

# OLD ENGLISH NEWSLETTER

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*Editor,*

*Paul E. Szarmach*

*Associate Editors,*

*Carl T. Berkhout*

*Rowland L. Collins*

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Editor: Paul E. Szarmach  
 CEMERS  
 SUNY-Binghamton  
 Binghamton, New York 13901  
 607-798-2130

## Associate Editors:

Rowland L. Collins  
 Department of English  
 University of Rochester  
 Rochester, New York 14627

Carl T. Berkhout  
 Department of English  
 University of Arizona  
 Tucson, Arizona 85721

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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 Professors Collins and 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.

The Old English Newsletter is a refereed periodical. Solicited and unsolicited manuscripts (except for independent reports and news items) are reviewed by specialists in anonymous reports.

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## I

## 1984 Annual Meeting of the MLA

The Modern Language Association will hold its annual meeting in Washington DC, December 27-30. The meeting in Foggy Bottom is the first since 1962. The Executive Committee of the Old English Division will sponsor three sessions. Two of these sessions are "open," and program chairman Daniel Calder is in the process of selecting papers from those submitted by the membership. The third session is devoted to Aethelwold of Winchester. It will feature individual papers by Allen Frantzen and Colin Chase as well as a joint paper by Mary Richards and Joan Stanfield. In addition to these three sessions there are likely to be others submitted to and approved directly by the MLA Program Committee.

## II

## ISAS News

The Second Conference of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists will be held in Cambridge, England, during the week beginning Monday, August 19, 1985. The gathering will assemble on the Monday evening and will close with an optional all-day excursion into the Midlands on Friday, August 23. Papers and discussion on two-and-a-half days and an afternoon excursion to Sutton Hoo will occupy the working parts of the Tuesday, Wednesday, and Thursday. Information about the events other than the papers will be circulated later. Members may send to the Executive Director, Professor Daniel G. Calder, Department of English, UCLA, Los Angeles, CA 90024, USA, an abstract (not more than three pages long) of a paper to be read at the conference. All abstracts must be received by October 1, 1984. Papers will be either 30 or 45 minutes long; those submitting abstracts should indicate how much material they would include in the one format and how much in the other. The Advisory Board will decide which offers to accept on the basis of the abstracts Professor Calder has received by that date.

It is intended to devote one full day to papers and discussion dealing with the Midland and southern kingdoms during the seventh, eighth, and ninth centuries. The papers and discussion on the other day and a half will range over other aspects of Anglo-Saxon England. The Southumbrian theme has been chosen because it is intrinsically interesting and is eminently suitable for Cambridge geographically. The aim is to promote new understanding of this important but too-little-known phase of Anglo-Saxon history and culture. Although treatment will necessarily be highly selective, it is hoped that, between them, the papers in this section will throw light on the development of government, the Christianization of society, the course of Latin learning, the transition from oral to written in the vernacular, including the establishment of written prose, and the forms and functions of visual symbols. It is expected that there will be also a major exhibition in the Fitzwilliam Museum concerned with government, Christianity, art, and learning south of the Humber in these centuries, and the excursions will be directly relevant too.

Readers of OEN interested in joining ISAS and seeking further information about membership privileges should write to the Executive Director.

## III

Mediävistenverband E.V.

Medievalists from many different disciplines met in Tübingen on May 24, 1983 to found the Mediävistenverband E.V., a society for the promotion of interdisciplinary research on the Middle Ages.

The new organization will support and coordinate the efforts of the many medieval associations active in Germany, for instance the Constance Circle for Medieval History, the Wolfram von Eschenbach Association, the Oswald von Wolkenstein Society, the Association of Medieval Latin, and the German branches of the International Courtly Literature Society, the International Arthurian Society, and the Rencesvals Society, many of which sent their representatives to the meeting in Tübingen. The Mediävistenverband is designed to help the specialized medievalist to draw on the resources and research of neighboring disciplines and related subjects, and to facilitate interdisciplinary cooperation in current areas of study. Through the publication of a Newsletter for its members and through interdisciplinary conferences on medieval topics, relevant information on current research and publications will be centralized and systematically distributed, so that new developments do not remain restricted to a single discipline, and thus pass unnoticed by others. The Mediävistenverband will promote scholarly exchange between individual organizations, between different disciplines, and between German and foreign medieval scholars. The delineation of current research will be of particular interest to younger members, who will be given a further opportunity to work together with senior scholars of the various disciplines.

Thus the goals of the new Mediävistenverband are information, coordination, and the promotion of interdisciplinary cooperation--as a link between the various existent organizations, and a forum for scholarly exchange. Interdisciplinary research is a necessary extension of specialized scholarship in the interests of achieving a more accurate and comprehensive picture of the Middle Ages.

The first issue of the Newsletter (Mitteilungsblatt des Mediävistenverbandes E.V.) appeared in January, 1984. The first conference of the organization will take place from October 31 to November 3, 1984 in Tübingen. The call for papers has been sent out, asking for contributions to these sections: 1) codices, 2) the transition from Latin to the vulgar tongues, 3) liturgy and poetry, 4) aristocratic life in the Middle Ages from the viewpoint of archaeology and literary studies, 5) medieval universities and education, 6) historical philology and the reality of medieval life, 7) 500 years of the Sistine Chapel, 8) legal language in historical and literary documents, 9) problems of interdisciplinary research and cooperation in Medieval Studies. The main concern will be to define the present state of research and interdisciplinary needs in Medieval Studies. The conference will be organized by Professor Joerg Fichte of Tübingen, a member of the Executive Council of the new organization. Professor Karl Heinz Göller (English Literature) of Regensburg will head the Mediävistenverband as President; other Executive Council members are Prof. Bernhard Schimmelpfennig (Medieval History) as Vice-President, Prof. Alfred Karnein (German Medieval Literature) as Secretary, and Prof. Frankwalt Mühren (Romance Philology) as Treasurer. As of January 1984 the Mediävistenverband has over two hundred members, some of them from abroad, and is rapidly growing.

For further information on the new organization write to the President:

Prof. Karl Heinz Göller  
 Institut für Anglistik  
 Universität Regensburg  
 Universitätsstrasse 31  
 8400 Regensburg  
 GERMANY

#### IV

#### Symposium at Kalamazoo

The Medieval Institute at Western Michigan University (Kalamazoo) and the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton continue to support the symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture. Begun in 1983 with major funding from the National Endowment for the Humanities, the Symposium offered six sessions at the 1984 Kalamazoo meeting; see Appendix A, pp. 35-44, for abstracts of papers offered. In addition to these sessions the schedule featured a panel discussion on the plans and possibilities for a successor volume to J.D.A. Ogilvy's Books Known to the Anglo-Saxons. The named participants in the discussion were: Co-chairmen, Thomas D. Hill (Cornell Univ.) and Paul E. Szarmach (SUNY-Binghamton); Panelists, Carl T. Berkhout (Univ. of Arizona), J.E. Cross (Univ. of Liverpool), Colin Chase (Univ. of Toronto), David R. Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin), Ashley Crandell Amos (Univ. of Toronto). The Kalamazoo Symposium operates in parallel with other activities such as the Leeds Conference announced in the Fall OEN (p. 17). The Third Symposium will take place May 9-12, 1985. Proposed topics include Alcuin, Alfred's Preface to the Pastoral Care, among others. Those who wish to submit abstracts of papers for the Third Symposium on the aforementioned topics, or who wish to suggest other topics, should send abstracts (or complete papers) and suggestions by September 30 to: Paul E. Szarmach, CEMERS, SUNY-Binghamton, Binghamton, NY 13901.

#### V

#### OEN and OEN Subsidia Update

The new rate schedule for individual subscribers has, as was expected, led to a trimmer subscribers' list. There are now more than 600 individuals worldwide who receive OEN. The list of institutional subscribers has remained constant in the 240-50 range these last several years, new subscribers and cancellations coming in at about an equal rate. With continued access to the Campus Print Shop at SUNY-Binghamton, OEN should maintain a relatively stable financial position for the next several years.

OEN Subsidia plans to continue issuing volumes at about one per year in similar formats. The editors are happy to receive proposals for the series on the understanding that whether reprints or originals, type-setting for volumes proposed will be no more than minimal, or, to put it another way, copy must be ready for the camera. By decision of the Executive Council of the MLA Division (December, 1983) the Subsidia series will no longer publish OE composition. All submissions are subject to review. Currently the editors are considering several proposals.

## VI

## Saxon Festival

As announced in the Fall OEN (pp. 8-10), Winchester Cathedral's Saxon Festival (April-September, 1984) celebrates the life and work of Ethelwold and commemorates the millenium of his death. The Cathedral has scheduled special services, a "monastic day," a lecture series, exhibitions, concerts, pageants, and a calligraphy competition. The last, an appropriate activity recalling the splendid manuscripts produced by the monks of St. Swithun's Priory, offers cash prizes in several classifications of competition. The exhibitions include a permanent display on the excavations at the Cathedral, photographs and drawings on Ethelwold and his time in the North Transept of the Cathedral, artwork on display in the Cathedral Treasury, illuminated manuscripts (including the Benedictional) in the Cathedral Library, and an interpretation of Saxon fine art by contemporary art students. See the Fall OEN for more detailed information on these and other activities.

## VII

## English Romanesque Art 1066-1200

Although the period may be somewhat later, readers of OEN might wish to know that the Arts Council of Great Britain has assembled the finest surviving examples of twelfth century English art to show the wealth of artistic activity and the rich cultural life of Norman England, for an exhibition entitled 1066 English Romanesque Art, at the Hayward Gallery in London through July 8, 1984. The Archbishops of Canterbury and York are patrons of this exhibition, which is supported by major national and regional museums and the Church of England. The Arts Council has borrowed over 80 illuminated manuscripts, including the great Winchester, Lambeth, and Bury Bibles. Canterbury Cathedral and York Minster have removed stained glass specially for the exhibition, and sculpture has come from 40 cathedrals and parish churches. The famous ivory carving the Bury St. Edmunds Cross has come from the Metropolitan Museum in New York, while the gilt Gloucester Candlestick has left the Victoria and Albert Museum for the first time since its acquisition in 1861. The most outstanding surviving Norman buildings are illustrated in the exhibition in an audio-visual program specially commissioned by the Arts Council and sponsored by Charles Letts and Company Ltd. The exhibition has been selected by a committee of eminent scholars of Romanesque art, under the chairmanship of Professor George Zarnecki. A major catalogue is being published by the Arts Council in association with Weidenfeld and Nicolson Ltd. The setting for the exhibition was done by Paul Williams, who designed the exhibition Artists of the Tudor Court at the Victoria and Albert Museum.



## Haskins Medal for Greenfield and Robinson

At the annual meeting of the Mediaeval Academy of America, held this year at Emory University (March 23-24), Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson received the Haskins Medal for their A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the end of 1972. The Academy awards the Haskins medal annually for a distinguished publication in the field of Medieval Studies. First presented in 1940, the award honors Charles Homer Haskins, the noted medieval historian, who was a founder of the Academy and its second President. In making the award the selection committee gave the following tribute:

Your committee unanimously recommends the award of the Haskins Medal for 1984 jointly to Stanley B. Greenfield and Fred C. Robinson, for their A Bibliography of Publications on Old English Literature to the End of 1972, which was published by the University of Toronto Press in 1980. There would be enough ground for that recommendation simply in the magnitude of the service to scholarship that this bibliography, as a classic reference work, constitutes. But more reasons must be named, to do justice to the book and its authors. The bibliography is a testament of unspoken idealism, not the work of men who list books because they are unable to write, but a sustained and strenuous expression of faith in the intrinsic value of scholarship as a philosophical and historical activity, particularly admirable for its dedication in an age when uninformed opinion tricked out in jargon can pass for scholarship.

Their book gives access to the enormous corpus of a scholarship that began in the sixteenth century. By excellent organization it affords information about practically everything that has been written up to its terminus ad quem, what precisely this deals with, how substantial it is, and where it can be found. As a guide to editions and current critical writings it surpasses everything else available. It contains a striking number of items not found in any earlier bibliography. It is remarkably accurate: by checking for themselves the editors have eliminated archetypal errors of scholarship so long transmitted by the uncritical as to have become traditional.

The editors' decision to include the ephemeral and the obsolete makes the book into an absorbing museum of one of the most extended expressions in our culture of the deep-seated antiquarian instinct which all of us in this Academy exemplify. Its earliest item is John Bale's Illustrium maioris Brittaniae Scriptorum Summarium (1548). Laurence Nowell's manuscript dictionary of Anglo-Saxon compiled in the reign of Queen Elizabeth finds a place. Early reviews, like that of George Hickes's Thesaurus in the Leipzig Acta Eruditorum of 1703-5, are included. In such senses the bibliography is vastly more than a working tool, however excellent, for it amounts to a monument of the intellectual and imaginative scope of our scholarly activity, historical, philological, and literary. Anglo-Saxonists are saying "it is already hard to remember how we got along without it."

Marvin Becker  
Alice M. Colby-Hall  
George Kane, Chairman

## IX

## Cambridge Chair for Page

The Cambridge University Reporter (March 14, 1984) has announced the election of Dr. R.I. Page to the Elrington and Bosworth Professorship of Anglo-Saxon. Dr. Page has served as Librarian of the Parker Library, Corpus Christi College. The appointment is effective as from March 3.

## X

Fourth Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium

Linacre College, Oxford, will once again be the site of the Medieval Sermon Studies Symposium, July 11-13. This Fourth meeting will focus on the content of sermons, and will feature a workshop at which three scholars will analyze three Latin sermons. The program will range widely in the medieval field, but J.E. Cross and Eugene Green are speaking in the topic area devoted to Old English Sermons. A final Colloquium will allow the participants (maximum of 60) to review the major issues of the meeting. For reports on the 1979, 1980, 1982 Symposiums (50p in UK and Europe; \$1.50 USA and elsewhere), or for more information on this year's meeting write: Dr. Gloria Cigman; Dept. of English; Univ. of Warwick; Coventry CV4 7AL, England.

## XI

## Conference Activity

The Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton announces its Nineteenth and Twentieth Annual Conferences. The Nineteenth, whose working title is "The Bible in the Middle Ages: Its Influence on Literature and Art," will take place on October 18-19, 1985. The Conference Coordinator is Bernard S. Levy. The Twentieth Conference will focus on the Classics in the Middle Ages, October 17-18, 1986; Aldo S. Bernardo and Saul Levin will serve as Coordinators.

The Augustinian Historical Institute will hold its Ninth International Conference on Patristic, Mediaeval, and Renaissance Studies, September 21-23, 1984, and gives advance notice of the Vth St. Anselm Conference, September 17-21, 1985, both on the campus of Villanova University. The PMR Conferences traditionally give Anglo-Saxonists opportunities to present papers.

The Eleventh Annual Carolinas Symposium on British Studies will take place at Appalachian State University, October 13-14, 1984. The Symposium seeks to promote research, dialogue, and scholarship in an interdisciplinary forum for scholars in the Southeastern United States. The program committee awards an annual \$100 prize for the best paper read at the Symposium; entries must be submitted by the following February to the committee. For further information on all these activities write to:

Prof. Charles R. Perry  
 Vice-President, Carolinas Symposium  
 History Department  
 The University of the South  
 Sewanee, Tennessee 37375

## XII

### Brief Notices on Publications

Medieval Academy Reprints in Teaching (MART), which aims to reprint important school texts at low prices, has published a paperback edition of J.R. Clark Hall, A Concise Anglo-Saxon Dictionary (4th ed., with supplement by Herbert D. Meritt). MART publishes through the University of Toronto Press, which is making the book available for \$15.00 (ISBN 0-8020-6548-1). MART is an activity of Centers and Regional Associations (CARA), a standing committee of the Mediaeval Academy of America.

Anglo-Saxonists can now have the articles of Sherman M. Kuhn in one handy volume: Studies in the Language and Poetics of Anglo-Saxon England. The book contains thirteen articles published in various places from 1939 to 1979, a bibliography of Kuhn's writings, and a brief biographical sketch. Karoma Publishers have issued the volume for \$15.50 (ISBN 0-89720-067-5, paper only). Order from Karoma: 3400 Daleview Drive, Ann Arbor, MI 48103.

Michael Lapidge and Pauline Hunter Blair have edited twelve studies by the late Peter Hunter Blair, entitled Anglo-Saxon Northumbria. Variorum Reprints list the 338-page book (4 illus.) at £26.00. These studies were published between 1939 and 1976, representing Blair's important work on Northumbria and Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica. The ISBN is: 0-86078-140-2. Write to Variorum, 20 Pembridge Mews, London W11 3EQ.

The University of California Press has published Marijane Osborn's verse translation of Beowulf with 85 historical and archeological illustrations of helmets, weapons, shields, statues, coins, and art of the period as an integral part of the text. Fred C. Robinson gives an introduction to the translation and the poem. The Finnsburh Fragment in translation, four brief appendices, and notes accompany the main text. After June 30 the price is \$29.95 (ISBN 0-520-04599-8).

Joyce Hill has edited Old English Minor Heroic Poems, which is vol. 4 (1983) in Durham and St. Andrews Medieval Texts. The edition includes texts of Widsið, Deor, Waldere, and The Finnsburh Fragment, with notes, introduction, select bibliography, glossary, and glossary of proper names. The 104 pp; (+vii) come in at £1.50 (postfree in UK). Other texts in this series for undergraduates include Voluspá (vol. 1), Resignation (vol. 2), and Chaucer's The Book of the Duchess (vol. 3). Write to General Editors Paul Bibire and John McKinnell at the Department of English Language and Medieval Literature, University of Durham, Elvet Riverside, New Elvet, Durham DH1 3JT England.

For information on the Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee see Robert Farrell's article below, p. 33.

Those interested in the progress of English and American Studies in the Federal Republic of Germany and in Austria will be interested in Informationen. The thirty-seventh volume, edited by Konrad Schröder and Thomas Finkenstaedt, gives information on courses, habilitations, and research in progress, as well as a bibliography. The format is reduced, typed copy. Write to Dr. Thomas Finkenstaedt, Lehrstuhl für Englische Sprachwissenschaft, Univ. Augsburg, Alter Postweg 120, 8900 Augsburg, West Germany.

Oxford University Press announces the availability in paperback of "classics in language." Campbell's Old English Grammar is \$19.95 (440 pp.), while the third edition of the Wrights' Old English Grammar comes in at \$16.95 (388 pp.). Other texts include E.V. Gordon's An Introduction to Old Norse, rev. A.R. Taylor at \$17.95 (494 pp., illus.) and Sigrid Valfell's and James E. Cathey, Old Icelandic: An Introductory Course at \$18.95 (368 pp.). The cloth price for the last is \$36.50.

God's Handiwork: Images of Women in Early Germanic Literature is Richard J. Schrader's study and guide to images of women in early Germanic literature. Schrader focuses primarily on the vernacular literature of Anglo-Saxon England and of other Germanic lands of approximately the same era with some attention to Anglo-Latin and Germano-Latin writings. The work appears in Greenwood Press' series, Contributions to Women's Studies, in which it is volume 41 (1983). ISBN 0147-104X, price \$23.95 for about 144 pp.

The British Series of British Archaeological Reports lists one title not cited here before and of possible interest to Anglo-Saxonists: BAR 114, 1983, Offa's Dyke Reviewed by Frank Noble, ed. M. Gelling, ISBN 0-86054-216-5 (£6.00 post free). Another item of interest may be: BAR 119, 1983, Viking and Early Medieval Buildings in Dublin (O Riordáin excavations) by Hilary Murray, ISBN 0-86054-235-1 (£10.00 postfree).

## XIII

## More on Computers

The Editors of OEN continue to receive suggestions and submissions on OE Studies and computers. This issue contains two articles, one by William Schipper, and another by Lois Bragg and Michael Blumenthal, and there are several under review. L. Michael Bell's Part II is now moved to the Fall, 1984 issue. The field is moving and changing rapidly.

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*Late Items*Leeds Conference

As a sequel to the initial general conference at Kalamazoo in May 1983, Joyce Hill and J.E. Cross organized a one-day conference at the School of English, Leeds University (March 24) on "Towards the Sources of Old English Literature." Some 45 staff and postgraduates from universities and colleges throughout the United Kingdom and Ireland attended. The Conference began with two papers: J.E. Cross, "New Source-areas for Old English Texts and Ideas; Malcolm R. Godden, "Working with Alfric's Sources." The afternoon session was an open discussion of the feasibility of a collaborative project to record the sources of Anglo-Saxon written culture. It is hoped that more information on the Conference and its results will be available in the Fall issue of OEN. Those interested may also write to: Dr. Joyce Hill, School of English, Leeds University, Leeds, LS2 9JT.

Kalamazoo Conference

The ad hoc group meeting at Kalamazoo (see p. 5) is planning a Third Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture for the Twentieth International Congress at Western Michigan University, May 9-12, 1985. The group is working towards a series of meetings that may include sessions on Bede, Alcuin, post-Conquest saints' lives, desiderata in source work, and a workshop on a particular text, as well as more general sessions on literature and the arts. More information will be available in the traditional summer mailing from the Medieval Institute at Western Michigan.

Haskins Society

The Charles Homer Haskins Society for Viking, Anglo-Saxon, Anglo-Norman, and Angevin Society will hold its Third Annual Conference at the University of Houston, November 9-11. The plenary speakers are: David M. Dumville, "The Vikings in the British Isles: A Question of Sources"; David Bates, "The Charters of the Norman Dukes, 1000-1135"; John W. Baldwin, "The Accomplishment of Philip Augustus." In addition to these plenary speakers there will be a series of consecutive sessions of shorter papers (20 minutes in length). For further information write to Sally N. Vaughn; Conference Director, the Haskins Society; University of Houston; University Park; Dept. of History; Houston, TX 77004.

## Dictionary of Old English: 1983 Progress Report

Ashley Crandell Amos  
Centre for Mediaeval Studies  
University of Toronto

Angus Cameron, the Editor of the Dictionary of Old English, died on May 27, 1983. Work on the dictionary continues under the direction of Ashley Crandell Amos, who was appointed Co-Editor in January, 1983. The Social Sciences and Humanities Research Council of Canada, the University of Toronto, and the University of Toronto Press have all affirmed their continued support for the project.

Work continues as usual at the dictionary. From the rate at which the entry-writing is proceeding, it is clear that, especially without Professor Cameron, the dictionary will not be finished in 1986 as was once hoped. A substantial amount of work should be available by then, and the current staff is committed to finishing the project.

The dictionary's computer system will be installed in January, 1984. The system represents a special gift made last spring by the President's Committee of the University of Toronto to Professor Cameron and his project. The system will include a small mini-computer, the VAX 11/730, and a new processor from Xerox, the 1108 (the "Dandelion", a cousin of the "Star"), with a laser printer. Despite its humble name, the Dandelion offers the most powerful text handling tools available, with its multiple-window object-oriented programming environment. As we write entries we will be able to consult many files at once on the screen (slips, senses, lists of spellings and reverse spellings, entries already written, etc.), to call up the Old English citations to be used in the entry in accurate form, and to control the final page format of the dictionary ourselves.

Old English Word Studies: A Preliminary Author and Word Index, by Angus Cameron, Allison Kingsmill, and Ashley Crandell Amos, appeared in March as volume

8 in the Toronto Old English Series. It provides in book form a bibliography of Old English semantic studies and on microfiche an index to the Old English words discussed in the monographs, books, and articles included in the bibliography.

A memorial fund for Angus Cameron has been established; it will help support the dictionary and, at its conclusion, endow a Cameron Chair of Old English Studies at the University of Toronto if funds suffice. The Angus Cameron Memorial Fund Committee is chaired by John Leyerle. Contributions are tax-deductible in Canada and the United States. Further information may be obtained from the Angus Cameron Memorial Fund, Centre for Medieval Studies, 39 Queen's Park Cr. East, University of Toronto, Toronto, Ontario M5S 1A1 Canada.

EDITORIAL STAFF: Ashley Crandell Amos (Editor) Anna Burko  
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 Sharon Butler Elaine Quantz  
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INTERNATIONAL ADVISORY COMMITTEE:

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## The Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham

by

Roger C. Norris, Deputy Chapter Librarian

The Library of the Dean and Chapter of Durham descends in direct historic continuity from the library of the Benedictine house at Durham which was dissolved in 1540 and then changed into a capitular foundation of a Dean and twelve residentiaries. The riches of the relics of the monastic library are listed summarily in the second edition of N.R. Ker's Monastic Libraries in Great Britain (London, 1964), and the manuscripts which survive up to the end of the twelfth century are described in detail by Sir Roger A.B. Mynors in Durham Cathedral Manuscripts (Durham, 1939). A general history of the library by H.D. Hughes and J.M. Falkner was published in 1925 (see Bibliography below).

Durham started as a house of secular (i.e. not-necessarily-celibate) canons in the tenth century and was transformed by Bishop William de St. Calais (1081-96) into a Benedictine foundation embracing the personnel and endowments of the ancient houses of Jarrow and Wearmouth. The Rule of St. Benedict laid special emphasis on the importance of education and learning in the monastic life. At the foundation of the Benedictine community books came from varied sources including the ancient scriptorium of Lindisfarne. The Lindisfarne Gospels (one of the most important seventh-eighth century Cottonian manuscripts in the British Library: Nero D.iv) was within the discretion of the Durham house until the Dissolution. William de St. Calais and Hugh du Puiset, eleventh-twelfth century bishops, are notable benefactors of the library, large decorated Biblical and patristic texts being associated with them. In the late thirteenth century Durham established its scholarly tradition at Oxford with the formation of Durham College (to be refounded as the post-dissolution Trinity College by Sir Thomas Pope), and the frequent passage of books between Durham and Oxford is shown by the annotations in the medieval catalogs of the library. The speedy transition from a monastic to a secular regime in 1540 no doubt contributed to Durham's fortune in having so many (nearly 350) medieval books preserved in situ. Almost 200 medieval books from Durham monastery survive outside the cathedral today, including 40 at Oxford.

What is commonly known then as the collection of Durham Capitular manuscripts (i.e. the relics of the monastic library surviving at Durham with some later additions of medieval material which may or may not have Durham associations) clearly constitutes the most attractive and recondite area of the library's treasures. S.L. Greenslade in The Contents of the Library of Durham Cathedral Priory analyzes the make-up of the library. Most sections of medieval learning are still represented in the Durham collection, and although the profaner of the classics have gone, there are good texts of Suetonius (eleventh century) and Prudentius (tenth century). The majority of the 300-odd manuscripts in the library are of Biblical, patristic, homiletic, theological, historical, legal, or classical texts. They vary in quality from large decorated books for use at the altar on great festivals to the humble medieval equivalent of the modern paperback, an unbound text normally wrapped up in a piece of vellum and stuffed conveniently into the ample folds of the black Benedictine habit (MS A.IV.34, twelfth century gloss on the Song of Songs, "rediscovered" in 1935).



The location of the medieval books is often shown by inscriptions on the first leaves of the books; they would be arranged by press-marks in the last medieval location--Prior Wessington's library, which room is currently used as the song school for the cathedral choir, being the room above the Slype or passageway between the south transept of the cathedral and the chapter house. Previously the books were located in the Spendement [a medieval term for Treasury--Lat. Spendementum, possibly either from splendor ("brilliance") or the same root as spensa ("spense" or "store-room")], beneath the north end of the Dormitory, and before that probably just in cupboards in the north cloister, or at places where they would be customarily needed, such as the entrance to the Refectory. A line where cupboards or armariola would have been plugged to the wall can be seen along the north cloister where the monastic scriptorium would have been based.

The antiquarian collections which have been acquired by bequest or purchase represent the accumulated notes and often source material of the significant historians of County Durham.

The most important of these collections is that of the physician and antiquary Christopher Hunter (1675-1757). Educated at Keyper School, Houghton-le-Spring, he became a favorite pupil of Thomas Baker (1656-1740, eventually ejected from his fellowship into the non-juring wilderness) at St. John's College, Cambridge. Baker was a great friend of John Strype, and from the 1690's Hunter derived a taste for antiquarian pursuits. John Brookbank, spiritual chancellor of Durham, gave Hunter a license to practice physic in 1701. When he moved from Stockton-on-Tees to Durham he became a frequenter of the Dean and Chapter library and was at one point refused admission for a while after spoiling the 1225 (Henry III) confirmation of Magna Carta by spilling ink thereon. That must have left a permanent psychological scar on the poor man. He carried out archaeological investigations at Lanchester and Ebchester, and was a friend and colleague of Horsley, Gale, Wilkins, Gordon, and Bourne. He published proposals for a history of the diocese of Durham, and although he had the use of the Bowes of Streatlam papers, the work never saw the light. (Sir Cuthbert Sharp eventually used these papers to good effect.) The greater part of Hunter's extensive library and collection of coins and sculptured stones was purchased by Richardson of Durham for £360, and a proportion was bought by the Dean and Chapter from Elizabeth, Hunter's widow, for £40. The Hunter collection includes two important manuscripts of the twelfth century; Hunter MS 100 is a miscellaneous volume of tracts of a zodiacal, astronomical, botanical and medical nature; Hunter MS 101 is Reginald of Durham's account of the miracles of St. Cuthbert. Also in the collection are official letters relating to the diocese and capitular business from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The series of letters and notebooks of Isaac Basire the mid-seventeenth century Archdeacon of Northumberland and European traveller, the early copy of Earle's "microcosmographie," the life (imperfect) of Sir Thomas More signed by Rd. Bar., and the seventeenth century commonplace books (some acquired from James Carr) which contain poems by Donne and Herbert, are among the most spectacular.

Thomas Randall became headmaster of Durham School at the death of Richard Dongworth in 1761, retiring in 1768. In his will dated 1774 Randall bequeathed to George Allan of Darlington, an attorney and local historian, "...all my manuscripts relating to the antiquities of Durham and Northumberland..." Westby-Gibson says that there were twenty manuscript volumes. Of these fourteen have come through the Allan family into the collections of the Dean and Chapter.

George Allan (1736-1800) of Blackwell Grange, Darlington, antiquarian, was cool enough to decline appointment as Richmond Herald in 1764, and contented himself with his extensive work on local history. About 1768 he set up a private press at the Grange and produced many books and pamphlets of antiquarian interest collections relating to Greatham and Sherburn hospitals, the legend of St. Cuthbert by Richard Hegge, Cromwell's letter recommending the foundation of a university of Durham, and many others.

Robert Surtees (1779-1834) of Mainsforth was born in the South Bailey and educated at Keyper School (as was Hunter) and at Neasden where he became a friend of Reginald Heber (afterwards bishop of Calcutta and editor of Jeremy Taylor). From early in life he contemplated writing a history of Durham, and Raine in George Taylor's memoir of Surtees reminisces about his method of investigation: "He was generally, when his health permitted, moving from place to place in search of information. He was driven about in his gig by his man Henry Shields, who, for a while, liked the employment; but, at last, he became fairly tired of it. 'Sir,' he once told me, 'it was weary work; for master always stopped the gig; we never could get past an auld beelding.'" Sharp says, "He never set down 'doggedly' to write; but would wander about on a spacious gravel-walk in front of his house; and having well considered his subject, he would come to his library, and hastily write down the result of his musings. But his ideas crowded on his mind so rapidly, and his fancy was so exuberant, that his pen could not keep pace with his creative imagination; and the consequence was, that his words were but half written, or simply hieroglyphic indications; and nobody but himself could read what he had written; and that not always..." Among his correspondents are Sir Walter Scott and James Hogg. The Surtees Society was formed on 27 May 1834 (three months after Surtees's death) as an act of piety of James Raine. Its object was and still is to present previously inedited texts in a published form usually relating to Durham and Northumberland. The Surtees manuscripts which are in the Dean and Chapter library were given [together with a short run by Brigadier Sir Henry Conyers Surtees (1858-1933), who was M.P. for Gateshead 1918-22] in 1933 by Lady Surtees. In the main the manuscripts are of genealogical interest.

Sir Cuthbert Sharp (1781-1849) was born in Sunderland, and after an adventurous early life in Ireland and France, settled at Hartlepool. He was mayor in 1816. He produced a history of Hartlepool and in 1840 Memorials of the rebellion of 1569. Sharp helped Surtees considerably in his work on the History of Durham and his contributions are distinguished by the initials C.S. surmounted by a rose. His manuscript collection is vast and sparsely indexed.

James Raine (1791-1858) was born at Ovington in the North Riding and was educated at Kirby Hill and Richmond. He was second master at Durham School from 1812-27 and librarian to the Dean and Chapter from 1816 until his death. The county historians, Surtees, Hodgson, and Sharp, all record their indebtedness to Raine's industry and unselfish assistance. The posthumous fourth volume of Surtees' History appeared in 1840 only through the work of Raine. His History of North Durham was published from 1830 to 1852. His energy was a mainstay in the newly-formed Surtees Society and he edited seventeen of the Society's volumes. Raine died at Crook Hall in the city. His son, James, was destined to be chancellor and librarian of York Minster. The antiquarian material of the elder Raine now in the library of the Dean and Chapter in Durham contains much ephemeral printed material of great interest relating to local Parliamentary Elections and to Durham School as well as the substance of the manuscript notes

for Raine's dispute re the incumbency of Meldon and Jacques Sterne's dispute with the Dean and Chapter.

William Hylton Dyer Longstaffe (1825-98) was born at Norton. As a solicitor's clerk he worked in Thirsk and Darlington (where he met R.H. Allan, descendant of George Allan, the local antiquary). After three years in Darlington he announced his intention of issuing a history of the town; this was eventually completed in 1854. He came to Gateshead in 1850 and in due time took over the practice of William Kell, town clerk. He contributed a great many papers to Archaeologia Aeliana (the journal of the Newcastle-upon-Tyne Society of Antiquaries) and was bequeathed £1,000 by R.H. Allan on the condition of completing Surtees's History of Durham.

Early and modern printed books are represented in two of the conventual buildings along the south and west cloisters--the Refectory and the Dormitory. The Refectory holds over 20,000 published items (apart from the antiquarian manuscripts and the music printed and manuscript books) mainly dating from 1501 to about 1800. In this number are some 11,000 dissertations from European universities from the sixteenth to the early nineteenth century. The Refectory was converted into a library room in the 1680's by the munificence of John Sudbury, Dean 1662-84. Previously the room had been used as a "petty-canon's hall" but had fallen into considerable disrepair. The books in the Refectory are arranged by press-mark and have a degree of classification in that there are certain easily identifiable groups on the shelves--Bibles, commentaries, Patristics, history, law, natural history, polemics, classics, travel, atlases, hebraics, dictionaries. The seventeenth century bookcases attempt to some extent to reproduce the monastic and medieval formula of combined desk and bookcase. It is a beautifully light room and during excavations in the early of 1960's remains of the original refectory were unearthed beneath the present floor level, which had previously been examined in 1849. The room was restored in 1858-59 according to plans by Anthony Salvin M.A. (h.c. Dunelm), F.S.A., who also superintended the reconstruction of the keep of Durham Castle and new buildings at Hatfield College.

The monastic Dormitory originally built 1398-1404, having served a period as house to the fifth prebendal stall, was restored and turned into a library 1850-56 under the architectural direction of Philip Charles Hardwick, the best features of which are the bookcases and the individual designs for the clerestory windows. Hardwick (1822-92) had built the new Durham Town Hall 1849-51, having in 1847 effectively taken over the practice of his more famous father Philip, especially in completing during 1846-49 the design of Euston Station in the Great Hall (the rest had been done by his father, including the well-known Arch in 1836-39). The Dormitory housed the public museum for over 100 years as well as books generally printed after 1850. A new treasury, focusing on the exhibition of relics from the shrine of St. Cuthbert was opened in three south bays of the Dormitory's undercroft in May, 1978. The modern part of the Dean and Chapter library maintains specializations in bibliography, local history, church history, and architecture. At the south end of the Dormitory is the Archdeacon Sharp Library, a modern theological library for students throughout the North East, administered and funded by the Trustees of Lord Crewe's Charities together with Durham University.

The library also houses a selection of the books from the library of the bishops of Durham at Auckland Castle. These particularly reflect the tastes of H.C.G. Moule (bishop 1901-20). There is a sequence of miscellaneous additional manuscripts apart from the named antiquarian collections. The Lightfoot Trustees have deposited the scholarly papers and letters of Joseph Barber Lightfoot (bishop 1879-89, in whose memory the Chapter House was restored); there are other archives of the papers of R.C. Coxe, A.R. Tucker, T. Romans, I.T. Ramsey and H.E.W. Turner in the library.

The music books in the library are of great interest; the printed books are the collection of Philip Falle, a native of Jersey, who was a canon of Durham 1699-1742, and there are several unique printed items of secular music, many emanating from the publishing firm of Etienne Roger at Amsterdam. The manuscript music is mainly organ and part-books of the choristers of the cathedral from the early seventeenth century to the nineteenth century. The most spectacular amongst these is the set of eight choir books of the early seventeenth century which contain, together with other services, the Great Service of William Byrd.

The library office is situated in the Loft, the second refectory of the monastery, originally serving as a misericorde or Solarium Caritatis where infirm brethren might take their meals with indulgences not permitted in the major refectory. By the sixteenth century, except on great festivals, the sub-prior and all the brethren other than the novices usually ate in the Loft. The room is still identifiable as the dining room of the prebendal house of the fifth stall, which occupied the southern part of the Dormitory as well until 1849.

Cuthbert bishop of Lindisfarne died in 687; the sanctity of his life inspired others to the extent that when his body was brought to Durham the church there became a great medieval center of pilgrimage. It may be that the modern pilgrim to Durham may still save a journey to Jerusalem.

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## More Word Processing for Anglo-Saxonists

Lois Bragg, State University of New York at Buffalo  
 Michael S. Blumenthal, Blumenthal's, Inc., Olean, New York

The articles on word processing for Anglo-Saxonists by Donald K. Fry and Milton McC. Gatch that appeared in the last number of this journal (17, No. 1, 24-27) were welcome reading: we only wish they had appeared a year earlier when we began to grapple with the problem of word processing with Old English characters. Our purpose here is to supplement these articles with information on other hardware and software, especially on dot-matrix printers and the programs that enable them to print OE characters. The system that we use is a variation on the frequently used combination of an Apple or Franklin computer, an Epson dot-matrix printer, and the WordStar word-processing program. We supplemented WordStar with WordPatch and Font Editor, two programs that provide additional fonts. For comparison with Fry's figures, this combination costs about \$2400.

Our choice of the Franklin 1200 was easily made. Among its advantages are a convenient keyboard for word processing (twelve of the most commonly used commands are written right on the keys), and its Apple graphics, which make it easy to create and print a custom font of OE characters.

Choosing a word-processing program, however, can be a bewildering process, chiefly because, as Fry points out, one needs "lots of leisure" to discover the advantages and disadvantages of each for one's own needs. In our search for the most suitable program for writing a doctoral dissertation, we found that WordStar is a good choice for the scholar in computer systems under \$2500. First, WordStar is easy to learn because all commands either remain on the screen as one edits (that is, composes) or can easily be made to appear there. Second, we have found no other program for a computer in this price range to rival its editing capabilities. Third, WordStar is so widely used that more after-purchase support, supplementary programs, and books are available for it than for any other word-processing program. The chief disadvantage of WordStar is its inability to use all the print capabilities of the newest generation of printers. WordStar has all the important options, such as superscript (for footnoting), underline, and alternate pitch (that is, a choice of pica or elite), but we also wanted italics and proportional printing. To obtain these, we bought a \$50 program called WordPatch, published by Rocky Mountain Software, Walnut Creek, California, which alters, or patches, WordStar to provide every option that Epson printers are capable of. We had some difficulty using the patched WordStar with our custom OE font, but with additional information from the publishers of WordPatch we were able further to modify WordStar to make it compatible with our custom font program.

While on the subject of software, we should point out that SpelStar, the spelling check program that works with WordStar, is unsatisfactory. We recommend either Sensible Speller or Word Plus: even good spellers will appreciate a good spelling-check program's ability to pick up typographical errors, and book reviewers will appreciate its ability to provide rapid word

counts. Checking a document with OE words embedded in the text is no problem for either of these programs: since OE words are underlined, one has only to instruct the spelling-check program to ignore all underlined words. However, as Fry points out, quotations in OE present a problem because the program will call up all quoted OE words as unknown. One must instruct the checker to ignore each individually, which involves keying the "I" (for "ignore") for each word--not each appearance of each word--as it appears on the screen as unknown. So far, we have found the spelling-check program worth the trouble.

Our choice of printer also required a good deal of research and trial and error. We concluded that for the medievalist, there appears to be no entirely satisfactory choice. Fry's analysis of the advantages and disadvantages of dot-matrix and letter-quality printers is accurate. We would like to add several points to his discussion and to explain our system for generating OE characters on a dot-matrix printer.

Letter-quality printers have many disadvantages: they are bulky and noisy, they print slowly, and they cost much more than dot-matrix printers. It is difficult to compare printers for cost because their features vary so widely, but we can give some figures for those printers which would meet our needs. Top quality dot-matrix printers--those that can work with custom fonts, such as the Epson FX-80 and 100, the C-Itoh 8510 and 1550, and the Apple DMP--are priced from \$400 to \$800. Full-featured letter-quality printers--those that can produce underlining and superscript, such as the Transtar 120 and 130, and the C-Itoh F-10--range in price from \$600 to \$1500. To the prices for letter-quality printers must be added the cost of the tractor-feed attachment, about \$200, and the cost of the custom print wheel. Gatch's estimate of \$150 to \$200 falls at the lower end of the range of our own estimates. Dramco Sales, New York, adds a mold charge of \$50 per character, *per customer*. That Dramco already has these molds on hand does not alter this policy. Thus, one's first order from Dramco for a wheel with upper- and lower-case *thorn*, *eth*, and *aesc* would cost \$365. Subsequent orders from the same customer would be \$165. Other sources of custom wheels are G. A. Blanco, Great Barrington, Massachusetts, which charges \$60 per character with no mold charge (that is, \$360), and Camwil International, Honolulu, which charges \$40 for the first change and \$25 each for others on the same wheel, also with no mold charge (that is, \$165). As far as we know, there is no discount in any case for quantity orders. Fry's Icelandic wheel, ordered from Reyjavik, may be a less expensive alternative, but it can be used only on printers that use a Diablo-style wheel: most such printers are priced at over \$1200. Not only are these print wheels expensive, but we estimate their life at only 160 hours, since law offices usually replace them once a month. A further disadvantage of any custom print wheel is that each custom character replaces a keyboard character, thus limiting the system's print capabilities. In short, the high cost, the trouble that we experienced in obtaining knowledgeable responses and accurate estimates from these companies, and the prospect of replacing the wheel every year or two, when added to the other disadvantages and limitations of letter-quality printers, prompted us to investigate further the capabilities of dot-matrix printers.



The single disadvantage of dot-matrix printers is their relatively poor print quality. This essay is printed by our Epson FX-80 dot-matrix printer, and could not pass for a type-written text. The quality has, however, improved dramatically over the past few years, and dot-matrix printing is now far better than it was even a year or two ago when many journals and graduate school offices proscribed its use for papers submitted for publication and for dissertations. We believe that the print quality is satisfactory for most of our needs: syllabi, examinations, and other classroom material; letters; and drafts of papers. For a final draft to be submitted to a journal, we print our texts with a letter-quality printer, replacing our custom OE characters with blanks to be filled in by hand: this solution, however, may not be open to all readers.

The advantages of the dot-matrix printers, on the other hand, are those outlined by Fry--lower cost, greater speed, and greater flexibility--and they are quieter. As for their flexibility, the dot-matrix printers come equipped with several fonts, such as italics, elite, and boldface. Furthermore, they can be programmed to generate an unlimited number of fonts that one creates either with a program in Basic or with a \$50 investment in a font downloader.

The font downloader that we use is Font Editor, published by Micro-ware, Riverdale, NJ. This program offers four ready-made fonts and the ability easily to alter any of these or even to create an entire font of one's own design by drawing the characters on the screen with enlarged dots. We created our OE font in about an hour by replacing the infrequently used characters !, @, #, \$, %, ^, +, =, and \* in the program's standard font with the OE characters Æ, æ, Ð, ð, Ȝ, ȝ, Ȟ, ȟ, and ¯ (macron). Once the font is created and stored on the downloader disk, one has only to insert the disk, turn on the printer, and instruct the computer to download (that is, send down and load) the font to the printer. The printer stores this new font for as long as it remains turned on and will print with it on command just as it prints with its own italic or elite fonts. Thus, the font downloader allows one to double the number of characters, making it possible to print, in addition to the standard font and the OE characters shown above, the Middle High German circumflex, the acute accent, Old Icelandic vowels, an entire set of long vowels for both OE and Old Icelandic, or even the runic alphabet.

In conclusion, the combination of an Apple or Apple-compatible computer, a dot-matrix printer, WordStar with WordPatch, and a font-downloading program provides an inexpensive alternative for Anglo-Saxonists. The following lines from the opening of Krapp's text of "The Dream of the Rood" provide a sample for readers to examine the end product of this word-processing system for themselves.

Hwæt! Ic swefna cyst secgan wylle  
 hwæt me gemætte to midre nihte,  
 syððan reordberend reste wunedon!  
 Ðuhte me þæt ic gesawe syllicre treow  
 on lyft lædan, leohte bewunden,  
 beama beorhtost.

Computers, the Xerox X-9700 Page Printer, and  
Old English Typographical Resources

William Schipper

The University of Alberta, Edmonton

Recent discussion has once again shown that the production of acceptable typescript with Old English characters remains problematic.<sup>1</sup> Some recent innovations at the University of Alberta, however, have made the use of the university computer for printing such texts particularly attractive. The copy produced in this way is readable, quite attractive, and relatively inexpensive. The knowledge needed to operate the system to best advantage, moreover, is easily acquired and, since a familiarity with the capabilities of a computer can lead to further applications such as collation or the construction of stemmas, or textual analysis of any sort, the benefits easily outweigh the time needed to acquire such mastery. Although the method outlined below is, as computer jargon would have it, "machine-specific" (designed for the particular needs of users at the University of Alberta), other universities probably have similar facilities, to which this method may be adapted.

In 1980 the University of Alberta Computing Services installed two Xerox X-9700 high-speed page printers, at first to complement the usual line printers but later to replace them almost entirely.<sup>2</sup> This printer was first developed in 1977, and combines laser technology with the latest advances in the xerographic process. Instead of an "original," as with normal photocopiers, the printer uses data from the computer to control the print-train of the printer. Character fonts are stored in the printer's memory. An image generator produces each character as an electronic pattern controlling a scanning laser beam. This beam scans across an electrically charged light-sensitive belt which, because light causes this belt to lose its charge, forms a character as the beam scans across the belt. The laser beam has a very high resolution, 300 by 300 dots to the inch, or 90,000 dots per square inch, and consequently produces letters of very high quality. The latent image of a printed page, in the form of a charged image on the belt, moves past a dry ink developer, and this process produces a printed page when the charged areas of the belt attract the oppositely charged black particles of dry ink. The final stage in the printing process then transfers and fuses the charged particles to a sheet of paper. The whole operation is fast enough to print one page per second, or two seconds if the printer is to print on both sides of the page. Since the printer depends in part on its own memory for the fonts it uses, it has the additional capacity of further programming; in cooperation with Xerox, for example, the university has developed a full set of Cyrillic characters, a font not originally available for the printer.

A number of different character sets are available for the Xerox printer, but for printing Old English the one called "Scientific" has proven the most flexible. It must be used in conjunction with a special word processing program called TEXTFORM to generate the necessary characters. "Scientific"

consists of six related sets of symbols:<sup>3</sup>

Scientific, normal (font 1)	- 214 characters
Scientific, italic (font 2)	- 126 characters
Scientific, bold (font 3)	- 131 characters
Subscript (single font)	- 30 characters
Superscript (single font)	- 30 characters
Greek (single font)	- 53 characters

Switching from one set to another, even within a word, is a relatively simple matter. A total of 584 characters are thus available and, since the program permits overstriking characters, many other combinations are possible.

As source material ("input") for the printer the computer uses a text formatting program developed at the University of Alberta called, appropriately, TEXTFORM. This is a highly flexible word-processing program designed to be "user friendly" in that it does not depend on a knowledge of special programming languages on the part of the user and can be learned in a few hours of instruction. The program causes the computer to act upon special commands placed within the text between pointed brackets ("command initiators"). Special symbols such as the letters a, E, or p are signalled by special commands that will cause the printer to print those characters. For these letters the commands are "lcae", "ucae", and "lcthorn", in which "lc" stands for "lower-case." The program also permits users to define their own commands which can be indicated within the text with a brief command and which will initiate a full set of commands as defined by the user.

To simplify the entry of Old English text, I replaced Old English letters with the following equivalents, based on their relative infrequency in Old English (see also sample 1):<sup>4</sup>

æ = ae	Æ = AE
ð = th	Ð = TH
þ = q	Þ = PP
þæt = QQ	

The next stage consists of adding the TEXTFORM commands that will produce the desired letters in the final printing stage. At a computer terminal this can be done very easily through "global alteration" commands, that is, commands that will make the required changes throughout the text contained in the file. The following TEXTFORM commands replace the equivalents of the Old English characters:

ae becomes < &ae >	AE becomes < ucae >
th becomes < &th >	TH becomes < uccrod >
q becomes < &q >	PP becomes < ucthorn >
QQ becomes < &QQ >	

The symbols preceded by an ampersand are "user-defined variables," special commands devised by the user of the program; the others are in final form, and will produce the desired letters, upper-case A, upper-case D and upper-case p. Using "user-defined variables" greatly reduces the amount of space required in the computer file and, as sample 2 shows, keeps the text relatively readable even for the uninitiated.

The special characters preceded by the ampersand are defined at the beginning of the file, so that the program can refer to them whenever it encounters the special symbol in the text. For æ and p these definitions are relatively simple:

```
æ:  < def &ae='<lcae>' >
p:  < def &q='<lcthorn>' >
```

In ordinary language these definitions state: "define '&ae' as '<lcae>' (where '<lcae>' is the TEXTFORM command for printing lower-case æ), and "define '&q' as '<lcthorn>' (where '<lcthorn>' is the command for printing lower-case p). Lower-case ð requires a somewhat more elaborate series of steps to produce the desired form. The character set does contain a "crossed d" ('lccrod'), but this is simply a lower-case d with a hyphen through the ascender. To obtain a more conventional ð I use the following instructions:

```
<def &th='<partial, lbs, acute>'>
```

This definition represents a series of commands, separated from each other by commas, which produces in turn a "partial" (a mathematical symbol resembling a lower case delta), a "logical back space" (lbs), and an acute accent printed over the partial. The acute accent may also be replaced with a "tilde" to produce a slightly different appearance in the ð.

Since the abbreviation for pæt is very common in Old English manuscripts, and since the series of commands needed to produce "pæt" with the suspended letters underlined is more complicated and takes up more space than the other letters do, it seemed desirable to devise a special symbol ("QQ") to represent the word:

```
<def &QQ='<lcthorn,u,lcae>t<u off>'>
```

This instructs the TEXTFORM program to perform the following series of steps:

- (1) print p ("lcthorn")
- (2) start underlining ("u")
- (3) print æ ("lcae")
- (4) print t
- (5) stop underlining ("u off")

Sample 3 shows the result in the final printing process (see lines 3 or 5). Each time the computer encounters the sequence "&QQ" the printer will produce a ö.

Although the process seems at first unnecessarily complicated, the benefits outweigh the disadvantages in the long run. Since the text without the commands to produce the special Old English letters remains quite readable, the method described above makes using the computer for special projects in Old English attractive. As a final step in the production of a typescript the commands can then be inserted before the last printing. TEXTFORM, as it is used at the University of Alberta, is also compatible with a photo-typesetter that can produce camera-ready copy from the same computer file after the insertion of some additional commands. The cost of producing a clean typescript is also quite low; for a 200-page document the charge is about \$15.00 for formatting the text, and \$1.50 for printing. Moreover, the results of a TEXTFORM run can be stored in a separate file, from which any number of additional prints can be made without running the program again. Above all, the system is flexible and can be adapted to a variety of uses that require symbols difficult to produce on a typewriter.

#### Notes

<sup>1</sup>See OEN 16, no. 1 (Fall, 1982), 8; and OEN 16, no. 2 (Spring, 1983), 13-17. I too have found the IBM representatives less than helpful in my attempts to obtain a useful element to produce Old English typed copy.

<sup>2</sup>I am obliged to Terry Butler, a consultant with the Department of Computing Services, for supplying some technical information about the Xerox X-9700 printer, and for some fruitful discussions about the uses of computers in textual editing.

<sup>3</sup>I can supply a complete list of available characters in "Scientific" to interested persons who supply a self-addressed envelope. My postal address is:

Department of English  
The University of Alberta  
Edmonton, Alberta  
CANADA T6G 2E5

<sup>4</sup>The samples are from the Old English preface to the Life of St. Nicholas, from Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, 303 (Ker 57, art. 34). I am grateful to the Master and Fellows of Corpus Christi College for permission to quote from the manuscript. I have in hand an edition of the Old English lives of St. Margaret, St. Giles, and St. Nicholas, which I hope to complete in the very near future.

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III

p.-171 Hic incipit prologus  
de Sancto Nicholao  
episcopo 7 confessore.  
Witothlice aelc qaere  
wyrhta qe unwislic  
wyrcc aginth to wyrccenne;;  
ne maeg beon feager  
ne stathelfaest geteald.  
Ne eac QQ  
gewrit qe unwis mann onginth  
to macigenne ne bith  
hit na wislic to sprecanne.  
ne god to understandenne.  
Ne haefst qu me ofte  
gebedon leofe faeder  
Anastasi. QQ  
ic qe ut arehte mid  
laedenlicre  
spraece qaes  
eadigestan Nicholae  
gebyrdtida 7 his arwurthe lif.  
7 qa manigfealde tacne  
qe drihten dyde  
qurh him.  
And ic Iohannes sancte  
Ianuaries qeowe qe  
eom nu gebunden mid diaconhade  
7 qaes hades unwurthe  
eom. qe geandwyrde mines lites  
andgytes QQ  
ic gewilnode swithor  
to leornigenne.  
qonne swilce qincg to writenne.  
forqon ic wat me to beonne  
unscadwis on swa deorwurthra  
spraeca.  
Ac swa qeah forqan  
apostolican cwide qe qu  
haefst on qon halgan  
Nicholae. ic nulle qe  
na beon ungehersum.

End of file

Sample 1. The text as entered into the computer. The line numbers down the left hand side are automatically produced by the computer.

```

1      <nl 2>
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3      III<nl 2 c>
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6      <linespace = .16in>
7      <lsb>p. 171<rsb>Hic incipit p<u>ro<u off>logus<nl c>
8      de S<u>an<u off>c<u>t<u off>o Nicholao
9      ep<u>iscop<u off>o 7 confessore.<nl 2 c>
10     <linespace=.33in>
11     <at endofline &line>
12     <&reset>
13     <i l 1>
14     <&p>Wito<&th>lice <&ae>lc <&q><&ae>re
15     wyrhta <&q>e unwislic
16     wyr<u>c<u> agin<&th> to wyr<u>cenne<&pct>
17     ne m<&ae>g beon feager
18     ne sta<&th>elf<&ae>st geteald.
19     Ne eac <&QQ>
20     gewrit <&q>e unwis. mann ongin<&th>
21     to macigenne ne bi<&th>
22     hit na wislic to spreanne.
23     ne god to understandenne.
24     Ne h<&ae>fst <&q>u me ofte
25     gebedon leofe f<&ae>der
26     Anastasi. <&QQ>
27     ic <&q>e ut arehte mid
28     l<&ae>denlicre
29     spr<&ae>ce <&q><&ae>s
30     eadigestan Nicholae
31     gebyrdida 7 his arwur<&th>e lif.
32     7 <&q>a manigfealde tacne
33     <&q>e drihten dyde
34     <&q>urh him.
35     And ic Ioh<u>an<u off>nes s<u>an<u off>c<u>t<u off>e
36     Ianuarie <&q>eowe <&q>e
37     eom nu gebunden mid diaconhade
38     7 <&q><&ae>s hades unwur<&th>e
39     eom. <&q>e geandwyrde mines litles
40     andgytes <&QQ>
41     ic gewilnode swi<&th>or
42     to leornig<u>e<u off>nne.
43     <&q>on<u>ne<u off> swilce <&q>incg to writenne.
44     for<&q>on ic wat me to beonne
45     unscadwis on swa deorwur<&th>ra
46     spr<&ae>ca.
47     Ac swa <&q>eah for<&q>an
48     ap<u>osto<u off>lican cwide <&q>e <&q>u
49     h<&ae>fst on <&q>on halgan
50     Nicholae. ic nylle <&q>e
51     na beon ungehersum.

```

End of file

Sample 2. Text after TEXTFORM commands have been inserted. The confusing appearance of lines 6 through 12 result in part from the need to underline suspended letters in the title.

## III

[p. 171]Hic incipit prologus  
de Sancto Nicholao episcopo 7 confessore.

Witoðlice ælc þære wyrhta þe unwislic wyrc'c' aginð to  
wyrccenne! ne mæg beon feager ne staðelfæst geteald. Ne eac  
3 þæt gewrit þe unwis mann onginð to macigenne ne bið hit na  
wislic to sprecanne. ne god to understandenne. Ne hæfst þu  
me ofte gebedon leofe fæder Anastasi. þæt ic þe ut arehte  
6 mid lædenlicre spræce þæs eadigestan Nicholaes gebyrdtida 7  
his arwurðe lif. 7 þa manigfealde tacne þe drihten dyde purh  
him. And ic Iohannes sancte Ianuaries þeowe þe eom nu  
9 gebunden mid diaconhade 7 þæs hades unwurðe eom. þe  
geandwyrde mines litles andgytes þæt ic gewilnode swiðor to  
leornigenne. þonne swilce þincg to writenne. forþon ic wat  
12 me to beonne unscadwis on swa deorwurðra spræca. Ac swa  
peah forþan apostolican cwide þe þu hæfst on þon halgan  
Nicholae. ic nylle þe na beon ungehersum.

Sample 3. Text after TEXTFORM run (final copy). In this sample the line numbers in the left hand margin are produced by a special command which automatically counts the lines of text, and prints the number in the margin. The peculiar symbol in line 2 is intended to represent the punctus elevatus (?) common in the manuscript, but is not entirely successful yet.



## News and Notes on Archaeology

Robert T. Farrell  
Cornell University

As so much on Sutton Hoo has become available, the format of "News and Notes" this year will be different. Only a few conferences will be treated, and one exhibition of very great importance. Most of this column will deal with Sutton Hoo, and I will close with brief mention of a few other important publications.

### Conferences

On October 21-22, the Center for Medieval and Early Renaissance Studies at SUNY-Binghamton hosted a conference on Medieval Archaeology. Very valuable position papers were given by a range of European scholars, including Peter Addyman, David Waterhouse, and Richard Hodges, among others. Addyman provided a very useful account of the current work at the Coppergate site in York, with particular stress on the splendid helmet which came out of the ground in 1982. Many of the papers presented in sessions were equally stimulating, though others--particularly those on hoards--dealt primarily with literary, socio-anthropological, and mythic levels of learning, which seemed out of place in an archaeological conference. A Proceedings volume is in planning.

More recently, the Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies at Ohio State University held a meeting on The Vikings, February 24-25, 1984. Major papers were presented by Theodore M. Andersson, Carol Clover, and Roberta Frank. Andersson presented an analysis of the treasures dangled before Vikings by more well-endowed Christian rulers, who sought friends and particularly buffer states, not just co-believers. Carol Clover's paper was chilling, as she proved conclusively (in my view at any rate) that female infanticide was endemic in parts of the early medieval world. Roberta Frank sought--among other goals--the de-bunking of the rite of the Blood-Eagle, citing newspaper articles on a non-existent atrocity in World War I as a parallel for the gradual embellishment of the blood-eagle rites. Peter Sawyer re-appraised the Viking raiders, with his customary wit and productive irreverence for accepted views, and the present writer covered "Recent Advances in the Archaeology of Viking and pre-Viking Scandinavia." Thomas Noonan provided an overview on the Vikings in Russia, dividing the Viking experience there into three stages, 800-850 the initial move (when Starja Lagoda, near modern Leningrad, was discovered), the middle 850-950, the last 950-1050 (when the Scandinavians became foreigners). Novgorod superseded Starja Lagoda in the ninth century, and was thenceforward an important center. Birgetta Linderoth Wallace gave a very entertaining account of the Viking presence in North America, which included the most sensible explication I have heard of the curious and transitory settlement at L'Anse-aux-Meadows. She proposed that the encampment there was the first landfall from which you could see an opposite shore, if after sailing from Greenland. Simply put, the Newfoundland site was for a time a base camp for further exploration and trade.

An Exhibit of Great Importance:

"The Golden Age of Anglo-Saxon Art, 966-1060"

Leslie Webster, assistant Keeper of Medieval Antiquities in the British Museum, sends notice of an exhibit jointly sponsored by the British Library, which will run 7 November 1984 to 10 March 1985. I quote at length from her release:

The exhibition's central theme will be the brilliant and distinctive culture of 10th and 11th century England, which has never before been the subject of a major international exhibition. Its timing commemorates the death in 984 of St. Aethelwold, Bishop of Winchester, a key figure in the monastic reform movement at the heart of this revival. His illuminated Benedictional is one of the British Library's greatest treasures. The formal termini of the exhibition are provided by the date of the New Minster Charter, the earliest dated monument of later Anglo-Saxon painting, and the Norman Conquest. There will also be an opening section, 'The Legacy of Alfred and an epilogue, 'The Norman Conquest and After,' as well as sections setting the art of the period in its religious, social and intellectual context.

We plan in this exhibition to bring together for the first time or reunite many of the most splendid Anglo-Saxon works of art. Manuscripts, metal work, ivories, wall paintings and sculpture will all be included to display the full range and quality of the art of this period. Outstanding treasures of the period from the major collections of America and Western Europe are contributing to the exhibition. Among this material generously loaned by other institutions will be the Alfred Jewel from the Ashmolean Museum, Oxford, the Brussels Cross lent by the Cathedral of St. Michael at Brussels and the Benedictional of Archbishop Robert and the Sacramentary of Robert of Jumièges from Rouen. The last three items will be returning to this country for the first time in nine hundred years. The occasion will be of considerable scholarly importance, but we also expect that the strong visual narrative appeal and the historical appeal of this material will attract the general public.

Not all students of the age see 966-1066 as "the Golden Age," preferring to reserve that title for early Northumbria, but I am sure a good case for the title will be made in the scholarly catalog that will be provided.

Sutton Hoo

The third volume on Sutton Hoo, produced under the editorship of Angela Care Evans, was published in January of this year, and is now in hand. Since it will be treated in detail in the Year's Work review for 1984, it is appropriate only to sketch here some of the major accomplishments. The volume is important, for we gain much in the study of objects for practical use, which are in themselves proofs of exquisite craftsmanship. The shoes, for example, while of a common type, are so finely stitched that no parallel exists for them, and the chain suspension system for the cooking cauldron is not a late survival of the fourth-century type, but "an accomplished new design developed from older themes." The origins of many pieces are interesting, and instructive. The silver dishes, bowls, and ladle find closest parallels in Eastern Christian sources, almost certainly Constantinople. The trend is also seen for the re-evaluation of such items as the

Anastasius dish, firmly fixed in Constantinople by proof marks. It is not "manufactured to suit conservative provincial or non-Roman tastes quite different from the styles seen in the great Church treasures of the period" (p. 45), but a splendid and very large example of a type paralleled elsewhere. The summary judgment on all the silver pieces is that it is far from being a haphazard collection, but "a fresh dimension to the corpus" (158) of late antique silver. The hanging bowls are also marvellous, not only for the accomplishment of the decorated escutcheons (the millifiori of which are radically different from the same medium in the gold jewelry), but because of many unique features, such as the fish on its pillar in bowl 1. In sum, the hanging bowls "carry a broader picture of concern with an appreciation of imported Celtic objects, or of Celtic involvement in local metalworking in East Anglia" (p. 291).

It is curious that while glass drinking vessels are prized throughout the Germanic world in the period, glass is treated as a gem-like decorative material in this burial (though glass objects are found in at least one of the other mounds). The account of the attempt to replicate the maplewood items is instructive: of ten blocks of kiln-dried maple produced in Canada in 1970, only two could be used. It was concluded that in the originals the wood must have been left to air-dry for four or five years, for several of the modern blocks were checked from kiln-drying, and others still were full of sap when drilled. The textiles are very rich not only in terms of inventive virtuoso weaving, but also for the brilliance in the colors used, which include whole ranges of blues, yellows, and reds. I close with mention of a few peculiarities of the evidence:

- 1) There is only one pottery bottle;
- 2) The detail of the millifiori on the gold jewelry is so fine that some elements can hardly be made out with the naked eye;
- 3) Both a gaming piece and a bell find their closest parallels in Nubia.

One other aspect of Sutton Hoo studies must be examined, the work now in hand for finishing the site. M.O.H. Carver has been selected as the Research Director of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee; The Sutton Hoo Project Centre is located within the Birmingham University Field Archaeology Units, P.O. Box 363, Birmingham B15 2TT. April 1983 saw the production of the first Bulletin of the Sutton Hoo Research Committee, with the Research Design the principal contents of the first issue. The Woodbridge Museum, devoted to Sutton Hoo, was to have been opened in March of 1983. There will be Sutton Hoo seminars at Cambridge, East Anglia, and Oxford, as well as Birmingham. The Bulletins are very inexpensive, £2 per annum payable through the Project Centre, address above. As I wanted mine quickly, I sent £4, to cover airmail postage. The long and arduous labor of Dr. Bruce-Mitford and his colleagues deserves both praise and thanks, and the continuation of the on-site work holds rich promise for the future.

#### Publications on the Celtic Side

Two extremely important books on Irish archaeology were published in 1983, the first under the title Treasures of Ireland (ed. and contributor Michael Ryan, National Museum, Dublin) and the second The Derrynaflan Hoard I: A Preliminary Report (ed. and contributor, Michael Ryan). The first work is important because it

treats of pieces which came to America under the rubric "The Irish Exhibit," dealing with the materials with greater depth and accuracy than the original catalog of that exhibit did. There is also a brief, but much-needed discussion of how the Derrynaflan Hoard changes perceptions of the Irish tradition of decoration. The detailed report of Derrynaflan needs no apology, even though it deals mainly with the pieces as they appeared before conservation was carried out in the British museum. The Ardagh and Derrynaflan chalices are seen as "two expressions of a common school of design and workmanship," constructed so that communion in wine as well as bread could be distributed to large congregations.

#### Other Celtic Contributions Abroad

Volume 14 of Monastic Studies is rich in articles of importance for the early Middle Ages, and is a volume not to be missed. At \$15.00, the volume offers great value, for in addition to eight studies of intellectual and spiritual aspects of the Celtic church, there are three very valuable reviews of the archaeological evidence, by James Graham-Campbell, K.R. Dark, and Michael Herity. Given all of the splendid work on Celtic material, never has there been a better opportunity to bring oneself up to date with the field. The issue can be obtained through:

The Benedictine Priory  
1475 Pine Avenue West  
Montreal, Quebec  
CANADA H3G 1B3

Price: US \$15.00 plus \$1.25 postage

A new and formidable journal has sprung up in what many would consider to be the fringes of civilized Europe, Kirkwall, in Orkney. Orkney Heritage has as its purpose not only to include local Orcadian scholarship, but also to print important material from Orkney archives. Volume 2, for 1983, is devoted to Birsay: A Centre of Political and Ecclesiastical Power, and has important work by Raleigh Radford, Anna Ritchie, C.D. Morris, and others. In the early medieval period, Orkney was itself an important link in sea communications, just as it was in the eighteenth century, when James Cook's ships Resolution and Endeavour made their landfall in Stromness.

William I. Roberts surveys Romano-Saxon Pottery (BAR British Series 106, 1982) and sees (inter alia) a tendency for Saxon pottery being based on Romano-Saxon models. Martin G. Welch studies archaeological, place-name, and historical evidence for Early Anglo-Saxon Sussex (BAR British Series 112 i-ii). David A. Hinton has edited a very important collection of essays under the title 25 Years of Medieval Archaeology (Sheffield Dept. of Archaeology). From the Stone Age to the Forty-Five is the title of a volume of studies presented to R.B.A. Stevenson, under the editorship of Anne O'Conner and D.V. Clarke. About a third of the essays are of great interest to early medievalists, most particularly surveys, such as Isabel Henderson's "Pictish Vine Scroll Ornament" and Rosemary Cramp's "The Anglian Sculptures from Jedburgh."

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by

Carl T. Berkhout

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## 10. RESEARCH FORTHCOMING OR IN PROGRESS

a = article, chapter, or review

b = book or monograph

d = doctoral dissertation

IP = in progress

C = completed

TBP = to be published in/by

Abels, Richard (U.S. Naval Academy): Anglo-Saxon Military Obligations and Lordship, bIP.Anderson, Earl R. (Cleveland State Univ.): Queen Emma and The Battle of Maldon, aIP.Anderson, James E. (Vanderbilt Univ.): Two Long Allegorical Riddles of the OE Exeter Book, bIP.Andersson, Theodore M. (Stanford Univ.): The Viking Policy of Ethelred the Unready, aIP.Bammesberger, Alfred (Katholische Univ. Eichstätt): Hidden Glosses in Manuscripts of OE Poetry, aIP.Bauschatz, Paul (Univ. of Maine at Orono): English and Latin in the Ninth Century, aIP.Belanoff, Patricia (SUNY at Stony Brook). with Helen Damico and Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, An Annotated Bibliography of Feminist Studies in OE, bIP.Berkhout, Carl T. (Univ. of Arizona): William Lambarde's OE ex libris, TBP N&Q; The Pedigree of Laurence Nowell the Antiquary, TBP ELN.Bjork, Robert E. (Arizona State Univ.): The

- OE Verse Saints' Lives: a Study in Direct Discourse and the Iconography of Style, TBP McMaster OE Studies and Texts.
- Bollard, John K. (Florence, MA): The Battle of Brunanburh: the Historical and Literary Documents, bIP.
- Bright, Christopher (Univ. of Toronto): Saint Maria Aegyptica in Anglo-Saxon England, dIP (dir. Colin Chase).
- Brinton, Laurel (Univ. of British Columbia): Iconicity and Semantic Change: OE Verbal Prefixes, aIP.
- Buckalew, Ronald E. (Pennsylvania State Univ.): Be Dale in Ælfric's Preface to Genesis: a Lexicographical Correction to the Reputation of Ælfric's Latin Teacher and Late Tenth-Century Latinity, aIP.
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- Busse, Wilhelm (Univ. Düsseldorf): From cniht to knight (900-1200): a Semantic Study, aIP.
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- Chickering, Howell D., Jr. (Amherst College): Revised, corrected edition of 'Beowulf': a Dual-Language Edition, bC.
- Clement, Richard W. (Illinois State Univ.): King Alfred and the Latin MSS of Gregory's Regula Pastoralis, aC; with Dorothy Horgan, Edition of the OE and Latin Texts of Gregory's Pastoral Care, bIP.
- Cutrufelli, Marina: OE earnung, aIP.
- Damico, Helen (Univ. of New Mexico): with Alexandra Hennessey Olsen, ed., An Anthology of Feminist Approaches to Women in OE Literature, bIP; see also under Belanoff.
- Davis, Patricia D. (Univ. of Arizona): John Foxe on William Lambarde's Archaeologia, aIP.
- Deegan, Marilyn (Univ. of Manchester): An Edition of Bald's Leechbook, dIP (dir. D. G. Scragg).
- Faraci, Dora: Aspetti eroici nel Dream of the Rood, TBP Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana.
- Finkenstaedt, Thomas (Univ. Augsburg): Kleine Geschichte der Anglistik, bC.
- Fiocco, Teresa: Edizione critica degli enigmi sulla Croce dell'Exeter Book, bIP; Storia critica degli studi sugli enigmi che riguardano la Croce, aC.
- Frantzen, Allen J. (Loyola Univ. Chicago): King Alfred, bIP for Twayne's English Authors Series.
- Frese, Dolores Warwick (Univ. of Notre Dame): Poetic Prowess in Brunanburh and Maldon: Winning, Losing, and Literary Outcome, aC.
- Glenn, Jonathan A. (Univ. of Notre Dame): The Mermedonian Catastrophe and the Destruction of Jerusalem [in Andreas], aIP.
- Gneuss, Helmut (Univ. München): Anglo-Saxon Libraries from the Conversion to the Benedictine Reform, aIP; King Alfred and the History of Anglo-Saxon Libraries, aC; Liturgical MSS in Anglo-Saxon England and Their OE Terminology, aC.
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- Penzl, Herbert (Univ. of California at Berkeley): OE: a Divergent North-West Germanic Language? aIP.
- Peters, Hans (Freie Univ. Berlin): Die englischen Intensivierungspartikeln: historische und synchronische Darstellung unter phonologischem, grammatischem, lexikalischem und stilistischem Aspekt, bIP.
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- Riley, Samuel M. (Illinois State Univ.): Victories Twice Told: Point of View in Beowulf, aIP.
- Robinson, Fred C. (Yale Univ.): Beowulf and the Appositive Style, TBP Univ. of Tennessee Press.
- Rusch, Willard J. (Univ. of Illinois): The Relationship between the Mercian Dialect of OE and the Midland Dialects of Middle English, dIP (dir. Jackson J. Campbell).
- Sasaki, Makoto (Komazawa Univ.): Sir Henry Spelman's Anglo-Saxon Studies, aIP.
- Sauer, Hans (Univ. München): Die Ermahnung des Pseudo-Fulgentius zur Benediktregel und ihre altenglische Glossierung, aC; The Representation of Compounds in a Dictionary of OE, aIP.
- Schendl, Herbert (Univ. Wien): Studies in the Valence of Old and Middle English Verbs, bIP.
- Schipper, William (Univ. of Alberta): Three Lives from CCCC 303: St. Margaret, St. Giles, St. Nicholas, bC; An Early Lover of Words: a Worksheet of the Worcester "Tremulous" Glossator in CCCC 178, aC; The Anglo-Saxon Church and Superstition: a Study of Ælfric's "On Augury", bIP; A Composite Homiliary from Ely: Cambridge Univ. Library MS Ii.1.33, TBP Trans. of the Cambridge Bibliographical Soc.; Localizing Medieval Manuscripts: a Computerized Data Base, bIP; Localizing Medieval Manuscripts: Some Necessary Criteria, aIP.
- Schwab, Ute (Univ. di Messina): Caedmon Revisited, TBP Atti dell'Accademia Peloritana; Exegetische und homiletische Stilformen im Dream of the Rood, TBP Münstersche Mittelalter-Schriften; St. Michael: Garganic and Extra-Garganic Tradition in English and German Medieval Literature, aIP.
- Strite, Victor L. (Baylor Univ.): Review of Frantzen, The Literature of Penance in Anglo-Saxon England, aC.
- Szarmach, Paul E. (SUNY at Binghamton): Edition of Alcuin's Liber de Virtutibus et Vitiis, bIP.
- Taylor, Paul B. (Univ. de Genève): The Vocabulary of Treasure in OE Poetry, aIP.
- Toth, Karl (Univ. München): King Edgar's Establishment of Monasteries: an Edition, aIP.
- Tripp, Raymond P., Jr. (Univ. of Denver): see under Olsen.
- Waterhouse, Ruth (Macquarie Univ.): Temporal Clause Placement in Ælfric's Lives of Saints, aC.
- Wentersdorf, Karl P. (Xavier Univ., Cincinnati): The OE Rhyming Poem: a Ruler's Lament, TBP SP.
- Winkler, Ingrid (Univ. München): A Study of MS. Cotton Tiberius A.III (with a New Edition of the Indicia Monasterialia), dIP (dir. Helmut Gneuss).

## ABBREVIATIONS

AB	Analecta Bollandiana
AHR	American Historical Review
AION	(Naples) Istituto Universitario Orientale, Sezione germanica, Annali
AntJ	Antiquaries Journal
ArchJ	Archaeological Journal
ASE	Anglo-Saxon England
ASNSL	Archiv für das Studium der neueren Sprachen und Literaturen
ASSAH	Anglo-Saxon Studies in Archaeology and History
BAM	Bulletin des Anglicistes Médiévistes
BN	Beiträge zur Namenforschung
CCM	Cahiers de Civilisation Médiévale
CHR	Catholic Historical Review
DAEM	Deutsches Archiv für Erforschung des Mittelalters
DAI	Dissertation Abstracts International
EA	Etudes Anglaises
EASG	English and American Studies in German
EHR	English Historical Review
ELN	English Language Notes
ES	English Studies
FS	Frühmittelalterliche Studien
HZ	Historische Zeitschrift
IF	Indogermanische Forschungen
JBAA	Journal of the British Archaeological Association
JEGP	Journal of English and Germanic Philology
JEH	Journal of Ecclesiastical History
MA	Medieval Archaeology
MÆ	Medium Ævum
MLQ	Modern Language Quarterly
MLR	Modern Language Review
MP	Modern Philology
MS	Mediaeval Studies
N&Q	Notes and Queries
NM	Neuphilologische Mitteilungen
OEN	Old English Newsletter
PQ	Philological Quarterly
RB	Revue Bénédictine
RES	Review of English Studies
SAP	Studia Anglica Posnaniensia
SBVS	Saga-Book of the Viking Society for Northern Research
SM	Studi Medievali
SN	Studia Neophilologica
SP	Studies in Philology
TLS	Times Literary Supplement
YES	Yearbook of English Studies
ZAA	Zeitschrift für Anglistik und Amerikanistik
ZDA	Zeitschrift für deutsches Altertum und deutsche Literatur
ZVS	Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachwissenschaft





## APPENDIX

## ABSTRACTS OF PAPERS IN ANGLO-SAXON STUDIES

In each Spring issue the editors of OEN seek to publish abstracts of papers in Anglo-Saxon studies given at various conferences and meetings in the previous year, i.e., June to May. The success or value of this feature depends on the cooperation of conference organizers and session chairmen, from whom the editors hope to receive conference information, abstracts, and confirmation that papers were given as announced. With this issue the editors will begin to present the abstracts as an Appendix.

I. The First Meeting of the International Society of Anglo-Saxonists, Brussels and Ghent (hosted by the University of Ghent), August 22-24, 1983:

(NOTE: Papers are arranged in alphabetical order by surname of presenter)

Alfred Bammesberger (Univ. Eichstatt)

"Hidden Glosses in Manuscripts of Old English Poetry"

This paper consists of two parts. In the first part a specific Genesis passage, namely Genesis 1543-49, is discussed. It can be shown that the best way of dealing with the metrically and grammatically defective passage is by eliminating lines 1546-48 from the manuscript reading. This approach was advocated by Gollancz. His suggestions will be followed up, somewhat expanded and theoretically underpinned. This part will show that there is reason to believe that at least in some concrete cases marginal glosses have found their way into the manuscript texts. The lines in question can readily be spotted as extraneous material because they completely upset the grammar and the meter of the passage. Furthermore it is possible to discern the specific Genesis passage to which they originally formed a glossatorial commentary. The second part of the paper will be devoted to analyzing further passages in Old English poetry where this approach may profitably be used. Various criteria for detecting hidden glosses in the extant manuscripts will be discussed. The technique here advocated will provide a tool for textual criticism. But it must be used with great caution and restraint.

Mary Catherine Bodden (Univ. of Toronto)

"The Knowledge of Greek in Early England: 700-110 A.D."

Most Anglo-Saxon scholars suspect that the Anglo-Saxon clergy and educated layman did not know Greek, or that if they did, it was only in the most elementary fashion. However, no scholar can, with certainty, press his/her opinion on this issue because no one has examined the Greek lines, passages or lengthy texts in the over a thousand manuscripts owned or written by the Anglo-Saxons. Thus, despite the availability of our sources, we have never had a secure basis for assessing the knowledge of Greek language in Early English literature or culture, and we have no idea at all of the circulation of the Greek texts themselves. I have begun to do such a study, and, based upon my research of the past two years, I have learned that of this thousand or so manuscripts, nearly 500 contain Greek matter. In some instances, the Greek consists of entire gatherings; in others only a passage or an inscription. The two-volume catalog which I am producing will not only provide a descriptive inventory of all Anglo-Saxon MSS containing Greek, but it will also indicate the nature and extent of the Greek matter in them, and more important, the understanding which the Anglo-Saxons may be said to have attained concerning that material.

The aim and scope of the Catalog is listed below but it is its companion volume, The Knowledge of Greek in Early England: 700-1100 A.D. (even in its inchoate stages already a mass of evidence hinting heavily at continental tradition, fascination with Greek, and charming errors) which provides the material for this paper for ISAS. Two of the chapters of this volume (Volume 2) will classify the Greek matter found in the manuscripts--with examples illustrating each category, and will assess the significance of the Greek matter, its implications, oddities, predominant types, etc. The categories, given below, are tentative classifications; in fact, my hope in presenting this paper is to prompt from the audience suggestions qualifying or correcting these classifications. The categories, however, are what the materials seem to fall into.

Category I: Greek Texts (i.e., passages, etc.) Unglossed

- A. Literature
- B. Etymologies
- C. Liturgy
- D. Glossaries
- E. Calendrical and Scientific Terms

Category II: Greek as Gloss on Greek Texts

Category III: Greek as Text Glossed by Latin

Category IV: Transliterated Greek Glossing Latin Texts

Category V: Interpolated Greek Material

- A. Interlinear
- B. Marginal

Category VI: Anglo-Saxon Texts Containing Greek Loanwords with Both Latin and Old English Equivalents Given

- Category VII: Anglo-Saxon Texts Containing Greek Loanword with Only Vernacular Equivalent
- Category VIII: Anglo-Saxon Latin Glossaries Containing Greek and Old English Equivalents
- Category IX: Latin Written in Phonetic Greek Characters
- Category X: Greek as Ornamental (e.g., as illustrations, diagrams)

The paper is essentially a presentation of the rather considerable evidence for the "knowledge" of Greek in Early England. Nearly two-thirds of the basic research is now completed (i.e., personal examination of most of the manuscripts on the Continent and of about 400 in England). The findings thus far challenge all of our assumptions regarding the Anglo-Saxons' acquaintance with the Greek language and literature. They possessed, in fact, a massive Greek vocabulary (probably close to some 6,000 Greek words) and had a passing knowledge of a considerable number of cognate forms in Greek and Latin. The question of syntax remains yet to be analyzed.

Mildred Budny and Dominic Tweddle (London)

#### "The Anglo-Saxon Embroideries at Maaseik"

The richly and elaborately decorated Anglo-Saxon embroideries kept, along with other early textiles and other early works showing Anglo-Saxon influence, in the treasury of the Church of Saint Catherine at Maaseik in Belgium are little known among Anglo-Saxonists. In view of the importance of these embroideries as an exceptional monument of Anglo-Saxon art, they deserve much wider notice.

To date, the principal publication of these textiles consists of an article produced in Belgium by M. Calberg thirty years ago. In a summary examination she drew attention to the Anglo-Saxon origin of the embroideries and dated them to the ninth century. Recently they have become the subject of a full study, involving the collaboration between specialists in textiles and Anglo-Saxon sculpture, metalwork, and manuscripts. This paper seeks to present the fruits of this study.

The extensive art-historical parallels found between the embroideries and works in other media (above all in manuscripts)--nothing comparable in the same medium exists from the period, although descriptions of some embroideries do survive--demonstrate that they date to the eighth century, fitting well into the historical context of the Anglo-Saxon missions to the Continent.

During the Middle Ages (from at least the ninth century) the embroideries were preserved at the Abbey of Aldeneik, near Maaseik, as relics of the sisters Saints Harlindis and Relindis, who founded the abbey in the early eighth century. They were close friends of Saints Willibrord and Boniface, who consecrated them and frequently visited them at Aldeneik, located approximately half-way between Utrecht and Echternach founded by Willibrord. The letters of Boniface mention the exchange of textiles of various kinds between Anglo-Saxon England and the Continent (including an altar cloth sent to him by the nun Bugga). Although traditionally taken to be the handiwork of Saints Harlindis and Relindis,

the embroideries date to somewhat later than their time and provide a remarkable example of the workmanship of Anglo-Saxon women, sent abroad in support of the Anglo-Saxon missions and continuing relations between home and the foundations on the Continent.

This places the embroideries more than a century earlier in date than the next surviving major group of Anglo-Saxon embroideries: the stole and maniple made for Bishop Frithestan of Winchester and preserved among the relics of Saint Cuthbert at Durham Cathedral. The Maaseik embroideries thus bear witness at a remarkably early date to the English skill which later became famous as opus anglicanum.

The embroideries form part of the composite assemblage of textiles now known as the casula of Saints Harlindis and Relindis. Associated with the embroideries are some gold tablet-woven braids decorated with various geometric patterns and a large but fragmentary woven silk fabric decorated with a repeating pattern which consists of the enthroned figure of King David within an interlace roundel. Of similar early date, these fabrics may have been grouped with the embroideries as a unit very early on, in a single ecclesiastical cloth or garment.

The embroideries themselves comprise two long rectangular strips (about 10 cm wide and totalling 150 cm in length) decorated with continuous rows of simple arcades; two shorter rectangular strips (about 7 cm wide and now sewn together in a piece 30 cm long) decorated with roundels; and four pieces in the shape of monograms. They carry a variety of patterns current in Anglo-Saxon art of the eighth century: interlace, fretwork, and foliate and animal ornament, sometimes combined with one another. The designs are picked out in outlines of red stitching and laid out in gold couching; the backgrounds are filled in with solid blocks of different colors embroidered in silk.

The deluxe embroideries at Maaseik stand at the head of the sequence of Anglo-Saxon embroideries. Like the Bayeux Tapestry, they were sent to the Continent not long after they were made. They may even have been commissioned for the purpose, in much the same way that Boniface requested Abbess Eadburga of Minster in Thanet to provide him with a copy of the Epistles of Paul written in gold so that, as he put it,

a reverence and love of the Holy Scriptures may be impressed on the minds of the heathens to whom I preach, and that I may ever have before my gaze the words of him who guided me along this path.

(Epistola 35, translated by Talbot)

The aim of this paper is to set out the nature of the Maaseik embroideries, the technical and art-historical problems which they present, and their position within the course of Anglo-Saxon art and its influence on the Continent.

Thomas Cable (Univ. of Texas-Austin)

"Punctuation and Intonational Contours in Alfric's  
Edmund, Christ I, and the Antiphony of Hartker"

During the past ten years in working on the problem of the melodic structure of Old English poetry, I have returned regularly to a suggestion made by Peter

Clemons in 1952 that the punctuation of the manuscripts, known as positurae, indicated intonational patterns similar to those of Gregorian chant. Rudolph Willard in 1950 and G.C. Thornley in 1950 and 1955 made similar suggestions. The idea is an attractive one to me since my theory of the meter leads me to posit structures close in melodic contour to those of the liturgical positurae: the punctus versus, the punctus elevatus, the punctus interrogativus, and the punctus circumflexus. However, my examination of punctuation in Old English poetry and in Ælfric's rhythmical prose has led me to agree with Geoffrey Harlow that the various signs indicated rhetorical and grammatical structure rather than melodic structure, and specifically, as Harlow concludes, a rhetorical pause.

The idea of examining musical structures from the liturgy for clues in the performance of Old English poetry is, nevertheless, a good one. Comparisons of the Old English meter and musical aspects of the liturgy have often been dismissed on the assumption that the Germanic verse form would have been maintained in England without influence from the Latin tradition. The most familiar interpretation of the Cædmonian revolution is that Christian content was expressed in Germanic form. Yet a comparison of the meters of Old English, Old Norse, Old High German, and Old Saxon shows that there are developments in the English metrical tradition that can be explained neither by common Germanic tradition nor by the normal evolution that one would expect from linguistic structures peculiar to Old English.

These developments are mainly in the intonational, or melodic, contours that the meter implies. Although no extant Old English texts are notated with music, several poems derive directly from liturgical texts for which we have contemporary manuscripts with musical notation for the Latin. The Codex Hartker (St. Gall 390-91), for example, contains eight of the O antiphons of Advent that are the basis of Christ I. The musical notation for the Latin text is in the form of unheightened neumes of the St. Gall type. Since the Old English text is in effect a vernacular trope of the liturgical text, it is worth inquiring whether the music of the original suggests possibilities or limits for the derived text--for example, the intervals of ascending and descending progressions, or the number of notes for each syllable.

With this evidence for the melody and the sporadic evidence of positurae for the rhythm, one can reconstruct possible musical settings for the Advent Lyrics. I have ventured to do this and have made a recording of the opening lines of "Eala gæsta god" for demonstration.

Andreas Fischer (Univ. Basel)

"Æ(w) and lagu: A Case of Lexical Change in Old English and its Chronology"

In his monograph on The Rivalry of Scandinavian and Native Synonyms in Middle English Rynell (1948:322-23) briefly touches on the pair æ(w) - lagu "law, etc.", but has little to say about it, since the Scandinavian lagu had replaced æ(w) almost completely before the Middle English period. Based on the material collected in the Venezky/Healey Concordance I shall look at the evidence in Old English with special regard to the mechanism of lexical change. The questions asked will be: why, in what meanings, where and when did lagu oust æ(w)? The last of these questions will, I hope, yield the most interesting results, since the change happened within a comparatively short period. I hope to be able to present findings both about its precise chronology as well as about the dating of a number of late Old English texts.

Milton McC. Gatch (Union Theological Seminary)

"The Office in Late Anglo-Saxon Monasticism"

Two major texts describing and regulating the monastic office survive from the period of the monastic reform in Anglo-Saxon England. One, much studied, is the Regularis Concordia, designed by the Council of Winchester as a standard customary for the nuns and monks of the English nation. The other, never adequately studied, is Ælfric's customary for Eynsham (commonly known as the "Letter to the Monks of Eynsham") which outlines a liturgical system based on the Concordia but mitigated in certain respects to accommodate the needs of a small community and containing extensive interpretive quotations from the Liber Officialis of Amalarius. Making comparisons, where possible, with Continental customaries, this paper will attempt to characterize the liturgical customs of late-Saxon, reformed monasticism on the basis of these two customaries and other liturgical remains.

Klaus R. Grinda (Univ. Göttingen)

"Pigeonholing OE Poetry: Some Criteria of Metrical Style"

There would seem to be no lack of attempts to put OE poetic texts into a chronological order by empirical means, or at least to establish groups of similar style--owing to common authorship, shared fashions, direct dependence or common models, similar age, gender, mood, etc. The attempts at grouping texts have, unfortunately, often been conducted with little strictness of method, as the recent critical review by Ashley Crandell Amos has once again shown. In spite of that author's book, little progress has as yet been made towards replacing the shaky statistics of some key tests such as Lichtenheld's and putting them on a more substantial basis. The correct "Lichtenheld" has as yet to be spelled out. While we have justly been warned that it cannot date poems for us even if properly applied, yet it can order them with respect to an intriguing linguistic phenomenon. It is suggested that further tests--linguistic, metrical and stylistic--would be carried out in order to furnish us with reliable sets of significant, comparable data. This may enable us to group OE poems more confidently and to define the positions of individual texts within the poetic corpus by more objective standards.

My handout presents eight comparative tables, in which sixteen OE poems longer than 500 lines are listed according to the frequency with which eight selected features of metre and style occur, frequency being measured in per cent of the relevant material--usually the total number of lines or verses of a text. The features chosen are: (1) occurrence of Sievers' type A3; (2) occurrence of his type E; (3) occurrence of lines linked to neighboring ones by common alliteration; (4) occurrence of consonantal alliteration among lines thus linked; (5) occurrence of non-alliterating finite verb, or finite verb preceded by negative particle, in A3; (6) rate of head-staves carried by finite verbs; (7) rate of E-type verse with second full stress carried by finite verb; (8) rate among E-type of second half-lines.

Restricting the analysis to longer poems is obviously necessary, while deciding on 500 lines as the required minimum length is not. It has, in

fact, safeguarded a sufficiency of material in most parameters. The longer a source, the greater the confidence inspired by its figures, as differences between the parts have more scope to cancel one another out in favor of more general characteristics. In order to see how great the differences between parts of the same poem may be--and, by analogy, how far we must assume that the figures for the shorter texts are distorted by their very shortness--a check has been applied: besides the figures for Beowulf and Elene, those for each half of either text have been marked separately. The halves--except for Elene in the fourth test--turn out to be reasonably similar. The inference to be drawn from the remaining dissimilarities is mainly that the figures for the shorter texts should be read as being approximative rather than overly precise.

Although the overall rate in Elene of vowel alliteration is about the same in both parts, the dichotomy between them in alliterative line-linking (fourth test) is exceptional. While the first half ranks among the texts with the lowest incidence in linking by consonantal alliteration the other half has the highest rate among all texts analyzed. The rate of consonantal alliteration generally (ca. 85%) and that in linked lines is roughly the same in this part. The extreme figure for the second half corresponds almost exactly to that of Juliana, though in other respects the features of both texts are neither markedly similar nor strikingly dissimilar and are somewhat puzzling in view of their common authorship. When the mean positions are abstracted from all 8 test sequences, though, both texts appear as direct neighbors. Stylistic features conditioned by varying circumstances, although they are generally neglected here, can be of great interest in themselves. One example must suffice. There is a close correspondence between a high rate of line-linking and the preponderance of vowel alliteration in linked lines, e.g. in the Paris Psalter, the Meters, Christ III, and Christ and Satan. Alliterative linking of up to six lines at a time has been supported as a technically difficult artistic device in remarkable profusion by some of these texts, and this tended to produce a higher rate of vowel alliteration, which offered greater freedom in the choice of suitable words. At the other extreme, texts like Beowulf or Guthlac A avoid either feature. Where linking does occur, it is largely restricted to sporadic couplets. It tends to occur with a marked pause in between, in front, or behind the linked lines. Linking in these texts seems partly to have been used as a pause marker, and/or--when the pause intervened--it may have gone unnoticed and therefore escaped replacement. In either case, the pattern would seem to be more easily understood on the assumption of acoustic performance, whereas uniting--and acoustically blurring--longer batches of text by run-through alliteration would seem to be an effect designed for the reader's eye.

Comparing the different sequences in which our texts occur, the fact stands out that certain of the sixteen texts figure in similar positions more than once. Of the first or second positions in the eight tables, six are held by Exodus and three by Beowulf, Exodus figuring below the second only twice, while Beowulf ranks third to fifth several times. At the other end of the scale, there is a group comprising Christ and Satan, Meters and Judgment Day II, tailed by the Paris Psalter. None of them ever appears among the top three, while they are often among the bottom five. Maldon, though too short to be included, would be among the bottom group five times out of eight (tests 1, 3, 5, 6, 8), ranking fifth only by its rate of E-type verses. Although the proximity to the bottom group of

Christ and Satan may be less widely realized, the results produced by our rough approach are generally suited to confirm expectations as to the texts belonging to each group. The outstanding position of Exodus ahead even of Beowulf mirrors Lichtenheld as interpreted in Chambers' Introduction, while metrical and stylistic peculiarities of texts like the Psalter have often been noted. Features in our parameters which dovetail with such peculiarities comprise a high rate of the light type A3, a scarcity of the heavy type E, a high incidence of verbal head-staves, besides a preference for alliterative line-linking--comparatively often by vocalic alliteration.

A few anticlimactic observations must do for the wide subject of the remaining ten texts. In A3- and E-types and the use of verbs in the latter, Guthlac B belongs to the "strict" group, while A ranks much further down. With verbal head-staves and line-linking, the order is reversed. The dissimilarity of both parts is remarkable. It is much greater than that of Genesis A and B. With Genesis B, the overall tendency towards the bottom group is unsurprising. But Genesis A, instead of ranking with the "strict" texts as expected, also tolerates "lax" features like verbal head-staves and linking by vowels. It stands clearly apart from the group around Beowulf. In the "strict" group, a high rate of non-alliterating verbs in A3 corresponds with a low tolerance of verbal head-staves. Both are compatible with a preference for stressed verbs at the end of type E, which is more frequent in second half-lines. In Andreas, this pattern is paralleled, though less markedly. In Phoenix, it is disrupted: verbs in A3 are extremely frequent but--just as extremely--they are missing at the end of E. The majority of texts which fall somewhere between either end of the scales resists grouping. The test results present a great diversity of styles and do not suggest ready-made classifications. Though individual profiles can be outlined, it is much harder--maybe less so when further tests will have been carried out--to order them according to date or tradition.

Vivien A. Law (Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge)

"The Foreign-Language Grammar

An Anglo-Saxon Contribution to Education?"

At the start of the Middle Ages, the foreign-language textbook was a genre unknown in the West. Yet, with the conversion of the non-Latin-speaking peoples of north-western Europe, the need for such works was urgent. The only grammars available, the works of Donatus, Priscian, and their contemporaries, stemmed from the schools of the fourth- and fifth-century Mediterranean world. For the most part they were intended for native speakers of Latin and so displayed a theoretical bias, oriented toward definition and grammatical analysis as aids to the interpretation of literary texts. Language description, at the elementary level of tables of declensions and conjugations, was summarily treated or ignored. But it was precisely this which the newly-converted Germanic and Celtic peoples required. Unlike the Latin-speaking pupils of Donatus and his colleagues, northern students could not be assumed to know the forms of Latin. They needed comprehensive and clearly laid-out descriptions of the language. There was no ancient model for this type of grammar; yet by the beginning of the ninth century a large number of such works were in existence. The Irish are customarily credited with most of these texts. But the evidence for this attribution is small. More careful study suggests that the part played by the Anglo-Saxons in the development of these, the first foreign-



language grammars in the West, may have been considerable. By the early years of the eighth century they were already competent users of the genre, as the grammars of Tatwine and Boniface attest. Other, less well-known texts suggest a similar interest among the Anglo-Saxons stretching well back into the seventh century. There is little evidence, on the other hand, to associate the Irish with these elementary descriptive grammars: they seem to have been content to perpetuate the existing ancient genre of the grammatical commentary. It may be that the Anglo-Saxon grammarians, far from being passive imitators of their Irish teachers, as is usually claimed, in fact pioneered this first new development in linguistic studies since the early days of the Roman Empire.

Angelika Lutz (Univ. of Munich)

"Spellings of the Waldend Group--Again"

The bulk of Old English literature, poetry and prose alike, has come down to us in manuscripts of the late tenth and the first half of the eleventh century. Nevertheless, the language of Old English poetry differs markedly from Standard late West Saxon (i.e., the language of late West Saxon prose, of late prose texts from other dialect areas, and of late West Saxon copies of much earlier texts). Many linguistic features characteristic of Old English poetry are otherwise typical of Anglian texts and also of early Old English texts generally, and consequently these characteristics have often been attributed to Anglian origin of most Old English poetry and to incomplete standardization by late West Saxon scribes. This hypothesis was first challenged by Kenneth Sisam who suggested that these characteristics constituted "a general Old English poetic dialect, (1) artificial, archaic, and perhaps mixed in its vocabulary, (2) conservative inflexions that affect the verse structure, and (3) indifferent to non-structural irregularities, which were perhaps tolerated as part of the coloring of the language of verse" (Sisam, 1953).

In my paper I would like to concentrate on one of Sisam's "non-structural irregularities," namely a-spelling for Primitive Old English /a/ before preconsonantal /l/ in accented syllables, commonly thought to be an Anglian dialect feature (but also typical of some early West Saxon prose texts), which contrasts with ea-spelling in late West Saxon and Kentish prose texts. Stanley (1969) has pointed out that the use of a-spelling in poetic texts is not completely irregular. Although it occurs sporadically in almost all words containing this phonological sequence, a-spelling is by far more common in specifically poetic words like salwig- "dark" and alwalda "ruler" than in everyday words such as (e)all "all" and h(e)aldan "hold." In addition to that Stanley was able to show that w(e)aldend "ruler" (almost exclusively used with reference to God), though not specifically poetic, is also very frequently spelled with a--in contrast with etymologically related words like w(e)aldan and gew(e)ald--and concluded that in the case of w(e)aldend a-spelling could have been preferred to ea-spelling on account of its use as a nomen sacrum.

I will show that a-spelling in waldend is not conditioned by its referent but solely by its use in poetry. Moreover, I can show that a-spelling in poetic texts should not be regarded as a "non-structural irregularity" that was "tolerated" by late West Saxon scribes but as a feature they preserved deliberately, namely in the case of copies, and even applied intentionally. This can be shown in two ways:

1. By comparing a late West Saxon copy and its early West Saxon exemplar of a text that contains both poetry and prose, namely version G of the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle (early eleventh century) and version A (mostly late ninth and early tenth century): The scribe of G consistently replaced a-spelling in waldan, gewald in the early prose sections of A by ea-spelling whereas in the Chronicle poems he preserved all the a-spellings of his exemplar (4x in waldend, irrespective of the referent).
2. By counting all attested spelling of the -w(e)ald- family in all Old English texts with the help of the Microfiche Concordance. Choosing w(e)aldend and gew(e)ald as examples--both attested very frequently in both poetry and prose of early and late date--it can be shown that those two words were treated very differently by late West Saxon scribes: For gew(e)ald, ea-spelling clearly predominates in all late West Saxon texts, poetry and prose alike; a-spelling is mostly used in early West Saxon and Anglian texts. For w(e)aldend, ea-spelling is the rule in late West Saxon prose whereas a-spelling prevails in all poetic texts and in early and Anglian prose, irrespective of the referent.

I therefore conclude that for w(e)aldend (and probably for some other words, too) late West Saxon scribes followed two different spelling conventions, one for poetry and one for prose. This spelling distinction was not conditioned by a difference in referential meaning but rather by the "poetic potential" of the word: waldend would derive this poetic potential from its being an agent noun in line with the numerous poetic words for "man," "warrior," and so on. By contrast, gew(e)ald, being an abstract noun, would not have this specific poetic potential and would thus be spelled in the ordinary way.

In general we may conclude that spelling conventions for the poetic use of words (and also for purely poetic words) constituted a structural part of the written tradition and production of poetry in late West Saxon. And, since poetry was very probably written down in order to be read aloud, I would even go one step further and conclude that those spelling conventions reflect late West Saxon poetic pronunciation conventions: Very likely the stressed vowels of wealdend (prose) and waldend (poetry) were also pronounced differently in late West Saxon.

Elisabeth Okasha (Cork Univ.)

#### "Addenda to Handlist of Non-Runic Inscription"

My Hand-List of Anglo-Saxon Non-Runic Inscriptions was published in 1971. In June 1981 I submitted to Anglo-Saxon England the final draft of a Supplement to the Hand-List, to appear in ASE 11 (1982). The period covered by the supplement is some twelve years and the number of newly found inscriptions described in it is eighteen. It also contains eight inscriptions of which I had previously been unaware or which I had previously rejected as Anglo-Saxon. Between June 1981 and the present (September 1982) no less than six newly found Anglo-Saxon inscriptions have been brought to my attention: clearly this represents a marked rate of increase.

Some of the inscriptions found since 1970 are of slight artistic value and contain only a short text, as for example, the stone Breamore III, uncarved and inscribed only with a letter G. Such an object may add only a little to our knowledge of the Anglo-Saxons. Others are in themselves interesting objects, made more so by the text inscribed on them. Such are the St. John the Evangelist gold plaque from Brandon, Suffolk, and the bell-mold fragments from Gloucester.

Others again are of quite considerable importance for our understanding of the period, the fact that they are inscribed adding to our knowledge both of inscriptions and of Anglo-Saxon culture or history. An object falling obviously into this category is the new Anglo-Saxon helmet from Coppergate, York. Whether of greater or less intrinsic interest, however, these inscribed objects all constitute primary source material for the Anglo-Saxon period.

My paper, illustrated by slides, describes and discusses several of the inscriptions which have come to light since 1970, concentrating on newly found and less readily accessible objects.

David A.E. Pelteret (Univ. of Toronto)

### "The Roads of Anglo-Saxon England"

Much of the political, cultural, and economic history of Anglo-Saxon England is unintelligible unless we assume that a network of roads and trackways was in use throughout the country. Yet a comprehensive treatment of the subject does not exist. F.M. Stenton's paper of 1936, for instance, has very little material on pre-Conquest England. This is understandable since the necessary ancillary studies were not sufficiently advanced at that time for any detailed discussion to be possible. It is the contention of this paper that scholarship has now reached a point where a review of the evidence is now not just possible but desirable in order for further advances in knowledge to be made. This study examines the sources of information on Anglo-Saxon roads, analyzes some of the difficulties of interpretation, and points to how such an investigation can advance scholarship in other fields.

It is my belief that the network of roads laid down or paved by the Romans continued to be the basis of the road system under the Anglo-Saxons. For the major roads--Watling and Ermine Street, the Icknield and Fosse Way--such a claim would not be in contention, as a glance at D. Hill's Atlas of Anglo-Saxon England shows. But it is likely that many other Roman roads also remained in service. Fortunately, aerial photography and the observant fieldwork of such people as I.D. Margary and the "Viatories" has during the past half century revealed a complex network of major and minor Roman roads throughout England.

Four main categories of evidence have a bearing on a determination of Roman roads in use in the Anglo-Saxon period: charter bounds, parish boundaries, literary references, and place-names. All four offer possibilities for information about later roads as well. Charter bounds fairly frequently mention roads and, provided there is other localizing evidence, one has a reasonable chance that these can be associated with known Roman roads. Many ecclesiastical parish boundaries are coterminous with Roman roads and though these boundaries appear only in post-Conquest sources, it is evident that they are of ancient origin. While it is possible, as Desmond Bonney has suggested, that some record ancient estate boundaries (themselves originally demarcated by Roman roads) or were influenced by an agger rather than a surviving road, some at least record roadways still in use in the medieval period. Sometimes the use of a Roman road can be confirmed by a literary reference or, more usually, by a place- or road name.

The evidence of the literary sources has never been assembled. Though the document detailing obligations to perform bridgework at Rochester is unique, there is a fair amount of incidental information in textual sources. Often it is indirect in nature: the multiple estates described especially by G.R.J. Jones must have required connecting roads and trackways, and what Alan Everitt has called the

"Primary Towns" of England must similarly have been linked to the surrounding countryside by roads since these were market centers. Here archaeology has made a vital contribution, both in determining the plans of early towns (and hence their access points) and in discovering actual roads, as with the saltways of the West Midlands. The evidence of even Iron-age material should not be ignored in this regard: it is quite possible that Alfred eluded the Danes in the Wessex marshes and Hereward the Wake the Normans in the fen country by using prehistoric trackways. Post-Conquest material can also be relevant: the itineraries of Norman kings, for instance, could help us deduce the existence of links between places that may well have been in existence in Anglo-Saxon times.

Place-names can point to hitherto undiscovered routes. The English Place-Name Society has now accumulated a considerable body of material that can be consulted. This evidence goes hand-in-hand with linguistic material. Words such as stræt, wæg, (here)pad, and gata all denote roads of one kind or another. The concordance recently published by the Dictionary of Old English Project makes a thorough survey of this material possible. Stenton's paper indicated that stræt denoted a major and wæg a minor road. Linguistic analysis, aided possibly by archaeological excavation, should be able to determine the validity of his assertions; the conclusions will, in turn, shape our interpretation of the place-names.

Even tithe maps and enclosure documents, when describing estates whose antiquity can be verified from other sources, may record routes of Anglo-Saxon origin. Here the experience of field archaeologists and local historians will be vital in interpreting this material.

It will, of course, be necessary to be very sensitive to some of the pitfalls inherent in both the comprehensive nature of such a study and of the evidence used. Thus, it is highly unlikely that over the six centuries of the Anglo-Saxon era the road network remained static. Changing political patterns, the rise and fall of villages, shifting ownership of estates, and assarting must all have had their impact on communications. And the interpretations placed on the evidence (particularly the charter bounds) are not always accurate. Such complications and others mentioned earlier are not insuperable--indeed, they will serve to promote further investigations, which is one of the greatest advantages to be gained from undertaking a survey of the evidence at this time. Plotting the Anglo-Saxon roads that have been traced may point to the existence of others hitherto unknown but recoverable by excavation. Uncertain charter bounds may be elucidated once the road network has been mapped. Most importantly, an understanding of the pattern of communications may encourage historians of many facets of Anglo-Saxon life to make new interpretations of their material. A great deal of Anglo-Saxon life will become clearer to us once we have an overview of how the Anglo-Saxons traversed their country.

Susan K. Rankin (Emmanuel College)

"From Memory to Record: Musical Notations in

Eleventh-century Exeter Manuscripts"

This paper will examine the characteristics of musical notation during the first major period of its use in insular books. Adiaستمatic (unheighthed) neumatic notation can only be shown to have been in widespread use in England from the late

tenth century on. The 150 years or so from the time of its introduction into England until being overtaken in the first part of the twelfth century by more exact pitch notation can be seen as a time of changeover from purely oral melodic traditions to mixed and interdependent oral and written traditions. The paper will draw all its examples from Exeter books: the establishment of a new secular chapter in 1050 necessitated the rapid acquisition or production of service-books. Many of these, including the famous Leofric Missal and Collectar, survive today, with extensive sections of notated music.

Alain Renoir (Univ. of California-Berkeley)

"Oral Formulaic Context and the Affective Interpretation of OE Poetry"

My argument is that an understanding of the mechanics and implications of traditional Indo-European--especially Germanic, particularly West-Germanic, and most particularly English--topics, themes, and metrical formulas is relevant to the interpretation of Old-English poetry, whether it be oral (who can tell?), written, or what Lord calls "transitional." It is so because, as pointed out by Stanley Greenfield, Adrien Bonjour, and more recently John Foley and others, certain elements of oral-formulaic rhetoric call to mind associations which affect our interpretation of the text before us.

My two key texts would probably be Beowulf's landfall and meeting with the coastguard and the pre-battle scene in Judith. Both these scenes create a tension which is greatly heightened if we are attuned to the implications of the themes which have been woven in the texts, and the Beowulf passage presents the advantage of having been recently illuminated by Greenfield.

If time permits, I should want to glance at both the Hildebrandslied and the Chanson des Quatre Fils Aymon for the sake of comparison.

Alexander R. Rumble (Univ. of Manchester)

"The 'fraudulent Codex Wintoniensis': fact or fiction?"

The Codex Wintoniensis, a medieval cartulary which contains about one tenth of the corpus of surviving Anglo-Saxon charters, was condemned by William Stubbs in 1871 as "of the lowest possible character," was called "a highly suspicious source" by W.H. Stevenson in 1898 and "the fraudulent Codex Wintoniensis" by F.M. Stenton in 1910, and even as recently as 1961 was described as "wholly disreputable" in a work on the Anglo-Saxon charters of Somerset. These were all, however, far too rigid descriptions of the cartulary, being based neither on a full examination of the manuscript itself nor of its sources. Even the more favorable opinions of it expressed by J.M. Kemble in 1844 and by H.P.R. Finberg in 1964 relied on general impressions of the Codex rather than on any full structural or textual study of it. A re-assessment of the value of the Codex as a vehicle for the transmission of historical texts from pre-Conquest England has therefore been made in the light of (i) an investigation of the external features of the manuscript and of the relationship between those features and its textual contents, and (ii) a study of the surviving manuscript sources of the cartulary and of their archival and diplomatic provenance.

The research outlined above has revealed that the Codex is a composite manuscript whose text was written over the course of three centuries by a succession of (sixteen) scribes. A study of the eleven surviving single-sheet documents from amongst the many used as exemplars for the cartulary has demonstrated the variety of their external characteristics, while a collation of the texts of these single-sheets to their respective cartulary-copies has enabled an analysis to be made of the different types of textual change made by three of the cartulary-scribes.

The terms on which the reliability of the Codex is capable of being expressed are limited by its status as a copy, or series of copies, rather than as an original diplomatic instrument. Its integrity may only be criticized in relation to discernible changes made during the transcription of matter into the cartulary. Its scribes should not be held responsible for any existing errors or fabrications contained in its exemplars, unless it can be shown that those exemplars were drafted specifically for inclusion in the Codex, which does not seem to be the case. Because each of its many separate and varied exemplars had its own diplomatic origin, the diplomatic origin of the Codex cannot be judged as a single entity. Any general condemnation of the cartulary because it happens to contain copies of a number of forged documents is not therefore admissible, and designations such as "the fraudulent Codex Wintoniensis" are both inapplicable and meaningless.

The textual reliability of the Codex must be assessed in relation to the respective editorial principles and practices of the individual scribes who wrote its contents. The cartulary should be seen and criticized as a succession of separate transcriptions rather than as a single one, each of the successive transcriptions being the work of a particular scribe with his own skills, motives, and linguistic background governing the accuracy with which his transcription reflected the exemplar(s) before him. The actions of one scribe should not be used to impugn those of others who wrote in the same manuscript on a different occasion, sometimes separated by two hundred years or more. Any diplomatic criticism of individual pre-Conquest records which have survived only as copies in later medieval cartularies ought to be preceded by a thorough investigation of the habits and general reliability of their particular cartulary-scribe, in order to appreciate fully any palaeographical, linguistic, or textual oddities which may be due to him and thus unlikely to have been present in the lost exemplars. Such cartulary-context is obscured by the usual arrangement found in printed editions which draw upon many different manuscripts and arrange their contents in one chronological series. A tendency to ignore such contextual considerations when using the text of documents direct from a printed edition has had a deleterious effect on the quality of criticism of individual pre-Conquest documents preserved in cartularies such as the Codex. The need to assess all documents which survive only as cartulary-texts against the background of the physical make-up and scribal history of the cartulary concerned cannot be stressed too highly. External criticism may prove as significant with regard to such texts as it is already recognized to be in relation to single-sheet documents.

Paul B. Taylor (Univ. of Geneva)

#### "The Vocabulary of Treasure in Old English Poetry"

Most of the words for "treasure goods" in Old English poetry duplicate a vocabulary of natural generation. They bring to their literary contexts a conjunction of senses that imply an association between wealth in functional

(tools) and ornamental forms (jewelry) with tribal vitality, or fecundity. In Beowulf for example, the treasure the hero acquires for his people in his fight against the dragon is spoken of by the hero as a life begotten (gestrynan) for his people, commensurate with the son he has not left them.

Whereas treasure artifacts conjoin natural force and human design, monsters are the latent disorder and misuse inherent in nature, loosed by those artifacts. The manner in which Beowulf, particularly, conjoins and opposes the images of treasures reveals something of both the structure and the diction of the poem, as well as a great deal of Anglo-Saxon perspectives on nature.

Barbara A.E. Yorke (King Alfred's College)

"Patterns of Rulership and Succession in the  
Early Anglo-Saxon Kingdoms, c. 500-900"

The study is restricted to those provinces for which sufficient evidence survives to reconstruct the regnal and genealogical history of their royal houses-- Kent, West Saxons, East Saxons, East Angles, Mercians, and Bernicians. The royal families of the Hwicce and Deirans are also considered, but their period in power lasted only a few generations.

Three different forms of rulership may be identified within these kingdoms:

- 1) Single rule--in which only one individual was designated "king" at any one time; it is the mode we are familiar with from later West Saxon history.
- 2) Joint rule--in which more than one king shared the major responsibilities of royal office such as leading the army, promulgating laws, negotiating with other kingdoms. Two joint kings were commonest (e.g., early Wessex, Kent), but more than this number are known from some kingdoms (e.g., East Saxons, Hwicce). One of the partners was often senior to the rest and only his name would be recorded in such documents as regnal lists.
- 3) Multiple rule--the kingdoms of the East and West Saxons had, in addition to single or joint kings, a number of lesser rulers of the same royal line as the chief kings, who bore the title "king" and shared some royal privileges such as granting land, but did not undertake major duties such as leading the kingdom's army. In other words, there were two levels of kingship consisting of chief and lesser kings in these kingdoms. Lack of suitable sources, especially early charters, may have obscured the existence of lesser kings in Mercia and Northumbria (consider the family of Guthlac).

Most kingdoms did not possess just one system of kingship throughout their history, but veered between single and joint rule. The pattern is not entirely random, however, as joint rule occurred only in two particular circumstances:

- 1) in those kingdoms in which succession, except when broken by foreign invasion, always passed to a close relative of the previous king (generally a son, brother or nephew), other members of the royal house apparently being excluded from royal office, e.g., Kent, East Angles.
- 2) in other kingdoms, where all royal descendants were eligible, at time when one branch of the royal house was temporarily dominant and able to exclude other royal lines from the chief kingship for several reigns, e.g., Bernicia

under descendants of Æthelfrith, Wessex under descendants of Cuthwulf.  
(Only the East Saxons provide a major exception to these rules.)

There is, therefore, a correlation between the incidence of joint reigns and domination by a royal kin-group. Joint rule might serve a number of functions, e.g. assist in turning overlordship into permanent gain, as in the Bernicians' acquisition of Deira, but it would seem to have a close connection with the desire of a particular kin-group and their associates to keep control of the kingdom in their hands. Principles governing royal succession are never clearly stated, but an element of election or at least approval by leading members of the nobility was evidently significant and matters were not left entirely in the hands of the royal families. Nevertheless powerful kings could do much to influence the choice of a successor (see Offa's attempts to ensure succession of Ecgrith) and the joint reign could be an important tool--provided an heir with experience and supporters, insured continuity, could prevent dissipation of resources among heirs. Naturally it did not always work: joint kings fell out (Hlothere and Eadric), excluded members challenged successfully for the throne (Oswine of Kent).

Only the families of Æthelbert of Kent and Tyttla of the East Angles succeeded in establishing kingship systems in which exclusion was effectively practiced throughout the time we can study them (the same is true of Hwicce and Deira, but their royal families were eliminated by foreign conquest at an early date). In Mercia, Bernicia, and Wessex a royal kin-group established temporary control in the late sixth and seventh centuries, but these were not able to quash the right of other descendants of the founder king to the throne. When political successes and wealth of the dominant kin-groups declined and/or the supply of effective adult males began to dry up, claimants from the cadet branches were able to make good their rights to the throne. Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex then came to resemble the East Saxons, where no one branch of the royal line achieved dominance over the others for longer than two reigns. Among the East Saxons the chief kingship circulated with some regularity between three main branches of the royal house. How far there was agreed circulation among the royal families of Mercia, Northumbria, and Wessex after the fall of the descendants of Penda, Æthelfrith and Cuthwulf respectively, is hard to assess, but some degree of co-operation between royal kindreds in each kingdom can be demonstrated, and a pattern does emerge.

The one common feature found under all types of rulership and appearing in all kingdoms at one time or another was fraternal succession, with brothers either reigning jointly (Hwicce, East Saxons) or successively (Mercia, Northumbria and Wessex). In some kingdoms instances of both modes can be found (Kent, East Angles). Sons of particularly successful fathers were especially likely to be given a joint or successive share in the throne. These sons would have inherited wealth and other advantages, but might also have been considered to have inherited royal virtus and the favor of gods/God. We should not forget the important, but hard to quantify, sacral element of kingship which may have placed strictures on the selection of kings which will be hard to identify. Purely temporal and practical answers to the question of why certain rulership and succession practices were established may not be able to provide the whole story.



II. The Eighth International Conference on Patristics, Medieval, and Renaissance Studies, the Augustinian Institute, Villanova University, September 23-25, 1983:

Topical Session: Old English

Philip Pulsiano (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"Hortatory Purpose in the Visio Leofrici"

The Visio Leofrici (CCCC 367) consists of four episodes, each relating a particular marvel which occurred during Leofric's life. In the first episode, Leofric is guided across a narrow bridge to a beautiful field where he sees crowds of people dressed in white. In the second, he has a vision of himself dressed in a mass robe and a brightly shining green cope. In the third, he hears violent noises and sees a miraculous light grow increasingly bright. Finally, in the fourth episode, he sees a hand above a cross blessing him.

For the modern reader concerned with evaluating a work in light of its sources or analogs, the Visio Leofrici appears to reflect the failure of composition; it does not conform to immediately recognizable models, but seems in fact a pastiche of loosely connected episodes devoid of didactic import. Yet, the structure and moral end of the work become apparent when we consider the Visio as a literary composition in its own right. Within the framework of a series of visions, the author of the Visio subtly balances and contrasts the sinful life in God's company; the life of sloth, of drunkenness, of fear, the life without prayer, with the joyful life of this earth and the possibility of eternal life with God achieved through faith and prayer. Within each episode, the audience is presented with two alternatives: a life of emptiness and the guarantee of pain, or a life of fulfillment and the guarantee of crossing the test-bridge into the New Jerusalem. Above all, the Visio is a simple expression of faith in the power of God to allow wondrous visions to appear to those whose faith in Him is strong; for it is through visions and miracles that the Word of God is made manifest. And although we may never reach a stage where we have visions, we are nevertheless reminded that God ultimately controls both the Other World and our own.

Thalia Phillis Feldman (Canisius College)

"A Comparative Study of feond, deofol, syn and hel in Beowulf"

The concept of evil conveyed by feond, deofol, syn and hel in Beowulf has been subjected to a Christological interpretation that has dissipated the epic's fundamental pre-Christian meaning. This is particularly true as applied to Grendel. Etymological analysis of these words and their contexts reveal their basis in the comitatus ethic, which was social, not religious. That warrior-tribal society revered the authority of the chieftain, the reciprocal obligations toward blood-kin and, above all, the maintenance of the social well-being.

Cain, the first parricide and denier of God's authority, was adopted as the symbolic threat against that ethic. Grendel, his Northern heir, vandalized Heorot, the seat of King Hrothgar's authority and, worse, cannibalized his thanes, the source of his power. Grendel is a feond, not a "fiend" and "monster" of fantasy, but literally an "enemy," not in hell, but in the hall. Nor, as deofol, was he a satanic "devil." Classical and Northern comparative literature base

diabolos and its cognate deofol in social ethic, not punitive Christian: originally diabolos meant "slanderer," "bearer of false witness"; the verb diaballein meant literally "to overthrow," "destroy," either a man's reputation by calumny, or, even the social order by breaking its laws. Such was Grendel as deofol who wrecked Hrothgar's hall as well as his reputation as chief protector of the comitatus.

Furthermore, hél, the homophone of hel, the "underworld," also meant "calumny" and "false charge." Moreover, both the Northern hél and hel ("calumny" and "hell"); and Greek belief associate the underworld with the sanctity of oaths by which the social order is maintained: Horkos, "Oath," was under the protection of the River Styx, and, in the Poetic Edda solemn oaths were sworn by the River Slith. Thus, in both cultures a man's false word and social order were subject to hell itself.

Syn in Beowulf was immoral, not in a spiritual sense but as a social and legal "crime." For example, between the Swedes and Geats there was synnum ond sacu, "wrong-doings and strife"; the plunderer of the Dragon's treasure was synnum scildig, "guilty of crimes" for he had devastated his people, not violated his soul. Grendel, the synscatha, the "malefactor," is synnum geswenced, "burdened with crimes," for which he will be punished not in a Christian hell, but in a hel where such social crimes had long been punished.

The Beowulf-poet understood evil still as harm done to the comitatus; he did not judge syn as moral, personal sin, injurious to the individual soul.

Nicholas Howe (Rutgers Univ.)

#### "Isidore and Aldhelm: On Etymology and the Riddle"

Although it has long been recognized that much of the natural lore in Aldhelm's Riddles derives from Isidore's Etymologies, the more fundamental and interesting relation between the two writers has yet to be considered.

This relation runs deeper than the simple borrowing of information; it involves the processes by which Isidore and Aldhelm present their learning. As an etymologist, Isidore believes that the name of the thing conveys its very essence. Thus, if the name is explicated, the thing itself will be understood. As a riddle-maker, Aldhelm inverts this process; he supplies the attributes of a given thing and then expects the reader to solve the riddle by naming the thing in question. For both writers, the name itself expresses the necessary meaning of the thing, be it an insect or a domestic article. The difference between the two is not one of thought but rather of presentation: Aldhelm delights in the linguistic articulation of the riddle, while Isidore delights in the solution of the linguistic riddle by means of etymology.

Viewing the Riddles of Aldhelm in this way allows one to characterize their learned quality more directly. No longer must one do so by distinguishing them from the more poetic riddles of the Exeter Book. Instead, one may place them securely in the mainstream of Latin learning and thought as it existed in early Anglo-Saxon England.

Topical Session: Medieval Art and Architecture

Carol L. Neuman de Vegvar (Skidmore College)

"Visigothic Stonecarvers in Early Anglo-Saxon England"

The seventh- and eighth-century relief carvings associated with St. Wilfrid's minster at Hexham have long been controversial among historians of early medieval art. Most notably, the series of standing stone crosses at Hexham are unique among Anglo-Saxon crosses for the delicacy and intricacy of their decorative motifs. Many influences have been suggested; Byzantine ivories, fabrics, and metalwork, and Lombard or Gallic craftsmen or model books. One potential source which has been overlooked heretofore is the relief carving used in the decoration of church architecture in Visigothic Spain. Connections between Spain and the insular world have been extensively examined; the influence of Isidore of Seville on insular scholarship and the extent of trade connections between Galicia and the Irish seas have not been overlooked. However, Spanish influences on insular art have not been explored. The reliefs of the Acca and Spital Crosses at Hexham, however, show such clear links in motifs and technique to marble pillars and lintels in S. Pedro in Zamora and various other Visigothic buildings that a workshop of Visigothic stoneworkers at early Hexham may be postulated. The hypothetical presence of a Visigothic workshop may be confirmed by links between Visigothic church ornament and later Anglo-Saxon crosses in the Hexham region.

III. The Ninth Annual Conference of the Southeastern Medieval Association, held at the Univ. of Virginia, October 7-8, 1983:

Old English Section II

Elaine Tuttle Hansen (Haverford College)

"A Reading of the Exeter Book Riddles"

While many scholars still pursue the primary and difficult task of providing modern readers with solutions to the riddles of the Exeter Book, a number of recent studies have been concerned not with proposing or evaluating solutions, but with examining the theory, the "meta-aesthetic," of the Old English enigmas, how and to what end they work. As one critic has recently put it, "After the riddles have been solved, they become most interesting" (Marino). This approach has advanced our understanding of the artistry of the riddles, and there seems to be agreement about their fundamental concern with human cognition as well as their relationship to the general Anglo-Saxon interest in word play. But recent discussions leave at least two important questions unresolved. First, if riddles after they are solved are indeed meant to enlarge the reader's or listener's understanding (as Adams claims), to speak to epistemological and metaphysical questions (as scholars like Nigel Barley, Marie Nelson, Fred Robinson, and Craig Williamson have in various ways suggested), then precisely what is it that the Old English riddles say? Specifically, do they affirm, as Williamson argues, the power of the human imagination, or, on the other hand, as Barley and Nelson conclude, the limits and incompleteness of our cognitive and classificatory systems? Second, what is the relationship between riddlers and their audiences? Is their ostensive interchange, as Barley suggests, essentially a dialogue, an act of cooperation, or does the riddler seek to assert power, to exclude or initiate, and is the relationship between poser and solver of riddles hence a competitive one, as Huizinga has asserted?

In this paper I suggest that the literary riddles of the Exeter Book embrace the apparent dichotomies inherent in these questions: they simultaneously celebrate the power and expose the limitations of the human intellect, and to do so they depend on both the competitive and cooperative interaction of riddler and audience. For the purposes of oral presentation, I support this proposal with a suggestive rather than exhaustive examination of certain aspects of the Old English collection. First I discuss briefly the speech situation implied by the riddles, and then I look at some of their specific features, including the omission of solutions (whereas most contemporary Latin collections provided the answers to riddles in the manuscript, the Exeter Book gave none); the opening and closing conventions; and the concern with situations involving imbalances of power and problems of change over time found in a large group of riddles.

I conclude that in riddling there is a crucial withholding of information that must be followed by a sharing, if the riddle is to achieve its purpose (be that pleasure or "truth," or more likely both). The withholding does imply at least temporary inequality of power between poser and would-be solver, but inherent in that inequality is the possibility of future equality, if--and only if--the addressee plays an active role, does something, supplies a missing element, discovers a solution somehow. In performing this active response that the riddle demands, in seeking and finding a solution, in moving from inequality to shared knowledge, the audience also moves from an awareness of limitation to an experience of power, from uncertainty to understanding, frustration to pleasure, mystification to reassurance. The riddle thus unifies oppositions at the same time that it serves as a paradigm for the necessary involvement of the audience in the cooperative effort of making sense of any text, just as making sense of any text can serve as a paradigm for making sense, as best we can, out of the world.

Moreover, by challenging or deconstructing the everyday or normal categories through which we perceive "reality" in order to involve the audience in the verbal resolution or reconstruction of another order, a new viewpoint that also makes sense out of the confusing, problematic, and instable data of the world, the Old English riddles assert and demonstrate by means of linguistic play the power and responsibility of the human mind to impose meaning on experience. In an important sense, then, Fred Robinson's claim that "language itself" is the subject of one Old English riddle (the "Book Moth") might be extended to the Exeter Book collection as a whole. Here language, a collaborative process in which speaker and addressee must both be engaged, is seen as the reflection and embodiment of the ordering, systematizing capacity of the human intellect, and the riddler's playful creation as a serious model for human creativity in general.

Kevin Robert Dungey (Univ. of Maryland)

#### "Beowulf: The Comitatus Apostate"

Beowulf has most often, and most always, been viewed from the top down; that is, scholars have spent their time analyzing the character of the hero, finding in his faults and strengths explanations of the poet's purpose. But Beowulf is a descriptive title chosen by nineteenth-century scholars, and the hero himself enters the poem long after it starts and leaves before it is finished. The poet would seem therefore to have larger aims, as indeed he must; for in his society every hero was considered in the broader heroic context of the "comitatus," that dynamic relationship of mutual benefit between a warrior-king and his followers.

From that larger perspective, the poet's focus in Beowulf is on that intangible bond and on where that bond might break, or how endure.

For example, in the first half of the poem, the "comitatus" is born and flourishes through the Scildings. Even when Grendel exploits Hrothgar's dangerous weakness, the Danish "comitatus" holds together: indeed, it eventually operates to call Beowulf to repay his father's debt. Beowulf in turn enjoys the support of his retainers and in turn renders his proper allegiance to Hrothgar and the Geatish royalty, even when he himself has the power to usurp. Beowulf triumphs and in a sense his society triumphs. But in the second half of the poem the Geatish "comitatus" withers and dies: Beowulf faces the dragon alone, deserted by all save Wiglaf, the Swede. The Geats are doomed by their perfidy to be leaderless and eventually enslaved. Such a theme would be a powerful political message to an Anglo-Saxon audience. More than that, I believe it sends a spiritual message to every Anglo-Saxon Christian.

MacNamee and others have recognized in Beowulf the theme of salvation, and in the hero himself strong evocations of Jesus Christ. Concurrently, in the early Anglo-Saxon period, Christ himself is depicted as a warrior-king, the eager young athlete stripped for the contest in the Dream of the Rood. If Beowulf/Christ are types of the warrior-king, parallel in their roles and responsibilities, then the Geats and the Christian audience are retainers and owe proper service.

When Gregory the Great sent out the missionaries to Kent, he urged that the pagan temples be turned into churches. Something of the same wise attitude lies behind reminding an Anglo-Saxon audience that keeping the Christian faith was a heroic duty owed to Christ the warrior-king, who had for his part killed death and won for his retainers (believers) the gold of eternal life. For the early accounts of the missionaries are filled with apostasies, stories of churches established in the faith sunk to depravity or disuse once the missionaries had moved on. The Geats of Beowulf are likewise apostate; they fail the test of faith. Once they sat unmoving while Beowulf battled in a pool dark with blood; now a cry for help sends the bravest of them fleeing to the trees. So they deserve and have earned obliteration. They die as a nation, a fact the Anglo-Saxon audience would know, die as any Christian who rejects the Savior must also die-forever.

The poem thus glorifies the "comitatus," a Germanic invention, but also extends it to a cosmic significance, making its responsibilities eternal and transcendent. The rise and fall of nations and tribes is a mark of how well the people keep the faith, with each other, with their king, and by extension with God. Beowulf's barrow, filled with useless gold, therefore deters no enemy, for his people are unworthy; Christ's cross and tomb, because attended by faithful retainers, become by contrast emblems of hope and life.

Helen T. Bennett (Eastern Kentucky Univ.)

#### "Variations in the Alliterative Tradition"

During the Alliterative Revival of the fourteenth century, as the name of the movement implies, poets reverted to poetic techniques and devices that characterized Old English poetry. The finest poets of both the Old English and Middle English periods played with traditional alliterative patterns and vocabulary to create thematic echoes and structural parallels within their works.

The Beowulf-poet includes various patterns of decorative alliteration. He uses the same alliterative collocations in primary alliterative patterns, in secondary positions with a line of verse, and in consecutive lines. The similar contexts invite the reader (or listener) to compare characters and situations, and repeated collocations enhance the unity of the narrative.

The situation of the later poets is, of course, different in relation to the alliterative tradition. Their style is a deliberate choice, tending more conspicuously towards archaic and specialized diction and often used in conjunction with other poetic devices, notably rhyme. According to Thorlac Turville-Petre in The Alliterative Revival, in the most sophisticated phase of the revival, poets wrote "with a due regard both to the potential flexibility of the form and to the limits beyond which it could not be stretched" (50). The Gawain-poet modifies the density of alliteration in a given section based on its content, while Langland uses the alliterative form but avoids traditional alliterative vocabulary. And Mary Carruthers, in The Search for St. Truth: A Study of Meaning in Piers Plowman, argues that the "analysis of words as ambiguous tools of thought, capable not only of revealing a true cognition but also of generating a corruption of understanding, is the basic concern of the poem" (4).

Therefore, while the Beowulf-poet transcended rigid alliterative tradition to increase the complexity of narrative style, the later poets employed but varied an older tradition to question language and poetry as vehicles for containing and conveying meaning.

IV. The Seventeenth Annual Conference, Medieval Archaeology, SUNY-Binghamton, October 22-23, 1983:

Raymond A. Wiley (Lemoyne College)

"John Mitchell Kemble (1807-57), Pioneer Victorian Archaeologist  
of Pre-Viking Northwestern Europe"

This paper deals with that early Victorian period when Kemble turned from his study of Germanic and Anglo-Saxon Philology under the influence of Jakob Grimm to the investigation of Anglo-Saxon Runes. He then progressed to the opening of Pre-Christian grave barrows in England. When circumstances took him to the Continent at mid-century, he opened up well over one hundred similar grave mounds in sixteen localities where he believed the Anglo-Saxon ancestors had lived. His chief archaeological contribution was in his relating the urn deposits on the North European Continent to those found in Britain.

Leslie Alcock (Univ. of Glasgow)

"Ceremonial and Defense among British Dark-age Kings"

In the fifth to ninth centuries AD (as indeed in earlier centuries), hill-top fortifications were reoccupied, and even built afresh, throughout western and northern Britain. Following the introduction of written documents, it becomes possible to establish some of the functions of the more important forts, those with royal connections. They served as centers for economic and political

organization, and even as a prison for an unruly bishop; they were involved in various war-like activities. Archaeology reveals that other royal centers mentioned in the documents were not fortified; some of these had a ritual or ceremonial background extending over some three millennia.

Sheila Bonde (Reed College)

#### "Art History and Archaeology in the Study of Castle Gates"

The development of gate structures is an important issue for art historians studying English castle architecture. As the weakest point in the defense of a castle or other area, the gate developed early the varied features of defensive forms: machicolation, crenellation, portcullis, and flanking towers. Tracing the earliest manifestations of these elements is, however, difficult since few early castle gates are preserved above ground. Even the few that survive are notoriously hard to date accurately.

Several early (tenth and eleventh century) gates have been excavated, and these provide important formal and chronological evidence. They demonstrate, first of all, the existence of elaborate gate structures well before the Norman Conquest. The gate, therefore, must not be seen as an import of Norman castle builders, but as part of the indigenous architectural tradition of pre-Conquest England.

My paper focuses on tenth-and eleventh-century castle gates, both excavated and extant, and explores the ways in which they revise our models of pre- and post-Conquest architecture in England.

Janice Klein (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

#### "Hillfort Re-use in Gloucestershire, A.D. 1-700"

The phenomenon of post-Iron Age use of Iron Age hillforts has been recognized for at least half a century. It is only recently, however, that it has become the subject of systematic study. While it is now clear that hillfort sites were re-used in all post-Iron Age periods, most recent research has concentrated on reoccupation in the transitional period between Roman Britain and Anglo-Saxon England. The reutilization of hillforts is thus often seen as part of the social changes which accompanied the political transformation of Britain at this time (fourth to sixth centuries A.D.). For such a change in the role of hillfort sites within the total settlement pattern to be clearly identified and understood, it is necessary to study hillfort re-use within the context of the surrounding periods, and for the evidence for the Roman and early Anglo-Saxon periods, as well as that for the immediate post-Roman period, to be considered.

Research of this sort was initiated by Ian Burrow (Ph.D. Dissertation, School of History, University of Birmingham, 1979) for the administrative county of Somerset, an area which includes sites known to have had substantial post-Roman occupation (South Cadbury and Cadbury-Congresbury). This study, of hillforts in the county of Gloucestershire, was designed to be both an extension and complement to the Somerset study, providing a comparison for Burrow's results.

Methodologically, the study consists of the in-depth consideration of three major forms of evidence. The surface morphology of the earthworks is studied, both to form a typological framework on which the other evidence may be placed, and to identify atypical sites whose anomalous nature may be the result of post-Iron Age modification. Place-names, particularly the occurrence of the -burh element, and Anglo-Saxon charter boundaries are utilized to assess the role of the hillfort sites in the Roman and later landscape. Finally, the archaeological remains, found both through excavation and surface collection, are analyzed. The value of each of these forms of evidence is discussed and several categories of reuse are identified. Suggestions are made to explain both the pattern of hillfort re-use in Gloucestershire, and the differences found between this pattern and that identified in Somerset.

Ruth S. Mazo (Yale Univ.)

#### "Frisian Jewelry and Frisian Trade in the Seventh Century"

The few historical references we have show that Frisians were very active commercially in both the Roman and the Carolingian period. This paper argues that extended contact between Frisia, Kent, and Scandinavia was going on in the first half of the seventh century, and suggests that this contact was the result of trade and not merely high-level gift exchange.

The jewelry of the early seventh century found in Frisia illustrates the closeness of the contacts. The Wieuwerd hoard, and isolated finds from Aalusum, Achlum, Wijnaldum, Hoogeteintum, Cornjum, Wierum, Marsum, Krassum, and Ezinge are discussed (with slides) and compared with Kentish and Gotlandish pieces. There are some close stylistic parallels but the Frisian finds have distinctive features. A close analysis shows that imported elements have been re-interpreted by the Frisian workshops.

The historical implications of this analysis are: 1) that there was someone in Frisia rich and powerful enough to establish such workshops and 2) that the workshops kept up overseas contacts. I suggest that Frisians may have been involved in the carrying trade in the early seventh century, as we know they were in the eighth, and that royal dynasties profited from that trade by licensing merchants and collecting tolls, as happened in Kent and Wessex. Numismatics points the same way: someone in seventh-century Frisia had enough need of a coinage to issue the "Dronrijp" tremisses, in addition to the "Madelinus" coins that were minted at Dorestad while it was in Frankish hands, and half a century before the development of sceattas.

The paper concludes with a forward look at eighth-century Dorestad, where we know of Frisian trading activity under Frankish kings, and suggests that the situation a century earlier was in a similar pattern but under native Frisian rulers who drew their cultural influences from the whole North Sea region.

Pam Jean Crabtree (Univ. of Pennsylvania)

#### "Zooarchaeology at Early Anglo-Saxon West Stow"

West Stow is an Early Anglo-Saxon site located on the banks of the River Lark in East Anglia in Eastern England. The site, which was completely excavated between 1965 and 1972, yielded an enormous and well-preserved faunal collection (nearly 200,000 animal bones and fragments). Detailed analysis of these faunal



remains has shed light on the animal species present and their relative importance, animal sizes, ages at death and kill-patterns, and butchery practices. In addition, archaeozoology can inform us about the transformation in rural economy which accompanied the arrival of the Anglo-Saxons in Britain.

Wade Tarzia (Univ. of Massachusetts-Amherst)

"Buried Treasure and Adaptive Mechanisms"

Oral traditions and the archaeological record are used to aid each other in the reconstruction of past human behaviors. Specifically, treasure hoards appear in the archaeological record and in two oral traditions: Beowulf and the lays of Sigurd. The adaptive function of hoarding behavior as described by other authors had supportive behavioral models in the oral traditions. Elite-class sumptuary goods breed too many decision-makers in a tribal hierarchy as the goods become inflated. Hoarding inflated sumptuary goods reduces conflict within the hierarchy. The function of conflict-reduction carried out through ritual hoard deposition is enhanced through cautionary narrative patterns contained in the poems. It is therefore more useful to view oral traditions as active adaptive mechanisms that support society through the processing and presentation of information.

Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"The Coppergate Helmet and Beowulf"

On May 12, 1982, a bulldozer uncovered an Anglo-Saxon helmet on Coppergate Street in York, and Peter Addyman published preliminary findings in Antiquity, 56 (1982), 189-94, plates XVIII-XXI. The helmet consists of an iron cap with two ear flaps, chainmail neckpiece, and a nasal. The helmet has animal decoration and Christian inscriptions in Latin. Stylistic evidence suggests a date in the late seventh or early eighth century.

Aspects of this helmet parallel various passages describing armor in Beowulf, most notably 303b-306a (the Coastguard reacting to the hero), 1030-1034 (Hrothgar's gifts), 1110-1113a (Finnsburh pyre), 1448-1454 (diving into the mere), and 2615 (dragon fight). Relevant details include the imagery of plates, boar images, cheekguards, and chains. The helmet suggests new interpretations of the words wala, freawrasnum, and brunfagne.

On the other hand, helmets discovered in the future may also have reverberations of the words and images.

This slide lecture offers visual comparisons with the helmets from Sutton Hoo, Benty Grange, Vendel, and Valsgarde.

Stephen Glosecki (Univ. of Alabama-Birmingham)

"Vestiges of Shamanism in Beowulf"

This paper arises in response to T.A. Shippey's remark that the Old English hero Beowulf "bears little trace of the shaman" (Notes and Queries 16 [1969], 11). Contrarily, I find some considerable traces of shamanism in Beowulf, especially in the arcane bear imagery suggested by the hero's name (i.e., "Enemy of the Bees," or "Bear": this etymology follows Skeat, Klaeber, and Chambers). To illuminate this vestigial shamanism, I compare Beowulf with its most important Icelandic analogue, Hrólfssaga kraka, a work which incorporates more overtly shamanistic bear imagery, mainly in the exploits of its shape-shifting hero, Boðvar Bjarki. My discussion also touches upon several North Germanic artifacts; the talk is accompanied by a handout depicting a shamanistic motif from one of the Toroslunda dies. I also refer to the Old English metrical charm Wið Færstice, a cryptic piece of verse suggesting that shamanistic healing was practiced among the Anglo-Saxons.

To drive my main point home, I place the ursine element, overt in Hrólfssaga, but covert in Beowulf, in the broad context of tribal society at large, where I believe it belongs. When juxtaposed with relevant Lappish and Amerindian lore, the bear imagery implicit in Beowulf suggests that the preliterate Germanic tribesmen were indeed shamanistic, and that traces of their primeval shamanism linger on in the later literature.

V. The Annual Meeting of the Modern Language Association, New York City, December 27-30, 1983:

Session 44, "The Interpretation of Early Indo-European Texts"

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Univ. of Denver)

"Early Indo-European Texts and the Oral-Formulaic Theory:

The Cast of the Old English Juliana"

The theory of oral-formulaic composition, applied to the study of early Indo-European texts, has illuminated many elements thereof by explaining recurrent similarities in a text and between texts. Although many scholars acknowledge that poetry composed after the introduction of writing was sometimes composed in accordance with the dictates of oral Indo-European composition, the oral-formulaic theory has seldom been used to illuminate texts composed in a formulaic manner but based on written sources. I should like to suggest that it can be used to illuminate differences between written but formulaic texts and those composed in accordance with the dictates of a purely written tradition. The Old English Juliana, which is based on a Latin legend and has many analogues, is such a text. A comparison of it to the Vie de Sainte Juliana, an Old French poem which is based on the same original as Juliana, suggests the importance of applying the oral-formulaic theory to Old English poems based on Latin sources.

The Vie uses some phrases that are reminiscent of the formulaic chansons de geste, but it does not use the formulaic language and themes of Old French epic poetry, instead translating the Latin carefully. In contrast, Cynewulf uses heroic diction negatively to characterize the pagans, using one type-scene to describe the shipwreck of Heliseus and emphasize the imminent damnation of the heroic but evil men. In addition, he uses formulaic verbs of speech to introduce or describe speeches, reminding us that we must know what a speaker is thinking, the meaning behind the word rather than the meaning of the word itself, in order to judge good and evil. The Old French poem differs little from its Latin original; Juliana does because the formulaic language deepens the meaning of the legend and reinforces it in an emotional way. Such comparison suggests that the oral-formulaic theory is useful for the interpretation of Indo-European texts even when the meaning thereof is close to that of sources and analogues.

Session 74, "Old English Literature and Related Disciplines: Perspectives and Insights"

K. Drew Hartzell (SUNY-Albany)

"Music in Anglo-Saxon England: Continuations and Beginnings"

The subject of this paper has been of concern to scholars over the last one hundred years. The best known contributors of the first eighty years have been W. Chappell, W.H. Frere, E.W.B. Nicholson, H.M. Bannister, Dame Laurentia McLachlan, O.S.B., J. Handschin, and E. Wellesz, the majority of whose work concerned the Winchester "Tropers." Since 1965 work has continued the paths laid by these scholars; at the same time areas little touched have drawn attention. Some of these are: the English connection with the Old Roman Rite and its chant, hymns and hymnaries, medieval Brittany, liturgical drama, musical palaeography, musical instruments, and the place of English manuscripts in the grouping of sources of the Roman Gradual.

Linda Brownrigg (Oxford, England)

"Early-Tenth-Century Scriptoria: New Evidence and its Implications"

When we try to understand the organization of book production in Anglo-Saxon England--how many scriptoria there were and where they were found, how their products are related in their texts or decoration--we constantly find ourselves in a maze. Whatever method one selects on which to base an argument--that of art history or paleography or textual analysis, the evidence does not indicate a straight line. The causes for this are well known; our surviving evidence is in most instances so opaque and overall so fragmentary, we must accept that what remains cannot offer an accurate cross section of what was produced. Yet despite the uncertainties, recent research by T.A.M. Bishop and Malcolm Parkes has established criteria by which we can recognize the products of scriptoria in two major ecclesiastical centers, Winchester during the reign of Edward the Elder and Canterbury at the end of the tenth century, under Dunstan and his successors. This recent research has enabled us to date surviving manuscripts and fragments with greater precision than previously, and to establish links between them. It suggests we need to revise our understanding of the art historical criteria that dated them and other books according to an assumed, constant rate of development, a conceptual dating rather than one which reflects the historical circumstances of book production. In this paper I will focus on the early-tenth-century manuscripts, and will examine certain manuscripts in some detail, in order to offer provisional new datings and provenance. I will raise questions about the dating of CCCC 307 (Felix's Life of St. Guthlac) and Boulogne-sur-Mer 10 (Gospels), and discuss the possible relationship between Boulogne-sur-Mer 82 and Cambridge, Trinity College B. 16. 3., which have one scribe in common, and the group of manuscripts Parkes has located to the scriptorium at Nunnaminster, in Winchester.

## Session 114, "Cultural Aspects of Old English Literature"

Donald K. Fry (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"Old English Celæs and Celod: Decorated in Low Relief"

Maldon 283a ("clufon celled bord") and Finnsburh 29a ("Sceolde celæs bord") remain two of the hardest cruces in Old English. This paper argues that celæs and celod derive from Latin caelo, caelare "to adorn...with work embossed or engraved in relief" (Oxford Latin Dictionary). Various forms of caelo appear 26 times in the Vulgate Old Testament, in Ovid's Metamorphoses, Virgil's Aeneid, Bede's De Tabernaculo, Ælfric's De Abbatibus, Encomium Emmae Reginae, and Old English glossaries. Only the best shields have low relief metal decorations, so the words probably connote splendid shields, and, by extension, talented owners.

Katherine O'Brien O'Keefe (Texas A&amp;M Univ.)

The Anglo-Latin and Old English riddles on the technology of writing are interrelated by a meshwork of metaphors which reveal an English attitude to writing and literacy. Like Isidore of Seville, these riddles are fascinated by the power of writing to transform sound into sight. But these riddles surpass their sources by exploring the consequences of writing as a technology which divorces words from speaker. When written, words become things, and though writing preserves speech, the medium of preservation is subject to its own forms of decay. The shared images of loss in these riddles show an undercurrent of anxiety about writing which reminds us that the Anglo-Saxon relationship to literacy was different from our own.

Robert E. Bjork (Arizona State Univ.)

## "Old English Saints' Lives, Anglo-Saxon Sensibilities"

The five OE poems about saints (Guthlac A, Guthlac B, Juliana, Elene, Andreas) have traditionally been viewed as individual, autonomous works of art differing as much among themselves as from their continental progenitors. But an analysis of the syntactic and rhetorical elements of direct discourse--a major structural feature that all the lives share--reveals more uniformity in OE poetic hagiography than we had previously supposed. First, all five poems give dialogue an architectonic stature that it normally does not have, frequently amplifying it to twice or more its original length in the Latin source. This amplification is tied to a second major feature of the lives, their emphasis on the relationship between words and deeds, words and spiritual states. In the saints' formal, rhetorical, and balanced speech, we see a stylistic analogue both of their immutable faith and of the Christ-saint figural connection; the other characters' ability or inability to approximate the saintly ideal in language reflects their various levels of spiritual sophistication and awareness.

Other features of the lives further bind them together into a generic whole, distinct from the Latin tradition: all the lives focus on the moment of greatest emotional and spiritual turmoil for the saint; all consistently use irony; all portray the saint as Satan's nemesis; and thus all explicitly conflate the saint with Christ while the Latin lives tend rigorously to differentiate them.

## Session 458, "Old English Literature in Manuscript Context"

Mary Catherine Bodden (Univ. of Toronto)

## "Composite Volumes and Early English Education"

If the Artes were, in fact, the basis of the medieval world of thought, it seems fundamental to our own understanding of that world to learn just how they were taught. Were, for example, all of the Liberal Arts taught in at least the major monastic communities? If not, if only certain of them were taught, was there a standard or uniform use of the texts comprising each of the disciplines? What, in fact, constituted a basic education in English secular learning and literature? This paper examines the circulation patterns of our surviving composite volume manuscripts containing school texts and standard treatises. The general pattern is unmistakably clear: the educators and librarians of the Middle Ages compiled teaching texts according to the concept of the Trivium and Quadrivium. Particular features raise interesting questions: the survey (of some 600 manuscripts) reveals repeated combinations in a number of the teaching texts. It reveals, as well, striking differences between the English and the Continental circulation patterns in the case of at least one of these combinations. The combinations, of course, say something about copying practices, but more important, it suggests that there was, in fact, a highly organized central body of knowledge preserved, transmitted, and taught as part of the monastic educational curriculum. This, in turn, suggests that the educational program in early England, at least its elementary education, was more systematized and monitored than we have supposed in the past.

Kevin Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky)

"The Blickling Homilies and Beowulf"

There are significant paleographical, codicological, and textual connections between the Blickling Homilies manuscript (Scheide manuscript 71 at Princeton University) and the Beowulf manuscript. The paleographical link was first made by Max Förster, who noticed the "striking resemblance" between the first hand of the Homilies and the second hand of Beowulf, a link later reinforced by Neil Ker, who dated the scripts contemporaneously (c. 975-1025) and noted that both scribes used old-fashioned (literally and figuratively "square") insular habits to combat new-fangled handwriting from the continent. There are two codicological connections that contribute to the "striking resemblance" between these two manuscripts. The first is that both scribes exhibit the same old-fashioned views on the aesthetics of sheet arrangement by alternating hair and flesh sides within gatherings; the second is that the size of the writing grids and the rulings per page are often virtually identical. These paleographical and codicological similarities imply that both manuscripts come from the same scriptorium-library, that they once shared the same "manuscripts context." If so, we have a reason for the most striking connection of all, the clear case of literary borrowing between the description of Grendel's mere in Beowulf and of St. Paul's vision of Hell from the homily for St. Michael's day. The Blickling Homilies manuscript, dated internally in 971, not only provides a terminus a quo for the composition of Beowulf. Since the manuscript of homilies has strong ties with the Lincoln area, we have another reason to believe that the poem was written after 971 in what was then Danish Mercia.

Seth Lerer (Princeton Univ.)

"Texts and Contexts: Reading the Exeter Book Maxims and Riddles"

The paper argues that Old English wisdom literature frequently takes literacy as its theme, and that, in a manuscript such as the Exeter Book, such thematic concerns may help us reassess the plan and purpose of the codex as a whole. I examine in particular three poems, Maxims, Order of the World, and Riddle 42, as representative texts which address in their diction, imagery, and structure, problems of reading and writing. Maxims focuses on human and divine relationships as expressed through language. The poem equates the divine order with propriety in language, and the Order of the World (which follows without a break in the manuscript) takes up these motifs and develops them. Here, there is a certain physicality to the imagery of language use: motifs of inscription and binding metaphorically express cognition in terms of book production. While not one of the many riddles on the scriptorium and its products, Riddle 42 does enact these thematic and metaphorical issues in its structure and diction. It focuses on the interpretation of a written, runic text, and it encloses that "text" within an envelope of echoing beginning and ending lines. Like the Maxims and the Order of the World, the riddle contrasts literate and illiterate modes of interpretation: but in addition, it relies on the reader's ability to recognize the structure of a bound book in the "cunning bonds" (orponcbendum) which bind up the cryptogram.

The paper thus approaches the problem of Old English literature in its manuscript context by assessing ways in which poems take that context as a theme, and how they use metaphors and structures of book-production to call attention to literate modes of interpretation.

Session 604, "'Subtractive Rectification': Unemending Beowulf"

Kevin Kiernan (Univ. of Kentucky)

"The Legacy of Wiglaf: Saving a Wounded Beowulf"

The legacy of Wiglaf is, of course, to try to save the Beowulf manuscript from fire-damage and other forms of draconic emendation. The manuscript we have inherited, unlike its nominal hero, survived the ravages of fire more or less intact, a bit mutilated, but still very much alive. Indeed, my most recent studies of the manuscript, in 1982 and 1983, revealed that the fire-damage along its edges had not destroyed as much of the text as Zupitza and Malone indicate in the notes to their facsimiles. The Thorkelin transcripts we have inherited make the manuscript look even healthier, as if all it had sustained were a few burns and blisters. However, my collations of these transcripts, in 1980 and 1983, showed that Thorkelin A is a more reliable textual authority, and Thorkelin B a less reliable one, than we had been led to think. The addition of some extant readings to the manuscript, and the subtraction of some Thorkelin readings, help us evaluate some of the emendations, or plastic surgery, of the editions we have inherited.

Alexandra Hennessey Olsen (Univ. of Denver)

"Wit, Unity, and Emendation: Some Remarks"

In modern editions the manuscript text of Beowulf has been heavily emended, in part to bring the poem into line with modern ideas about Old English meter and alliteration, with the result that literary considerations have frequently taken second place to other concerns. Many scholars have presented arguments in favor of the restoration of manuscript readings, but the suggestions have not been generally adopted. I should like to suggest that the adoption of some of these restorations as well as of others that have not been noted makes Beowulf seem both better unified and more witty than it often does.

This paper considers several such restorations. First, it suggests retaining "hereric" in 1176a rather than amending to "hererinc" and assuming that "Hereric" is the true name of the hero we know as Beowulf; then "Hereric" in 2206b also refers to Beowulf. Second, it suggests retaining "ænigre" in 949b rather than emending to "nænigre" and reconsidering whether the negative particle "ne" can carry the alliteration rather than emending texts so that it does not. Third, it suggests retaining "grette" in 652a rather than emending to "gegrette" and considering both whether half-lines can have fewer than four syllables and whether the Beowulf-poet uses "grette" rather than "gegrette" for literary reasons. Fourth, in the interests of preserving one of the examples of witty wordplay found in the manuscript, it suggests retaining "deore" in 447a rather than emending to "dreore." The manuscript reading has Beowulf saying that Grendel will have him "like a beast"; since the Danes are about to feast on meat and Grendel will later come to the hall to feast on men, "deore" has a grim appropriateness. "Deore" recalls the phrase "gnadda niflfarna" "young beasts gone to the shades" in Atlakviða, the murdered children Guðrun feeds to Atli to gain vengeance for her brothers. It is also part of a strain of imagery in Beowulf based on "deor" that includes such adjectives as "heapodeor" and "hildedeor"; as a result, it seems preferable to retain the manuscript reading.

Robert E. Boenig (Rutgers Univ.)

"Beowulf 1130a"

The manuscript reading of Beowulf 1130a, "peah þe he meahte on mere drifan," "Although he could embark on the sea," has long perplexed the poem's editors. It comes at the middle of the Finnsburh section of the poem: the first fight is over, Hnæf is dead, and Hengest must decide whether to stay among his enemies or risk a winter's sea journey home. Although the manuscript reading makes perfect grammatical sense, editors have assumed that it violates its context, for the following lines assure us that the winter weather has made the seas impassable. Thus the usual emendation is "peah þe ne meahte on mere drifan," "Although he could not embark on the sea." The manuscript reading, however, makes perfect contextual sense if we realize how the Beowulf-poet structures the sequence of time here. In 1125 the warriors depart the scene of battle; in 1127 Hengest stays with Finn; in 1131 winter closes the sea; and in 1134 spring comes. The situation in 1130, in fact, is just before the time of ice-lock--when Hengest may still sail home. Other passages in the poem contain similar treatments of the passage of time. The troublesome word unhlitme in line 1129, normally taken to mean "without choice,"

is ambiguous because of the ability of the un-phoneme to be an intensifier as well as a negator. By using this word, the Beowulf-poet causes the reader to be unsure of whether or not Hengest stays by choice--a reader response mimetic of the situation in which Hengest purposefully obscures his motives to further his plans for revenge.

VI. First Annual Medieval Conference, Illinois Medieval Association, Southern Illinois University-Edwardsville, February 25, 1984:

Richard W. Clement (Illinois State Univ.)

"The Collation of the Nowell Codex: A Separable Beowulf:"

The collation of BL Cotton Vitellius A.xv, fols. 94-209, a stack of disjunct leaves, is by no means self-evident. Förster, Dobbie, Ker, Malone, Boyle, and Kiernan have all come to differing conclusions. An analysis of the hair-flesh sequences, however, establishes the structure of each of the quires, with the exception of quires 5 and 6. Quire 1 is a gathering of ten folios, all with the hair sides out. Quire 2 was originally a four-sheet gathering which has been reduced to three sheets or six folios. Quires 3 and 4 are identical three-sheet gatherings augmented by two singletons. Quire 7 is a normal gathering of eight folios, except that fol. 6 (fol. 147) is a replacement leaf. Quire 8 is an original three-sheet gathering which has been augmented by another sheet or a pair of singletons. Quire 9 is a normal gathering of eight folios. Quires 10 and 11 are original three-sheet gatherings which have been augmented by another sheet or a pair of singletons. Quires 12 and 13 (identical with quire 1) are gatherings of ten folios, all with the hair sides out. Quire 14, now a gathering of eight folios, all with the hair sides out, may well have been originally a ten-folio gathering like quires 1, 12, and 13. The physical structures of the quires are of three types: 1) an original gathering of three sheets, which in every instance has been expanded to a gathering of eight folios by the addition of two singletons or an extra sheet (quires 3, 4, 8, 11); 2) an original gathering of four sheets (quires 2, 7, 9 [quire 2 has been reduced from four by the removal of one sheet]); 3) an original gathering of five sheets, all with the hair sides facing outward (quires 1, 12, 13, 14 [quire 14 may well have lost its original outer sheet: it contains only four extant sheets]). Although other configurations are possible for quires 5 and 6, only one collation maintains the established codicological custom of this scriptorium: quire 5 is a normal gathering of eight folios and quire 6 is an original gathering of three sheets which has been augmented by two singletons. Beowulf begins on the seventh folio recto of quire 5, and thus it cannot be separated from the three prose works.

A variety of other evidence is also considered: Wanley's description of Beowulf, the inscription "Vl A 15" at the bottom of fol. 132r, the nature of the capitals in Beowulf, the differing scribal attitudes to the various works in the codex, and finally the question of codicological continuity. Taken together, this evidence confirms the traditional collation for quires 5 and 6. The Judith fragment in quire 14 is plainly part of the same copying project which produced the three prose works and Beowulf. Quire 14 was ruled to fit the same format as the preceding prose works, but of course a body of text (anywhere from one to twenty-four folios) is missing between quires 13 and 14. It is in this missing section that we may find the answer to the wormhole in quire 13, or on the other hand as



Leonard Boyle has suggested, the worm may have feasted on quire 13 before it had been joined to any other gatherings. Thus although we cannot be sure when the wormhole was made, its presence fails to exclude Judith as the fifth member of this composite codex. The collation of the Nowell Codex is as Kemp Malone described it:

1<sup>10</sup>, 2<sup>6</sup>, 3-11<sup>8</sup>, 12-13<sup>10</sup>, 14<sup>8</sup>. Christopher, Marvels of the East, Alexander's Letter, Beowulf, and Judith make up a single unified manuscript--the Nowell Codex.

Robert V. Graybill (Central Missouri State Univ.)

"Contrast, Antithesis and Paradox in 'The Dream of the Cross'"

Although many critics of medieval literature insist that the Anglo-Saxons were great shambling oafs with no understanding of the Platonic world of the spirit, an examination of "The Dream of the Cross" indicates a double-sided Weltanschauung worthy of the most subtle and sophisticated. The cross is both a physical entity and a spiritual symbol, but these are not separated in the poem. Despite the fact that later Christianity divided and kept dichotomized the body from the spirit, "The Dream of the Cross" unites the physical and the metaphysical in such a way that the uniting, the resolution of the paradox, is determined through deep Christian faith. As in John Donne's "Holy Sonnet XIV," the paradox of physicality and spirituality can be explained and wholeness can emerge in the individual worshipper's faith only after the miracle of God's grace is taken into account. That alone restores the totality, the wholeness, of existence. Anglo-Saxons whose intellectual outlook included metaphysicality were well prepared to accept Christian missionaries. "The Dream of the Cross" is therefore a powerful argument for the spiritual qualities of honor, truth, and courage which marked the Anglo-Saxon mind before Christianity and the spiritual qualities of mercy, justice, and love after Christianity had spread through Anglo-Saxon culture. The poem thus refutes critics who insist that Anglo-Saxons had no indigenous appreciation for abstract thought or for a balance of intellectual power and physical force.

VII. Eleventh Acta Conference, Medieval Kings and Kingship, SUNY-Stony Brook, April 6-7:

Karen Darin (SUNY-Stony Brook)

"The King in the Doorway: The Anglo-Saxon Chronicle, A.D. 755"

Since the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle entry for 755 begins like all the rest but immediately begins to relate events that occur years later than 755, the Chronicler indicates that he goes beyond the simple act of recording data. He shapes the stuff of history into the form of narrative in order to convey a meaning. In this case, he shows us a good and heroic king who ruled well but was ill-equipped to defend himself against treachery.

The Chronicler illustrates that Cynewulf was a renowned warrior king, yet also a clement ruler. And he shows that Cynewulf was so beloved by his men that he commanded loyalty from them even after he died. Just as the Chronicler gives a picture of the king, so does he illustrate the king's nemesis. Cyneheard is an enemy who prepares secretly, gathers force, appears unannounced from the past, and succeeds in killing the king.

The confrontation between the king and his assassin constitutes the crux of all the action in this passage. The encounter occurs in the center of the narrative, framed by events that point toward it and so accentuate it. In describing this attack, the Chronicler uses the most visually explicit language in this narrative. Active verbs, descriptive adverbs, and colorful nouns create movement and urgency. At the same time, this scene dominates the entry with the force of its implications as well as its visual lucidness. Here we see Cynewulf, roused from the bed of the woman, defending himself in a most noble manner until he sights his antagonist. And then, in a final act of doomed boldness, the king hurls himself into his last heroic action. He lunges at his antagonist and is then killed by the band of assassins. Though Osric and his men do quell the rebellion, the Chronicler has shown us how treachery and deceit have effected the end of a good and forthright king.

Janet Nelson (Univ. of London King's College)

"Wealth and Wisdom: The Politics of Alfred the Great"

The problem of anachronism in assessing Alfred is exemplified by modern historians' difficulties in accommodating Asser's account of Alfred's illnesses. Unlike possible Carolingian models, Alfred explicitly identified wisdom as the means to weal. Mercian charters show an increased preoccupation with money from the mid-ninth century: this is reflected in West Saxon charters in Alfred's reign. Danegelds caused a bullion shortage, which resulted in massive debasements of Mercian and West Saxon coinages. The nadir came in the early years of Alfred's reign, arguably causing resentment among rentier aristocrats, hence political problems. In the late 870's Alfred sought to counter these and to reassure the aristocracy that their losses were only temporary, both by revaluing the coinage and by promoting a tradition of wisdom as found in carmina saxonica. This exploitation of vernacular culture predates, and supplies a context for, the OE translations of Christian Latin works. It was a response to fiscal problems and their political consequences. Like the king's illnesses, it could be made sense of by contemporaries as a medium of divine concern.

Brigitte Bedos Rezak (Metropolitan Museum of Art)

"The King Enthroned: A New Theme in Anglo-Saxon Iconography.  
the Seal of Edward the Confessor and Its Political Implications"

During the reign of Edward the Confessor, two major innovations occurred in Anglo-Saxon England: the use of a royal seal to validate documents and the appearance of the Majesty-type in depictions of the current ruler. These novelties seem closely linked since seals were apparently the first medium to show the king in majesty, enthroned, crowned and bearing the regalia. Taken together they clearly testify to a new and stronger concept of kingship.

The seal, a mark of singular authority pressed in relief upon a plastic material by the impact of a matrix engraved intaglio, had been, from the fourth century onward, the usual means by which Western Continental European kings authenticated their diplomas. The Anglo-Saxon land-books, though issued in the name of the king, were the only comparable documents in Europe to lack a royal guarantee such as was elsewhere asserted by the affixing of a king's seal. The reason for this anomaly is the ecclesiastical nature of the land-books, which were guaranteed and authenticated by religious formulae.

The superiority of divine authority is also underlined in contemporary manuscript art where emphasis is given to Christ as ruler, while the king is shown in a position of subordination and never in majesty. Prior to the Confessor, the prevailing monastic Reform movement, though supporting consolidation of the monarchy, asserted and maintained a preeminence of religious authority.

When Edward started to seal, c. 1057, he never affixed his royal seal to ecclesiastical land-books, but only to writs, documents distinctly secular in tone and relying solely on the king's authority. This use of a newly invented royal seal reflects the secularizing tendency of the Anglo-Saxon monarchy, precisely at a time when the Reform movement had lost its standing and momentum. The iconographic program of the royal seal, introducing the Majesty design for a secular ruler further signals a new development in the royal ideology: the regality of the king equated with that of Christ.

One source for Edward's seal device was clearly provided by German Imperial seals, specifically those of Conrad (1028-39) and Henry III (1039-56). But several characteristics of Edward's seals, unique in the European sigillographic context of the time, also imply a Byzantine source, specifically, the contemporary bullae of the Eastern Emperor Isaac I Comnenus (1057-59). The first Anglo-Saxon seal, suffused with Ottonian and Byzantine elements, constitutes an epitome of the English Imperial tradition.

VIII. Nineteenth International Congress on Medieval Studies, the Medieval Institute, Western Michigan University, May 10-13. As in 1983 the Institute and CEMERS at SUNY-Binghamton co-sponsored a Symposium on the Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture, whose abstracts are here presented first, followed by the abstracts for various other Kalamazoo sessions.

#### Sources of Anglo-Saxon Culture

##### Session 11: Literary Sources I

James E. Cross (Univ. of Liverpool)

##### "The Importance of Pembroke College, Cambridge MS 25"

The manuscript is one text of a "Carolingian homiliary" with interesting features. It will be argued that the homiliary was composed by one man (not a collection of homilies by various authors). Its earlier terminus can be determined. Its homilies are arguably the direct sources for five Old English sermons besides illustrating rare ideas. Some of the material is close enough to be of value to lexicographers. An edited text of some homilies will be presented.

Colin Chase (Univ. of Toronto)

##### "The Yellow Brick Road to St. Anthony and St. Guthlac: or 'You Can't Get There from Here'"

In 1926 Benjamin Kurtz laid the cornerstone for one of the more immovable edifices of Anglo-Saxon literary study when, at the conclusion of his 40-page monograph, "From St. Anthony to St. Guthlac: A Study in Biography," he announced that of all the work bearing any relation at all to Evagrius' rendering of the Athanasian Life--from Jerome's Paul to Eddius' Wilfrid--Felix's Guthlac

displayed "not only a more complete following, part for part, of the plan of the Antonius...; not only a greater reliance upon the actual text of the vita Anontii: but also a notable penetration into the ideals of discipline and tranquility" (pp. 141). Felix, through Evagrius, was Athanasius' most direct literary heir. By examining several of the borrowed passages cited by Kurtz in their original contexts and by seeking to establish the immediate literary purpose of both the Evagrian Anthony and Felix's Guthlac, this study excavates around Kurtz's cornerstone to see if after nearly 60 years, his edifice will settle properly, totter, or collapse entirely.

David R. Howlett (Dictionary of Medieval Latin)

### "Biblical Style in the Parker Chronicle"

This paper analyzes Cambridge, Corpus Christi College 173 as a monument of Biblical Style in three respects. First, examining the early annals (independent of both ancient historical sources and Bede), annal 755 (757), the longest Alfredian narratives, and the Alfredian Laws, this paper demonstrates that the prose is composed consistently (in phrases, sentences, paragraphs, and entire articles) in a style derived from the Latin Bible and shared with all major British-Latin, Anglo-Latin, and OE writers from the fifth century to the ninth. Second, considering the introductory regnal table, the chronology of the Anglo-Saxon Conquest, the Aethelwulfing genealogy, and the disposition of groups of annals, it adduces precise biblical models for distinct parts of the manuscript. Third, it adduces a precise biblical model for the ordering of the entire manuscript and suggests why the texts were reordered during the tenth century and why they acquired their present order. The conclusions may prove valuable for other scholars interested in textual criticism, historiography, and the development of Old English prose.

Session 43; Literary Sources II

Earl R. Anderson (Cleveland State Univ.)

### "Queen Emma and the Battle of Maldon"

This paper builds on the foundation of argument already established by John McKinnell (1975) that Maldon, on linguistic grounds, was not composed until ca. 1030 or later; by N.F. Blake (1978) that the Maldon-poet got his information about Byrhtnoth's death from the Vita Oswaldi; and by Rosemary Woolf (1976) that the poem's ideal of suicidal fighting was not a part of the common Germanic heritage but rather was furnished by some alien source. Maldon is not a historical record of the battle that took place in 991; for his battlefield details, the poet made use of an account of Knutr's victory over Eadmund Ironside at Ashingdon in 1016, as it appears in the Encomium Emmae Reginae, a work promulgated by Queen Emma during the reign of Horthaknutr (1040-42). From the Encomium, the Maldon-poet derived (1) the flight of Odda's sons at a critical moment, which was modeled on the treachery of Eadric Streon at Ashingdon; (2) the pattern of loyal retainers making heroic speeches and then advancing to battle; (3) the ideal of suicidal fighting (we need not turn to the Old Danish Bjarkamal for this theme); and (4) certain other details such as the crossing from an island to the mainland.

Maldon is the work of a poetic imagination, composed fifty years or more after the event that it supposedly describes. Analysis of the poem's relationship with the Encomium Emmae Reginae suggests that the poem is not a tragedy of ofermod (although ofermod, courage, and cowardice are secondary issues in the poem); Maldon is, rather, a heroic poem about loyalty, which finds its expression in the ideal of suicidal fighting, and disloyalty, which finds its expression in defection from battle at a critical moment.

William Stoneman (Univ. of Toronto)

"The Latin and Old English Notes in the Old English Illustrated Hexateuch (BL Cotton Claudius B.iv)"

BL Cotton Claudius B.iv is thought to be an eleventh-century product of St. Augustine's, Canterbury. The manuscript has been much studied by literary scholars for its text, Alfric's adaptation of the Hexateuch, and by art historians for its extensive illustrations. There is also extensive marginalia in the manuscript in Latin and in Old English. Two hands have been identified, one from the middle and one from the late twelfth century. This paper discusses the sources of these marginal notes and the relationship of these sources to other works of the Anglo-Saxon period. Three sources for the marginalia have been identified: Jerome's Quaestiones Hebraicae in Genesim and De Situ et Nominibus Judae and Peter Comestor's Historia Scholastica. The citations from Comestor, an author previously unrecorded as known to the Anglo-Saxons, raise important questions about the proposed revision of Ogilvy's Books Known to the Anglo-Saxons, especially the question of a terminal date for inclusion of references.

Charles Wright (Cornell Univ.)

"Vercelli Homily IX in its Insular Context"

Drawing attention to parallels from Irish and Hiberno-Latin texts for much of the diverse material in Vercelli IX and the "Theban Anchorite" legend it incorporates, the paper discusses the homily as an exemplar of a distinctively "Insular" literary culture. Among the characteristics that reflect the assimilation of Irish Christian traditions are specific themes and motifs such as the "likenesses" of hell, and stylistic features such as enumeration and grotesque hyperbole (the latter especially in eschatological contexts). In addition, the "Theban Anchorite" legend (which owing to a lacuna in the Vercelli text must be partly supplied from other witnesses) has even adapted a motif, known to folklorists as the "Iron House," which derives from Irish secular literature.

Session 77: The Ninth Century

Kelley M. Wickham-Crowley (Cornell Univ. and Univ. of Durham)

"Ninth Century Anglo-Saxon Ecclesiastical Architecture"

Harold and Joan Taylor, in their Anglo-Saxon Architecture, divided the period 800 to 950 into three arbitrary sections of fifty years each: B<sub>1</sub>, B<sub>2</sub> and B<sub>3</sub>. Their conclusion that little remains of ecclesiastical architecture<sup>2</sup> from this time, most probably due to Viking activity, has remained tacitly influential among scholars ever since. Re-examination of texts such as the Anglo-Saxon Chronicles

and recent excavations at sites such as Repton, however, challenge the assumption that the Norsemen destroyed the majority of parish and monastic churches. The evidence instead points to possible preservation of ecclesiastical buildings as fortifications and perhaps quarters for Norse forces, and to selective attacks on establishments, mainly for the wealth deposited there. As such wealth may well have been lacking in most local parish churches, the motivation for attack in the case of such churches was also lacking. Why then do we seem to have so little ecclesiastical architecture surviving from this time? While we may in fact have more surviving material than was originally thought, the relative scarcity of extant remains may be due more to lack of funds for repair, rebuilding and new work or a reluctance to invest such funds. An economic recession caused by the cumulative effect of Norse attacks may be more responsible for fewer remains surviving than the attacks themselves.

Mildred Budny (London)

"The Illustrated Royal Bible from St. Augustine's Abbey"

The origin, date, and original extent of BL Royal 1 E. vi, the gospel fragment of a luxurious, large-format, illustrated bible made in the early ninth century at St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury, have long been the subjects of considerable dispute. This paper presents some of the fruits of an intensive archaeological, palaeographical, and art historical study of the manuscript and sets out its relation to other manuscripts of the scriptorium which produced it, to other manuscripts of the period, and to works of art in other media. The close relation which its decoration displays to the Trewhiddle style of metalwork--a closer relation to metal work than any other Insular manuscript since the seventh-century Book of Durrow--establishes the date of the manuscript as well as manifests the royal and aristocratic influence which shaped its production.

In its original state the bible comprised more than one thousand leaves, with a number of purple-dyed leaves and full-page illustrations, which can be reconstructed on the basis of cutting marks and offsets; to judge by the standard of the surviving decoration--principally the arcades enclosing the Eusebian canon tables and the initial page of the Luke gospel--the bible was very lavishly and skilfully decorated. It surpassed in magnificence the Codex Amiatinus made at Wearmouth-Jarrow by A.D. 716 and rivalled the illustrated Carolingian bibles made at Tours from circa 830 onwards. Moreover, in its layout and decoration Royal 1 E. vi attests Carolingian influences on Anglo-Saxon manuscripts already in the early ninth century, long before that influence is normally believed to have made itself felt. This key manuscript renders the picture of Anglo-Saxon book production, and indeed of Anglo-Saxon art, in the ninth century considerably more complex than previously suspected.

Paul Bauschatz (Univ. of Maine-Orono)

"English and Latin in the Ninth Century"

A comparison of Latin and English in ninth-century England reveals that these languages go about expressing relatively similar ideas by quite dissimilar means. Particularly in the conjoining and subordinating of one "sentence" or expression to another, the two languages express themselves differently and with different

import. Ninth-century texts give ample access to such information. The ecclesiastical laws of King Alfred exist in both Latin and English form, expressing the "the same thing" in both languages. Under the guise of making available indecipherable Latin originals, Alfred's translations of classical and earlier medieval Latin texts provide another slant on the relations between the two languages. A comparison of ninth-century Anglo-Saxon Latin texts with contemporary continental Latin texts gives evidence of the similarities and differences which British and European Latin exhibit. With this material in hand, we can examine:

1. How earlier and later Latin changes with respect to preferred syntactic relations for sentence imbedding (subordination).
2. How English does or does not change with respect to its rendering of such Latin structures.
3. Whether the structures of subordination in English, both in translations of Latin originals and in purely English compositions, change over time.

Session 111: Research Tools I

Jane Roberts (Univ. of London King's College)

#### "A Thesaurus-Skeleton for Old English"

Stage 1 of the proposed thesaurus of Old English, at present being edited by Christian Kay of the University of Glasgow and myself, was completed early in 1981 and it seems appropriate now to present some account of current progress. We are engaged on sorting the materials within the framework devised by Professor M.L. Samuels and Miss Kay for the Glasgow Historical Thesaurus of English. Although no section will be complete until the whole is complete, certain areas of OE vocabulary have already been grouped roughly and methods of presentation are being explored. I shall be presenting an account of the project, and hope to indicate the usefulness of the proposed thesaurus as a research tool.

David L. Jeffrey (Univ. of Ottawa)

#### "A Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature"

The Dictionary of Biblical Tradition in English Literature is an encyclopedic reference work designed primarily for students and scholars of English literature. Due to be completed by late 1986, it will be composed of more than 1500 articles by approximately 250 contributors. Each entry--from AARON to ZION--will consist of three parts: biblical background; exegetical history; highlights of literary usage in English from the Anglo-Saxon period to the present. The Dictionary will be prefaced by three bibliographical essays designed for the literary scholar: (1) Biblical Studies; (2) Studies in the History of Interpretation (Judaic, Patristic, Reformation, and Modern Hermeneutics); (3) the Bible and English Literature (Bible as Literature/Bible in Literature). Bibliographical notes will also accompany each article. The Dictionary's utility to the scholar of OE and ME literature will derive from provision of a quick,

reliable guide to the main outlines of typological and related literary traditions of biblical "vocabulary" in English. I will be providing sample articles and a detailed description of the project, and inviting contributions from any present who may be interested in participating.

Catherine Brown Tkacz (Dumbarton Oaks)

"Needed: A Motif-Index of the Bible"

In order to aid the study of literature, I propose to index the folklore motifs in the Bible, producing a reference work on the model of the standard folklore motif-index of Stith Thompson. That such an index has not yet been compiled is amazing, particularly because folklorists themselves have long recognized that the Bible is a significant source for several motifs. Indeed, Thompson observes that it is only through the Biblical tradition that some motifs entered Western folklore at all. Moreover, an index of folklore motifs in the Midrash and Talmud has been compiled (Neuman, 1954). The motif-index of the Bible will aid research in several fields including Medieval and Renaissance literature, comparative literature, the study of the Bible as literature, folklore, art history, hagiography, and homiletic studies. Scholars thoroughly familiar with the scriptures would find the proposed index useful as a memory aid and supplement, while those not conversant with the Bible would have a valuable means of access to it. The ability to research scriptural parallels efficiently would promote the study of the Bible as a literary source and an influence in western culture. As a first step toward compiling this motif-index, a checklist of all occurrences in the Vulgate of one motif, the Tormentor Tormented, has been made and used in a study of Old English hagiography (Tkacz, diss., 1983).

Session 145: Research Tools II

Thomas H. Ohlgren (Purdue Univ.)

"The Index to Iconographic Contents in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts: A Progress Report"

For the past four years a team of scholars in Anglo-Saxon art, codicology, history, and literature has been working on a one-volume inventory of and indexes to all-known Anglo-Saxon manuscripts containing iconographically-identifiable subjects. As project director, I will report on the substantial progress made since last year's NEH-sponsored symposium. In brief, we are now conforming to two standards for the codicological and iconographic information: 1) the system of Helmut Gneuss in "A Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100" (ASE 9 [1981], 1-60); and 2) the iconographic standards, with some revisions, of the Index of Christian Art at Princeton.

Michael M. Gorman (Boston, MA)

"The First Quire of the Codex Amiatinus: Was it Copied from the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus?"

The codex Amiatinus ranks with the poem Beowulf as one of the chief monuments of Anglo-Saxon culture in England. Toward the end of the nineteenth century, scholarly opinion began to favor the view that the codex Amiatinus was copied by



scribes at Wearmouth/Jarrow during the time of Ceolfrid and Bede, between the years 690 and 716. De Rossi's brilliant conjecture, that the words, "Ceolfridus Britonum," were originally written where the words, "Petrus Langobardorum," are now seen in the dedicatory inscription, was confirmed in 1887 when the complete, original text of the inscription was discovered in an anonymous Life of Ceolfrid. Textual affinities between the Lindisfarne Gospels and the codex Amiatinus had been noticed earlier and it was now clear that the codex Amiatinus was produced in Anglo-Saxon England about the year 700 and sent to Rome by Ceolfrid as a gift for Pope Gregory II. In 1960, E.A. Lowe, while writing English Uncial, established that the codex Amiatinus, which he called "the best, most celebrated, and only complete surviving Latin Bible antedating Alcuin and Theodulf," was written by native Northumbrian scribes toward the end of the seventh century and not by scribes imported from Italy. Carl Nordenfalk then showed that the painted folios in the codex Amiatinus were the work of Northumbrians as well. However, most scholars today persist in a belief which I consider to be mistaken, namely, that the drawings and illustrations in the first quire of the codex Amiatinus were copied directly from the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus. Despite its renown, the codex Amiatinus has not been adequately published. I will show color slides of all the illustrations which are found in it and discuss in detail the three drawings depicting divisions of Scripture. I will then compare these three drawings in the codex Amiatinus to the drawings which appear in the oldest manuscript of Cassiodorus' Institutiones: Bamberg, Staatsbibliothek HJ.IV.15 (Patr. 61). The Bamberg manuscript has never been carefully considered in conjunction with the codex Amiatinus before. In conclusion, I will suggest that Anglo-Saxon monks, perhaps Bede and Ceolfrid themselves, used various models in a creative way while designing the illustrations in the first quire of the codex Amiatinus. The first quire of the codex Amiatinus was not copied directly from the Codex Grandior of Cassiodorus.

Charles Wright (Cornell Univ.)

"The Contribution of Helmut Gneuss's 'Preliminary List of Manuscripts Written or Owned in England up to 1100' to the Index to Iconographic Subjects"

The headings of the entries in the Index give library shelfmark, date, and origin/provenance for each manuscript, as well as a short list of contents. This information, originally drawn from J.J.G. Alexander, Insular Manuscripts (London, 1978), and Elżbieta Temple, Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts (London, 1976), has been altered according to the data given for each manuscript in Helmut Gneuss's preliminary list, published in Anglo-Saxon England, 9 (1981), 1-60. Entries for manuscripts not included in Gneuss's list have been rewritten to conform to Gneuss's system of citation. These changes result in fuller, more consistent, and more up-to-date headings in the Index, and will facilitate reference to Gneuss's complete catalogue when published.

Mildred Budny (London)

"Additions and Corrections to the Index to Iconographic Contents"

A close look at the surviving manuscripts produces a number of additions and corrections to the Index to Iconographic Contents in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts, which inspection of catalogues and secondary references alone cannot provide. These

corrections and additions take several forms, relating to the extent or nature of the images, and to the attributions of date and place of origin.

For example, the St. Benedict illustrations in BL Arundel 155 (fol. 133r) and Cotton Tiberius A. iii (fol. 117v) surely represent the author not receiving the text from the monks (an error which crept into the secondary literature during this century) but rather expounding it to his followers--in rare instances of the genre of teaching scenes in extant Anglo-Saxon manuscripts. Moreover, the recent identification of the hand of the artist of the illustrations in Tiberius A. iii in several surviving manuscripts from St. Augustine's Abbey, Canterbury (such as the evangelist Mark added to fol. 30v in BL Royal 1 E. vi, and some illustrations in the Old English Hexateuch, Cotton Claudius B. iv), permits the attribution of this manuscript to St. Augustine's too, rather than to Christ Church as previously assumed.

So too, the full-page figure drawn at the front of Oxford, St. John's College 28 (fol. 2r) constitutes not a fly-leaf sketch of Christ but rather an integral part of the original book--the Pastoral Care of Gregory the Great--and serves as an emblematic author-subject frontispiece portrait to it. Thus the date of the drawing matches the date of the manuscript.

To the contents of some manuscripts it is possible to add, where known (such as through offsets, tituli, or both), some lost leaves which carried decoration. Royal 1 E. vi presents a notable example, with numerous full-page illustrations such as the four evangelists with the Lamb of God, the baptism of Christ, the Annunciation to Zacharias, the Sermon on the Mount, and many others, as well as a number of full pages carrying elaborate display script between the gospel openings and the first full pages of the gospel texts. With additions and corrections of this kind, it should be possible to extend the use of the Index.

Carl T. Berkhout (Univ. of Arizona)

"On Constructing a Phobibliography for the Index to Iconographic Subjects"

A handy feature of the Index to Iconographic Subjects in Anglo-Saxon Manuscripts is expected to be a bibliographic listing of published reproductions of all illustrations described in the Index. The plan is to cite references folio by folio, keying them to a master list, somewhat in the manner of the Princeton Index. The result is to be called a photo-bibliography, and the act of producing it is phobiography. Phobiography is what keeps ninety-five percent of all reference tools from being done on time, for fear of missing things, bungling things, or coming up with something that just isn't as useful as it ought to be. For the Iconographic Index, the phobiographer does not fret about making the product complete, for completeness is impossible, and worries instead about numerous other things. Should he indicate that a published illustration is in black and white or in color? Should he attempt to indicate whether it is actual size? Should he attempt to indicate whether it is actual size? What is to be done about conflicting or indeterminate folio numbers and the like? Should he indicate that an illustration is accompanied by a substantive iconographic or palaeographic discussion, or that it is simply a poorly identified picture in some coffee-table book? Can he cheat a little by giving only a blanket citation to a book that contains all or most of the illustrations in a particular manuscript? These and many other questions require some fairly precise agreement on what is desirable, what is essential, and what is practical, all with the needs and circumstances of a broad scholarly audience in mind.

## Session 179: Bede the Interpreter, Exegesis, and the Arts of Discourse"

Martin Irvine (Wayne State Univ.)

## "Bede the Grammarian"

According to the treatises known to seventh- and eighth-century Northumbrian scholars, ars grammatica contained two branches: ars interpretandi or enarratio (exegesis) and recte scribendi et loquendi (the principles for literate discourse and grammatical pedagogy). The literary or exegetical branch contained the principles for lectio (construing and reading orally, including metrics and proper delivery), enarratio (exegesis of subject matter and analysis of figures of speech), emendatio (orthography, correction of errors, and the scribal arts), iudicium (evaluation of writings and establishing authentic texts). In this paper I will examine the significance of Bede's grammatical treatises, De orthographia, De arte metrica, and De schematibus et tropis, in relation to the conception of grammatica which Northumbrian scholars held, namely that of a comprehensive "art of letters" devoted to literacy, the interpretation of texts, writing, and the scribal arts for the maintaining and promoting of a Christian monastic paideia. Although the concerns in Bede's grammatical treatises overlap, they exemplify three of the traditional literary departments of grammatica: De arte metrica belongs to lectio, De schematibus et tropis to enarratio, and De orthographia to emendatio, each of which contributes to the life of Christian learning which Bede calls litteratura, a synonym for grammatica. The exegetical aspect of grammatica is clearly shown in De schematibus et tropis where the trope allegoria receives the most extensive treatment. In order to define the Northumbrian conception of grammatical studies I will turn to the treatises known to Bede and the Anonymus ad Cuimmanum, a commentary on Donatus with an important preface on the artes (in MS St. Paul in Carinthia 2/1, s. viii, Northumbria). Central texts for establishing the function of grammatica are the treatises by Diomedes, Victorinus, and two unpublished anonymous texts on the artes used by the Anonymus ad Cuimmanum in Vat. Lat. 1746 (s. viii ex./ix in., Lorsch), Naples B.N. IV.A.34 (s. ix in., Luxeuil), and Bodleian Library Add.C.144 (s. xi in., central Italy).

Roger Ray (Univ. of Toledo)

## "Bede the Rhetorician"

The paper does not depart from the prevailing view that when it came to the verbal arts Bede was mainly a grammarian. Yet it does dispute the frequently stated opinion that in his literary studies classical rhetoric had shrunk away to the theory of figures and imitatio. And it certainly rejects the view that Bede's attitude toward pagan rhetoric was merely negative. In a first section it is argued that a keen respect for the power of cultivated speech caused Bede, like Augustine, to take an ambivalent approach to rhetorical argumentation. He was well aware that verbal cunning could count on either side of a question. Hence he often warns against the alluring language with which heretics try to mislead the faithful. At the same time he does not want to strip the Church of the argumentative skills necessary to expose the perversity of false speech. To this end Bede remarkably refutes Jerome's Letter 22 in his exegesis of 1 Samuel 14:24-30. Here and elsewhere Bede authorizes the study of rhetorical invention and proofs. A second part shows that Bede's knowledge of the inventional theory

extends even to a major assumption underlying it. The evidence, once again, comes from his commentaries. He seems to have known that the orator may find the means of persuasion at any available source, including admittedly false material. In other words, he had some appreciation of the sheerly pragmatic nature of rhetorical thought and argumentation. The conclusion argues that Bede must have studied a textbook of Roman rhetoric different from, and better than, Isidore's Etymologiae, Book Two. Some alternative manuals are briefly discussed.

David Ganz (Univ. of North Carolina-Chapel Hill)

"The Reception of Bede's Grammatical Textbooks in the Carolingian Empire: A New Perspective on His Influence"

The rapid dissemination of Bede's grammatical and metrical treatises throughout Charlemagne's empire reveals much about the goals and methods of Carolingian education. Their reception clarifies Bede's legacy, and the impact of the Wearmouth-Jarrow scriptorium on the layout and production of Carolingian books. There are several types of transmission, and this paper will pay particular attention to the place of Bede's works in grammatical corpora which are so distinctive a feature of the Carolingian period, responding to a desire for a higher standard of Latinity. As contemporary catalogues make clear, grammar was a distinct category in the monastic library, and the corpora are reference works. In layout, ordering of texts, and illumination they display a desire to provide sources for teaching, and they often include dialogues which may have been reenacted in the classroom. They lack the glosses of contemporary manuscripts of Priscian or Christian poets: their status, as script and decoration affirm, is far higher than the schoolbook. It is not clear whether such corpora already existed in eighth-century England. Alcuin's York poem, and transmitted Anglo-Saxon glosses and insular script in continental manuscripts all offer evidence that the Carolingian scriptoria developed an Insular tradition. This aspect of the reception of Bede's grammatical and rhetorical treatises make it clear that he was not an isolated modern, like Clemens, but belonged within the fold of a treasured tradition. For the Carolingians, Bede was as emphatically a grammarian as he was an exegete.

Other Sessions

(not all abstracts were available)

Session 91: Old English Vocabulary/Names

Greg Waite (Univ. of Otago)

"The Vocabulary of the Old English Bede and Prose-writing in Anglo-Saxon England"

The OE version of Bede's Historia Ecclesiastica is traditionally associated with King Alfred's program of translation, although the evidence for such a connection is equivocal. The affinities of this work with Werferth's translation of Gregory's Dialogues are striking, but it does not resemble other "Alfredian" texts linguistically or stylistically. Furthermore, the language of the OE Bede is undoubtedly Anglian, not West Saxon. The style of the translation is extremely literal, and resembles nothing so much as an interlinear gloss. However, claims that the work is merely a hastily reworked gloss cannot be supported by the evidence of the text itself or our knowledge of glossing habits in the ninth

century. The translator was a consistent, careful worker who edited and abridged his Latin text intelligently. His vocabulary is well-evolved, remarkably consistent, and reflects a deliberately chosen and carefully followed mode of execution. The foundations of English prose-writing can be traced to the development of a workable literary vocabulary by the glossators and glossary writers. The OE Bede is in many ways a transitional work which builds upon the glossing tradition, yet anticipates the main schools of prose-writing in Anglo-Saxon England--Alfred's, and that which later evolved out of Æthelwold's monastic reforms. This paper examines the vocabulary of the OE Bede and considers its origins and its relationships with other works, Alfredian and non-Alfredian, dated before the tenth century. By way of conclusion the paper considers how we might revise our thinking about the "continuity of English prose" in its earliest period.

Ronald E. Buckalew (Pennsylvania State Univ.)

"Be Dæle in Ælfric's Preface to Genesis. A Lexicographical Corrective to the Reputation of Ælfric's Latin Teacher and Late Tenth-Century Latinity"

In a well-known passage in the Preface to his translation of part of Genesis into Old English, Ælfric tells us that a certain priest, who had been his teacher at the time, had the book of Genesis, and he could understand Latin be dæle. Scholars such as Mitchell and Robinson consistently gloss this phrase as "in part," and Bosworth Toller Supplement even cites this passage for the meaning "somewhat, a little." On the basis of this interpretation of the Old English, others have drawn far-reaching conclusions about Ælfric's Latin training and education in general in tenth-century England. In praising Ælfric's learning, Eric John alludes to this passage as showing that "English monasteries were not full of men of like learning and ability...even in an Æthelwold monastery [Ælfric] had largely to teach himself Latin." Yet this and many other translations and consequent interpretations of this passage are based on a heretofore unrecognized error. Dæl here does not mean "part" in the usual sense, but "part of speech." What Ælfric means is that his teacher could parse the Latin appropriately, but--as the context makes clear--he failed to comprehend the exegetical significance of Genesis. Ælfric's use of dæl elsewhere to mean "part of speech" has been assumed to be limited to his Grammar, where it translates Latin pars, but once its potentiality for that meaning here is perceived, the true meaning of the passage becomes clear. Reinforcing this interpretation are the many links between the Grammar and the Genesis Preface and translation. In the Preface God's words at Creation are given an exegetical interpretation relating the unity of the Trinity to the concept of singular and plural, and the closing exhortation for scribal accuracy is word-for-word the same as that of the Grammar. A number of Latin citations from Genesis occur in the Grammar where none occur in the immediate source, the unpublished Excerptiones de Prisciano. This and other evidence shows that the Grammar and Ælfrician Genesis were written in that order, probably between 994 and 998. Thus the correction of one mistranslation of one word is seen to have considerable consequences for our knowledge-lexicographical, biographical, and historical--of Ælfric and late Anglo-Saxon England.

Joseph Crowley (Auburn Univ.-Montgomery)

"The Use of Name Evidence for the Study of Old English Dialects"

Early English names, both place-names and personal names, can provide valuable evidence of the dialectal phonology and vocabulary of Old English. Name evidence has some advantages over textual evidence, within certain limits. 1) Name evidence is relatively abundant, available in many local documents which contain no phrases or sentences of Old English and in documents from both the Old English and Middle English periods. Many names, however, do not contain dialectally significant elements or are of uncertain etymology. 2) Names may show sound changes or dialectal vocabulary not common in prose or poetry. But the number of these is limited. 3) The local charters, church lists, tax rolls, etc., that afford names are more broadly distributed geographically than our texts of Old English, though the data does have gaps. 4) Names conserve their original sounds (in stressed syllables) longer than do other types of vocabulary, and the changes they do undergo are usually regular, so that the results reflect the earlier linguistic forms from which they have developed. Thus names from Middle English local documents can indicate Old English characteristics. 5) Names are localized. Names which are known for certain to have been written by a local official at a definite place may be reasonably taken to indicate the pronunciation or lexical choice of that region.

Over the years scholars have increasingly utilized more and more of the available sources of names and have become increasingly discriminating about selecting only sources and names that are likely to afford valid evidence of Old English dialect. Name evidence has contributed to our knowledge of Old English dialects by adding some minor dialect characteristics and especially by corroborating characteristics attested in the textual evidence and determining isoglosses for them.

Session 121: Oral Literature and the Middle Ages I

John W. Butcher (Univ. of Missouri-Columbia)

"Formulaic Diction and Structure in the Old English Riddles"

J.J. Campbell and other scholars have called our attention to structural as well as rhetorical patterning in Christ which contribute to the unity of each of the three poems and to the unity of Christ as a single work. My paper will explore other methods of structure, besides rhetoric, in the three poems. The technique of responsion in which meaningful words or morphemes cluster in any given section of the poem is notably used in Christ II. There is evidence that this technique aided the poet in orally composing his work.

John Miles Foley (Univ. of Missouri-Columbia)

"Some New (and Promising) Directions in Oral Literature Research"

This paper offers a brief, synthetic overview of recent new directions in the field of comparative oral studies. It treats investigations of ancient Greek, Old English, and other literatures by such scholars as Charles

Segal, Walter Ong, Alain Renoir, Albert Lord, and others who have extended the Parry-Lord methodology in fruitful ways. A central concern of the works examined and assessed is the aesthetics of oral and oral-derived texts.

Session 125: Old English Meter/Alliteration

Geoffrey Russom (Brown Univ.)

"Old English Meter"

In this paper I present, for the first time, results of five years' research on Old English meter. I intend only to introduce the leading ideas of the theory and to give a few examples of the type of argumentation used to justify it. The theory rests on three fundamental principles, to which the more explicit rules stand in the relation of corollaries:

- (1) Each metrical foot corresponds to a native Old English word pattern.
- (2) The constant factor at the level of the verse is the number of feet.
- (3) Rules for alliteration, which bind together the metrical constituents of the couplet, correspond to Old English stress subordination rules, which bind words together into larger linguistic constituents.

In discussing rule (1), I will show that certain verse patterns declared unmetrical by Sievers and others fail to occur because they could not be filled by two Old English words. I will also discuss an important corollary to rule (1), which states that foot patterns corresponding to words of low frequency, being relatively difficult to perceive, are more restricted in their distribution than are those corresponding to more common word types. Discussion of rules (2) and (3) will emphasize the very close connection between linguistic rules and metrical rules in Old English verse. Although the argument to be presented makes use of concepts introduced by Jakobson, Kiparsky, and Kurylowicz, it differs in most essential respects from all previous theories of Old English meter.

Patricia Bethel (Carleton Univ.)

"On the Meter and Syntax of the Psalms of the Paris Psalter"

Krapp's prefatory remark about deep-seated metrical irregularities in the ASPR edition of the Psalms of the Paris Psalter may warrant reconsideration: a non-standard, non-Beowulfian meter seems to have been used consistently throughout an exceptionally long text. These Psalms are also characterized by syntactic and lexical anomalies: in verse, the use of one subjunctive form of wesan is unique and that of cweðan paralleled elsewhere only by Christ I. The extraordinary proportions in which Sievers' metrical Types occur suggest that some current metrical analyses, especially of late texts, may be unduly rigid and that the progress from late OE to early ME verse may have been less straightforward than is supposed.

A text of the length of the metrical Psalms enables comparatively rarely-occurring metrical features, including the lavish use of anacrusis and the behavior of portions of lines in certain metrical environments, to be studied in some detail. The behavior of C-Types in the first half-line, for example, contradicts assumptions based on extrapolation from other OE verse.

While the metrical Psalms are scarcely described as memorable verse, the consistent use of non-standard Types (including the F-Type), the almost complete restriction of A-Types to one half-line, a reluctance to use hypermetric verse and a fondness for Bliss's A and D-Types with extended anacrusis command attention if not astonishment.

I am now attempting to discover whether there is a syntactic basis for the rigid distinctions observable between the first and second half-line and whether these distinctions are reflected, as in Genesis B, in markedly different syntactic frames between half-lines of the same metrical Type before and after the medial caesura.

Edwin Duncan (Univ. of Texas-Austin)

"Word Division and Alliteration Patterns  
in Old English Poetic Manuscripts"

For over a century, edited texts have been consistent in their implications concerning the constitution of words in Old English poetry. Poetic compounds are printed as single words (e.g., sigehreð, hilderinc) while the preverbal negative ne and the connective ond are written separately (e.g., sorge ne cuðon, nean ond feorran). Yet the scribes of the Old English poetic manuscripts regularly wrote poetic compounds as two separate words (e.g., sige hreð, hilde rinc) and ne and ond as prefixes (e.g. sorge necuðon, nean 7feorran). Further, an examination of Old English alliterative practices suggests that the scribal conventions were not the result of accident, carelessness, or grammatical ignorance but instead reflected an integral aspect of Old English poetic technique.

By following the manuscript division of words, we find that the Old English poets consistently placed alliteration on the final arsis of initially-stressed on-verses which contained three or more words--but not on those with two words or one. Thus, verses containing three words in edited texts and in manuscripts (e.g., geong in geardum) as well as verses with poetic compounds appearing as two words in edited texts but as three in the manuscripts (e.g., fea sceaft funden) regularly have double alliteration. Exceptions number less than three per cent of the total and are often the same verses that have given scholars problems on different grounds. Verses containing ne and ond, written as separate words in edited texts but as prefixes in manuscripts, may alliterate on the first arsis only, provided the verse otherwise has no more than two words (e.g., geongum 7ealdum, weana newende).

The results of this investigation give us new insight into the niceties of Old English verse composition and also suggest that modern editorial practices regarding word division in Old English texts may be unwarranted and in need of emendation.



## Session 188: Oral Literature and the Middle Ages II

Ellen R. Dubinski (Univ. of Missouri-Columbia)

While the riddles of the Exeter Book have been supposed to be composed in written rather than oral form, their use of traditional elements links them to the oral society in which the genre had its roots. Analyzing the characteristics of Old Norse and Old English riddles and comparing them with their Latin counterparts clarifies what specifically differentiates the riddlic traditions that reflect oral conventions from those with more antecedents. The function of the riddle in these different contexts reveals much about the societies involved.

Ward Parks (Univ. of Cincinnati)

"Flyting and Fighting: Pathways in the Realization of  
the Epic Contest"

Adversative encounters between individual heroes in Beowulf and the Homeric epos, both the products of oral cultures with heroic ideals, can all be derived from a few core narrative patterns common to these narrative traditions. The basic principle, which orchestrates relations between flyting (the verbal contest) and actual martial combat, specifies that a hero's boasts and claims must be substantiated by his deeds. This imperative in the heroic code projects a basic contest pattern consisting of a movement from (1) an initial engagement through (2) flyting, in which the terms of the fighting are (implicitly or explicitly) agreed upon, to (3) actual martial combat to (4) a ritualized resolution. This general contest pattern can take variant forms, depending on whether the contestants are members of social groups that are at war with each other or engaged in guest-host interactions. The Old English and Homeric narrative traditions also allowed, in certain circumstances, for the possibility of modulation between these (the warring armies and guest-host) patterns. A third contest situation, in which the adversaries belong to the same social group, produces contests composed of elements from the two major types. All these generalizations are substantiated through reference to more than forty epic contests in the Iliad, the Odyssey, Beowulf, and The Battle of Maldon.

## Session 205: Biblical Motifs in Medieval Literature, Art, and Culture

John R. McCully (Iowa State Univ.)

"Biblical Motifs in Beowulf"

Students of Beowulf now commonly accept that the poem is by a Christian author about a pre-Christian people. Moreover, they also commonly assume that the poem is didactic. Needless to say, scholars are aware of problems. For instance, the text says, "Monig . . . wordum þædon, / þæt him gastbona geoce gefremede / wið þeodpreaum" (171, 176-78), that is, deliverance from Grendel; yet elsewhere Hrothgar expresses the hope that "[h]ine [Beowulf] halig God / for arstafum us onsende, / to West-Denum . . . / wið Grendles gryre" (381-84).<sup>1</sup> Hrothgar has Heorot built "ond þæt on innan eall gedælan / geongum ond ealdum, swylc him God sealde" (71-72)--an ethically Christian action; yet blood

vengeance--an eye for an eye--is clearly the ethic of the people in this poem. Further, the poem contains not only explicit Biblical references (most obviously to the creation, to Cain, and to the flood, but also a homily that has been called patristic (Hrothgar's exhortation to Beowulf), though in that homily there is still no reference to saint, church, or Christ.

The poem itself--as a successful poem perhaps always does--contains within itself the idea that unifies all this diversity, and the extensive Biblical allusions and images support this idea: "Soð is gecyþed,/ þæt mihtig God manna cynnes/ weold wideferhð" (700-02); "Metod eallum weold/ gumena cynnes, swa he nu git deð" (1057-58), and ". . . wolde dom Godes dædum raedon/ gumena gehwylcum, swa he nu gen deð" (2858-59).

These are statements of faith comparable to St. Paul's when he writes in Romans 2:14-15: "When Gentiles who have not the law do by nature what the law requires, they are a law to themselves, even though they do not have the law. They show that what the law requires is written on their hearts, while their conscience also bears witness and their conflicting thoughts accuse or perhaps excuse them on that day when, according to my gospel, God judges the secrets of men by Christ Jesus." This perception enables St. Paul and other Christians to read not only the Old Testament--or, to St. Paul, sacred tradition--but also Greek poetry didactically. Similarly, Beowulf was written as an analog to the Old Testament--an examination of pre-Christian Germanic tradition in the way Christians saw the Old Testament, as containing veiled truth, truth seen in a glass dimly.

Session 217: Social Drama in Beowulf

Samuel M. Riley (Illinois State Univ.)

#### "Victories Twice Told: Point of View in Beowulf"

Beowulf is not easy to understand. Partial responsibility for this difficulty may be assigned to the complex manner in which the points of view expressed by the poet as narrator and as commentator (sometimes both together) and in the orationes rectae of the various characters, as well as the narrative events, all combine to generate the didactic calculus of the poem. In addition, the mass of secondary material now available may be pursued to the neglect of the poem itself, with the unfortunate result that its didacticism may fail to be noticed or to be fully understood. Nowhere is this more evident than in the two reports of Beowulf's defeat of the Danish monsters. Both are spoken by the hero himself, first before Hrothgar, then before Hygelac. Examined as a thematic continuum, these accounts reveal the poet's skillful use of the Christian idea of Providence and the Germanic concept of Wyrd in demonstrating what his audience should consider as the true nature of the heroic ethic. The degree to which we understand the two points of view thus employed determines the degree to which we comprehend the didactic calculus governing the narrative, structural, and thematic development of the poem as a mirror in which its contemporary aristocratic listeners could view their own failings and be brought to realize the remedy those failings demanded.

David Raybin (Eastern Illinois Univ.)

"Heroes, Kings, and Kinsmen"

Conflict seems to bring fundamental aspects of society, normally overlaid by customs and habits of daily intercourse, into frightening prominence. People have to take sides in terms of deeply entrenched moral imperatives and constraints, often against their own personal preferences. Choice is overborne by duty.

--Victor Turner, Dramas, Fields and Metaphors

In judging an individual, we look not simply at his achievements, but at the circumstances surrounding those achievements. By Raymond Firth's definition we look at the "social organization...the working arrangements of society... the process of ordering of action and of relations in reference to given social ends...." In literary texts, social organization may be specified by the author directly, but it is also and importantly made apparent in situational terms, most particularly in those moments of conflict Turner has called Social Dramas.

The goal of this paper, and it is a large one, is to judge the character Beowulf in social terms. To this end, I will first examine the social organization of which he is a member, doing so by (a) looking at the historical examples that indicate the desirable qualities in hero and king, (b) looking at the language used in describing Beowulf himself, language that emphasizes his social status, and (c) looking at the social dramas in which Beowulf is a performant. Considering not only the great battles, but also kinship relations--most notably son production--I will explore Beowulf's success in fulfilling the requirements of the socially defined roles of hero and king, measuring him against both the social standards and what Turner calls his "own personal preferences." The conclusion will be in line with Tolkien's suggestion that the poem is perhaps best viewed as an elegy, an elegy for a hero.

Kathleen Skubikowski (Middlebury College)

"Struggle and Social Tradition: The Role of Reciprocity in the World of Beowulf"

The world of Beowulf seems to contain within it two sources of continuity: one is a continuum of struggles--each new age, from the legendary times of Scyld Scefing and Sigemund and Finn down to the generations of Beowulf and Wiglaf and beyond, slays its monster, acquires its hoard with violence, builds its hall and watches it burn. The other source of continuity is provided by the inherited social traditions of a heroic civilization--the building of halls, the feasting within them, the marriages, gift-giving and song-making--inherited traditions preserved in legend and celebrated in moments of "provisory equilibrium," those times when a particular society has overcome a particular struggle. More importantly, it is to these inherited traditions that the actors in the world of Beowulf appeal to forestall the onset of new violence, new struggle, and it is in the light of these traditions that they make their projections for the future.

This paper, drawing on previous work in Beowulf on social structure and the limitations of the heroic ethos, explores the dramatic interaction between struggle and inherited response to depict a society whose limitations are inherent in its "mental structures." It asserts that the very principle of reciprocity upon which, the legends say, the comitatus relationship was founded, actually enmeshes men within a reticulate web of inherited, traditional obligation so that their vision is limited and thus their choices appear to be so. And the limitation of vision is conveyed from generation to generation as the same reticulate pattern implicates the young in the feuds of their elders: the young thane at the wedding banquet, for example, could no more actively entertain the option of forgiveness than could the old thane consider alternatives other than revenge on the one hand or continued humiliation on the other.

Session 235: Manuscript Studies

Nancy A. Porter (Univ. of Toronto)

"Glossed Manuscripts of Aldhelm's Riddles"

I have found evidence of a Germanic tradition of glossing in the manuscripts of the Aldhelm Riddles (especially in manuscripts from England and St. Gall) and a "Latinate" tradition. By "Latinate" I mean a tradition of glossing which relies on Latin instead of the vernacular (though in all manuscripts the actual number of Latin glosses exceeds the number of vernacular glosses). The Germanic tradition uses vernacular languages (Old High German and Old English) and has more grammatical, syntactical, and encyclopedic glosses than do the "Latinate" manuscripts. "Latinate" manuscripts tend to gloss only in Latin and to focus on lexical (synonym) glosses. The manuscripts of Aldhelm's Riddles fall into eight groups. I will mention briefly the characteristics of each of these groups and focus my attention on a group of English manuscripts and a few other interesting manuscripts--BN lat. 16700 and BN lat. 8440, which share a common set of Latin lexical glosses; St. Gall 242, which represents the Germanic tradition; and Vat. Reg. Lat. 2078, a "Latinate" manuscript which shares some unusual features with the English school.

Session 263: Anglo-Saxon Culture and Beowulf

James W. Earl (Fordham Univ.)

"Anglo-Saxon and Greek Origins"

Because of the dearth of hard evidence, any attempt to reconstruct the development of Anglo-Saxon culture in the sixth century has to rely on anthropological models, integrating what we know of village structure, class structure, kinship systems, and the evolution of kingship and law. The goal of such an analysis is to understand the traumas caused by the migration and conversion, which set Anglo-Saxon history on its particular trajectory. The general features of this method can be seen in the analogy of Anglo-Saxon and Greek origins.

Kitto helped explain Greek origins to an English audience by comparing the invasion of the Achaeans to that of the Saxons, though he did not explore this analogy. Both migrations broke down tribal organization and stimulated the development of the state, and each produced as a by-product a heroic literature which can best be understood as part of this process. The ethnography of the

heroic society displayed in this literature can be sharply distinguished from the old tribal society and the new political one, and is intelligible only in relation to these two historical cultures with which it is often confused. Of special interest is the role of the warrior class in heroic society, since the transformations of this class were particularly instrumental in affecting the transition to civilization, and the warrior class was responsible for the production of the heroic fantasy, a reconstruction of the past from its own particular point of view and in its own interest.

There is a fortuitous benefit in the Greek analogy, because Greek historians from Finley to Vernant, looking over their archaeological and literary evidence, have been less hesitant than Anglo-Saxonists to theorize along anthropological lines, though the dark age of the tenth and eleventh centuries B.C. is just as dark as the fifth and sixth centuries in England. Recent Greek scholarship thus throws a bright light on some basic problems of Anglo-Saxon history and literature. An example which naturally leaps to mind this year is the dating of Beowulf.

John D. Niles (Univ. of California-Berkeley)

#### "The Economics of Beowulf"

Beowulf is of interest, among other things, for the window it provides on an economic system different from our own. While the poem is not history, it can fill out our understanding of institutions and attitudes that were current in pre-Conquest England and that have not wholly lost their force today. The poet seems incapable of measuring happiness except in material terms. Honor is nothing if it cannot be touched. A reader who does not understand the poem's economics cannot hope to understand the poem, for the narrative of Beowulf presupposes an interest in the way that material things embody concepts. Without the concept of wergild, "man-price," the Anglo-Saxon legal system would have come unhinged. In Beowulf, a healthy society is one in which all people have their price and the price is paid. As long as they wear the heriot--the thane's full complement of arms--the hero's companions are literally waepnum geweorðod, "given a price by virtue of their weapons." The dragon's treasure hoard honors the aged Beowulf in like manner. The hoard is a material counterpart to the abstract qualities of the dead king at whose side they lie. The treasures are Beowulf's price. They are a loving glance backward at Sutton Hoo, as it were, by a poet for whom the old burial rites summed up a civilization rather than a religion. The hoard serves as an attractive way of building a bridge between the material spendor of the heroic past and the spiritual awareness of the Christian present, for the hoard provides spectacular grave-goods without the moral cost that would accrue to raiding.

James E. Anderson (Vanderbilt Univ.)

#### "The ebel-rune and the Concealed Shape of Beowulf"

With the three ebel-runes of 520, 913, and 1702, the first Beowulf scribe supplies graphic clues of an ancient hidden curse upon the Scylding ebel "homeland." Of this curse--the sin of Cain--Grendel is both the monstrous embodiment and the ancestral origin. The ebel-runes mark lexical riddling which identifies Grendel as the undead spirit of Heremod, an ancestral Danish king turned murderer and the source of a vague Danish national guilt. As a walking spirit much like Glam in Grettissaga, Grendel continues to prey on his kinsmen as Heremod did in mortal life. In the figure of Unferþ and in the impending

tragedy at Freawaru's wedding to Ingeld, the Danes still share Grendel's membership in the race of Cain.

After 1939b, where the second Beowulf-scribe begins his work, the ebel-rune disappears, but half-concealed emphasis on ebel does not. In Part II, Beowulf has assumed in his own kingdom the office of eald ebelweard, the same title Hroþgar has reclaimed with the ebel-rune in 1702. True to Hroþgar's dark prophecies in that so-called Sermon on Pride, old Beowulf now inherits along with the Geatish kingdom an ancestral curse of his own. Having shadowed Beowulf even among his great triumphs at Heorot, the evil of the Geats leads to Beowulf's death in battle against the dragon, like Grendel a monster reborn from ancient and riddlicly concealed human origins. Though it is episodic to all appearances, the poem of Beowulf can also be understood as a masterfully shaped heroic riddle on the invisible power of Wyrd, "Fate." This view of Beowulf depends in many important ways on a re-examination of the monster fights in Grettissaga, whose full value as a Beowulf-analogue has yet to be realized.

Session 271: Coinage and Money of the Middle Ages

Raymond F. Tripp, Jr. (Univ. of Denver)

"Revaluing the Currency: Money in Beowulf"

Money is more important in Beowulf than its heroic reputation allows. The poet's revaluative attitude toward it shapes his narrative and informs his language. Scyld's greatness is measured by the tribute he collects, society runs on bounteous gifts, the Danes would buy off Grendel, Beowulf boasts that Higelac had no need to pay more for less than himself, the dragon disrupts society by intercepting the flow of treasure, fatally obliging Beowulf to acquire more for his people, and bad kings, the dragon-types like Heremod, destroy themselves by trying to keep it all to themselves. The poet develops the homiletic metaphor of the righteous life as the best "bargain." His demythicizing of gold into money shows in his statement that the gold Beowulf wins is as useless as it ever was. Bounteous gifts do not work for the hero, whose men abandon him. The poet reveals his ambivalent stance toward pagan value in punning on sceat(t), "coin, money," scot/sceot, "shooting, payment," and the forms of sceotan, "to 'shoot,' run, contribute, pay," in its preterite singular sceat and its agentive sceotend, "'shooter,' warrior," The dragon hord eft gesceat, "darted back to his hoard" or "paid again into his hoard"; and Beowulf had no need to be ashamed of his payment from Hrothgar for scotenum, "for the money" or "before the other warriors"--the conventional emendation for sceotendum, literally "before the warriors" obliterates the word play on the true nature of the hero's "professional" status. The plundering Scyldings are called sceotend Scyldinga, "warriors of the Scyldings" or "money-ers of the Scyldings," when they take whatever they can find of value in Finn's hall. Money is, thus, both narratively and linguistically, unheroically important and suggests that the poet wrote from a more sophisticated and somewhat satirical point of view as regards the value of gold and the heroic innocence of the ring giving--and taking--of his imaginary forebears.

Session 280: The Old English Saints' Legend

Christopher Bright (Univ. of Toronto)

"Malchus: A Neglected Old English Saints' Legend"

The Old English life of Malchus is preserved solely in BL Cotton Otho C.i, vol. 2, fols. 139v-143v. It has appeared in three editions, the most useful being that by Assmann (pp.199-207), but it has occasioned little critical comment which does not address editorial or philological questions. Aside from its editors, only two critics have given it more than the briefest notice: in 1912, F. Holthausen (Englischen Studien 46) listed the passages of the OE text which varied significantly from the Latin text printed by Migne (PL 23, 53-60) and K. Sisam conducted a codicological and philological investigation of the whole MS when he edited the OE translation of Boniface's letter which also appears there (in his Studies). Even Wolpers simply dismisses Malchus as one of the late prose lives which are "vorwiegend recht einfache und für die Laienpredigt zurechtgeschnittene Stücke," but which, however, have retreated from a pedagogical approach towards the realm of pure narrative (Die Englische Heiligenlegende des Mittelalters).

No doubt Malchus has been neglected partly because no strong "homiletic" intent has reshaped the original text for its purposes, as is the case with Ælfric's hagiography, for example. It is also true that the translation is generally successful, as Holthausen has shown, and this has largely exempted it from the easiest form of textual comparison. But our growing critical awareness of the vernacular lives, and of the homilies in general, has created a context within which such texts as this ought to be reappraised. That is the purpose of this paper, and in the space remaining I will note a few major points of reference. We can distinguish Malchus from Ælfric's lives by its general respect for the detail of its original text. This is evident even from the few lines which remain from Ælfric's own translation of the Malchus legend, the only other remaining OE version. In this respect Malchus resembles the four non-Ælfrician lives in the Lives of Saints (Skeat nos. 23, 23B, 30, 33), as it resembles them in its more purely narrative approach. It does not, however, share the tendency to elaborate on its original text, as is particularly evident in the "Seven Sleepers" homily from that group. Malchus is an intelligent, conservative translation and a useful witness to the development of OE hagiography, though it is not amongst its most inspired products.

Philip R. McKinney (Michigan State Univ.)

"Mec Dryhtnes Hond / Mundað mid Mægne: The  
King's Protection in Guthlac A"

We find in the critical material dealing with Guthlac A a variety of approaches to the poem, including hagiographical, structural, and thematic. Among the latter, one significant theme that has so far been overlooked is that of the king's protection. This paper uses a lexical/thematic approach to the poem not used before to show its unity and integrity and to link it to broader legal, theological, and cultural contexts.

Upon examining the diction in Guthlac A, we discover a great many occurrences of the words for "protect, guard, shield, keep, hold" and the like, used to describe God's (and the angels') care of Guthlac. In many cases, they are used in clusters including one of the seventeen instances of the words for "hand." This group of words is also used to describe the demons' interaction with Guthlac, showing the perversion of this same legal and theological concept. As we explore the cultural and legal background of the idea of the king's protection, we find that this concept is one of the denotations of the Germanic (and Old English) words for "hand"; similarly, the "hand of God" contains the parallel theological notion that God protects those in His kingdom: both these ideas converge in Guthlac A. The presence of the king's protection theme, indicated by the words for guard, shield, et al. as well as by several of the hand-words and their compounds (which appear throughout the 818 lines of Guthlac A in as many as thirty-six separate passages), coupled with the appropriate background material in traditional Germanic lore, Christian writers and iconography, and references to specific Anglo-Saxon laws, thereby provides us with a powerful new thematic reading of the poem. This paper grows out of a larger project, the study of the semantic field of the Old English words for "hand."

Brian A. Shaw (Univ. of Western Ontario)

"Guthlac A and B: Some Thematic Continuities"

Within the saints' legend tradition as recorded in the extant Old English poetic versions, the problem of earthly evils is central. While Guthlac A and Guthlac B are extremely unlike each other in many ways, this dichotomy between the two visions, heavenly and earthly, is strongly developed and ultimately reconciled in the two works.

Guthlac A does more than advocate simple rejection of the earth; rather, the poem insists that a divine transformation is possible and that the fen retreat may, in fact, become the New Jerusalem, and Guthlac's mission is to establish an earthly symbol of this higher order. Even though among the many trials offered by the demonic hosts is the vision of the failure of monastic life, Guthlac's life remains the paradigm of the potential within for change, if only one will emulate the saint to become the divinely ordained "bytla."

Guthlac B redefines and amplifies this concept of the importance of building the New Jerusalem. Beginning with the story of Adam and Eve in paradise, the poet subtly evokes the idea of the New Jerusalem. Adam and Eve's exile is really only the beginning of the pilgrimage of all men, saints included, and the exile presupposes the return. Thus Guthlac must go on his journey, physical and spiritual, but this time of exile will culminate in the marriage of the faithful retainer with Christ the victor, a central image of the apocalyptic vision. Guthlac thus leaves behind the fen only to find it transfigured in the after-life. He can assure the faithful retainer that the journey need not be dreaded, for its end has been already foreseen; the builder of Guthlac A has become the inhabitant of Guthlac B.

Session 285: Medieval Visions of the Good Society

Blair W. Boone (SUNY-Buffalo)

"The Vision of the Good: Tokens of Equivocation in Genesis B"



This paper examines the use of equivocation in the representation of the Fall of Man in Genesis B. By fixing the Fall of the Angels on Lucifer's equivocation on god, the Genesis B-poet establishes a form of expression that represents the conceptual possibility of the origin of evil as ethical dualism emerging within metaphysical monism while at the same time maintaining a coherent narrative. Equivocation represents the change from univocal to multiple signification as both condition and consequence of the Fall. This change, the practical consequence of which is language that is capable not only of representation but also of misrepresentation, is developed in the narrative of the Fall of Man by the formulaic and equivocal repetition of the word tacen, which by a confusion of identity and similarity comes to be the locus of disparate meanings and values. The conclusion points to a stylistic link between Genesis B and the resumption of the A narrative, a link based on the continued use of tacen, and briefly examines the implications of this link and of the fallen language of similarity and difference for a discussion of society and the good.

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