers. Welsh and Irish documents make it clear that this was a common practice among the Celts as well. Such records were often important in matters concerning land ownership.

"Date-Guessing and Pedigrees" by M. Miller (Studia Celtica 10/11, 96-109), presents some basic assumptions and cautions concerning the reconstruction of pedigrees. The author considers the Harleian text of Gwynedd in detail and demonstrates how the orthodox version can be restated by means of date-guessing techniques.

Ian Lovecy discusses the death of King Owen of Rheged and the circumstances which led to the Anglian conquest of Northumberland, in his article,"The End of Celtic Britain: a Sixth-Century Battle near Lindisfarne" (Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th ser., 4, 31-45); he concludes that in view of the division and antagonism in Britain during this period, it is surprising that there was even a temporary coalition of British kings. One of the kings simply used the campaign against the Anglo-Saxons to kill his rival Owen, thus placing more importance on internal politics than fighting an outside enemy. Lovecy believes the traditional dating of the battle as c. 570 is based on a misconception, and that in fact the battle took place closer to 590.

In his article, "The Celtica Lingua Spoken in the Saxonicis Oris Concerning Waltharius vv. 756-780" (Germanic Rev. 49 [1974], 17-22), George Fenwick Jones challenges the traditional view that Waltharius's opponent was a Celtic speaker from Saxony. He argues that "Saxonicis oris" should be translated not as "Saxony" but as "Saxon Shores," referring to the coasts of France settled by the Saxons. According to Jones, before the Saxons were totally assimilated in this area they spoke a language which mixed elements of Romance and their own Germanic speech. Jones believes that the term "Celtica" referred to this speech and simply meant "barbarian."

In his article, "The Angles in Scotland and the Mote of Mark," (Trans. of the Dumfriesshire and Galloway Natural Hist. and Antiquarian Soc. 50 [1973], 37-52), Lloyd Laing challenges Curle's report (1913) that the site was

occupied during the Iron Age. According to Laing, archaeological evidence indicates that the first occupation was in the late fifth century and was probably by Anglians. The article includes a report of finds as well as a consideration of Anglian remains in Scotland.

Daniel Dubuisson sees the origin of the three social states in Ireland: "L'Irlande et la théorie médiévale des 'trois ordres'" (Revue de l'Histoire des Religions 188 [1975], 35-63). He finds mention of the three orders in the Ulster cycle, the Ancient Laws of Ireland, and in hagiographic literature. Ninth- and tenth-century Anglo-Saxon writers point to an Irish origin for their understanding of the three orders.

The Rev. John Godfrey examines the evidence for "The Double Monastery in Early English History" (Ampleforth Journal 79 [1974], 19-32). He sees their probable genesis in Gallic monasticism where they were common. Their golden age spanned the seventh and eighth centuries, and ended with the Danish invasions of the ninth. Double houses were invariably ruled by women, and may have been founded primarily for the education of aristocratic women. There is little evidence for double monasteries in Celtic areas, and only a few are known in Germany.

Anne K. G. Kristensen provides a stimulating and provocative study of "Danelaw Institutions and Danish Society in the Viking Age: Schemanni, liberi homines and Königsfreie" (Med. Scandinavia 8 [1975], 27-85). It has long been assumed that Danelaw institutions in some way reflect Scandinavian use; Kristensen sees them better placed "in a bigger, common European context and tradition which can be traced back to Franks, Longobards and Romans. Everything suggests that the distinctive institutions of the Danelaw are relics of the military colonization of earlier ages." She takes up the question of settlement in England, and gives this interpretation of the evidence: "The striving force behind the viking raids and the settlement in England was not primarily shortage of land or overpopulation at home. What happened was that a small number of Danish viking leaders and their men, looking for power and profit in order to maintain the conquest of the Danelaw, unnecessarily acted in the same way as every other ruler in that age and based their control of new land on the plantation of soldier-colonists." These views are interesting and well-supported, but it is probable that we have here one strand of a complex process described, rather than the process as a whole.

It is a tribute to Norman thoroughness, and to modern scholarship, that the Domesday Gazeteer (1975) is so successful a work. It is a tribute to no one that the book is priced at seventy-five dollars. H. C. Darby and G. R. Versey have produced a valuable work with maps of such a detailed scale that all places can be clearly identified. Of the thirteen thousand plus names in Domesday, only three percent remain unidentified -- a very good batting average indeed. Eighteen places known in Domesday, along the coasts of Yorkshire and Suffolk, are under water now. Clearly, not all the known places in England ca. 1100 are in Domesday, but such a detailed record of material and modern equivalents is a first rate start.

In a late and extended notice, credit must be given to Stanley Ferber and Sandro Sticca for producing ACTA I: The Eleventh Century (Binghamton, 1974). In addition to Paul Szarmach's contribution (reviewed in YWOES - 1975, I), Marilynn Smiley (pp. 61-90) gives us an account of "eleventh-century musical theorists,"

and points out how important this century was for major developments in music. She provides a brief history of music in the earlier middle ages, and comments (*inter alia*) on the importance of St. Gall at center. Albert C. Leighton (pp. 15-30) gives us an entertaining survey of developments of land transport technology in the century. The major development in the period was startlingly simple -- putting horses to work, instead of using them primarily for high status occupations. The second key item is the whippletree (seen on the Bayeux Tapestry and on the door of Novgorod Cathedral), which allows the cushioning of shock, "enabling the quick starting horse to take up slack slowly, thus avoiding frequent breaking of the traces connecting the collar to the load."

D. M. Nicol makes another contribution to our knowledge of "Byzantium and England" (*Balkan Studies* 15 [1974], 179-203). He starts with the mutual disinterest of Constantinople and England in each other until the Renaissance, when Greek began to be taught again. In the Saxon period the seventh century had Greeks like Theodore coming to England; the eighth had a bang-up start in the other direction, with a ten-year sojourn of Willibald in the East via Rome. These excursions grew immensely popular, so that thousands were heading east for religious reasons in the eleventh century. (A Byzantine *real* found at Winchester is interesting evidence of these travels.) The military incursions of Vikings in the service of Constantinople began in the ninth century, with vast Saxon migration into the service of Alixis in the eleventh. Nicol holds that the famous Varangian Guard switched in nationality from Scandinavian to English in the eleventh century, and survived until the fourteenth; this, of course, is a different view from that of Dr. Shepard on the same point, and this reviewer is of the mind that though the major component of the guard shifted, it always had mixed nationality.

Williard L. Crocker has produced a valuable (and handsomely produced) study of *The Early Medieval Sequence.* This series of Latin texts, for the most part set to previously existent music, owes a great deal to Notker, monk of St. Gall (840-912), whose name is also associated with *Waltharius* (and also *Waldere*). He was skilled in writing art prose, and setting it so that the joining of text and song was new. Perhaps the most interesting aspect of this book for the general reader is the perspective it gives on Norman raids. Quite clearly, this new and complex art form continued throughout the ninth century, despite continual attacks. Crocker cites evidence to show that monks of the period greatly *preferred* *raids* to a lay abbot, who, as the greater of the evils, would sell off their lands. On one occasion, St. Riquier was reinhabited only three weeks after a raid. The lesson that we learn from Crocker's work is important; as is the case with many intellectual activities, the production of sequences came from a handful of skilled artists, in this case, cantors; as the author tells us, "The cruel Norman raids can not be imagined so pervasive as to interdict the activities of such a group." Nor was this exciting development stifled either by the inner decadence of the empire, or the corruption of the church itself.

Jean Scammel provides a blunt and powerful statement on "Wife Rents and Merchet" (*EconHR* 29, 487-90), in which a very sordid side of Saxon society is revealed. "Anglo-Saxon mostly was slave-based. Slaves were at once a valuable export and an inexpensive labor force. Nine percent of the male population counted by the Domesday Survey were slaves." More limited conditions of servitude existed, regarding women and children; they could be owned, bought, sold, and lent. If in the ninth century a lord loaned a man a woman, the woman

and the children remained the lord's property. Merchet permitted a man to buy his own children.

In "A Benedictine Library in a Disordered World" (Downside Rev. 94, 168-177), Richard Southern holds that the role of a library in such a society should be that of an agent active in rebuilding the world, rather than that of a mere repository for books. He includes sketches of the careers of Cassiodorus and Biscop and a brief discussion of the effects these men had on society.

J. J. N. McGurk, in "William of Malmesbury" (History Today 26, 707-14), views the twelfth-century historian William of Malmesbury as the first real successor to Bede. William is unusual for his time in his effort to go beyond the presentation of local trivia in his chronicles. He was the first since Bede to produce historical works of varied type: "secular and sacred, national and local, and in a readable literary form as opposed to hitherto traditional annals and lives of saints." William was also unusual in his use of topographic detail, inscriptions, and physical remains as evidence. Often he sought out people who were living at the time of the event he described, and recorded their memories of it. Despite his efforts to be impartial, however, William does sometimes betray his preferences and opinions. McGurk sees William's discussion of the Norman Conquest as evidence of this tendency. His sympathies lie with the English, but his mixed parentage, and his wish to side with the winner, make his portrayal of the Normans more appealing.

Guy Lanoë writes, in "Approche de quelques évêques moines en Angleterre au Xe siècle" (CCM 19, 135-50), about Benedictine reform in England. He focuses primarily on three prelates: Dunstan, Æþelwold, and Oswald, weighing their comparative influence on, and attitudes toward, reform. Lanoë also explores the relationships between monastic centers and their leaders. He concludes that, unlike the continent, where reform was aimed at, and primarily restricted to, the monastic church, English reform also spilled over into the secular church.

Two French articles, Raymonde Foreville's "La typologie du roi dans la littérature historiographique anglo-normande aux XIe et XIIe siècles" (Etudes de civilisation médiévale, [IXe - XIIe siècles]: mélanges offerts à Edmond-René Labande, Poitiers [1974], pp. 275-92) and F. Chatillon's "Ce que peut encore nous apprendre Guillaume de Poitiers, premier biographe du Conquérant" (Revue du Moyen Age Latin 21 [1973 for 1965], 173-226, examine one type of "propaganda" mentioned by Antonia Gransden in her article on propaganda in medieval historiography (see YWOES - 1975, I): the royal biography. Foreville investigates the increase of historical writers after 1070, attributing the rise to a stimulation of the literary imagination inspired by two princes, Guillaume le Conqueraant, and Henry II Plantagenet. While Foreville discusses several of these writers, such as Wace, Benoît St. Maure, and Guillaume de Poitiers, Chatillon restricts his article to the latter biographer of William the Conqueror.

In "The Growth of the Glastonbury Traditions and Legends in the Twelfth Century" (JEH 27, 337-58), Antonia Gransden incorporates some of her theories on medieval propaganda into a specific study. She examines the legends associated with the monastery of Glastonbury and concludes that the histories present largely those aspects which the twelfth-century monks wished to be emphasized: chiefly the antiquity of the monastery.

In "Les Deux Translations du Roi Saint Oswald à Bergues-Saint-Winoc" (RB 86, 83-93), Nicolas Huyghebaert shows how tradition preserves two dates for the translation of Oswald to Bergues-Saint Winoc, a monastery in Flanders. The cult of St. Oswald, King of Northumbria, spread rapidly on the continent, and was probably introduced at Bergues by the Benedictine founders. The translation actually occurred in 1221. Huyghebaert maintains that the alternate date of 1030 was a fiction created by Jean le Roy, a sixteenth-century chronicler. Another piece in the same journal is helpful: "The Date of the Chronicle of 'Florence of Worcester'" (ibid., 115-19) by Valerie I. J. Flint points to the need for a new edition of the Worcester Chronicle, but makes a brief comment on current opinion on the text as it is now available. She feels that the Worcester author used a copy of Marianus Scotus closer to Marianus than Cotton Nero C.V., which is the version usually associated with the Worcester Chronicle. She also rejects recent opinion which identifies the author as a certain John, preferring the traditional identification with Florence.

R.T.F.

7. ARCHAEOLOGY AND NUMISMATICS

In most manuals dealing with archaeology, photography has usually been given only a cursory section, despite the importance it plays in all aspects of an excavation. _Photography in Archaeological Research_, ed. Elmer Harp, Jr. (Albuquerque: U. of New Mexico Press, 1975), fills this gap and deserves to be included in any archaeologist's library. It is a very complete volume, dealing with every aspect of photography in archaeology, from aerial to underwater techniques. New methods are discussed as well as highly technical procedures. Altogether, this is an extremely useful book to keep on hand.

The London and Middlesex Archaeological Society has published a booklet on _The Archaeology of the London Area:_ _Current Knowledge and Problems_ (Special paper no. 1). It consists of a brief survey with chapters by various authors. Of most interest to Anglo-Saxonists is J. G. Hurst's chapter on "Anglo-Saxon and Medieval London." He divides the subject into a number of categories, including pottery, towns, monastic sites, and building materials, noting where we stand at present with each. Perhaps most valuable are his observations on what is still unknown and needs further work.

C. A. Ralegh Radford and Michael J. Swanton have compiled a similar booklet for _Arthurian Sites in the West_ (University of Exeter Press, 1975). This pamphlet, however, focuses only on what has been learned about the major sites in the west: Tintagel, Castle Dore, and the Tristan Stone, Glastonbury, and Cadbury-Camelot. The scope is (by design) superficial but a bibliography does refer the reader to further information on these sites. Turning northward, Lloyd Laing gives us a brief illustrated guide to the remains of ancient Scotland (Newton Abbot: David and Charles), which, though useful for tourists, does not offer much in the way of interest, information, or excitement for the serious student or scholar. Its steep price dampens even the mild interest it evokes.

Excavations in Canterbury and the surrounding area are discussed in _Canterbury Archaeology 1975/76_. Of interest to Anglo-Saxon studies is the preliminary report on the excavations at the Church of St. Pancras. Four building phases are identified, of which two and possibly a third seem to be from the Anglo-Saxon period. The final report should be of value to the study of Anglo-Saxon churches.

"Fieldwork and excavation at Hart, Co. Durham 1965-75," by David Austin (_Archaeologia Aeliana,_ 5th ser., 4, 69-132, ill.) is another example of an area study. Austin gives a brief overview of the features around Hart and the known documentary evidence. He then discusses various excavations that have been undertaken in the last ten years. Although the article was designed to give a report of finds from the entire area, most of it concentrates on the excavation of Hart Manor. Six phases were discerned, from the Saxon-Norman period (where only fragmentary evidence exists) to the post-medieval. A complete analysis of the pottery found from the manor dig is included.

David N. Hall similarly deals with a large area in his article, "Little Houghton 1972 -- a Parish Field Survey" (_Northamptonshire Past and Present_ 5, 295-304, ill.). The study was part of a program of intensive field surveys throughout Northamptonshire. In Little Houghton, the survey indicates a pattern in the early- and mid-Saxon times of primary settlements controlling large areas

of land but without precise demarcations. By late Saxon times, it seems that more definite boundaries had been established. In fact, Domesday Book mentions a Great Houghton and a Little Houghton with the latter most probably a secondary settlement. The rest of the article details further development in the settlement pattern throughout subsequent periods.

In the last few years a number of excavations of Anglo-Saxon churches have been undertaken. The Church of St. Pancras in Canterbury is one example already noted. The Society of Antiquaries has sponsored some church excavations designed to be interdisciplinary studies, utilizing archaeological, art historical, and historical information. A brief report of "Deerhurst 1971-74. The Society's Research Project on the Archaeology of the English Church" (AntJ 55 [1975], 346-65) details the development of St. Mary's priory church near Tewkesbury in Gloucestershire. L. A. S. Butler, P. A. Rahtz, and H. M. Taylor document the stages of the church and various architectural features, relating them, when possible, to features in the surrounding area.

"The Archaeological Investigation of Hadstock Church, Essex: an Interim Report" by Warwick Rodwell (AntJ 56, 55-71) shows the need to excavate thoroughly when possible. Hadstock has long been known as an Anglo-Saxon church but it was only when an opportunity allowed Rodwell to excavate the interior that it became obvious that the building sequence was more complicated. Three Anglo-Saxon periods were identified,with the third resulting in a major rebuilding, achieving the form in which we see Hadstock church today. This last Anglo-Saxon phase is dated to the eleventh century, based on surviving architectural details (palmette-derived motifs and double-splayed windows.) Rodwell notes that it is difficult to find parallels to the earlier versions of the church. He further suggests that the earliest version of the church may be part of the seventh-century monastery founded by St. Botolph at Icanho.

J. H. P. Gibb supplies a detailed report on excavations at "The Anglo-Saxon Cathedral at Sherborne" (ArchJ 132 [1975], 71-110). Documentary evidence (summarized in an appendix by R. D. H. Gem) maintains that an Anglo-Saxon church existed on the site from the eighth century. The excavation, conducted from 1964-73, showed few structures that could be firmly associated with the early Saxon church. It did result, on the other hand, in a fairly complete record of the late Saxon rebuilding. Gibb feels the Saxon nave, aisles, western transepts and cloister range were probably part of a unified building plan, perhaps under Bishop Ælfwold in the mid-eleventh century. He compares the plan of this late Saxon church to the Carolingian church of St. Riquier, near Amiens (c. 800) and to the late tenth-century Old Minster at Winchester. This last parallel is especially intriguing since documentary sources mention that Bishop Ælfwold had been a monk at Winchester.

Richard N. Bailey has reevaluated "The Anglo-Saxon Church at Hexham" (Archaeologia Aeliana, 5th ser., 4, 47-67). In the late nineteenth century, the church of Hexham was constructed over the ruined remains of the major church of St. Wilfred's monastic site. Fortunately, an architect, C. C. Hodge, made a survey of the surface remains but his plan was not published until 1961. Parts of the plan are unclear, however. Bailey concentrates on the problem of the floor levels and eastern entrances of the crypt, offering a new interpretation.

Harold M. Taylor's article, "Anglo-Saxon Architecture in Lincolnshire" (ArchJ 131 [1974], 293-8), briefly reviews the documentary evidence for churches

in Lincolnshire in the Anglo-Saxon period. Bede refers to a few churches and, in fact, the evidence does seem to point to the building of a number of early churches. Taylor then discusses some of the actual churches known, from an art historical rather than an archaeological point of view. Most of the existing evidence consists only of a tower which was incorporated into later structures. Taylor focusses attention on a type of tower called either the unadorned or (as he would prefer) Lincolnshire type. He also includes a typology of double belfry windows.

In another article, Taylor notes the use of "Splayed Windows" (Antiquity 50, 131-2) in Anglo-Saxon architecture in order to allow more light to penetrate the interior of buildings. Thus, he feels Bede's reference to them is not surprising (as Professor Alcock thought (Antiquity 48 [1974], 141-3)). Taylor sees it as a perfectly logical metaphor, arguing that "the great prophets did their best to bring God's message clearly to the Jewish nation just as the splayed windows tried to bring His light into the temple and into the Anglo-Saxon churches; it was only the hardness of men's hearts that shut out that light, in the first case by disbelief and in the second by filling the windows with dark glass or stone slabs."

Famulus Christi, edited by Gerald Bonner (London) is an invaluable source of contributions to our knowledge of Bede and his time (see also 4 and 6, above). Rosemary Cramp, in "Monkwearmouth and Jarrow: The Archaeological Evidence" (pp. 5-18), surveys the archaeological evidence at his two monasteries, and throws further light on these fascinating sites. She sees the architectural uses displayed by the English monks as fully eclectic; in just the same way that Benedict Biscop made use of seventeen rules to form one good and appropriate for his monks, the art and archaeology of the monasteries call on several traditions. Contrary to a common understanding of the simple life being practiced in such foundations, Professor Cramp shows that, while those at Lindisfarne sometimes took their servants behind the monastery walls with them, "at Wearmouth under Biscop's stern prior Ceolfrid aristocrats found the life hard." Most important is Professor Cramp's evidence for the richness and inventiveness of Bede's brethren; while Norman traditions were called on, and Gaulish craftsmen employed, "the advanced construction of the building at Wearmouth-Jarrow seems to have been based on local models."

A most important and far-ranging report has come to us edited by Peter Addyman and Richard Morris, The Archaeological Study of Churches (CBA Research Report 13, London). H. M. Taylor reviews "The Foundations of Architectural History"; there is a section covering the systems used in Denmark, Germany, and the Netherlands, and a third on the documentary background. The most exciting part of the book is section 4, "Approaches and Techniques," which covers such major sites as Jarrow, Deerhurst, and St. Andrews; Martin Biddle provides an overall survey of points of interest in the investigation of churches.

Recent studies have pointed to a period of architectural revival in the tenth century. However, Richard Gem points out that documentary sources are by and large silent in the last decade of the tenth century and the first four of the eleventh century. He explores the possibility of "A Recession in English Architecture During the Early Eleventh Century, and its Effect on the Development of the Romanesque Style" (Jnl. of the Brit. Archaeol. Assoc. 3rd ser., 38, 28-49). Those buildings that were erected in this time were often copies from tenth-century forms. This decline in architecture is noteworthy since at the same time

on the Continent one can see architectural development. Gem then discusses possible reasons for a recession in English architecture. He notes that the Viking raids increased in this period, creating an apprehensive atmosphere which might have discouraged building. England was hard pressed for money, both to pay in tribute to the Vikings and to pay for armies. Moreover, in these troubled times there was no firm royal authority to back any building schemes (as had existed in the tenth century). Gem further argues that as England recovered from these attacks, the church probably had first priority in restoring treasuries and consolidating property rather than in building.

S. E. Rigold deals with one aspect of architecture that has been little explored in the past. He discusses "Structural Aspects of Medieval Timber Bridges" (MA 19 [1975], 48-91), noting that timber bridges are mentioned in written sources as far back as Anglo-Saxon times. There has been little archaeological work on them, however, and few in situ excavations. Rigold discusses the structural details we do know about in both major and minor bridges with an attempt to distinguish trends in construction. A final appendix emphasizes the need to determine the actual wood used in construction and the possibility for dendrochronological dating of these structure.

An absolute chronology, based on dendrochronological samples, is slowly being worked further and further back in time. D. J. Schove has a brief note on "Dendrochronological Dating of Oak from Old Windsor, Bershire c. A. D. 650-906" (MA 18 [1974], 165-72), describing how oak from Old Windsor has been analyzed and cross-dated with an earlier floating chronology based on wood from Southampton. An absolute chronology for the Anglo-Saxon years is well on its way to completion. Schove emphasizes the need now for fifth- and sixth-century wood to bridge the gap from the Anglo-Saxon period back to Roman times.

In "Les Palais dans l'Europe occidentale chrétienne du Xe and XIIe siècles" (CCM 19, 115-34, ill.), Jacques Gardelles presents a state-of-the-question article on palace and chateau architecture in the tenth to twelfth centuries. He explores the history of this type of architecture in England, France, Germany, and northern Spain, discusses its functional and symbolic aspects, its use by differing social classes, and defines the composite elements of a "palatium." Gardelles also discusses briefly the archaeological work that has been done on medieval palaces.

In a recent article, David M. Wilson discusses "Scandinavian Settlement in the North and West of the British Isles -- an Archaeological Point-of-View" (JRHS, 5th ser., 26, 95-113), although he also takes into consideration place name evidence, philology, and historical accounts. In northern England the place name evidence seems to indicate large scale and lasting settlement. The archaeological record, although limited, supports this as well, pointing to a total and early integration of Anglo-Saxons and Scandinavians. For Scotland, the evidence is primarily archaeological, yielding no indication of raids but much of settlement. In Scotland, unlike England, there is a great deal of information on the economy of the Scandinavians and their settlement patterns (such as their preference for dispersed dwellings). Like Scotland, the Isle of Man has no evidence of raids, although they probably occurred. Place names indicate dense settlement which the archaeological record supports. The influence of the Viking settlements can be seen in many of the present-day political institutions. Pre-Viking promontory forts were reused by Scandinavians (as well as their successors).

In Ireland again there is no evidence of the raids so agonized over in Irish literature. The early Settlements are generally near the coast and often are fortresses. It appears that the Scandinavians never tried to settle much of the interior, a fact historical accounts suggest as well. The Vikings were more interested in international trade and thus founded trading stations on the coast. W. F. H. Nicolaisen gives us an extremely valuable contribution in Scottish Place Names: Their Study and Significance (London, Batsford). He has chosen the wiser course in giving us first the narrative account, and proposing to do the dictionary later. His introduction clearly explicates a methodology of place name study; his knowledge of the field and the linguistic evidence are pleasures to see, and his style is an instrument which helps the complex look far less difficult than it is. I review this book with Wilson's study because Nicolaisen's views so closely support Wilson's views. His conclusions on Scandinavian evidence are refreshing and clear, and his final comment in that particular chapter is very important. Thing-type names "declare that the legal organizations of the Scandinavian settlers in Scotland and elsewhere must have been much more homogeneous than their warring processes and social relations with others...it is worth remembering that these Scandinavians were people who were in need of land and who were ready to settle down and lead their lives in a society governed by law, whenever they had the opportunity to do so." This seems to be first-rate support for David Wilson's thesis of relatively peaceful settlement.

Eric Talbot discusses "Scandinavian Fortification in the British Isles" (Scottish Archaeol.Forum 6 [1974], 37-45), concentrating on Scotland, the Orkneys, and the Shetlands. After reviewing historical accounts and saga references, he makes a brief overview of possible structures. There are, in fact, almost no visible remains which are certainly Scandinavian. Thus, Talbot emphasizes that "the potential for discovery is great and that there has been little appreciation, to date, of the nature of defence sites in Scandinavia and in areas influenced by Vikings."

A number of studies deal with the Vikings and their relations with other people. Of the early sequence of Gold bracteates, Karl Hauck gives us yet another study, "Zur Ikonologie der Goldbrakteaten, V" (Geschichte in der Gesellschaft: Festschrift für Karl Bosl, ed. F. Prinz et al., Stuttgart, 1974). He concludes much of value from this important evidence, and indicates quite clearly how continuity in the Norse pantheon was direct and long-term. Some figures were clearly established in the immediately post-classical world, and served the same functions as they were later to serve in Scandinavian literature.

But Hauck's classifications do not go unquestioned. Instead of dividing bracteates into a type classification, Morten Axboe stresses the need for "A Non-stylistic Approach to the Gold Bracteates" (Norwegian Archaeol. Rev. 8, 63-8). He argues that it is useful to work from individual pieces in order to gain information about the ability and insights of the goldsmiths and about the people who wore the ornaments. After examining individual pieces, he then tries to find overall common features. Although this sounds much like a new typology, Axboe maintains it is different, based on the important concepts. For example, he sees a rider on a horse as an important feature but does not break it down into the details that Malmer's typology recognizes, such as the number of toes on the forelegs or a zigzag mouth with a zigzag tongue. Axboe does make the good point that dating should not be based totally on stylistic grounds. Often, Roman-influenced stamps are thought to be early, but there is always a possibility of deliberate archaism or conservatism. Axboe also emphasizes the cross-dating of overlapping boards, using identical dies when possible, and the careful

examination of bracteates, noting the degree of wear.

In another stylistic study, Birgit Arrhenius examines many of the finds from Helgö (Sweden) in her article, "East Scandinavian Style I -- A Review" (Med. Scandinavia 17 [1973], 26-42). Using a method devised by A. Erä-Esko, she shows that many of the characteristics of East Scandinavian Style I result from technical factors. For example, the ridges that divide the ornamented area were probably used to canalize the heat. She notes also that brooches of similar design are reare. However, the differences are primarily in the proportions of elements and not in the design of the carefully patterned animal. Many of the brooches are very similar to ones found in Lombardic Italian sites, Hungary, and in central Sweden, Norrland, and Finland. Although Arrhenius does not believe (as Holmqvist suggests) that several of these foreign brooches were manufactured at Helgö, she nevertheless feels they point to lively international contacts. She dates the East Scandinavian Style I to the time just before the rich boat graves at Vendal and Valsgärde.

Excavations of Viking Dublin should yield a great deal of information on Scandinavian influence abroad. Selwyn Kittredge briefly gives an idea of the scope of the excavation in his article, "Digging up Viking and Mediaeval Dublin" (Archaeol. 27 [1974], 134-6). As a result of excellent preservation, more information has been recovered here than in most other excavations. For example, bags of leather have been found which may well indicate a cobbler's shop. It is obvious that the final report of this excavation will be of great value.

Excavations in Scandinavia are also of interest for learning more about indigenous Viking culture. "Excavations in the medieval city of Trondheim, Norway," by Clifford Long (MA 19 [1975], 1-32), points out the need to verify written sources through archaeology. In Trondheim archaeological finds have previously been interpreted into a traditional chronology based primarily on saga references. After several recent excavations, Long concludes that the history is far more complex than previously thought. He stresses the need now to review past evidence as well as critically interpret future finds in order to develop a more reliable chronology.

Yet another interpretation of "The Mythological Relief of the Oseberg Wagon Found in Southern Norway" (Folklore 87, 81-88) has been published. Ellen Ettlinger sees it as a Norse representation of Herakles fighting the Hydra, thus arguing that the Norse carver was familiar with Greek myths and some classical representations. However, she feels the carver depicted the tale in a completely Norse manner, possibly with Irish influence. Thus, Ettlinger suggests Herakles is shown fighting without weapons, probably because of the "Germanic code of honour which demands from a hero to engage with an enemy on his terms." In using Norse elements, she feels the carver "created a unique new version and made the ancient story acceptable to his countrymen."

Anglo-Scandinavian and Scandinavian stone sculptures are again studied, with important implications about dates and influence being aired. Our knowledge of scupture in northern England has in the past depended primarily upon fragmentary pieces. As a result, it has been very difficult to trace the origin and development of styles. With such a problem in mind, James T. Lang chooses to analyze three monoliths from Middleton near Pickering in the North Riding in his article,

"Some Late Pre-Conquest Crosses in Ryedale, Yorkshire: a Reappraisal"
(Jnl. of the Brit. Archaeol. Assoc., 3rd ser., 36 [1973], 16-25). He reviews
previous interpretations of the ornament and then offers his own conclusions,
dating the crosses to the mid or late tenth century on certain stylistic elements.
Lang also argues that although the carving is crude, the sculptors of these
crosses were not experimenting with new insular styles but "rather they were of
varying ability and vision adopting contemporary fashions current within the
Scandinavian sphere of Northern England."

In another article, Lang teams up with Richard N. Bailey to discuss
"The date of the Gosforth sculptures" (Antiquity 49, 290-3). They examine
arguments which have placed three of the most famous sculptures from Gosforth
in the Urnes Style (eleventh century). Bailey and Lang conclude that despite
small differences, the three crosses are contemporary and probably in the
Jelling Style (tenth century).

The dating of the Jelling monuments, from which the style derived
its name, is problematic as well, as Aksel E. Christensen shows in his article,
"The Jelling Monuments" (Med. Scandinavia 8 [1975], 7-20). He feels that
"neither runology nor philology is capable of providing an absolute dating of
our rune stones in general or of the Jelling stone in particular, which because
of its historic setting has been the starting point for all orthographic, epigraphic, and
decorative typology and thus for the whole business of relative dating."
Christensen briefly reviews the known historical details, trying to relate these
to the information on the stone. He proposes that the Jelling stone was not
designed at one time but rather added to over the years.

No one likes to be stung with a fraud -- as happens fairly frequently
now in things art historical, so the Vinland Map is a hot property. Without
doubt, the Vinland map has caused some of the fiercest of scholarly discussion
in the last few years. In an attempt to settle the issues, a symposium was held
at the Royal Geographical Society in 1974. The papers read at the meeting have
been published in an important article, "The Strange Case of the Vinland Map: a
Symposium" (Geographical Jnl. 140 [1974], 183-214). Helen Wallis reviews the
history of the map as we know it and the results of the recent analysis. She
concludes that the evidence points strongly toward forgery. Francis Maddison
next argues that if the map is a forgery (as he also believes), then the associated
text, the Tartar Relation, may be as well. He outlines several unusual features
of the Tartar Relation which need more study. The next contributor, G. D.
Painter, argues vehemently for the map's authenticity. He dismisses most of the
arguments, spending much of his paper discussing the recent ink analysis. He
stresses a need for more work here, saying "I accept the microchemical findings,
but not the inference drawn from them." D. B. Quinn discusses what totally new
information the map and Tartar Relation give the historian. He notes two
major points: the Tartar Relation does include a new version of John de Plano
Carpini's mission to east Asia in 1245-7, and both reveal the church's interest
in faraway missions (Carpini to the east and Henricus to the west). Quinn then
suggests what sources a forger might have used. R. M. Perkins next emphasizes
that the map does not tell us much more about Norse activities than we knew
before. He reviews the literary sources and archaeological finds. G. R. Crone
discusses cartographic sources. He shows that the map was not drawn primarily
to illustrate the Tartar relation since it is full of mistakes and omissions.
Hence, he feels the map is a forgery, and suggests the forger used a Norse map

of the twelfth to fourteenth century which was published in 1912. A. D. Baynes-Cope reports on the 1967 analysis of the map done by the British Museum under limited conditions. Even though they were not allowed to remove any samples, it did seem that the ink on the map was different from the ink on the Tartar Relation. The last article, by Walter C. McCrone and Lucy B. McCrone, details the 1972 analysis of the ink from the Speculum Historiale, Tartar Relation, and the Vinland Map. Using an electron microprobe and ion microprobe analysis, they showed the first two works to be of iron gallo-tannate ink but the Vinland map to be of a different substance which contained anatase, a pigment available only in that form since about 1920. They refute quite convincingly all of Painter's alternate interpretations, leaving a definite impression that the map is indeed a forgery.

In the past, too much attention has been paid to grave goods rather than to the graves themselves. Nicholas Reynolds's article, "The Structure of Anglo-Saxon Graves" (Antiquity 50, 140-41), demonstrates the value of carefully examining the evidence. While excavating an Anglo-Saxon cemetery at Empingham, Rutland, he noted that a number of burials were disturbed, seemingly at random yet too marked to be the work of earthworms. Few of the graves had room enough for a coffin, but the disturbances were not what one would expect if they had been open. Reynolds concluded that the graves had a timber structure of some sort with goods placed on top. As the wood decayed, the goods fell in, thus explaining the odd angles some of the grave goods were found in. The goods on top would also have acted as grave markers (and this might help explain how grave diggers avoided earlier burials). Reynolds cites other excavations which have supporting evidence and, in fact, Northumbrian stone grave covers may be a related phenomenon. In addition, this interpretation sheds light on a reference in Bede that "'Chad's place of burial is a wooden coffin in the shape of a little house.'"

There are nearly 1000 pre-Norman grave slabs irregularly distributed throughout Ireland (related to ones found in Scotland, the Isle of Man, and the west coast of Wales). P. Ó hÉailidhe discusses one clump of 32 "Early Christian Grave Slabs in the Dublin Region" (Jnl. of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland 103 [1973], 51-64). He divides them into two major groups based primarily on stylistic grounds. After examining the crosses within each group, he suggests dates, again based on stylistic parallels.

R. A. Hall examines artifacts from "A Viking Grave in the Phoenix Park, Co. Dublin" (Jnl. of the Royal Soc. of Antiquaries of Ireland 104 [1974], 39-43). Two brooches and a mount were found when the grave was excavated (date unknown) and then dispersed to various museums. Hall spends most of his paper describing the mount and how it might have functioned. After analyzing the ornament, he concludes that the mount is probably eighth century and later found its way into the ninth- or tenth-century Viking grave.

Eric McKee points out the need for a basic understanding of ship construction in his article, "Identification of Timbers from Old Ships of North-western European Origin" (Internat'l. Jnl. of Nautical Archaeol. and Underwater Exploration 5, 3-12). Just as an excavator must know architectural techniques and properties to understand thoroughly an architectural feature on land, an underwater archaeologist must know structural properties of boats. In theory, no two parts of a ship are exactly alike, but identification of timbers is complicated by size, tradition, and the era of the ships. McKee surveys the structure of northwestern European boats from our earliest knowledge through

the eighteenth century. He then focuses on changes in keels and planking over the years, as well as on the differences in carvel and clinker construction. This useful article includes a number of drawings and a glossary of nautical terms.

Another method for understanding ancient shipping, the building and sailing of replicas, has been increasingly studied over the years. Arne Emil Christensen, Jr., and Ian Morrison discuss the Gokstad replica (whose plans were published in a recent Maritime Museum monograph [no. 11, 1974]) They emphasize in their article, "Experimental Archaeology and Boats" (Internat'l Jnl. of Nautical Archaeol. and Underwater Exploration 5, 275-84), that experimental archaeology is of value for our understanding of the use of boats. Each author draws on his knowledge of ethnographic methods of building and sailing practices in areas the Gokstad would have sailed in. Christensen (of the Viking Ship Museum in Oslo) notes several characteristics of boats still in use in Scandinavia that might be of value not only in reconstructing the Gokstad, but also in realizing the ship's potential and her sailing character- istics. He points out that the Gokstad replica used glue in some of the scarves, thus rendering the ship less elastic.

Morrison also feels this last point is important. He draws on tradi- tional boat building practices and seamanship from the Shetlands where the elastic construction provides more resilience in the choppy seas. Morrison goes on to discuss rowing techniques which seem to explain why the rowers were placed so close together. Shetland parallels also shed light on the use of the side rudder and the square sails which tend to keep the technique of tacking to a minimum. Defense of these practices, of course, differs from the stance expressed in several pieces on this subject which were reviewed last year.

D. M. Palliser provides a brief survey of "Urban Archaeology in Britain" (Urban History Yearbook,1975, 6-12). This field is long established in Germany and Scandinavia, but rapid progress is being made in England. Oxford, Winchester, and York are particularly well-treated, and the picture that comes through is one of a tradition of urban life seen in some places even before the Normans, and flourishing in the Latin period. Viking York and Dublin are clear examples of a Scandinavian taste for urban life, an aspect of that civilization sone would find unlikely; yet modern York is at least in part laid out on Viking lines.

In his article, "Celtic Interlace and Coptic Interlace" (Antiquity 49, 301-303), William Adams disputes the unorthodox position that interlace was introduced to Celtic areas via Coptic textiles and manuscripts. Instead, he argues that the reverse was true. Citing incorrect dating of Coptic textiles, the sudden appearance of Coptic interlace around 800-900 in a variety of mediums, and the total absence of Coptic interlace before the ninth century, he concludes that the interlace in Celtic manuscripts served as an inspiration for ninth- century Coptic artists.

Three interesting iconographic studies have appeared recently. Amy Vandersall, in her article, "Homeric Myth in Early Medieval England: The Lid of the Franks Casket" (Studies in Iconography 1 [1975], 2-37, ill.), disputes the traditional view that the scene depicted on the lid is an otherwise unrecorded (in literature or art history) scene from Egiþ's life. This interpretation is based on the rune on the lid. She presents a very convincing argument that, in fact, the iconography of the lid is based on a version of the Trojan offensive

against the Greek fortifications. She sees the large figure on the left as Hector, the archer as Teucer (the half-brother of Ajax), and the figure in the archway as Achilles moping in his tent.

A less interesting article, James T. Lang's "Sigurd and Weland in Pre-Conquest Carving from Northern England," appears in the Yorkshire Archaeol. Jnl. (48, 83-94). Lang believes that the theme is more widespread than we would suppose and that an especially popular scene was the combination of the dead dragon, the roasting of the heart, the burnt fingers, and the waiting horse. He also discusses the significance of the "painted juxtaposition" of the mixed iconography of the Sigurd and Weland cycles on Christian crosses and grave slabs.

We don't usually think of the Anglo-Saxon period as especially note-worthy for its stained glass; Rosemary Cramp's article, "Window Glass from the Monastic Site of Jarrow"(Jnl. of Glass Studies 17 [1975], 88-96), will perhaps make us begin to rethink our view. Among the glass fragments found at Jarrow are reds, greens, yellows, blues, turquoises, and a variety of shades in-between. There are also a number of pieces on which a solid color has been streaked with a second color. In one area pieces cut into the shape of a head, arms, and legs have been found. Cramp believes that at least this particular window depicted a frontal human figure. She also reports that three millefiori stumps have been found at the site. Although all of the stumps were once thrown aside as rejects because of various imperfections, the find is nevertheless a terribly important one since this is the only English site to yield actual evidence of millefiori production.

Excavations at Whitby have turned up four bone objects which Donald Fry identifies as Anglo-Saxon tuning pegs ("Anglo-Saxon Lyre Tuning Pegs from Whitby N. Yorkshire" [MA 20, 137-39]). Their crude workmanship and uneven shapes lead Fry to speculate that the Player would have constantly had to retune his instrument. The only other Anglo-Saxon tuning pegs are those found at Sutton Hoo. The scarcity of these objects makes it especially important that more should be found at the very monastery where Caedmon refused the lyre which was passed to him.

In his article, "Barred Combs of Frisian Type in England" (MA 19 [1975], 195-8), Arthur MacGregor states that a number of barred combs found in York display certain unusual features of construction which link them to late fourth- and early fifth-century combs from Friesland and Groningen. He believes that their presence in the sub-Roman layers of York indicates a Germanic, if not Frisian, element in the immigrant population of the area.

Vera Evison's article, "Germanic Glass Drinking Horns" (Jnl. of Glass Studies 17 [1975], 74-87, treats the question of evidence for the presence of Germanic people within the empire before the beginning of the major invasions. Evison observes that drinking vessels of the Germanic type, dating from as early as the second half of the third century, have been found on the left bank of the Rhine. The article also contains a full discussion on major types of horns, as well as descriptions of individual horns found within the past twenty years.

Another recent article by Vera Evison, "Sword Rings and Beads" (Archaeologia 105, 303-15, ill.), describes sword rings and beads found since 1967. One of the more interesting artifacts is the Coombe Sword which, according to Evison, was pieced together from several swords ranging in date from the last half of the sixth century to well into the seventh century. Apparently, the

artist added a few extra zoomorphic details to give the piece a more homogeneous appearance.

James Graham-Campbell's article, "Bossed Penannular Brooches: A Review of Recent Research" (MA 19 [1975], 33-47) also appears in shortened form as "Bossed Penannular Brooches Reconsidered" in Norwegian Archaeol. Rev. 9, 45-52. The shortened version is directly followed by Olav Sverre Johansen's "Reply to Comments on Bossed Penannular Brooches"(ibid., 52-55). Graham-Campbell feels that these particular ninth- to tenth-century pieces, like other insular material of the time, were cast, not hammered. Johansen disagrees. Graham-Campbell also disagrees with Johansen's view that they were made in northwest England and were the product of a Norse milieu. Instead, Graham-Campbell believes that though they display influences from England and Scotland, they are the products of a native Irish brooch tradition.

Scientific examination of one of the brooches in question supports Graham-Campbell's view that the brooches were cast. Proof is offered in an article by Janet Lang and James Graham-Campbell, "The Scientific Examination of a Fragment of a Silver Bossed Brooch from Cuerdale, Lancashire, England" (Norwegian Archaeol. Rev. 9, 127-128).

Stewart Lyon reviews "Some Problems in Interpreting Anglo-Saxon Coinage" (ASE 5, 173-224), and provides us with some interesting accounts of actual variations in weight that occur in the period. Some lacks probably are accounted for by changes in the worth of metal and economic traditions, others by moneyers levying the costs of their work on the metal supplied to them. Of coin names and types, Lyon reminds us that the tremissis (on Merovingian models) was actually equivalent to the gold shilling mentioned in Kentish laws, and comes down in favor of the mancus as cognate to the Provençal solidus, rather than a relation of the light Arabic dinar of similar weight. Offa's new type of penny was on "a level of artistic merit which was without parallel in western Europe." The ninth-century Viking coins of York and perhaps elsewhere enliven a period in which the Saxon kings are producing an old traditional type.

Some Recent Developments:

Readers should take careful note of a new series, British Archaeological Reports, under the General Editorship of Dr. Anthony Hands (122, Banbury Road, Oxford, England). In the course of the past several years we have reviewed a goodly number of these reports, which are well-printed, and have adequate illustrations. Dr. Hands is interested in considering material for the series; if it is accepted, publication is usually quite swift. It is important to note that since the series is produced by a non-profit operation, prices on these works are very reasonable indeed.

A new version of Hoops's Reallexicon der Germanischen Altertumskunde is in progress, with Band 2, Lieserung 4/4 (principally Bewaffnung) the last to reach us. It is admirably composed under the senior editorship of Professor H. Beck of Saarbrücken, and its contributors are a host of well-known scholars from all over the world. Illustrations and text appear to be of an equally high quality. No major library should be without this essential resource.

A proposal for the establishment of branch museums of equal status throughout Ireland is outlined in Museum Service for Ireland (Institute of Professional Civil Servants, Dublin, 1973). In the past, national treasures have been taken from all over Ireland and brought to Dublin, thus depriving many areas of their "portable physical heritage." The creation of the branch Museums is an attempt to rectify this situation.

R.T.F.